

# Qumran Cave 1 Revisited

*Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after  
Their Discovery: Proceedings  
of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS  
in Ljubljana*

*Edited by*

DANIEL K. FALK, SARIANNA METSO,

DONALD W. PARRY, AND

EIBERT J. C. TIGCHELAAR

BRILL

## Qumran Cave 1 Revisited

# Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

*Edited by*

Florentino García Martínez

*Associate editors*

Peter W. Flint

Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar

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## PREFACE

The Sixth Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies (IOQS) was held at Ljubljana, Slovenia, July 16–18, 2007, in association with the 19th Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament (IOSOT). This first congress of the IOQS in Central Europe, after previous meetings in Paris (1992), Cambridge (1995), Oslo (1998), Basel (2001), and Groningen (2004), was a great success. The Ljubljana organisation of the Congress of the IOSOT and the cojoined meetings was exemplary, the summer temperatures were high, and the number of papers was larger than ever, in part because many younger scholars presented for the first time at an IOQS meeting. On behalf of all the participants we express our gratitude to our Slovenian hosts, in particular Prof. Jože Krašovec.

The chosen topic of the Ljubljana meeting was “Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Reconsidering the Cave 1 Texts Sixty Years after Their Discovery.” After fifteen years of scholarly focus on the newly published texts from Qumran Cave 4, it seemed fitting to revisit the Cave 1 texts, sixty years after they had been discovered in 1947. Textually, many Cave 1 texts are in need of republication, in light of parallel texts from Cave 4, because of better photographs, or in view of reconstructions of the scrolls. Historically and ideologically, other issues are to be broached. For example, how should one consider the Cave 1 texts in the light of all the now known materials from the other caves? Or, to what extent do new hypotheses or changing paradigms on the Dead Sea Scrolls and the communities that authored them invite us to reevaluate or reinterpret those Cave 1 texts.

Most of the fifty-seven papers presented at the meeting dealt with texts from Cave 1, or topics arising from those texts. A few discussed the broader question of the character of Cave 1. This volume starts with the opening lecture of Florentino García Martínez in which he challenges theories (as offered by Hartmut Stegemann, George Brooke, and Devorah Dimant) that claim a specific character of Cave 1 as against the other caves. García Martínez concludes that when one considers all the manuscripts from Cave 1, and not only a few of the well-known scrolls, one has a perfect sample of the library of which the holdings of Cave 1 were once a part. García Martínez’s cautious

approach should be taken seriously, even though the issue of the relationships between the caves has not been laid to rest, and certainly will reappear in future studies.

All other contributions in this volume deal primarily with texts, especially with six of the seven large scrolls from Cave 1. The two papers on the Isaiah scrolls by Donald Parry and Peter Flint present very useful inventories and analyses of textual materials. Parry examines all the *Ketiv-Qere* readings in Isaiah with the Qumran Isaiah scrolls, and shows that many of the theories regarding the origins and causes of the *Ketiv-Qere* system cannot be substantiated by the Qumran materials. Flint presents and categorizes all the variant readings in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>, based on the forthcoming new edition of the Cave 1 Isaiah scrolls, and argues that the affinity between the text of this scroll and the Masoretic Text is less intimate than many believe.

At the meeting, no less than ten papers were presented on the *Rule of the Community* or the appended *Rule of the Congregation*.<sup>1</sup> After a period of focus on the Cave 4 manuscripts, the sole complete manuscript of the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) again enjoys pride of place. Now, however, 1QS is read in light both of the Cave 4 *Serekh* manuscripts, and the other Cave 4 texts. Bilhah Nitzan analyzes the growth of the catalogue of rules of 1QS 5:1–9:11 and compares it with that of the Cave 4 texts. Mila Ginsburskaya approaches the concept of purity in 1QS and 1QSa by analyzing the respective rules with respect to the right of counsel, and William Loader revisits the controversial issue of the testimony of women in 1QSa 1:11 and compares the section with the variant readings of the Cave 4 Cryptic fragments of the *Rule of the Congregation*.

Angela Kim Harkins and Esther Chazon examine the composition of 1QH<sup>a</sup> in the light of both the literary distinction between Teacher Hymns and two groups of Community Hymns, and the physical and literary evidence of the Cave 4 Hodayot manuscripts. Kim Harkins argues that 4Q428—which seems to have contained only the Teacher Hymns and the second group of Community Hymns—was an ear-

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<sup>1</sup> Several of the papers have been published elsewhere: Devorah Dimant, “The Volunteers in the Rule of the Community: A Biblical Notion in Sectarian Garb,” *RevQ* 23/90 (2007): 233–45; Albert L. A. Hogeterp, “The Eschatology of the Two Spirits Treatise Revisited,” *RevQ* 23/90 (2007): 247–59; Alison Schofield, “Rereading S: A New Model of Textual Development in Light of the Cave 4 *Serekh* Copies,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 96–120.

lier form of the collection of *Hodayot*, organized as a collection of human and angelic prayers which possessed an internal progression and intensification of the human communion with angels theme, and later expanded with the first group of Community Hymns. Chazon argues for a similar liturgical function of 1QH<sup>a</sup> as a whole, which was at the basis of the final editor's organization of the material. Thus, liturgical communion with the angels is found in all three blocks, and the Self-Glorification is contextualized liturgically.

The three papers on the *War Scroll* discuss entirely different aspects. Brian Schultz analyzes the compositional layers in 1QM in light of the Cave 4 *War Scroll* texts, arguing that a primitive composition, consisting of 1QM cols. 1–9, was expanded, probably after the Roman conquest, with cols. 10–19.<sup>2</sup> Christophe Batsch focuses on the role of priests in war in the Hebrew Bible and Early Jewish texts, sketches ideal types of reactions toward foreign oppressors, and correlates those types to historical groups in ancient Palestine.<sup>3</sup> Lawrence Schiffman compares the law of conscription in the *War Scroll* with those in the Bible, the *Temple Scroll*, and rabbinic literature.

The meeting also attracted an unprecedented number of lectures on the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Some well-preserved columns of the scroll were published in 1956, but the heavily damaged ones only in 1992 and 1995. The revival of research on the *Genesis Apocryphon* was certainly triggered by the publication of the damaged materials. However, it is also part of the present scholarly interest in the retelling and amplification of biblical traditions in the Second Temple period. Of the nine papers given at the meeting on the *Genesis Apocryphon*, four are included in this volume. Daniel Falk analyzes sections from the *Genesis Apocryphon* where the text contradicts the corresponding passages in Genesis. Daniel Machiela discusses the apocalyptic character of the work, and analyzes the different ways in which Enoch, Noah, and Abram are given access to divinely revealed wisdom, while Dorothy Peters and Beate Ego focus on the portrayals of Noah and Abram. Peters shows that in the *Genesis Apocryphon* the portrayal of Noah as a wise priestly figure combines elements of Enoch and of Levi, whereas in *Jubilees* he is fashioned as the Torah-obedient ancestor of Moses.

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<sup>2</sup> See now also his *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered* (STDJ 76; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> See also his *La guerre et les rites de guerre dans le judaïsme du deuxième Temple* (JSJSup 93; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

Ego discerns in the re-narration of Gen 12:10–20 in the *Genesis Apocryphon* the two motifs of wisdom and trust in God.

The last section of this volume contains two studies on some of the less well preserved manuscripts from Cave 1. Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra reviews the fragments attributed to 1Q5 from a palaeographical point of view and concludes that frag. 1 does not belong to this manuscript, but rather is the sole survivor of a separate Deuteronomy manuscript, and that frag. 2 possibly should be assigned to 1Q4 instead. David Hamidović takes a closer look at one of the prayers from the *Festival Prayers* (1Q34+34bis 2+1 and 4Q509 3), and asks for which feast this prayer was intended, considering the options of the Festival of Booths and a Feast for the beginning of the quarter.

The Editors

# RECONSIDERING THE CAVE 1 TEXTS SIXTY YEARS AFTER THEIR DISCOVERY: AN OVERVIEW

FLORENTINO GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ  
K.U. Leuven

## 1. *Introduction*

The topic of my lecture can be presented from many different angles, and it is important that I assert precisely what I intend to do at the start. The topic is formed by three elements, each one quite clear if considered individually: “Reconsidering,” “Cave 1 Texts,” and “Sixty Years.” The last element, the temporal dimension (“Sixty Years After Their Discovery”), is clear in spite of all uncertainties regarding the moment of the very first discovery by the Bedouin Ta‘amireh.<sup>1</sup> The second element, “texts from Cave 1,” is also obvious: we will be dealing with the seven great scrolls bought from the Bedouins (the Scrolls published by the Hebrew University and by the American Schools of Oriental Research),<sup>2</sup> which were the first to be published when Cave 1 was “the Cave” and not yet Cave 1, but also with the materials (for the

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<sup>1</sup> There are many, and conflicting, accounts of when exactly Cave 1 was for the first time visited by the Bedouin. The year of 1947 (“early in the summer”) is the one given by Gerald Lankester Harding in DJD 1:5, but it is contradicted by the assertion of Archbishop Samuel who records that in August 1947 he sent two representatives who visited the Cave from which the Scrolls they already had in their possession; see Athanasius Y. Samuel, *The Treasure of Qumran: My Story of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 150. The interview, taken under oath by Anton Kiraz, from two of the Bedouin involved in the discovery (Muhammed edh-Dhib and Jum‘a Muhammed), reported and documented in the Revised Edition of John C. Trever, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Personal Account* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1977), 191, gives “one day during November, 1946,” but the endnote of Trever, 235, specifies that “[t]he evidence from the interviews would allow for a date as late as January or February, 1947.” In any case, 1947 is the date kept in all official celebrations of the discovery.

<sup>2</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, 1QpHab and 1QS, published in *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St Mark’s Monastery*, I and II, edited by Millar Burrows, John C. Trever and William H. Brownlee (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950 and 1951); 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>, 1QH and 1QM, published by Eleazer L. Sukenik in *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1995); and 1QapGen, published by Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon. A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1956).

biggest part also was bought from the Bedouins) published in DJD 1<sup>3</sup> after the excavation of the Cave from 15 February until 5 March 1949. These texts were published as coming from “Cave 1” because this publication was completed after the exploration of the cliffs, where forty caves were excavated, including the caves with manuscripts 2, 3, 6, and again Cave 1; the serial number 1 was given to the cave of the first discoveries.

“Reconsidering” is more ambiguous. After sixty years of research on the Scrolls, I cannot look at the texts coming from Cave 1 with the eyes of the scholars who in the fifties had only certain texts at their disposal, for the simple reason that we today have at our disposal the whole DJD Series with its 39 volumes of texts. I intend to “reconsider” the Cave 1 texts from the perspective of the present, with all the knowledge accumulated during the past sixty years of research on the Scrolls.

One possible way (and perhaps the most obvious and fruitful) to “reconsider” the Cave 1 texts sixty years after their discovery would be to present what impact the publication of the texts from the other ten caves has had on the evaluation of the texts from Cave 1. I think this is an important topic that would teach us much and it would be most fitting for the opening of our “reconsideration” of Cave 1. But I have already written this “reconsideration” (last year) at the request of the Spanish Association for Semitic and Judaic Studies (cutting thus the grass under my own feet) and it would be impolite to repeat it here. The paper was in Spanish and it was written too late to be included in English in the *Qumranica minora*.<sup>4</sup> It has been published recently in the *Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos (MEAH)* of the University of Granada<sup>5</sup> and it is available on the web page of the Association.<sup>6</sup> Thus, those of you who are not afraid of the language of Cervantes can easily find this “reconsideration” of Cave 1 on paper or on the screen.

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<sup>3</sup> Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), to which should be added John C. Trever, “Completion of the Publication of some Fragments from Qumran Cave 1,” *RevQ* 5/19 (1965): 323–45, and George J. Brooke, DJD 26:227–32.

<sup>4</sup> Florentino García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I and II* (ed. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar; STDJ 63–64; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

<sup>5</sup> Florentino García Martínez, “Qumrán en el Siglo XXI: Cambios y perspectivas después de 50 años de estudios,” *MEAH* 55 (2006): 309–34.

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.aehj.org/>

Another possible way to proceed (and the one I will follow here) is to consider Cave 1 as a whole, as a single collection of texts, not only as part of the largest holding of Qumran manuscripts, and to try to pinpoint its peculiar character, its similarities or its differences with the other caves (particularly with Caves 3, 4 and 11), and with the whole collection of Qumran manuscripts. As a matter of fact, this means looking closely at the texts from Cave 1, but also at all other material remains from this Cave, with the additional knowledge provided by the texts and the material remains from all the other caves.

Of course, this exercise is by no means new. As far as I know, at least three other scholars have already attempted the same exercise and have reflected on the character of Cave 1 in light of all other Caves. I will present and discuss their opinions before attempting my own “reconsideration.”

## 2. *Hartmut Stegemann’s Theory of Master Manuscripts*

The regretted Harmut Stegemann, who was never short of original ideas, was the first to put forth a comprehensive theory of the holdings found in Cave 1.<sup>7</sup>

For Stegemann, the Cave 1 manuscripts “constituted the portion of the Qumran Library holdings that the Qumran settlers saw as especially worthy of urgent rescue.”<sup>8</sup> He posited that the majority of the manuscripts from Cave 1 represent “*master manuscripts*, which served principally as models for the preparation of further copies.”<sup>9</sup> “Master manuscripts such as these were evidently withdrawn for use in the scriptorium but were otherwise treated with the greatest possible care. Scrolls of this kind comprise a substantial part of the material found hidden in Cave 1, where they were carefully covered with linen wrapping and packed in clay jars.”<sup>10</sup> Stegemann describes vividly how this happened:

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<sup>7</sup> Harmut Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus* (Freiburg: Herder, 1993). Quotes are from the English translation of the fifth German edition: *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

<sup>8</sup> Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 68.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.



Both kind of manuscripts—some rolled up backward, as it were, the other correctly—were covered with linen, packed in clay jars, and transported to that rock cave 1.3 kilometers away which in 1947 was the first to be discovered by the Bedouin and therefore named Cave 1. This careful procedure was used with less than a hundred scrolls. Finally the entrance to the cave was painstakingly walled up with stones so that it was unrecognizable from the outside, and it was still closed up when Muhamed edh-Dhib managed to get into the cave through a shaft in 1947.<sup>11</sup>

A few details of this description do not seem to agree with the description of Lancaster Harding in DJD 1: the location of the cave would be “about half a kilometre north-north-west of Khirbet Qumrán,” “the illegal excavators made another entrance at ground-level. Later excavations suggest that there may have been a lower entrance which collapsed anciently, but this is not certain;”<sup>12</sup> nor with the assertions of De Vaux:

Pendant la fouille de la grotte, on a pris soin de recueillir tous les tessons. Beaucoup avaient été fraîchement brisés, au cours du pillage moderne. Beaucoup aussi avaient des cassures anciennes et cela confirme le témoignage du premier Bédouin qui est entré dans la grotte Mohammed edh-Dhib: il a vu quelques jarres intactes dressées contre les parois, mais le sol était jonché de débris de poterie.<sup>13</sup>

But in general Stegemann’s explanation is logical and consistent, although, in my opinion, it falls short of being convincing.

It is clear that, somehow, the interpretation of the remains found in Cave 1 as “master manuscripts” by Stegemann is linked with his general understanding of Qumran as a sort of printing house where manuscripts were produced for the benefit of the largest Essene movement, and placed for sale to the outside world. This understanding has failed to carry the day, but only on these grounds. His interpretation of Cave 1 should not be dismissed. This interpretation has the advantage that Stegemann (who knew better than anybody the manuscripts as material artifacts) tries to explain the different ways in which the manuscripts were stocked, well wrapped in linen and deposited in jars, which was untrue of the manuscripts of other caves, like Cave 4. However, it was true of other manuscripts, like the Temple Scroll, apparently found in Cave 11. This different way of stocking is not

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>12</sup> DJD 1:6.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 8.

simply deduced from the large amount of linen found in Cave 1,<sup>14</sup> but it is directly proved by the scroll, petrified but still wrapped in linen and attached to the neck of a jar, reproduced on Plate I of DJD 1.<sup>15</sup> Stegemann's theory would explain why a certain number of these manuscripts were not rolled correctly, but rather with the beginning on the innermost part. It would also make comprehensible the fact that from several biblical manuscripts as well as from other compositions (1QSerek, 1QMilḥama, 1QHodayot, 1QJubilees, 1QGiants ar?, 1QTL Levi ar, 1QMysteries, 1QInstruction, 1QGiants, 1QapocrMoses?, 1QNew Jerusalem), other copies have been found in other caves.

But this interpretation of the character of the texts of Cave 1 cannot account for several characteristics of the collection from Cave 1 as a whole, or for some of the archaeological finds in this cave. It cannot account for the very large number of jars and covers found in Cave 1 (more than fifty found by the excavators,<sup>16</sup> plus the whole jars of the Hebrew University and the one of the University of Madrid). It cannot account for the two phylactery cases with four compartments, the four phylactery cases with one compartment, or the wooden comb found in Cave 1;<sup>17</sup> nor for bowls, cooking pots, or the four oil lamps recovered by the archaeologists.<sup>18</sup>

Even more important, I think, this theory of *master manuscripts* cannot explain the presence in this Cave of unique manuscripts that have no correspondence to the holdings of the other caves. It is true that from many of these manuscripts so little has been preserved that one can hardly conclude anything (include in this category 1Q14, 1Q15, 1Q16 [three pesharim], 1Q19, 1Q25, 1Q26, 1Q36 and 1Q37–1Q70); but other compositions, like 1Qpeshar Habakkuk, 1QapGen, 1QSa and 1QSb, are rather well preserved but without any parallel to other caves (with the exception of 1QSa, if one accepts the identification by Stephen Pfann of the Cryptic remains with no less than nine copies of 1QSa,<sup>19</sup> which I very strongly doubt).

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<sup>14</sup> See Grace M. Crowfoot, "The Linen Textiles," in DJD 1:18–38, and more recently Mireille Béliis, "Des textiles, catalogues et commentaires," in *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha II: Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie* (ed. Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jan Gunneweg; NTOASA 3; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2006), 207–76.

<sup>15</sup> DJD 1:7 and pl. I, 8–10.

<sup>16</sup> According to Roland de Vaux, DJD 1:8.

<sup>17</sup> According to Lankester Harding, DJD 1:7 and pl. I.

<sup>18</sup> According to de Vaux, DJD 1:10–11 and Fig. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Stephen J. Pfann in DJD 36:547–74, pl. XXXV–XXXVII.

The example of the scroll that contained 1QS, 1QSa, and 1QSB seems to me to contradict this theory of *master manuscripts*. If this scroll was used to prepare other copies of the composition, how can it be explained that whereas from the *Serek* there have been found so many copies in Cave 4,<sup>20</sup> no copy of 1QSa and 1QSB has been found in the other caves?

Stegemann's theory cannot provide an explanation for the presence in Cave 1 of a series of manuscripts in more than one copy, like the two copies of Isaiah, two copies of Deuteronomy, three copies of Psalms, two copies of *Jubilees*, two copies of Daniel, and two copies of the *Hodayot*. And, of course, it cannot explain why many of the copies found in Cave 4 of the compositions contained in these *master manuscripts* are paleographically older than the assumed "*master manuscripts* which served principally as models for the preparation of further copies" (I am thinking of the *Serek*,<sup>21</sup> *Hodayot*,<sup>22</sup> *Milḥama*,<sup>23</sup> or the *Festival Prayers*,<sup>24</sup> for example). I think that we can conclude that the explanation of the character of Cave 1 as the repository of *master manuscripts* does not give us a satisfactory answer.

<sup>20</sup> Edited by Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes in DJD 26.

<sup>21</sup> Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:20 and 29, describe the hand of 4Q255 (4QpapS<sup>a</sup>) as "Early Hasmonean cursive" and date it (with Cross) to 125–100 B.C.E.; hence older than 1QS, which is generally dated to 100–75 B.C.E.

<sup>22</sup> Eileen Schuller, DJD 29:129–30, describes 4Q428 as a "semi-formal Hasmonean script," and dates it "in the first half of the first Century B.C.E., 100–50 B.C.E.," hence older than 1QH<sup>a</sup>, whose clearly Herodian hand is generally dated to the last quarter of the first c. B.C.E. or to the beginning of our era. Emile Puech expresses this point strongly: "While 1QHodayot<sup>ab</sup>, with its beautiful calligraphy, largely dates from the beginning of our era or shortly before, the manuscripts from Cave 4 are certainly older: 4QHodayot<sup>d-f</sup>, the most recent, would date from the third quarter of the first century B.C.E. (early Herodian), 4QHodayot<sup>a</sup> and 4QHodayot<sup>c</sup> from the middle of the first century B.C.E. (late Hasmonean-early Herodian), and 4QHodayot<sup>b</sup>, the most ancient, from the first quarter of the first century B.C.E., shortly after 100 B.C.E. (middle Hasmonean)," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; New York: Oxford, 2000), 1:366.

<sup>23</sup> The hand of the scribe of 4Q493 (4QM<sup>c</sup>) is described by Maurice Baillet as "a calligraphie légèrement antérieur à la période hérodiennne et pourrait se situer dans la première moitié du Ier siècle avant J.-C.," DJD 7:50, and the hand of 4Q496 (4QM<sup>f</sup>) as "une main pré-hérodiennne difficile à dater, mais qui doit être peu antérieure à 50 avant J.-C.," DJD 7:58, while the Herodian script of 1QM is generally dated to the last quarter of the first century B.C.E.

<sup>24</sup> The third copy, 4Q509 (4QPrFêtes<sup>c</sup>), is dated by Baillet "de la fin de la période asmonéenne, environ 70–60 avant J.-C.," DJD 7:184, while 1Q34–34bis is a clearly Herodian hand, very similar to the first hand of 1QH<sup>a</sup> as noted by Trever, "Completion of the Publication," 333.

Stegemann's category of "master manuscripts" may be related to, but is clearly different from, the category of *de luxe editions* described by Emanuel Tov.<sup>25</sup> Using as criterion the *large top/bottom margins* of more than 3.0 cm, of all the scrolls from Cave 1 only 1QM and 1Qap-Gen would belong to this category; using the criterion of a *very large* writing block, 1QSa and 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> could be added, as well as 1QH<sup>a</sup> which is missing on the list of Tov, and 1QS and 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> if we include the manuscripts with *a large* writing block.<sup>26</sup> Thus, a total of only five to seven manuscripts would belong to the category of *de luxe editions*, not enough to explain the character of the Cave as such.

### 3. George Brooke and the Genizah Hypothesis

In a recent booklet,<sup>27</sup> George J. Brooke asserts again the old hypothesis of Sukenik as an explanation of the Cave 1 collection. He says:

The manuscripts in Cave 1 were discovered wrapped in linen and carefully placed in jars. It was as if they had been buried and it is indeed likely that the Cave is best understood as a *genizah*, a burial place for manuscripts, which reflects customary Jewish practice for manuscripts no longer in use. In other words, those manuscripts in Cave 1, which include for us some of the best preserved, were probably the most damaged in antiquity and had been deposited, probably well before the end of the first century B.C., because they could not longer be used.<sup>28</sup>

In Brooke's explanation two factors are given for understanding Cave 1: the cave would have been a repository of discarded manuscripts, a *genizah*, and the deposit into the cave would have happened well before the end of the first century B.C.E. With due respect for our Manchester colleague, I think that neither of these two elements hold.

Leaving aside the fact that we do not know when the "customary Jewish practice," regulated in the Talmud for scrolls used in the cult, began to be used (the best known examples are from the middle ages, though two scrolls at Masada, one of Deuteronomy and another of Ezekiel, were buried under the synagogue floor), wrapping the

<sup>25</sup> Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 125–29.

<sup>26</sup> See tables 15, 27 and 28 in *ibid.*, 84–89, 126–27 and 129.

<sup>27</sup> George J. Brooke, *Qumran and the Jewish Jesus: Reading the New Testament in the Light of the Scrolls* (Cambridge: Grove Books, 2005).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

manuscripts in linen and putting them in jars (both biblical and non-biblical manuscripts) does not seem to be the most logical way to dispose of them when they are not longer in use. Besides, although less amply attested than in the case of Caves 4 and 11, we do have in Cave 1 some evidence of repair of damaged manuscripts with stitching,<sup>29</sup> and at least one *opistograph*<sup>30</sup> on which the writing of the recto and verso are clearly of two different periods. All these elements make it, in my view, highly unlikely that Cave 1 should be considered as a *genizah*. After surveying the evidence, Tov concludes: “There is no evidence for such *genizot* at Qumran, even though during the first generation of scroll research the Qumran caves were often described as such storage places for discarded scrolls.”<sup>31</sup>

The second element of Brooke’s hypothesis (that the remains of Cave 1 were deposited long before the end of the first century) is also highly questionable, independent of the question whether the manuscripts deposited there were usable or useless. It recalls to my mind (in spite of the clear differences that there are among the two theories) both the theory of the “single generation hypothesis” put forth by Greg Doudna,<sup>32</sup> and the theory of the “Old Caves and Young Caves” of Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra.<sup>33</sup> Doudna considers that “almost all scribal copies of Qumran texts come from a single generation” and, though older texts may exist, “there will be no texts later than the date of the single generation,” and consequently, “the first century C.E. disappears from Qumran’s textual horizon.”<sup>34</sup> Stökl Ben Ezra asserts that the materials of Cave 1 (which like Cave 4 is an “old” cave as distinct from Caves 2, 3, 5, 6, and 11, the “young” ones) would contain the remains of the library of Qumran brought to safety and hidden “around the turn of the era when Qumran was destroyed by a fire after an attack,” and

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<sup>29</sup> The most clear example is 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> XII. For other examples, see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 122–25 and the corresponding illustrations.

<sup>30</sup> 1Q70 and 1Q70bis, DJD 1:148–49 and 145, pl. XXXVII and Trever, “Completion of the Publication,” pl. VII. For a complete list, see Appendix 3 of Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 295–97 and its discussion on pages 68–73.

<sup>31</sup> Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 123.

<sup>32</sup> Greg Doudna, “Dating the Scrolls on the Basis of Radiocarbon Analysis,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 1:430–65.

<sup>33</sup> Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, “Old Caves and Young Caves: A Statistical Reevaluation of a Qumran Consensus,” *DSD* 14 (2007): 313–33.

<sup>34</sup> Doudna, “Dating the Scrolls,” 463–64.

would have remained there undisturbed and forgotten during the new occupation of the Khirbet after the reconstruction of the building.<sup>35</sup>

Leaving aside the difficulties that both theories create, I think that an analysis of the dating of the manuscripts of Cave 1 disproves both theories, at least if one considers (as I do) that the date of latest manuscript provides a *terminus a quo* for the deposit. This means that the date of the manuscript will not give us the date of the deposit, but that the deposit should be necessarily posterior to the latest manuscript. Now, dating the manuscripts is a notoriously tricky matter, but I think there is general agreement that the many analyses done using the Carbon-14 method have proved the general reliability of the paleographical analysis.

Although only a few manuscripts from Cave 1 have been dated using the C-14 method (1QH<sup>a</sup>, 1QS, 1QapGen by the Zurich laboratory,<sup>36</sup> 1QpHab by the NSF Arizona Accelerator Mass Spectrometer Facility of the University of Arizona, Tucson,<sup>37</sup> and 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> which has been tested twice at both institutions),<sup>38</sup> three of them are dated later than the one period assumed by Doudna, even with the 1997 decadal calibration he uses:<sup>39</sup> to 1QpHab a date between 88–2 B.C.E. is given, to 1QapGen a date between 47 B.C.E. and 48 C.E., and to 1QH<sup>a</sup> a date between 37 B.C.E. and 68 C.E.

If we look at the chronological Index of the Texts from the Judaean Desert,<sup>40</sup> at least four manuscripts are listed in a range of dates that are incompatible not only with Doudna assumptions but also with Stökl Ben Ezra's supposition of a deposit on the Cave in 9 or 4 B.C.E.:

1QInstruction	30 B.C.E.–30 C.E.	b 1
1QapGen	30 B.C.E.–68 C.E.	c 20

<sup>35</sup> Stökl Ben Ezra, "Old Caves and Young Caves," 327.

<sup>36</sup> Georges Bonani, Susan Ivy, Willy Wölfli, Magen Broshi, Israel Carmi, and John Strugnell, "Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls," *Radiocarbon* 34 (1992): 843–49.

<sup>37</sup> A. J. Timothy Jull, Douglas J. Donahue, Magen Broshi, and Emanuel Tov, "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert," *Radiocarbon* 37 (1995): 11–19.

<sup>38</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> has been tested both in Zurich and in Tucson with an excellent agreement in the values obtained. See Jull et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls," 15.

<sup>39</sup> Doudna, "Dating the Scrolls," 468–71.

<sup>40</sup> Prepared by Brian Webster on the basis of the DJD editions and published in DJD 39:351–446.

1QJN? ar	30 B.C.E.–69 C.E.	c 20
1QpHab	1–50 C.E.	c 25

This list indexes only the twenty-three compositions better preserved, but a look at the plates of DJD 1 shows that the number of late Herodian writings is much larger. Without going into a detailed paleographical analysis, I would not hesitate to place into the first century C.E. the following manuscripts: 1Q1 (Genesis) and 1Q27 (Mysteries) that, as Milik indicates, seems to be written by the same hand,<sup>41</sup> 1Q12 (Psalm 44), 1Q14 and 1Q16 (two of the pesharim; from the third too little is preserved to form an opinion), 1Q34 (1QLiturgical prayers), 1Q37 and 1Q39 (Hymnic compositions), as well as 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 1QH<sup>b</sup>. This would place at least fifteen compositions out of the range needed to confirm the hypothesis.

I think I can safely conclude that neither of the two elements of Brooke's explanation of the character of Cave 1 can be considered proved.

#### 4. *Devorah Dimant and the Character of 1QS, 1QM, and 1QH<sup>a</sup>*

Even more recently than Brooke, Devorah Dimant has dedicated a whole article to the question.<sup>42</sup> She concentrates only on 1QS, 1QM, and 1QH<sup>a</sup> and notes that these three manuscripts represent the fullest and most elaborate text when compared with the copies found in Cave 4; but she does not hesitate to extend her conclusion to all the holdings of Cave 1. Dimant says in the Abstract of her article:

All three works were copied on manuscripts of large format, and 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 1QM were carefully executed. These data suggest that cave 1 copies were particularly respected by the Qumranites and may have served as model copies for the major sectarian works. This explains why they were carefully placed in jars and hidden in cave 1.<sup>43</sup>

And within the body of her article, after asserting that 1QS, 1QM, and 1QH<sup>a</sup>, compared with the copies from Cave 4, are the fullest and most

<sup>41</sup> DJD 1:49 and 103.

<sup>42</sup> Devorah Dimant, "The Composite Character of the Qumran Sectarian Literature as an Indication of Its Date and Provenance," *RevQ* 22/88 (2006): 615–30.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 615.

textually developed representatives of the works contained in those manuscripts, she says:

What clearly emerges from such separate studies is that the full and elaborate character is shared by all three Cave 1 copies. This cannot be through mere chance but must point to a phenomenon which goes beyond the individual cases.<sup>44</sup>

This shows that Dimant's interpretation has also two distinct elements: the character of the three manuscripts on which she concentrates her analysis, and the extension of her conclusion to the other manuscripts from Cave 1. And, I think, Dimant's conclusions can be disputed on both counts.

There is no doubt that 1QS, 1QM, and 1QH are composite manuscripts. That 1QS preserves the oldest version of the *Rule*, because it is penned on the oldest manuscript, as Dimant assumes, is a matter of dispute. Dimant sides squarely with Philip Alexander on this matter,<sup>45</sup> which is perfectly legitimate; but by this she does not reduce the force of the arguments of the opposing party, represented by Sarianna Metso, for example.<sup>46</sup> My simple conclusion is that on a disputed premise you cannot build a strong edifice.<sup>47</sup>

Dimant's analysis of 1QH<sup>a</sup> is less straightforward. She is forced to deal with the late date of the manuscript and makes much of 4QH<sup>b</sup> (4Q428) in order to arrive at the same conclusion as with 1QS:

However, the oldest *Hodayot* copy, 4QH<sup>b</sup> (4Q428), is identical to 1QH<sup>a</sup> in content and order of the psalmodic units. Dated to the first half of the first century B.C.E. as it is, 4QH<sup>b</sup> attests to the early origin of the collection copied in the Herodian manuscript of 1QH<sup>a</sup>.<sup>48</sup>

This could be true, but the editor of 4QH<sup>b</sup> is certainly more reserved: "4QH<sup>b</sup> may be our earliest copy of the *Hodayot*; it was copied earlier than 1QH<sup>a</sup>, and perhaps earlier than, *or about the same time as*,

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 617.

<sup>45</sup> Philip S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of the *Serek HaYahad*: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17/65–69 (1996): 437–56.

<sup>46</sup> Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997) and, more recently, eadem, *Serekh Texts* (CQS 9; LSTS 62; London: T&T Clark, 2007).

<sup>47</sup> For a sober evaluation of the two conflicting positions, see Markus Bockmuehl, "Redaction and Ideology in the Rule of the Community (1QS/4QS)," *RevQ* 18/72 (1998): 541–60 and Michael A. Knibb, "Rule of the Community," in Schiffman and VanderKam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:793–97.

<sup>48</sup> Dimant, "The Composite Character," 623–34.



the very different collection in 4QH<sup>a</sup> (4Q427),” says Eileen Schuller.<sup>49</sup> And when one considers the evidence really preserved (a look at the foldouts of DJD is enough to prove my point), one is tempted to give the full value to the expression used by Schuller when presenting the evidence: “If 4QH<sup>b</sup> contained the same collection of Psalms as 1QH<sup>a</sup> and in the same order...”<sup>50</sup> The fact is that only in one case (frg. 10 11) do we have the transition between two Psalms, a very small basis indeed to extract far-reaching conclusions.

Dimant’s section on 1QM has even bigger problems, since she accepts Roni Yishai’s conclusion that none of the compositions related to the eschatological war from Cave 4 is a precise copy of 1QM, and in this way she is deprived of the possibility of using them as proof that the later manuscript reflects the oldest and most complete text of the composition (as she does with the *Hodayot*). Thus, she is left only with the analogy to the assumed case of 1QS and 1QH<sup>a</sup>.

It should be clear at this point that I do not consider proved Dimant’s assertion that the “elaborate and developed character” of these three manuscripts indicates that they are at/near the beginning of the creative process as opposed to the end of recensional process. But even if Dimant’s assertion concerning these three manuscripts were true (which I do not think it is), we would still need other proofs in order to extend her conclusions to the rest of the holdings of Cave 1.

At first sight, Dimant’s interpretation echoes Stegemann’s proposal, and thus the basic objections I have put forth against Stegemann’s interpretation would hold also for Dimant. But in a footnote at the end of her article, Dimant explains how she differs from Stegemann:

Hartmut Stegemann suggested that these scrolls themselves served as esteemed models for other copies. However, penned in the last part of the first quarter of the first century B.C.E., 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 1QM could not have served as models for earlier texts. They must have been copies of earlier models already in existence.<sup>51</sup>

But I fail to see what this tells us about the specific character of the Cave.

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<sup>49</sup> DJD 29:131.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 126.

<sup>51</sup> Dimant, “The Composite Character,” 630.

### 5. *Conclusion*

I do not know whether our Executive Secretary, in asking me to present this “overview,” was expecting me to come up with an opinion of my own. After examining the three interpretations proposed and having found them insufficient, I have nothing really new to propose to you. All things considered, the traditional opinion, which sees Cave 1 as the repository of part of the treasures of the Library of Qumran in order to hide and protect them from impending danger, when presented in an orderly and thoughtful manner, seems still the best explanation.

If we take seriously the high number of jars, already broken in antiquity, and the high number of linen textiles found in the Cave, we may conclude that the orderly hiding of the manuscripts was interrupted and never completed, or that Cave 1 was emptied of part of its treasures before modern times as Stegemann concluded for Cave 3. We will never know. What we do know is what we have: a few well-preserved manuscripts and many more small remains of other compositions. And when we consider all of them, we have a perfect sample of the library of which the holdings of Cave 1 were once a part—a cross section, as it were, of the Qumran collection as a whole.

In the article I mentioned at the beginning (see nn. 5–6), where I compared the contents of Cave 1 with all the other known materials from Qumran, I concluded that the most interesting element brought forth by the completion of the publication was the change offered in the proportions between biblical, parabiblical, and sectarian manuscripts, and the increased importance of non sectarian parabiblical materials as compared with the two other categories.<sup>52</sup> And when one takes into account not only the seven big manuscripts published outside DJD but the forty manuscripts included in DJD 1 (leaving out of consideration the thirty other manuscripts non classified or reproduced on plates XXXIII–XXXVII), the profile of the contents of Cave 1 is rather similar to the profile of the collection as a whole: fifteen “biblical” manuscripts, nine “sectarian” compositions, and twenty-two “parabiblical” non sectarian compositions.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>52</sup> García Martínez, “Qumrán en el Siglo XXI,” 314–15.

<sup>53</sup> Correction of the English by Kirk Essary, graduate student at FSU.



## ISAIAH SCROLLS



# 1QISA<sup>A</sup> AND *KETIB-QERE* READINGS OF THE MASORETIC TYPE TEXTS

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## 1. *Introduction*

This paper examines the *ketib-qere* (KQ)<sup>1</sup> system of Masoretic type texts of Isaiah in light of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and other Qumran witnesses of Isaiah.<sup>2</sup> It is my position that the majority of KQ variants of the book of Isaiah are not material variants that reflect a different *Vorlage* or textual tradition; rather they are analogical readings, variants that reveal different orthographic systems, or examples of archaic, dialectical, or phonological textual updating. In fact, the majority of variants between *ketib* and *qere* in the book of Isaiah differ from one another in one or two Hebrew letters, from the grouping *alef, he, vav, and/or yod*.

It has long been established that many Masoretic-type manuscripts represent the *qere* and *ketib* readings with two—and two only—separate words.<sup>3</sup> Generally, the *ketib* is located in the body of the text and the

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<sup>1</sup> The words *ketiv* and *qere* are Aramaic passive participles meaning “(what is) written” and “(what is) read.” Israel Yeivin, *Introduction to the Tiberian Masorah* (trans. and ed. E. J. Revell: Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1980), 52.

<sup>2</sup> A global view of the readings of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> as pertaining to the KQ scheme of Masoretic era manuscripts has largely been ignored by scholars. A single investigator has approached a particular feature of the subject with the following thesis: “We confine ourself to a few examples of many, in which the *Scroll reading is related to that of the Masoretic Isaiah as the K is related to the Q in other books of the M.T.*” See Arie Rubinstein, “A Kethib-Qere Problem in the Light of the Isaiah Scroll,” *JSS* 4 (1959): 127–33, at 127 n. 5, emphasis in original.

<sup>3</sup> The most complete study of the KQ system to date is Robert Gordis, *The Biblical Text in the Making: A Study of the Kethib-Qere* (Philadelphia: Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1937, repr. 1971). Aspects of Gordis’ work, however, are outdated and need to be recast in light of the Qumran biblical scrolls. Note also William F. Albright’s criticisms of specific features of Gordis’ work (see *JBL* 57 [1938]: 223–24), followed by Harry M. Orlinsky’s assessment (see “Problems of Kethib-Qere,” *JAOS* 60 [1940]: 30–45). Even now, however, Gordis’ work is widely cited by scholars. According to James Barr, “A New Look at Kethibh—Qere,” in *Oud-testamentische Studiën* 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 20 n. 3, “Gordis’s work deserves to be better known...his study is the best we have had on the subject in modern times.”

*qere* is situated in the margins.<sup>4</sup> Manuscripts of the Masoretic period signified the *qere* readings with a range of notations,<sup>5</sup> also located in the margins. These include (1) a *qop*, which serves as an abbreviation for *qere*; (2) the word *qere* (קֶרֶא); (3) a vertical symbol or sign that resembles a final *nun* or *zayin*;<sup>6</sup> (4) the notation *yatir* (יִתִּיר “superfluous”), which frequently pertains to variants that feature either the *yod* or *vav*, and therefore it is also shown as *yatir vav* or *yatir yod*; (5) the expression *qere wela’ ketib*, which designates a word that is read but

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For other significant discussions regarding the categories, date, and origin of the KQ system, see Yeivin, *Tiberian Masorah*, 52–62; Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 58–63; Christian D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (New York: Ktav, 1966), 183–86; Christian D. Ginsburg, *The Massoreth Ha-Massoreth of Elias Levita* (New York: Ktav, [1867] 1968), 180–95.

Investigators have set forth a range of theories regarding the origin of the KQ readings: (1) the collation of manuscripts theory, a view held by David Kimhi, R. Isaac, B. Moses Ha-Levi (see Ginsburg, *The Massoreth*, 42–44), and others. Orlinsky, “The Origin of the Kethib-Qere System: A New Approach,” *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959* (VTSup 7; Leiden: Brill, 1960), 184–92, at 187, summarizes: “It is our hypothesis that the Masoretes first selected the three best manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible available to them. Where the three manuscripts had no variant readings, no difficulty was experienced in vocalizing the text. But where the manuscripts differed, the Masoretes accepted the reading of the majority and vocalized it; that reading became the *Qere*. The reading of the minority was left unvocalized, and became the Kethib”; (2) The correction of manuscripts theory, where the *qere* serves to correct the *ketib*. According to this theory, as authorities noticed errors in the text, they corrected them and annotated them in the form of the *qere*. For this theory, see Jacob Weingreen, *Introduction to the Critical Study of Text of the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 15–16; Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1979), 17–18; (3) An amalgamation, more or less, of the collation of manuscripts and correction of manuscripts theories. See Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition*, 421–23, and Gordis, *Biblical Text in the Making*, 29–37; (4) Two recension theory, based on the KQ readings or Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. See Alexander Sperber, “Problems of the Masora,” *HUCA* 17 (1943): 299–311, and Gillis Gerleman, *Synoptic Studies in the Old Testament* (Lund: Gleerup, 1948), 24–25; (5) The theory that the *qere* represents the liturgical or synagogogue reading and *ketib* is the manuscript reading. See M. Breuer, “Written, Read, and Chanted,” *Lešonenu* 45 (1981): 260–69 [Hebrew] and James Barr, “A New Look at Kethib-Qere,” *OTS* 21 (1981): 19–37; (6) With reference only to the KQ readings in the book of Daniel and Ezra, William S. Morrow and Ernest G. Clarke, “The Ketib/Qere in the Aramaic Portions of Ezra and Daniel,” *VT* 36 [1986]: 406–22, write, “This article is concerned with the date and character of the Aramaic language represented by the Tiberian vowel points in the biblical text (Q)” (406).

<sup>4</sup> With regard to differences in vocalization of KQ in the Aleppo Codex versus the Leningrad Codex, see Israel Yeivin, “The Vocalization of Qere-Kethiv in A,” *Textus* 2 (1962): 146–49.

<sup>5</sup> Examples of different marginal notations of KQ are charted in William S. Morrow, “Kethib and Qere,” *ABD* 4:25–26.

<sup>6</sup> Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 59; Yeivin, *Tiberian Masorah*, 52–53.

not written—the text includes the vocalization but not the consonants (e.g., 2 Sam 8:3 and Judg 20:13);<sup>7</sup> and (6) *ketib vela' qere*, which designates a word that is written but not read—the consonants are included but without vocalization<sup>8</sup> (e.g., 2 Sam 13:33).<sup>9</sup>

## 2. *Catalog of Ketib–Qere Readings in Isaiah*

The Catalog of *Ketib–Qere* Readings in Isaiah (located after this article's conclusion) records fifty-eight KQ<sup>10</sup> readings from Isaiah. The catalog presents abbreviations and other symbols<sup>11</sup> that serve the reader in interpreting the catalog's data. The abbreviations are followed by a comprehensive register that includes scriptural references, the *ketib* readings, the *qere* readings, and a presentation of various Hebrew Bible manuscripts—Masoretic type, Geniza, and Qumran Isaiah scrolls. The Masoretic-type and Geniza manuscripts (and fragments) all belong to the “‘masoretic period’, and date from not earlier than ca. 800 C.E.”<sup>12</sup> The Qumran Isaiah scrolls (and fragments) date between the last quarter of the second century B.C.E. and the middle of the first century C.E.<sup>13</sup> Additionally, at Isa 36:12 (x2), 37:30, and 39:2, the catalog lists

<sup>7</sup> A complete list of *qere vela' ketib* is located in Solomon Frensdorff, *Das Buch Ochlal W'ochlah* (New York: Ktav, 1972), list 97. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 60; Yeivin, *Tiberian Masorah*, 58.

<sup>8</sup> Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 60; Yeivin, *Tiberian Masorah*, 58.

<sup>9</sup> A complete list of *ketib vela' qere* is located in Frensdorff, *Das Buch*, list 98.

<sup>10</sup> Scholarly estimates of KQ readings in the entire Hebrew Bible are between 800 and 1,500. Yeivin, *Tiberian Masorah*, 55. Orlinsky, “Origin of the Kethib-Qere,” 184, places the estimates at between 1,000 and 1,500.

My list of fifty-eight KQ readings in the book of Isaiah are compiled from a variety of sources: Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein's *The Book of Isaiah* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1995), the apparatuses of BHS, BHK, and the Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library, with its marked KQ readings, as organized by Westminster's Bible. For Palestinian Biblical Manuscripts that include KQ notations, as compared with BHK, I also consulted Ernest J. Revell, *Biblical Texts with Palestinian Pointing and Their Accents* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977), 238–39, 241. Christian D. Ginsburg, *Jacob Ben Chajim Ibn Adonijah's Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible* (New York: Ktav, [1867] 1968), 47 n. 20, sets forth that there are fifty-five examples of KQ in the Rabbinic Bible of Jacob ben Chajim. My own count yields fifty-eight examples.

<sup>11</sup> I am indebted to Goshen-Gottstein, *The Book of Isaiah*, xlv, xlvii–xlviii, for the use of abbreviations and symbols pertaining to Masoretic type texts.

<sup>12</sup> Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, *Text and Language in Bible and Qumran* (Jerusalem: Orient Publishing House, 1960), xli.

<sup>13</sup> The specific dating of the Qumran scrolls are as follows: 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, last quarter of the 2d c. B.C.E.; 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>, 1st c. B.C.E.; 4QIsa<sup>a</sup> and 4QIsa<sup>b</sup>, third quarter of the 1st c. B.C.E.; and 4QIsa<sup>c</sup> and 4QIsa<sup>d</sup>, middle of the 1st c. C.E. For the dating of the Cave



the KQ readings of the synoptic passages from 2 Kings, namely, 2 Kgs 18:27, 19:29, and 20:13.<sup>14</sup> Note that only the consonantal form of the readings from all Hebrew Bible manuscripts are presented in the catalog; all vocalizations, including possible vocalizations from the Qumran Isaiah scrolls and the Masoretic vocalization of the *ketib* forms, are omitted from the catalog.<sup>15</sup>

The types of variants between KQ readings in Isaiah are significant (see the catalog's data). Beyond the *qere perpetuum* readings<sup>16</sup> and three examples of euphemisms<sup>17</sup> (Isa 13:16; 36:12 [x2]), variations between the KQ readings in Isaiah are, for the most part, based on four letters: *alef*, *he*, *vav*, and *yod*. The *alef*, *he*, *vav*, and *yod* variants comprise forty-nine of the fifty-eight KQ readings, or 84.48 percent of the total. Twenty-three variants are represented by *yod* and *vav* interchanges; three are interchanges between *alef* and *vav*; two are interchanges between *he* and *vav*; and one is a *he* and *yod* interchange. Furthermore, seven are differentiated by the presence or lack of a *vav*; seven others are distinguished with the presence or lack of a *yod*; four are differentiated with the presence or lack of *he*; and two are distinguished by the presence or lack of *alef*. Of the remaining variants, four pertain to the interchange of two letters—one *he/mem* interchange, one *alef/ayin* interchange, one *mem/pe* interchange, and one *tav/dalet* interchange. This brings the total of variants that pertain to one or two letters to fifty-three out of fifty-eight total KQ readings in Isaiah.

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4 Isaiah scrolls, see Eugene Ulrich, et al., *Qumran Cave 4 X: The Prophets* (DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon), 8, 20, 46, 76.

<sup>14</sup> For a brief assessment of KQ variants in the synoptic texts of Chronicles and Samuel–Kings, see Gerleman, *Synoptic Studies in the Old Testament*, 24–27.

<sup>15</sup> I have purposely omitted vocalizations because the meaning of many of the Hebrew words listed in the catalog are disputable. The vocalization belonging to the reading מלכמה (see 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> Isa 3:15), for instance, remains exposed to disagreement or doubt. The same is true of many other forms, including those belonging to the Masoretic-era texts, both the *qere* and the *ketib* readings.

<sup>16</sup> The *qere perpetuum* readings—which include the Tetragrammaton, the proper names *Jerusalem* and *Issachar*, and in some Pentateuchal manuscripts the pronoun הוּא pronounced as הִיא—are not noted in the catalog.

<sup>17</sup> For a discussion on the uses of euphemisms in the Bible, see Carmel McCarthy, *The Tiqqune Sopherim* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 167–96. For a brief study of biblical euphemisms in light of text critical studies, see Donald W. Parry, “The ‘Word’ or the ‘Enemies’ of the Lord? Revisiting the Euphemism in 2 Sam 12:14,” in *Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Weston W. Fields; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 367–78.

3. *KQ Variants and the Qumran Isaiah Scrolls*<sup>18</sup>

The Qumran Isaiah scrolls provide instances of interlinear insertions, corrections, and erasures. 4QIsa<sup>b</sup>, for example, presents eleven instances of supralinear insertions; four examples of corrections consisting of Hebrew letters written over existing letters; and two occurrences of erasures, all by the original scribe.<sup>19</sup>

Similarly, the Qumran scroll labeled 4QIsa<sup>c</sup> provides eight examples of insertions and corrections by the original hand.<sup>20</sup> Other Qumran Isaiah scrolls—especially 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>—also provide evidence of corrections, supralinear insertions, or erasures. Of the various corrections in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, three belong to the listing of KQ readings. These are located in Isa 28:15, where a *yod* was corrected to *vav*; in Isa 29:11, where the *he* is raised in ספר<sup>7</sup> by a secondary hand; and in Isa 65:7, where the *ayin* apparently has been corrected to *alef*.

Notwithstanding these examples of insertions, corrections, or erasures, there is not a hint or trace of a proto-KQ system in any of the Qumran Isaiah scrolls. *Qere* readings are not located side by side with the *ketib* readings, nor are they established in the columns' margins or in supralinear positions. There is not a marginal notation or symbol that anticipates or foreshadows *qere* readings that belong to the text of the Masoretic era. Rather, the KQ structure that belongs to the Masoretic practice and era postdates the Qumran scrolls by centuries. The various corrections and insertions that exist in the Qumran scrolls are

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<sup>18</sup> For the readings of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, I utilized Donald W. Parry and Elisha Qimron, *A New Edition of the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>): Transcriptions and Photographs* (STDJ 32; Leiden: Brill, 1998). This edition was prepared after a thoughtful examination of the scroll plus a review of high quality digital images. Just before this article went to press, the readings were compared to those of Eugene Ulrich and Peter W. Flint, as included in Eugene Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants* (VTSup 134; Leiden: Brill, 2010). The few differences are recorded in the Catalog. For the readings that belong to 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>, I employed Sukenik's edition (Eleazer L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955], pls. 1–15), but confirmed as necessary his transcriptions against high-quality photographs of the scroll. For all other Isaiah scrolls that yielded relevant data—4QIsa<sup>a</sup>, 4QIsa<sup>b</sup>, 4QIsa<sup>c</sup>, and 4QIsa<sup>d</sup>—I examined photographs as well as the transcriptional texts published in DJD 15, edited by Eugene Ulrich and Patrick Skehan. The other Qumran Isaiah scrolls, namely 4QIsa<sup>e-h</sup>, 5QIsa, and MurIsa, lacked readings where KQ variants are attested.

<sup>19</sup> DJD 15:22.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

exactly that—corrections. The majority of corrections were made by the primary copyists.

I will now examine four groupings or categories of variants that are derived from comparisons between 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (and where they are attested, the other Qumran Isaiah scrolls) and the KQ of Masoretic-type texts of Isaiah. In all instances, I compare only the consonantal readings of the various Hebrew texts and not the vocalization that is attached to the *ketib* readings of Masoretic-type texts. (1) The reading of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> equals the *ketib* reading of Masoretic-type texts; (2) the reading of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> equals the *qere* reading of Masoretic-type texts; (3) the reading of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> does not equal either the *ketib* or the *qere* readings of Masoretic-type texts; and (4) the reading of one Qumran Isaiah witness agrees with the *ketib* reading and another with the *qere* reading.

*Group 1.* The reading of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> equals the *ketib* reading of Masoretic-type texts. This alignment of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> with the *ketib* reading occurs a total of twenty-six times out of the fifty-eight KQ readings that are part of the book of Isaiah. Thus, the readings of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> agree with the *ketib* of Masoretic-type texts 44.82 percent of the time.<sup>21</sup>

*Group 2.* The reading of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> equals the *qere* reading of Masoretic type texts. There are seventeen readings where 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> has the same consonantal text as the *qere* reading of either the Aleppo or Leningrad codices or other Masoretic manuscripts,<sup>22</sup> or the readings of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> agree with the *qere* 29 percent of the time. The significance of this statistic relates to the point that a number of *qere* readings that are located in the margins of Masoretic-type texts actually exist within columns (not the margins) of Isaiah scrolls that date to a thousand years earlier. Stated differently, there are seventeen readings from the text of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> that agree with marginal readings of Masoretic-type texts. This does not imply, of course, that the manuscript labeled 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> was actually employed by Masoretes who created the KQ system. It does indicate, however, that one or more proto-Masoretic-type texts has readings that agree with *qere* readings of the Masoretic period.

An example of this grouping, as set forth in the catalog, is found in Isa 5:29. The *ketib* of Leningrad and Aleppo is אַשׁוּ and the *qere* is

<sup>21</sup> These twenty-five readings, as shown on the catalog, are located in Isa 3:16; 9:2; 10:33; 13:16; 15:3; 18:4; 23:12; 25:10; 26:20 (x2); 29:11; 30:6; 30:32; 32:15; 36:12; 42:20; 42:24; 44:17; 44:24; 46:11; 49:6; 52:2, 5; 58:14; and 63:9.

<sup>22</sup> These seventeen readings are located at Isa 3:8; 5:29; 9:6; 10:32; 12:5; 13:16; 28:15; 32:7; 41:23; 49:5; 52:5; 54:16; 55:13; 57:19; 60:21; 65:4; and 66:17.

יִשְׂאֵג. A number of Masoretic manuscripts agree with the *qere*, including 7 (pm); 93 96 150 (pm); KG (mlt); and G-P e 30, 48. Here too, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> attests the same reading as the *qere* with its reading of יִשְׂאֵג.

Beyond 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, other Qumran Isaiah scrolls or fragments occasionally have readings that agree with the *qere* reading, but because of the fragmented nature of many Isaiah scrolls, examples of this are scarce.<sup>23</sup> One instance is found in Isa 10:32, where the *ketib* of both Leningrad and Aleppo is בֵּית but the *qere* reading is בַּת. A large number of manuscripts from the Masoretic era (30 93 96 150 [pm]; KG [mlt]) agree with the *qere* reading of בַּת, as do two witnesses from Qumran—1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and 4QIsa<sup>c</sup>.

A second example of two Qumran Isaiah scrolls that attest agreement with the Masoretic *qere* is located at Isa 66:17. The *ketib* of Leningrad and Aleppo is אֶחָד and the *qere* is אַחַת. Both manuscripts from the Masoretic era (see 1 [sm] 2 [sm]; 96; KRG [mlt]) as well as two Qumran Isaiah scrolls (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>) attest אַחַת, or the same reading as the *qere*. A single Masoretic manuscript, from the Hebrew manuscripts collated by Rossi, has the reading אֶחָד. The copyist apparently misread the *dalet* of אֶחָד (from the *ketib* reading) and copied a *resh*.

Group 3. The reading of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> does not equal either the *ketib* or the *qere* readings of Masoretic-type texts; there are fifteen readings where 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> has a different consonantal text than either the *qere* or the *ketib*.<sup>24</sup> An example exists at Isa 23:13, where the *ketib* is בְּחִינֵי; the *qere* reading of בְּחוֹנוֹי is supported by a number of manuscripts (G-B Eb 68; 93 96; KG (mlt); 18-1). Two other readings are also supported by Masoretic manuscripts (30 בְּחִנֵּי; K and 150 בְּחִימוֹ [pm]). 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> provides a unique reading of בְּחִינִיָּה, which may read as “her siege towers” or “his siege towers,” reading the noun having the vocalization of masculine singular ending *holem he*.

A second example where 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> has a different consonantal text than either the *qere* or *ketib* is located at Isa 30:33. The Leningrad and Aleppo register the *ketib* as הוּא and the *qere* as הֵיא. The *qere* reading is supported by several Masoretic manuscripts (see 1 [sm] 7 [pm]; 30 93 96 [sm]; KG [mlt]). 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> attests a unique reading of הֵיה, which is probably an error caused by graphic similarity to the word הֵיא.

<sup>23</sup> See 4QIsa<sup>c</sup> Isa 10:32; 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> Isa 55:13; 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> Isa 58:14; and 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> Isa 66:17.

<sup>24</sup> In the catalog, see Isa 3:15; 10:6; 10:13; 16:3 [x2]; 23:13; 28:15; 30:33; 36:12; 37:30; 39:2; 45:2; 47:13; 49:13; 56:10.

*Group 4.* The reading of one Qumran Isaiah witness agrees with the *ketib* reading, and another Qumran Isaiah witness agrees with the *qere* reading. In seven passages, the Qumran scrolls give two different readings at the point of the KQ readings that belong to Masoretic type manuscripts.<sup>25</sup> The reading of Isa 49:5 provides an example of group 4, where the *ketib* attests אָל and the *qere* reads לָל. The *ketib* with its reading of אָל aligns with 4QIsa<sup>d</sup>, but the *qere* with the reading of לָל sides with 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>. A number of other Masoretic manuscripts (e.g., 30 93 150; KRG [mlt]) read לָל as well.

We have briefly examined the four groupings of types of variants that are derived from comparisons between 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and the KQ readings of Isaiah. Now we will consider types or kinds of variants that exist in Masoretic manuscripts.

#### 4. *Material Variants Versus the “Law of the Scribes”*

Text critics differentiate between “real”<sup>26</sup> or material variants and analogical readings, those that develop through the copyists’ work of transmitting the text. In the introduction to his book, *The Book of Isaiah*, Goshen-Gottstein compares the types or kinds of variants that exist in Masoretic-type texts versus the material variants that are located in the ancient witnesses, such as the scrolls from the Judean Desert, the Septuagint, the Old Latin, and the Targumim:

An analysis of readings in Bible manuscripts since the beginning of the masoretic period reveals, almost exclusively, changes wrought by the ‘law of scribes’—i.e., textual differences that are liable to be created by analogy or linguistic factors. It may be said that [these readings are] practically only analogistic and linguistic variant readings, whereas the [variants of ancient witnesses are] variations of other types (which are naturally much more interesting to the student). This basic difference in the types of variants puts the Bible manuscripts from about 800 C.E. onward in a category of their own. In view of the systematizing activity of the masorettes this is not at all surprising, taking into consideration the large number of manuscripts from this period.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See the catalog listings of Isa 12:5; 13:16; 37:30; 49:5; 57:19; 58:14; 60:21.

<sup>26</sup> “The classification of a reading as a “real variant” means no more than the assumption that such a reading may have been part of a textual tradition (in particular, as opposed to the mistakes of individual scribes).” Goshen-Gottstein, *Text and Language*, xiii n. 19. See also 169 n. 29 and 170 n. 34.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, xvii.

In the previous section, I examined the extent to which the KQ readings deviated from one another. I demonstrated that most variations pertained to the letters *alef*, *he*, *vav*, and *yod*. An examination of the 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> variants, when compared to the *ketib* and *qere* of Masoretic-type texts, provides a similar understanding. The deviations between 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and the KQ of Masoretic-type texts—almost without exception—pertains to the same four letters: *alef*, *he*, *vav*, and *yod* (and once to an *ayin*). Beyond the three examples of euphemisms and the perpetual *qere* readings, few, if any, of the variants between 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and those of the KQ system represent “material” or “real” variants. The variants do not betray a different underlying *Vorlage*, or existence of two different recensions or special editions. Rather, the variants of the KQ system reveal different orthographic systems; archaic, dialectical, or phonological updating of the text; or clerical errors. Citing Goshen-Gottstein once more, “almost all variants in manuscripts from the Masoretic period resulted from analogy and association on the one hand, and from linguistic simplification and normalization on the other.”<sup>28</sup>

What about material variants—do they exist in the Qumran Isaiah scrolls? They do exist, as scholars have demonstrated. In 1948, Millar Burrows published an article entitled “Variant Readings in the Isaiah Manuscript.” Subsequently, other scholarly works have dealt with the Isaiah scrolls’ material variants. These include William Brownlee’s work, *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible*; David J. Clark’s article, “The Influence of the Dead Sea Scrolls on Modern Translations of Isaiah”; Jan de Waard’s *A Handbook on Isaiah. Textual Criticism and the Translator*;<sup>29</sup> and others.

Although material variants do exist in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (and other Qumran Isaish scrolls) they do not coincide with the KQ system of Masoretic-type texts, nor do the material variants represent a third variant where the KQ readings appear in the text.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., xlii.

<sup>29</sup> See Millar Burrows, “Variant Readings in the Isaiah Manuscript,” *BASOR* 111 (Oct. 1948): 16–24; 113 (Feb. 1949): 24–32; William H. Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible with Special Attention to the Book of Isaiah* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); David J. Clark, “The Influence of the Dead Sea Scrolls on Modern Translations of Isaiah,” *The Bible Translator* 35 (1984): 122–30; Jan de Waard, *A Handbook on Isaiah: Textual Criticism and the Translator* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997).

### 5. Conclusion

The types of variants between KQ readings in Isaiah are significant. Beyond the *qere perpetuum* readings and three examples of euphemisms, variations between the KQ readings in Isaiah for the most part are based on four letters: *alef*, *he*, *vav*, and *yod*. The great majority of KQ variants in the book of Isaiah reveal different orthographic systems, archaic, dialectical, or phonological updating of the text, or clerical errors. Correspondingly, the deviations between 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and the KQ of Masoretic-type texts—almost without exception—pertain to the same four letters: *alef*, *he*, *vav*, and *yod*. These deviations do not reflect different textual traditions, such as we see with the manifold and diverse material variants that exist between Masoretic-type texts and those Qumran witnesses that we label as non-aligned texts, such as 4QDeut<sup>j, n</sup>, 4QJosh<sup>a</sup>, 4QJudg<sup>a</sup>, and 4QSam<sup>a</sup>.<sup>30</sup>

Moreover, the readings of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> that coincide with the KQ variants reveal that both *ketib* and *qere* readings existed within the Isaiah text during the late Second Temple period; significantly, the *qere* readings are not located in the Qumran Isaiah scrolls' margins but in the body of the text.

The standard practice of the Masoretic KQ system was to leave the *ketib* intact in the text and to place the *qere* in the margins. This practice served to protect the received text from textual alterations. Inasmuch as the biblical text had been fixed centuries earlier, the Masoretes were unyielding in any attempt to update the body of Hebrew text, although they were aware of older readings, including orthographic, archaic, phonological, dialectical forms, or clerical errors. The Masoretes, in fact, were centuries beyond considering major or material variants that may have existed in other biblical witnesses.

In light of the readings of the Qumran Isaiah scrolls that coincide with the KQ variants—and, more especially, the material variants of those scrolls that do not overlap with the KQ variants—many of the published theories<sup>31</sup> regarding the origins and causes of the KQ system must be reexamined, or at the very least fine-tuned. These theories include the assumptions connected with the correction of manuscripts theory, the ideas that support the collation of manuscripts theory, and

<sup>30</sup> Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 116.

<sup>31</sup> See, for example, above n. 3.

the premises that bear up the two recension theory. These and other theories require a fresh assessment and perhaps further recasting in view of the Qumran witnesses.

Catalog of *Ketib*–*Qere* Readings in Isaiah

Abbreviations

א	Aleppo Codex, beginning of tenth century
19-ל = ל	Leningrad Codex B 19a, complete Bible, written in 1009
ג	Ms New York, ENA 346=JTS 232, Later Prophets, tenth century
ה	Codex Karlsruhe 3 (Reuchlinianus'), Prophets, written in 1105
פ	Codex Petersburg Heb. B 3, Latter Prophets, written in 916
מ	Second (completed) Rabbinic Bible, Venice 1524–25
ש	Ms Sasson 1053, tenth century
ש	(only in 45:2)—שבעים
ק	Cairo Codex, Prophets, written in 895
30 93 96 150	Manuscripts collated fully (according to Kennicott's numbering)
G	Hebrew manuscripts collated by Ginsburg
K	Hebrew manuscripts collated by Kennicott
R	Hebrew manuscripts collated by de Rossi
G-B	Geniza text with Babylonian vocalization
G-P	Geniza text with Palestinian vocalization
4-ל	Leningrad II Firk 124
8-ל	Leningrad II Firk 225
18-ל	Leningrad I Firk 59
20-ל	Leningrad II Firk 9
(mlt)	witnessed to by many mss



pm; sm	First hand; second hand
(sol)	unique reading
om	omits, omission
PQ	Parry-Qimron edition of 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
UF	Ulrich-Flint edition of 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>

Isaiah	
3:8	ל א <i>ketib</i> עני פ ל-20 <i>qere</i> עני; ר; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
3:15	ל א <i>ketib</i> מלכם; 4QIsa <sup>b</sup> ל א <i>qere</i> מה לכם; 93 (pm) 96 150 (pm); KRG מלכמה 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
3:16	ל א <i>ketib</i> נטוות; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> (PQ) ל א <i>qere</i> נטויות; 93 96 150 (pm); KG (mlt) נטויות 30 (pm); 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> (UF)
5:29	ל א <i>ketib</i> ושאג ל א <i>qere</i> ישאג; ר (pm); 93 96 150 (pm); KG (mlt); G-P e 30, 48; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
9:2	ל א <i>ketib</i> לוא; 96; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ל א <i>qere</i> לו; 93 150 (pm); KR (mlt) KR om
9:6	ל א <i>ketib</i> לם רבה ל א <i>ketib</i> לסרבה; 93 150; 30 ל א <i>qere</i> למרבה; 93 150; 96; KR (mlt); 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
10:6	ל א <i>ketib</i> ולשימו; 30; 4QIsa <sup>c</sup> ל א <i>qere</i> ולשומו; ר; 93 96 150 (pm); KG (mlt) ולשום 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
10:13	ל א <i>ketib</i> ועתידתיהם; 96; K ל א <i>qere</i> ועתודתיהם; 93 150; KG (mlt) ועתידותיהמה 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
10:32	ל א <i>ketib</i> בית ל א <i>qere</i> בת; 30 93 96 150 (pm); KG (mlt); 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; 4QIsa <sup>c</sup>

10:33	פארה <i>ketib</i> ל א G; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> פורה <i>qere</i> G; 93 (pm) 96 150 (pm); KRG (mlt) פאורה K פרה K
12:5	מידעת <i>ketib</i> ל א מודעת <i>qere</i> ל א; 96; KG (mlt); 30; 4QIsa <sup>a</sup> מודעות 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
13:16	תשגל[נה] <i>ketib</i> ל א; 4QIsa <sup>a</sup> תשכבנה <i>qere</i> ל א; K; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
15:3	כלה <i>ketib</i> ל א; G 150; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> כלו <i>qere</i> G; ר; 93; KG
16:3	הביאו <i>ketib</i> ל א הביאי <i>qere</i> ל א; 8-ל (pm) 18-ל (pm); 30 93 96; KRG (mlt) הביו 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
16:3	עשו <i>ketib</i> ל א G (mlt); 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> עשי <i>qere</i> G (mlt); 18-ל (sm); 30 93 96; KRG (mlt)
18:4	אשקוטה <i>ketib</i> ל א; 150; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> אשקטה <i>qere</i> ל א; 30 93 96; KG (mlt)
23:12	כתיים <i>ketib</i> ל א; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; 4QIsa <sup>c</sup> קתים <i>qere</i> ל א; ר; 30 93 96 150; KG (mlt)
23:13	בחיניו <i>ketib</i> ל א בחוניו <i>qere</i> ל א; G-B Eb 68; 93 96; KG (mlt); 18-ל בחניו 30; K בחימו 150 (pm) בחיניה 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
25:10	במי <i>ketib</i> ל א; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> במו <i>qere</i> ל א; א (pm) ו(?) ר; 93 96; KG (mlt) 150 (pm) om
26:20	דלתיד <i>ketib</i> ל א; 96; B-Eb 99; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> דלתד <i>qere</i> ל א; 30 93; KRG (mlt)
26:20	יעבור <i>ketib</i> ל א; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ל <i>qere</i> יעבר
28:15	שיט <i>ketib</i> ל א; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> (UF) שוט <i>qere</i> ל א; א (pm) ו (pm) ו (pm) פ ר; KG (mlt); 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ( <i>yod</i> corr. to <i>vav</i> ) (PQ)

28:15	<p> <i>ketib</i> עבר ל א; 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>  <i>qere</i> יעבר ל א; 150; KG (mlt)            18-ל; K            מזה עבר (non voc) 30            93 (sm)            1QIsa<sup>a</sup> יב         </p>
29:11	<p> <i>ketib</i> הספר ל א; 96; 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (he is raised by sm)  <i>qere</i> ספר ל א; 4-ל; 150 (pm); 30 93 150 (pm);            KG (mlt)         </p>
30:6	<p> <i>ketib</i> עירים ל א; 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>  <i>ketib</i> עורים ל-4 18-ל (sm) ר ק מ (sm)  <i>qere</i> עירים ל-4 18-ל (sm) ר ק מ (sm)            עורים K (mlt)            עירים K (sol)            עברים 96         </p>
30:32	<p> <i>ketib</i> בה ל א; 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>  <i>qere</i> במ ל א; 150 (pm); KRG (mlt); G-B Kb 13            (בהם Goshen-Gottstein error?)         </p>
30:33	<p> <i>ketib</i> הוא ל א; (pm)  <i>qere</i> היא ל א; 30 93 96 (sm); KG (mlt)            הם (non voc) 96 (pm) om            1QIsa<sup>a</sup> היה         </p>
32:7	<p> <i>ketib</i> ענוים ל א; 96  <i>qere</i> עניים ל א; 93; KG (mlt); 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> </p>
32:15	<p> <i>ketib</i> וכרמל ל א; 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>  <i>qere</i> והכרמל ל א; 30 om 93 96 150 (pm); KG (mlt)         </p>
36:12	<p> <i>ketib</i> ל א חראיהם  <i>qere</i> ל א צואתם 93; 150; K; 2 Kgs 18:27  <i>ketib</i> חוריהם 93; 96; K (mlt)            חריהמה 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; <i>ketib</i> 2 Kgs 18:27            אחריהם K (sol)         </p>
36:12	<p> <i>ketib</i> שניהם ל א; 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; 2 Kgs 18:27  <i>qere</i> מימי רגליהם ל א; 96 150 KG; 2 Kgs 18:27  <i>ketib</i> מימיה שניהם <i>qere</i> מימי רגליהם 93            שניהם 30 (non voc); KG (mlt)  <i>qere</i> מימי שניהם KRG (mlt)            מי שניהם R         </p>
37:30	<p> <i>ketib</i> ואכול ל א; 4QIsa<sup>b</sup>  <i>qere</i> ואכלו ל א; 93 96 150 (pm); KRG (mlt); 2 Kgs. 19:29            1QIsa<sup>a</sup> ואכולו            30; K (mlt) ואכל         </p>

39:2	נכתה <i>ketib</i> ל; א 2 Kgs. 20:13 נכתו <i>qere</i> ל; א 2 Kgs. 20:13 96 נכונתה (pm) 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> נכתיו
41:23	ונרא <i>ketib</i> ל; א 30 ונראה <i>qere</i> ל; א 93 96 150 (pm); KG (mlt); 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
42:20	ראית <i>ketib</i> ל; א 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ראות <i>qere</i> ל; א (pm) ש (pm); 93 150; KG (mlt); G-B Eb 51
42:24	למשושה <i>ketib</i> ל; א 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> למשיסה <i>qere</i> ל; א פ למש(י)סה; K (mlt)
44:17	יסגוד <i>ketib</i> ל; א 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ל יסגד <i>qere</i> 30 ויסגד (sm)
44:24	מיה אתי <i>ketib</i> ל; א; KR (mlt); 4QIsa <sup>b</sup> ; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מאתי <i>qere</i> ל; א 30 93 150 (pm); K (mlt) 96 אתי (pm)
45:2	אושר <i>ketib</i> ל; א 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> אישר <i>qere</i> ל; א ש 30 93 96 (sm) 150 (pm); KG (mlt) 96 ארשך (pm) K אשר (sol) 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> יאושר
46:11	עצתו <i>ketib</i> ל; א 30; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ; 4QIsa <sup>d</sup> עצתי <i>qere</i> ל; א (pm) ר; 93 96 150; KG (mlt)
47:13	ל-20 <i>ketib</i> ל; א הברו ל <i>qere</i> ל; א הברי פ ה(ו)ברי; 30 93 96; KG (mlt) ל-20 חברו 150; K; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> חוברי
49:5	לא <i>ketib</i> ל; א 4QIsa <sup>d</sup> לו <i>qere</i> ל; א 30 93 150; KRG (mlt); 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
49:6	ונצירי <i>ketib</i> ל; א 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ונצורי <i>qere</i> ל; א (pm) פ; 30 93 96 150 (pm); KG (mlt); G-B Eb 10
49:13	פצחו <i>ketib</i> ל; א 96; G ופצחו <i>qere</i> ל; א 30 (pm) 150; KRG (mlt) פצחו KG; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>

52:2	חַתְּפַתְחוּ <i>ketib</i> לְ אֵ; 30; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> חַתְּפַתְחִי <i>qere</i> לְ אֵ; אֵ (pm) לְ (pm?); 93 96 150 (pm); KG (mlt)
52:5	לְ מִי <i>ketib</i> לְ לְ מֵהָ <i>qere</i> לְ; אֵ; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
52:5	לְ מִשְׁלוֹ <i>ketib</i> לְ; אֵ; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> לְ מִשְׁלִי <i>qere</i> לְ
54:16	הֵן <i>ketib</i> לְ אֵ; 4QIsa <sup>c</sup> הֵנָּה <i>qere</i> לְ אֵ; 30 (pm) 93 96 150 (pm); KG (mlt); 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
55:13	תַּחַת <i>ketib</i> לְ אֵ; 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> תַּחַת <i>qere</i> לְ אֵ; 93 96 150 (pm); KG (mlt); 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; 1QIsa <sup>b</sup>
56:10	אֵ; לְ צִפּוֹ <i>ketib</i> לְ לְ צִפּוֹ <i>qere</i> לְ מֵרַ צִפּוֹ; 30 93 150; K (mlt); G-B A 43,1 לְ צִפּוֹ (1) 150 (pm); K (mlt); 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
57:19	נוֹב <i>ketib</i> לְ אֵ; 4QIsa <sup>d</sup> נוֹב <i>qere</i> לְ אֵ; פֵ; 30 93 96 150 (sm); KG (mlt); 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
58:14	לְ בִמּוֹתַי <i>ketib</i> לְ לְ בִמּוֹתַי <i>qere</i> לְ; 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> לְ בִמּוֹתַי 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> (UF; PQ by error)
60:21	לְ מִטְעוֹ <i>ketib</i> לְ לְ מִטְעוֹ <i>qere</i> לְ אֵ; אֵ (pm) פֵ; 30 93 96; K (mlt); יהוה 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> לְ מִטְעוֹ 1QIsa <sup>b</sup>
62:3	וּצְנֹף <i>ketib</i> לְ אֵ; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> וּצְנֹף <i>qere</i> לְ אֵ; אֵ (pm) פֵ; 93 96 150; KG (mlt)
63:9	לְ לֹא <i>ketib</i> לְ אֵ; 30; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> לְ לֹא <i>qere</i> לְ אֵ; 96
65:4	וּפְרַק <i>ketib</i> לְ אֵ; 30 וּמְרַק <i>qere</i> לְ אֵ; גֵ; 93 96; G; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
65:7	לְ אֵ <i>ketib</i> לְ לְ אֵ <i>qere</i> לְ אֵ (pm) שֶׁר לְ (pm); 93 96; K (mlt) לְ or לְ אֵ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ( <i>ayin</i> corrected to <i>alef</i> ?)
66:17	לְ אֵ אַחַד <i>ketib</i> לְ אֵ; 30 לְ אֵ אַחַת <i>qere</i> לְ אֵ; גֵ (sm) פֵ (sm); 96; KRG (mlt); 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> לְ אַחַר R (sol)

VARIANT READINGS AND TEXTUAL AFFILIATION  
IN THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY ISAIAH SCROLL FROM  
CAVE ONE (1QISA<sup>b</sup>)

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With the publication of the Cave 1 Isaiah scrolls in the series “Discoveries in the Judean Desert” (DJD 32),<sup>1</sup> a wealth of new information on 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>, as well as 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, is now available to scholars.

This paper begins with a brief description of the edition of 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> in DJD 32, followed by a survey of the many instances where 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> disagrees with  $\mathfrak{M}$ , making use of categories and including several detailed examples. The final section considers the textual affiliation of 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>, and to what extent it may be termed “proto-Masoretic.”

1. *The Hebrew University Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>b</sup>) in DJD 32*

1QIsa<sup>b</sup> is one of the first seven Qumran scrolls discovered in 1947 (or late 1946).<sup>2</sup> Inscribed in a late Hasmonean or early Herodian hand, it may be dated to 50–25 B.C.E.

Three preliminary editions, or partial editions, are available, each containing different parts of the scroll. The most extensive is by Eliezer L. Sukenik in 1954 (Hebrew) and 1955 (English),<sup>3</sup> with text ranging from Isa 10:16 to 66:24. Also in 1955, seven more fragments were published by Dominique Barthélemy in the inaugural volume of the new DJD series. Six of these contain text ranging from Isa 7:20 to 25:8, but the seventh was only identified as belonging to the scroll, with its precise contents uncertain.

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<sup>1</sup> Eugene Ulrich and Peter W. Flint, with a contribution by Martin G. Abegg, Jr., *Qumran Cave 1, II: The Isaiah Scrolls* (2 vols.; DJD 32; Oxford: Clarendon, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> On the precise date, see James C. VanderKam and Peter Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (San Francisco: Harper, 2002), 3–4.

<sup>3</sup> Eliezer L. Sukenik, *Otzar ha-Megilloth ha-genuzoth* (Jerusalem: Bialik Foundation, 1954); and *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (ed. Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin; Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1955).

Almost half a century later, in 2002, a landmark article on 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> was published by the German scholar Eva Jain.<sup>4</sup> Using the method developed by the late Hartmut Stegemann, Jain presented a material reconstruction of the entire scroll, which showed that the full manuscript contained twenty-eight columns of text. Jain also provided an annotated transcription and photographs of nine small fragments that she had identified, with text ranging from Isa 8:8? to 66:8.

During the preparation of DJD 32, twelve more pieces were identified, containing text ranging from Isa 22:9 to 66:23.<sup>5</sup> These appeared in the *Journal of Jewish Studies* in 2009,<sup>6</sup> and are designated “DFU” (for Dykstra-Flint-Ulrich) in the edition.

Using Jain’s reconstruction, the new critical edition contains all the scroll’s surviving contents in twenty-six of the original twenty-eight columns.<sup>7</sup> DJD 32 is published in two volumes: Part 1 presents the Plates and Transcriptions on facing pages; and Part 2 contains several introductions, textual notes clarifying problematic readings, and the first comprehensive catalogue of textual variants.

The Contents of 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>

Column	Passage	Fragment source <sup>8</sup>
Col. I	—	[not extant]
Col. II	—	[not extant]
Col. III	Isa 7:20–8:1	(Barth. frg. 1)
Col. IV	Isa 8:8 or 8:10?	(Jain frg. 29)
Col. V: Frg. a	Isa 10:16–19	(Suk. frg. 1 i)
Col. V: Frg. b	Isa 12:3–13:8	(Barth. frg. 2)
Col. VI: Frgs. a–b	Isa 13:16–19	(Suk. frgs. 1 ii, 2 i)
Col. VI: Frgs. c–d	Isa 15:2–16:3	(Barth. frg. 3)
Col. VII: Frgs. a–b	Isa 16:5–12	(Suk. frgs. 2 ii, 3 i)
Col. VII: Frg. c	Isa 19:7–17	(Barth. frg. 4)
Col. VIII: Frgs. a–b	Isa 19:20–20:1	(Suk. frgs. 3 ii, 4)
Col. VIII: Frgs. c–e	Isa 22:9–20	(DFU frg. 1, Barth. frg. 5)

<sup>4</sup> Eva Jain, “Die materielle Rekonstruktion von 1QJes<sup>b</sup> (1Q8) und einige bisher nicht edierte Fragmente dieser Handschrift,” *RevQ* 20/79 (2002): 389–409.

<sup>5</sup> One appeared previously as the unidentified frg. 7 in DJD 1.

<sup>6</sup> Peter W. Flint and Nathaniel N. Dykstra. “Newly-Identified Fragments of 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>,” *JJS* 60 (2009): 80–89, with Plate.

<sup>7</sup> DJD 32:1.111–51 and 2.195–253.

<sup>8</sup> Abbreviations: Barth. = DJD 1; DFU = DJD 32; Jain = “Die materielle Rekonstruktion von 1QJes<sup>b</sup>”; Suk. = *Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*.

Table (*cont.*)

Column	Passage	Fragment source
Col. IX: Frg. a	Isa 22:23–23:5	(Suk. frg. 5)
Col. IX: Frg. b–f	Isa 24:18–25:8	(Barth. frg. 6)
Col. X	Isa 26:1–5	(Suk. frg. 6 i)
Col. XI: Frgs. a–c	Isa 28:15–21	(Suk. frg. 6 ii)
Col. XI: Frgs. d–e	Isa 29:1–8	(Suk. frg. 7)
Col. XII: Frgs. a–b	Isa 30:10–15	(Suk. frg. 8)
Col. XII: Frgs. c–d	Isa 30:21–26	(Suk. frg. 9)
Col. XIII	Isa 32:17–20	(Jain frg. 22)
Col. XIV	Isa 35:4–7	(Suk. frg. 10)
Col. XV: Frgs. a–f	Isa 37:7–13	(DFU frgs. 2–4, Suk. frg. 11)
Col. XVI	Isa 38:12–40:4	(Suk. col. 1, frg. 12)
Col. XVII	Isa 41:3–24	(Suk. col. 2, DFU frgs. 5–6, Jain frg. 24)
Col. XVIII	Isa 43:1–14, 20–27	(Suk. col. 3, frg. 13)
Col. XIX	Isa 44:21–45:13	(Suk. col. 4, Jain frg. 25)
Col. XX	Isa 46:3–47:14	(Suk. col. 5, DFU frg. 7)
Col. XXI	Isa 48:17–49:15	(Suk. col. 6)
Col. XXII	Isa 50:7–51:11	(Suk. col. 7, DFU frg. 8)
Col. XXIII	Isa 52:7–54:6	(Suk. col. 8, Jain frg. 26, DFU frg. 9)
Col. XXIV	Isa 55:2–57:4	(Suk. col. 9)
Col. XXV	Isa 57:17–59:8	(Suk. col. 10, Jain frg. 27)
Col. XXVI	Isa 59:20–61:2	(Suk. col. 11, Bar Hama)
Col. XXVII	Isa 62:2–64:11	(Suk. col. 12, DFU frg. 10)
Col. XXVIII	Isa 65:17–66:24	(Suk. col. 13, Jain frg. 28, DFU frgs. 1–12)

## 2. Variant Readings of 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> in DJD 32

For the DJD edition, a variant reading is determined whenever 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> differs from one or more of the extant Hebrew sources: other Isaiah scrolls (most notably, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>); the Masoretic Text as found in the Leningrad Codex ( $\mathfrak{M}$  or  $\mathfrak{M}^L$ ); and other medieval Hebrew witnesses (i.e.,  $\mathfrak{M}^q$ ,  $\mathfrak{M}^{mss}$ ,  $\mathfrak{M}^{edd}$ , or  $\mathfrak{C}$  [the Cairo Genizah]). In a few rare cases, the variant is determined where 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> differs from  $\mathfrak{G}$  (the Septuagint).

The grand total of variant readings for 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> is 622. However a slightly higher number is likely, since many of the listed variants contain more than one word, and a very few of these incorporate more than one difference between the source texts. For example:



Isa 38:14 (3) הַהוּהַ הַשְׁקָה [י<sup>1</sup> 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> Ⓢ(πρὸς τὸν κύριον, ὃς ἐξείλατό  
 με) ] אֲדוּנִי עוֹשָׁה 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; אֲדוּנִי עוֹשָׁה Ⓜ<sup>L</sup> (cf v 17)

This variant reading is listed below in section 2.2 under (a) Variant Readings Involving the Divine Name, because “The Lord” is found in Ⓜ<sup>L</sup> but not in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> (“the LORD”). Strictly speaking, however, two variants can be identified here, since the noun that follows in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> is “desire,” whereas Ⓜ reads “oppression.”

There are 183 variants against the Masoretic Text (almost always Ⓜ<sup>L</sup>, occasionally Ⓜ<sup>q</sup>, Ⓜ<sup>mss</sup>, Ⓜ<sup>edd</sup>, or Ⓢ), in addition to 161 differences in orthography. These figures raise the question of whether 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> is a prime exemplar of the consonantal proto-Masoretic text (that is, the ancestor of the Masoretic Text), and, if so, just how close is it to the consonantal text of the medieval MT?

These variant readings will now be grouped into three main categories,<sup>9</sup> with discussion of several representative examples.

### 2.1. Omission of Text in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>

There are two major variants (at 38:12–13 and 60:19–20) that involve the omission of text by the scribe of 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> or his *Vorlage*. In both cases the shorter text is viable, so it cannot be ruled out completely; however, the occurrence of identical words in the longer versions points to the omission of text by parablepsis. Therefore, these two variants most likely offer no real differences with respect to the text of Isaiah, and so are placed in a separate section. The first is listed below, while the second is discussed in more detail, with the longer text attested in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> Ⓜ Ⓢ.

38:13 > v 13 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] hab 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> Ⓜ Ⓢ [לְיֵלֶה תְּשַׁלְּמֵנִי מִיּוֹם  
 עַד לַיְלֵה תְּשַׁלְּמֵנִי (מִיּוֹם עַד, or addition?)

Isa 60:19–20 (col. XXVI 28–30)

לֹא יִהְיֶה לְךָ עוֹד הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לְאוֹר יוֹמָם [29] וּלְנֹגַהּ הַיָּרֵחַ לַאֲ	1QIsa <sup>b</sup>
יָאִיר לְךָ וְהִיָּה לְךָ יְהוָה לְאוֹר עוֹלָם	
לֹא יִהְיֶה לְךָ עוֹד הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לְאוֹר יוֹמָם וּלְנֹגַהּ הַיָּרֵחַ לַאֲ	60:19 Ⓜ
יָאִיר לְךָ וְהִיָּה לְךָ יְהוָה לְאוֹר עוֹלָם וְאֵלֶּיךָ לְתַפְאֲרֹתֶיךָ	
וְשַׁלְּמוּ יָמֵי אַבְלָךְ [30]	1QIsa <sup>b</sup>

<sup>9</sup> I am grateful to my colleague Eugene Ulrich for his valuable insights on organizing the major variant readings into identifiable groups.

מ 60:20 לא־יבוא עוד שמשך וירחך לא יאסף כי יהוה יהיה־לך לאור  
 עולם ושלמו ימי אבליך

*Translation:* 60:19 The sun shall be no more your light by day, nor for brightness will the moon give light to you by night; but the LORD will be your light everlasting, and *your God will be your glory*.  
 60:20 Your sun will no more go down, nor will your moon withdraw itself; for the LORD will be your light everlasting, and your days of mourning will be ended.

Variant:

60:19–20 לאור עולם ואלוהיך לתפארתך לוא יבוא ] 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> לאור עולם ושלמו  
 שמשך וירחך לוא יאסף כיא יהוה יהיה לך לאור עולם ושלמו  
 לאור עולם לאור) ט (ואלהך... לוא ובוא עוד... לא... בי... ) 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> מ<sup>L</sup>  
 עולם or add?)

Comment: The shorter reading in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> does make sense; the possibility of the long addition having been made in the text inherited by 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> מ ט should therefore be considered (thus *or add?* in the variant). Nevertheless, this seems to be a good case of parablepsis.

2.2. Variant Readings that Involve Clear Changes in Meaning

There are at least 66 substantial variants that involve changes in meaning between 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> and the medieval Hebrew witnesses (mostly מ<sup>L</sup>, occasionally מ<sup>q</sup>, מ<sup>mss</sup>, מ<sup>edd</sup>, or ט). These are treated in nine sections, with one or more examples of each category discussed below.

(a) Addition or Loss of Words

This, the largest grouping, features fourteen readings in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> that differ from מ or מ<sup>mss</sup>: Isa 49:3; 52:11; 53:4, 11; 55:5a; 56:8; 59:2; 60:7; 60:14, 21; 62:6, 7, 8; and 66:19. Three of these are examined in greater detail.

- 49:3 ישראל 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 4QIsa<sup>d</sup> מ ט ] > מ<sup>mss</sup>
- 52:11 תגעו 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] + צאו מתוכה 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> מ ט
- 53:4 (ומכאובינו) 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> מ<sup>L</sup> ] + הוא מ<sup>mss</sup> ט
- 53:11 אור 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 4QIsa<sup>d</sup> ([אור] ) ט (add) ] > מ (יראה = err for ירה // ישבע?)
- 55:5a (לא) מ ([ו]א) 4QIsa<sup>c</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> לוא 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] אשר [ל] א
- 56:8 עליו לנקבצו 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> מ; ἐπ' αὐτὸν συναγωγῆν ט 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] לנקבצו
- 59:2 (בי) מ 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> כיא אם 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] כי
- 60:7 על רצון 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> מ<sup>mss</sup> ט ט ] על רצון 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>
- 60:14 כל 1<sup>o</sup> 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (כול) ] > מ ט

- 60:21 אֶרֶץ 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> מ<sup>ms</sup> ] + נָצַר 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 4QIsa<sup>m</sup>(ג<sup>ו</sup>[נצ]) מ<sup>L</sup>(נצַר); +  
 φυλάσσω (= נצַר) ט
- 62:6 הַלְיָהּ 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> ] + תְּמִיד מ ט
- 62:7 עַד יְכוֹנֵן; עַד יְכוֹן וְעַד יִשִּׁים 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] עַד יִשִּׁים מ ט (ἐὰν διορθώσῃ καὶ ποιήσῃ)
- 62:8 מִן 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] בִּימֵינוּ וּבִזְרוּעַ 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> מ ט
- 66:19 קֶשֶׁת 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> מ<sup>L</sup> ] מְשׁוּדָּן [קשת] 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; > מ<sup>ms</sup>; קשת  
 καὶ Μοσοχ ט

Isa 60:21 (col. XXVI 30–31)

1QIsa<sup>b</sup> וְעַמְדָּ כָּל־מַצֵּיבֵי לְעוֹלָם יִרְשׁוּ אֶרֶץ מִטְעִיו מַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו  
 לְהַתְּפֹאֵר  
 מ וְעַמְדָּ כָּל־מַצֵּיבֵי לְעוֹלָם יִרְשׁוּ אֶרֶץ נָצַר מִטְעִיו מַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו  
 לְהַתְּפֹאֵר

Variant:

- 60:21 אֶרֶץ 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> מ<sup>ms</sup> ] + נָצַר 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 4QIsa<sup>m</sup>(ג<sup>ו</sup>[נצ]) מ<sup>L</sup>(נצַר); +  
 φυλάσσω (= נצַר) ט

Comment: The ancient witnesses suggest a troubled text at this point. The shorter reading in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> is supported by one Masoretic manuscript, and presents a coherent text, which makes it plausible. The additional word in מ<sup>L</sup> (“the shoot of”) has even stronger support: two Qumran scrolls and the consonantal text behind ט, which suggest the preferable reading. The *textus receptus* has been followed by English translations.

Isa 62:7 (col. XXVII 5–6)

1QIsa<sup>b</sup> וְאַל תִּתְּנוּ דְמֵי לְבָבְךָ עַד יִשִּׁים אֶת [ירושלם] תְּהִלָּהּ בְּאֶרֶץ  
 מ וְאַל תִּתְּנוּ דְמֵי לֵוִי עַד יְכוֹנֵן וְעַד יִשִּׁים אֶת יְרוּשָׁלַם תְּהִלָּהּ בְּאֶרֶץ

Variant:

- 62:7 עַד יְכוֹן וְעַד יְכוֹנֵן וְעַד יִשִּׁים 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] עַד יִשִּׁים מ ט (ἐὰν διορθώσῃ καὶ ποιήσῃ)

Comment: 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> indicates a substantially shorter text, since there is insufficient room in line 5 for the longer reading of מ (“until he establishes and until he makes”) or the even longer reading of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (“until he prepares and until he establishes and until he makes”). The reconstruction is quite certain, since parts of both עַד and יִשִּׁים are preserved: “unt[il he mak]es Jerusalem a praise in the earth,” and may attest to a more pristine text.

Isa 62:8 (col. XXVII 6–7)

נשבע יהוה <sup>ה</sup> [בימין עזו אם אתן עוד אֶת־דָגְגַךְ מֵאֵל לֹא־יִבֶדְךָ	1QIsa <sup>b</sup> מ
נְשַׁבַע יְהוָה בְּיָמֵינוּ וּבְזֵרוּעַ עֲזוֹ אִם־אֶתֶן אֶת־דָּגְגְךָ עוֹד מֵאֵל לֹא־יִבֶדְךָ	מ
[ואם יש תו <sup>ז</sup> ] בני נכר תי <sup>ז</sup> רושך אשר יגעת בו	1QIsa <sup>b</sup>
וְאִם־יֵשׁתוּ בְנֵי־נֹכַר תִּירוּשְׁךָ אֲשֶׁר יִגְעַת בּוֹ	מ

Variant:

62:8      1QIsa<sup>b</sup> [בימין עזו] 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> מ ט

Comment: The shorter reading found in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> (“by his mighty right hand”) is not found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible; for a similar use of the construct, see Ps 89:43: ימין צריו (“the right hand of his enemies”). Nor is the exact combination in מ attested, but cf. Ps 98:1: ימינו וזרוע קדשו (“by his right hand and mighty arm”).

(b) *Singular versus Plural*

This category has ten entries: Isa 26:2; 43:9; 53:8a, 12cα; 54:3; 57:2; 58:3, 11; 59:21; and 60:5. Two are discussed below.

26:2	1QIsa <sup>b</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] ויבאו 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ
43:9	1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] ויגידו 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; יגיד מ ט (ἀναγγελεῖ)
53:8a	1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] לקחו 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ (לקח) ט
53:12cα	1QIsa <sup>b</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 4QIsa <sup>d</sup> ט ] חטא 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ; חובין ז
54:3	1QIsa <sup>b</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ] יירשו מ
57:2	1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] יבוא 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; יבוא יבוא; ἔσται ט
58:3	1QIsa <sup>b</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ] נפשתינו 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ
58:11	1QIsa <sup>b</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ] יחליצו 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ
59:21	1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] ימושו 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ; ἐκλίπη ט
60:5	1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] יבואו 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ (יבאו); καὶ ἡξουσίε ט

Isa 53:8a (col. XXIII 18)

מעצר ממשפט לקחו ואת דו <sup>ז</sup> רו מי ישוחח	1QIsa <sup>b</sup>
מְעַצֵּר וּמִמְשָׁפֶט לָקַח וְאֶת־דָּוְרוֹ מִי יִשְׁוַחַח	מ

Variant:

53:8a      1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] לקחו 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> מ (לקח) ט

Comment: This unique reading in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> (“they took away”) is more difficult than the passive sing. forms found in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> מ ט, since the verb lacks an object. The form could possibly be understood as the *Qal* perfect 3rd plural with the object implied, or the *Qal* perfect 3d sing. + shorter form of the 3d sing. object suffix.

Isa 53:12cα (col. XIII 25)

וְהוּא חָטָא יְרַבֵּימָא וְלַפְשְׁעֵיהֶם יִפְגִּיעַ 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>  
 וְהוּא חָטָא רַבִּים נְשָׂא וְלַפְשְׁעִים יִפְגִּיעַ 𐤌

Variant:

53:12 יְרַבֵּימָא חָטָא [ 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 4QIsa<sup>d</sup> 𐤌 ] חוּבִין 𐤉

Comment: The plural (“and he bore the sins of many”) has overwhelming support from two more scrolls as well as 𐤌, and complements “and he made intercession for their transgressions” in 12cβ, with a focus on the actions to be forgiven. The singular in 𐤌 (“the sin”) is viable, but does not complement “the transgressors” later in the verse. For this second variant (וְלַפְשְׁעִים וְלַפְשְׁעֵיהֶם), also supported by 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 4QIsa<sup>d</sup> 𐤌, see (c) below (Differences in Pronoun).

(c) *Differences in Pronoun*

There are nine differences in pronoun, at Isa 13:19; 43:6, 10; 46:11; 53:12 (2x); 58:5; and 60:21 (2x). Two of these are examined in detail.

13:19 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] ממלכתו 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; ממלכות 𐤌; ὑπὸ βασιλέως 𐤌  
 43:6 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] הביא בני... ובנותי 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; הביא בני... ובנותי 𐤌  
 43:10 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; ואחרי לא יהיה 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] אחרי לא יהיה 𐤌  
 46:11 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 4QIsa<sup>d</sup> (עצתו) עצתו 𐤌; 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 𐤌<sup>a</sup>; βεβούλευμα 𐤌  
 53:12 𐤌 σ' עים- ] 𐤌 (-יה) 4QIsa<sup>d</sup> (-יהמה) 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ולפשעיהם  
 58:5 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 𐤌 (ראשו) ראשו 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] ראשך 𐤌  
 60:21 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; מטעי 𐤌 (cf 𐤉 𐤌 𐤎); מטעו 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] מטעו 𐤌  
 60:21 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 𐤌 מעשה ידי; 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] מעשה ידיו 𐤌  
 62:7 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 𐤌 לו 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] לכם 𐤌

Isa 60:21 (col. XXVI 30–31)

וְעַמְדָּ כָּלִם צְדִיקִים לְעוֹלָם יִרְשׁוּ אֶרֶץ מְטַעוּ מַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>  
 לְהַתְּפָאָר  
 וְעַמְדָּ כָּלִם צְדִיקִים לְעוֹלָם יִרְשׁוּ אֶרֶץ נִצָּר מְטַעוּ מַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו 𐤌  
 לְהַתְּפָאָר

Variants:

60:21 מטעו 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; מטעי יהוה 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] מטעו 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; מטעו 𐤌 (cf 𐤉 𐤌 𐤎); מטעו 𐤌  
 60:21 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 𐤌 מעשה ידי; 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] מעשה ידיו 𐤌

Comments: The absence of נצר is discussed separately above in (a) Addition or Loss of Words.

The forms in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> (“his plantings”...“the work of his hands”) make good sense, as do the forms in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (“the plantings of the LORD”...“the works of his hands”). The sequence in M̄ is contradictory, requiring the qere “my planting” to correspond with “my hands” later in the verse. Ḡ is only partly helpful, but also signals a troubled text in M̄: τὸ φύτευμα ἔργα χειρῶν αὐτοῦ (“the planting, the works of his hands”).

(d) *Differences in Meaning*

There are seven instances where the reading in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> differs from that in M̄ or M̄<sup>mss</sup>: Isa 44:25; 48:17, 51:4 (2x), 58:14; 59:4; and 60:5. Three are discussed further.

- 44:25 יסכל 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 4QIsa<sup>b</sup> Ḡ(μωρεύων) ] מ̄ ישכל (err)
- 48:17 מדרכיך 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] הדריכה 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; מדריכך 4QIsa<sup>d</sup> M̄ X̄ Ḡ B̄
- 51:4 עמי 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> M̄<sup>L</sup> Ḡ ] עמים M̄<sup>mss</sup> Ḡ
- 51:4 ולאמי 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>(ולאמי) M̄ ] ולאומים M̄<sup>mss</sup> Ḡ; και οἱ βασιλεῖς Ḡ
- 58:14 והרכיבך 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>(כה-) 4QIsa<sup>a</sup> ] (ו)הרכבך 4QIsa<sup>a</sup> X̄ (וישרינדך) Ḡ(και ἀναβιβάσει σε) ] והרכבתיך M̄ θ' Ḡ B̄
- 59:4 בטחו...ודבר 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> Ḡ (3 pl) ] בטחו...ודבר 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; והולידו... והולידו M̄ (inf abs)
- 60:5 תיראי 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> M̄<sup>L</sup> Ḡ(ῥη) ] תיראי M̄<sup>mss</sup> (orth or var √אירא?; see ופחד two words later)

Isa 44:25 (col. XIX 6–7)

	מפר אתת בדים וקוסמ[ים יהולל ]מ[שי]ב [7]חכמים א[חור]	1QIsa <sup>b</sup>
	ודעתם יסכל	
	מפר אתות בדים וקסמים יהולל משיב חכמים אחר ישכל	M̄
	ודעתם	

Variant:

- 44:25 יסכל 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 4QIsa<sup>b</sup> Ḡ(μωρεύων) ] מ̄ ישכל (err)

Comment: The reading in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> is supported by Ḡ and all Hebrew witnesses, with the exception of M̄. There it may conceivably be a phonetic variant (syllabant ש for ס), but elsewhere in M̄ I שכל (*Pi'el*, “to do purposefully”?) is problematic, although II שכל (“to lay cross-wise” [Gen 48:14]) should also be considered. In any case, 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> here contains the preferable reading, with M̄ in error, or at the very least suspect.

Isa 51:4 (col. XXII 13–14)

1QIsa<sup>b</sup> הקשיבו אלי עמי ולאומי אלי הַאֲזִינְוּ כִּי תֹרָה מֵאֵתִי תֵצֵא  
ומשפטי לֵאמֹר עַמִּים אֲרִגִּיעַ  
מ הקשיבו אלי עמי ולאומי אלי הַאֲזִינּוּ כִּי תֹרָה מֵאֵתִי תֵצֵא  
ומשפטי לֵאמֹר עַמִּים אֲרִגִּיעַ

Variant:

51:4 עמי 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> מ<sup>L</sup> ט ] מ<sup>mss</sup> עמים ט  
51:4 מ<sup>mss</sup> ט; και οἱ βασιλεῖς ט  
1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (ולאומי) מ<sup>mss</sup> ט; και οἱ βασιλεῖς ט

Comment: Both singular forms in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> (“my people” and “my nation”) are supported by 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> מ<sup>L</sup>, while the plural forms in מ<sup>mss</sup> ט (“O peoples” and “O nations”) impart distance between God and his people. ט also supports the singular עמי in 4aα with λαός μου, but the form in 4aβ is ambiguous with και οἱ βασιλεῖς (“and O kings”).

(e) *Variant Readings Involving the Divine Name*

Different names for God feature in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> six times, at 22:15; 38:14, 38:19a; 49:7; 57:21; and 61:1. One of these is discussed in some detail.

22:15 אדני 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (אדוני) מ<sup>L</sup> ] > מ<sup>mss</sup> ט θ' ט  
38:14 אדוני 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ט(πρὸς τὸν κύριον ὅς ἐξείλατό με) ] יהוה חשקה  
עושקה 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; עשקה; אדני עשקה; מ<sup>L</sup> (cf v 17)  
38:19 אלה 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] אל 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; אלוה 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> dittog 2m, אֱלֹ מ<sup>L</sup>  
49:7 אדני 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (אדוני) ] > מ  
57:21 אלה 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (אלוהי) מ<sup>L</sup> ] יהוה מ<sup>mss</sup>, κύριος ὁ θεός ט;  
ὁ θεός ט<sup>mss</sup>  
61:1 אֲדֹנָי יהוה 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] יהוה 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> ט(vid) Β(vid); אֲדֹנָי יהוה  
4QIsa<sup>m</sup> מ ט<sup>Qmg</sup>

Isa 38:14 (col. XVI 2–3)

1QIsa<sup>b</sup> כָּסִיס עֲגוּרָ כִּן אֲצַפְצַף אֶהְגֶּה כִּי־נָה דָלוּ עֵינַי לְמָרוֹם יְהוָה...  
מ כָּסִיס עֲגוּרָ כִּן אֲצַפְצַף אֶהְגֶּה כִּי־נָה דָלוּ עֵינַי לְמָרוֹם אֲדֹנָי...

Variant:

38:14 אדני 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ט(πρὸς τὸν κύριον) ] אדני 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> מ<sup>L</sup> (אדני)

Comment: Despite the fragmentary text, enough of יהוה remains for a fairly certain identification. This is a rare case of 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> (“O LORD”) having the support of the Septuagint. It is difficult to establish the

preferred reading, since the other two Hebrew witnesses (1QIsa<sup>a</sup> מ<sup>ל</sup>) support “O Lord!”

(f) *Substitution of Parallel Terms*

The reading in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> differs from that in מ<sup>ל</sup> or מ<sup>mss</sup>, but with a similar meaning, six times: Isa 49:6; 52:9; 58:10; 60:4; 62:8; and 63:5. Two of these are examined in some detail.

49:6	יב <sup>ו</sup> [1QIsa <sup>b</sup> להש] (cf v 6aβ) ] להקים 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; להקים 4QIsa <sup>d</sup> מ <sup>ל</sup> ; τοῦ στήσαι Ϝ
52:9	מ <sup>mss</sup> ישראל (-לים) 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> את pr ] 2 <sup>ו</sup> ירושלם 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> מ <sup>ל</sup> Ϝ
58:10	מ <sup>mss</sup> לחמד ] נפשכה 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> נפשך ] τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ ψυχῆς σου Ϝ
60:4	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ <sup>ל</sup> תאמנה ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> Ϝ (ἀρθησονταί)
62:8	Ϝ קדשו ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> עוזו (עוזו) מ Ϝ Ϝ
63:5	מ <sup>ל</sup> עוזר ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> איש Ϝ (βοηθός)

Isa 49:6 (col. XXI 14–16)

1QIsa <sup>b</sup>	ויאמר הנקל מה[יִוֹתֵךְ לִי עֶבֶד לְהַשׁ] ב <sup>ו</sup> את שבטי יעקב ונצורי ישראל להשיב
מ <sup>ל</sup>	ויאמר נקל מהיִוֹתֵךְ לִי עֶבֶד לְהַקִּים אֶת־שְׁבִיטִי יַעֲקֹב ונצירי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַשִּׁיב
1QIsa <sup>b</sup>	וְנִתְתִּיךְ לְאוֹר גּוֹיִם לְהִיּוֹת [שׁוֹעֲתִי עַד קֶצֶה אֶרֶץ וְנִתְתִּיךְ לְאוֹר גּוֹיִם לְהִיּוֹת יְשׁוּעָתִי עַד־קֶצֶה הָאָרֶץ ס
מ <sup>ל</sup>	

Variant:

49:6	יב <sup>ו</sup> [1QIsa <sup>b</sup> להש] (cf v 6aβ) ] להקים 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 4QIsa <sup>d</sup> מ <sup>ל</sup> ; τοῦ στήσαι Ϝ
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Comment: In DJD 32, the accompanying note identifies the final letter as a clear *bet*. The scribe or his *Vorlage* may have substituted the parallel, and more common, form found later in the verse. It is also possible that the reading in מ<sup>ל</sup>, which has strong textual support (1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and 4QIsa<sup>d</sup>), is due to early editing in order to improve the more pristine text.

Isa 60:4 (col. XXVI 6–7)

1QIsa <sup>b</sup>	שאי סביב עיניך וראי <sup>[7]</sup> כלם נקבצו באו לך בניך ] מִמְּרוֹחֹק יבאו ובנתיך על צד תנשינה
מ <sup>ל</sup>	שאי־סביב עיניך וראי כלם נקבצו באו־לְךָ בְּנֵיךָ מִמְּרוֹחֹק יבאו ובנתיך על־צד תאמנה

Variant:

60:4	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ <sup>ל</sup> תאמנה ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> Ϝ (ἀρθησονταί)
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Comment: This form in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> (“will be taken up [or, carried]”) is supported by  $\mathfrak{G}$ . The more unusual reading in  $\mathfrak{M}$  (“will be carried on the hip”) is attested by 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, and is the *lectio difficilior*. As such, it could be the original reading, or the work of a later editor in order to make the text more nuanced.

(g) *Differences in Preposition*

There are six differences in preposition when 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> is compared with  $\mathfrak{M}$  or  $\mathfrak{M}^{\text{mss}}$ : Isa 55:5b; 58:4; 59:2; 62:10; 65:20; and 66:4. One example is discussed.

55:5	שם 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ] ולקדוש 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> corr 1m $\mathfrak{M}$ (ולק')
58:4	שם 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> (צא-) ] ומצה $\mathfrak{M}$
59:2	שם 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] לבין 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> $\mathfrak{M}$
62:10	שם 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] מאבן הנגף 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; מאבן $\mathfrak{M}$
65:20	שם 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] משמה 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; משם $\mathfrak{M}$
66:4	שם 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> (ובמגורותיהם) ] ומגורתם $\mathfrak{M}$ ; και τὰς ἀμαρτίας $\mathfrak{G}$

Isa 65:20a (col. XXVIII 3–4)

1QIsa<sup>b</sup> לא יהיה שם עוד עול ימים ]  
 $\mathfrak{M}$  לא יהיה משם עוד עול ימים

Variant:

65:20 שם 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] משמה 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; משם  $\mathfrak{M}$

Comment: In this case 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> seems to preserve the pristine reading (“there”). 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and  $\mathfrak{M}$  present the more difficult “from there” (contracted form of מן + adverb), which is reflected by the KJV (“thence”) but disguised by the more common translation “in it” (RSV, NIV, etc.).

(h) *Transpositions*

Five transpositions may be identified in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> in comparison with  $\mathfrak{M}$  or  $\mathfrak{M}^{\text{mss}}$ , at: Isa 38:19a; 52:13; 55:8; 57:2; and 62:8. One of these is examined further.

38:19	שם 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] כמוני היום 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> dittog 2m $\mathfrak{M}$ $\mathfrak{G}$ (vid)
52:13	שם 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] וגבה / ונשא tr 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> $\mathfrak{M}$ ; και δοξασθήσεται $\mathfrak{G}$
55:8	שם 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] מכשבותיכם [חשבת] מכשבותי $\mathfrak{M}$ $\mathfrak{G}$ (αὶ βουλαὶ μου ὡσπερ αὶ βουλαὶ ὑμῶν)

57:20 מן 4QIsa<sup>d</sup> נג[רש; 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; נגרשו ] 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> נרָגָ[ש ?]  
 62:8 את דגנד עוד; 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> עור דגנד מ' ] 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> עור אַתְּ דגנד מאכל  
 מ' מן; ἔτι... τὸν σῖτόν σου ט

Isa 62:8 (col. XXIII 6–7)

1QIsa<sup>b</sup> נשבע יהוה [בימין עזו אם אתן עוד אַתְּ דגנד מאכל לאַיביד  
 מן נשבע יהוה בימינו ובזרוע עזו אַס־אַתָּן אַתְּ־דגנד עוד מאַכל  
 לאַיביד  
 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> [ואם ישתו<sup>[7]</sup> בני נכר תירושך אשר יגעת בו  
 מן ואַס־יִשְׁתוּ בְנֵי־נְכָר תִּירוֹשְׁךָ אֲשֶׁר יִגְעֶת בּוֹ

Variant:

62:8 את דגנד עוד; 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> עור דגנד מ' ] 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> עור אַתְּ דגנד מאכל  
 מ' מן; ἔτι... τὸν σῖτόν σου ט

Comment: While none of the witnesses totally agree, the order preserved in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> (“again your grain”) is supported by 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and most likely by ט. The order found in מן is more awkward and less preferable.

(i) *Masculine versus Feminine*

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

26:1 4QIsa<sup>a</sup>; השיר הַ] 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; השיר הזואת ] 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> השירה הזואת  
 מן השיר הזה  
 53:3 מן(מכאבות) 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> מכאבות ] 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> מכאבים  
 29:3 מן מצב ] 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> מ[צבָה  
 47:11 מן ובא ] 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ובא הַ  
 66:17 מן; > אחד אחר אחד ] 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> מן<sup>q mss</sup> אחד אחר אחת ט

Isa 47:11 (col. XX 25)

1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ובא הַ עליך רעה...  
 מן ובא עליך רעה...

Variant:

47:11 מן ובא ] 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> ובא הַ

Comment: Here 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> has the support of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> for the fem. verb “will come,” which is surely correct with רעה (“evil”) as the subject. In contrast, מן erroneously has the masc. verb; cf. note 11<sup>b</sup> in *BHS*.

2.3. *Minor Variant Readings in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>*

Many variant readings are mostly of slight consequence and involve little change of meaning, including:

- (a) The presence vs. lack of the copulative or the definite article.
- (b) Frequent words such as כִּי or בִּה.
- (c) Routine palaeographic confusion of letters such as ו/י, ר/ד, ב/ב.
- (d) Phonological confusion of ח/ע, ה/ח, א/ע.
- (e) Duplication of consonants.
- (f) Differences in preposition (notably אֶל/עַל).
- (g) Minor differences in verbal form.
- (h) Differences in vocalization.

These number 115 in all. It should be noted that a few may qualify as substantial, in which case they would belong in the category of variant readings involving clear changes in meaning (section 2.2 above). The full list, which was not included in DJD 32, is as follows:<sup>10</sup>

Isaiah	Col.+line	Variant Reading
15:7	VI 6	ישאום 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> מ <sup>L</sup> ] תישאום 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; ישאם מ <sup>ms</sup> ; καὶ λήμψονται ἀδτήν ט
19:15–16	VIIc 8	מ[עשה אֲשֶׁר—ואגמון <sup>16</sup> ביום הוא 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] ביום ההוא 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ <sup>ms</sup> (ואגמון: ט ז ט ז; <sup>16</sup> vac (cf 9:13; 2:11) 4QIsa <sup>b</sup> )
22:17	VIIIc-e 5	יעוטרך 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ] (ויעטרך) 4QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ויעטרך (contra ועוטרך Bur <sup>1</sup> ); מ ועוטרך
23:2	IXa 2	מלאך 4QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; מלאך 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; מלאך 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] מלאך מ מלאך > ט
24:19	IXb-f 2	מ <sup>L</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> רעה 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> מ <sup>ms</sup> רוע
24:19	IXb-f 2	מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> הארץ ] ארץ 1QIsa <sup>b</sup>
24:20	IXb-f 3	מ נודדה; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> -נודדה 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] והתנודא
25:2	IXb-f 9	ט (τὼν) מ <sup>ms</sup> זדים ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ <sup>L</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> זרים
28:15	XIa-c 1	מ <sup>q</sup> כי יעבר; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> כי יבור ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> מ <sup>L</sup> כי עבר ἄσεβῶν) (cf vv 4, 5)

<sup>10</sup> In this list, Bur<sup>1,2</sup> = Millar Burrows, with John C. Trever and William H. Brownlee, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery Volume 1: The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary* (New Haven, Conn.: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950 [1st and 2d printings]).

Table (cont.)

Isaiah	Col.+line	Variant Reading
28:16	XIa-c 2	יֹסֵד 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] מִיֹּסֵד 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> α' σ' θ' (θεμελιῶν); יֹסֵד מ <sup>L</sup> ; ἐμβλαῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια 5
38:14	XVI 2	כְּסִים 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> מ <sup>ms</sup> ] כְּסוּס 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ <sup>L</sup> (cf מ <sup>q</sup> Jer 8:7)
38:15	XVI 3	וְאָמַר לֹא ] וְאָמַר לֹא 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; מ <sup>L</sup>
38:18	XVI 6	תּוֹדֵךְ 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] תּוֹדֵכָה 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ <sup>L</sup> (תּוֹדֵךְ)
38:19	XVI 7	יְיֹדֵעַ 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] יוֹדֵעַ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> dittog 2m (יְהוֹדֵעַ) מ <sup>L</sup>
38:21	XVI 9	עַל 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] אֵל 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 3m מ <sup>L</sup>
39:1	XVI 11	הֵהָיָא 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 4QIsa <sup>b</sup> מ <sup>ms</sup> ] מֵהָיָא 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 4QIsa <sup>b</sup> מ <sup>ms</sup>
41:8	XVII 5	וְעַתָּה 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] וְאַתָּה 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ <sup>L</sup> 5
41:19	XVII 17–18	וְתִשְׁרַחֵם 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] וְתִשְׁרַחֵם 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; וְתִשְׁרַחֵם וְתִשְׁרַחֵם מ <sup>L</sup>
43:4	XVIII 5	אֶתְּנֶה אֶתְּנֶה 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] אֶתְּנֶה אֶתְּנֶה 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; וְאֶתְּנֶה אֶתְּנֶה מ <sup>L</sup>
43:7	XVIII 8	וְלִבִּי 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ <sup>L</sup> ] לִבִּי 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 4QIsa <sup>b</sup> מ <sup>ms</sup> 5 Syh
43:7	XVIII 8	וְאֶפְרַיִם 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] אֶפְרַיִם 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ <sup>L</sup>
43:8	XVIII 8	וְאֶרְצָא 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] וְאֶרְצָא 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 5(vid); וְאֶרְצָא; educ 5
43:12	XVIII 13	וְהָיָה 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> 5 ] וְהָיָה 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 5
43:23	XVIII 24	וְהָיָה 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> (וְהָיָה) ] וְהָיָה 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 5
45:1	XIX 11	לְמַשִּׁיחוֹ 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] לְמַשִּׁיחוֹ? 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ <sup>L</sup> γ'; τῷ χριστῷ μου (= חִי-) 5
45:2	XIX 13	וְהָרַרְתִּי 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> (וְהָרַרְתִּי) 5(καὶ ὄρη) ] וְהָרַרְתִּי מ <sup>L</sup>
45:2	XIX 13	וְאֶשְׂרָף 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] וְאֶשְׂרָף? 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; וְאֶשְׂרָף; מ <sup>L</sup> ; וְאֶשְׂרָף (cf v 13); ὀμολιῶ 5
45:5	XIX 17	וְזוֹלְתִּי אֵין 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] וְזוֹלְתִּי אֵין 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; וְזוֹלְתִּי אֵין מ <sup>L</sup>
46:5	XX 2–3	וְנִדְמָה 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] וְנִדְמָה (וְנִדְמָה?) וְנִדְמָה וְנִדְמָה וְנִדְמָה 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; וְנִדְמָה וְנִדְמָה וְנִדְמָה מ <sup>L</sup> ; ἴδετε τεχνάσεσθε οἱ πλανώμενοι 5
46:6	XX 3	וְיִשְׁכְּרוּ 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> 5(vid) ] וְיִשְׁכְּרוּ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; וְיִשְׁכְּרוּ מ <sup>L</sup>
46:6	XX 4	וְיִסְגְּדוּ 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> (וְיִסְגְּדוּ) 5(vid) ] וְיִסְגְּדוּ מ <sup>L</sup>
46:10	XX 8	וְאֶחְרִית 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] וְאֶחְרִית? 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> (contra in Bur <sup>1</sup> ); וְאֶחְרִית; וְאֶחְרִית; וְאֶחְרִית; τὰ ἔσχατα 5 (cf 47:7)
47:2	XX 15	וְשָׁבַל 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] וְשָׁבַל 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; וְשָׁבַל 4QIsa <sup>d</sup> ; וְשָׁבַל 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; ἀνακάλυψαι τὰς πολιὰς (= הַשְּׁבָה?) 5
47:7	XX 20	וְזָכַרְתִּי 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] וְזָכַרְתִּי 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; וְזָכַרְתִּי מ <sup>L</sup>
47:8	XX 21	וְזָכַרְתִּי 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] וְזָכַרְתִּי 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ <sup>L</sup>
47:13	XX 29	וְזָכַרְתִּי 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ] וְזָכַרְתִּי 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ <sup>L</sup>

## 1 Table (cont.)

Isaiah	Col.+line	Variant Reading
48:18	XXI 3	מֵל לוא ט (ולוא) 4QIsa <sup>c</sup> (ולוא) 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> וְלֹא Ⲯ Ⲟ ⲟ
49:3	XXI 11	אתפאר ] ( ? )הת[פארתי (err? or 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> הת[פאר 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ
49:4	XXI 12	מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> אכן ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> אך
49:5	XXI 12	מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> > ] ט 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> כה
49:6	XXI 14	מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> נקל ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> הנקל
49:6	XXI 15	מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ונצירי ] מ 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ונצורי
49:6	XXI 16	קצה הארץ; קצוי הארץ ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> קצה ארץ מ
49:7	XXI 18	מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> וקמו ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> יקומו
49:7	XXI 18	מ שרים ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> וְשָׂרִים 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>
50:11	XXII 6	מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ' ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ומאורי; και κατισχύετε ט (= √ עזר ? √ עזו?)
51:1	XXII 8–9	מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> אל... ואל ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ע[...ו] על εἰς... εἰς)
51:7	XXII 18	מגדפתם ] (ומגדפותם) 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ומגדפתם מ
52:14	XXIII 7	מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; משחת ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> משחת מ <sup>ms</sup> מושחת
52:14	XXIII 8	מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ותוארו ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ותרו
52:15	XXIII 8	מ יקפצו ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> וקפצו
53:1	XXIII 10	מ על ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> אל
53:3	XXIII 12	מ וידוע; (και εἰδῶς) 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> וידע ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> וידע
53:3	XXIII 13	מ נבזה; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ונבוזהו ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ונבוזה
53:5	XXIII 15	מ מדכא ] (vid) ט (ומדוכא) 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ומדכא
53:7	XXIII 17–18	מ פיו... פיו ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> פיהו... ] פי[הו
53:7	XXIII 17	מ לטבח ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> לטבוח
53:8	XXIII 18	מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> (vid) ו ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ממשפט
53:8	XXIII 19	מ עמי; 4QIsa <sup>d</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> עמו ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> עמי / עמו? ט
53:8	XXIII 19	מ נגע; (ἡχθη) 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> נוגע ] 4QIsa <sup>d</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> נגע
54:1	XXIII 26	מ רנה; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> רונה ] 4QIsa <sup>d</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> רנה
54:4	XXIII 30	מ (vid) ט (ואל) מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> אל ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> אל
54:4	XXIII 31	מ אלמנותיך ] (τῆς χηρείας σου) ט 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> אלמנותך 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ
54:4	XXIII 31	מ תזכרי; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> תזכורי ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> תזכרי
55:10	XXIV 10	מ לאכל; εἰς ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> לאכול ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> לאכל βρωσιν (= לאכל) ט
55:12	XXIV 12	מ תצאו ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> תצאון
55:12	XXIV 13	מ ימחוא; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ימחוא ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ימחוי
55:13	XXIV 14	מ תחת ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> מ <sup>ms</sup> תחת
56:3	XXIV 18	מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> אל יהוה ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> על יהוה (cf v 6)

Table (cont.)

Isaiah	Col.+line	Variant Reading
56:9	XXIV 26–27	חיות שדה... חיות ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> חיתו שדי... חייטו 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ט ; מ חיתו שדי... חיתו
56:10	XXIV 28	הזים ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> מ <sup>L</sup> ח(ו)זים ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ <sup>ms</sup> ט(ένυπνιαζόμενοι) α' (φανταζόμενοι) σ' Ⲅ( <i>videntes vana</i> ) cf ט
56:12	XXIV 30	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; ונקח... ונסבה ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> אקה... ונסבאה מ אקה... ונסבאה
57:2	XXIV 33	הלך נכחו; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> הלוך נ'כחה ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> הולך נכחה מ <sup>L</sup> ; ἤρται ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ט
57:17	XXV 1	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; ואקצופה ] 4QIsa <sup>d</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ואקצף מ <sup>ms</sup> ; και ἐλπηθήη ט
57:20	XXV 4	נגרשו... יוכלו ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> נרג'ש [ ? יוכל ויגר]שו נגרשו ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> (vid; contra 'Bur <sup>1</sup> יוכל וית'); יתגרשו יוכל... 4QIsa <sup>d</sup> מ; κλυδωνισθήσονται... δυνήσονται ט
58:1	XXV 5	מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> אל ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ט ואל
58:1	XXV 5	מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> כשופר ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> וכ'שופר
58:2	XXV 6	ט 4QIsa <sup>d</sup> (אותי) 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ומ ואותי Ⲅ
58:3	XXV 9	ט (ולא) מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ולוא ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> לא
58:4	XXV 10	ט (vid) מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ול' ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> להכות
58:4	XXV 10	מ (לא) 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> לוא ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ולא
58:5	XXV 11	מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> יום ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ט ויום
58:5	XXV 12	ט מ ו' ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> שק
58:5	XXV 12	מ; νηστείαν ט מ צום ויום ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> צום יום
58:6	XXV 14	ט 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מ 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ו' ] 4QIsa <sup>d</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> שלח ט > מ וענ'ים; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> וענויים ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> עניים
58:7	XXV 14	ט (וארכתך) מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> וארוכתך ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ארוכתך
58:8	XXV 16	מ כ' ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> וכבוד
58:8	XXV 17	1QIsa <sup>b</sup> תשוע ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> תשוע (cf Lam 3:8) תשוע
58:9	XXV 17	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; ἔτι λαλοῦντί σου ט מ <sup>L</sup> ; ועצמתך ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> (מותרך) מ מ <sup>ms</sup>
58:11	XXV 20	מ (משבב) מ 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> משובב ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> משיב τὸς ἀνὰ μέσον (= *מסביב?) ט
58:13	XXV 23	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> הפציכה ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ח' Syh Ⲅ Ⲅ Ⲅ ] חפצך מ (חפצך) ט (orth or var?)
58:13	XXV 23–24	Ⲅ (ולקדיש) 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ולקדוש יהוה ] מכ'בד Ⲅ Ⲅ ] מ' מ' [ 4QIsa <sup>n</sup> ; ἄγια τῷ θεῷ σου ט V <sup>ms</sup> ( <i>et sanctum...</i> )
58:13	XXV 2	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 4QIsa <sup>n</sup> דרכיכה ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> דרכך מ (ד'ך-) Ⲅ Ⲅ; τὸν πόδα σου ט
58:14	XXV 2	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; ἐπι 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> בומתי ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> במתי τὰ ἀγαθά (= *בטובי?) ט

Table (cont.)

Isaiah	Col.+line	Variant Reading
60:2	XXVI 5	מע' ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> וע' ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> והערפל
60:5	XXVI 8	מע עליד ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> אליד
60:6	XXVI 10	מע ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> רו- ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> יבשרון
60:13	XXVI 19	מע תדהר ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; ותהרהר ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> תרהר
60:18	XXVI 27	מע ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מע' ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> בגבולד ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> (orth or var?)
60:21	XXVI 30–31	מע' ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> מעשי ידיו ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> מעשה ידיו מע ידי
61:1	XXVI 34	(ול' פקחוקח) 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> [ולאסורים ] פקחוקח מע <sup>ms</sup> ] (ול' פקחוקח) מע <sup>L</sup> ; και τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν ]
63:1	XXVII 11	מע ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> בצדקה ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> בצדק ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> Δικαιοσύνην ]
63:5	XXVII 14	מע ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ואביט ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ואביטה
63:5	XXVII 14	מע ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ואשתומם ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ואשתוממה
63:6	XXVII 15	מע ואבוס ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ואבוסה
63:6	XXVII 15	] (ואשכירסה) 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ואשכירם בחמתי מע <sup>ms</sup> ; > ] מע' ואשכרם ב' ]
63:6	XXVII 15	מע ואוריד ] (ואורידה) 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> וארידה
66:2	XXVIII 11	מע ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ונכאי ר' ] (cf BHS n 2 <sup>b</sup> ) 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> ונכאה רוח מע <sup>L</sup> ; και ἠσυχίον ] מע' ונכה ר'
66:2	XXVIII 11	מע על דברי ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> לדברי ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> אל דברי
66:12	XXVIII 22	] וינק ] ותיהמה על צד תנשינה ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> וינקתם על ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ] (τὰ παῖδια αὐτῶν ἐπ' ὠμων ἀρθησονται) מע <sup>L</sup> ] וינקתם על צד תנשאו
66:12	XXVIII 22	מע ] תשעשעו ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> תשתעשו ] παρακλήθησονται ]
66:15	XXVIII 25	מע ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> מע' ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> באש
66:20	XXVIII 32	מע ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ; ובכרכבות ] 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> וב ] כרכרות מע <sup>L</sup> ; μετὰ σακιδίων ]
66:21	XXVIII 34	מע ] 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 1QIsa <sup>b</sup> (ללויים) מע <sup>L</sup> ] pr ו מע <sup>ms</sup> ] Syh

### 3. Variant Readings of 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> and the “Proto-Masoretic Text”

Since the 1955 publication of most of 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> by Sukenik, and the additional fragments by Barthélemy, it is commonly held by scholars that this Scroll is a prime exemplar of the proto-Masoretic text, in view of its closeness to the consonantal MT. No scholar has worked more extensively than Emanuel Tov in defining and identifying the textual affiliations of the biblical scrolls from Qumran, whether writ-

ten in the “Qumran Practice,” proto-Masoretic, pre-Samaritan, close to the presumed Hebrew source of the Septuagint, or non-aligned.<sup>11</sup> With respect to 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>, Tov is quite definite, listing it as one of some twenty-four Qumran texts that enjoy an “exclusive closeness... to the medieval texts [that] is remarkable.”<sup>12</sup>

These primary data now found in DJD 32 confirm the overall affinity of 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> with the consonantal MT: “In general, 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> has from its first publication been correctly assessed as textually close to the Masoretic tradition.”<sup>13</sup> However, the evidence and sharper focus in this essay suggests that 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> may not be as close to the medieval MT as has been assumed.

Of the 622 textual variant readings found in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>, 183 variants against the Masoretic textual family (mostly  $\mathfrak{M}^L$ , occasionally  $\mathfrak{M}^a$ ,  $\mathfrak{M}^{mss}$ ,  $\mathfrak{M}^{edd}$ , or  $\mathfrak{C}$ ), were identified, not counting the 161 differences in orthography.

At least sixty-eight variant readings involve a change in meaning. The two most extensive—at 38:12–13 and 60:19–20—were found (section 2.1) to present no real textual difference, since they most likely involve the omission of text by parablepsis on the part of the scribe of 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> (or his *Vorlage*). The other sixty-six variants, involving clear changes in meaning, were treated in nine categories (section 2.2 [a]–[i]), with discussion of at least one example from each group.

A third group of 117 minor variant readings were identified, and the full listing—which was not included in DJD 32—was presented (section 2.3). These variants are of mostly of slight consequence and involve little change of meaning, but some may qualify as substantial, in which case they would fall under section 2.2.

One apparent discrepancy needs be mentioned. The total number of variant readings listed is actually 185, not the 183 mentioned above, since sixty-eight variants involving clear changes in meaning are found in section 2.2 (not sixty-six). This is because two variants

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<sup>11</sup> Emanuel Tov, “The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert: An Overview and Analysis of the Published Texts,” in *The Bible as Book. The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries. Proceedings of the Conference Held at Hampton Court, Herefordshire, 18–21 June 2000* (ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov; London: The British Library, 2002) 139–66, esp. 152–57.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>13</sup> Ulrich and Flint, DJD 32, Part 1.215.



are listed twice, in sections 2.2 (involving clear changes in meaning)<sup>14</sup> and 2.3 (minor variant readings).<sup>15</sup>

These accumulated data indicate that, while 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> is generally close to the Masoretic tradition, this affinity is less intimate than many believe. This conclusion was hinted at in the critical edition, using typically sparse and cautious language: “even if now the differences between them also require more precise appreciation.”<sup>16</sup> Further qualification was given by the disclaimer: “Most of the variants between 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> and  $\mathfrak{M}^L$  mirror the frequent disagreements between  $\mathfrak{M}^L$ ,  $\mathfrak{M}^q$ , and  $\mathfrak{M}^{mss}$  in degree and in kind.”<sup>17</sup>

For the present author, the sixty-six substantial variants, as well as the 117 minor ones, reveal a marked degree of differentiation between this manuscript and the Masoretic tradition. This conclusion assumes that the apparatus in *BHS* provides a generally reliable indication of disagreements between  $\mathfrak{M}^L$  and the other witnesses.<sup>18</sup> Now it is well-known that for many chapters in Isaiah, the apparatus is extensive—but when only *Hebrew* witnesses are included ( $\mathfrak{M}^L$ ,  $\mathfrak{M}^q$ ,  $\mathfrak{M}^{mss}$ , and  $\mathfrak{C}$ ), the disagreements are in fact far fewer. When it is also recognized that the intra-Hebrew variations detailed in the apparatus involve many manuscripts and editions, it becomes clear that the differences between this single manuscript (1QIsa<sup>b</sup>) and  $\mathfrak{M}^L$  are far too many for a close affinity to exist. (Moreover, 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> preserves only some 25% of Isaiah; were the same pattern of variation to obtain for the entire scroll, when fully extant it would have contained 736 variants, rather than the 183 that survive.)

At this point, the assessment of the scroll’s first editor, Sukenik, is most apposite: that 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> is “quite close to the Masoretic Text of the Book of Isaiah in both its readings and in its spellings,” with “relatively

<sup>14</sup> 57:20 XXV 4 יוכל ויגר[שו ?] נרָג[ש] 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] יוכלו יתגרשו [vid; contra Bur(‘) וית’ וית’]; יוכל ויגרשו... יוכל[ג 4 QIsa<sup>d</sup> מ; κλυδωνισθήσονται... δυνήσονται  $\mathfrak{C}$

60:21 XXVI 30–31 מעשה ידי [ מעשי ידיו ] מעשי ידיו 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>  $\mathfrak{C}$ ; מעשה ידי

<sup>15</sup> (c) Differences in Pronoun: 60:21 (30–31) מעשה ידי [ מעשי ידיו ] 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>  $\mathfrak{C}$ ; מעשי ידי 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>  $\mathfrak{C}$ ; מעשה ידי  $\mathfrak{M}$

(h) Transpositions: 57:20 (4) [ נרָג[ש] ?] נגרשו 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> ] נגרשו 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>; נרָג[ג 4QIsa<sup>d</sup> מ

<sup>16</sup> DJD 32:1.215.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Recognizing, of course, that many more variant readings among Hebrew manuscripts, as found in the collations of B. Kennicott and J. B. De Rossi, were not included in the apparatus of *BHS*.

few...textual variants.”<sup>19</sup> The complete evidence affirms this assessment, but with the emphasis more on “quite close,” rather than “relatively few.”

Finally, it is beyond the scope of this essay to discuss the merits of the non-Masoretic variant readings found in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>, which I have addressed elsewhere,<sup>20</sup> but two final points are in order. First, of the fourteen examples from 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> that were discussed in detail, no less than eight are unique against all other witnesses (Isa 49:6; 53:8a; 60:21 [2x]; 62:7; 62:8 [2x]; 65:20; and the apparent parablepsis at Isa 60:19-20). In two more cases (Isa 38:14; 60:4), 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> is supported only by  $\mathfrak{G}$ . The sample is admittedly small, but perhaps points to a more pristine text—or at least a degree of independence—in this scroll.

Second, to what extent may the non-Masoretic readings in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> be viewed as textually superior or significant? All of the fourteen examples that were discussed—even the apparent parablepsis at Isa 60:19-20—present readings that are viable and make good sense. A preference for the variant reading in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> was given at Isa 47:11; 51:4 (2x, against  $\mathfrak{M}^{\text{mss}}$ ); 53:12; 60:21 (2x); 62:8; 65:20; and for the reading in  $\mathfrak{M}^{\text{L}}$  at Isa 60:21.

<sup>19</sup> Sukenik, *Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*, 30–31.

<sup>20</sup> Peter W. Flint, “Non-Masoretic Variant Readings In the Hebrew University Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>b</sup>) and the Text to be Translated,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6–8, 2008)* (ed. Adolfo Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman and Shani Tzoref; Leiden: Brill, 2010).



## COMMUNITY RULES



## THE DECALOGUE PATTERN IN THE QUMRAN RULE OF THE COMMUNITY

BILHAH NITZAN

### 1. *Introduction*

The main part of the *Rule of the Community* is a catalogue of rules for the *Yahad*, both for its members as individuals, and for the Community as a whole. Its various versions indicate a composite work of different literary and historical layers, which were redacted to a reasonable composition, the most comprehensive version of which is preserved in 1QS. Notwithstanding its composite nature, one may discern in 1QS 5:1–9:11, and to an extent also in its 4Q parallels, the basic pattern of a set of ten principles (decalogue) that was elaborated and adapted for practical implementation according to its order. These rules are not the biblical ones, but those of the sectarian principles of life within the Community, and as opposed to its opponents.

Catalogues of variegated items is a known literary genre within Ancient Near Eastern literature, including the Bible<sup>1</sup> and post biblical literature. For example, in Egyptian *onomastica* there are all sorts of lists, with varying contents and principles of organization—medical, zoological, religious, geographical, and more—whose purpose may have been for teaching.<sup>2</sup> Different types of catalogues appear in the Bible and in post-biblical literature. Some are written in definite

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. see Yair Hoffman, *Blemished Perfection: The Book of Job in Its Context* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 84–98 (Hebrew version: *שלמות פגומה: ספר ורקעו*, Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1995, pp. 89–129); Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 1.15–17; Wilfred G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), 32–62; Michael V. Fox, “Egyptian Onomastica and Biblical Wisdom,” *VT* 36 (1986): 302–10.

<sup>2</sup> See Fox, “Egyptian Onomastica,” 308–9.

styles—e.g., liturgical hymns<sup>3</sup> and certain catalogues of rules;<sup>4</sup> others are intricate in terms of content and style, possibly based on basic lists of items.<sup>5</sup> Especially interesting are compositions that developed existing catalogues for a specific purpose: e.g., Ps 104, the Hymn to the Creator, partly follows the order of the catalogue of the creation of Gen 1, based on a new perspective noting that all that was created was for the benefit of life; or Job 38–39, that mention the items of creation from the viewpoint of illustrating Divine wisdom. Other examples are poetical references to the plagues directed against the Egyptians in Ps 105:26–36 and 4Q422 3:7–12.<sup>6</sup> As for the Biblical Decalogue, apart from Jer 7:9 that directly lists some of its laws, only Lev 19 refers to them by order, as discerned in the rabbinic *midrash* at *Lev. Rab.* 24:5, even though the explicit allusions to its ten laws are scattered in Lev 19 among other commandments.

The use of ten principles in 1QS 5:1–7a does not necessarily follow the number of ten commandments; this may be by chance. Nevertheless, the reference to the practical implementation of these principles according to their order, in the subsequent passages of 1QS 5:7b–9:11 and its 4Q parallels, seems deliberate. This is what I wish to demonstrate in this article, notwithstanding the composite characteristic of this text, which is composed of different layers. In my opinion, identification of this catalogical pattern may shed light from an additional point of view upon the scholarly suggestions regarding the history of the organization of the Community and the editing of the scroll.

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<sup>3</sup> E.g., Pss 29, 136, 148, 150; Pr Azar 31–67; Sir 51:12; the Sabbath Songs 4Q403 1 i 1–29; 1 ii 27–29. See Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 187–208, 227, 242; DJD 11:243–50, 256–68, 280, 289; Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. Jonathan Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 297–307, 199–200. See also Nitzan, *ibid.*, 197–99 on the list of invitations to praise God in 4Q409; and Elisha Qimron, “Times to Praising God: A Fragment of a Scroll from Qumran (4Q409),” *JQR* 80 (1990): 341–47; DJD 29:63–67.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., the rules of unchastity in Lev 18:6–17; 20:10–21 and the rules of the festivals in Num 28–29.

<sup>5</sup> For the intricate types of biblical catalogues see Hoffman, *Blemished Perfection*, 92–114.

<sup>6</sup> For 4Q422, see Torleif Elgvin and Emanuel Tov, “4QParaphrase of Genesis and Exodus,” in DJD 13:429–34.

## 2. A Decalogue of Community Principles

The list of principles for the Community in 1QS 5:1–7a, and the somewhat different parallels thereto in 4QS,<sup>7</sup> are among the principle rules given in the *Rule of the Community*.<sup>8</sup> This passage opens with a heading, followed by a list of principle rules for the members of the Community.<sup>9</sup> The list appears also in 4QS<sup>b</sup> (= 4Q256) and 4QS<sup>d</sup> (= 4Q258), with some variations.<sup>10</sup> The list of the principle rules in 1QS 5:1–7a may be divided by content into the following three groups:

- A. Obligations of Each Member of the Community as an Individual (1QS 5:1–2a)**
- 1) **Repentance:** to repent from all evil;
  - 2) **Performance of the Lord's commandments:** to hold fast to all which He commanded as His will;
  - 3) **Separation:** They shall separate themselves from the congregation of the men of evil.
- B. Obligations Regarding Relationships within the Community (1QS 5:2b–5a)**
- 4) **Partnership:** to become a **Community** in Torah and wealth;
  - 5) **Discipline:** all are answerable to the Sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant, according to **the majority of the men of the Community** who hold fast to the covenant. According to their order shall go forth the determination of the lot about everything concerning Torah, money and judgment;
  - 6) **Friendship and honesty:** to do truth **in unity**, humility, righteousness, justice, and merciful love;
  - 7) **Refraining from going astray:** No man shall walk in the stubbornness of his heart to err following his heart, his eyes, and

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 4QS<sup>b</sup> (= 4Q256) 9:1–6a; 4QS<sup>d</sup> (= 4Q258) 1:1–5.

<sup>8</sup> Additional lists of principle rules are written in 1QS 1:1–15 (par. partly in 4QpapS<sup>a</sup> [= 4Q255] 1 1–6); 8:1–16 and its 4Q parallels (see below).

<sup>9</sup> The participle term הַמְתַנְדָּבִים (“those who devote themselves”) that follows the heading of 1QS 5:1 functions as a main verb that defines the willingness of the men of the Community to fulfill the following chain of rules: לְשׁוֹב (to repent), לְהַחזִיק (to hold), לְהִיּוֹת (to separate), etc. For this style of a main verb followed by a chain of rules opened by an infinitive verb cf. 1QS 1:1–10; 8:1–4a. See Jacob Licht, *The Rule Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 35–36 [Hebrew].

<sup>10</sup> In 4QS<sup>d</sup> this list opens the copy.



the plan of his inclination. He shall rather circumcise **in the Community** the foreskin of the inclination (and) stiff-neck.

C. The Goals of the Community as a Whole (5:5b–7a)

- 8) **Establishment of eternal foundation:** They shall lay a foundation of truth for Israel for the Community of an eternal covenant;
- 9) **Atonement:** They shall atone for all those who devote themselves for holiness in Aaron and for a house of truth in Israel, and for those who join them for a Community for the lawsuit and for the judgment;
- 10) **Condemnation of the transgressors:** They shall find guilty all those who transgress the statute.

The primary differences between the version of this list in 1QS and those in 4QS<sup>b,d</sup> appear in the heading, in the rule of the discipline (the 5th), and in the goals of the Community in its entirety. The heading of 1QS is **וזה הסרך לאנשי היחד** (“This (is) the rule for the men of the Community”).<sup>11</sup> The heading of 4QS<sup>b,d</sup> is **על אנשי מדרש למשכיל** (“Midrash for the Maskil concerning the men of the Torah”). The latter may be compared with the terms **מדרש התורה** (CD 20:6) or **מדרש התורה האחרון** in 4Q266 11 20 (= 4Q270 7 ii 15), where the term **מדרש** is a title of a book of rules for the Community, as suggested by Stegemann,<sup>12</sup> and not an interpretive term.<sup>13</sup> For the term **אנשי התורה**, cf. the title **בית התורה** (“the house of the Torah”) for the Community in CD 20:13. The authority of the Community of which its members are to be disciplined according to 4QS<sup>b,d</sup> is “the Many,” a term that differs from “the Sons of Zaddok the priests” and “the multitude of the men of the Community” in 1QS. Most scholars agree that the reference to “the many” reflects a more democratic constitution than does “the Sons of Zadok,”<sup>14</sup> suggesting a different stage of orga-

<sup>11</sup> Another heading appears in 1QS 1:1 and 4QpapS<sup>a</sup> (= 4Q255) 1:1.

<sup>12</sup> Hartmut Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus* (Freiburg: Herder, 1993), 165.

<sup>13</sup> See Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim* (CQS 3; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 48–52. However, the term **סרך** is common in headings of rules in the scrolls (1QS 1:1; 6:8; 1QSa 1:1, 6; CD 10:4; 12:19, 22; 13:7; 14:3, 12; 1QM 3:13; 5:3; 8:14; 9:10).

<sup>14</sup> One may suggest that the terms **הרבים** (“the many”) and **רוב אנשי היחד** (“the majority of the men of the Community”) in 1QS 5:2–3) are parallels. See James H. Charlesworth’s suggestion that the omission of the Sons of Zadok etc. in 4QS<sup>b,d</sup> may be due to parablepsis, when the scribe’s eyes jumped from the first **על פי** to the second (*The Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translation:*

nization of the Community than that recorded in 1QS. However, they do not agree about the historical sequence of these stages.<sup>15</sup> The three goals of the Community as a whole are concentrated in 4QS<sup>b,d</sup> into one: the establishment of an eternal foundation. However, the rules of atonement and the determination of the judgment of wickedness are mentioned in 4QS<sup>d</sup> 6:4 (par. to 1QS 8:10), and the rule of atonement is elaborated in 4QS<sup>d</sup> 7:4–6 (par. to 1QS 9:4–5).<sup>16</sup> Thus, even though these variants reflect different recensions of the scroll, and perhaps different historical stages of the Community organization, the similar order of these primary rules suggests a common source.

### 3. *The Implementation of the Principle Rules*

As the principle rules of this list are short and of a concentrated nature, a certain elaboration is needed to adapt them to practical implementation. This elaboration follows upon the aforementioned list in 1QS and 4QS<sup>b,d,e,g</sup>. In studying the elaboration in these versions one may notice that subsequent rules follow, not just the contents of these basic rules, but almost their entire order (see the attached table).

The elaboration of these rules opens in 1QS with the heading **ואלה** **ותכונן דרכיהם על כול החוקים האלה בהאספם ליחד** (“These are the regulations concerning all their ways when they are gathered as a community” 5:7b). The other versions do not have this heading.

#### A. *Obligations of Each Member of the Community as Individuals*

The elaboration of the three personal obligations of each member of the Community—repentance, performance of the commandments of the Lord, and separation from the men of evil—is shorter in the

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*Rule of the Community and Related Texts* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994], 19 n. 84). However, the missing reference to the Sons of Zadok in 4QS<sup>b,d</sup> is not accidental, but deliberate, as this reference that appears again in 1QS 5:9 is missing in 4QS<sup>b,d</sup>. See Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, DJD 26:96. But see *ibid.*, 100–101 for their comments to 4QS<sup>d</sup> 2:1–2 where the authority is of the sons of Aaron and the majority of Israel is mentioned as it is in 1QS 5:21–22. Philip Alexander noted that this continued deference in 4QS<sup>d</sup> to priestly authority sits awkwardly with the very “democratic” position of 4QS<sup>b,d</sup>. Cf. Philip S. Alexander, “The Redaction History of *Serekh Ha-Yahad*: A Proposal,” *RevQ* 17/65–68 (1996): 437–56, at 451.

<sup>15</sup> For this controversy see Alexander, “The Redaction History,” 450–51.

<sup>16</sup> This section will be discussed below.

versions from Cave 4 than it is in 1QS 5:7c–20a, as most of them were written without reference to biblical proof-texts.<sup>17</sup>

The obligation of each member of the Community to repent from all evil and to perform the commandments of the Lord are interrelated in 1QS and 4QS<sup>b,d</sup>, as these are to be fulfilled by taking upon oneself a binding oath to return to the Torah of Moses with all one's heart and all one's soul regarding everything revealed from the Torah in the Community (1QS 5:7b–10a; 4QS<sup>b</sup> 9:6b–8a; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 1:5b–7a).

The obligation of each member to separate from men of evil is to be fulfilled by prohibiting anyone who is not accounted in the covenant of the Community to touch the purity of the men of holiness (1QS 5:13, 4QS<sup>b</sup> 9:8–9a; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 1:7b–8a);<sup>18</sup> by preventing members of the community from any partnership with the men of evil in eating, working, or property (1QS 5:14, 16b–17a; 4QS<sup>b</sup> 9:9b, 10b–13; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 1:8b, 9b–11);<sup>19</sup> and by not responding to their utterance with respect to any law or judgment (1QS 5:15–16; 4QS<sup>b</sup> 9:9c–10a; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 1:8c–9a).

#### B. *Obligations of relationships within the Community*

The elaboration of the rules of the relationships within the Community opens in 1QS, 4QS<sup>d</sup>, and 4QS<sup>s</sup> (partly preserved) with a general procedure of acceptance for membership to the Community based upon decision of the highest authority of the Community (“the sons of Aaron” 1QS 5:21; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 2:1) and the majority of Israel (1QS 5:22b; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 2:2); or just the majority of Israel (4QS<sup>s</sup> 1 1–2). It continues in 1QS and 4QS<sup>d</sup> with the hierarchical rule of discipline among the members of the Community, in which the lesser are to obey the greater. In practice, the implementation of this rule precedes the rules of partnership (the 4th principle), as discipline (the 5th principle) regulates the formal relationships required for implementing partnerships. It is followed by requiring humility and righteousness when reproaching

<sup>17</sup> Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden, 1997), 108–9, has suggested that these biblical proof-texts in 1QS are later additions.

<sup>18</sup> According to 1QS 5:13b–14a, this rule includes the prevention of immersing anyone in the water of the community who is not accounted in the covenant of the Community.

<sup>19</sup> The reference to “nations and oaths and bans and vows” written in 4QS<sup>d</sup> 1:12 in its context may refer to the description of outsiders from whom the members of the Community are to be separated. However, as this sentence has no parallel in 1QS, one may suspect an erroneous match here. See Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:98.

each other, to prevent one from walking astray from the rules of the Community (1QS 5:23–6:1; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 2:3–6a; 4QS<sup>s</sup> 1 4–6; 4QS<sup>i</sup> lines 1–2a partly preserved).<sup>20</sup> After arranging these rules of discipline, the rule of partnership and unity is elaborated, as follows.

The heading *באלה יתהלכו בכול מגוריהם* (“In these {precepts} they shall walk in all their dwellings”) opens the rules of partnership and unity that apply to small groups of ten members of the Community (1QS 6:1c–2a; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 2:6b; 4QS<sup>i</sup> line 2). The partnership within such groups relates to eating, praying, and giving counsel (1QS 6:2c–8a; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 2:6c–10; 4QS<sup>s</sup> 2 1–5; 4QS<sup>i</sup> lines 3–5 partly preserved).

The rules of consultation in unity are detailed and exemplified by the procedure for acceptance of a new member to the Community. The heading *זה הסדר למושב הרבים* (“This is the rule for the session of the general members”) opens the procedure of consultation in unity (1QS 6:8).<sup>21</sup> This procedure emphasizes the hierarchical order of the council. It determines the order of sitting, each one in his proper place, from the greater ones—the priests and the elders, unto the lesser ones—the rest of the people. This is also the order of speaking (1QS 6:8c–13a; 4QS<sup>b</sup> 11:5–8a; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 3:1–3).<sup>22</sup> The procedure of accepting a new member to the Community follows the procedure of the consultation, as the decision on this matter regarding each stage of the candidate should be made by the council of the Community. All the data of this procedure are preserved in 1QS 6:13b–23, but are also preserved very fragmentally in 4QS<sup>b</sup> 11:8b–13 and in 4QS<sup>s</sup> 3 1.<sup>23</sup>

The prevention of members of the community from going astray (the 7th principle) is another matter that belongs to the discussions of the Council of the Community. A detailed penal code concerning

<sup>20</sup> See Bilhah Nitzan, “The Laws of Reproof in 4QBerakhot (4Q286–290) in Light of their Parallels in the Damascus Covenant and Other Texts from Qumran,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the IOQS* (ed. Moshe J. Bernstein et al.; STDJ 22; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 149–65; and eadem, DJD 11:41–48, 62–63.

<sup>21</sup> This heading does not appear in 4QS versions, of which this section was fragmentally preserved.

<sup>22</sup> This order of sitting and counseling takes place also in a group of ten members (1QS 6:4; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 2:8b; 4QS<sup>s</sup> 2 3b–4a; 4QS<sup>i</sup> 5) and in the eschatological community of Israel (1QSa 2:11–22).

<sup>23</sup> There is similarity of the procedure of the acceptance of new members between the Qumran Community and some Greek and Roman communities, as it has been demonstrated by Moshe Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 55–57, 78.

those members who breach the Community rules is written in 1QS 6:24–7:25; 4QS<sup>g</sup> fragments 3 2–6 5, and is partly preserved also in 4QS<sup>d</sup> 5:1 and 4QS<sup>e</sup> 1:4–2:9a. It opens with the heading ואלה המשפטים אשר יחד על פי הדברים ישפטו בם במדרש יחד על פי הדברים (“These are the rules by which cases to be decided at a community inquiry”;<sup>24</sup> 1QS 6:24), that also appears in 4QS<sup>g</sup> (without the words במדרש יחד). The data of this penal code are parallel in 1QS and 4QS<sup>g</sup>, except for minor variants.<sup>25</sup>

### C. *The Goals of the Community as a Whole*

The goals of the Community as a collectivity are written in 1QS 8:1–9:11; 4QS<sup>e</sup> 2:9–3:6a, and 4QS<sup>d</sup> 6:1–7:9 (partly preserved). This section deals with a congregation of fifteen men, twelve men from Israel and three priests “perfect in all that has been revealed from all the Torah” for establishing a House of Holiness in Israel. Most scholars agree that this section of the *Rule of the Community* reflects the first stage of the organization of the Community, that its rules represent the primitive manifesto of the Community, and describe the proto-community from which it grew (cf. CD 1:5–11).<sup>26</sup> This section is a composite one, composed of several parts (see below). The first part deals with the obligations of the members of this congregation (1QS 8:2–4a; 4QS<sup>e</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Alexander and Vermes suggest that the word מדרש is to be understood here with the meaning of judicial inquiry, stemming from דרש as in Deut 13:15 ודרשת היטב אחד דיני ממונות ואחד דיני נפשות בדרישה 4:1 וחקרת ושאלת היטב ובחקירה (DJD 26:178). For this meaning of דרש cf. 1QS 5:20; 6:14 (Licht, *The Rule Scroll*, 158).

<sup>25</sup> See DJD 26:177–186, where Alexander and Vermes note also the variants between this penal code and the one that appears in 4Q266 10 i 14–ii 15. For these penal codes see Joseph M. Baumgarten, DJD 18:72–75; idem, “The Cave 4 Versions of the Qumran Penal Code,” *JJS* 43 (1992): 268–76; Charlotte Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document* (STDJ 29; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 141–48; 189–90.

<sup>26</sup> Alexander, “The Redaction History,” 441; Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, “La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté,” *RB* 76 (1969): 528–49, esp. 529; Jean Pouilly, *La Règle de la Communauté de Qumrân: son évolution littéraire* (CahRB 17; Paris: Gabalda, 1976); Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 77–78; Robert A. J. Gagnon, “How the Rule of the Community Obtained Its Final Shape: A Review of Scholarly Research,” *JSP* 10 (1992): 61–79, esp. 70–73, where he discusses Murphy-O’Connor’s thesis. However, Licht proposes that this section clarifies some of the principles and hopes of the Community (*The Rule Scroll*, 19, 167–75), and Devorah Dimant, “Qumran Sectarian Literature,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. Michael E. Stone; CRINT 2; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 498, suggests that this section sets out a model of an ideal congregation.

2:9b–13a), and with the ideal goals of the congregation. These are: to establish a House of Holiness for Israel, to atone for the land, and to repay the wicked their reward (1QS 8:4b–10b; 4QS<sup>e</sup> 2:13b–18a; and 4QS<sup>d</sup> 6:1–4a partly preserved). If this section reflects the first stage of the organization of the Community, one may ask: why is this primitive manifesto written after those sections that relate to the more developed stages of its organization? The answer to this may be inferred from the phrase *ביתכון העת בהיות אלה בישראל* (“when these become to be in Israel”; 1QS 8:4b; 4QS<sup>e</sup> 2:13b), that opens two additional parts of this section (see below). This phrase implies that the ideal goals of the congregation are to be effective at the determined time for their realization. It may be that the perfect pioneer congregation hoped to realize these goals in its own time, as has been suggested by Murphy-O’Connor.<sup>27</sup> However, one might also conjecture that when this section of the *Rule of the Community* was edited, the ideal hopes of the aforementioned congregation could not still be realized, and the Community was still striving to bring them forth; that is to say, the fulfillment of the manifesto’s goals was deferred to the future,<sup>28</sup> and thus these hopes became the eschatological goals of the Community. This may have been the reason for recording these ideal eschatological goals as obligations of the Community following the obligations for the present, both in the decalogue of its principles and in the entire scroll.

The central place of the eschatological goals—establishment of an eternal foundation, atonement, condemnation of the transgressors—and their importance in this section is clear from the literary system by which they are repeated. Jacob Licht defined these as three slogans, written in three parallel groups, as follows:<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Murphy-O’Connor, “La genèse littéraire,” 529.

<sup>28</sup> Alexander, “The Redaction History,” 441.

<sup>29</sup> Licht, *The Rule Scroll*, 170–75.

Slogans	Group A	Group B	Group C
	1QS 8:5b–8a <sup>30</sup>	1QS 8:8b–10 <sup>31</sup>	1QS 9:3b–5a <sup>32</sup>
Foundation	an eternal plant the House of Holiness consisting of Israel, a most Holy assembly for Aaron...	a most holy dwelling for Aaron <sup>33</sup> ... a house of perfection and truth in Israel upholding the covenant of eternal statutes	a foundation of a Holy Spirit in eternal truth
Atonement	chosen by God's will to atone for the land	they will be accepted to atone for the land	they shall atone for iniquities, guilt, and for sinful unfaithfulness, so that (God's) favor for the land (is obtained) without the flesh of burnt offering and without the fat of sacrifices. The proper offering of the lips for judgment (is as) a righteous sweetness, and the perfect of the way (are as) a pleasing freewill offering
Condemnation of the transgressors	to repay the wicked their reward	to decide judgment over wickedness	

According to this section, as well as additional writings from Qumran, these slogans became the eschatological goals of the Community. The eternal existence of the Community as a foundation of holiness is interpreted in this section by two metaphors. The metaphor of an

<sup>30</sup> Cf. 4QS<sup>d</sup> 6:1–2a; 4QS<sup>e</sup> 2:14b–16a.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. 4QS<sup>d</sup> 6:2c–4b; 4QS<sup>e</sup> 2:16b–18a.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. 4QS<sup>d</sup> 7:4b–6a.

<sup>33</sup> The authority of the priests of Aaron in this section (cf. 1QS 9:6, 7; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 7:6, 7; 4QS<sup>e</sup> 2:14, 17) may represent another stage in the history of the Community than that of the Sons of Zadok the Priests—probably its former stage (see below).

eternal plant, alluding to Isa 60:21, appears also in 1QS 11:8; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 14:18; 16:7; etc.,<sup>34</sup> while the metaphor of a tested wall, alluding to Isa 28:16, appears also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 14:29; 15:12.<sup>35</sup> The symbolism of the Community as a foundation of holiness, which in its perfection in fulfilling the statutes of the Torah assigns it for atonement of the land, appears in 1QSa 1:1–3.<sup>36</sup> The condemnation of the wicked and their eschatological annihilation of which the members of the Community and the righteous of Israel will take part is mentioned in 1QS 9:23 (par. 4QS<sup>d</sup> 8:7c; 4QS<sup>e</sup> 4:4c–5a); 10:19; 1QSa 1:21; 1QpHab 5:4–5a; the *War Scroll*, etc.).<sup>37</sup>

The formulation of the goals of this perfect and united congregation and the way of their performing are similarly opened by the phrase *בְּהִיּוֹת אֱלֹהֵי בִישְׂרָאֵל* (1QS 8:4b, 12b; 9:3; par. 4QS<sup>d</sup> 6:6b; 7:4a; 4QS<sup>e</sup> 2:13; 3:3b). The first opening is followed by the goal of a foundation of a House of Holiness (1QS 8:5b–8 and 4QS parallels). The second opening is followed by the rule that obligates the separation of this congregation from the session of the men of deceit by departing into the wilderness to prepare the way of the Lord as it is written in Isa 40:3, and revealed in the study of the Torah and the prophets (see 1QS 8:12b–16a; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 6:6b–8a; 4QS<sup>e</sup> 3:3b–6a). Ideologically, this rule symbolizes the historical wondering of the Exodus for being worthy for salvation, and enables the unified devotion of the Community for realizing its goals. Presumably, this rule became a goal for the groups of the developed Community, whereas meanwhile it was necessary to specify rules for the separation of individuals who newly joined the Community (1QS 5:10–20a). In 4QS<sup>e</sup> this part closes the section of this manifesto of the Community. The third opening is followed by the interpretation of the worthiness of the congregation to atone for the iniquities of the land, even without offering and sacrifices. The perfection of their way, and their prayers are considered equivalent to righteous sweetness and pleasing freewill offerings (1QS 9:3–5a; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 7:4–6a).<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See Licht, *The Rule Scroll*, 174. According to this metaphor the Community, which is symbolized as a young plant, or as a root of plant (CD 1:7), will grow unto an eternal being. The columns and line numbers of 1QH<sup>a</sup> are according to DJD 40.

<sup>35</sup> See *ibid.*, 175.

<sup>36</sup> The term “a congregation of holiness” appears in 1QSa 1:9, 12–13; 2:9.

<sup>37</sup> See Licht, *The Rule Scroll*, 175, 192, 242.

<sup>38</sup> The liturgical texts from Qumran demonstrate the fulfillment of this principle. See Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 47–69; Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*



If we accept the conjecture that 1QS 8:1–9:11 represents the manifesto of the proto-community from which it grew, then this congregation may have represented the pre-Maccabean Hasidim (cf. 1 Macc 2:29, 41),<sup>39</sup> the Sadducees,<sup>40</sup> or an apocalyptic circle of priests and Israelites that professed to represent the ideal nation of Israel by perfection in performing the Torah commandments according to the halakic interpretation revealed to them.<sup>41</sup> The pioneer group became a root/plant of a larger Community following the schism in Second Temple Judaism regarding the transition from the Zadokite high-priesthood to the Maccabean priesthood.<sup>42</sup> This social and religious upheaval may have catalyzed the growth of the Community by men who were close politically and religiously to the pioneer congregation. But the joining of new members to the Community required changes in its organization—especially in its structure, that became more democratic<sup>43</sup>—and in the practical organization of the Community groups.<sup>44</sup> The main religious and ethical friendship rules did not change, but were elaborated for a society that was not homogeneous, but consisted of different members—veterans and newcomers, devoted members and indifferent ones—a reality that required a detailed penal code. Historically, the national goals could not be realized, and the goals became eschatological ones. This complex reality is stated both in the codex of Community rules written in 1QS 5–7 and its 4QS parallels, and in the rules stated in 1QS 8–9:11 and its 4QS parallels, which became a composite series of primitive and new rules that were embedded within the primitive ones.

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in the *Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998); Esther Chazon, “Prayers from Qumran and their Historical Implications,” *DSD* 1 (1994): 265–84.

<sup>39</sup> See Murphy-O’Connor, “La genèse littéraire,” 531.

<sup>40</sup> See Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1994), 82–95.

<sup>41</sup> This is the conclusion of Florentino García Martínez after discussing four hypotheses of the origin of the Community in his *Qumranica Minora I* (ed. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar; STDJ 63; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 67–77.

<sup>42</sup> See Florentino García Martínez, “The Origin of the Essene Movement and the Qumran Sect,” in idem and Julio Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 77–81, 86–96.

<sup>43</sup> See 4QS<sup>b</sup> 9:2–3, 7–8; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 1:2, 7 where only the “many” or the “council of the men of the *Yahad*” are mentioned, whereas in 1QS 5:2–3, 9–10a the majority of the men of the *Yahad* are mentioned with the Sons of Zadok the priests. See above n. 14.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. 1QS 6:1c–8a; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 2:6b–10; 4QS<sup>e</sup> 2; 4QS<sup>i</sup> lines 2–5.

The assumption that 1QS 8–9:11 originated as the primitive manifesto of the Community is based on its composite nature, which reflects a differentiation between a perfect congregation and a common community. New rules may be discerned in this chapter of the scroll in those cases that distinguish between the “men of holiness” and the “men of the *Yahad*,” as has been suggested by Philip Alexander.<sup>45</sup> These are probably the following rules: (1) The rule regarding the setting apart as holy the most perfect members in the midst of the council of the men of the Community, and that “everything which has been concealed from Israel and is found by somebody who studies (in the variegated groups of the Community) he shall not conceal it from these from backsliding spirit” (1QS 8:10–12; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 6:4b–6); (2) possibly the penal rule in 1QS 8:16b–19 (par. 4QS<sup>d</sup> 6:8b–11a) regarding the men of the *Yahad* who violate the Community precept, a rule that applies also to everyone who joins the Community. This penal code is followed by an additional penal code in 1QS 8:20–9:2 (par. 4QS<sup>d</sup> 6:11b–7:3) regarding “the men of perfect holiness... who transgress the word of the Torah of Moses,” that is written in a separate section. These two rules differ from one another both with regard to the men they refer to, the “men of the *Yahad*,” vis-à-vis the “men of perfect holiness,” and regarding the violated rules, the precept of the Community (cf. CD 10:3) vis-à-vis Moses’ Law.<sup>46</sup> We may assume that both parts of the penal code were required when the Community grew.<sup>47</sup> The rules regarding the “men of the *Yahad*” may possibly have been considered additional to “the first judgments in which the men of the Community began to be instructed” (1QS 9:10; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 7:9;

<sup>45</sup> Alexander, “The Redaction History,” 441.

<sup>46</sup> See Licht, *The Rule Scroll*, 183, 185; Metso wrote: “A difference of practice can be observed in them, and this difference indicates two different stages in the development of this legislation,” *The Textual Development*, 72. In addition, these two rules distinguish between sins that have occurred intentionally or unintentionally. See Elisha Qimron, “Terminology for Intention used in the Legal Texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Division A (Jerusalem: The World Union of Jewish Studies, 1990), 103–10 [Hebrew]; Gary A. Anderson, “Intentional and Unintentional Sin in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* (ed. David P. Wright et al.: Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 49–64; Aharon Shemesh, *Punishments and Sins: From Scripture to Rabbis* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2003), 57–82, 96–97 [Hebrew].

<sup>47</sup> Murphy-O’Connor places both of them in the second stage in the history of the Community, “La genèse littéraire,” 532–33.

cf. CD 20:31–32).<sup>48</sup> If these suggestions are correct, we may assume that when the primitive manifesto of the Community was edited for a developed Community, the edited recension became a model of an ideal community, as has been suggested by Licht and Dimant.<sup>49</sup> This ideal community was considered to be worthy to fulfill the eschatological goals for the salvation of Israel.

Some of the obligations that characterized the perfect congregation became the main principles of the developed Community, e.g. performing everything that had been revealed from the whole Torah; performing the ethical rules of righteousness, justice, merciful love, and circumspect walking, each one with his fellow, which enabled the friendship and unity in the congregation; and separating from the men of evil (1QS 8:1–4a; 12b–13a; 4QS<sup>c</sup> 2:9b–13a; 3:3b–4a). Thus the goals of the holy congregation that intended to change the sinful reality in Israel, to atone for the land, and to repay the wicked their reward, became the goals of the developed Community.

#### 4. Conclusion

On the basis of the above presentation, we may conclude that the principle rules of the Community (the Community “Decalogue”), are elaborated in 1QS 5:1–9:11 and its 4Q parallels according to their order. The Community adapted them for practical implementation. The sequence in which the different topics are preserved successively in the several recensions of the scroll (see 4QS<sup>b</sup> 9; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 1–3; 4QS<sup>e</sup> 1–3; 4QS<sup>g</sup> 3–6; 4QS<sup>i</sup>) may demonstrate that this part was considered a definite catalogue of rules of the *Rule of the Community*,<sup>50</sup> probably consolidated during the first century B.C.E.<sup>51</sup> Only in this part of the

<sup>48</sup> See *ibid.*, 531.

<sup>49</sup> See above n. 26. Metso, *The Textual Development*, 118, suggests another conclusion. Considering the fact that 4QS<sup>c</sup> comprises only the text of 1QS 8:1–15, which is followed by the laws for the *Maskil*, Metso proposes that this section formed just an introductory passage for the following section addressed to this wise leader, comparable with two other introductions in 1QS, those of the beginning of cols. 1 and 5.

<sup>50</sup> Metso, *ibid.*, 108, emphasizes that “none of the manuscripts from cave 4 displays physical evidence that columns 1QS V–VII and VIII–IX ever existed separately.”

<sup>51</sup> For this suggestion one may consider the latest date of 1QS, 75 B.C.E., until 1 B.C.E., of which the recensions of 4QS<sup>b,d,g,i</sup> were copied. As for the complete and most professional copied manuscript of 1QS, its paleographical date may be doubtful. One should not exclude the possibility that a conservative scribe copied it in an

scroll are the members of the Community labeled “the men of the *Yahad*,” or “the men of holiness,” and not “the Sons of Light” as in the theological part of 1QS 1–4. This part of the scroll also includes historical evidence for the growth of the Community and its transition to a democratic regime. Thus this part may be considered the heart of the Community rules for the present. The several variants between the different recensions of this part do not abolish each other; rather, they represent the main rules of the Community and could be used by the developed community.<sup>52</sup> One may notice that some of the main principles of the Community are mentioned in the theological portion of the Rule Scroll (1QS 1–4 and its 4Q parallels)<sup>53</sup> and in the precepts for the *Maskil* (1QS 9:12–11:22).<sup>54</sup> However, in both of these parts these principles do not set forth in the same order of the Community’s rules, but they are integrated within the theological context of the dualistic struggle between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness in 1QS 1–4, and within the duties of the *Maskil* as the chief administrator and conductor of the Community. This distinction between the catalogue of rules of 1QS 5:1–9:11 and the other parts of the *Rule of the Community* may be regarded as further evidence for the definite characteristic of this catalogue for shaping the life of the Community during its present existence.

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earlier paleographical mode than it was used in his generation, as suggested by Licht, *The Rule Scroll*, 4, and Alexander, “The Redaction History,” 449.

<sup>52</sup> See Alexander, “The Redaction History,” 449; Metso, *The Textual Development*, 154.

<sup>53</sup> Some principle rules of the Community for the volunteers in 1QS 1:1–15 are written in the following order: performing the commandments of the Lord (1QS 1:1–9a, 13b–18a; 4QpapS<sup>a</sup> [= 4Q255] frg. 1; 4QS<sup>b</sup> 2:1–3; 4QpapS<sup>c</sup> 1:1–2); friendship with the Sons of Light (1QS 1:9b–10a) and hatred upon the Sons of Darkness (1QS 1:10b–11a; 4QS<sup>b</sup> frg. 1); partnership in the Community (1QS 1:11b–13a); and Atonement (1QS 3:6b–9a; 4QpapS<sup>c</sup> 3:9–12a).

<sup>54</sup> Some principle rules of the Community for the *Maskil* are written in the following order: performance of the commandments of the Lord (1QS 9:13a, 23c–25; 4QS<sup>c</sup> 3:8b; 4:5c–6a); Separation from the men of evil (1QS 9:16a–17a, 21c–23a; 4QS<sup>b</sup> 18:5b–7; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 8:6b–7a; 4QS<sup>c</sup> 3:13c–15a; 4:3b–4a); eschatological revenge of the wicked (1QS 9:23b; 4QS<sup>d</sup> 8:7c; 4QS<sup>c</sup> 4:5b); and repentance (1QS 10:11b).

<b>Principle Rules</b>	<b>IQS</b> 100-75 B.C.E.	<b>4QS<sup>b</sup> (4Q256)</b> 30-1 B.C.E.	<b>4QS<sup>d</sup> (4Q258)</b> 30-1 B.C.E.	<b>4QS<sup>c</sup> (4Q259)</b> 50-25 B.C.E.	<b>4QS<sup>e</sup> (4Q261)</b> 50-1 B.C.E.	<b>4QS<sup>f</sup> (4Q263)</b> 30-1 B.C.E.
<b>Decalogue of Principles</b>	<b>5:1-7a</b>	<b>9:1-5a</b> (partly) 9:1-2a	<b>1:1-5a</b> (partly) 1:1-2a			
<b>A. Obligations as individuals</b>	5:1-2a	9:1-2a	1:1-2a			
1. Repentance	+	+	+			
2. Performing the Torah laws	+	+	+			
3. Separation from men of evil	+	+	+			
<b>B. Relationships within the Community</b>	5:2b-5a	9:2b-4	1:2b-4a			
4. Partnership in Torah and wealth	+	+	+			
5. Discipline to the Community authorities	+	+	+			
6. Friendship and honesty	+	+	+			
7. Refraining from going astray	+	+	+			
<b>C. The Community goals</b>	5:5b-7a	9:5-6a	1:4b-5a			
8. Establishing an eternal foundation	+	+	+			
9. Atonement	+	-	-			
10. Condemnation of transgressors	+	-	-			
<b>Implication of the Principle rules</b>	<b>5:7b-9:11</b>	<b>9:6b-11:13</b>	<b>1:5b-7:9</b>	<b>1:1-3:6a</b>	<b>Frgs. 1-6</b>	<b>Lines 1-5</b>
<b>A. Obligations as individuals</b>	5:7c-20a	9:6b-13	1:5b-11			
1. Repentance	By taking an oath (5:7b-10a)	By taking an oath (9:6b-8a)	By taking an oath (1:5b-7a)			
	+ By the oath	+ By the oath	+ By the oath			
2. Performing the Torah laws						

Table (cont.)

Principle Rules	1QS 100-75 B.C.E.	4QS <sup>b</sup> (4Q256) 30-1 B.C.E.	4QS <sup>d</sup> (4Q258) 30-1 B.C.E.	4QS <sup>e</sup> (4Q259) 50-25 B.C.E.	4QS <sup>f</sup> (4Q261) 50-1 B.C.E.	4QS <sup>i</sup> (4Q263) 30-1 B.C.E.
3. Separation from the men of evil						
By taking an oath (5:10b)		9:8b	1:7b			
+ definition of the wicked (5:10c-13a)		By the oath	By the oath			
Preventing the men of evil from touching the purity of the men of holiness + its argument (5:13b-14a)		9:8c-9a	I:7c-8a			
Preventing any partnership with the men of evil		9:9b-11b	1:8b-10a			
+ arguments (5:14b-18a)						
Preventing from leaning on deeds		9:11c-13	1:10b-11			
of vanity + its argument (5:18b-20a)						
		+	+			

Table (cont.)

Principle Rules	1QS 100-75 B.C.E.	4QS <sup>b</sup> (4Q256) 30-1 B.C.E.	4QS <sup>d</sup> (4Q258) 30-1 B.C.E.	4QS <sup>c</sup> (4Q259) 50-25 B.C.E.	4QS <sup>e</sup> (4Q261) 50-1 B.C.E.	4QS <sup>f</sup> (4Q263) 30-1 B.C.E.
<b>B. Relationships within the Community</b>	5:20b-7:25	11:5-13	2:1-5:1	1:4-2:9a	Frgs. 1-6	Lines 1-5
	Acceptance to the Community according to the decision of the Community's authorities (5:20b-23a)		2:1-3a (partly preserved)		Fig. 1 1-3 (partly preserved)	
<b>5. Discipline</b>	Discipline in hierarchical order. Obeying the lesser one to the greater (5:23b-24a)		2:3b-4a		Fig. 1 4-6a	
<b>6. Friendship and Honesty</b>	Rebuking each other in loving-kindness and honesty (5:24b-6:1b)		2:4b-6a			Lines 1-2a (partly preserved)
<b>4. Partnership</b>	Partnership in work, wealth, Torah, consultation, and prayer (6:1c-8a)		2:6b-10		Fig. 2 1-5 (partly preserved)	Lines 2b-5 (partly preserved)

Table (cont.)

Principle Rules	1QS 100-75 B.C.E.	4QS <sup>b</sup> (4Q256) 30-1 B.C.E.	4QS <sup>d</sup> (4Q258) 30-1 B.C.E.	4QS <sup>e</sup> (4Q259) 50-25 B.C.E.	4QS <sup>f</sup> (4Q261) 50-1 B.C.E.	4QS <sup>i</sup> (4Q263) 30-1 B.C.E.
4a. The practice of the Community's consultation	6:8c-13a	11:5-8a (partly preserved)	3:1-3 (partly preserved)			
4b. Procedure of acceptance of a new member	6:13b-23	11:8b-13 (partly preserved)			Fig. 3 1 (partly preserved)	
7. Penal code of those who go astray	6:24-7:25		5:1 (partly preserved)	1:4-2:9a	Figs. 3 2-6 5 (partly preserved)	
C. The Community Goals						
8. Establishing an eternal foundation: house of eternal holiness	8:4b-10a		6:2b-4a (Partly reserved)	2:13b-18a		
8a. Separating to the wilderness to prepare the way of the Lord	8:12b-16a		6:6b-8a	3:3b-6a		
9. Atonement	8:6b, 10b (supra) 9:3-5a		[6:4a]	2:15b		
9a. Perfection of the way and offering of the lips are equivalent to a pleasing freewill offering			7:4-6a	-		
10. Condemnation of transgressors	8:6c-7a		[6:4b]	2:15c-16a		
10a. To decide judgment over wickedness	8:10c (supra)					





THE RIGHT OF COUNSEL AND THE IDEA OF PURITY IN  
THE *RULE OF THE COMMUNITY* (1QS) AND  
THE *RULE OF THE CONGREGATION* (1QSA)

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1. *Introduction*

From the early days of Qumran scholarship it has been held that the Qumran sectaries (whoever they were) conflated the concepts of physical impurity<sup>1</sup> and impurity resulting from sin (which I will refer to as “sin-impurity”), which are believed to have been clearly distinct in the Hebrew Bible. This view is maintained by Jacob Neusner, Alfred R. C. Leaney, Florentino García Martínez, Jonathan Klawans and many others.<sup>2</sup> The *Rule of the Community* is the central text in the discussion of connection between impurity and sin at Qumran. The discourse generally revolves around the water-purification passages (1QS 3:4–9; 5:13–14) and the rules of admission to טהרת הרבים (usually translated as “the pure food” or “purity of the Many”) and משקה הרבים (“drink of the many”; 1QS 5:13–14; 6:16–17, 24–25, etc.). While interpretation of these passages also calls for re-evaluation, in the present investigation I will consider yet another element that carries information about purity beliefs of the sectaries, but is rarely taken into account, namely,

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<sup>1</sup> This type of impurity is generally labelled “ritual impurity.” The term “ritual” is, however, problematic as scholars appear to mean different things by it. For the summary of the reasons against using it see Jacob Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism* (SJLA 1; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 1.

<sup>2</sup> Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 54; Alfred R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (NTL; London: SCM, 1966), 139; Florentino García Martínez, “The Problem of Purity: the Qumran Solution,” in *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Florentino García Martínez and Julio Trebolle Barrera; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 139–57, at 154–55; Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 69–70, 75–79. Cf. Hannah K. Harrington, “The Nature of Impurity at Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 610–16 at 612; Martha Himmelfarb, “Impurity and Sin in 4QD, 1QS, and 4Q512,” *DSD* 8 (2001): 9–37.

the right of counsel. What I call the “right of counsel” is the right of full members to contribute their opinion or advice to the community. The regulations concerning the right of counsel appear both in the *Rule of the Community* and in the closely related *Rule of the Congregation*, which formed part of the same scroll. The evidence from these texts, examined side by side, renders illuminating results that challenge the “conflation” theory.

## 2. *Right of Counsel and Sin-Impurity in IQS*

Discernment of divine wisdom and knowledge of God’s laws, hidden and revealed, were the pillars upon which the community behind IQS rested and the measure of one’s adequacy as a member. Without this knowledge one could neither be expected to realize his sins, nor to amend his ways. Anyone willing to join the community was tested repeatedly with regard to his “insight” or “spirit” and his “deed(s)” during the period of probation (IQS 6:14 “shall test him with regard to his insight and his deeds”; 6:17 “with regard to his spirit and his deed”; 6:18 “about his affairs, concerning his insight and deeds of the law”). When a novice was fully admitted to the community, both his possessions and his intellectual and spiritual wealth was integrated:

And if (22) the lot results in him joining the Community, they shall enter him in the Rule according to his rank among his brothers for the law, for the judgement, for purity (לְטוֹהָרָה) and for the integration of his property. And his counsel will be (23) for the Community as will his judgement (וְיֵהִי עֲצָתוֹ לְיַחֵד וּמִשְׁפָּטוֹ). (IQS 6:22–23)<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> עֲצָה here (and likewise in IQS 6:4; 8:25) definitely means “counsel” (or “advice”), to be distinguished from the other instances where it refers to the community as a whole (usually in construct state, e.g., IQS 3:2; 6:14, 16; עֲצָת הַיַּחֵד; 6:16: עֲצָת הַרְבִּימִים; 2:25; 8:21: עֲצָת קוֹדֶשׁ; cf. 8:11: עֲצָת אֲנָשֵׁי הַיַּחֵד; IQS 1:8, 10: עֲצָת אֵל; 3:6: עֲצָת אִמָּת (אֵל)). According to Jean Pouilly, *La Règle de la communauté de Qumran: Son évolution littéraire* (CahRB 17; Paris: Gabalda, 1976), 20–21, the term עֲצָה (as well as the term יַחֵד) changed its meaning throughout the different stages of the community’s development. Moshe Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (NTOA 2; Fribourg: Editions Universitaires, 1986), 16–19 and some other scholars maintain that עֲצָת הַיַּחֵד refers to the governing body of the community (IQS 8:1–2). Against this view see, Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), 29–30; Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World, 200 B.C. to A.D. 200 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 129. For further discussion, see Charlotte Hempel, “Emerging Communal Life and Ideology in the S Tradition,”

The soundness of one's "insight/spirit" and one's "deeds" determined one's place in the communal hierarchy and was subject to annual examination:

(23) And they shall be recorded in order, one before the other, according to one's insight and one's deeds, in such a way that each one obeys another, the junior the senior. And (24) their spirit and their deeds must be tested, year after year, in order to promote each one to the extent of his insight and the perfection of his path, or to demote him according to his failings.<sup>4</sup> (1QS 5:23–24)

However, the lapsed members who had committed a grave transgression warranting reduction of their status to that of a novice, alongside the suspension of other rights of full members (such as exclusion from **טְהַרְתָּ הַרְבִּים**), were also denied the right of counsel until the successful completion of two years of probation. Thus we read in 1QS 8:24–25 (cf. 9:1–2):

However, if he acted through oversight (**בְּשִׁגְגָה**) he should be excluded from pure food and from the counsel (**וְהוּבְדֵל מִן הַטְהָרָה וּמִן הָעֵצָה**)<sup>5</sup> and the regulation applied to him: (25) "He cannot judge anyone and no-one should ask his counsel for two whole years" (**לֹא יִשְׁפֹּט אִישׁ וְלֹא יִשְׁאַל**) "עַל כּוֹל עֵצָה שְׁנַתִּים יָמִים).

Rather than being simply a disciplinary measure, suspending an individual's right of counsel serves to protect the moral and spiritual integrity of the community from being compromised by advice of somebody defiled by sin. In 1QS 8:16–18 we find an even stricter verdict, according to which the penitent is denied even passive involvement in the intellectual, spiritual or legislative life of the community, until his deeds were cleansed from the stain of sin:

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in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. F. García Martínez and M. Popović; STDJ 70; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 43–61, at 50–57); Sarianna Metso, "Whom Does the Term *Yahad* Identify?" in *ibid.*, 63–84, at 80–83.

<sup>4</sup> The Hebrew text of the Dead Sea Scrolls used and referred to in this paper follows Emanuel Tov et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library. Revised Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 2006). Translation is based on Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> I believe that **עֵצָה** here (and in 1QS 8:26) refers to "counsel" and not "council," in congruity with 1QS 8:25, although the latter reading is not excluded. There are similar problems with interpretation of **עֵצָה עַל פִּי הַרְבִּים** in 1QS 8:19, 26. However, the use of the pronominal suffix in 1QS 9:2 (**עֵצָתוֹ עַל פִּי הַרְבִּים**) suggests that also in these instances "counsel" is the more likely reading. Cf. 1QS 8:18 where the term **עֵצָתָם** occurs (referring back to **אֲנָשֵׁי הַקֹּדֶשׁ**).

And anyone of the men of the Community, the covenant of (17) the Community, who insolently (ביד רמה) shuns anything at all commanded, cannot approach (18) the pure food of the men of holiness (טהרת אנשי הקודש) and cannot know anything of their counsels (ואל ידע בכול עצתם) until his deeds have been cleansed from every depravity, walking on the perfect path.

This stricter verdict might have been based on the idea that the “mystery of knowledge” must be concealed from those defiled by sin (1QS 4:6; 9:16–17; 10:24–25), particularly if we assume that the sectaries regarded the lapsed members as impure as outsiders, all contact with whom was to be avoided. Alternatively, the difference between the two rulings may be attributed to discrimination between the manners in which transgressions were committed: ביד רמה (“insolently,” literally: “with high hand”) in 1QS 8:16–18 or בשגגה (“by mistake”/“through oversight”) in 1QS 8:24–25.<sup>6</sup>

To summarize our discussion so far, we can conclude that, according to the *Rule of the Community*, the right of counsel was an important marker of communal identity as well as of one’s inner purity. Defilement resulting from a grave transgression led to suspension of this right.

### 3. *Right of Counsel and Physical Impurity in 1QSa*

The proponents of the “conflation” theory argue in two directions:

- (1) Qumranites believed that sin generated physical uncleanness in the same way as, for example, touching a corpse;
- (2) Physical uncleanness was perceived by Qumranites as sinful.

We have seen from the 1QS passages above that sinful members were denied the right of counsel. Now, if the sectaries considered physical

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<sup>6</sup> It is also possible that 1QS 8:20–9:2 and 1QS 8:16b–19 were produced at the different stages of the community’s development and formation of the text, and the difference between them reflects the change of practice over time. See discussion in Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, “La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté,” *RB* 76 (1969): 528–49, at 529–33; Jean Pouilly, “Evolution de la législation pénale dans la communauté de Qumrân,” *RB* 82 (1975): 522–51, at 526–32 and *La Règle de la Communauté*, 35–41; Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 127, 129, 136. For comparison with 4QS variants, see Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 72–73, 86–87.

impurity as sinful, we should expect that also the physically impure members would have their right of counsel similarly suspended. While 1QS says nothing about the physically impure, 1QSa presents evidence contrary to this assumption.

From 1QSa 1:25 on, the *Rule of the Congregation* deals with the great convocation<sup>7</sup> of all the community (or communities) for the purpose of a “judgement, or for the communal counsel (לְעֵצַת יְחָד), or for a convocation of war” (1:25–26). There we read that individuals contaminated with one of the physical impurities or otherwise blemished in their body were banned from attending the convocation:

And no man, smitten by any of the impurities (4) of a man, shall enter the assembly of these; and anybody who is smitten by them so that (5) he is unable to take a stand amongst the congregation. And everyone who is smitten in his flesh, paralysed in his feet or (6) in his hands, lame, blind, deaf, dumb or smitten in his flesh with a blemish (7) visible to the eyes, or the tottering old man who is not strong enough to be in the midst of the assembly, (8) these shall not enter to take their place among the congregation of the outstanding men, for the angels (9) of holiness are among their congregation. (1QSa 2:3–9)

The passage, however, continues to stipulate specifically that these physically unclean persons were, in fact, *allowed*, in a mediated way, to contribute their word to the assembly:<sup>8</sup>

And if one of these has something to say to the holy council, (10) they shall inquire it from him in private, but the man shall not enter in the midst of the congregation, because he is smitten. (1QSa 2:9–10)

Viewed against the 1QS evidence, this provision suggests that physical uncleanness was not perceived as sinful; otherwise the unclean members would not be granted the right of counsel. Unlike impurity resulting from sin, physical uncleanness did not disqualify a person from contributing to the communal wealth of knowledge.

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<sup>7</sup> On the meaning of תְּעוּדָה, “convocation,” see Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation* (SBLMS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 30.

<sup>8</sup> Rightly noted by Schiffman, *ibid.*, 51–52.

#### 4. *Between Eschatology and the Present: the Issue of Exclusion*

In his discussion on the solution to the problem of impurity at Qumran, García Martínez makes the following statement on 1QSa:<sup>9</sup>

The *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa 2:3–11) specifies precisely those who will be able to form part of the community of the end of times. As is foreseen, all those disqualified by any physical defect (according to Lev 13 and 21) from exercising priestly functions are also excluded from the Congregation. And not only those. “No man defiled by any of the impurities of a man” will be able to belong to this community.

In this statement the author overlooks the 1QSa 2:9–10 provision regarding the right of counsel, which clearly suggests that the membership was not denied on the basis of physical uncleanness. Secondly, he fails to differentiate between conditions for taking part in a gathering for a special occasion (1QSa 1:25–26) and conditions for the membership in the community in general.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile the document mentions the presence of women, children and families within the congregation (1QSa 1:4, 8–9)<sup>11</sup> and passes rules on sexual conduct (1QSa 1:9–10).<sup>12</sup> This presupposes the existence of a periodic physical impurity, resulting from sexual intercourse, menstruation, childbirth, etc. But even in a wholly male community recurrence of certain types of physical impurity (for example, resulting from nocturnal emission or from burying the dead) would be unavoidable. Even though 1QSa speaks of the “congregation of Israel in the end of days” (1QSa 1:1), and the Messiah is said to take part in their assembly (1QSa 2:12–22), it is not yet the congregation of the men whose human nature was so radically transformed that physical impurity no longer exists.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> García Martínez, “The Problem of Purity,” 156.

<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that the term *הַקָּהָל* in 1QSa 1:1–25a refers to the whole community (or communities) and in 1QSa 1:25b–2:9 to those taking part in the grand “convocation” (*תְּהִלָּה*).

<sup>11</sup> See Charlotte Hempel, “The Earthly Essene Nucleus of 1QSa,” *DSD* 3 (1996): 253–69.

<sup>12</sup> Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community*, 51, notes that although 1QSa says nothing about the presence of the women and the children at the convocation, it is likely that they too would be excluded, as they were excluded from the military camp (1QM 7:3–4).

<sup>13</sup> In my “The Idea of Sin-Impurity: The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Light of Leviticus” (Ph.D. diss., Cambridge, 2009), I suggest that impurity in ancient Judaism is the category which serves to demarcate the boundaries between humans (specifically, the people of Israel) and God. In accord with this conceptual logic, the movement towards

García Martínez draws a similar conclusion with regard to the *War Scroll*, stating that “excluded from the army of the sons of light are the same persons denied a part in the eschatological community.”<sup>14</sup> However, the *War Scroll* also addresses the specific situation of men going to the holy war. Its regulation concerning the exclusion of children, women, physically unclean and handicap persons from the military camp (1QM 7:3–6) is based not on Leviticus’ proscription of the blemished priests (Lev 21:17–23), but on Deut 23:10–15, which orders any man unclean from nocturnal emission to stay outside the camp (cf. Deut 23:11–12 and 1QM 7:6), and likewise states that anyone going to stool should do it outside the camp (cf. Deut 23:13–14 and 1QM 7:6–7).<sup>15</sup> The reason given for imposing the rules of extra purity in these texts is the divine presence in the midst of a congregation engaged in a holy activity. In Deut 23:15 (and in 1QM 10:1) God himself is said “to walk in the midst of your camp... therefore your camp must be holy,” while 1QM 7:6 and 1QSa 2:8–9 speak about the presence of the “holy angels.”<sup>16</sup>

García Martínez attempts to construct a parallel between the Temple (and priesthood) and the Qumran community, which appears to be the reason why he explains 1QSa and 1QM on the basis of Leviticus rather than Deuteronomy. Although Lev 21:17–21 may have indeed served as a scriptural basis for the 1QS cultic analogy, it appears that the underlying model for the rules of the great convocations in 1QSa and 1QM is not the priesthood, but the people of Israel as a whole.<sup>17</sup> Notably, the opening line of 1QSa states “This is the rule of all the congregation of Israel.” In the Hebrew Bible the whole people of Israel, not only priests, are endowed with holiness and on certain occasions (such as war or theophany) find themselves in the immediacy of the divine presence, which requires extra purity. Thus before the revelation

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total eradication of the source of impurity in humans would mean the blurring of the boundaries between humans and the divine. This dynamic is indeed intimated in biblical and in Qumran texts reverberating with eschatological overtones through the introduction of the Edenic motifs, which accompany the theme of re-creation, and the idea of angelification of human beings at the eschaton.

<sup>14</sup> García Martínez, “The Problem of Purity,” 156.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. 11QT<sup>a</sup> 46:13–16; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.137.

<sup>16</sup> See the discussion in Baruch M. Bokser, “Approaching Sacred Space,” *HTR* 78 (1985): 279–99, esp. 279–87, who rightly notes the parallel with Deut 23:15.

<sup>17</sup> It should also be noted that although Lev 21:17–23 bans the disabled priests from going near the altar and bringing sacrifices, they are allowed to eat from the holy and the most holy offerings.



on Mount Sinai people are commanded to sanctify (שקדו *piel*) themselves and wash their garments and be ready on the third day (Exod 19:10–11). A similar regulation in 1QSa 1:26–27 concerns those coming to the convocation: “They shall sanctify (שקדו *piel*) themselves during three days, so that everyone who comes is prepared for the council.”<sup>18</sup>

I would therefore argue that regulations concerning the holiness of the assembly and the purity of the participants in the *Rule of the Congregation* and in the *War Scroll*, requiring that they must be “perfect in spirit and body” (1QM 7:5), are analogous to these biblical instances. Those whose purity does not meet the requirements of the occasion cannot attend the event; nevertheless they are still counted among the members of the congregation.<sup>19</sup>

### 5. Attending the “Session of the Many” in IQS

I shall now return to IQS and consider how suspending an individual’s right of counsel affected his participation in the communal gatherings (such as “the session of the Many”) there. Although these gatherings were presumably of a smaller scale than the great convocation described in 1QSa, it is likely that they too were considered to be endowed with an enhanced aura of holiness. Here we must differentiate between the two aspects of the discussion: the holiness of the

<sup>18</sup> Cf. James H. Charlesworth, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994) reads the last word as לְהַנְהִיג; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, לְעֵצָה.

<sup>19</sup> The only ambiguous case among the Scrolls is CD 15:15–17 (= 4Q266 8 i 6–9; 4Q270 6 ii 7–9), which appears to proscribe the mentally and physically handicap from joining the congregation altogether, on the grounds that the “angels of holiness” are present there. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community*, 47–48, is of the opinion that the ruling has in view one’s attendance at an assembly and not one’s membership in the community. Cf. 1QSa 1:19–22 where a “simpleton” is not allowed to hold a responsible office within the congregation, but nevertheless remains a member and can contribute “to the extent of his ability.” In 11QT<sup>a</sup> 45:12–13 and 11QT<sup>b</sup> 21 i, 22–24 lines 6–7 the blind are banned from entering the city of the Temple, in order not to defile this dwelling place of God. See discussion in Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Exclusion from the Sanctuary and the City of the Sanctuary in the Temple Scroll,” *HAR* 9 (1985): 301–20, repr. in idem, *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 75; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 381–401; and *The Eschatological Community*, 40–52.

community as a whole and the holiness of certain communal activities. 1QS develops a complex cultic analogy, whereby the members of the community are simultaneously compared with the Temple, the officiating priests, the sacrifices and the offerers in need of atonement. Furthermore, the text also makes use of the model of the faithful remnant of Israel in exile, to whom belonged the promise of restoration.<sup>20</sup> In this context the whole of the community is perceived to be the locus of the divine presence: the text speaks of the “spirit of holiness” operating within the community (1QS 3:7–8), while the community itself is called the “holy house for Israel,” “the foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron” (1QS 8:5–6; cf. 9:6), and “the council of holiness” (8:21). In 1QS 11:7–8 we read that God has made his elect

the heirs in the lot (8) of the Holy Ones; and with the sons of heaven has He united their assembly, in order (to form) the council of the Community and a foundation of the building of holiness.

We, however, need to be aware that, these statements notwithstanding, in real circumstances (unless we agree with Davies that the document describes an utopian community)<sup>21</sup> there must have been a differentiation between the activities belonging to the profane sphere (e.g., manual work) and the sacred sphere. To the latter category we can probably assign the larger communal gatherings presided by a priest, such as the “session of the Many” (1QS 6:8–9), communal meals (1QS 6:4–6),<sup>22</sup> and study, or any gathering where at least ten men took part

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<sup>20</sup> For recent discussion see Devorah Dimant, “4Q Florilegium and the Idea of the Community as Temple,” in *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky* (ed. André Caquot, Mireille Hadas-Lebel, and Jean Riaud; Collection de la Revue des Études Juives 3; Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 165–89, at 188; eadem, “The Volunteers in the *Rule of the Community*: A Biblical Notion in Sectarian Garb,” *RevQ* 23/90 (2007): 233–45; Francis Schmidt, *How the Temple Thinks: Identity and Social Cohesion in Ancient Judaism* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 138–97; Catherine M. Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community* (STDJ 40; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 120–30, 137–41, 146–48.

<sup>21</sup> Philip R. Davies, “Redaction and Sectarianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics* (South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 134; Atlanta: Scholars Press), 152–61; cf. Sarianna Metso, “In Search of the *Sitz im Leben* of the Community Rule,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. by Donald W. Parry and Eugene C. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 306–15, who suggests that the *Rule of the Community* provides a record of judicial decisions and oral traditions.

<sup>22</sup> According to Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983),

(1QS 6:3–7). The requirement of the priest's presence at a gathering of ten or more indicates that the activity was perceived to be oriented towards the divine. This Qumran regulation seems to be an early witness to the idea that the divine presence was among those assembled for the purpose of engaging in holy activities, attested in rabbinic sources and even in modern Judaism. Thus we read in *b. Sanh.* 39a: "The Divine Presence rests on every assembly of ten Jews."<sup>23</sup> According to the Talmud (*b. Ber.* 21b; *b. Meg.* 23b), this number is derived from Num 14:27 where *עֲדָתָם*, according to some interpretations, designates the ten spies. However, smaller numbers are likewise attested, e.g., "When three judges sit in judgement, the Divine Presence is with them" (*b. Ber.* 6a).<sup>24</sup>

We may therefore with a high degree of certainty assume that the physically impure members would be excluded from taking part in the holy activities of the community, as they were excluded from the convocation of the whole assembly in 1QSa. Now, if the proponents of the "conflation" theory are correct, and the Qumranites believed that "a transgressor, by his very presence brings ritual impurity,"<sup>25</sup> we would expect that the lapsed members would also be banned from attending communal gatherings. Contrary to this assumption, a number of passages in 1QS suggest that transgressors during the period of their purification and probation were, in fact, admitted to at least some of these gatherings, although presumably they had to remain silent as their right of counsel was suspended. Thus in 1QS 7:18–20 we read:

The person whose spirit turns aside from the foundation of the Community to betray the truth (19) and walk in the stubbornness of his heart, if he comes back, shall be punished for two years; during the first

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191–210 and *The Eschatological Community*, 53–71, both communal meals and *מוֹשֵׁב הַרְבִּים* mirrored the future eschatological banquet and eschatological assembly described in 1QSa, and therefore similar rules, including the requirements of absolute purity, would apply to both. Furthermore, he claims that the legislation of the *מוֹשֵׁב* was like a continuation of God's revelation at Sinai (*The Eschatological Community*, 35–36).

<sup>23</sup> Quoted from Isidore Epstein, ed., *The Soncino Hebrew-English Edition of The Babylonian Talmud* (London: Soncino). A quorum of ten adults, the *minyan*, is still required in modern Judaism for public prayer and some other religious ceremonies. On the ritual quorum of ten at Qumran and rabbinic sources, see the discussion in Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 196–97.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Matt 18:20: "where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

<sup>25</sup> Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 17.

year he shall not approach the pure food of the Many. *Blank* (20) *Blank* {...} and during the second he shall not approach {the pure food} the drink of the Many and shall sit at the back (אָחַר) of all the men of the Community.<sup>26</sup>

The last stipulation indicates that the penitent person *was allowed* to attend the gathering, but, as his rank was diminished, he had to sit behind everyone else, or take his seat after everyone else was seated, depending on whether we understand אָחַר in a spatial (“behind”) or in a temporal (“after”) sense. This conforms to the description of the hierarchical organization of the “session of the many”:

This is the Rule for the session of the Many (מוֹשֵׁב הַרְבִּים). Each one by his rank: the priests shall sit down first, the elders next and then the rest of (9) all the people shall sit, each according to his rank. And in the same order they shall be questioned for the judgement or for any counsel or matter that would be of concern to the Many, so that everyone can contribute his wisdom (10) to the council of the Community. No-one should interrupt the speech of his fellow before his brother has finished speaking. And likewise he should not speak before one whose rank is listed (11) before his own. Whoever is asked should speak in his turn. And in the session of the Many no-one should utter anything without the consent of the Many. (1QS 6:8–11)

Attendance at the “session of the Many” is also implied by 1QS 8:24–27 which sets the rules concerning those who have committed a serious offence through oversight:

However, if he acted through oversight he should be excluded from טְהָרָה and from the counsel and the regulation applied to him: (25) “He cannot judge anyone and [he may] not [be as]ked any counsel for two whole years”. If his way was perfected (26) in the session (בְּמוֹשֵׁב), in interpretation and in the counsel [ac]cor[ding to] the Many, if he has not sinned again through oversight until completion of the two (27) years...

The second sentence beginning with “if” (“If his way was perfected...”) unfortunately lacks an apodosis, which creates certain difficulties with its interpretation. Thus Licht has concluded that since the lapsed members were denied the right of counsel, the text here speaks not of testing their behaviour וּבְעֵצָה וּבְמִדְרָשׁ בְּמוֹשֵׁב (“in the session, in

<sup>26</sup> It is not completely clear whether this ruling concerns penitents during the first or the second year of penance. See discussion in Jacob Licht, *The Rule Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 166 [Hebrew].

interpretation and in the counsel”) but of readmitting them to these functions upon successful completion of the period of probation.<sup>27</sup> Probably influenced by similar considerations, Charlesworth offers the following translation:

If his conduct is perfect (26) in them [במ, i.e., the “two years”—LG], he may return (ושב) to the interpretation and to the council [according to the authority of the Ma]ny, if he has not sinned again through oversight until two full years have passed... (27)<sup>28</sup>

Other scholars, however, assume, as I do, that the reference is to the *testing* of one’s understanding of the laws, ability to reason and ability to comply with the communal discipline, as the second half of the sentence (“if he has not sinned again, etc.”) suggests.<sup>29</sup> The following passage in IQS 9:1–2 confirms this interpretation:

someone who sins through oversight (2) shall be tested for two full years in respect of his behaviour and of his counsel according to the authority of the Many and shall then be enrolled according to his rank in the Community of holiness.

Arguably, to test someone’s behaviour at the “session of the Many” was only possible if the person in question attended the sessions.<sup>30</sup> Also the Penal Code says nothing about exclusion from this function. Therefore, on the basis of the evidence, I conclude that the lapsed members *were allowed* to attend the communal gatherings, although they had to sit behind everyone and to remain silent.<sup>31</sup> This also suggests that they were not considered physically unclean, for in that case

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 186.

<sup>28</sup> Charlesworth, *Rule of the Community*, 39.

<sup>29</sup> Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran*, 210; Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 137; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 91.

<sup>30</sup> With regard to testing the soundness of one’s counsel, we may assume, based on the analogy with admission of the novices, that it took place three times: at the beginning of the process (IQS 6:13–14), at the end of the first (IQS 6:17–18) and at the end of the second year (IQS 6:21). Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 191, 31, believes that “taking counsel occurred in the *moshav ha-rabbim*,” which served as the highest courts of the community.

<sup>31</sup> Of this opinion are also Metso, *The Textual Development*, 87 and Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 137, who writes that “although the offender was excluded from the council (line 24)...he was apparently present at various meetings of the community at which his conduct could be tested by the full members.” Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern*, 43) notes that the mention of such “silent candidates” at an assembly is attested in a second-century C.E. inscription of the Bacchanalian association.

they would have been barred from these meetings, as we have learned from 1QSa.

It should also be noted that when a person volunteered to enter the community, his initiation to the novitiate took place in the presence of all the members (1QS 5:7–8 “in the sight of all the volunteers”; cf. 1QS 6:15 “and later, when he comes to take stand before the Many”). It is most likely that this ceremony was also believed to be endowed with an enhanced aura of holiness and as such would have required the bodily purity of all the participants. The candidate, meanwhile, was a bearer of sin-impurity in the same way as an outsider would have been. It is therefore improbable that his presence would have been considered physically defiling in the same way as the presence of a person who touched a corpse.<sup>32</sup>

### 6. Summary

In this study I have examined those passages in 1QS and 1QSa which concern the right of the community members to give counsel and to attend the solemn gatherings. I have investigated how this evidence can inform our understanding of the idea of purity behind these texts. My findings can be summarized as follows:

- Members defiled by sin were denied the right of counsel, but allowed to attend the communal gatherings (sitting at the back of the congregation);
- Physically unclean (but presumably spiritually pure) members were not admitted to the communal gathering, but retained their right of counsel.

The mere presence of the individuals unclean with sin-impurity did not defile those in physical proximity to them. This is the reason why

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<sup>32</sup> It is unclear what were the measures concerning the physical impurity of the new arrivals, for according to 1QS 3:4–9 and 5:13–14, purification of the body only became possible when the soul was previously cleansed, and this took a full two years. The text says nothing to this effect, so we can only hypothesise. It is possible that some preliminary purification was performed—for the removal of the first coarse layer of impurity, while it was believed that the final purification did not take effect until the completion of the novitiate. In conformity with 1QSa, we should suppose that people defiled by any of the sources of physical impurity (e.g., corpse-impurity or *zab*-impurity) were not admitted to stand before the assembly.

the candidates to the community could appear before the whole congregation during the entrance ceremony. However, active *participation* of the individuals, whose deeds and spirit have not been cleansed from the stain of sin, in the spiritual life of the community, would compromise its purity and holy status. Hence certain rights of the novices and the lapsed members, such as the right of counsel, were restricted. With physical impurity, the situation is reversed. Restrictions imposed on the bodily unclean members concern their sharing of physical space, but do not limit their involvement in the decision-making and other functions of the communal spiritual life. It can thus be argued that the authors of 1QS and 1QSa did not conflate the concepts of sin-impurity and physical impurity.

ISSUES OF SEXUALITY IN 1QSA AND 4QPAP CRYPTA  
SEREKH HA-‘EDAH (4Q249D, E)

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The present paper arises out of my engagement in a research project which is investigating attitudes towards sexuality in Judaism and Christianity in the Hellenistic Greco-Roman Era.<sup>1</sup> More particularly it belongs within the exploration of attitudes towards sexuality within the sectarian and related literature at Qumran.<sup>2</sup> Here the *Rule of the Congregation* plays a significant role and was the focus of discussion from early days. In particular attention has focused on 1QSa 1:9–11, which speaks of a young man and of his spouse. The first part of the statement is quite explicit:

ולוא י[קרב] 10 אל אשה לדעתה למשכבי זכר כי אם לפי מולואת לו  
עש[רי]ם שנה בדעתו [טוב] 11 ורע

and he shall not approach 10 a woman to have sexual intercourse with her by lying with her as male does until he has completed twenty years when he knows good 11 and evil. (1QSa 1:9–11)

There is to be no sexual intercourse and by implication no marriage (as in *Jub.* 25:4) before the age of twenty. The elaborate formulation used to describe sexual intercourse is found in Num 31:17 and similarly, Judg 21:12.<sup>3</sup> Knowing good and evil may reflect Deut 1:39 and possibly the Eden story (Gen 2:17; cf. also 3:5, 22), where it includes awareness of nakedness and so sexual consciousness (cf. also 2 Sam 14:17 and 1 Kgs 3:9).<sup>4</sup> Here in 1QSa 1:10b–11, knowing right and wrong would

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<sup>1</sup> The first volume: William Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees on Sexuality: Attitudes towards Sexuality in the Early Enoch Literature, the Aramaic Levi Document, and the Book of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> See the detailed discussion in William Loader, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> So Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 B.C. to A.D. 200 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 149.

<sup>4</sup> See R. Gordis, “The Knowledge of Good and Evil in the Old Testament and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *JBL* 76 (1957): 126–38, at 130. He interprets 2 Sam 19:36 similarly (136). See also Peder Borgen, “‘At the Age of Twenty’ in 1QSa,” *RevQ* 3/10 (1961): 267–77, at 267.



include matters pertaining to sexuality, including through instruction in the book of Hagy mentioned a few lines previously (1:7). Borgen notes that *m. 'Abot* 5:21, which also divides life up into stages, speaks of entering marriage at eighteen and *Eccl. Rab.* 1.2 §1 at twenty.<sup>5</sup> Both are late, but may reflect a traditional view, though probably more idealistic than realistic, since the latter does not speak of employment until later.

Controversy surrounded the statements about the woman:

ובכן תקבל להעיד עליו משפטות התורא ולהת[י]צב במשמע משפטים

and on this she shall be received to testify about him in relation to the regulations of the law and to [st]and in the proclamation of the judgments. (1QS<sub>a</sub> 1:11)

The initial reaction to this reading, which implied a woman would have a legal function, was to propose an amendment of the feminine *תקבל* “she shall be received” to a masculine *קבל* “he shall be received,” and *עליו* “concerning him” to *על פי* “in accordance with.” Baumgarten, who took up the suggestion and argued it in detail,<sup>6</sup> later changed his assessment and abandoned the amendment.<sup>7</sup> He then proposed instead to translate *להעיד עליו* on the basis of *Jer* 6:10 as “to warn him,” rather than “to testify concerning him.”<sup>8</sup> Rothstein, while acknowledging that the notion of a woman as young as eighteen testifying poses some problems, nevertheless argues that *העיד* is best taken in this sense, as

<sup>5</sup> Borgen, “Age of Twenty,” 269–70. He suggests that *Ecclesiastes Rabbah* is influenced by *Eccles* 12:1–8 and *'Abot* by *Ps* 90:10 (277 n. 21). He also mentions Philo, *Creation* 103, about stages of a man’s life. Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Qumran-Essene Restraints on Marriage,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. L. H. Schiffman; JSPSup 8; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 13–24, notes that rabbinic tradition viewed the age of twenty as a terminus *ante quem* for marriage and assumes on the basis of 1QS<sub>a</sub> that at Qumran the opposite applied (14).

<sup>6</sup> Joseph M. Baumgarten, “On the Testimony of Women in 1QS<sub>a</sub>,” *JBL* 76 (1957): 266–69. Similarly Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation* (SBLMonSer38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 18–19 and Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 134–35. The text contains clear evidence of errors, e.g. *התורא* instead of *התורה* in 1QS<sub>a</sub> 1:11, but it is another matter to posit the more substantial change entailed in the conjecture.

<sup>7</sup> Baumgarten, DJD 18:165.

<sup>8</sup> Baumgarten, DJD 18:165, paraphrases the meaning as: “she must promise to admonish her husband about the laws concerning sexual intercourse with which she is to familiarize herself by learning them and fulfilling them.”

in CD 9:20 and later rabbinic literature.<sup>9</sup> He notes significant roles for women in the sect, for instance the “mothers” in D and the role of women’s testimony in relation to virginity (cf. 4Q271 [4QD<sup>f</sup>] 3 13b–15a; 4Q159 [4QOrd<sup>a</sup>] 2–4+8 8–10). He also points to the assumption that family members testify against each other already in Deut 13:7–10 about idolatry and in Deut 21:18–21 about rebellious sons.<sup>10</sup>

Davies and Taylor had earlier rejected the assertion that it would be inconsistent with the assumed misogyny which people read into the texts from Philo and Josephus.<sup>11</sup> Borgen had sought to interpret the feminine as a reference not to the woman, but to the family and congregation,<sup>12</sup> but this seems not to be the most natural referent in the context.

Like Rothstein, Wassen suggests that the testimony might cover transgression of communal regulations in general and not just issues pertaining to sexual relations such as purity, fornication, or sex on the Sabbath.<sup>13</sup> In my view Davies and Taylor are right in arguing that the context favours a narrower focus.<sup>14</sup> It could include intercourse during menstruation, pregnancy, on the Sabbath, or in the holy city, all of which would constitute committing sexual wrongdoing with one’s wife. Contrary to the assumptions brought to the documents on the

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<sup>9</sup> David Rothstein, “Women’s Testimony at Qumran: The Biblical and Second Temple Evidence,” *RevQ* 21/84 (2004): 597–614, at 599, 601; similarly Moshe J. Bernstein, “Women and Children in Legal and Liturgical Texts from Qumran,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 191–211, notes that “‘to admonish’ is an unusual translation of אזהר, which generally means ‘to testify,’ and it is difficult to understand how the rest of the sentence, ‘the laws of the Torah and to stand in the hearing of the laws,’ pertains to the woman” (208). He suggests: “she shall take it upon herself to testify against him (according to?) the laws of the Torah and to be present at the proclamation of the verdict (?)” (208).

<sup>10</sup> Rothstein, “Women’s Testimony,” 608–10.

<sup>11</sup> Philip R. Davies and Joan E. Taylor, “On the Testimony of Women in 1QSa,” *DSD* 3 (1996): 223–35, at 226–28.

<sup>12</sup> Borgen, “Age of Twenty,” 272–73.

<sup>13</sup> Rothstein, “Women’s Testimony,” 613. Rothstein assumes the sect forbade remarriage and so sees any such testimony as a big risk for a woman (613–14). Cecilia Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document* (SBL Academia Biblica 21; Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 182.

<sup>14</sup> Davies and Taylor, “Testimony of Women,” 229; Sidnie White Crawford, “Not According to Rule: Women, the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Weston W. Fields; SVT 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 127–50, at 139; George J. Brooke, “From Qumran to Corinth: Embroidered Allusions to Women’s Authority,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 195–213, at 205.

basis of Philo and Josephus, nothing suggests that the concern was intercourse for purposes other than procreation.<sup>15</sup>

The passage is therefore best understood as addressing marriage as coming also at the point where the man enters the community, but stressing that marital relations must remain within the law as understood by the community. In relation to the latter, then, there are matters on which only the woman had competence to report in the context of a hearing, and she is to do so. It might be seen as a digression, to be dealing with marriage at this point, but it belonged closely together with the man's turning twenty.<sup>16</sup>

Such seemed a reasonable explanation of the text, but then something new came to light through the important publication of further fragments of the *Rule of the Congregation* by Stephen Pfann.<sup>17</sup> It is interesting that in both of the surviving fragments which preserve this section of column one, the reference to the woman's testimony appears to be absent. This may suggest, that, as probably with the expansions of the *Community Rule* in 1QS, so 1QSa preserves an expanded text.<sup>18</sup> Lines 4–6 of the six-line reconstructed text 4Q249d read:

4 וּבֵן עֶשְׂרִים [שְׁנָה 5 יַעֲבֹר (9) עַל הַפְּקוּדִים לְבוֹא בְּתוֹךְ מִשְׁפַּחְתּוֹ]  
בְּגוּר[ל] בְּעֵדָת 6 קוֹדֵשׁ (13) וּבֵן שְׁלוֹשִׁים שָׁנָה (14) יִתְּצִיב בְּרוֹאֵשׁ [אֶל־פִּי  
יִשְׂרָאֵל]

4 Then at the age of twe]nty [years] 5 [he shall be subject (9) to the census; he shall enter in the midst of his clan ]by lo[t to be united with]  
6 [the holy Congregation. (13) Then at the age of thirty (14) he may be promoted to take his place among the chiefs of the ]Thousands of [Israel]. (4Q249d 4–6)  
(4Q249d [4Qpap cryptA Serekh ha-'Edah<sup>d</sup>] 4b-6; 1QSa numbering in brackets)

<sup>15</sup> Rothstein, "Women's Testimony," 602–5, 610–11. Cf. Davies and Taylor, "Testimony of Women," 331–32.

<sup>16</sup> Knibb, *Qumran Community*, notes that this reflects the age of enrolment in the census in Exod 30:14; 38:26; Num 1:3; and 1 Chron 27:23 (149).

<sup>17</sup> See Stephen J. Pfann, DJD 36:515–74; Stephen J. Pfann, "Historical Implications of the Early Second Century Dating of the 4Q249–250 Cryptic A Corpus," in *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, David Satran, and Ruth A. Clements; JSJSup 89; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 171–86. Cautionary on the dating because of the limited amount of text: Charlotte Hempel, "The Groningen Hypothesis: Strengths and Weaknesses," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 249–55, 254; Florentino García Martínez, "Response: The Groningen Hypothesis Revisited," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 310–16, at 314.

<sup>18</sup> So Pfann, DJD 36:534.

When read within the context of the longer preserved text of 1QSa, it appears, however, more likely that the absence of reference to the woman’s testimony in 4Q249d is as a result of *homoioleuton* because of the repetition of עדת קודש (below near the end of 1QSa 1:9, and at the end of 1:12 and the beginning of 1:13).

וב[ן] עשרים שנה יעבר 9 על הפקודים לבוא בגורל בתוך משפ[ח]תו  
ליחד בעד[ת] קודש ולוא י[קר]ב 10 אל אשה לדעתה למשכבי זכר  
כי אם לפי מילואת לו עש[ר]ים שנה בדעתו [טוב] 11 ורע ובכן תקבל  
להעיד עליו משפטות התורה ולהת[י]צב במשמע משפטים 12 ובמלוא בו  
vacat ובן חמש ועשרים שנה יבוא להת[י]צב ביסודות עדת 13 הקודש לעבוד  
את עבודת העדה ובן שלושים שנה יגש לריב ריב 14 ומ[ש]פט להתיצב  
ברואשי אלפי ישראל

Then, at a[ge] twenty, [he shall be enrolled] 9.[in] the ranks and take his place among the men of his clan, thereby joining *the holy congrega[ti]on*. He must not app[roach] 10 a woman for sexual intercourse before he is fully tw[en]ty years old, when he knows [right] 11. from wrong. From this time on she shall bear witness concerning him in relation to the statutes of the Law, and (he shall) ta[k]e his place among the ranks for the ceremonial proclamation of the ordinances. 12. And when he completes his *vacat* At age twenty-five, he is eligible to ta[k]e his place among the pillars of *the holy* 13. *congregation* and to begin serving *the congregation*. When he is thirty years old, he may begin to take part in le[g]al disputes. 14. Further, he is now eligible for command, whether of the thousands of Israel... (*DSSEL* adapted) (1QSa 1:8–14)

The proposal that *homoioleuton* has taken place is slightly complicated by the fact that the words following the second occurrence of עדת קודש “holy congregation,” namely עבודת העדה “and to begin serving the congregation” are also missing, but that may relate to the occurrence of the word, העדה “congregation.” Thus 4Q249d appears to lack the lines 10b-12 and so the statement about marriage, and then to continue with an abbreviated form of 13, referring to the age of thirty years. If the omission is due to *homoioleuton*, then this would imply that the text reflected in 1QSa is older than 4Q249d, which Pfann dates to the first half of the second century B.C.E., but that is another issue.<sup>19</sup>

4Q249e, of similar age, is different again.

6 ובן 20 שנה יעבר (9) על הפקודים  
7a [ליחד]

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

7 [לבוא בג]ורל בתו[ך משפחתו בעד]ת קוד[ש] 7  
 8a [ולוא יקר]ב (10) לאשתו]  
 8 [ובן חמ]ש ועשרי]ם שנה יבוא להתיצב ב[יס]ודות]

6 Then at the age of twenty[ he shall be subject (9) to the cen]sus: 7 [he shall enter by l]ot in the mid[st of his clan] (7a to exist in uni[ty] as a [ Hol[y Congreg]ation. 8a [And he shall not approa]ch (10) his wife[ 8 [Then at the age of ]twenty-fi[ve he will come to take his place among the ]foun[dations] (4Q249e [4Qpap cryptA Serekh ha-‘Edah<sup>e</sup>] 6b–8; 1QSa numbering in brackets) (Pfann modified)

4Q249e contains additions written above the line. Read without them, it also appears to lack reference to the subject matter of 1QSa 1:10–11, namely, of a man’s approaching a woman, and of her testimony, and also to cut off, like 4Q249d, after *עדת קודש*, “holy congregation,” but instead of going straight to age thirty, it continues with what the young man is to do at age twenty-five in its line 8.

There is however a significant addition above line 8, reconstructed by Stephen Pfann as *ולוא יקר]ב לאשתו*, “and he shall not approach his wife.” Pfann sees in these words, a reference not to marrying at age twenty (1QSa has *אשה* instead of *אשתו*), but to the beginning of a man’s celibacy. He also suggests that what he sees as the expansion in 1QSa is also not about marriage but rather extends the prohibition along the same lines to the effect of forbidding a man to approach any woman in the community.<sup>20</sup> To do so he must read *כי אם* not in its usual sense of “until,” but as the equivalent of *כי* on its own, thus: “because, since.” Hence, instead of “he shall not approach a woman...until he is twenty years of age,” he reads “he shall not approach a woman...since he is twenty years of age.” He also suggests that this requirement of celibacy reflects the view that “the genderless nature of the heavenly realm is jeopardized if the human priestly element engages in marital relations,”<sup>21</sup> an assumption without support in the text. It would assume that the passage is dealing exclusively with priests, which seems unlikely, and that the eschatological vision assumes such celibacy, motivated perhaps also by the notion of the military camp, but this runs against evidence elsewhere which sug-

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 559.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

gests a future with abundant offspring.<sup>22</sup> He also argues that a woman’s complaint against her husband would not make sense.

Leaving aside the issue of whether 1QSa represents an expanded version, or, as the *homoiooteleuton* noted above might suggest, the earlier one, one might ask whether it is credible that such a community would find the need to extend the prohibition to apply to sexual approaches to any woman at age twenty and whether **כִּי אִם** need mean anything other than “until” in the context. It is also not clear to me why the text would make no sense in requiring a woman to report on her husband in relation to sexual matters.

The text is very fragmentary. It appears that we have in 4Q249e a text similar to 4Q249d in that both originally lack reference to a man approaching a woman or his wife and her testimony, though the omission is longer in 4Q249d than in 4Q249e. 4Q249e contains an addition above line 8 which now does make reference to a man approaching, in this reading, “his wife.” Assuming with Pfann that before **ב** and **לְאִשְׁתּוֹ**, we read **וְלֹא יִקְרַב לְאִשְׁתּוֹ**, “and he shall not approach his wife,” and that no words which followed qualified the statement significantly, we would have in 4Q249e a prohibition. At twenty a married man is to commence his celibate lifestyle, to cease engaging in sexual intercourse with his wife. This assumes he would have already been married, only for a very short time, but long enough to begin a family. One wonders whether this is really credible. If it were, it would be important evidence for the practice of celibacy which secondary sources attribute to some Essenes, but would reflect a two stage process: marriage before twenty, sufficiently long enough before to produce children, then entry into celibacy at twenty. The closest parallel is in the *History of the Rechabites*, which reports that among those on the island of the blessed some marry, have intercourse only once, thereby produce twins, and thereafter remain celibate for the rest of their lives (11:6–8), but the parallel is remote.

The fragmentary 4Q249e need not, however, be read in this way. An alternative explanation may be that after the word **לְאִשְׁתּוֹ** we read something like **לְזִנוּת**, “for sexual wrongdoing,” as in 4Q270 (4QD<sup>e</sup>) 7 i 12–13; 4Q267 (4QD<sup>b</sup>) 9 vi 4–5, which reads **וְאִשֶּׁר יִקְרַב לְזִנוּת לְאִשְׁתּוֹ** “and whoever approaches his wife for illicit sexual intercourse.” This would then simply be a variant way of expressing the same concern

<sup>22</sup> See Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 376–83.

as in what I consider the more likely reading of 1QSa, namely that the young man is not to engage in sexual intercourse with his wife in illicit ways. One might speculate that 4Q249e could have begun with a defective text as apparently 4Q249d, and that a scribe, aware of the fuller text, supplemented it above line 8 with what was the original concern in the omitted lines, namely proper sexual relations in marriage. In a similar way in 7a ליחד appears to have been “added to the text by a second hand.”<sup>23</sup> In 1QSa it belongs to תו ליחד [ת] משפ[ח] בתוך and was missing in the 4Q249e text.

Our discussion suggests that, if Pfann’s dating is correct, the relation between 1QSa and the 4Q249d and e texts may be the reverse of what he assumes and may indicate that 1QSa preserves the older version. It would then have to be dated early second century B.C.E., perhaps suggesting that its military imagery is more than symbolism. It appears that 4Q249d has omitted by *homoioteleuton* what is preserved in the longer text of 1QSa, that in 4Q249e, which also had a shorter text, a scribe, knowing the fuller text, has inserted a summary of its import above line 8, to the effect that the man must avoid any illicit sexual relations with his wife. Negatively, we do not find 4Q249e to be evidence of espousal of celibacy.

It remains for me to comment briefly that the remainder of the document is not irrelevant to issues of sexuality, but reflects a demarcation typical of a number of other texts at Qumran.<sup>24</sup> For three days before the great assembly it requires purity which entails also temporary and locational celibacy. Outside that sacred space and time there is room for normal family life, including marriage and sexual relations, witnessed to also by the mention of women and children in the congregation. Its image of differentiated time and space appears to mirror a widespread understanding in the documents of the eschatological age, where the same mixture of celibacy and family life is assumed. Our wider investigation<sup>25</sup> supports the view reflected in CD 7–8, namely that some among the men of perfect holiness were celibates and that that was related to their location, and that they were differentiated from the others who lived in camps, but not as an expression of a less worthy existence nor as a reflection of Hellenistic asceticism which deemed sexual relations beyond procreation as unworthy.

<sup>23</sup> Pfann, DJD 36:559.

<sup>24</sup> See my discussion in Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 363–69.

<sup>25</sup> See *ibid.*, 369–83.

*HODAYOT*





# A NEW PROPOSAL FOR THINKING ABOUT 1QH<sup>a</sup> SIXTY YEARS AFTER ITS DISCOVERY

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## 1. *Introduction*

More than sixty years ago, Eliezer Sukenik opened a large scroll from Cave 1 that had remained in two separate clumps for some two millennia. The first clump consisted of several parchment sheets. These sheets of parchment were not rolled up in a tidy manner, one rolled up within the other as one might expect for a scroll; rather each sheet was found folded in itself with one sheet compressed and indiscriminately inserted into the folds of another.<sup>1</sup> The second clump contained many crumpled fragments of varying size. A number of compositions from the first clump of sheets were published right away.<sup>2</sup> In his initial literary assessment, Sukenik proposed that 1QH<sup>a</sup> was a unified collection of hymns used for personal prayer, perhaps authored by the Teacher of Righteousness himself. Early on Sukenik associated this scroll with the figure known as the Teacher of Righteousness from 1QpHab and the Damascus Document on the basis of the vivid accounts and strong claims of inspiration that are recounted in some of the compositions.<sup>3</sup> This Cave 1 scroll became known as the *Thanksgiving Hymns* scroll largely due to the formulaic opening found in those Teacher Hymns, “I give thanks to you O God.” Many early scholars, motivated by the desire to historically reconstruct the life and practices of this Judean community, looked with expectation to the *Thanksgiving Hymns* scroll

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<sup>1</sup> Eliezer L. Sukenik, *מגילות גנוזות—מתוך גניזה קדומה שנמצאה במדבר יהודה*: סקירה שנייה (Jerusalem: Bialik Foundation, 1948), 27. Sukenik repeats this statement in his later publication *אוצר המגילות הגנוזות* (prepared for the press by Nahman Avigad; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1954), 32; (Eng. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955], 37).

<sup>2</sup> Sukenik published the plates and his transcriptions of the following two Teacher Hymns in his 1948 publication *סקירה ראשונה*: 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:22–32 and 11:20–37 (pp. 29–33).

<sup>3</sup> Sukenik first proposes this in *סקירה שנייה* (p. 32) and repeats his hypothesis in *אוצר*, 34 (*DSSHU*, 39).

for answers to their questions about the founding experiences of the *yahad*, insofar as they could be known from the faint historical references in the Teacher Hymns. Even though Sukenik's view about the authorship of these texts was not the consensus view in his day and is challenged even unto this day, many were content to identify this scroll as one of the classic texts of sectarian theology and ideology at Qumran, taking for granted its composition by the putative founder of the *yahad*, the Teacher of Righteousness. It is striking, therefore, that a text that held such importance for the early scholarly understanding of the *yahad* and its founder has not been subject to more study than it has.

Unlike other scrolls from Cave 1, a critical edition of 1QH<sup>a</sup> was complicated by unique circumstances surrounding its material reconstruction.<sup>4</sup> In addition to this, there were many systems for identifying compositional units in that scroll.<sup>5</sup> While the new edition of this scroll,

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<sup>4</sup> The long awaited edition of 1QH<sup>a</sup> is now available in DJD 40. I am grateful to Eileen Schuller who shared with me an advance copy of the Hebrew text that she edited. The Hebrew text and reconstruction of 1QH<sup>a</sup> that appears in this essay is taken from DJD 40 which is based largely on Hartmut Stegemann's important reconstruction that had previously been published only in summary form. See Stegemann, "Rekonstruktion der Hodajot: Ursprüngliche Gestalt und kritisch bearbeiteter Text der Hymnenrolle aus Höhle 1 von Qumran" (Ph.D. diss., Heidelberg, 1963), appearing later in summary form as "The Material Reconstruction of 1QHodayot," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 272–84. It is well known that this reconstruction was also arrived at independently by Émile Puech, although it differs in minor details in the location of small fragments; see "Quelques aspects de la restauration du rouleau des hymnes (1QH)," *JJS* 39 (1988): 38–55 and "Restauration d'un texte hymnique à partir des trois manuscrits fragmentaires: 1QH<sup>a</sup> xv 37–xvi 4 (vii 34–viii 3), 1Q35 (1QH<sup>b</sup>) 1,9–14, 4Q428 (H<sup>b</sup>) 7," *RevQ* 16/64 (1995): 543–58. The new critical edition will likely widen the study of this scroll and help to standardize column and line numberings.

<sup>5</sup> In this important study, Stegemann takes into consideration both formal literary elements and scribal indention in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, see "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, Ruth Clements, and Avital Pinnick; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 191–234. Prior to Stegemann's article, it was not uncommon to see a wide range of proposals of unit numberings for 1QH<sup>a</sup>, ranging from Geza Vermes who identified twenty-five compositions to Sarah Tanzer who identified as many as thirty-seven. Stegemann comments on the wide ranging number of *hodayot* units (see 191 n. 3) but does not include Tanzer's unit numbering, perhaps because her work had not been published, even though he was surely aware of it. See Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1962), 149–201; and Sarah Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the Hodayot," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1987). For the sake of consistency, this essay will always follow Stegemann's unit numbering.

now available in DJD 40, may put to rest some of the longstanding issues surrounding the material reconstruction of the scroll, many questions remain unanswered even sixty years after its discovery. Additionally much of the original scholarly excitement about this scroll was focused upon the Teacher Hymns, yet recent skepticism about the ability to recover historical information from prayer texts that use stereotypical language has greatly diminished scholarly interest. Many of the studies of the past sixty years have focused on the Teacher Hymns with very few focusing on the Community Hymns material and even fewer commenting on the overall form and shape of the collection 1QH<sup>a</sup>. Scholars today recognize that there are three major collections in the scroll: (1) Community Hymns I (cols. 1?–8?); (2) Teacher Hymns (9:1?–19:5); and (3) Community Hymns II (19:6–28?). The Cave 4 evidence suggests strongly that there is evidence for thinking that the Teacher Hymns circulated as a discreet collection. If that is so, then what sort of rationale would sandwiching this collection between two other collections serve?

In this essay, I argue that a reconsideration of the Cave 1 scroll 1QH<sup>a</sup> is needed. A stronger focus on the two different groups of Community Hymns material in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, in light of their relationship to the Teacher Hymns and the Cave 4 copies of the *hodayot*, can bring to light a better understanding of the textual development of the collection known as 1QH<sup>a</sup>. I propose that the earliest form of the collection 1QH<sup>a</sup> consisted of the Teacher Hymns and the second group of Community Hymns (= CH II) and that the first group of Community Hymns (= CH I) was added at a later date. I will develop this proposal in three stages. After a brief description of the scroll in section 2, I begin by examining the Community Hymns material in 1QH<sup>a</sup> in section 3. Here I seek to show that the second group of Community Hymns (= CH II) has strong literary affinities with the Teacher Hymns that CH I does not share. This section will discuss both literary and also orthographic tendencies in CH I and CH II. The literary theme that I will focus on is that of communion with angels which I see as a significant theme that is shared by TH and CH II. It is also the case that both TH and CH II tend toward *plene* orthography. Not only does CH I not share these literary and orthographic tendencies, it contains vocabulary that is anomalous for the scroll as a whole. Section 4 of the essay will discuss the Cave 4 evidence for CH I and CH II. Once again, the CH I material shows itself to be different from the other sections of 1QH<sup>a</sup> since it is very rarely attested among the Cave 4 manuscripts.

I will conclude (section 5) by offering a proposal for the textual development of the collection 1QH<sup>a</sup>.

## 2. *General Orientation to 1QH<sup>a</sup>*

Dividing the scroll into two major literary groups, i.e., Community Hymns and Teacher Hymns, was a natural consequence of many early literary studies that effectively isolated the Teacher Hymns material. It is fitting therefore to begin our orientation to 1QH<sup>a</sup> and the Community Hymns with a discussion of the Teacher Hymns material. The interior core of 1QH<sup>a</sup> is represented by the Teacher Hymns material which contains at least 13 compositions: 10:5–21; 10:22–32; 10:33–11:5; 11:6–19; 11:20–37; 11:38–12:5; 12:6–13:6; 13:7–21; 13:22–15:8; 15:9–28; 15:29–36; 15:37–16:4; 16:5–17:36. To this small collection (roughly cols. 10–17) should be added an introductory composition (9:1?–10:4) and a concluding composition (17:38–19:5).<sup>6</sup> Eileen Schuller was the first to propose that the composition in col. 9 was an introduction to the Teacher Hymns. She writes, “I am tempted to suggest that it may have served some specific function, perhaps as an introduction to the Hymns of the Teacher collection.”<sup>7</sup> In his dissertation, Michael Douglas identified an important *inclusio* around the Teacher Hymns collection that was formed by 9:11 (A), 9:23 (B) and 18:3–4 (B<sup>1</sup>) and 18:11 (A<sup>1</sup>). Douglas had divided 17:38–18:14 from 18:16–19:5, but Stegemann is surely correct in seeing them as different parts of a single lengthy composition. Stegemann reasons that the word אלה in 18:16 must refer to things stated previously (i.e., those things stated in 17:38–18:14).<sup>8</sup> This would mean that the two framing compositions for the TH material are 9:1?–10:4 and the long composition that Stegemann identifies as 17:38–19:5.<sup>9</sup> Because of this, the composition 17:38–19:5 has not been included as part of CH II in this discussion even though previous

<sup>6</sup> Michael C. Douglas, “Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1–18:14,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1998), 218–51.

<sup>7</sup> Eileen Schuller, “The Cave 4 *Hôdâyôt* Manuscripts: A Preliminary Description,” *JQR* 85 (1994): 137–50, at 145.

<sup>8</sup> Stegemann, “The Number of Psalms,” 215–16.

<sup>9</sup> Traditionally, scholars have chosen not to group 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38–19:5 with the TH material because of the absence of the characteristic formula “I give thanks to you.”

scholarship has classified it with CH II. The TH may have very well circulated as an independent collection.<sup>10</sup>

While the very beginning of the introductory framing composition has not survived intact, it is noteworthy that it and the group known as the Teacher Hymns 9:1?–19:5 would have begun at the top of the far right column of a new manuscript sheet. Each manuscript sheet in 1QH<sup>a</sup> was beautifully prepared for four columns of text. The excellent physical condition of col. 9 suggests that the scroll was rolled up with col. 9 on the inside. The material damage of the columns becomes progressively worse as you move to the outermost layers of the scroll. According to the *editio princeps*, often referred to as the Sukenik numbering of the columns, the column known today as col. 9 was published as the first column of 1QH<sup>a</sup>. The new reconstruction of the scroll principally involved the repositioning of what is known today as CH I (= cols. 1?–8) to the beginning of the scroll. This was done because the scribal hand of those columns was the same as the scribal hand of the Teacher Hymns material, and so logically, must be grouped with those texts, before the change in scribal hands. Reordering the scroll in this way allowed for the repositioning of the Teacher Hymns material in the center of 1QH<sup>a</sup>, thereby allowing it to assume physically the central importance that it had already enjoyed as the centerpiece of studies on this scroll.

According to the new reconstruction of 1QH<sup>a</sup>, the Teacher Hymns material is surrounded by two groups of Community Hymns. It is clear from the very different material damage of the columns prior to 9 (e.g., cols. 5–8) that the two sheets prior to the Teacher Hymns material, sheets 1 (= cols. 1?–4) and 2 (= cols. 5–8), were not physically attached to the Teacher Hymns collection. If they were, their physical state of preservation would have shown this. According to Stegemann's 2003 analysis of the number of units in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, there are at least eight compositions that have survived from the first group of Community Hymns (= CH I), but a significant portion of material from the very beginning of this group (e.g., cols. 1–3) has been lost. Stegemann identified approximately eight compositions from the columns that survived from this part of the scroll: 4:21–27; 4:29–37; 4:38–?; 5:1–12?; 5:12–6:33; 6:34–7:11; 7:12–20; 7:21–8:41. The second

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<sup>10</sup> Eileen Schuller proposes this from her examination of 4Q429 in "The Cave 4 *Hôdâyôt* Manuscripts," 144–45, 148–89; see also Schuller, DJD 29:75.

group of Community Hymns (= CH II) begins with the composition 19:6–20:6 and continues to the end of the scroll. The second group of Community Hymns is copied by two scribal hands; the change in scribal hands takes place in 19:25. There are at least five units in CH II: 19:6–20:6; 20:7–22:42; 23:1–25:33; 25:34–27:3; 27:4–28:?. Very little of the final composition(s) in col. 27 and 28 has survived.<sup>11</sup>

### 3. *A Reconsideration of the Community Hymns in 1QH<sup>a</sup>*

In this section I seek to show that the second group of Community Hymns (= CH II) enjoys a literary affinity with the Teacher Hymns that the first group of Community Hymns (= CH I) does not share. The literary theme of communion with heavenly beings is a significant theme that unites the TH and CH II sections of 1QH<sup>a</sup>. Orthography also confirms that the relationship between TH and CH II is stronger than with CH I. Not only does CH I not share the tendencies of TH and CH II, it employs unusual vocabulary for the scroll as a whole. As a prelude to an examination of these topics, I will briefly review two of the most significant studies on the Community Hymns during the past sixty years.

#### 3.1. *Early Literary Studies of the Community Hymns*

Early scholarship on 1QH<sup>a</sup> was interested in describing the diversity of their formal literary characteristics. Two major literary categories were proposed early on in the scholarship on 1QH<sup>a</sup>; however, the category that became known as the Community Hymns was identified only after the core Teacher Hymns material was sorted out.<sup>12</sup> While the Teacher Hymns in 9:1–17:36 consistently use the incipit, “I give thanks to you my Lord for” (אודכה אדוני כיא),<sup>13</sup> the Community Hymns material

<sup>11</sup> Both Puech and Stegemann reconstruct the end of 1QH<sup>a</sup> from frgs. 48, 7 ii 5–8; 61 + 62. Puech places these fragments on the bottom of col. 27 (“Quelques aspects de la restauration,” 51 n. 37) while Stegemann favors their location on the top of col. 28; see “The Number of Psalms,” 201 n. 36. Schuller follows Stegemann in DJD 40:311.

<sup>12</sup> Günter Morawe noted that there were two distinct literary groups in 1QH<sup>a</sup>; see Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung der Loblieder von Qumran: Studien zur gattungsgeschichtlichen Einordnung der Hodajoth* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1961), 155–59; others proposed that there were three literary categories; see Gert Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (SUNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963).

<sup>13</sup> The exceptions are the concluding framing composition in 17:38–19:5 which uses the “Blessed are you” formula, also at 13:22.

uses at least three different types of incipits: (מזמור למשכיל); (אודד); (אדוני); (ברוך אתה). Unlike the Teacher Hymns, there is little formal unity to the Community Hymns material.

The early scholarship on the Community Hymns material is represented by Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn's study, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*.<sup>14</sup> He began with the premise that Günter Morawe was correct to identify two literary categories in 1QH<sup>a</sup>. Morawe referred to them as "thanksgiving psalms" and "psalms of confession," but Kuhn introduced the language of "Teacher Hymns" and "Community Hymns." Kuhn noted that the Community Hymns did not display the same characteristic elements found in the Teacher Hymns. The following features were shared by the Community Hymns: wisdom-didactic elements, soteriological confessions, *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* (references that contrast the lowliness of sinful creatureliness with the righteousness of almighty God), and *Elendsbetrachtungen* (statements that do not make the same contrast between creature and creator, but instead declare the sinfulness of humanity). Kuhn's study was not primarily devoted to the literary examination of these texts, but rather focused on eschatology and end-times. He did however note that the group that he called the Community Hymns was a far less coherent group than the Teacher Hymns and that these literary elements were inconsistently present in them.

Kuhn's revision of Morawe's category of "psalms of confession" to the "Community Hymns" soon became the popular way of referring to these non-Teacher compositions. At first glance, the new name of Community Hymns seems to be an improvement, but it projected a false and misleading impression of unity upon this diverse collection.<sup>15</sup> While all of the Community Hymns consistently lack the characteristic elements associated with the Teacher material, namely, the formulaic

<sup>14</sup> Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran, mit einem Anhang über Eschatologie und Gegenwart in der Verkündigung Jesu* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966).

<sup>15</sup> He writes, "Im Unterschied zu den „Lehrerliedern“ werden die Bekenntnislieder in der Arbeit auch einfach als „Gemeindelieder“ bezeichnet, da sich die Beter aller individuellen Anliegen enthalten, ihr „Ich“ also nie biographisch ist, sondern sich stets auf den Qumranfrommen überhaupt bezieht," in *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 24–25. For a study of the diverse material in the Community Hymns see Tanzer, "Sages at Qumran," and Angela Kim Harkins, "Observations on the Editorial Shaping of the So-called Community Hymns from 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4QH<sup>a</sup> (4Q427)," *DSD* 12 (2005): 233–56.



introduction, claims of exclusive revelation, and vivid accounts of the speaker's opponents, the major literary elements that are associated with them are inconsistently present throughout.

The inadequacy of the monolithic name, "Community Hymns," was demonstrated well by Sarah Tanzer whose unpublished Ph.D. dissertation offered an extensive presentation of the diverse literary characteristics that appear in 1QH<sup>a</sup>. Tanzer critiqued the early scholars, Kuhn, Jeremias, and Morawe, for overstating the significance of the formal elements of *Elendsbetrachtungen* and soteriological confessions, noting that they fail to appear in more than half of the Community Hymns.<sup>16</sup> She also rightly criticized these early scholars for harmonizing significant variations throughout the non-Teacher material. According to Tanzer, the early classification of these texts into a single category projected a unity upon them that they did not possess in and of themselves.<sup>17</sup> The diversity of compositions included in the Community Hymn designation is also apparent in the wide variety of literary elements that they exhibit. For example, one of Sarah Tanzer's conclusions from her 1987 study of 1QH<sup>a</sup> is that ironically, the wisdom and didactic elements that are generally absent in the material associated with the Teacher<sup>18</sup> appear in the Community Hymns but with varying frequency.<sup>19</sup>

Tanzer proposed a helpful and important refinement of the massive Community Hymns category into two: the Deuteronomic Hodayot and the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* Hodayot.<sup>20</sup> The Deuteronomic Hodayot correspond with the following four units that were later identified by Stegemann in his 2003 article as 4:29–37; 4:38–??; 5:12–6:33; and 17:38–19:5 (the latter half of the concluding framing composition to the Teacher Hymns collection). Many of these Deuteronomic Hodayot are localized in the CH I group. Tanzer identified seventeen compositions in the second group of Community Hymns which correspond

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<sup>16</sup> Tanzer, "Sages at Qumran," 143–44.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 138–41, 156. Tanzer actually divides the TH category into three subcategories; the first subcategory completely lacks wisdom elements (10:22–32; 10:33–11:5; 11:38–12:5; 13:7–21; 15:9–28); the second distinction that she draws are those TH that are hybrids. These compositions contain a limited presence of wisdom elements (10:5–21; 12:6–13:6; 13:22–15:8). The third subcategory consists of two eschatological compositions from col. 11 (11:6–19 and 11:20–37) that are clearly related to one another. The first of these has no wisdom elements but the second of these does.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 143–48.

to the following nine compositions according to Stegemann's identification of units: 4:21–27; 7:12–20; 7:21–8:41; 15:29–36; 19:6–20:6; 20:7–22:42; 23:1–25:33; 25:34–27:3; and 17:38–19:5 (the first half of the concluding framing composition to the Teacher Hymns collection). Among the distinctive features of the latter group are the themes of creation (and in turn predestination); salvation through God's covenant; rhetorical questions; soteriological confessions; the need for the salvation of the lowly speaker; and emphasis on revealed knowledge. While the *Niedriкеitsdoxologie* Hodayot are scattered throughout the CH I and CH II groups, the Deuteronomic Hodayot are largely isolated in CH I.<sup>21</sup> Tanzer went on to observe that many of the elements found in the *Niedriкеitsdoxologie* Hodayot were also present among the TH.<sup>22</sup> While the characteristic elements in the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* Hodayot appear in both the Community Hymns and various Teacher Hymns, the Deuteronomic elements never appear in the TH material.<sup>23</sup>

Kuhn's study was important for further investigating the Community Hymns material and for noting that their literary elements were varied and inconsistently displayed throughout the scroll. Tanzer's study was important for sharpening our understanding of the presence and absence of various literary elements throughout Community Hymns material. Of her many important observations, the most significant ones for our present study are: (1) the Teacher Hymns appear to be more closely related to the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* Hodayot that

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<sup>21</sup> The concluding framing composition to the Teacher Hymns material (17:38–19:5) seems to be a composition that contains both *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* and Deuteronomic elements. This particular composition has been bracketed from our discussion of the CH material.

<sup>22</sup> Here Tanzer notes that the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* are more numerous in the three so-called "hybrid" compositions found in the traditional Teacher Hymns material: 11:20–37; 12:6–13:6; and 16:5–17:36; (again I have translated Tanzer's unit divisions into Stegemann's unit numbering). In 11:20–37 she finds both *Elendsbetrachtungen* and *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien*, rhetorical questions (11:25), soteriological confessions (11:21b–24), mention of being united with the angels (11:22–23), and the phrase "a perverted spirit" (11:22); 12:6–13:6 includes both *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* and rhetorical questions (12:30 on), an emphasis on covenant, knowledge revealed by God, and the phrase "Your wonderful mysteries" (12:28–30); and 16:5–17:36 includes *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* and soteriological confessions. At the time, Tanzer proposed that these literary elements common to both the Community Hymns and the Teacher Hymns could be explained by an "adaptation" from the CH by the author of the TH, although she uses the language of adaptation carefully.

<sup>23</sup> Tanzer, "Sages at Qumran," 149.

are common throughout CH II; and (2) Deuteronomic elements are prevalent in CH I but not found in CH II.

### 3.2. *The Literary Theme of Communion with Heavenly Beings*

It has already been said that the community referent in the “Community Hymns” is not altogether clear. In fact, very few compositions speak explicitly about a community that might be correlated with the specific human community of the *yahad*. It is therefore possible to distinguish between different types of community experiences in these compositions; some texts presume a community of just earthly men (*yahad*) while others presume a community of men *and* angels. The former type is relatively rare in 1QH<sup>a</sup>. It appears to be localized in CH I and not distributed throughout TH and CH II. The latter type is more common throughout the TH and CH II material and may be correlated with the presence of *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien*. Thus, it may be possible to distinguish further the Community Hymns by tracing the literary theme of communion with heavenly beings which is not shared by both CH I and CH II. What kind of company does the speaker keep? Is he in the presence of earthly or angelic beings?

References to the earthly community of the *yahad* are surprisingly rare in the texts that are popularly known as the Community Hymns. When reference to the earthly community of the *yahad* occurs, it appears to be localized in CH I. One composition in 5:12–6:33 in particular presumes an earthly communal setting.<sup>24</sup> This human context is apparent from the use of the first person plural in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:13 (frg. 18) where the speaker writes, אֲנִי וְגֵיתָה [אֲזוּנָנוּ לְרֵזִי פִּלְא. This is followed by what appears to be a list of the righteous members of the community in lines 13–15: “the men of truth, and the elect of righteousness, those seeking insight, those searching for understanding, those building(?)..., lovers of compassion, the humble of spirit, the ones purified of affliction and refined in the crucible, the ones who restrain themselves until the time of your judgments and wait for your salvation.” In the concluding section of this composition in 6:28–33, the speaker pledges that he will act justly in his role within this community of men:

<sup>24</sup> See the discussion in Harkins, “Observations on the Editorial Shaping,” 243–47.

And I known by means of the abundance of your goodness and by the oath that I placed upon myself, I will not sin against you and I will not do anything evil in your eyes. And so thus I was brought near into the *yahad* (וכן הוגשתי ביהד) with all of the men of my council. I will bring him near according to his knowledge and I will love him according to the abundance of his inheritance. I will not cast my face upon an evil deed, nor consider the b[ri]be of the w[ick]ed. [I will no]t exchange your truth for wealth nor any of your judgments for a bribe, for when you [draw] a man [near], [I will lo]ve him, and when you remove him so I shall abhor him. And I will not bring into the council of [your truth any] one who has turned away [from your cove]nant.

While references to an earthly human community are predominant in this particular composition in 5:12–6:33, they are not common throughout CH II.

In contrast to the infrequent mention of an earthly communal context, community references in CH II are to a mixed community of human and angelic beings. I would argue that this is also true for the TH material. In the TH and CH II, it is not communion with an earthly *yahad* that is presumed, but rather communion with an angelic community. Perhaps this theme of communion with angelic beings should be understood in light of the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* that Sarah Tanzer noted as being present throughout the TH and CH II material. The *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* that appear in these sections of 1QH<sup>a</sup> result from the speaker's experience of being in the presence of heavenly beings and express the speaker's self-consciousness in the midst of angels. Thus the praise of God and images of heavenly beings naturally conjure up an awareness of the unworthiness of humanity and the thought of joining the angelic praise underscores these feelings. Realization that the speaker is in the presence of the holy immediately brings about a profound sense of unworthiness. The famous account of the prophet Isaiah's vision of the heavenly throne room in Isa 6:1–7 illustrates well how the theme of being in the presence of heavenly beings is correlated with a declaration of unworthiness:

- (1) In the year of the death of King Uzziah, I saw my Lord sitting upon a high and lofty throne, and the hem of his robe filled the Temple.
- (2) Seraphs were standing above him, each with six wings, with one pair it covered its face, with another pair it covered its feet, and with another pair it flew.
- (3) And one called out to the other: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts! All of the earth is full of his glory!"
- (4) And the uprights of the thresholds trembled from the sound of the cry and the house was filled with smoke.
- (5) And I said, "Woe is me! For I am lost because

I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips! Because my eyes have looked upon the King, the LORD of Hosts!" (6) And one of the seraphs flew to me, taking in its hand a glowing coal from the altar with a pair of tongs. (7) And having touched it upon my mouth said, "Now that this has touched your lips, your iniquity has left, your sin has been atoned!"

The *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* in the Isaian passage should be understood as a self-consciousness that arises naturally from an awareness of being in the presence of heavenly beings. Tanzer's observation that the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* appear predominately in TH and CH II but not in CH I may be correlated either with the speaker's awareness of a heavenly liturgy or with the speaker's experience of being in communion with heavenly beings.

The scholarly literature concerning human and angelic prayer in the late Second Temple period theorizes that the Qumran community understood itself as angelic beings. Devorah Dimant proposes that the striking parallels between the character and duties of the Qumran Community and angelic beings pointed to the Community's self-understanding as "a community of priestly angels officiating in the innermost sanctuary of the heavenly temple."<sup>25</sup> In fact, this phenomenon of liturgical communion with the angels may in fact be a common theme in a number of diverse prayer texts found at Qumran.<sup>26</sup>

In Esther Chazon's recent examinations of the phenomenon of human and angelic prayer, she identifies at least three different types of religious experience that are helpful for this discussion of 1QH<sup>a</sup>: the first is "many voices harmonizing with the universe" (e.g., Ps 148). In

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<sup>25</sup> Devorah Dimant, "Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community," in *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East* (ed. Adele Berlin; Bethesda: University Press of Maryland, 1996), 93–103; see too Esther G. Chazon, "Liturgical Communion with the Angels at Qumran," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran* (ed. Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 95–105.

<sup>26</sup> Chazon draws this conclusion after having examined a number of prayers from sectarian and non-sectarian provenance (4Q503 Daily Prayers, *Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat*, 4QBerakhot); Chazon, "Liturgical Communion with the Angels," 95–105. Michael Douglas also makes this proposal in "Power and Praise," 181–82 n. 94; Björn Frennesson draws the same conclusion in his study, *'In a Common Rejoicing.' Liturgical Communion with Angels in Qumran* (Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 14; Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 1999); Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis's discussion in *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002); see too the brief discussion by Russell C. D. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* (STDJ 60; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 218–21.

this scenario, the human groups do not mingle with the angelic orders. The second scenario is “two choirs praying like the angels,” and the third is “one congregation joining the angels.”<sup>27</sup> Her typology is helpful for understanding how the theme of human and angelic prayer is presented in the Community Hymns material. When the third scenario of human and angelic prayer is present in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, it is generally concentrated in the TH and CH II material and may be correlated with the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* that appear there. At the same time, there is a general absence of this theme in CH I.<sup>28</sup> Likewise, Chazon’s first scenario of distinct groups praising God most resembles the references that are found in CH I.

In CH I when there is reference to angelic beings, the speaker clearly distinguishes himself from their activity and does not join himself to them. This pattern may be observed in the two lengthy compositions from CH I, 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41. In the lengthy CH I composition in 5:12–6:33, the speaker describes the heavenly praise of God’s glory by the hosts of spirits and holy ones (5:38):

(5:25) And these things that [You deter]mined [from old] To judge by them all of Your works prior to Your creating them, together with the host of your spirits and the assembly of [angels w]ith the expanse of your holiness and all (26) of its hosts with the earth and all that springs from it in the seas and in the deeps; [According to] all their designs for all the ends of time (27) and the eternal visitation. For You have established them of old and the deed [...] in them so that (28) they might recount your glory throughout your entire dominion.

Even though he describes the heavenly agents glorifying God, later in the composition he maintains that he himself is joined with human and not angelic beings: “And thus I was brought together with all the

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<sup>27</sup> “Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in Chazon et al., *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 35–47. Chazon is offering a refinement of the categories proposed by Bilhah Nitzan in her article, “Harmonic and Mystical Characteristics in Poetic and Liturgic Writings from Qumran,” *JQR* 85 (1994): 163–83, where she identified two types of human/angelic praise: (1) a cosmological approach characterized by an experience of harmony with the entire universe; and (2) a mystical approach characterized by an experience of mystic communion between the humans and angelic beings. Note that Elliot R. Wolfson has critiqued Nitzan’s use of the word mystical in “Mysticism and the Poetic-Liturgical Compositions from Qumran: A Response to Bilhah Nitzan,” *JQR* 85 (1994): 185–202.

<sup>28</sup> At the very end of CH I, in col. 7, there is possible evidence of an anticipation of this theme in the 7:12–20 (= frg. 10).

men of my council (וכן הוגשתי ביחד כול אנשי סודי) (6:29). This careful distinction between earthly and heavenly communities may also be seen in the final composition in CH I, 7:21–8:41. In this text the speaker recounts that he is brought into a human community, that of the *rabbim*, a familiar community term known from the CD and 1QS. In 7:24 the speaker writes: “I will hold fast to the Many” (ואחזיקה על רבים). Like the other communal references in CH I, this final reference to the Many is one that emphasizes a human experiences of the speaker. In both 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41, the speaker’s experiences are clearly distinct from heavenly ones.

Human and angelic worship is described in one other place in CH I, in 7:12–20 (= frg. 10), although the conclusions about this composition cannot be as firmly drawn because of its fragmentary nature. There the speaker writes:

7:17 And we are being gathered together/into the *yahad* (ואנחנו ביחד) along with those who know. We are instr[ucte]d by You and we will si[ng joyfully about the abundance] 18 of [Yo]ur mercies [...] with your mighty ones (גבוריכה). And we will recount wonderfully together of the knowl[edge of God] (בדע[ת אל]) and forever more 19 in the congregation (בעדת) [...] And our offspring [You have] made known [wi]th the sons of man (בני איש), in the midst of the [sons of ] Adam (בני אדם).

The composition itself is anomalous in the scroll because it uses the first person plural form instead of the singular form and it uses expanded orthography instead of the defective orthography that is characteristic of CH I. There are at least two references to groups that are ambiguous in this text. Line 18 references the heavenly warriors (גבורים), but the literary context for this reference is unknown because of the fragmentary nature of the text. It is unclear whether the speaker is joined with these mighty ones in a single community or not. At the very beginning of the next line, the word בעדת (‘‘in the congregation’’) may be read, but the second part of the construct chain has not survived, making it impossible to determine if it was a human or earthly community reference. Its literary context is also not recoverable due to the poor condition of the text. Despite these uncertainties, the fragment concludes with two clear references to earthly human groups: the offspring of both the sons of man and the sons of Adam (7:19).

In contrast to the examples from CH I which emphasize the speaker’s experiences with earthly communities in distinction from heavenly ones, the theme of communion with angels is clearly pronounced in

the other two sections of 1QH<sup>a</sup>: TH and CH II. This theme of communion with angels may be correlated with Esther Chazon's third type of human and angelic prayer which presumes that a single worshipping community is formed with heavenly beings.<sup>29</sup> The scenario of human and angelic communion is also discussed by Björn Frennesson in his study of two texts from TH (11:20–37 and 13:22–15:8).<sup>30</sup> In addition to these, he looks at one example from CH II (19:6–20:6), but I believe that the list that he offers is incomplete. There are additional references to communion with angels in at least two more TH compositions, 12:6–13:6 and 15:29–36, and also in the CH II text 23:1–25:33 and 25:34–27:3, making this a significant literary image for understanding 1QH<sup>a</sup>.

There are a total of four places in the Teacher Hymns that mention the communion with angels: 11:20–37; 12:6–13:6; 13:22–15:8; and 15:29–36. The first of these has been much commented upon by Chazon who discusses it in light of the composition 19:6–20:6 from CH II. While the concluding half of this Teacher Hymn 11:20–37 is remarkable for its powerful apocalyptic scenes of fiery rivers and cataclysmic destruction (11:30–37), it is the beginning of this composition that is notable for our discussion. Here the speaker begins by describing his elevation to eternal heights. He goes on to describe a human figure who has been brought into the company of heavenly beings:

(20) I give thanks to You, O Lord for You have redeemed my soul from the Pit. And from Sheol Abaddon, (21) You have lifted me up to an eternal height, so that I might walk about on an endless plain. And I know that there is *mikveh* for him whom (22) You created from dust for the eternal council. You have cleansed a perverted spirit from a great transgression, in order to position (him) in station with (23) the host of the holy ones (להתיצב במעמד עם צבא קדושים), bringing (him) in union with the congregation of the sons of heaven (ולבוא ביחד עם עדה בני שמים). And for man, You have cast an eternal lot with the spirits (24) of knowledge, to praise Your name together with a joyful shout (להלל שמחה ביחד רנה), recounting your wonders before all Your creatures.

<sup>29</sup> See Chazon, "Human and Angelic Prayer," 43–45; also her essay in this volume, "Liturgical Function in the Cave 1 Hodayot Collection."

<sup>30</sup> Frennesson, *In a Common Rejoicing*, 45–58.



Chazon remarks upon the strong relationship between this TH and the CH II composition 19:6–20:6,<sup>31</sup> and comments in particular upon the expression that appears in 11:22, “to position (himself) in station” (להתיצב במעמד). This is a strongly liturgical expression that is close linguistically to the CH II text in 19:6–20:6. There the speaker writes that he will “take his position in your presence (ולהתיצב במעמד) (לפניכה) with the heavenly host and the eternal spirits, to be renewed with all that will be and in jubilant song with those who know” (19:16). The phrase, להתיצב במעמד, which appears in both the TH and CH II compositions cited above is reminiscent of cultic language that is also used for the Levites in 1 Chr 23:28, 2 Chr 35:15.<sup>32</sup> Chazon proposes that this may be understood as evidence of a liturgical aspect of this scroll. The association between these passages and the heavenly throne was noted early on by Jacob Licht who read them in light of the heavenly events described in *1 En.* 60:2.<sup>33</sup>

There are at least three other places in the TH collection that speak of the communion with heavenly beings (12:6–13:6, 13:22–15:8, and 15:29–36). In the example from 12:6–13:6, the speaker writes that those who heed him will draw themselves up to God “in the council of the holy ones” (ויערוכו לכה בסוד קדושים) (12:25–26). The imagery is also present in the lengthy composition in 13:22–15:8. Here the speaker offers several laments which vividly describe his mental anguish and his physical agony. The speaker writes that God has removed him from a council of violence in order to bring him “into the council of the holy one” (בעצת הַקֹּדֶשׁ) (14:8). Shortly thereafter, the speaker writes that God has brought together the people of His council with the heavenly beings who minister in God’s very presence. The middle of col. 14 reads:

For You have brought [...and] Your secret (16) to all the people of Your council, and in a lot together with the angels of presence (יחד עם מלאכי פנים), without a mediator between...

Frennesson notes this instance as the strongest example of the communion with angels theme in the Teacher Hymns.

<sup>31</sup> Chazon, “Human and Angelic Prayer,” 43–45.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 43–44; eadem, “Liturgical Function in the Cave 1 Hodayot Collection,” 4.

<sup>33</sup> Jacob Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957), 84, 163 [Hebrew].

The theme of communion with angels may also be found in the short TH composition 15:29–36. Examining 1QH<sup>a</sup> from the perspective of the theme of human and angelic prayer can also help to resolve tensions in previous scholarly understandings of this scroll by shedding new light on one Teacher Hymn that has traditionally puzzled scholars. This short text, 15:29–36, has traditionally been identified as an anomaly for the TH collection and classified as “CH?” in the classic literary studies. Like many of the other Teacher Hymns, this very short composition describes the speaker as being in the very presence of God. It begins with the speaker’s opening proclamation in line 29: “I give thanks [to You, O Lord], for You have given me insight into Your truth.” A few lines later, he states that the children of God’s truth stand in the presence of God:

But all the children (33) of Your truth <sup>You bring</sup> before You in forgiveness, Cleansing them from their rebellions by the abundance of Your goodness, and by the multitude of Your compassion, (34) making them stand before you forever and ever (להעמידם לפניכה לעולמי עד).

The communal reference in this text, “children of Your truth,” is very likely human and not angelic if we read this text in light of the later composition, 16:5–17:36, which again makes reference to the “children of Your truth.” Here the speaker writes: “For You are a father to all the children of Your truth, and You rejoice over them like she who loves her infant” (17:35–36). In that composition, the referent to “children of Your truth” appears within a human context. The short text in 15:29–36 references a *human* group (“children of Your truth”) who are then positioned in God’s heavenly presence. When viewed from the perspective of the literary theme of communing with heavenly beings, this short composition may not be unusual for the TH literary context after all.

These examples from the Teacher Hymns describe the significant experience of human persons being brought into the presence of heavenly beings and not simply praising in the manner of heavenly beings. This emphasis on the communion with angels is also present in the CH II group. Of the four readable compositions in CH II, the theme of communion with angels appears in three of them: 19:6–20:6; 23:1–25:33; and 25:34–27:3. The first of these CH II texts has already been described in the context of TH 11:20–37, and we have noted that the language used to describe these experiences in 11:22 (TH) and 19:16 (CH II) is particularly close. Because the composition 23:1–25:33 was

reconstructed from piecing together large fragments, there are many lacunae, which make it somewhat difficult to establish clearly the literary context for these references. The bottom half of col. 23 is formed by Sukenik's large frag. 2. In what would be line 23 of that column, the speaker writes, "{and in} Your land, and among the sons of angels he will be glorified" (וּבְאַרְצָכָה וּבְבָנֵי אֱלֹהִים לְכַבֵּד). An explicit reference to union with heavenly beings appears in a broken line at the bottom of col. 23: "in order to unite with the sons of heaven" (לְהַחֲדִיד עִם בְּנֵי שָׁמַיִם) (23:30).

The theme of communion with angels is also present in the CH composition known as the "Self-Glorification Hymn" (25:34–27:3), much of which has been reconstructed from 4Q427. Despite the fragmentary nature of this composition, it is clear that the speaker is participating in a heavenly experience. Near the top of col. 26, the speaker asks the rhetorical question, "who is like me among the angels?" (מִי כַמוֹנִי בְּאֱלֹהִים). Shortly thereafter, in line 7, the speaker responds by declaring, "for I am with the angels" (כִּי אֲנִי עִם אֱלֹהִים). Chazon notes the liturgical emphasis in this composition since the speaker calls the "beloved ones" (יְדִידִים) to praise God. She writes, "[T]his text leaves little doubt about the speaker's elevation to angelic status."<sup>34</sup>

The CH II material contains references to the speaker communing with heavenly beings. In these examples, the speaker's experience is much closer to the category that Chazon describes as "one congregation joining the angels." In CH II, the speaker "takes his position in the presence of the eternal heavenly host and the spirits" (19:16) and mention is made of actually "uniting with the Sons of Heaven" (23:30) or being among angels (26:7, 36). All of these compositions make clear reference to actual communing with angels or proximity to the heavenly liturgy, with the final composition making exceptional claims that the speaker has exceeded his angelic counterparts. The experience of joining the heavenly angels in the praise of God, which is described in these compositions from CH II, is consistent with the experiences that are described in the TH.

These references to human and angelic union from TH and CH II are presented in the far right column of the following table. What is noteworthy here is how the theme predominates in the TH and the CH II material. In addition to this, there is also Tanzer's observation

<sup>34</sup> Chazon, "Human and Angelic Prayer," 45.

that the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* elements are present in TH and CH II but not in CH I. In the following table, the classifications offered by Sarah Tanzer, Deuteronomic Hodayot (DH) or *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* (Niedr) are presented along with this literary theme of communion with angelic beings.

Table 1: The Communities in 1QH<sup>a</sup>

Sheet	Col. #	Unit divisions per Stegemann (2003)	Tanzer (1986)	Communion with Human or Angelic Beings?	
i	I		CH I	No text	
	II		CH I	No text	
	III		CH I	No text	
	IV	4:21–27	CH I Niedr/DH	Full blank line	
		4:28			
		4:29–37	CH I DH		
		4:38–??	CH I DH		
ii	V	5:1–12? 5:12–6:33	CH I CH I DH	No text Community of men: וכן הוגשתי ביחד כול אנשי סודי (6:29)	
	VI	6:34–7:11	CH I DH		
	VII	7:12–20	CH I Niedr	Human Community? ואנחנו ביחד נועדים (7:17)	
		7:21–8:41	CH I Niedr	Human Community ואחזקה על רבים (7:24)	
	VIII				
	iii	IX	9:1–10:4	Intro to TH	
		X	10:5–21	TH	
10:22–32			TH		
10:33–11:5			TH		
XI		11:6–19	TH		

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sheet	Col. #	Unit divisions per Stegemann (2003)	Tanzer (1986)	Communion with Human or Angelic Beings?
		11:20–37	TH Niedr	Communion with Angels: להתיצב (11:22–24) במעמד עם צבא קדושים ולבוא ביחוד עם עדת בני שמים ותפל לאיש גורל עולם עם רוחות דעת להלל שמכה ביחד רנה
	XII	11:38–12:5	TH	
		12:6–13:6	TH Niedr	Humans and heavenly beings וישומעוני (12:25–26) ההולכים בדרך לבכה ויערוכו לכה בסוד קדושים
iv	XIII	13:7–21	TH	
		13:22–15:8	TH	הביאותה (14:15–16) [ — ] סודכה לכול אנשי עצתכה ובגורל יחד עם מלאכי פנים
	XIV XV	15:9–28	TH	
		15:29–36	CH ? Niedr	Standing in the presence of God בהמון רחמיכה (15:33–34) להעמידם לפניכה לעולמי עד
	XVI	15:37–16:4	TH	
		16:5–17:36	TH Niedr	
v	XVII	17:37		Full blank line
		17:38–19:5	Concl to TH? DH+ Niedr	Transition—Possibly a concluding hymn to the TH collection
	XVIII XIX			

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sheet	Col. #	Unit divisions per Stegemann (2003)	Tanzer (1986)	Communion with Human or Angelic Beings?
		19:6–20:6	CH II Niedr	Communion with Heavenly Beings בני להוֹחַד עִם (19:14–17) אִמְתַּךְ וּבְגוֹרֵל עִם קְדוּשִׁיכָה לְהָרִים מֵעַפְרָת תּוֹלַעַת מֵתִים לְסוּד אֲ[מַתְכָּה] וּמְרוּחַ נְעוּה לְבִינְתְּכָה וּלְהִתִּיצֵב בְּמַעַמַּד לְפָנֶיכָה עִם צָבָא עַד וְרוּחוֹ[ת עוֹלָם] וּלְהִתְחַדֵּשׁ עִם כּוֹל הָ[וֹוֵה] וְזָנְיָהּ וְעִם יָדְעִים בִּיחַד רְנָה
	XX	20:7–22:42	CH II Niedr	Possible references to worship times?
vi	XXI XXII XXIII	23:1–25:33	CH II Niedr	Communion with the Sons of Heaven לְהַחֲדִיד עִם בְּנֵי שָׁמַיִם (23:30)
	XXIV			
vii	XXV	25:34–27:3	CH II Niedr	“Self Glorification Hymn” (reconstructed from 4Q427 7 i) מִי כְמוֹנִי בְּאֱלִים (26:4–5) וּלְהִתִּיצֵב בְּמַעַמַּד[ ] (26:36) לְפָנֶיכָה וּלְבוֹא בִּיחַד עִם בְּנֵי שָׁמַיִם וְאִין מְלִיץ[ ]
	XXVI XXVII	27:4–28:?	CH II	Very fragmentary
	XXVIII			

These references to human communion with angels appear in cols. 12, 14, and 15 of the TH, and throughout the CH II material in cols. 19, 23, and 26 but do not appear in the CH I compositions.

In sum, the theme of human and angelic worship is a significant literary theme in 1QH<sup>a</sup> that can help to sharpen our understanding

of the relationship of the various literary groups to one another. The examples of human and angelic prayer in the TH and CH II sections of 1QH<sup>a</sup> resemble Chazon's third category, one congregation joining the angels. This type is not present in the CH I texts where the speaker only describes the heavenly praise of God without actually joining in an angelic assembly. There, human worshippers remain distinct from the angelic assembly. Like the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien*, the joining of humans with angels in a common act of praising God is a prominent theme in the TH and CH II group but absent from CH I.

### 3.3. *Different Orthographic Tendencies in CH I and CH II*

The two groups CH I and CH II may be further distinguished by their orthographic tendencies. Michael Douglas had proposed that there were at least three orthographic systems represented in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, although no single section appears to maintain one orthographic system perfectly.<sup>35</sup> In general, it is clear that there are at least two major orthographic systems. CH I generally follows the shorter orthographic system, while the TH and CH II generally follow an expanded orthographic system. CH I ([cols 3–8] with the exception of fragment 10) uses 118 short forms and 9 long forms of the pronominal suffix, and 89% of the ל'־s are short and 96% of the לְל'־s are short.<sup>36</sup> CH II (cols. 19:6–27:42) uses 144 long forms for the pronominal suffix with only 3 short forms. In this group, the expanded orthography for לְל־ appears 92% of the time and for לְל־ appears 100% of the time. The orthographic tendency in CH II is consistent with that of TH (9:1?–19:5), which uses 227 long forms and 15 short forms of the pronominal suffix.

While the defective orthography in CH I differs from the rest of the scroll,<sup>37</sup> this peculiarity cannot be correlated with the tendency of scribe A since the same scribal hand adopts *plene* orthography with

<sup>35</sup> Douglas, "Power and Praise," 242–44; appendix 4, "Three Systems of Orthography in the Hodayot," 404–15.

<sup>36</sup> Again, it is necessary to bracket the composition in frg. 10 (7:12–20) from the rest of the compositions in CH I. There is a peculiar localization of *plene* forms in frg. 10 which has been placed in col. 7. The composition in frg. 10 consistently uses the fuller form of the לְל־ suffix instead of the shortened form לְ- that appears elsewhere in CH I. The fuller suffix forms appear consistently (nine out of nine cases) in 7:12–20. In contrast, in the remainder of col. 7, the second person masc. sing. suffix form appears in the shortened form in twenty out of twenty-four cases.

<sup>37</sup> Much of cols. 1–3 of 1QH<sup>a</sup> have not survived, although small fragments have been placed in cols. 2 and 3, Schuller, DJD 40:57–58.

Table 2: Comparing the Orthography in CH I with CH II

	Long form of the pronominal suffix	Short form of the pronominal suffix	כִּי / בִּיא לֹא / לוֹא
CH I (cols. 3–8, except frg. 10)	9	118	89% short כִּי 96% short לֹא
CH II (cols. 19: 6–27:?)	144	3	92% long בִּיא 100% long לוֹא

considerable consistency from col. 9 onward. Instead, the orthographic variations must have been present in the exemplar that was being used by scribe A of 1QH<sup>a</sup>. The range of orthographic practice among the different groups of Community Hymns suggests that these texts had different literary traditions. Here it is important to emphasize that we are not using orthography as a criterion for Qumranic composition or not. Rather, we are identifying orthography as evidence of a different literary tradition that cannot be explained by the orthographic preference of the individual scribe who was responsible for copying cols. 1–19 of 1QH<sup>a</sup>.

### 3.4. *The Distinctive Vocabulary in CH I*

The unusual nature of CH I relative to the other two groups is also apparent at the level of vocabulary. Previously we noted that the Deuteronomic Hodayot are localized here. In particular, the language of loving what God loves and hating what he has rejected is found predominately in CH I.<sup>38</sup> In addition to this concentration of Deuteronomic elements, distinctive vocabulary, that is to say expressions that are uncommon for 1QH<sup>a</sup> as a whole, appears especially in col. 4 of CH I. Because of its fragmentary condition, it is not exactly clear how many compositional units are in col. 4, although Stegemann surmised that there could be as many as four compositions: 4:??–20; 4:21–27; 4:29–37; 4:38–??. One of only two full blank lines in the entire scroll appears in 4:28.

In the first complete composition (4:21–27), the speaker makes an unusual reference to Moses by name in line 24. While scriptural

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the language in CD 2:15; see the discussion by Stephen Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community: Literary, Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 66; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 418–19.



allusions or stereotypical scriptural language appears throughout 1QH<sup>a</sup>, this is the only instance of an explicit mention of this prophet by name. Another anomalous reference appears in the last line of this composition when the speaker writes: “and giving them all the glory of Adam (man) as an inheritance for many days” (4:27). The exact expression “all the glory of Adam” (בְּכֹל כְּבוֹד אָדָם) appears nowhere else in the *Hodayot*.<sup>39</sup>

Another peculiar expression appears in the bottom of this column that may be related to this Adamic reference, but unfortunately only lines 38 and 39 of this composition have survived. While there is no literary context, language related to purification makes an appearance. The speaker writes, “I will consider every human covenant (וְאֵל כֹּל בְּרִית אָדָם אֲבִיט).” While covenant language appears in other places in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, it is always in the context of God’s covenant or to the speaker’s covenant. This is the only place in the scroll where a human (or Adamic) covenant is mentioned. That these anomalous terms appear localized in CH I favors our proposal that the group known as CH I is distinct from TH and CH II.

### 3.5. A Summary Statement

In summary, I propose that it is necessary to reconsider the Community Hymns of 1QH<sup>a</sup>. It is possible to differentiate between the CH I and CH II groups on both literary and orthographic grounds. In these instances, the group known as CH I exhibits literary tendencies, both in theme and vocabulary, that distinguish it from the TH and CH II groups. There is a strong literary affinity between the TH and CH II groups in their use of *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien*, the theme of communion with angels, and a preference for expanded orthography that is not shared by CH I. In contrast, the group known as CH I emphasizes the speaker within human and not angelic communities. Compositions from CH I use vocabulary that is uncommon for 1QH<sup>a</sup> and sometimes for the entire scroll corpus, and it consistently prefers defective orthography.

<sup>39</sup> Similar words could be reconstructed in the fragmentary prayer text, 4Q504 8 4: “Adam our fat[her], in the likeness of [Your] Glory,” (אָדָם אֲבִינִי יִצְרָתָהּ בְּדַמּוֹת כְּבוֹדִי כְהָ) see Baillet, DJD 7:163, and Fletcher-Louis’s discussion in *All the Glory of Adam*, 92–96.

#### 4. Evidence for the Community Hymns in the Cave 4 *Hodayot*

Now let us examine the two CH groups in light of the Cave 4 scrolls. Unlike CH II, there is a striking absence of material overlapping with CH I among the Cave 4 fragments. The Cave 4 copies of the *hodayot* reflect literary traditions that diverge from that preserved in 1QH<sup>a</sup>. The scroll 1QH<sup>a</sup> represents the fullest and best preserved form of the collection. It is a composite collection that contains hymns from both TH and non-TH groups (namely, CH I and CH II). With a date during the early Herodian period, the scroll 1QH<sup>a</sup> is also one of the latest *hodayot* manuscripts. Only two Cave 4 scrolls overlap with the CH I and CH II material from 1QH<sup>a</sup>:<sup>40</sup> 4Q427 and 4Q428. Of these two, only 4Q428 is thought to be from the same literary tradition as 1QH<sup>a</sup> in that it contains CH I, TH, and CH II material, and so it will be our focus. The other scroll, 4Q427, appears to have primarily CH II material along with the anomalous composition from col. 7.

##### 4.1. Brief Comments on 4Q427

Column 8 of the scroll 4Q427 shows overlap with the poorly preserved composition in col. 7 of 1QH<sup>a</sup>. This Cave 4 scroll contains only compositions from CH I and CH II, but in a very different arrangement from 1QH<sup>a</sup>. Because there is no TH material in this scroll, the scroll 4Q427 does not appear to be a form of 1QH<sup>a</sup>, but rather a collection that has developed in a different but parallel way. There is only one composition from CH I that appears in 4Q427 and that is the one known from 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:12–20 (fig. 10). It is worth noting that this composition is anomalous in its CH I literary context in 1QH<sup>a</sup> because of its literary themes and use of expanded orthography.

##### 4.2. 4Q428: Introductory remarks about 4Q428

With a scribal hand dated to the middle Hasmonean period or approximately 100–50 B.C.E., the fragments known as 4Q428 represent the oldest copy of the *hodayot*.<sup>41</sup> There are approximately seventy-five

<sup>40</sup> Please refer to Eileen Schuller, DJD 29:69–208 for the critical edition of 4QH<sup>a</sup>*hodayot*<sup>a-c</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> The scroll 4Q428 is the earliest copy of the *Hodayot* according to Strugnell's dating of the scroll to 80 B.C.E. (middle Hasmonean) see Schuller, DJD 29:146. In contrast, 1QH<sup>a</sup> is among the youngest *hodayot* manuscripts. Jean Starcky, "Les quatre

fragments that have survived but a majority of them preserve only a few letters or only a part of a letter. They were grouped together largely on the basis of the material aspects of the skin itself.<sup>42</sup> The first glimpse of 4Q428 was revealed in 1995 when two separate studies on this scroll by Eileen Schuller and Émile Puech appeared in the same issue of the journal *Revue de Qumran*.<sup>43</sup> Fragment 7 of this text was used to fill in the lacuna in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:37–16:4, allowing for the full reading of an otherwise unknown composition also preserved partially in 1QH<sup>b</sup> (1Q35) 1.<sup>44</sup> Since the publication of those articles in *Revue de Qumran*, frg. 7 has been renumbered as frg. 10 in the DJD publication. It is possible to observe the transitions between compositions in two instances in 4Q428: these are frg. 10 (1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:37–16:6)<sup>45</sup> and the large frg. 12 (1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:5–7).<sup>46</sup> In both instances, 4Q428 follows the order of compositions in 1QH<sup>a</sup>.

4Q428 is an important scroll for our understanding of the literary collection found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> because it is the only Cave 4 scroll that contains both TH and CH. In DJD 29, Schuller proposes that the fragments of 4Q428 may be reconstructed as a large scroll of sixty-eight columns measuring approximately nine and a half meters, based on the assumption that 4Q428 contained the exact same compositions in the same order and arrangement that is known from 1QH<sup>a</sup>. The

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étapes du messianisme à Qumrân,” *RB* 70 (1963): 481–505, at 483 n. 7, had written that the two scribal hands in 1QH<sup>a</sup> are from the Herodian era.

<sup>42</sup> E.g., frgs. 65–68, See Schuller, DJD 29:174.

<sup>43</sup> Eileen Schuller, “A Thanksgiving Hymn from 4QHodayot<sup>b</sup> (4Q428 7),” *RevQ* 16/64 (1995): 527–41 and Puech, “Restauration d’un texte hymnique,” 543–58. The latter is especially useful for its reconstruction of the composition in both 1QH<sup>a</sup> and in 1QH<sup>b</sup> (frgs. 1 and 2). The two reconstructions of the hymn preserved in this fragment differ depending upon where the new composition is said to begin, after a short *vacat* (Puech) or at the beginning of a new line (Schuller). Puech reconstructs the composition as twenty-three lines long, while Schuller proposes that it is twenty-four lines in length.

<sup>44</sup> The composition is of interest because it describes the depravity of the speaker from conception and the miraculous grace of God which transformed him and opened his ears to hear his truth. There is some dispute over how to classify this hymn. Even though it appears in the group of Teacher Hymns in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, it contains literary elements that have been associated with the Community Hymns. The amount of the hymn preserved in 1QH<sup>a</sup> was so fragmentary that it was difficult to classify this hymn on the basis of that manuscript alone. This composition raises some questions about the criteria for the sub-collections. Schuller (“A Thanksgiving Hymn from 4QHodayot<sup>b</sup>,” 538–39) described this hymn as a hybrid of the categories of Teacher and Community Hymns and proposes that the criteria need to be revised and nuanced.

<sup>45</sup> Schuller, DJD 29:141.

<sup>46</sup> Schuller, DJD 29:146.

columns of 4Q428 have been reconstructed as ranging from twenty-two to twenty-four lines. In contrast to this, the scroll 1QH<sup>a</sup>, upon which the reconstruction of 4Q428 was based, held almost twice as many lines per column (forty to forty-one lines) yet measured only half as long. The length of 4Q428 is extraordinary given the average number of lines it contains. Elsewhere in the Qumran scrolls, there is a positive correlation between the length and width of columns: “the higher the column, the wider the lines, and the longer the scroll.”<sup>47</sup> It is striking therefore that 4Q428, a scroll of average column length, would have even exceeded the large Cave 11 Temple Scroll (11QT<sup>a</sup>), which measures a little over eight and a half meters. A scroll of this length containing hymnic compositions would have been very difficult to use since its size would have made difficult the precise locating of specific compositions, particularly the very short composition known from 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36. Because 4Q428 is also the oldest copy of the *hodayot* that has survived, its reconstruction is of considerable interest, particularly given our observations about the unusual elements in CH I.

Almost a third of the length of the reconstructed scroll of 4Q428 hinges upon the correct location of two very small fragments (1 and 2), one of which is difficult to verify. In a case like this, where only fragments of a scroll have survived, the method of reconstruction solely on the basis of patterns of material damage is less certain. Schuller has located these two fragments as having possible parallels to *hodayot* from the first collection of Community Hymns in 1QH<sup>a</sup>. The fragments of 4Q428 overlap with material from TH and CH II, but only two very small fragments (1 and 2) are thought to overlap with material from CH I.<sup>48</sup> The hypothetical location of these two very small fragments of 4Q428 has massive implications for the overall size of the reconstructed scroll 4Q428.

The first fragment of 4Q428 has been renumbered as the first fragment in DJD 29 and was identified as a possible parallel to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4:39–40. Only three lines are visible in this fragment which clearly shows the bottom margin of the column. The text of this fragment is as follows:

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<sup>47</sup> Emanuel Tov, “The Copying of a Biblical Scroll,” *JRH* 26 (2002): 189–209, at 193.

<sup>48</sup> Schuller (DJD 29:133–34) describes both of these fragments as having “possible parallels” with 1QH<sup>a</sup> (emphasis mine).

]אָד[  
 ]וב[  
 ]יכה לעולמ[

It is clear from the photograph that a bottom margin follows the last line of this fragment.<sup>49</sup> The reading of the letters אָד in the first row of this fragment is uncertain. The word that is intelligible in line 3 of the fragment is not a distinctive one (]לעולמ]). Schuller identifies two other possible locations for this fragment: 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:18 or 15:33–34. Schuller writes in the notes to this fragment that it is not possible to locate the fragment with 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:33–34 because it would lead to a reconstruction of a column of only sixteen or seventeen lines given the prior location of the adjacent frg. 10 (// 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:37–16:6).<sup>50</sup> This is because both frgs. 1 and 10 contain clear signs of the bottom margin of the column.

Even though the reading of ה in line three of this fragment is uncertain due to the lacuna, the letter before it is certainly a כ. There is a second person masculine pronominal suffix that preceded the word ]לעולמ]. The expression לעולמי עד appears at least six times in 1QH<sup>a</sup>: 4:40; 5:18, 30; 9:10; 15:34; 19:28. Of these six possibilities, there are only three that are preceded by a word that would fit what we see in fragment 1: 4:40; 15:34; 19:28. Of these three, the last option is not viable because this text is already identified with 4Q428 12 i (//1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:28–31). Both 4:40 and 15:34 could be viable options and the first of these has been chosen by Schuller in DJD 29.

I do not think that it is necessary to eliminate the possibility that this fragment is a possible parallel to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:33–34, as part of the very short composition in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36. This identification would certainly fit the reading of the word preceding the word ]לעולמ] in 1QH<sup>a</sup>. This is a hymn that many have noted to have literary features that distinguish it from its Teacher Hymn context in 1QH<sup>a</sup>. Sarah Tanzer proposed that this could possibly be a “Community Hymn” for its strong wisdom elements and other features.<sup>51</sup> Others who have studied the form-critical distinctions among the *hodayot* have agreed that

<sup>49</sup> PAM 43.526.

<sup>50</sup> Schuller, DJD 29:133 and 141–42. See too Puech’s facsimile of this column with frg. 10 of 4Q428, “Restauration d’un texte hymnique,” fig. 3.

<sup>51</sup> Tanzer, “Sages at Qumran,” 37 n. 56. There she writes that this composition has a customary TH incipit, but in content possesses the features of the CH. Tanzer discusses this text with the text in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6.

the focus on sinfulness makes it a stronger candidate for a Community Hymn than a Teacher Hymn. The literary context of the *hodayot* known from 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36 may also not be securely fixed for it also appears in 1Q35 which may have been part of an excerpted text and not a collection of *hodayot*.<sup>52</sup>

The location of the second fragment of 4Q428 is much more problematic, and Schuller describes the location of frg. 2 as tentative.<sup>53</sup> It is possible to read only three letters in this fragment: ף ך ן. These letters could be located at 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:30 or 12:34. Above this line, a downward trace of a final letter is visible. The identification of frg. 2 as a parallel with 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:19–20 is much more tentative as it relies upon a reconstructed reading proposed by Puech in 1988.<sup>54</sup>

Thus, the reconstruction of 4Q428 as a large scroll of almost seventy columns and more than nine meters in length depends upon the placement of two small fragments of 4Q428, one of which is not verifiable and the other which is uncertain. Also, the reconstruction presumes an enormous amount of stability of the order and arrangement of the compositions of the large collection of CH I, TH, and CH II known from 1QH<sup>a</sup> and does not allow for natural development or growth of the collection from the middle Hasmonean period to the early Herodian period. While a large scroll of nine and a half meters would have been manageable for a narrative text that was read from beginning to end, it does not seem practical for a collection of hymnic compositions since its large size would have made it difficult to locate particular hymns, especially a very short hymn like the one in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36.

It is clear from the table 3 compiled from DJD 29 that the surviving fragments of 4Q428 overlap considerably with compositions from both TH and CH II but not from CH I. There is not strong evidence that material from CH I was present among the fragments of 4Q428. Given the tenuous nature of the locations for frgs. 1 and 2, they have been indicated with a question mark in the Table 3. Thus the first fragment from 4Q428 that may be located with certainty is frg. 3

<sup>52</sup> In 1Q35, fragments from this short composition are grouped with fragments from the following composition in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:37–16:4.

<sup>53</sup> DJD 29:134.

<sup>54</sup> Schuller notes that the final *nun* at the end of line 1 of this fragment is tentative. There is only a trace of a letter. If it is a *nun*, ןׁוּמַעִין, a word suggested by Puech based on the size of the lacuna and the sense of the passage, would make sense; see Puech, “Un hymne essénien,” 72, and Schuller’s discussion in DJD 29:134.

which overlaps with a text from the TH collection (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:34–41). The last fragment in the scroll 4Q428 is a small fragment numbered 21 that overlaps with 1QH<sup>a</sup> 26:38 (// 4Q427 7 ii 19–23).

While there is a possibility that the collection in 4Q428 is the same collection found in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, the fragmentary nature of the evidence in 4Q428 is ambiguous. There is very slight evidence that 4Q428 included compositions from 1QH<sup>a</sup> 1–8. Where the evidence exists, the scroll 4Q428 generally resembles the middle and end of 1QH<sup>a</sup> (i.e., TH + CH II). The early date of 4Q428 relative to the other *hodayot* manuscripts suggests that the joining of the Teacher Hymns with a group of Community Hymns took place early in the transmission of the *hodayot*. We might imagine that 4Q428 resembled a collection of just TH and CH II. The joining of the Teacher Hymns with the second group of Community Hymns must have taken place by the middle Hasmonean period.

#### 4.3. *A Proposal for Understanding the Relationship between 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4Q428*

Assuming that 4Q428 was a composite collection of just TH and CH II material would help to explain why the TH and CH II material in 1QH<sup>a</sup> share more literary elements, the common theme of human and angelic praise, and a tendency toward expanded orthography. The scribe of 4Q428 also shares a preference for expanded orthography.<sup>55</sup> We propose that 4Q428 was the earliest form of the collection that later became 1QH<sup>a</sup>. There are signs of shaping of this collection of TH and CH II material. While it is not possible to verify that the creation hymn known from 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1(?)–10:4 had also been attached to the beginning of the Teacher Hymns in 4Q428 due to the fragmentary nature of this scroll, there is at least one scroll, 4Q432 (dated to the early Herodian period), that shows that the creation hymn in col. 9 was attached to the TH material and did not circulate with CH I.<sup>56</sup> Michael Douglas is correct to propose that the creation hymn in col. 9 functioned as an introduction to the Teacher Hymns collection.

<sup>55</sup> According to Schuller's comments on the orthography of 4Q428, this scroll favored the *plene* orthography. She writes, DJD 29:130: "כִּיָּא is usually written with *'alep* (frgs. 10 10; 13 6; 35 1; 39 1; 48 2), but also as כִּי in frg. 10 9. The negative is always written כִּיֹּל (e.g. frgs. 3 4; 10 10; 12 i 2; 27 2)."

<sup>56</sup> We may conclude that the creation hymn was associated as an introductory composition to the TH material but we cannot conclude with certainty when this may

Table 3: General Correspondence between 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4Q428 from DJD 29

Unit divisions per Stegemann (2003) 1QH <sup>a</sup>	Teacher Hymn (TH) or Community Hymn (CH)	4Q428 frgs. with the parallel text of 1QH <sup>a</sup> in parentheses
Cols. 1–3 (not extant)	CH I	
4(?)–40 (?) or 5:11 (?)	CH I	?
5:12–6:33	CH I	?
6:34–7:11	CH I	
7:12–20	CH I	
7:21–8:41	CH I	
9:1(?)–10:4	Intro to the TH	
10:5–21	TH	
10:22–32	TH	
10:33–11:5	TH	Fig. 3 (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 10:34–41)
11:6–19	TH	Fig. 4 (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 11:12–14)
11:20–37	TH	Fig. 5 (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 11:27–32)
11:38–12:5	TH	Fig. 6 (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 12:[1]–2)
12:6–13:6	TH	
13:7–21	TH	
13:22–15:8	TH	Fig. 7 (possible //1QH <sup>a</sup> 13:26) Fig. 8 (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 14:17–20)
15:9–28	TH	
15:29–36	TH	Fig. 9 (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 15:29–31)
15:37–16:4	TH	Fig. 10 (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 15:37–16:6)
16:5–17:36	TH	
17:37	Blank line	
17:38–19:5	Concl. to the TH	Fig. 11 (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 18:4–5)
19:6–20:6	CH II	Fig. 12 i (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 19:28–31) 12 ii (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 20:5–7)
20:7–22:42	CH II	See above Fig. 13 (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 21:18–25)
23:1–25:33	CH II	Fig. 14 (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 23:12–17) Fig. 15 (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 24:10–15) Fig. 16 (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 24:36–37) Fig. 17 (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 25:7–9) Fig. 18 (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 25:12–16) Fig. 19 (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 25:25–27) Fig. 20 (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 25:30–33)
25:34–27:3	CH II	Fig. 21 (//1QH <sup>a</sup> 26:38 //4Q427 7 ii 19–23)
27:4–28:42	CH II	



Furthermore, in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, the hymn in col. 9 stands not only at a literary seam between the CH I and TH group, but also at a physical seam, at the beginning of the third sheet of the scroll.

If 4Q428 did indeed contain just the TH and CH II, this collection would have contained both an introduction in the form of 9:1?–10:4. The collection of TH and CH II was organized around the theme of communion with angels that then culminates with the powerful composition that Esti Eshel named as the “Self-Glorification Hymn.”<sup>57</sup> According to Stegemann’s calculations in light of the fragments from 4Q427, the so-called “Self-Glorification Hymn” would have ended in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 27:3 although there is room for one more short composition after it.<sup>58</sup> John Collins describes this composition in the following way, “The claims it makes go far beyond anything we find in the Teacher Hymns and lack the acknowledgement of human unworthiness that is typical of the Hodayot.”<sup>59</sup> Collins is correct to note that this composition is unlike the others. Its extraordinary claims serve as a powerful culmination of the human and angelic prayers throughout the TH and CH II material.<sup>60</sup> These compositions that describe human and angelic prayer move toward an intensification of the heavenly experience, culminating with the extraordinary “Self-Glorification Hymn.” It is notable that both collections, 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4Q428, show that the extraordinary composition popularly known as the “Self-Glorification Hymn” appears near the very end of both collections.

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have first taken place. It may have taken place anytime after the copying of 4Q428 and before the copying of 1QH<sup>a</sup> in the early Herodian period.

<sup>57</sup> This title for the hymn was coined by Esther Eshel in her edition of 4Q471b; DJD 29:421–32. These fragments were also published as 4Q431 (4QH<sup>c</sup>) by Eileen Schuller in the same DJD volume (DJD 29:199–208).

<sup>58</sup> Given the placements of frgs. 61, 62, and 48, there was additional text after this so-called “Self-Glorification Hymn” in 1QH<sup>a</sup>. However, it is not possible to know what this text would have been because the remains are so fragmentary.

<sup>59</sup> John J. Collins, “Amazing Grace: The Transformation of the Thanksgiving Hymn at Qumran,” in *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical, and Artistic Traditions* (ed. Harold W. Attridge and Margot E. Fassler; SBLSymS 25; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 85.

<sup>60</sup> Philip Alexander, *The Mystical Texts* (CQS 7; LSTS 61; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 90, writes, “the language is precise: it does not say ‘exalt together with the eternal host’, but ‘exalt together in the eternal host’.”

### 5. Conclusion

While the new critical edition available in DJD 40 will likely resolve many of the longstanding issues surrounding the material reconstruction of the scroll 1QH<sup>a</sup>, there remain a number of curious literary features about the arrangement of 1QH<sup>a</sup> that have yet to be explored. Namely, if the scroll 1QH<sup>a</sup> consists of three major parts (CH I, TH, CH II) is there a rationale behind this literary arrangement of sandwiching the distinctive TH material? How can we explain the fact that the CH I material shows very few signs of continuity with CH II and TH with respect to literary elements and orthography? Here, I recall Sukenik's own account of the unrolling of 1QH<sup>a</sup> some sixty years ago with which I began this essay. He writes,

The Thanksgiving Scroll is in two separate parts. The part which was opened first contains three sheets, each one with four columns, or a total of twelve columns. The sheets were not found regularly rolled up into one another, as was the case with the Sons of Light scroll. Instead, two disconnected sheets were casually rolled together, and into the folds of this roll a third sheet had been forced.<sup>61</sup>

Perhaps the sheet that was indiscriminately inserted into the scroll was the sheet with the CH I material on it. These columns were proposed to have been a separate scroll altogether by Jean Carmignac almost fifty years ago. In his initial comments on 1QH<sup>a</sup>, he notes that these columns (= Sukenik 13–17) were so fragmentary and exhibited such different patterns of damage that they did not appear to belong to the other sheets written in the hand of scribe A.<sup>62</sup>

In conclusion, I propose that 4Q428 was an earlier form of the collection known today as 1QH<sup>a</sup> that contained only TH and CH II. The joining of the TH collection with CH II happened very early in the history of the transmission of the collection, and given the dating of 4Q428, this could have been as early as the middle Hasmonean period. This collection was organized purposefully as a collection of human and angelic prayers which possessed an internal progression and intensification of the human communion with angels theme, culminating in the extraordinary composition that is popularly known

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<sup>61</sup> *DSSHU*, 37.

<sup>62</sup> Carmignac, "Remarques sur le texte des Hymnes de Qumrân," *Bib* 39 (1958): 139–55, at 152.

as the “Self-Glorification Hymn.” This collection was an authoritative collection that became the foundation for the creation of the large scroll known as 1QH<sup>a</sup>.

When it became desirable to expand the collection, the sheet containing the compositions from CH I was simply inserted into the folds of the existing TH + CH II collection. The CH I group was introduced into the collection during the time of 1QH<sup>a</sup>. This scenario takes seriously Sukenik’s initial observations that there was a third sheet indiscriminately folded and roughly inserted into the folds of the other sheets. It also takes into account the observation that the introduction to the TH (9:1?–10:4) would have begun at the top, or very near the top of a column of what would begin a new sheet of parchment. The scribe would have rolled the new text into the existing collection without taking the time to actually attach them together physically. Such a scenario might help us to imagine how poetic collections grew in antiquity. When it came time to recopy the scroll 1QH<sup>a</sup>, only then would it have become necessary to make decisions about how to incorporate the secondary collection CH I into the TH + CH II collection. But how exactly those decisions would have been made cannot be known to us today.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> I imagine that the secondary addition of CH I would have been introduced at the beginning of the TH+CH II collection. I believe that there were few options for this kind of large scale redaction. The options would be to insert the secondary material at either the beginning or the end. One might imagine that it would be more intuitive to insert new material at the end, however, in the case of these texts which emphasize human and angelic prayer, I do not think that additional texts would have been inserted at the end of this collection because it would have disturbed the internal progression toward the crescendo of the “Self-Glorification hymn.”

# LITURGICAL FUNCTION IN THE CAVE 1 HODAYOT COLLECTION

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## 1. *Introduction*

The sixtieth anniversary of the discovery of Qumran Cave 1 is a time for celebration. It is an appropriate occasion to reassess the Cave 1 manuscripts from the vantage point of six decades of scholarship, which now fortunately includes the full publication of all of the Qumran scrolls that was brought to fruition just a few years ago. Accordingly, I have chosen to devote the present study to the large *Hodayot* manuscript from Cave 1 namely, 1QH<sup>a</sup>. A major focus of research on 1QH<sup>a</sup> from the 1960s until today has been categorizing the two major types of material in this collection. The first is known as the Hymns of the Teacher, so called because they were initially associated with the Teacher of Righteousness and typically give expression to the “I” speaker’s personal experiences of suffering, persecution, salvation and the gift of knowledge. The second group, now thought to consist of two sub-groups, is known as the Hymns of the Community.<sup>1</sup> The Community Hymns were initially distinguished from the Teacher material by their less personal stamp and more general concerns such as the human condition, communal affiliation, and soteriological confession. In the last decade, formal criteria have been added: the Hymns of the Community uniquely employ “we” language and an opening blessing

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<sup>1</sup> For this proposal and an up to date history of research on the categorization of the *Hodayot* see Angela Kim Harkins, “The Community Hymns Classification: A Proposal for Further Differentiation,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 121–54. I am grateful to Dr. Harkins for sending me a draft of her article and for urging me to write this paper for the IOQS meeting during the course of our conversations about the *Hodayot* while I was on sabbatical at Yale University, spring 2007. On the Teacher Hymns see also Michael C. Douglas, “The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited: New Data for an Old Crux,” *DSD* 6 (1999): 239–66.

formula (“Blessed are you, God”) as an alternative to the more typical incipit, “I thank you, Lord.”<sup>2</sup>

The grouping of Teacher Hymns more or less within a single block of material in 1QH<sup>a</sup> has long been recognized. However, this block’s location in the middle of the manuscript, between two large clusters of Community Hymns, has only become common knowledge in recent years with the publication of the scroll’s material reconstruction carried out independently by Hartmut Stegemann and Émile Puech.<sup>3</sup> The new reconstruction of 1QH<sup>a</sup> provides a more accurate picture of the contours of this collection and the editorial arrangement of the hymns within it. At the same time, the publication of the six Cave 4 *Hodayot* manuscripts in DJD 29 dramatically uncovered not only previously unknown hymns but also the existence of different collections of *Hodayot* at Qumran: at least one apparently had only Hymns of the Teacher (4QH<sup>c</sup>) and another only Hymns of the Community (4QH<sup>a</sup>) while at least two, 4QH<sup>b</sup> and 1QH<sup>a</sup>, included both types.<sup>4</sup> This

<sup>2</sup> For the incipits see Hartmut Stegemann, “The Number of Psalms in 1QH<sup>a</sup> and Some of Their Sections,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Esther G. Chazon in collaboration with Ruth Clements and Avital Pinnick; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 191–34. The publication of 4QH<sup>a</sup> brought to the fore the use of first person plural language in Community Hymns; see Eileen Schuller, “A Hymn from a Cave Four *Hodayot* Manuscript: 4Q427 7 i+ii,” *JBL* 112 (1993): 605–28, especially 625, and “427. 4QH<sup>a</sup>,” in *Qumran Cave 4 XX Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 77–123. The presence of sapiential themes in Community Hymns but not in Teacher Hymns is often considered another thematic marker. Harkins nuances the latter by observing that the verbal links with 4QInstruction occur in the same sub-group of Community Hymns that heavily uses sectarian *yahad* terminology even though this sub-group aligns more closely with the Teacher Hymns in other ways (see Harkins, “Community Hymns,” and her article on “Sixty Years of Scholarship on the Community Hymns from 1QH<sup>a</sup>” in this volume). For a different view of the distribution of the sapiential material in the *Hodayot* see Matthew J. Goff, “Reading Wisdom at Qumran: 4QInstruction and the *Hodayot*,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 263–88.

<sup>3</sup> Hartmut Stegemann, “Rekonstruktion der *Hodayot*: Ursprüngliche Gestalt und kritisch bearbeiteter Text der Hymnenrolle aus Höhle 1 von Qumran” (unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of Heidelberg, 1963); idem, “The Material Reconstruction of 1QH<sup>a</sup>,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 272–84; idem, “Number of Psalms”; and Émile Puech, “Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH),” *JJS* 39 (1988): 38–55. The final publication, *1QH<sup>a</sup> with Incorporation of 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4QH<sup>a</sup>–f* (ed. Hartmut Stegemann with Eileen Schuller, trans. of texts by Carol Newsom; DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon, 2009), was available for consultation just before this article went to press.

<sup>4</sup> Only part of one hymn is extant in each of the following manuscripts: 1QH<sup>b</sup>, 4QH<sup>d</sup>, and 4QH<sup>e</sup>. 4QH<sup>f</sup> overlaps the cluster of Teacher Hymns in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:[1]–17:36

better appreciation of the different types of hymns and the different *Hodayot* collections together with the definitive reconstruction of the 1QH<sup>a</sup> manuscript provide the basis for current research on the *Hodayot* including that undertaken here.

## 2. *Praising God Together with the Angels*

In the present study I isolate another central theme in the 1QH<sup>a</sup> collection, occurring in both Teacher and Community Hymns. I will propose that this unifying theme points to a key editorial principle of the 1QH<sup>a</sup> collection and to the collection's liturgical purpose and *Sitz im Leben* in the Community's worship. The theme in question is praising God together, *yahad*, with the angels. This theme finds a place in each of the three major clusters of hymns in the 1QH<sup>a</sup> collection: (1) in the penultimate hymn (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:12–20, frg. 10) within the first group of Community Hymns (cols. 1–8); (2) in the sixth (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:20–37), and perhaps also the tenth hymn (13:22–15:8)<sup>5</sup> in the block of fourteen Teacher Hymns that falls in the middle of the reconstructed scroll (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9–17:36);<sup>6</sup> and (3) in at least two of the final cluster of Community Hymns that closes the scroll (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6, 25:34–27:3, and possibly also 23:1–25:33).<sup>7</sup> The even distribution of this theme throughout the scroll, across all three blocks of material, is significant and provides the first of several clues that cut in the same direction vis-à-vis editorial intent and liturgical purpose.

### 2.1. *Communal Praise in the Teacher Hymns*

The first task is to examine the claims to joint human-angelic praise made in the relevant passages. I begin with the more surprising, and to the mind of some scholars more problematic, location of this type

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including the "Creation Psalm" at the beginning of this section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:[1]–10:4). See Schuller, "Hodayot," DJD 29:69–231.

<sup>5</sup> This hymn juxtaposes the human council's task of recounting God's wonders to all people and its "lot together with the angels of presence," i.e., the ministering angels (14:13–16).

<sup>6</sup> For the fourteen Teacher Hymns see Stegemann, "Number of Psalms," 226–29. This would not be an unbroken block of Teacher material according to those scholars who view some of the hymns in these columns, including the two noted here, as Community Hymns. See the charts in Douglas, "Teacher Hymn," 245, 254 and below.

<sup>7</sup> Column 23:30, 34 refers to the union with the angels, l. 34 apparently to "[se]rvicing with Your hosts."

of material in the block of Teacher Hymns. This locus is more surprising precisely because communal praise is considered a hallmark of the Hymns of the Community rather than of Teacher Hymns. Accordingly, a number of scholars (Gert Jeremias, Jürgen Becker, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, Michael Douglas) identify the one clear case of a hymn with this theme within the block of Teacher Hymns (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:20–37) as a Community Hymn.<sup>8</sup> Even if that categorization were correct, it would still support the general editorial principle of distributing the theme of liturgical communion with the angels throughout the 1QH<sup>a</sup> collection. In fact, I find the classification of this hymn as a Teacher Hymn compelling on both formal and substantive grounds; that is, the hymn displays two distinctive features characteristic of Teacher Hymns—the **אדוני אודכה** incipit and the poet's account of his redemption from the pit, also voiced in the opening line. I quote the first six lines of this hymn,<sup>9</sup> which were followed by a detailed description of the wicked snares of Belial culminating in the eschatological war.

1QH<sup>a</sup> col. 11

אודכה אדוני כי פדיתה נפשי משחת ומשאל אבדון	<i>vacat</i>	20
העליתני לרום עולם ואתהלכה במישור לאין חקר ואדעה כיא יש		21
מקוה לאשר		
יצרתה מעפר לסוד עולם ורוח נעוה טהרתה מפשע רב להתיצב		22
במעמד עם		
צבא קדושים ולבוא ביח' עם עדת בני שמים ותפל לאיש גורל		23
עולם עם רוחות		
דעת להלל שמכה ביחד רנ'ה ולספר נפלאותיכה לנגד כול		24
מעשיכה ואני יצר		
החמר מה אני מגבל במים ולמי נחשבתי ומה כוח לי כיא		25
התיצבתי בגבול רשעה		

20. *vacat* I give thanks to You, O Lord, for You have redeemed my soul from the pit. From Sheol and Abaddon
21. You have raised me up to an eternal height, so that I might walk about on a limitless plain, and know that there is hope for him whom

<sup>8</sup> See Douglas, "Teacher Hymn," 245, 254.

<sup>9</sup> All citations of the *Hodayot* are taken from the *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library* (ed. Emanuel Tov; Leiden: Brill, 2006) unless stated otherwise. *DSSEL* updates the column numbers according to Stegemann's reconstruction but not always the line numbers. In this article, I have updated the line numbers in the citations from *DSSEL* in accordance with DJD 40. [Note of the editors: in the process of editing, sometimes the diacritics and the bracketing of the DJD 40 edition have been adapted].

22. You created from the dust for the eternal council. The perverse spirit  
You have cleansed from great transgression, that he might take his  
stand with
23. the host of the holy ones, and enter together (or in the *yaḥad*) with  
the congregation of the sons of heaven. And for man, You have  
allotted an eternal destiny (lot) with the spirits
24. of knowledge, to praise Your name together with shouts of joy, and to  
recount Your wonders before all Your creatures. But I, a creature of
25. clay, what am I? Kneaded with water, for whom am I to be reck-  
oned, and what is my strength? For I have taken my stand within  
the domain of wickedness.

The “I” speaker in this hymn as well as in the comparable Hymns of the Community discussed below gives expression to a personal experience of being raised up from a lowly state, purified from sin, and joined together, *yaḥad*, in a common lot and a common station with the heavenly host. The activity of praising God together is stipulated as the goal of the union with the angels, and it provides a concrete way to realize this union. The word *ביחד* (in union, together) is used repeatedly for the joint praise and the shared *מעמד*, a cultic station as in 1 Chr 23:28 and 2 Chr 35:15, where the term refers to the Levites’ duty and post in the Temple.

In his commentary on 1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>, Jacob Licht suggested that the statements, “to take a stand in a station with the host of holy ones” and “before You with the eternal host” (להתיצב במעמד עם צבא קדושים), (להתיצב במעמד לפניכה עם צבא עד) refer to a position around the divine throne as in 1 En 60:2.<sup>10</sup> Although Licht did not draw any implications for an ascent or angelification experience, his comment could be seen as paving the way to a maximalist reading of these hymns that would bring them into closer, but not precise, alignment with the exalted claims made in the Self-Glorification Hymn, which I shall discuss below. However, a more straightforward reading of these 1QH<sup>a</sup> passages, one attune to the speaker’s feelings of baseness and to the doxological focus of the common station, suggests a more modest claim to uniting together, *yaḥad*, with the angelic congregation for the specific purpose and goal of praising God. This falls far short of the boasts made by the speaker in the Self-Glorification Hymn and of any mystical experience, ascent, or angelification.

<sup>10</sup> Jacob Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll* (Jerusalem: Bialik Insitute, 1957), 84, 163 [Hebrew]. These two passages are cited above (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:22–23) and below (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:16), respectively.



## 2.2. Communal Praise in the Community Hymns

The *Hodayot* examined in this study depict and appear to be directed toward a communal experience of forming one united worshipping congregation with the angels. Although the author of the Teacher Hymn in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:20–37 writes from an individual perspective, the terms he employs for the shared station and joint praise with the angels and the similar usage of these terms in the Community Hymns strongly suggest that he also has his elect community in view—the earthly counterpart to “the congregation of the sons of heaven.” Indeed, a public forum is conceived as the venue for singing together with the angelic choir in this Teacher Hymn (11:24, “to praise Your name together with shouts of joy and to recount Your wonders before all Your creatures”) as well as in the parallel Community Hymns. As an example of the latter, I quote here 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–17, the passage closest linguistically to the Teacher Hymn in 11:20–37.

1QH <sup>a</sup> col. 19	
	אֹדְכָה אֵלַי כִּי הִפְלַתָּה עִם עֶפְר וּבִיָּצַר חֲמַר הַגְּבֵרְתָּה מוֹדָה מוֹדָה 6
	וְאֵנִי מָה כִּי־א 7
	[ה] בִּינֹתַנִּי בְּסוּד אִמְתַּכָּה וְתִשְׁכִּילֵנִי בְּמַעֲשֵׂי פְלֹאכָה וְתִתֵּן בְּפִי הוֹדוֹת וּבְלִשׁוֹנִי 8
	תְּ[ה] לָּהּ וּמִזֶּל שְׁפָתַי בְּמִכּוֹן רִנָּה וְאִזְמֵרָהּ בְּחִסְדִּיכָה וּבְגִבּוֹרְתָּהּ אֲשׁוּחַחָה כּוֹל 9
	הַיּוֹם תִּמְיֵד אֲבֵרְכָהּ שְׂמֵכָה וְאִסְפְּרָהּ כְּבוֹדְכָה בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי אָדָם וּבְרֹב טוֹבְכָה 10
	תִּשְׁתַּעֲשַׁע נַפְשִׁי וְאֵנִי יִדְעֵתִי כִּי אִמְתַּ פִּיכָה וּבִידְכָה צְדָקָה וּבְמַחֲשַׁבְתָּהּ 11
	כּוֹל דְּעָה וּבְכוּחָהּ כּוֹל גְּבוּרָה וְכוֹל כְּבוֹד אִתְּכָה הוּא בְּאִפְכָה כּוֹל מִשְׁפָּטִי נִגַּע 12
	וּבְטוֹבְכָה רֹב סְלִיחוֹת וְרַחֲמֵיכָה לְכוֹל בְּנֵי רִצּוֹנְכָה כִּי הוֹדַעְתָּם בְּסוּד אִמְתַּכָּה 13
	וּבְרִזִּי פְלֹאכָה הַשְׁכַּלְתָּם וְלִמְעַן כְּבוֹדְכָה טְהַרְתָּה אֲנוּשׁ מִפֶּשַׁע לְהַתְקַדֵּשׁ 14
	לְכָה מִכּוֹל תּוֹעֵבוֹת נְדָה וְאַשְׁמַת מַעַל לְהוֹחֵד עִם בְּנֵי אִמְתְּךָ וּבְגוֹרֵל עִם 15
	קְדוּשִׁיכָה לְהַרִים מִעַפְר תּוֹלַעַת מַתִּים לְסוּד עִ[וֹלָם] וּמְרוּחַ נְעוּהָ לְבִינְתְּכָה 16
	וְלִהְתִּיצֵב בְּמַעַמְד לְפָנֶיכָה עִם צְבָא עַד וְרוּחוֹ[ת עוֹלָם] וְלִהְתַּחֲדֵשׁ עִם כּוֹל הָ[וֹוָה] 17
	וְנָהִיָּה וְעִם יִדְעִים בִּיחַד רִנָּה <sup>11]</sup> vacat

<sup>11</sup> I have updated ll. 16–17 according to the new readings in DJD 40:240.

6. I thank You, O my God, for You have dealt wonderfully with dust, and You have worked so very <sup>very</sup> powerfully with vessels of clay. As for me, what am I? For
7. You have [en]lightened me in the counsel of Your truth, and You have given me insight into Your wonderful works. You put praises in my mouth, and upon my tongue
8. a ps[al]m; the utterance of my lips forms the foundation of joyous song. I shall praise Your mercy and consider Your strength all the
9. day. I will bless Your name continually, and I will recount Your glory among the children of men; in the abundance of Your goodness
10. my soul delights. I know that Your command is truth and that in Your hand is righteousness. In Your thoughts
11. are all knowledge and in Your strength is all power; all glory is with You. In Your anger are all the agonizing judgements,
12. but in Your goodness is an abundance of forgiveness. Your compassion is for all the children of Your will, for You have made them know the counsel of Your truth,
13. and in the mysteries of Your wonder You have given them insight. For Your glory's sake You have cleansed man from transgression, so that he can purify himself
14. for You from all filthy abominations and the guilt of unfaithfulness, so as to be joined wi[th] the children of Your truth; in the lot with
15. Your saints (holy ones). That bodies, covered with worms of the dead, might rise up from the dust to an et[ernal] council; from a perverse spirit to Your understanding.
16. That he might take his position before You with the eternal hosts and the [eternal] spirit[s], to be renewed with all that i[s]
17. and that shall be and to rejoice together with those who know.  
*vacat* [ ]

According to Stegemann's reconstruction of 1QH<sup>a</sup>, 19:18–20:6 is the continuation of the hymn just quoted rather than a separate psalm.<sup>12</sup> This piece begins with a standard section opening (וְאֵי אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֵינוּ) that offers thanks for knowledge of God's wonders. It continues with the psalmist's lament over human sin and then with his promise, when sin ceases, to sing praises of God's salvation ("Then I will sing praises on the lyre of salvation," 19:25–27; cf. the angels' similar role in 11:36). The personal commitment to praise is followed (in ll. 27–29) by a declaration that *all* will bless God (יְבָרְכֻהָ) *together* with a voice of rejoicing (יחד בקול רינה). The liturgical theme leads immediately into a liturgical closing of direct relevance for the question of the nature and function of the 1QH<sup>a</sup> collection.

<sup>12</sup> Stegemann, "Number of Psalms," 216–17.

1QH <sup>a</sup> col. 19	
אזמרה בכנור ישועות ונבל שמ[חה ]לה וחליל תהלה לאין	26
השבת ומי בכול מעשיכה יוכל לספר ] נפלאותיכה בפי כולם	27
יהולל	
שמכה לעולמי עד יברוכה כפי שכל[ם וענו]ים	28
ישמיעו יחד	
בקול רנה ואין יגון ואנחה ועולה ל[וא תמצא עוד] ואמתכה תופיע	29
לכבוד עד ושלוס עול[ו]ם {vacat} ברוך אתה[ אדוני א]שר נתתה	30
לעבדך	
שכל דעה להבין בנפלאותיכה פ[ ] [ול]ספר ברוב	31
חסדיכה	
ברוך אתה אל הרחמים והינינה כגדול[כו] חכה ורוב אמתכה והמו[ן]	32
חסדיכה בכול מעשיכה שמח נפש עבדכה באמתכה וטהרני	33
בצדקתכה כאשר יחלתי לטובכה ולחסדיכה אקוה ולסליחות[יכה]	34
פתחתה משירי וביגוני נחמתני כיא נש<ע>נתי ברחמיכה ברוך	35
את[ה]	
אדוני כי אתה פעלתה אלה ותשם בפי עבדכ[ה] הודות[ ]	36
ותחנה ומענה לשון והכינותה לי ועול[ ]	37
ואעצור[ ] ל[ ] <sup>2</sup>	38
ואתה ]	39
אמת[כה]	40
וא[ ]	41
o[ ]	42
col. 20	

	[1-3]
o[ ] תרחב נפשי[ ]	4
אשכנ[ה] לבטח במעון קו[דש] ב[ש] {קט} ושלוה	5
[בשלו]ם וברכה באהלי כבוד וישועה ואהללה שמכה בתוך יראיכה <sup>13</sup>	6

1QH<sup>a</sup> col. 19

26. I will sing praises on the lyre of salvation and to the harp of jo[y ] and the flute of praise without
27. ceasing. Who among all Your creatures is able to recount [ and] Your [wonders?] Your name shall be praised by every mouth
28. for ever and ever. They shall bless You according to [their] insight [and the meek] shall declare together
29. with the voice of rejoicing. There is no grief nor groaning, and injustice [shall be found ]n[o longer. ] You shall make Your truth to shine forth
30. for eternal glory and everlasting peace. *vacat* **Blessed are You,** [O Lord, f]or You have given to Your servant

<sup>13</sup> I added lines 40–42 in col. 19 and updated the reading in 20:6 according to DJD 40:241, 250. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:20–31 and 20:4–6 have overlaps in 4QH<sup>a</sup> 1 1–7, 3 1–3, and 4QH<sup>b</sup> 12 i 1–5, ii 1–2.

31. the insight of knowledge to understand Your wonders [ and to] recount the abundance of Your mercy.
32. **Blessed are You**, O God of compassion and grace in accordance with Your grea[t pow]er and the abundance of Your truth, and the profusio[n]
33. of Your mercy for all Your creatures. Gladden the soul of Your servant with Your truth and cleanse me
34. in Your righteousness. For just as I waited for Your goodness, so I hope in Your mercy and [Your] forgiveness.
35. You have relieved my adversities and in my grief You have comforted me, for I depended upon Your compassion. **Blessed are Yo[u]**
36. O Lord, for You have done these things, and You place hymns of thanksgiving in the mouth of Your servant [
37. and a supplication for favour as well as a suitable reply. And You have established for me [
38. And I shall restr[ain
39. And You [
40. [Your] truth[
41. And[
42. [
- Col. 20
- [1–3.]
4. ] my soul is broad [
5. I will dwell] safely in a ho[ly] dwelling, [in] quietness and in ease
6. [in peac]e and blessing in the tents of glory and salvation. I will praise Your name among those that fear You.

In this passage, three benedictions are piled one onto another. While these blessings are couched in the voice of the hymn’s “I” speaker, liturgical practice is clearly behind the choice of a benedictory closing to the hymn; the specific benediction formulae namely, the direct address to God as “you” and the relative pronoun with a perfect verb in the content clause; and the liturgical adaptation of Moses’ prayers, the divine attributes formula (Exod 34:6–7) and other popular biblical verses. The use of opening and closing blessings exclusively in the Community Hymns is not surprising—it fits the picture of contemporary liturgical practice and the early stage of a development that culminated in the fixing of the rabbinic liturgical benediction in the third century C.E.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See Appendix 4a: (אתה) ברוך Sections in *1QHodayot* in Stegemann, “The Number of Psalms,” 230–31. For blessings clustered near the end of long hymns see 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4:21, 29, 38; 19:30, 32, 35–36, cited above; and 26:31a, 41–42. The single occurrence of a blessing as an incipit that opens a Teacher Hymn is a secondary supralinear addition

The complete 1QH<sup>a</sup> collection also ends on a very strong liturgical note with at least three long sections, each of which extends invitations to praise God to an audience, evidently of human beings,<sup>15</sup> addressed in the second person plural. These sections come immediately after the Self-Glorification Hymn, of which only three nondescript words survive in 1QH<sup>a</sup> (frg. 56 ii 2–4) and whose text in the 1QH<sup>a</sup> collection is far from certain. For the purpose of this paper, the boastful claims of the “I” speaker in the Self-Glorification Hymn, which is certainly present in 4QH<sup>a,c</sup> but only reconstructed in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, are less relevant than the speaker’s subsequent invitations to his audience in the very same hymn. The Self-Glorification Hymn and the first series of liturgical calls to praise, scantily represented by 1QH<sup>a</sup> frgs. 56 ii, 46 ii, and 55 ii, are placed in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 26:6–17. The second and third liturgical sections are represented more fully later on in the same column, 26:26–38, by 1QH<sup>a</sup> frg. 7 ii 1–13,<sup>16</sup> which can be filled out with the extensive overlapping text in the Cave 4 manuscripts, 4QH<sup>a</sup> frg. 7 ii 7–22 and 4QH<sup>e</sup> frg. 2 6–9.<sup>17</sup> The second and third sections contain calls to the address-

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“by a hand other than that of the original scribe” (Stegemann, *ibid.*, 228–29) and might reflect the kind of liturgical editing that I suggest in this paper. On the emerging use of opening and closing blessings see Joseph Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns* (trans. R. Sarason; SJ 9; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1977), 77–103; Eileen Schuller, “Some Observations on Blessings of God in Texts from Qumran,” in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins, and Thomas H. Tobin; Resources in Religion 5; Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1990), 133–43; Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. Jonathan Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 25–26, 69–80; Esther G. Chazon, “A Liturgical Document from Qumran and Its Implications: Words of the Luminaries (4QDibHam)” (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1991), 100–101; and Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 79–84.

<sup>15</sup> See Schuller, “427. 4QHodayot<sup>a</sup>,” 103 and note the references to human baseness and God’s raising up of the fallen from dust that occur in all three sections of invitations to praise (quoted below).

<sup>16</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> frg. 7 ii is mistakenly represented as 1QH<sup>a</sup> col. 27 in *DSSEL* and *DSSR* 5, 70. See now DJD 40:298–99, which also presents some new readings of minor proportions.

<sup>17</sup> A fourth liturgical section begins in 4QH<sup>a</sup> 7 ii 22 but the overlap with 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7 ii ends before this line. 4QH<sup>a</sup> 8 i 6–12 also has plural calls to praise but this piece, which overlaps 1QH<sup>a</sup> frg. 10, is placed much earlier in the 1QH<sup>a</sup> collection (in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:12–20) and constitutes a difference in the order of this hymn in the two manuscripts. See Schuller, “427. 4QHodayot<sup>a</sup>,” 96–113. I tentatively suggest that perhaps the editor of the 1QH<sup>a</sup> collection deliberately moved the latter piece up to the first cluster of Community Hymns in order to unify the collection and wrap the Teacher Hymns with liturgical material (see further below). This suggestion might also explain the finding

ees to praise God for the familiar *Hodayot* motifs of being uplifted to angelic stature and joined together in “a station” (מעמד) with the “sons of heaven”:

1QH<sup>a</sup> col. 26

עוד [השמיעו] וְאִמְרוּ גְדוֹל אֵל עוֹשֶׂה פְּלֵא כִּי־אֵל הַשְּׁפִיל גְּבוּהוֹת] 26
רוח לאין שרית ויִרְ[ם מעפר אביון לרום עולם ועד שחקים] 27
וגבוה בקומה ועם [אלים בעדת יחד ורפֿ אף לכלת] 28
עולם וכשלי ארצ יר[ים לאין מחיר וגבורת עד עם מצעדם] 29
ושמחת עולם במכוניה[ם ויאמרו ברוך אל המפלי פלאות גאות] 30
להודיע גבורה ומגד[יל להופיע גבורה בדעת לכול מעשיו וטוב על פניהם] 31
בדעתם ברית חסד[ו] והמון רחמיו לכול בני אמתו ידענוכה] 32
אל הצדק והשכלת[נו] באמתכה מלך הכבוד כיא ראינו קנאתכה] 33
בכוח גבורה והכר[נו] משפטיכה בהמון רחמים והפלא סליחות] 34
מה בשר לאלה וּמ[ה] יחשב עפר ואפר לספר אלה מקץ לקץ] 35
ולהתיצב במעמד[ ] לפניכה ולבוא ביחד עם בני שמים ואין מליץ] 36
להשיב דבר כ[פ]יכה ו לכה כיא העמדתנו] 37
לרצ[ונכ]ה ב[ ] 38

26. more. [Proclaim] and s[ay, God, who does wonders, is great. For He brings low the haughty of]
27. spirit so that none remain. He rai[ses the oppressed from the dust and to the heavens]
28. and high in stature. And with [the gods in the congregation of the association (or of the *Yahad*) for an]
29. eternal [destruction. ] They that fall to the ground He shall rai[se up without price, and strength their step,]
30. and eternal joy in t[heir] dwellings, [perpetual glory without ceasing. And they shall say, Blessed is God, who arrogance,]
31. {to make strength known} and who does gr[eat things to make manifest His wondrous strength in the knowledge of all his creatures and good before them]
32. that they might know the covenant of [His] mercy [and the magnitude of His mercies for all the children of His truth. We have known You,]
33. a God of righteousness and You have given [us] insight [in your truth O king of glory. For we have seen Your zeal]
34. in strong power, and [we] have recognized [your judgement with the magnitude of your compassion and wonderful forgiveness.]
35. What is mere humankind to these things? Wh[at shall dust and ashes be reckoned to recount these things for ever]

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by Harkins, “Sixty Years,” that the full orthography in frg. 10 is unusual for the first cluster of Community Hymns in 1QH<sup>a</sup>.

36. and to stand in a station [before You and to come together with the sons of heaven. There is no mediator]  
 37. to give an answer in [ to You. For You have established us]  
 38. according to [Yo]ur wi[ll] and [

Liturgical communion with the angels is not explicitly mentioned in the extant lines of the sections quoted above. The words connecting the references to the cultic station and to the sons of heaven are lost in the lacuna in line 36.<sup>18</sup> This line might have contained a reference to singing in union joyously (ביחד רינה) as did the similar passages in cols. 11 and 19 that were presented earlier. Indeed, precisely such joint praise is spelled out in the first liturgical series, which is poorly preserved in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 26:9–26 but almost fully extant in 4QH<sup>a</sup> frg. 7 i 13–7 ii 7. 1QH<sup>a</sup> does preserve some of the calls to sing together, *yahad*, but for the identification of those whom the audience joins in song as “the eternal (heavenly) host,” we are dependent upon 4QH<sup>a</sup>.<sup>19</sup> To facilitate the discussion I quote 4QH<sup>a</sup> frg. 7 i in its entirety below: lines 6–13 are from the Self-Glorification Hymn, lines 13–23 are from the first liturgical series; the underline indicates the overlapping text in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 26:6–17.<sup>20</sup>

1QH <sup>a</sup> 26:[2]–[19] (4QH <sup>a</sup> frg. 7 i)			
	[קודש <sup>ו</sup>	]	[1–5]
	כמוני וחדל [הרע	]	6
	תדמה בהר[יתי	]	7
	מי כמוני [באלים	]	8
	מזל שפתי מי יכיל[מ[י] בלשון יעודני	]	9
	ידיד המ[לכ רע לקדושים ולוא יבא	]	10
	ולכבו[די לוא ידמה כ[י]א אני עמ אלימ מעמ[די]	]	11
	[וכבוד ר לא בפז אככ <sup>ו</sup> לי וכתם אן ביורמ לוא	]	12
	[בינה <sup>ו</sup> לוא יחשב בי זמרו ידידימ שירו למלכ	]	13
	[הכבוד שמחו בע[דת אל הרנינו באהלי ישועה הללו במעון	]	14
	[קודש ר[וממו יחד בצבא עולם הבו גדול לאלנו וכבוד למלכנו	]	15

<sup>18</sup> The words “ולהתיצב במעמד” are preserved in both 1QH<sup>a</sup> 26:36 and the overlapping text in 4QH<sup>a</sup> 7 ii 17; the phrase “sons of heaven, בני שמים,” is extant in 4QH<sup>a</sup> 7 ii 18 and reconstructed accordingly in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 26:36.

<sup>19</sup> The final verb in the first series of imperative calls to praise is “bless, ברכו” (see 4QH<sup>a</sup> 7 i 18 quoted below). This verb is followed by a long content clause praising God’s mysteries, His lifting up of the lowly and bringing down of the haughty, and the bringing about of eschatological blessings. The third summons to praise opens with a blessing formula (4QH<sup>a</sup> 7 ii 12 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> 26:31a). On the liturgical significance of the blessing formula see note 14 above.

<sup>20</sup> The words in the lacunae in lines 5–10 are supplied by the third overlapping text, 4QH<sup>c</sup> 1 1–9. See DJD 29:96 and DJD 40:298.

הקדי[שׁוֹ שְׁמוֹ בְּשִׁפְתַי עוֹז וְלִשׁוֹן נִצַּח הַרִימוּ לְבַד קוֹלְכֶמָה	16
[בכ]וֹל קְצִימֵי הַשְּׁמַיִם הַגִּידְנָה הַבִּיעוּ בְּשִׁמְחוֹת עוֹלָמִים וְאִין	17
[ה]שְׁבַת הַשְּׁחֹזוּ בְּיַחַד קֹהֵל בְּרִכּוֹ הַמַּפְלִי גְאוֹת וּמוֹדִיעַ עוֹז יָדוֹ	18
[ל]הֲתוֹמ רִזִים וְלִגְלוֹת נִסְתָּרוֹת לְהַרִימ כּוֹשֵׁלִים וְנוֹפְלֵי־הֶמָּה	19
[לש]ב לַכַּת קוֹי דְּעוֹת וְלִהְשִׁיל נְעוּדוֹת רוּמ גְּאִים עוֹלָם	20
[להת]ם רִזִי הַיּוֹד [וְלִהְק]ים פְּל[אֹת כְּבוֹד הַשׁוֹפֵט בְּאַפְּ כְּלָה	21
[ל]ֹ [בַחֲסֵד צְדָקָה וּבְרוּב רַחֲמִים תְּהַנֶּה	22
[ רַחֲמִים לְמַפְרֵי טוֹב גּוֹדְלוֹ וּמְקוֹר	23

*bottom margin*

- [1-5.] [ holiness ]
6. [is despised like me like me; and there ceases] evil;
  7. [ it will be like me will be like] my [tea]ching
  8. [and who will compare to me and who (is) like me ]among the heavenly beings
  9. [I the outpourings of my lips who will sustain;] wh[o] by speech is similar to me;
  10. [ beloved of the ki]ng, a companion to the holy ones, and it will not come
  11. [ and to] my [glo]ry it will not be comparable; a[s f]or me, [my] place is with the heavenly beings,
  12. [and glory ]r not by gold will I k for myself, and the gold of Ophirim not
  13. [ in me, and h ]will not be reckoned for me. Sing praise, O beloved ones, sing to the king of
  14. [glory, rejoice in the congre]gation of God, ring out joy in the tents of salvation, give praise in the [holy] habitation,
  15. [ex]tol together among the eternal hosts, ascribe greatness to our God and glory to our king.
  16. [Sanc]tify his name with strong lips and mighty tongue, raise up together your voice
  17. [at a]ll times, sound aloud joyful music, rejoice with everlasting joy
  18. [un]ceasingly, worship in the common assembly. Bless the one who wonderfully does majestic deeds, and makes known his strong hand,
  19. [se]aling mysteries and revealing hidden things, raising up those who stumble and those among them who fall
  20. [by res]toring the step of those who wait for knowledge, but casting down the lofty assemblies of the eternally proud,
  21. [confirm]ing mysteries of spl[endour ]and establ[ishing] glorious [mar]vels; (bless) the one who judges with destructive wrath
  22. [I ] in lovingkindness, righteousness, and in abundant mercies, favour
  23. [ ] mercy for those who frustrate his great goodness, and a source of

This passage ascribes lofty qualities to the invited “beloved ones” and their song. Like the angels, they sanctify God’s name (Isa 6:3), sing



incessantly with eternal joy, and do so in a congregation of God that is identified in some way with God's holy abode, either as an epithet for their earthly community (as in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:5–6) or as a reflection of their joining the angelic choir on high.

An analogy between these “beloved ones” (יְדִידִים) and the “beloved of the King” (יְדִיד הַמֶּלֶךְ) in the Self-Glorification Hymn is drawn by the very juxtaposition of these two passages and their use of the same nomenclature. On the one hand, this analogy could be taken as a source of inspiration to the “beloved ones” invited to praise God with the angels, holding out the promise of the most exalted state to which an individual might aspire.<sup>21</sup> On the other, the bold claims of the self-glorified speaker are unique. He alone claims to be a companion to the angels (רַע לְקְדוּשִׁים) and even the highest among them in that famous line, “Who is like me among the heavenly beings?” (מִי כַמוֹנִי בְּאֵלִים). Whatever the original context of the Self-Glorification Hymn may have been and whoever its intended speaker was, it is significant that both the 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4QH<sup>a</sup> collections contextualize it liturgically, with several sections of invitations to praise following it in each manuscript. In her edition of 4QHodayot<sup>a</sup>, Eileen Schuller already observed: “The accumulation of these features”—i.e., the plural summons to praise just noted, the series of blessings corresponding to those in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:30–36 seen above, and the inclusion of the ‘List of Appointed Times’ for praise (4QH<sup>a</sup> 8 ii 10–15 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–13)—“makes the collection of psalms in 4QH<sup>a</sup> seem more liturgically oriented than other *Hodayot* collections.”<sup>22</sup> I would now submit, in accordance with the findings in the present study, that the 1QH<sup>a</sup> collection is also “liturgically oriented.”

### 3. Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to draw together the evidence set forth in this study for the liturgical function of the 1QHodayot<sup>a</sup> collection

<sup>21</sup> To quote Philip Alexander, *The Mystical Texts* (CQS 7; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 85–86, 90–91: “The speaker exhorts his audience to replicate to some degree his own experience and to join with the angels in heaven in worshipping God” and, “The ascender . . . is in some sense a forerunner, or trailblazer, who can lead his community into a state of closer communion with the heavenly host.” For a similar view of the leader in the *Hodayot* compositions as an ideal model, see Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 197–98.

<sup>22</sup> Schuller, “427. 4QHodayot<sup>a</sup>,” 87.

of hymns. First, liturgical communion with the angels proved to be a unifying theme, recurring throughout the 1QH<sup>a</sup> collection—not only in the Community Hymns found at the beginning and end of the scroll but also, more surprisingly, in the middle block of Teacher Hymns.<sup>23</sup> Second, this theme and other liturgical elements are piled on towards the end of the collection notably in the hymn in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:18–20:6 that culminates with three benedictions, and in the final extant hymn, 25:34–27:3, that closes with several sections of plural invitations to praise God. The latter's liturgical contextualization of the Self-Glorification Hymn is striking and bespeaks the editor's organizational principles and purpose.

In a similar vein, the distribution of Teacher Hymns and Community Hymns in 1QH<sup>a</sup> should now be counted as additional evidence of this collection's liturgical function. The editor has sandwiched the Teacher Hymns in between large blocks of Hymns of the Community, effectively enveloping the Teacher Hymns with and recontextualizing them in communal material, much of which speaks about the Community's shared lot with the angels. Furthermore, the Hymns of the Community are given pride of place in 1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>—they frame the collection, setting the tone at the beginning and leaving a lasting impression at the end.

Finally, I would like to end with some directions for future research. After many years of delineating the distinction between Teacher Hymns and Community Hymns, research on the *Hodayot* manuscripts has focused on the collections qua collections. In the future, it is important to proceed along both tracks: (1) to continue to study the individual hymns, each in its own right; and (2) to examine the place of each hymn in the *Hodayot* manuscripts and determine the nature of each collection. Such a methodological approach will enable scholars to track the origins, reception, multiple uses and settings of the various hymns that are reflected in the literary growth of the *Hodayot* collections.

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<sup>23</sup> Angela Kim Harkins (personal communication, 7.31.07) noted that the motif of singing in contexts other than joint human-angelic prayer also runs throughout the scroll and might lend further support to my argument for a liturgical shaping to 1QH<sup>a</sup> that unites all three parts of this collection.



*WAR SCROLL*



# COMPOSITIONAL LAYERS IN THE WAR SCROLL (1QM)<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. *Introduction*

Today, it is universally accepted that the *War Scroll* (1QM) is a composite document, reflecting a complicated literary development,<sup>2</sup> just like other foundational texts of the Qumran sectarians. The composition's lack of apparent coherence and its many duplications make it difficult to imagine that a single author stands behind the extant text, even if he made use of multiple sources. The Cave 4 *War Texts* (4Q491–497) have furthermore led scholars to postulate that there most likely were several recensions of 1QM in circulation among the sectarians, further strengthening the notion that the text must have evolved over time.<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, however, all of the studies which have sought to trace 1QM's literary growth predate the publication of these Cave 4 texts.<sup>4</sup> This is not to say that scholars have not already carefully examined parallel passages found in both 1QM and the Cave 4 *War Texts*, even postulating as to which version predates which, but none have sought to reconstruct a comprehensive scenario that

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<sup>1</sup> This paper presents a summary of some of the conclusions concerning the *War Scroll* from my Ph.D. dissertation at Bar Ilan University under the supervision of Prof. Hanan Eshel ("The *War Scroll* from Cave 1 [1QM] in the Light of Its Related Fragments from Caves 4 and 11" [Ph.D. diss., Bar Ilan University, 2007]), now published as *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered* (STDJ 76; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Jean Duhaime's recent summary of the status of research on 1QM in *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts* (CQS 6; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 60.

<sup>3</sup> See, in particular, Martin Abegg, "The War Scroll from Qumran Caves 1 and 4: A Critical Edition" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew Union College, 1992), and Jean Duhaime, "War Scroll," in *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr, 1995), 80–203; idem, *War Texts*, 45–63.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Peter von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* (SUNT 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), and Philip R. Davies, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History* (BibOr 32; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1977).

encompasses all of the data now available to us.<sup>5</sup> Sixty years after the discovery of Cave 1 and twenty-five years after the publication of the Cave 4 *War Texts*,<sup>6</sup> it is not too early to examine anew IQM's assumed compositional history.

## 2. *The Problem*

Already in IQM's first two columns, the apparent lack of coherence is striking,<sup>7</sup> and it is commonly suggested that these two columns emanated from different sources and/or at different points in the text's compositional history.<sup>8</sup> Yet there is no consensus as to when and how: for example, Johannes van der Ploeg suggested that col. 1 belongs to the earliest layers of the composition,<sup>9</sup> while Philip Davies claimed it was the latest and final addition.<sup>10</sup> This is no trivial difference, and it is all the more critical when considering that the first two columns introduce the rest of the document and the eschatological war it describes. Accordingly, it is in my opinion most important to grasp as precisely as possible what the role of these two columns is, as well as their relationship to the rest of the composition. This is necessary, not just for proper exegesis, but also in an effort to identify IQM's various compositional layers, lest one falls into the trap of wishing to assign to mul-

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<sup>5</sup> See, for example, the following articles: Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, "Fragmente einer älteren Fassung des Buches Milhama aus Höhle 4 von Qumran," *ZAW* 69 (1957): 131–51; Jacob L. Teicher, "A Spurious Version of the War Scroll," *ZAW* 70 (1958): 257–58; Florentino García Martínez, "Estudios qumránicos 1975–1985: panorama crítico (III)," *EstBib* 46 (1988): 325–74, esp. 351–54; Jean Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM<sup>a</sup> FGG. 1–3 et IQM," *RevQ* 14/55 (1990): 459–67; idem, "Dualistic Reworking in the Scrolls from Qumran," *CBQ* 49 (1987): 32–56; Esther Eshel and Hanan Eshel, "4Q471 Fragment 1 and *Ma'amadot* in the War Scroll," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress* (ed. Julio Treballe Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 611–20; idem, "Recensions of the War Scroll," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 351–63.

<sup>6</sup> Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4. III* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982).

<sup>7</sup> Thus, Bastiaan Jongeling, who believed that IQM was a unified composition, was forced to admit that he could find no way of harmonizing the first two columns and ended up abdicating: "nous ne devons pas nous soucier de préciser les données avec exactitude" (*Le rouleau de la guerre des manuscrits de Qumrân* [SSN 4; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1962], 100).

<sup>8</sup> For a summary of the different theories proposed so far, see Duhaime, *War Texts*, 45–53.

<sup>9</sup> J. van der Ploeg, *Le rouleau de la guerre* (STDJ 2; Leiden: Brill, 1959), 13–14.

<sup>10</sup> Davies, *IQM*, 25–26.

tiple sources or to different compositional stages that which one has failed to understand properly. Thus, before considering what contributions the Cave 4 *War Texts* may offer when postulating what 1QM's literary development may have been, it is necessary to first re-examine 1QM itself, and especially its first two columns.

### 3. *The Eschatological War in Column 1*

I naturally begin with col. 1 and its vision of the eschatological war. There we read about a war between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness that is to be waged by three of Israel's tribes—Levi, Judah, and Benjamin—against the Kittim who are assisted by Moab, Edom, Ammon, Philistia, and the violators of the covenant (lines 1–2). The Kittim are also called the army of Belial (lines 1, 13), as well as Assyria (line 6), and refer to the Seleucids.<sup>11</sup> The battle will be engaged when the Sons of Light are camping in the wilderness of Jerusalem (lines 2–3), apparently with the battle itself being fought there.<sup>12</sup> It is to last seven rounds, during three of which the Sons of Light will have the upper hand but alternatively suffering grave set-backs in the other three (line 13), causing them intense suffering like never before in their history (lines 11–12). Thankfully for the Sons of Light, victory in the final round is assured because of the promise of divine intervention (lines 14–15). Even so, the victory does not imply the extermination of evil, but that its power and rule will gradually shrink until it is no more (line 8). One immediate result of the war, however, is that the Sons of Light will then “go up from there” (יעלו משם; line 3), most

<sup>11</sup> David Flusser, “היסודות האפוקליפטיים של מגילת המלחמה,” in פרקים בתולדות ירושלים בימי בית שני: ספר זכרון לאברהם שליט (ed. A. Oppenheimer, U. Rappaport, and M. Stern; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1980), 434–52, and only recently translated into English, “Apocalyptic Elements in the War Scroll,” in *Qumran and Apocalypticism* (trans. Azzan Yadin; vol. 1 of *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2007), 140–58. All subsequent references to this article will be to its English version. See further Hanan Eshel, “The Kittim in the *War Scroll* and in the Pesharim,” in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. David Goodblatt, Avital Pinnick, and Daniel R. Schwartz; STDJ 37; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 29–44; and Brian Schultz, “The Kittim of Assyria,” *RevQ* 23/89 (2007): 63–77.

<sup>12</sup> This is all the more evident when taking Dan 11:40–45 into consideration, the passage upon which the opening lines of 1QM are based. See Flusser, “Apocalyptic Elements,” 140–58.



likely meaning up to Jerusalem, which they will have just conquered.<sup>13</sup> Column 1 even gives us a name to this war: it is the “day of their war against the Kittim” (יום מלחמתם בכתיים; line 12), also described as being the “day during which the Kittim will fall” (יום נפול בו כתיים; line 9), the “day appointed... for the war of annihilation of the Sons of Darkness” (יום יעוד... למלחמה כלה בני חושך; line 10), and the “day of calamity” (יום הווה; line 11). Unfortunately, it is impossible to know whether the term “day” was intended literally or not, especially in light of the prophetic expression “day of the Lord.” Even so, this “day of war against the Kittim” which is to encompass all seven rounds of the war is described as being all the more violent because of its “hurrying until its end” (מחוושה עד תומה; line 12), so that it is unlikely that we are dealing with a lengthy drawn-out affair.<sup>14</sup>

#### 4. *The Eschatological War in Column 2*

In contrast, col. 2 presents quite a different scenario. Instead of the entirety of three tribes fighting together, it is soldiers chosen from all twelve tribes of Israel (lines 7–8). The enemy is no longer the Kittim and their allies, but the sons of Ham, Shem, and Japheth (lines 10–14), obviously representing the entire inhabited world.<sup>15</sup> Instead of launching the war from the wilderness, Israel will organize it from the temple itself, where its leadership will be participating in the sacrificial cult throughout the entire year (lines 1–6). We are told there are thirty-

<sup>13</sup> As most clearly expounded by Flusser (“Apocalyptic Elements,” 146–47), who correctly suggests that until then the city was in control of the “violators of the covenant” (line 2). Note that Jacob Licht had already read 1QM in such a way (“מטעת” מחקרים במגילות הגנוזות: ספר זכרון לאליעזר ליפא סוקניק in עולם ועם פדות אל [ed. Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin; Jerusalem: Hekhal Ha-Sefer, 1961], 49–75, at 69). See also 4Qpap pIsa<sup>c</sup> (4Q163 23 ii 10–11) which states that Jerusalem is in the hands of the “congregation of the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things” (עדת דורשי החלקות), 4QpIsa<sup>b</sup> (4Q162 II 6–7, 10), where we are told that the “men of scoffing” (אנשי הלצון) are in Jerusalem, as well as 1QpHab 9:4–5 and 12:7–9 which refer to the evil practices of the priests there.

<sup>14</sup> In 1QM 18:10–11, we read that “the day has shone for us” (היום הופיע לנו); in 18:12, “and now the day is hastening for us” (ועתה היום אץ לנו); in 19:9 “to the camp on that night to rest until the morning,” (עדת דורשי החלקות) הבוקר, “the day is hastening for us” (ועתה היום אץ לנו). Thus cols. 18–19 seem to portray the battle as transpiring over the course of a day and needing to be concluded before nightfall, reminiscent of Joshua’s battle in the Aijalon Valley (Josh 10).

<sup>15</sup> Note that 1QM shares the same vision of world geography as do the *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Jubilees*.

three years of war that remain (line 6), although since during sabbatical years there is to be no fighting (line 8), there are really only twenty-nine years of actual combat left (line 10). These are already divided up into a succession of campaigns, each lasting a year or two for the sons of Shem, presumably also for the sons of Ham and Japheth though this is not specified (lines 10–14). Such a breakdown of the war hardly seems to reflect any real military concerns, all the more so when one takes into consideration that one of the two-year campaigns is to be interrupted by a sabbatical year (line 12). Instead, it is as if the war is pre-ordained, and that the prospect of defeat, set-back, or even of any kind of impediment upon the established schedule is not possible. In short, victory is both guaranteed and automatic. Even so, it is entirely the result of human effort, with no hint of God's direct intervention, nor that of his angels. Finally, the name given to this war in col. 2 is the "war of the divisions" (מלחמת המחלקות; line 10).

##### 5. *Two Sources or Two Stages in the Eschatological War?*

The question before us, therefore, is whether these differences in the description of the eschatological war between the two columns are due to two different traditions, which have been combined by some author or redactor, or if they represent different battles or stages which are nonetheless integral to a single vision of the eschatological war. To claim the former implies that the author or redactor made little if any effort in harmonizing the two perspectives, and left the resulting text full of irreconcilable differences, a hardly likely scenario. More likely, therefore, is that these two accounts represent different battles or stages of the eschatological war, as already suggested by Yigael Yadin in his seminal commentary on 1QM, the first being the "Day of their War against the Kittim"—or simply the "War against the Kittim"—and the second the "War of the Divisions."<sup>16</sup> This is not to deny that different sources may have nonetheless inspired these two stages, but to affirm that both columns are not describing the same point in the

<sup>16</sup> Although Yadin had postulated three stages in the eschatological war, he correctly identified these two. See Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (trans. Batya and Chaim Rabin; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 18–33. That the eschatological war is to be comprised of two and not three stages was subsequently demonstrated by David Flusser in "Apocalyptic Elements," 152–54.

eschatological war. And if that is the case, then we can no longer consider the differences between them as sure markers of different underlying sources, or of various stages in the text's composition.

There are in my opinion several additional reasons to support such an understanding of 1QM's first two columns. First, col. 1 makes it clear that it is describing only the initial battle of the eschatological war. The opening line begins with "the first of the Sons of Light's dominion (is) to begin..." (... להחל; line 1),<sup>17</sup> obviously implying that after what is about to be described, some kind of continuation will be required. This is consistent with col. 2 which specifically states that it is describing the "thirty-three years of war that remain" (ובשלושה ושלשים שני המלחמה הנותרות) (line 6). Second, the enumeration of the descendants of Shem in col. 2 (lines 10–13) is incomplete without the nations listed in col. 1 (lines 1–2). Without col. 1, it is difficult to surmise why an author or redactor took the time to list Shem's sons yet omit some of them, seemingly at random. Third, the idea that the eschatological war should have two stages is biblical: the prophecy in Mic 5:4–7 (E:5–8) suggests that if Assyria should invade the land of Israel, Israel would not only defeat it, but also rule over Assyria itself, not to mention over the nations in general.<sup>18</sup> Accordingly, it is not surprising that in col. 1, the first stage of the eschatological war, Assyria is an alternative name for the Kittim (lines 2, 6), and that in col. 2, the second stage, Assyria is found again in the list of peoples to be defeated (line 12) as part of the campaigns for world domination. This is what one would expect from Mic 5:4–7. Finally, a major difference between the two stages of the eschatological war is that in the first there are only three tribes camping out in the wilderness of Jerusalem, while in the second all twelve tribes are involved and in Jerusalem itself. This is consistent with the idea that Jerusalem needs to be delivered of its illegitimate rulers in order to allow for a full return of all of Israel's exiles, as is found in other sectarian and Jewish intertestamental literature.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See Jean Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils de Ténèbres* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1958), 1–2.

<sup>18</sup> Hanan Eshel, Review of J. Duhaime, *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Documents*, *JSJ* 37 (2006): 110–12.

<sup>19</sup> Such as, among others, 4QFlor (4Q174) 12–13 i 10–11; *1 En.* 90:29–33; and *Pss. Sol.* 17.

Thus it appears to me that 1QM is describing an eschatological war that will take place in two stages. First will be the War against the Kittim. It will be waged by only three of Israel's tribes, before Israel's full restoration, and while Jerusalem and its temple are still under illegitimate leadership. The war will be against the Kittim as well as others who are in league with them. It will be a short war, which will include seven rounds, during three of which the Sons of Light will suffer reversals. It will be a time of unparalleled tribulation, hurried unto its climax, and ending only because of divine intervention. Yet the ensuing victory does not mean that evil will be totally exterminated, but that its power and rule will gradually diminish allowing for the Sons of Light to shine more and more. Also implied is that the Land of Israel will be freed of foreign domination and of those Jews who had aligned themselves with it. In my estimation, it is the war that will mark the *beginning* of the Messianic Age.

In contrast, the War of the Divisions will begin only once the entire nation of Israel will have been restored and in full control of Jerusalem and its temple. Instead of sending everyone out to war, there will be a conscription for each campaign, so that the army will be comprised of chosen soldiers from all twelve tribes. The enemies enumerated are no longer the Kittim and their coalition, but the sons of Shem, Ham, and Japheth. The war will be long and drawn out, extending over a thirty-three year period, with campaigns lasting a year or two, possibly more. Throughout, victory is the result of a human effort, yet appears to be nonetheless guaranteed, as there are no hints of any possibility of defeat or even setbacks. This thirty-three year long war is to take place *during* the Messianic Age, and has the purpose of conquering the entire world.

We are also told that in between the two there is to be six years during which the War of the Divisions shall be prepared (2:9). It can also be assumed that during this time all the Israelites still in exile at the end of the War against the Kittim will return to the land, so that by the War of the Divisions, the entire nation will have been reconstituted.

#### 6. *The Two Stages in the Rest of the War Scroll*

In fact, the rest of 1QM supports this division into two distinct stages. Thus, for example, the instructions for war found in cols. 3–9 imply the dynamics of the War of the Divisions and not those of the War against

the Kittim: all twelve tribes are present (1QM 3:13–14; 4:15; 5:1–2), the army is to set out from and return to Jerusalem (3:11; 7:3–4), the enemy is never the Kittim but the “nations of vanity” (4:12, 6:6, 9:9; cf. also 11:9), and there is no hint that the Sons of Light could ever suffer any reversals or defeats, nor that victory is dependent upon God’s participation. In contrast, cols. 15–19 describe a very different kind of war: it is against the Kittim (15:2), it will be a time of tribulation (15:1) with the suffering of reversals (16:11–13), it will be hurried unto its end (18:12), and won because of divine intervention (18:1–3).

Realizing such distinctions between cols. 3–9 and cols. 15–19 and the two stages they represent, allows one to identify two other important differences as well. The High Priest is to provide leadership to the war only during the first stage, the War against the Kittim, presumably because thereafter he will have resumed his responsibilities in the temple. On the other hand, the cavalry is present only during the second stage, the War of the Divisions. Furthermore, these two stages in the eschatological war helps explain why the small Qumran sect could envision such an elaborate “rule for war” as that which we find in cols. 3–9 with all the elaborate descriptions of the banners and trumpets, the intricacies of the weaponry, the presence of a cavalry, and an infantry which numbers in the thousands: such a rule was never intended for the initial battle when only a small minority of Israel would be fighting, but for the second, thirty-three year long, campaign, which was expected to take place only after Israel’s full restoration and six years of preparations.

Before considering which of the two stages the remaining columns (cols. 10–14) describe, it is necessary to point out one significant difference between col. 1 and cols. 15–19 in their descriptions of the War against the Kittim. In col. 1, the list of enemies is clearly defined, but in cols. 15–19, it is a “war against *all* the nations” (מלחמה בכל; 15:1; see also 15:2, 13; 16:1; 19:10). In fact, some of the language is reminiscent of the war against Gog described in Ezek 38–39, where the enemy army has assembled itself around Gog (38:7). In cols. 15–19, the nations are likewise described as having assembled themselves against the Sons of Light (15:10–11; 19:10). It would seem, therefore, that while both col. 1 and cols. 15–19 describe the same stage in the eschatological war, they are actually based on different traditions: col. 1 upon the prophecy of Dan 11:40–45, and cols. 15–19 on the war against Gog in Ezek 38–39. Both deal with the same stage

in the eschatological war, but reflect two slightly different traditions, the first implying a regional war against the Kittim and the second a more universal one.

With respect to cols. 10–14, they are an eclectic collection of prayers to be recited at different points throughout a battle. There is little doubt that the overall structure of this section reflects the War of the Divisions. This is most obvious in the fact that nowhere is there any hint that the Sons of Light could face any kind of set-back or defeat.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, the prayers themselves at times seem to be a duplication of the ones found in cols. 15–19. In one case, the exact same prayer is repeated almost verbatim (12:7–16; 19:1–8). Another connection is that some of the prayers in cols. 10–14 appeal to the war against Gog explicitly, just like cols. 15–19 do so implicitly. This curious mix of the two stages may not be as odd as it first appears. Although in cols. 3–9 there is reference to a speech that is to be recited during the War of the Divisions (7:12), it is nowhere spelled out. In contrast, in cols. 15–19 there are no fewer than four if not as many as six prayers or speeches whose contents are recorded (15:7b–16:1; 16:15–17:3; 17:4–9; 18:6b–9; 18:10–E; 18:E–19:8). Since there were no known prayers for the War of the Divisions, the prayers and speeches in cols. 10–14 were drawn in part from the more liturgical tradition concerning the universal War against the Kittim.

In summary, 1QM describes a two-stage eschatological war, but draws its material from a minimum of three traditions, found in the four main sections of 1QM: the regional war against the Kittim in col. 1, the universal war against the Kittim in cols. 15–19, instructions for the War of the Divisions in cols. 2–9, and prayers drawn from the universal war against the Kittim but intended for the War of the Divisions in cols. 10–14. Already from this short survey, one notices that cols. 10–19 imply a universal war against the Kittim, while cols. 1–9

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<sup>20</sup> This is quite obvious when dealing with the instructions for the end of the combat. In cols. 10–14, the army of the Sons of Light return to the battlefield the morning after knowing that they had completely defeated the enemy the previous evening (14:2–4), while in cols. 15–19, they return to the battlefield wondering if the battle is indeed over (19:9–13). Notice as well how the author or redactor is careful to differentiate between the fallen in both sections: in cols. 10–14 they are the “slain of the enemy” (חללי האויב); 14:3) while in cols. 15–19 they are the “slain of the Kit[tim]” (חללי הכתי[ים]; 19:13).

do not. The impression this gives is that cols. 10–19 are an addition to a more primitive document now represented by cols. 1–9.<sup>21</sup>

### 7. *The Evidence from the Cave 4 War Texts*

In fact, the Cave 4 *War Texts* lend support to such a reconstruction of 1QM's literary development. Admittedly, the evidence is fragmentary, and one needs to be most cautious in drawing conclusions on what is extant. Yet a basic albeit important observation can be made: never in all of the Cave 4 *War Texts* are the characteristics of the two stages of the eschatological war ever confused. One possible explanation for such consistency is that the various *War Texts* all worked off of common sources. But even so, it is somewhat surprising that the different compositions did not end up combining the various traditions in various ways, so that what became part of the unique characteristics of the War of the Divisions in 1QM would be found in a description of the War against the Kittim, and/or *vice versa*, or that some totally different scenario for the eschatological war would have been devised. The most probable way for this to not to have happened is for all of our texts to trace their history back to a single common source, one which first brought the various traditions together. However, only 1QM preserves all of the elements in a single source, and only two other compositions contain more than just a single tradition: 4Q491 and 4Q496. In this matter, 4Q491 is the most revealing. As Martin Abegg has shown, what scholars designate as a single document is in reality two different ones, which he has designated 4Q491A and B.<sup>22</sup> What is surprising is that while Abegg differentiated these two documents based on paleography and orthography, unbeknownst to him the division also reflects the two stages of the eschatological war: 4Q491A is about the universal war against the Kittim while 4Q491B is about the War of the Divisions.

<sup>21</sup> Obviously it is impossible to know if such a document was not at some point longer than just cols. 1–9, the additional columns having been supplanted by the new material now called cols. 10–19.

<sup>22</sup> Abegg, "War Scroll," 61–73; idem, "Who Ascended to Heaven? 4Q491, 4Q427, and the Teacher of Righteousness," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature 1; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1997), 61–73.

Yet another point can be made about the Cave 4 *War Texts*: none of the texts predating 1QM contain the tradition of the universal War against the Kittim. 4Q496, one of the earliest texts, even preserves text parallel to 1QM's cols. 1 and 2 in which the regional War against the Kittim and the War of the Divisions are already found together. It is only in texts contemporaneous with or later than 1QM that the second tradition of the War against the Kittim, the universal one based on the war against Gog from Ezek 38–39, appears. What is more, all texts which scholars have suggested are different recensions than 1QM pre-date 1QM, while all those that are believed to be of the same recension as 1QM are either contemporaneous with it or later.<sup>23</sup>

### 8. Conclusion

In conclusion, both the internal evidence in 1QM as well as the Cave 4 *War Texts* suggest that there once was a more primitive composition on the eschatological war, represented today by cols. 1–9. Although it briefly mentioned the regional War against the Kittim as that which would trigger the Messianic Age, its focus was to describe how the eschatological war should be fought during the Messianic Age itself, the thirty-three years of war that would allow Israel to conquer the entire world and bring about final redemption. At some historical point in time, however, the situation changed which led to a re-writing of this basic document. It became important to detail the War against the Kittim as well. In so doing, the already existing model for the War of the Divisions (cols. 3–9) was used and adapted. This regional war had evolved in the community's thinking into something much more universal in scope. This apparently also led to the belief that proper liturgy was now vital for ensuring victory. Since the necessary prayers and

<sup>23</sup> For paleographical dating of the *War Texts*, see Baillet, DJD 7:12–72; Duhaime, *War Texts*, 81–84; Eshel and Eshel, "Recensions," 352. I concur with Abegg's classification of the *War Texts* into copies and recensions ("War Scroll," 1–139, and page v where it is summarized) over Duhaime's (*War Texts*, 20–31), the only difference being about 4Q496. I disagree with Rony Yishai's recent conclusion that none of the *War Texts* should be considered copies of 1QM. Cf. her *ספרות המלחמה בקומראן* (1QM) כתבי היד 4Q491–4Q496 (מהדורה ופירוש), והשוואתם למגילת המלחמה (1QM) (Ph.D. diss., Haifa, 2006), 323–28; "הדגם של תיאור מלחמת הקץ בספרות קומראן," *Meghillot* 4 (2006): 121–39; "4Q491–4Q496, 1QM המלחמה בספרות המלחמה בקומראן," *Meghillot* 5–6 (2007): 129–47. While her opinion is technically possible, it cannot be demonstrated.



speeches were apparently absent from the more primitive scroll and its instructions for the War of the Divisions, they were duly added at the same time, both for the War against the Kittim (cols. 15–19) as well as for the War of the Divisions (cols. 10–14).<sup>24</sup> Finally, as to what may have motivated such a drastic rewriting of this foundational text for the Qumranites, I suggest it may have been the conquest of the Land of Israel by the Romans. Two pieces of data support such a suggestion: first, all the extant witnesses of the more universal War against the Kittim postdate Pompey's conquest, whereas the more regional War against the Kittim predates it; second, as Hanan Eshel has recently demonstrated, other foundational texts like the *Pesher Habakkuk* were likewise adapted to reflect the new Roman reality.<sup>25</sup> In the case of the literature on the eschatological war, it seems that this new understanding became somewhat standardized, since all the *War Texts* postdating 1QM have all been classified as being of the same recension as 1QM. It would be for this reason that it, and not some earlier understanding of the eschatological war, was chosen for safekeeping when it was hidden in Cave 1.

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<sup>24</sup> Note that 4Q491A, which is exclusively about the universal War against the Kittim, contains a prayer (frgs. 8–10 i) which parallels that which is found 1QM 14, where it is in the context of the War of the Divisions. This further strengthens the conclusion that while the framework of cols. 10–14 is undoubtedly the War of the Divisions, the prayers themselves came from other contexts.

<sup>25</sup> Hanan Eshel, "שני הרבדים ההיסטוריים המתועדים במגילת פשר חבקוק," *Zion* 71 (2006): 143–52.

PRIESTS IN WARFARE IN SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM:  
1QM, OR THE *ANTI-PHINEHAS*

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As soon as I heard the topic of the Ljubljana IOQS meeting, an invitation to reconsider the Cave 1 texts, I remembered one remark made many years ago, by our respected colleague Uriel Rappaport, on the occasion of an international workshop on Qumran held in Paris.<sup>1</sup> In summary fashion he challenged the Qumran specialists to explain what they bring anew to the *historical knowledge* of Judea and ancient Judaism—which sounded quite a good question coming from an historian. It is with that challenge in mind that I shall present my reflections, hoping that they will contribute to the topic.<sup>2</sup>

1. *The Concept of “Zeal” in Late Second Temple Judaism*

In Judea, at the end of the Second Temple period, a new religio-political concept appears, which soon became dominant: it was the concept of *qin’ah* (קִנְיָה), i.e. “zeal” or “jealousy” for God. But this new concept would not be understood anymore in terms of personal piety and a devotion that was confined to the intimate sphere of religious life, but would now focus on actual deeds, more precisely, on militant actions. To say that this idea had become dominant does not mean that everybody shared it; nonetheless, those who did not share it had to come to terms with it.

As we know, in the Law and Prophets of the Hebrew Bible *qin’ah* can either mean a human jealousy (in love, for instance) or an attribute of God, the “jealous God.” Once, in Isa 42:13, *qin’ah* has a military

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<sup>1</sup> “Qoumrân, anthropologie d’un site,” organisé par F. Schmidt, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, juin 1995.

<sup>2</sup> All my thanks to Debbie and Calum Carmichael, of Cornell University, for reading the text and helping to correct the English versions. All errors of course remain mine.

meaning.<sup>3</sup> Except for this text in Isaiah, the term *qin'ah* stands unattested in ancient Jewish literature with that sense of “human military zeal for God” until 1 Maccabees, in the passage known as the “Testament of Mattathias.” In this text the old priest admonishes his sons: “Be *jealous* for the Law and give your lives for the Covenant” (1 Macc 2:50).<sup>4</sup>

### 1.1. *Zeal in the Qumran Texts*

How is *qin'ah* used in the nearly contemporaneous Qumran Cave 1 texts? I should point out that I could find nearly nothing of value on the topic in contemporary scholarly discussion. For example, the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* deals with “zeal” and “Zealots,” but the entry is mainly concerned with the political movement in Judea.<sup>5</sup> There is nothing on the specific notion of zeal-*qin'ah* in the Qumran texts.<sup>6</sup> Yet the term occurs in some of the major Qumran manuscripts. We find it in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) where it applies chiefly, just as in the Hebrew Bible, to the “jealous God.”

The term takes on a different meaning, however, when it appears in the “Treatise of the Two Spirits.”<sup>7</sup> Here we find *qin'ah* moving the Spirit of Truth as well as the Spirit of Perversion: *qin'ah* leads either to “just decisions” (משפטי צדק, 1QS 4:4) in the one case, or to “despicable actions” (מעשי תועבה, 1QS 4:10) in the other. A few lines

<sup>3</sup> “The Lord shall go forth as a mighty man, he shall stir up *jealousy* [zeal] like a man of war” (Authorized Version).

<sup>4</sup> On the ideology of the writer of 1 Maccabees, see Uriel Rappaport, “A Note on the Use of the Bible in 1 Maccabees,” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 175–79; idem, “L’historiographie du Premier livre des Maccabées,” *Annuaire de l’EPHE* 106 (1999): 221–22.

<sup>5</sup> Aharon Oppenheimer, “Zealots,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:1007–1010. Oppenheimer rightly reminds us that “the most exhaustive attempts to link the Qumranites and the Zealots have been provided by G. R. Driver and R. H. Eisenman . . . they depend largely on the problematic interpretation of Peshar Habakuk (1QpHab) as referring to events in the early stages of the war” (1009).

<sup>6</sup> Except the sensible observation that “the most famous zealot in Jewish biblical and post-biblical traditions [was] Phinehas” (1007). But Phinehas is practically ignored by Qumran literature (see below).

<sup>7</sup> Jean Duhaime, “Les voies des deux esprits (1QS IV 2–14),” *RevQ* 19/75 (2000): 349–67; idem, “Cohérence structurelle et tensions internes dans l’Instruction sur les deux esprits (1QS III 13–IV 26),” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 103–31, esp. 109–14.

later, *qin'ah* underlies the violence of the fight between the two Spirits (1QS 4:7). This double application of the term helps us to understand the use of the word in the *Hodayot*, where on the one hand *qin'ah* is an attribute of God, but also of Belial (1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:3) on the other; it prompts the Teacher of Righteousness against his enemies, and conversely his enemies against him.<sup>8</sup>

In short, in the Qumran texts (from Cave 1 and from all other caves), *qin'ah* does not emerge as a good or a bad quality by itself.<sup>9</sup> It appears primarily as a psychic and moral source of energy. Its moral value depends on the purpose to which it applied. It thus appears that the roots of political Zealotism are not found in Qumran literature.<sup>10</sup>

### 1.2. *The Roots of Political Zealotism*

*Qin'ah* is at the very core of Zealotism. Since, by the end of the Second Temple period, no political thought could find expression within Judaism without some reference or paradigm drawn from Scriptures, the concept of zeal (*qin'ah*) soon discovered its biblical representation in the figure of the young priest Phinehas (Num 25)—frequently joined by Elijah, probably because of the slaughter of the 450 Baal's prophets (1 Kgs 18).

Numbers 25 tells the story of Phinehas, the son of the high priest Eleazar and “zealous with the zeal” of the Lord (בְּקִנְיָאֵךְ אֵת קִנְיָאֵתִי).<sup>11</sup> His deed of valor was to kill a prince of the tribe of Simeon, who was having intercourse with one of the Midianite women sent among the *benei Israel*, in order to lead them into idolatry. This slaughter

<sup>8</sup> See Michael O. Wise, “The Concept of a New Covenant in the Teacher Hymns from Qumran (1QH<sup>a</sup> X–XVIII),” in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline C. R. De Roo; JSJSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 99–128; and Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot* (STDJ 59; Leiden: Brill, 2006), see especially 135–83.

<sup>9</sup> There can be found another occurrence of the word *qin'ah* in the Cave 1 manuscripts, in Peshier Zephaniah (1Q15 1 1), where it seems to mean plainly “God’s jealousy.”

<sup>10</sup> On the links (or lack of links) between Qumran and Zealotism, see Oppenheimer, “Zealots.”

<sup>11</sup> On Phinehas, see David Bernat, “Josephus’s Portrayal of Phinehas,” *JSP* 13/2 (2002): 137–49; Peri J. Terbuyken, “Levi, Jochebed und Pinhas in der Rabbinischen Tradition: Genealogische Anmerkungen,” *BN* 116 (2003): 95–104; Heinz-Josef Fabry, “Wir wollen nun loben Männer von gutem Ruf (Sir. 44,1). Der Pinhas-Bund im ‘Lob der Väter,’” in *Für immer verbundet. Studien zur Bundestheologie der Bibel* (ed. Christoph Dohmen and Christian Frevel; SBS 211; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2007), 49–60.

appeased the Lord's anger and provided Phinehas with the promise "of an everlasting priesthood" (ברית כהנת עולם) for himself "and his seed after him."<sup>12</sup>

What should focus our attention here is not the story itself, but how some Jewish movements of the Second Temple period understood, interpreted, and finally used it for their own agenda. Against all the rules and laws of the Priestly Code, they built upon it an extraordinary priest-warrior figure, fighting and killing the foes of Israel. I have already explained elsewhere how this radical innovation had been prepared for by the shifting appraisal, in Second Temple literature, of the slaughter of Shechem and the Shechemites by Levi and Simeon to avenge the rape of their sister Dinah (Gen 34).<sup>13</sup>

## 2. *The Duties of Priests in Warfare*

### 2.1. *From Torah to the Hellenistic Crisis*

What exactly were the duties of the priests in warfare? What did they have to do on the battlefield? These duties and military positions are usually understood within the framework of an opposition between two poles. On the one side: the sacred character of the priesthood, hence the purity of the priests, kept apart from the defilement of actual fighting and dead bodies. This is what Josephus points out when he writes, in *Ant.* 4.67 "The tribe of Levi was made free from war and warlike expeditions, and was set apart for the Divine worship."<sup>14</sup> But on the other side, the priests (*kohanim*) are required by the Law to act as mediators of the Covenant between God and his people. Without them no strategic decision could be taken—particularly during war-

<sup>12</sup> This biblical promise has raised a lot of genealogical discussions in Second Temple Judaism, for political and religious purposes; sometimes very subtle as when it comes to distinguish between the sons of Phinehas and the sons of Zadok. See, for instance, the chapter "Pinhas dans les stratégies généalogiques," in Christophe Batsch, *La guerre et les rites de guerre dans le judaïsme du deuxième Temple* (JSJSup 93; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 136–40; and Gabriele Boccaccini, "Sons of Zadok, Sons of Phinehas: Questioning the Zadokite Origins of the Scrolls," Communication at the IOQS Vith Congress, Ljubljana 16–18 July 2007.

<sup>13</sup> Christophe Batsch, "La *furor* de Lévi réévaluée," in *La guerre et les rites de guerre*, 117–25.

<sup>14</sup> ἐπεὶ πολέμου καὶ στρατείας ἡ τῶν Λευιτῶν ἀφεῖτο φυλὴ θεραπεύουσα τὸν θεόν. See also *Ant.* 3.287, where the same exemption is given the same explanation: ἱεροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, "for they were holy."

fare, at which time they settled inside the war camp (*mahane*), where YHWH was considered to be actually present (Num 5:3 *inter al.*).

In order to deal with the contradiction, the Torah provides a pattern of double authority for Jewish military forces: the prince, the king, or some other general assumes the leadership of the war, under the ultimate authority of the high priest. We find many striking illustrations of that archetype in the Hebrew Bible. For instance, the cleavage of functions between Joshua and Moses when Israel was fighting against its arch-enemy, Amalek. The former commanded on the battlefield while the latter stood on a hill as a physical conductor of God's power, "and it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand that Israel prevailed: and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed" (Exod 17:9–13). Another good example (and a model for Israel's political organization) can be seen in the ritual of Joshua's investiture as military leader of Israel. Joshua stands in front of Eleazar the high priest, who "laid his hands upon him, and gave him a charge, as the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses" (Num 27:23).

During the Second Temple period, the pattern applied, more or less, until the Hellenistic crisis of the second century B.C.E. The *Pax Persica* had avoided major conflicts in Judea and the people largely acknowledged the ultimate political authority of the high priests of the Zadokite family.<sup>15</sup> Afterwards, the biblical pattern became inapplicable to the dramatic circumstances arising under the Seleucid and Roman rules in Judea and the Near East.<sup>16</sup> First of all, in the times of the Maccabean Revolt and then permanently until the last Jewish uprising under the leadership of Bar Kochba, war and military struggles were seen anew as legitimate means for the Jews to defend their faith and

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<sup>15</sup> In addition to classical works on Second Temple Judaism, see Uriel Rappaport, *A History of Israel in the Period of the Second Temple* (Tel-Aviv: Amikai, 1984). For the Persian period we should look at Diana Edelman, *The Origin of the 'Second' Temple. Persian Imperial Policy and the Rebuilding of Jerusalem* (London: Equinox, 2005). On the high priests in Second Temple times, see Deborah W. Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs: The Role and Development of High Priesthood in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); James C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004); Maria Brutti, *The Development of the High Priesthood during the Pre-Hasmonean Period: History, Ideology, Theology* (JSJSup 108; Leiden: Brill, 2006); John W. Wright, "Those Doing Work for the Service in the House of the Lord," in *Judah and Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.* (ed. Gary N. Knoppers and Rainer Albertz; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 361–84.

<sup>16</sup> On the political and strategic position of Israel in those times of troubles, see the brilliant synthesis of Uriel Rappaport, "Les Juifs et leurs voisins à l'époque perse, hellénistique et romaine," *Annales* 51 (1996): 955–74.

traditions. For some Jews, war would be a mandatory religious duty. For others, war was eagerly expected but only as initiating the ultimate eschatological battle. With the Hellenistic crisis, the ancient problem of the priestly functions in Israelite warfare became acute again.

## 2.2. *The Recensions of the War Scroll*

The hypothesis I want to submit is grounded in my understanding of the *War Scroll*. The different answers to the question of priests in warfare constituted one of the main criteria for the opposition between the various groups within Judaism at the end of the Second Temple period.

We are dealing here with a very peculiar Qumran text. Nobody would take the *War Scroll* anymore as a single and unique piece of redaction, as it was considered by its first editors. Every scholar now admits that the *War Scroll* was a composition of different documents, which could have been transmitted in diverse recensions and modified more than once. But that is as far as the consensus of opinion goes. However in regard to dating, composition, number and organization of sources, history of the text, and its initial *Sitz im Leben*, “no consensus has been reached so far among scholars.”<sup>17</sup> From Philip Davies in 1977 to Russel Gmirkin in 2000 to Jean Duhaime in 2008, many scholars have set out their own scenario to explain the historical background and/or circumstances of the composition of the scroll.<sup>18</sup> So far the manuscript has resisted all of these attempts. The very same questions asked of the text by Yigael Yadin and Jean Carmignac still remain open: who are the Kittim? Is the *War Scroll* an explicit rejection of the Hasmonean wars? Has it something to do with the Roman invasion of 63 B.C.E.? And so on, and so forth.

<sup>17</sup> Jean Duhaime, *The War Texts. 1QM and Related Manuscripts* (CQS 6; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 39.

<sup>18</sup> Philip R. Davies, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumrân: Its Structure and History* (Roma, Instituto pontificale, 1977); idem, “War of the sons of light against the sons of darkness,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 967–68; Russel Gmirkin, “The War Scroll and Roman Weaponry Reconsidered,” *DSD* 3 (1996): 89–129; idem, “The War Scroll, the Hasidim, and the Maccabean Conflict,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 486–96; Jean Duhaime, “La Règle de la Guerre (1QM) et la construction de l’identité sectaire,” in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. F. García Martínez and M. Popović; STDJ 70; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 131–45.

The most interesting and promising path for research has been the publication of the seven additional scrolls from Cave 4 relating to the eschatological war (4Q491–496).<sup>19</sup> For twenty-five years or so, there has been a number of scholarly works about these manuscripts and their textual links with 1QM. A decisive step was taken recently by Rony Yishai: “We cannot speak of the Cave 4 manuscripts as actual copies of 1QM, but rather as a different reworking of the same literary traditions.”<sup>20</sup> A view now largely shared by the scholarly community is that different types of the *War Scroll* text could have been “circulating simultaneously.”<sup>21</sup>

I think we should consider, from now on, that the *variance* of the text is an essential character of the *War Scroll*. The latter text deals with warfare, not with God’s eternal Law or with His nature, and its *variance* reflects the fact that war is always changing. If we agree that the Qumran framework of the *War Scroll* may be assigned a period between the early phase of the Community and the times of Herod, it means that it was circulating for more than 150 years, during which many wars occurred. Three of these wars, at least, are mentioned in the *War Scroll*’s introduction:

- (1) 1QM 1:1–3a: a war involving “the troops of Edom, Moab, the sons of Ammon, the [Amalekites], Philistia, and the troops of the Kittim of Assur, (...) the sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin, those exiled to the wilderness.” We may assume that this literary picture of a war aiming to reinstall the ancient borders of the kingdom of David and Solomon, has much to do with the actual wars of the Maccabean-Hasmonean dynasty.

<sup>19</sup> Maurice Baillet, *Qumran grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD 8; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982). Philip Alexander has added to these 4QM a few other manuscripts dealing with warfare and suggested an “Eschatological War Cycle,” which existence in Qumran literature would point to another scenario. See Philip Alexander, “The Evil Empire: The Qumran Eschatological War Cycle and the Origins of Jewish Opposition to Rome,” in *Emanuel. Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Weston W. Fields; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 17–31.

<sup>20</sup> In her Ph.D. dissertation at Haifa University: R. Yishai, “ספרות המלחמה בקומראן, כתבי היד 4Q496–4Q491 (מהדורה ופירוש), והשוואתם למגילת המלחמה (1QM)” (Ph.D. diss., Haifa, 2006); see also Rony Yishai, “The Model for the Eschatological War Descriptions in Qumran Literature,” *Meghillot* 4 (2006): 121–34 [Hebrew] and XI–XII [English abstract]

<sup>21</sup> Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 41.



- (2) 1QM 1:3b–7: “the king of the Kittim, Egypt, the kings of the North,” followed by a threat to destroy Israel. This description fits the three last Syrian conflicts between Lagids and Seleucids—either one of them or all three: the campaign of Ptolemy VI Philometor, in the times of Jonathan (ca. 150–145); the war between Ptolemy VII Euergetes II and Demetrius II under John Hyrcanus (ca. 129–125); or the “War of Sceptres” involving Ptolemy X Soter II, Cleopatra III and Demetrius III, under Alexander Jannaeus (ca. 102–88).<sup>22</sup>
- (3) 1QM 1:9b–14: last but not least, the war between Israel and “the Kittim,” yet to come (described in the imperfect tense), in the “time of salvation for the People of God (...) and eternal annihilation for all the forces of Belial.” This is the eschatological war.

The textual variety of our manuscripts has to be understood as an adaptation to the diversity of the military and political situations in Judea. We might compare the *War Scroll* to the “white papers” of modern governments: they always have to be modified and adapted to new events and situations. This is why the Kittim could be *simultaneously* (in our eye) the Greeks, the Romans, and probably, another metaphor for Amalek and all other enemies of Israel; this is also why we can find, *simultaneously*, ancient (let’s say “pre-Marius”) and modern weaponry in the same text. And this is finally why the *War Scroll* could be apparently and *simultaneously* a polemic against the Hasmonean dynasty *and* against the Zealots, who certainly did not live by the same time.

### 3. Models

#### 3.1. The Phinehas Model

Concerning the question of the placement of priests in Jewish warfare: at the one pole we find the Zealots with their *qin’ah* and their model of Phinehas, who was awarded eternal priesthood for having speared

<sup>22</sup> On that last one, see Edmond Van’t Dack et al., eds., *The Judean-Syrian-Egyptian conflict of 103–101 B.C.: A Multilingual Dossier Concerning a “War of Sceptres”* (Collectanea Hellenistica 1; Brussels: Koninklijke Academie, 1989).

an impious Jew and a traitor. As we know, the leaders of the Zealots came from Jerusalem priestly circles.<sup>23</sup>

From the “Testament of Mattathias” (1 Macc 2:15–28, 54) on, the person and figure of Phinehas has haunted Jewish literature. We find him and his story, largely retold and expanded in the pseudepigraphic writings,<sup>24</sup> the *targumim*<sup>25</sup> and even in Philo of Alexandria, for whom Phinehas offered a picture of “the very warlike reason” (ὁ πολεμικωτάτος λόγος).<sup>26</sup>

Out of his hatred for the Zealots, Josephus naturally tried to build a wall between them and the biblical legend concerning Phinehas, when he related the episode in his *Jewish Antiquities*. Nevertheless in the *Jewish War* (4.154–155), he cannot avoid giving us a clue to the links between Phinehas and Zealotism when he mentions the election by the Zealots of a high priest of their own in the besieged Temple. They pretended then to follow an “ancient rule” (ἔθος ἀρχαῖον) and drew lots; by no chance the man elected then happened to have the name Phinehas (Φαννί τις ὄνομα). Despite Josephus’ evident contempt for “this bumpkin” (δι’ ἀγροικίαν), he had to accept as a historical fact that the last high priest in Jerusalem was a Zealot warrior called Phinehas.

### 3.2. *The War Scroll Model*

On the other pole, and in complete contrast, the Qumran Community built a rather different picture of priestly involvement in warfare.

<sup>23</sup> Since the seminal article of Morton Smith, “Zealots and Sicarii, Their Origins and Relation,” *HTR* 64 (1971): 1–19, it is generally admitted that Zealots and Sicarii constituted two distinct organized groups, and that Zealotism did not exist, as a constituted organization, before the Jewish uprising of 66. But, long before then, there was evidently a Zealot elaborated ideology in some priestly circles: they did not suddenly appear from nowhere on the eve of the Revolt.

<sup>24</sup> E.g., Sir 45:23–25; 4 Macc 18:12; 4 Ezra 1:1–2; *T. Isaac* 15ff.; *Apos. Con.* 8:4–5; *L.A.B.* 28:1, 3, 4; 46–48; 50:3; 52:2; 53:6.

<sup>25</sup> Specially in the *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*, the story of Phinehas at Shittim is spectacularly magnified: in this *midrash* can be found the first and most ancient version of the legend of the twelve “miracles” (*nisim*) which allowed Phinehas to accomplish his deed.

<sup>26</sup> *Confusion* 57. See commentary in J. G. Kahn, ed., *Philon. De confusione linguarum* (Paris: Cerf, 1976), esp. 72–73 and nn. 159–60. Later, one important task of the Rabbis, particularly after the death of R. Aqiba and the failure of Bar-Kokhba’s uprising, was to push aside both the figure of Phinehas and the notion of military *qin’ah*. See, for instance, R. G. Marks, “Dangerous Hero: Rabbinic Attitudes toward Legendary Warriors,” *HUCA* 54 (1983): 181–94. A last echo of that military *qin’ah* rhetoric would possibly be found in the Nag Hammadi’s *Secret Book of James*, which quotes repeatedly the “zeal for the logos.”

That picture emphasized two characteristics: first, priests, headed by the high priest, actually led the war; and secondly, they took no part at all in the actual fighting.

Priests had strategic and tactical command. This is evident from the *War Scroll* which indicates a military chain of command at the top of which stands the high priest. More than once, in the scroll, the high priest convenes a kind of general staff, composed of “his brothers the priests, the Levites, and all the elders of the army.”<sup>27</sup> In one of these meetings, he gives orders and commands for the army. He finds inspiration in the *Book of Determination of His Period* (ספר סרך עתו), 1QM 15:5). Of that book we know nearly nothing, except that it has something to do with divine revelation and God’s will for eschatological times. The authority of the high priest, in the Qumran system, directly comes from his knowledge of the *raz nihyeh*. It is also the high priest who, like other generals in antiquity, gives the strategic order *par excellence* for battle, i.e. the strategic disposal of the army: “He orders there all the battle lines” (1QM 15:5–6). Another priest, specially devoted to that task, then pronounces the biblical mandatory address before the lines of men (Deut 20:2–4).

The priests also conveyed the tactical orders, such as disposition, deployment, charge, withdrawal, and so on (1QM 8–9). In doing so, the priests, and only the priests, use the battle trumpets, if we follow Qumran interpretation of Num 10:8 in the *War Scroll*. The interpretation appears to be the only ancient Jewish text to have built this exegetical syllogism: only priests may blow the trumpets; only trumpets (and not the *shofarim* for instance) can convey military commands; ergo only the priests convey the commands.

This undisputed strategic and tactical authority of the priests in warfare is paradoxically accompanied (and contrasted) with a great concern for their priestly ritual purity. They have to keep away from any defilement by blood and by corpses on the battlefield. The *War Scroll* is extremely clear on this point:

When the slain have fallen, the priests shall continue blowing from afar and shall not enter into the midst of the slain so as to be defiled (להתגאל) by their unclean blood (דם טמאתם), for they are holy (כי קדושים המה).

<sup>27</sup> The whole hierarchy is explicated in 1QM 2:1–7. See also 1QM 13:1–2; 15:4–7; 16:13–15; 18:5–6; 19:11–12.

They shall not allow the oil of their priestly anointment to be profaned with the blood of the vain nations. (1QM 9:7–9)

The contrast between the sacred character (קדוש) of the oil *versus* the defilement (התגאל) of the unclean blood is highlighted here. In the “Impurity System of Qumran,”<sup>28</sup> there has to be no contact at all between sacred and defilement. These are to be kept apart according to measurement. Technically and ritually, in the battle, this separation is secured through the use of the “trumpets of the memorial” which God ordered Moses to build according to Num 10:1–10.<sup>29</sup> The required use of certain types of tools, to kill or destroy impure people or things, is not infrequent in ancient Judaism. It guarantees the right ritual distance and avoids any contact between the pure and the impure. This is achieved, for instance, through death by arrow or stoning one who has violated a sacred area (e.g., Exod 19:13). Avoidance of defilement is also attained through the *herem*, that is, by burning the enemy’s temples and *sacra*.<sup>30</sup>

The concern for priestly purity can be observed in many other places in the *War Scroll*, for instance in 1QM 7:9–12, which describes the priestly garments for war and insists on separation between these garments and those for the Temple.<sup>31</sup> This concern for purity also underlies the necessity to establish a layperson and not a priest as the actual chief of the army—“the Prince of the whole Congregation” (נשיא כול העדה, 1QM 5:1) in the *War Scroll*; “the King” in the *Temple Scroll*; and Davidic Messiah or “Prince of Light” in other texts. But this person, whatever his importance, always remains subject to the high priest’s authority, particularly when it comes to war.

<sup>28</sup> Following the title of Hannah Harrington’s inspiring essay, see Hannah K. Harrington, *The Impurity Systems of Qumran and the Rabbis. Biblical Foundations* (SBLDS 143; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993).

<sup>29</sup> Concerning the use of trumpets in battles, see, e.g., S. B. Finesinger, “Musical Instruments in the Old Testament,” *HUCA* 3 (1926): 21–76; Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Sabbaths Trumpets in 4Q 493 M<sup>c</sup>,” *RevQ* 12/48 (1987): 555–59; Jacob Milgrom, “Trumpets and Shofarim, Excursus n° 21,” in *Numbers. The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation. Commentary* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1990), 372–73.

<sup>30</sup> See the full discussion in Christophe Batsch, “Le *herem* de guerre et les dangereux *sacra* ennemis,” in *La guerre et les rites de guerre*, 443–46.

<sup>31</sup> “[These are] the garments for battle, and they shall not take them into the sanctuary,” 1QM 7:11–12.

4. *Phinehas and Anti-Phinehas*

It is not by chance, then, that the name Phinehas never appears in Qumran literature, except for once in a short genealogical fragment from Cave 6, of which it is impossible to decide whether it was sectarian or not.<sup>32</sup> At Qumran, we do not find the Zealot representation of Phinehas as a fighting priest, killing the enemies of Israel with his own hands. Instead, the Community has built the alternative figure of the priest commanding the armed forces of Israel, who never appears in the midst of the battle, the figure I call in the title of my paper “anti-Phinehas.” These antagonistic representations of priests in war have to be related to the situation prevailing in Judea at the times in question.

The most problematic question, more and more pressing as time went by, was identified by Pierre Vidal-Naquet as what to do, when you have “*les étrangers dans la maison*” (foreigners in your house)?<sup>33</sup> For three centuries around the beginning of the Common Era, the rule of Greeks and Roman had been more and more intrusive in Jewish life in Judea. Every individual Jew, and each group in Judaism, had to decide how to act in the face of that foreign intrusion both in terms of compromise or conflict.

Zealots and the Qumran Community clearly would have opted for military confrontation—but by different means.<sup>34</sup> What distinguished them from one another was how they regarded the priest’s role in warfare. The Zealots insisted on the priests’ direct political, strategic, and tactical responsibility; they wanted to see the priests in the first line of battle, fighting with weapons in hand, like Phinehas. To the contrary, Qumran was primarily concerned with the priest’s position as mediators between men and divinity, henceforth with the upholding of priestly holiness and purity.

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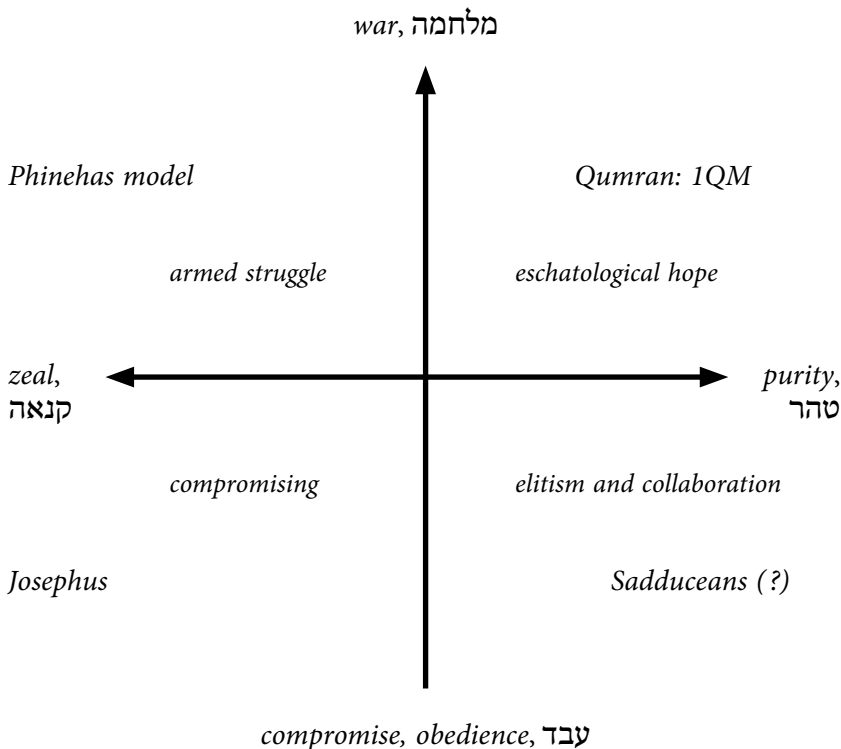
<sup>32</sup> 6QPriestly Prophecy (6Q16); this short genealogical fragment seems to aim at establishing that the eternal priesthood once offered to Phinehas will in the end fall to the sons of Zadok.

<sup>33</sup> Pierre Vidal-Naquet, “Du bon usage de la trahison,” in *Flavius Josèphe. La guerre des Juifs* (ed. Pierre Savinel; Paris: Minuit, 1977), 7–115, esp. 65–73.

<sup>34</sup> I have already established elsewhere that the alleged “Essenian pacifism” was no more than an historiographical myth: Christophe Batsch, “Le ‘pacifisme des Esséniens,’ un mythe historiographique,” *RevQ* 21/83 (2004): 457–68.

We can then establish two fundamental positions that point to different trends within Second Temple Judaism. First, the different choices concerning the status of priests can be defined in terms of ritual purity and holiness versus commitment to participate in combat. The second position over which the groups differ is their attitude towards “*les étrangers dans la maison.*” Choosing the option of armed struggle versus accomodation, compromise, and even collaboration.

We can depict these polarities in the following diagram:



As we can see from the diagram there were four theoretical choices. We have already seen two of them: (1) the choice of Zealotism, which combines war against foreign occupiers with the figure of a fighting priest. This choice represents what I have called the “Phinehas model”; and (2) the choice of the *War Scroll* of Qumran; it is one of patience and active preparation for the eschatological battle. This choice can also be expressed as a choice to struggle against the foreign enemy; but the preparation for that fight requires strict observance of purity

rules by the *kohanim*. As for the other two possible choices depicted in my diagram, I might point out two possible groups: (3) Josephus and some of the Pharisees seem to have combined concern for the priestly political leadership of Judea with the acceptance of the overwhelming Roman military power. To what extent their position could also have been adopted by the Sages of the Mishnah remains an open question; (4) the Sadducees (as we might infer from the writings of people who did not like them), would fit well into the fourth position. They dealt with the occupying foreign forces, but kept inviolate the holy character of the Temple's priesthood.

We must keep in mind that all these choices were probably much more subtle, various, and complex, and that attempt to reduce matters to essentials always runs the risk of oversimplification. But the above fundamental oppositions certainly determined the framework within which Jewish groups had to make their historical and political choices.

## THE LAW OF CONSCRIPTION IN THE WAR SCROLL

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The scroll of the *War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (*War Scroll* = 1QM) deals with a number of issues that may be termed laws of war, areas in which the norms of the Torah are to be applied in the eschatological war that the text imagines and details. Prominent among these laws are three topics: the law of conscription, laws of ritual purity the camp, and sacrificial procedures. The study that follows will take up only the law of conscription. This is a major issue in military organization, but here we will center on the *War Scroll's* interpretation and application of the prescriptions of the Torah.

### 1. *Biblical Background*

One of the primary legal sections of the Pentateuch concerning war is the law of conscription in Deut 20:1–9. This section sets forth a complex sequence of events that are to take place leading up to the battle itself. The interpretation of this passage has been the subject of much debate in later rabbinic exegesis, and in what follows we will seek to discuss the manner in which this passage was interpreted in the *War Scroll* and to compare it to other Qumran material and other ancient interpretation, most notably that of the rabbis. But first, we must set out in detail what can be gleaned from the Torah itself.

The passage may be outlined as follows:

1. Opening statement of Deuteronomy not to be afraid in war (v. 1)
2. Speech of “the priest” as they approach war, calling on the army not to be afraid (vv. 2–4)
3. Speech of the officers (*shoterim*) setting out three exemptions from military service:
  - a. One who built a new house but did not dedicate it (v. 5)
  - b. One who planted a vineyard but has not yet harvested it (v. 6)
  - c. One who has betrothed a woman but has not yet married her (v. 7)



4. Continued (second?) speech of the officers adding an exemption:
  - d. One who is afraid (v. 8)
5. Appointment of lower commanders over military units.

The passage raises some fundamental questions that will have to be answered by any interpreter:

- Where is the speech of “the priest” (#3) given?
- Why are exemptions a–c (young men who initiated certain activities) separated from exemption d (those who are afraid)?
- Where was the second speech of the officers (#4) delivered?
- Is there any assumed distinction in the Bible between what the rabbis termed wars of obligation (conquering the land of Israel or self-defense) and optional wars (for the expansion of territory)?

## 2. *The War Scroll*

With these questions in mind, we approach the parallel to the law of conscription of Deuteronomy that is found in 1QM. We note at the outset that there are no parallels to this section of the scroll in the Cave 4 manuscripts, nor in the related war texts. Our discussion begins at the top of col. 10.

and he (Moses) told us that You are in our midst, a great and awesome God, plundering all of (2) our enemies befo[re u]s. He taught us from of old through all our generations, saying, “*When you approach the battle, the priest shall stand and speak unto the people*, (3) saying, Hear O Israel, you are approaching the battle against your enemies today. Do not be afraid nor fainthearted. (4) Do not trem[ble, no]r be terrified because of them, for your God goes with you, to fight for you against your enemies, and to save (5) *you*” (Deut 20:2–4). Our [of]ficers shall speak to all those prepared for battle, those willing of heart, to strengthen them by the might of God, to turn back all (6) who have lost heart, and to strengthen all the valiant warriors together. They shall recount that which You s[poke] by the hand of Moses, saying: “*And when there is a war (7) in your land against the adversary who attacks you, then yo[u] shall sound an alarm with the trumpets that you might be remembered before your God (8) and be saved from your enemies*” (Num 10:9).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Translation by Martin Abegg, in Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, Jr., and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (rev. and updated ed.; San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005), 156–57.

Here we have the conclusion of a section that recalls God's (or Moses') command to maintain purity of the camp (line 1) and continues by mentioning that "he taught us" the laws of conscription in Deut 20. There follows a version of Deut 20:2–4 exhibiting variations with the Masoretic text (lines 2–4).<sup>2</sup> The text then turns to the parallel to Deut 20:5–8, the speech of the officers (#3). In the *War Scroll* (lines 5–6), however, the personal exemptions (#3a–c) are omitted and the text goes directly to the second speech (parallel to Deut 20:8) that describes exemption regarding the one who is fearful (#4d).

From here, the text of the *War Scroll* turns (lines 6–8) to an explicit quotation (וְאִשֶּׁר דָּבַרְתָּ בְיָד מוֹשֶׁה לְאָמֹר) with textual variation from the Masoretic text of Num 10:9. This verse seems to be quoted here because of its mention of being saved from your enemies, a motif that picks up on the earlier quotation of Deut 20:4 in lines 4–5 that also mentions being saved. No parallel appears in the *War Scroll* for Deut 20:9 dealing with the mustering of the military units. From here on 1QM continues with a hymn. It seems that this verse was skipped as mustering is taken up elsewhere in the scroll.

To understand the issues raised by this text, one must understand its location in the overall plan of the eschatological war. The first phase of the war is directed against the immediate neighbors of the Land of Israel, the traditional biblical enemies—Edom, Moab, Ammon, Philistia—as well as the Kittim of Syria and Egypt and "those who violate the covenant"—probably the Hellenistic Jews. These battles are spelled out in detail in cols. 1–9. Columns 10–14 (our passage is in 10) form a collection of liturgical materials. Columns 15–19 describe in detail a seven-stage battle between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness—the Kittim.<sup>3</sup> The material in cols. 15–19 seems to be a detailed explanation of the battle with the Kittim described earlier in cols. 1–9, rather than an independent, later set of battles.<sup>4</sup> While some

<sup>2</sup> See Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (trans. Batya and Chaim Rabin; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 304.

<sup>3</sup> Philip R. Davies, "War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:965–968 at 966–67; cf. Yadin, *War Scroll*, 18–37, and Jean Duhaime, *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts* (CQS 6; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 13–20.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Yadin, *War Scroll*, 7–14.

have argued against this view,<sup>5</sup> on balance it seems to be the most logical explanation of the material. The placement of the law of conscription in col. 10 then opens up the issue of whether it applies to the entire eschatological war, or only to that part of the offensive launched directly against the seven nations and the local Kittim.

### 3. *The Temple Scroll*

The law of conscription is considered also in the *Temple Scroll*.<sup>6</sup> At the outset it should be stated that the materials pertaining to the laws of war appear in two places in the *Temple Scroll*. 11QT<sup>a</sup> 56:12–59:21 is a literary unit usually termed the “Law of the King.”<sup>7</sup> Most scholars are convinced that this unit was composed independently of our scroll and then incorporated into it. Within this context several topics are taken up regarding war.<sup>8</sup> Yet the “Law of the King” does not include any reference to the law of conscription.

A totally different context is that of the collection of prescriptions which occupies 11QT<sup>a</sup> 60:16–66:11, and which closely parallels Deut 18–22. Here the author for the most part simply repeats biblical prescriptions with only the most minor changes. This section was composed most probably by the final author/redactor of the *Temple Scroll* who compiled this material from the canonical Deuteronomy in the version that he had before him.<sup>9</sup>

This section includes several laws of war,<sup>10</sup> including the parallel to our 1QM text in 11QT<sup>a</sup> 61:12–62:5:

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Philip R. Davies, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History* (BibOr 32; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1977), 91–95.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 75; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 505–17.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 487–504.

<sup>8</sup> 11QT<sup>a</sup> 57:1–5 requires that the people be mustered into military units immediately upon the ascension of a new king. 11QT<sup>a</sup> 58:3–11 deals with the laws of defensive warfare. 11QT<sup>a</sup> 58:11–15 details the distribution of the spoils of war. 11QT<sup>a</sup> 58:15–21 contains the laws regarding an offensive war.

<sup>9</sup> Schiffman, *Courtyards*, 443–69.

<sup>10</sup> 11QT<sup>a</sup> 61:12–62:5 deals with the law of conscription, describing the role of the priest in publicly pronouncing the exemptions from military service and dismissing those exempted. 11QT<sup>a</sup> 62:5–63:04 discusses the law of the siege, distinguishing the “distant cities” from those of the nations which Israel is commanded to destroy, and, in the restored section, probably including the prohibition on the cutting of fruit trees. 11QT<sup>a</sup> 63:10–64:03 takes up the question of the captive woman.

When (13) you go forth to war against your enemies and you see horses and chariots and an army larger than your own, do not be afraid (14) of them. For I, Who brought you out of the land of Egypt, am with you. When you draw near to the battle, (15) the priest shall come forward and shall address the people. And he shall say to them: "Listen, Israel, you are drawing near today [*Yadin restores lines 66:01–1 according to Deut 21:3–5. The manuscript continues:*]... (66:2) his house [lest he die in the battle and another man marry her. Then the ju]dg[es] (3) shall speak further to the people and they shall say: "Is there any man who is fearful and fainthearted? Let him go and return to (4) his house lest the courage of his fellows flag like his." When the judges have finished (5) addressing the people, they shall appoint commanders over the troops at the head of the people.

This is a simple recital of Deut 20:1–10 with a small number of changes, some of which can be attributed to the nature of the texts of Deuteronomy available to the compiler of this Deuteronomic collection, probably the final redactor of the *Temple Scroll*. In keeping with the structure of this collection the Deity speaks in the first person. Also significant is the replacement, at least once, and probably in all cases (if one accepts *Yadin's* restoration), of the Masoretic (*shoṭerim*), "officers," "bailiffs," with *shofeṭim*, "judges." This variant is probably an example of the phenomenon of synonymous variation since the biblical "judge" is often a military leader, not an arbiter of justice.

As already observed, Deut 20:1–9 plays no explicit role in the Law of the King. The exemptions simply do not appear there. The absence of these exemptions in the *War Scroll* and in the Law of the King in the *Temple Scroll* can be explained as resulting from the principle, also expounded by the tannaim,<sup>11</sup> that the exemptions only apply to an optional war. However, in 11QT<sup>a</sup> 61:12–62:5, in the Deuteronomic paraphrase, they appear as in the Torah, apparently applying only to the optional war. Below we will have to return to the applicability of these rabbinic concepts to the Qumran scrolls.

#### 4. *First Maccabees and Josephus*

The order of events described in 1 Macc 3:54–60 seems completely different from that of Deuteronomy and the *War Scroll*. First, they sounded the trumpets—reminiscent of 1QM's quotation of Num 10:9

<sup>11</sup> *m. Soṭah* 8:7.

describing the blowing of trumpets. Then Judah appointed the leaders of the military units (Deut 20:9). Then Judah announced the exemptions, slightly modifying the Torah's order, placing the betrothed before the vineyard. Clearly, this author considered all four exemptions to be of the same type, as he did not distinguish the first from the second speech of the officers. Only then did the army march to the place of battle, Emmaus, corresponding to Deut 20:2, referring to drawing near to battle. Then Judah gave the speech of exhortation, corresponding to vv. 3–4. Here, either the narrator or the events themselves did not proceed in the Pentateuchal order, but this text clearly made no distinction between the types of exemptions.

Josephus discusses the laws of conscription in some detail, in his overall exposition of biblical legislation. He began with a summary of Deut 20:10–12, referring to peace terms (*Ant.* 4.296–297). This reversal of order may indicate that he did distinguish the two types of wars, obligatory and optional, and sought to show that the exemptions applied only to the optional war, like the rabbis. He then refers to the appointment of one strong leader and a lieutenant (equivalent to Deut 20:9). With no reference to speeches, he then lists the exemptions. He changes the Torah's order, placing the fearful one first, and then continues with the others, those who have built houses, planted vineyards, and betrothed (following the Torah's order for the last three), imposing the reason given in the Torah for the fear exemption (v. 8) on all of them. He then proceeds with the prohibition of cutting fruit trees (vv. 19–20) and finally the requirement to destroy the Canaanites (vv. 16–18). However, his placement of this law and its phrasing (*Ant.* 4.299–300) make it clear that he sees all the other rules as applying to all wars, not just to the so-called optional wars.<sup>12</sup>

### 5. *The Pharisaic-rabbinic Approach*

Below, we will compare the material in the *War Scroll* to the rabbinic understanding of the Torah's laws of conscription. We need to remember that to the tannaim, these procedures applied only to an optional war, not to the conquest of the Land of Israel or its defense.

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.219–220. There is no discussion of conscription.

It will be helpful at the outset to set forth a short outline of the process as described in tannaitic texts:

1. An address of exhortation not to fear by a specifically appointed priest (“anointed for the battle”), expanded from Deut 20:3–4 (*m. Soṭah* 8:1). The Tosefta, *Sifrei Deuteronomy* and a baraita in the Babylonian Talmud say that the priest speaks twice—once at the border and once at the battle line. This interpretation assumes that this refers only to an optional war beyond Israel’s borders.
2. First speech of the officers including the first three exemptions. These exemptions carry an obligation to provide water and food, and to maintain the roads for the army (*m. Soṭah* 8:2). In accordance with Deut 24:5, *m. Soṭah* 8:4 lists those who have built houses and lived in them, planted a vineyard and harvested it, or gotten married within a year, as not even having to answer the call to conscription, nor to provide supplies or fix roads.
3. Second speech of the officers, corresponding to Deut 10:8, exemption for the fearful.
4. Mustering of officers to prevent soldiers from fleeing the battle (*m. Soṭah* 8:6).

### 6. *Optional and Obligatory Wars*

Central to Yadin’s interpretation of the law of conscription in the *War Scroll* is the assumption that the rabbinic distinction between optional wars and wars that were commanded by the Torah is operative in the sect’s thinking. Yadin understands the *War Scroll*’s battle to be against the local enemies of Israel, the ancient seven nations and the Kittim. The scroll, in his view, does not describe battles with the remote enemies or the Roman Empire as a whole. Accordingly, he argues that the law of conscription must be understood in the context of such required wars, rather than of a war of choice.<sup>13</sup> In this way Yadin explains the omission of the three categories of personal exemption in the *War Scroll* and the retention only of the exemption of the fearful. According to this interpretation, the *War Scroll* passage would almost agree with the tannaitic conception. In rabbinic law, there are

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<sup>13</sup> Yadin, *War Scroll*, 65.

absolutely no exemptions—even for a bride herself—from an obligatory war (*m. Soṭah* 8:7). But in the *War Scroll*, the assumption is that the scroll agrees in rejecting the other three exemptions but keeps the exception of the fearful for practical reasons. This would also be the explanation for the scroll's exclusion of women and the disabled from the armed forces. This notion might be derived from the separation of the fearful from the other exemptions in Deuteronomy. Further, the rabbis understood that these exemptions were of different quality, three being social and the fourth emotional.

This approach, however, still leaves us with the fact that all four exemptions were followed by Judah the Maccabee (1 Macc 3:56),<sup>14</sup> although it is possible that the Hasmoneans understood all four exemptions to apply to their battles that must have been seen by them as obligatory wars. This is true even if we deal here not with Judah's actual, historical actions but, more likely, with accounts that have been written to conform to the Pentateuchal passages.

If so, we would conclude<sup>15</sup> that the author of 1 Maccabees makes no distinction between optional and obligatory wars, following the Pentateuch as written. The rabbis hold that all four exceptions apply only to the optional war, and the *War Scroll* holds that the three social exemptions only apply to optional wars, but that the fearful are exempted even from an obligatory war. Since the author of the *Temple Scroll* distinguished offensive from defensive warfare, as well as near and distant enemies, he probably held that the exceptions applied only to an optional war, following the same view as the rabbis.

Yadin does not see this as a sufficient explanation for the absence of the other three exemptions in the *War Scroll*. He proposes that the answer may lie in the places in which the exemptions are announced. According to tannaitic tradition, exemption took place in two phases. The three personal exemptions were proclaimed before departure to battle, and the dismissal of the fainthearted took place near the battlefields (*t. Soṭah* 7:18, *b. Soṭah* 42a–b). Since the exemption in our law of conscription takes place near the battlefield, the other exempt men would already have been sent home before they set out.<sup>16</sup> In this case,

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 68–69.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

the *War Scroll* would agree with the rabbis who expected the exemptions to be a two-stage process.

### 7. *Priests and Speeches*

The scroll's regulations regarding the role of priests in the law of conscription are similar to those of the tannaim. Rather than seeing this as an analysis of the actual historical events, we see these parallels as resulting from shared exegesis of the Deuteronomic passage.<sup>17</sup> In rabbinic law there is a special priest, known as the "priest anointed for battle" (*meshuah milhamah*) appointed to fulfill the priestly functions in the law of conscription. This priest is second to the high priest. He speaks twice, once at the border and once at the site of the battle. Rabbinic sources disagree as to how the priest's words were conveyed to the soldiers and what were the words of the priests and of the officers (*b. Soṭah* 43a).

It is possible to find a parallel to the "priest anointed for war" of the tannaim in the *War Scroll*. A pre-battle scene is described relevant to the war with the King of the Kittim (15:2–3) in 15:4–8:

Then the Chief Priest shall stand, and with him his brothers the p[riests], the Levites and all the men of the army. He shall read aloud (5) the prayer for the appointed time of batt[le, as is written in the b]ook *Serekh Itto* (the *Rule of His Time*), including all the words of their thanksgivings. Then he shall form there (6) all the battle lines, as is writ[ten in the Book of the Wa]r. Then the priest appointed for the time of vengeance by (7) all his brothers shall walk about and strengthen [their hands for batt]le, and he shall say and declare: Be strong and courageous as warriors. (8) Fear not, nor be a[fraid...] Do not panic, neither be alarmed because of them.<sup>18</sup>

Two separate priests pronounce pre-battle prayers. The first prayer, for the "appointed time of battle," is recited after the soldiers are close to the enemy but not yet in battle formation. This prayer, from some otherwise unknown text (*Serekh Itto*), is said by the chief priest. Immediately after, a second priest, "the priest destined for the appointed time of vengeance" (הַכּוֹהֵן הַחֲרוּץ לְמוֹעֵד נִקְמָה) gives a short speech

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>18</sup> Transl. based on *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, 161, and Yadin, *War Scroll*, 330–32.



of encouragement as he walks along with the soldiers. This seems to agree with the rabbinic notion of two priestly speeches, while differing as to who recites them. The initial speech, which the Mishnah allots to the priest anointed for battle, is given in our scroll by the chief priest. This is probably a result of the sectarian notion of the high priest as a messianic redeemer. However, certain of the functions of the battle priest are given in the scroll to the “priest destined for the appointed time of vengeance,” clearly his equivalent. In this instance, the scroll and the tannaitic position have much in common, and it appears that the sectarians started with a set of interpretations of Deuteronomy closely akin to that of the rabbis and worked from it.

To understand all of this, it is necessary to remind ourselves that in cols. 15–19 the scroll goes back to fill in the details of the war with the Kittim, first discussed as part of the overall plan in 1QM 1–9. As noted above, this appears to us to be the most likely relation of the material, at least as it functions in the redacted *War Scroll*. In col. 10 the scroll presents the law of conscription, providing us the chief priest’s prayer in full, but this prayer and the conscription law mentioned there must be understood together with the details and second prayer spelled out in col. 15, where the second priest is mentioned. In other words, these two passages refer to the beginning stage of the war and need to be explained together.

## 8. Conclusion

Our study has concluded little more than what Yadin was able to ferret out in his masterful introduction and commentary to the *War Scroll*, first published in Hebrew in 1955. While the availability of the *Temple Scroll* has added a bit of perspective, the additional manuscripts of the *War Scroll*, the differing recensions and related texts, have contributed no new material to help in our analysis. The fact that we generally follow Davies in seeing the scroll as a composite work rather than a unity, an argument strengthened by the Cave 4 fragments, seems not to matter to the present subject of our research. In our case, the differing sections of the scroll do seem to provide parts of the same picture even if emphasizing different aspects and even if originally from disparate texts. Surprisingly, then, even after all these years, regarding the law of conscription we face only the same issue debated from the very beginning of scrolls research—the relevance of seeing the material

in the intellectual context of tannaitic exegesis. Put simply, we have found here that several elements are common to the sectarians and the tannaim: the function of two priests, the distinction between the fearful and the other exemptions, apparently the limitation of exemptions (at least three) to the optional war, and the two priestly speeches. Since these views require a substantial “revision” of the simple written text of the Bible, some common origins have to be assumed. Here we probably touch on the common ancient Judaism that lies at the core of what the *War Scroll* has in common with other contemporary Jewish legal materials and the later rabbinic tradition.

A good comparison is to the Pharisaic-rabbinic purity laws that are at the core of the *Rule of the Community*. These laws provide the basis for the sectarian process of initiation and Penal Code. Further, the entire conception of the community expressed in this text is founded on the quest for such ritual purity.<sup>19</sup> Despite the many Sadducean-type elements in Qumran halakah, such parallels to Pharisaic-rabbinic law exist regarding important issues. The law of conscription, even though it differs substantially from later tannaitic exegesis and law, draws on the same basic interpretations and concepts. This point was made after the discovery and publication of Cave 1 and seems still to be true today. The sectarian and apocalyptic approach of Qumran sectarian texts often masks participation in the common halakic tradition of Judaism, which we encounter alongside the tendency toward the Sadducean/Zadokite approach that we have highlighted so often.

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<sup>19</sup> Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983), 161–68.



*GENESIS APOCRYPHON*



# DIVERGENCE FROM GENESIS IN THE *GENESIS APOCRYPHON*

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## 1. *Introduction*

A few years ago Moshe Bernstein expressed surprise that there had not been an explosion of research on the *Genesis Apocryphon* following the publication of much new material by Greenfield and Qimron in 1992 and by Morgenstern, Qimron and Sivan in 1995, made possible by new photographs using much improved techniques.<sup>1</sup> The articles in this volume are samples of much new work on the *Genesis Apocryphon*, revealing that there was simply a long fuse. There is much yet to mine in this treasure trove of ancient interpretative traditions on Genesis, and the excellent new edition by Daniel Machiela will make it possible for a larger number of scholars to participate.<sup>2</sup>

From the first publication of the *Genesis Apocryphon* (*GenAp*; the single known manuscript is 1QapGen) by Avigad and Yadin, it was readily apparent that the Abraham section follows the narrative of Genesis much closer than does the Noah material.<sup>3</sup> The more recent publication of previously unreadable text in the early columns has brought to light areas where *GenAp* closely follows Genesis in the Noah materials, making it possible to assess its use of Genesis here in comparison with the Abraham materials. This has important implications for the nature of *GenAp* and its purpose. In this paper I wish to discuss one surprising feature that emerges from paying close attention to the story of Noah in *GenAp* in comparison with Genesis: several cases

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<sup>1</sup> Jonas C. Greenfield and Elisha Qimron, "The Genesis Apocryphon Col. XII," in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (ed. Takamitsu Muraoka; *AbrNSup* 3; Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 70–77; Matthew Morgenstern, Elisha Qimron, and Daniel Sivan, "The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon" (with appendix by Gregory Bearman and Sheila Spiro), *AbrN* 33 (1995): 30–54.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1956).

where the narrative in *GenAp* deliberately and uniquely contradicts the story in Genesis.

## 2. *Noah's 500th Year*

The first case to consider is what happens in Noah's 500th year. Genesis 5:32 is fairly clear: Noah's 500th year is associated with the birth of his sons, and this is followed immediately by the sons of God story.

Gen 5:32: After Noah was 500 years old, Noah became the father of Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

Gen 6:1: When people began to multiply...

Gen 6:3: Then the Lord said, "My spirit shall not abide in mortals forever, for they are flesh; their days shall be 120 years." (NRSV)

To be sure, there is significant ambiguity here: is the first or last of his sons born in his 500th year, and in what order are they born? These questions vexed interpreters from the earliest times, particularly trying to square this with the varying orders of Noah's sons, and the inference from Gen 11:10 that Shem was born when Noah was 502 years old ("When Shem was one hundred years old, he became the father of Arpachshad two years after the flood"). *Jubilees* struggles valiantly to solve the problem, but only partly succeeds.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the basic datum from both Gen 5:32 and Gen 11:10 is clear in all known versions of Genesis: Noah's children are born around his 500th year. I am not aware of any ancient interpreters who diverge from this either... with the single exception of *GenAp*.

A broken passage in the sixth column of 1QapGen refers to a significant event at the end of the tenth jubilee of Noah's life.<sup>5</sup>

9. ... *vacat* And when my days reached the number I had calculated
10. [...] ten jubilees, then were my sons finished taking women for themselves as wives
11. [...] the heavens in a vision. I saw and I was informed and made known about the doings of the sons of heaven, and what...
12. [...] the heavens. I hid this mystery in my heart and I revealed it to no one. *vacat* (1QapGen 6:9–12)

<sup>4</sup> See Daniel K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (CQS 8; LSTS 63; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 52.

<sup>5</sup> This cannot be "[...] -teen jubilees," as there is no *vav* before the word.

This passage associates two things with Noah's 500th year: the marriage—not the birth—of his sons, and Noah has a vision about the affair with the sons of God. *GenAp*'s dating of the sons' marriages to Noah's 500th year flies in the face of the straightforward data from Genesis.

What could have motivated this blatant departure from the narrative of Genesis? There is no evidence that it was based on a different Hebrew text. In my opinion, the most likely explanation is that it is related to the view that the 120 years of Gen 6:3 is a period until the judgment on the giants, as attested in *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 5:7–9). Therefore the sin of the Watchers would have occurred before Noah's 480th year.<sup>6</sup> The birth of Noah's sons is mentioned just prior to this in Gen 5:32; apparently *Jubilees* must understand this note to be out of chronological order, the birth of Noah's children in his 500th year narrated before the sin of the Watchers which it dates at least twenty years earlier (it was the most common view that Genesis is not narrated in order; cf. Josephus and the rabbis). It is possible that the strange redating of *GenAp* is due to the author attempting to reconcile this tradition with reading Genesis in order: the birth of Noah's children must have happened before his 480th year. It connects his 500th year instead with their *marriages*, which are otherwise undated in Genesis (before Noah's 600th year [Gen 7:18] and presumably sometime after Noah's 520th year). *GenAp* is unprecedented here in "correcting" Gen 5:32. I suggest that perhaps it is due to an attempt to harmonize the tradition with a chronological reading of Genesis. (It fits with the author's practice elsewhere of reading Genesis in order, and appears secondary to the tradition of interpreting the 120 years as in *Jubilees*.)

There is another possible gain for the author in this reading: it allows the juxtaposition of Gen 5:32 and Gen 6:1 to present as stark contrasts the proper marriage of the sons of Noah versus the improper marriage of the sons of God.

The second thing that *GenAp* associates with Noah's 500th year is a vision of the sons of God. This again has no basis in Genesis, but is reflected also in *1 En.* 60:1, which mentions a vision of the angelic hosts and divine judgment at this date.

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<sup>6</sup> It is unclear if *Jubilees* takes into account a period of time from the Watchers' intercourse with women to the maturity and crimes of their offspring.



All these things I saw toward the Garden of the righteous in the year 500, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth of the month, in the life of Noah.<sup>7</sup>

In that parable I saw how a mighty quaking made the heavens of the heavens quake, and the host of the Most High and the angels—thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand—were greatly disturbed...

And Michael said to me, "... Until today has been the day of his mercy, and he has been merciful and long suffering to those who dwell on the earth. (*1 En.* 60:23, 60:1, 5; Nickelsburg and VanderKam)<sup>8</sup>

In all manuscripts of the *Book of Parables*, this passage is adapted to Enoch, but originally it associated visions by Noah with the birth of his children. Reflection of this sort of tradition appears also in *GenAp*, associating visions by Lamech of the Watchers with the birth of his son Noah (1QapGen 0–1; apparently based on Gen 5:29). (In *GenAp* this fulfills the function of explaining how Lamech knew about the Nephilim 480 years before their birth.) Underlying this would seem to be a tradition with visions by Lamech and Noah at the birth of their first sons. If so, both *Genesis Apocryphon* and the Noah fragment in *1 En.* 60:1 are secondary adaptations of this tradition, with somewhat awkward results.

In both of these elements, then, it seems that *GenAp* makes use of prior tradition and seeks to incorporate it into a sequential reading of Genesis, but it is willing to "correct" the narrative of Genesis, and to adapt both Genesis and its inherited traditions to make its own distinctive point. The correction to Genesis has nothing to do with a difficulty in the narrative at hand, but rather imported from considerations of the broader context, other traditions, and the point to be made.

### 3. Noah's sacrifice before exiting the ark

The second case to consider has to do with the timing of Noah's sacrifice. Once again, the basic narrative in Genesis is straightforward, reinforced by sequential indicators:

<sup>7</sup> Although all manuscripts here read "Enoch," it is generally accepted that the text originally was a reference to the 500th year of Noah (cf. Gen 5:32).

<sup>8</sup> George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001).

- the ark comes to rest (600/7/17; Gen 8:4)
- the waters dry up (601/1; Gen 8:13)
- Noah exits (601/2/27; Gen 8:14)
- Noah builds an altar and offers sacrifices (Gen 8:20).

Some interpreters tinker with the dates (*Jubilees*; *4QCommGen*; etc.) but I am not aware of any other interpreter who takes issue with the general sequence...except the *Genesis Apocryphon*.

*Jubilees* goes as far as to delay Noah's exit from the ark so that this sacrifice can take place in the third month as the origin of the festival of Weeks (*Jub* 6:1–2). But *GenAp* strangely has Noah offer this sacrifice before he leaves the ark! Immediately after the ark rests on Hurrat (10:11–12), Noah offers sacrifices (10:12ff.). At the beginning of the following column Noah stands in the door of the ark to survey the land and then exits. Having Noah sacrifice while on the ark is a serious disruption to the narrative in Genesis, and is completely unique. It presents an extraordinary picture. It must reflect a very important interest for the author, but because the text is so fragmentary it is not possible to discern what it might be. Moshe Bernstein is probably correct to suggest that “the purification of the earth accomplished by Noah's sin-offerings had to be completed before Noah and the others descended from the ark,” lest they be defiled upon disembarking.<sup>9</sup> Again, the intervention is without precedent, and does not address a difficulty arising from the text at hand, but rather apparently an imported concern.

The third and fourth cases I wish to consider belong to a significant reworking of the covenant of Noah episode.<sup>10</sup> There is no time to go into the details here, but it is very important in that there are unique and surprising reworkings of both the small details and the larger structure of the narrative that concur, indicating that here we are dealing with distinctive interpretative concerns of the author.

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<sup>9</sup> Moshe Bernstein, “From the Watchers to the Flood: Story and Exegesis in the Early Columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, Devorah Dimant, and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 39–63, at 59.

<sup>10</sup> I treat this episode at some length in Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 59–64.

4. *Promise of dominion before the flood*

The third case to consider concerns the motif of dominion. In Gen 9, after Noah has exited the ark and offered sacrifices, God blesses Noah with words that recall God's commission to the first humans in Gen 1:26–28.

Gen 1:28–29	Gen 9:1–3
Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth.	Be fruitful and multiply, And fill the earth. <b>The fear and dread of you shall rest on</b> every animal of the earth, and on every bird of the air, on everything that creeps on the ground, and on all the fish of the sea; into your hand they are delivered. Every moving thing that lives shall be food for you;
See, I have given you every plant ...and every tree... You shall have them for food.	and just as I gave you the green plants, I give you everything. Only, you shall not eat flesh with its life...
(NRSV)	(NRSV)

But there are some significant differences: instead of dominion over the animals, it is said that the fear and dread of humans will rest on animals. We do not have to wait long for the reason: animals now are food for humans.

Ancient interpreters noticed these differences, and pondered what was meant by dominion and whether it was lost, and if and when it will be regained.<sup>11</sup> The two most notable sources are Philo and *Genesis Rabbah*, both of which show explicit concern for addressing these questions, and awareness of different answers.<sup>12</sup> But once again, *GenAp*

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 61–63. See also David K. Jobling, “‘And Have Dominion...’: The Interpretation of Old Testament Texts Concerning Man’s Rule Over the Creation (Genesis 1:26, 28, 9:1–2, Psalm 8:7–9) from 200 B.C. to the Time of the Council of Nicea” (Th.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1972), 164–99.

<sup>12</sup> Other sources addressing the matter include the targums, *Life of Adam and Eve*, 4 *Ezra*, *Sibylline Oracles*, 2 *Baruch*, and various midrashic and homiletical rabbinic texts.

alone—as far as I am aware—fundamentally transposes the sequence of the narrative so that part of this blessing is uttered to Noah on the ark.

After Noah has entered the ark (1QapGen 8:1), and probably before the start of the flood (1QapGen 9:10), God addresses Noah and reaffirms the blessing of dominion: “...to you I give the dominion...” (לך יהב אנה שלטנא, 1QapGen 9:3). The Targums use the same root (שלט) to refer to the dominion granted to Adam in Gen 1:28.

It is possible that the promise of dominion is also intimated in col. 7, before Noah even enters the ark. At the beginning of this column, when God informs Noah of his plan to destroy the world and to save him, it seems that there is an allusion to the blessing of Gen 9:1–2: “[you shall rule] over them, the earth and all that is upon it, the seas and the mountains...” (1QapGen 7:1).<sup>13</sup> It is also possible that the reward God promises to restore to Noah in 1QapGen 7:5 is likewise the restoration of dominion: “...glory, and my reward I am restoring to you.”<sup>14</sup>

There are two main interventions here. First, *GenAp* changes the wording of Gen 9:1–3 to make it recall more closely the promise of dominion to Adam in Gen 1:28. Second, by dislocation this promise is made to Noah *before the flood*. To my knowledge, both of these are without precedent in any version of Genesis or any other early Jewish or Christian traditions. Although the exact purpose of these interventions is not clear because of the fragmentary context, the general concern almost certainly has to do with motifs discussed by other ancient interpreters, especially Philo: dominion having to do with tameness of the beasts, and the problem of getting wild beasts onto the ark and controlling them. This would require a return to Edenic conditions of harmony between humans and animals. *GenAp*'s unique dislocation of the promise of dominion highlights Noah as a new Adam. Once again, there is no apparent difficulty or ambiguity in the sequence of Genesis at this point to be solved by the intervention of *GenAp*.

<sup>13</sup> Following the reading adopted by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (3d ed.; BibOr 18/B; Rome: Biblical Institute, 2004), 78, 150.

<sup>14</sup> Restoration by Morgenstern, Qimron, and Sivan, “Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon.”

### 5. *No permission to eat meat*

The fourth case concerns the eating of meat. In Gen 1:30, God allows only vegetables as food for all creatures. Gen 9:2–3 picks up the language of 1:30 to indicate that after the flood God allows the consumption of meat, with the restriction that the blood must not be eaten. *Jubilees* (6:10–14) greatly expands the prohibition of blood, making halakic concerns with the law of blood the dominant focus of the story about the covenant with Noah. It otherwise, however, follows Gen 9 in explicitly allowing the consumption of meat. By contrast, *GenAp* does not expand on the prohibition of blood in Gen 9, but rather reworks the account to make it correspond more closely with Gen 1:28–29, thus avoiding the concession to meat consumption in Gen 9.

Gen 1:28–29: “Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and rule over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth”. God said, “See, I have given you every herb yielding seed that is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree with seed in its fruit; you shall have them for food.” (NRSV adapted)

Gen 9:1–3: “Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth. Fear and dread of you will be upon every animal of the earth, and upon every bird of the sky, on every creeping thing on the ground, and on all the fish of the sea; into your hand they are delivered. Every creeping thing that is alive, for you it will be for food; like the green plants, I give you everything.” (NRSV adapted)

*Jub.* 6:5–6: “Now you increase and multiply yourselves on the earth and become numerous upon it. Become a blessing within it. I will put fear of you and dread of you on everything that is on the earth and in the sea. I have now given you all the animals, all the cattle, everything that flies, everything that moves about on the earth, the fish in the waters, and everything for food. Like the green herbs I have given you everything to eat.”<sup>15</sup>

1QapGen 11:16–17: [...be fr]uitful and multiply and fill the land and rule over them all: over its seas, its wildernesses, its mountains and all that is in them. Behold, I give to you and to your children everything for food among the greenery and the herbs of the land.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Translation from James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO 511; Scriptores Aethiopicci 88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

<sup>16</sup> Adopting some readings from Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 54.

The reworking in *GenAp* includes several deliberate modifications. Instead of “every moving thing that lives it shall be food for you just like the green herbs,” *GenAp* reads “everything for food among the greenery and the herbs.”<sup>17</sup> The language is that of Genesis, but by omitting mention of “every moving thing” it eliminates the permission to eat meat. Also, instead of the preposition כּ (“just as I gave you the green herbs”), *GenAp* reads the preposition כּ: “among the green herbs.” This limits the “everything for food” to vegetation, as in Gen 1:29. These changes are almost certainly related to the reworking mentioned above: by adding the phrase “and rule over them all,” it claims that the dominion was regained or renewed with Noah.

That is, the narrative according to *GenAp* asserts that with Noah there is a return to paradise conditions of Gen 1:28–30: harmonious relations between humans and animals, and vegetation only for food. There is no evidence that the *Genesis Apocryphon* depended here on a different Hebrew text, or followed another work such as *Jubilees*. I know of no parallels in Jewish interpretative texts to these remarkable features. How did the author feel the freedom to directly negate a divine statement in Genesis allowing the consumption of meat? It is possible to conjecture a way the author might have read the syntax of Gen 9:1–3 in line with his interpretation.

Instead of reading “every creeping thing that is alive” as the subject of “will be food for you” (as in all known versions of Gen 9, esp. MT, SP, LXX), one could read this as the object of the preceding phrase “into your hand I have given.” This could then be read as a paraphrase of the promise of dominion corresponding to Gen 1:28 rather than a statement about food. This leaves only plants mentioned in the sentence about food, and by reading the preposition כּ instead of כּ—a close graphic similarity—it is everything among the plants alone that is granted. (See table below, p. 202)

Whether or not such a reading was in the mind of the author—and this reconstruction is only to show that it is possible to read the text differently—I would doubt very much that this could have been the starting point. No other ancient interpreter gives any hint at the possibility of such a reading. Rather, I think the direction is from external

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<sup>17</sup> Machiela, *ibid.*, translates “everything for food; that of the vegetation and herbs of the land. But you shall not eat any blood.”

Gen 9:1–3 (MT)	Gen 9:1–3 as read by 1QapGen	
Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth.	Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth.	= Gen 1:28a
Fear and dread of you will be upon every animal of the earth, and upon every bird of the sky, on every creeping thing on the ground, and on all the fish of the sea; into your hand they are delivered.	[Fear and dread of you] will be upon every animal of the earth, and upon every bird of the sky, on every creeping thing on the ground, and on all the fish of the sea.	
	Into your hand I have delivered every creeping thing that is alive.	// Gen 1:28b: dominion
Every creeping thing that is alive for you it will be for food; like the green plants I give you everything.	For you will be for food among the greenery and herbs: I give you all (of them, i.e., plants).	// Gen 1:29: vegetation alone for food.

concerns to finding justification in the text, and then making that reading explicit by a reworking.

Again, we can only speculate at this point why the author would be inclined to write out of Gen 9 a permission to eat meat, but it is possible that the author sought to advocate vegetarianism. This would be an unusual position in ancient Judaism, but the practice is attested among Jews in situations where there are practical dangers of eating meat sacrificed to idols.<sup>18</sup>

## 6. Conclusion

We have considered four cases where *GenAp* boldly goes its own idiosyncratic way, divergent from all other known readings of Genesis in antiquity. At least in the latter two cases I am confident that we are

<sup>18</sup> Dan 1:12–13; 10:3; 2 Esd 9:24; 16:68; 4 Macc 5:2; Rom 14:21; 1 Cor 8:7–13; 10:25–29; Josephus, *Vit.* 14; cf. Tob 1:10–11; Jdt 10:5; 12:1–2; 1 Macc 1:62–63; 2 Macc 5:27; 6:8, 21; 4 Macc 5:8, 14, 26; 6:15; 10:1.

dealing with specific and distinctive concerns of the author, although I think this is probably the case with all four. It is beyond the scope of this paper to try to explain the motivations—I have offered a few speculative suggestions merely to point out the types of issues that could be going on, but we might never be able to determine what was in the author's mind. My purpose is to highlight the independence of the author, and to make sure that such phenomena are on the table as we wrestle with the nature of this fascinating work and its purpose and setting. I suggest that in all four cases, the starting point is external to the passage—either an interpretative matter in relation to the larger scriptural context or a tradition attested in other sources. The author's reading is inscribed into Genesis—a phenomenon of authorizing that Hindy Najman and others have explored at length.<sup>19</sup> What is particularly remarkable in these cases, however, is the freedom to read Genesis counter to its "plain meaning." In at least one instance, I have suggested that it is possible that the author could have been able to justify his reading in the text of Genesis, but whether the author could have justified them all escapes me.

Such features need much more study in order to work out the implications for the nature and status of Genesis assumed, the purpose and methods of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and possibly something of the social context.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> E.g., Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (JSJSup 77; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

<sup>20</sup> For a provocative attempt to explore social context of *GenAp* by means of the interpretative concerns, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs Who Worry About Their Wives. A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon," in *George W. E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An On-Going Dialogue of Learning* (ed. Jacob Neusner and Alan J. Avery-Peck; JSJSup 80; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 177–99. See also the cautions about such an enterprise in Eileen Schuller, "Response to 'Patriarchs Who Worry About Their Wives. A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon,'" in *ibid.*, 200–12.





# GENESIS REVEALED: THE APOCALYPTIC APOCRYPHON FROM QUMRAN CAVE 1

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## 1. *Introduction*

The *Genesis Apocryphon* (sometimes referred to by the abbreviations 1QapGen, 1QapGen ar, 1QGenAp, or 1Q20)<sup>1</sup> is the longest surviving Aramaic text from the so-called Middle Aramaic period,<sup>2</sup> flanked by the book of Daniel on one side and the Palestinian Targumim on the other.<sup>3</sup> This astonishingly creative but frustratingly fragmentary rewriting of Genesis was found alongside six relatively well-preserved Hebrew scrolls, each of which was either a copy of a biblical book, or a so-called “sectarian” work presumably composed by the community at Qumran or its forebears. The *Apocryphon* does not appear to fit either of these categories. In language, genre, and community of origin the *Genesis Apocryphon* seems an outlier in the Qumran Cave 1 corpus, making the study of this scroll all the more fascinating.

The *Genesis Apocryphon* has rarely been said to exhibit “apocalyptic” traits, express an apocalyptic worldview, or constitute an apocalypse. A recent encyclopedia of religion is an exception to this trend, listing the scroll alongside Daniel, *Jubilees*, *4 Ezra*, and the Syriac and Greek *Apocalypses of Baruch* as “Jewish works that are considered

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<sup>1</sup> When citing individual passages in this paper I will employ the simpler abbreviation *GenAp*.

<sup>2</sup> The term Middle Aramaic and its situation in the spectrum of Aramaic development are outlined by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “The Phases of the Aramaic Language,” in *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (SBLMS 25; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979; repr. in *The Semitic Background of the New Testament*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1997), 57–84.

<sup>3</sup> These two poles for some time comprised the main comparative linguistic evidence available for dating and evaluating the language of the *Genesis Apocryphon*. This situation has been greatly enhanced over recent decades, with the publication of the extensive but fragmentary group of Aramaic literary texts and legal documents from the Judean desert.

apocalyptic.”<sup>4</sup> Yet, by those working closely with early Jewish apocalyptic texts (e.g. Collins, García Martínez, Hellholm, Koch, Nickelsburg, Sacchi, and Stone) the *Genesis Apocryphon* is almost never referenced.<sup>5</sup> In the uncommon event that it is cited, it is as a derivative tradition dependant upon *1 Enoch*, or is given in support of some small detail in another text.<sup>6</sup>

The thesis of this paper is that the *Genesis Apocryphon* is an apocalyptic text—indeed, among the most apocalyptic discovered in the Judean Desert. Not only is it infused with a worldview that is both apocalyptic and eschatological (both problematic terms to be sure), but it even includes two distinct “apocalypses” attributed to Noah. Furthermore, many of the apocalyptic elements in the scroll are unique among early Jewish exegetical texts. Consequently, I shall argue that the scroll deserves a prominent place in discussions about apocalypses and texts exhibiting apocalyptic traits. I should hasten to add that the non-inclusion of the *Apocryphon* in such discussions to date has been due more to the fragmentary and stubborn remains of the scroll than the fault of the scholars studying the issue. Until the mid 1990s much of the scroll remained unpublished, and even the more recent publications are preliminary by their own admission. Many of the observations here depend on my own study of the available sets of photographs, and include a number of new readings that I hope will contribute to ongoing research on the scroll.

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<sup>4</sup> Anthony J. Blasi, “Apocalyptic,” in *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Society* (ed. William H. Swatos, Jr.; Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira, 1998), 28. For a helpful untangling of the genre and its related terms see George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic Texts,” in *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:29–35. Surprisingly, Nickelsburg does not cite the *Genesis Apocryphon* during his discussion of apocalyptic texts at Qumran despite its affinity in many respects to his main examples of the genre, *1 Enoch* and Daniel.

<sup>5</sup> For a representative sample see the essays of Michael E. Stone in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (CRINT 2.2; ed. Michael E. Stone; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 383–441; John J. Collins in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. Robert A. Kraft and George W. E. Nickelsburg; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1986), 345–70; John J. Collins in *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 145–76; Florentino García Martínez in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism, Volume 1: The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. John J. Collins; London: Continuum, 2002), 162–92; Beate Ego in *DNP* 1:851–52; and Hans-Peter Rügner in *TRE* 3 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978), 289–316.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Paolo Sacchi, *L'Apocalittica Giudaica e la sua Storia* (Biblioteca di cultura religiosa 55; Brescia: Paideia, 1990), 275, n. 8.

The *modus operandi* of this paper is simply to examine what I consider to be the apocalyptic portions of the *Apocryphon*, particularly as they relate to the Enochic corpus, which may once have included the *Book of Giants*;<sup>7</sup> a relationship noted even before the publication of the *editio princeps* of Avigad and Yadin by C. C. Torrey and W. F. Albright.<sup>8</sup> Along the way some of the notable features of these passages will be pointed out. As a result we may better appreciate the apocalyptic character of the scroll and discern some of its unique material and interests.

I do not wish to rehearse the complex, longstanding debate over the genre “apocalypse,” or its derived adjective “apocalyptic” and noun “apocalypticism.” Suffice to say that the now standard and complementary views of John Collins and George Nickelsburg undergird my understanding of the terms, tempered by the cautions of Tigchelaar and Sacchi.<sup>9</sup> In reference to the *Genesis Apocryphon* I generally consider “apocalyptic” those portions of the scroll dealing with the revelatory exchange of information—what is sometimes called “revealed wisdom”<sup>10</sup>—between the heavenly and earthly realms (that is, Collins’s spatial axis).

## 2. *Enoch the Revealer*

### 2.1. *The Petition of the Watchers and the Lord’s Response:* GenAp 0–1

There are two fundamental observations to be made concerning col. 0, both having already been noted by Moshe Bernstein.<sup>11</sup> The first is that

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<sup>7</sup> For a review of this issue see George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 8, 10–11. Also Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 3, 24–28. The idea was first proposed by Józef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 4, 76–79, *et passim*.

<sup>8</sup> John C. Trever, “Identification of the Aramaic Fourth Scroll from ‘Ain Feshkha,” *BASOR* 115 (1949): 8–10.

<sup>9</sup> Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “More on Apocalyptic and Apocalypses,” *JSJ* 18 (1987): 137–44; Sacchi, *L’Apocalittica*, 9–26.

<sup>10</sup> As employed by Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 50–51.

<sup>11</sup> Moshe J. Bernstein, “From the Watchers to the Flood: Story and Exegesis in the Early Columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, Devorah Dimant, and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 39–64, at 44–45.

narration of this section is in the first person plural. From phrases like “We have undertaken an adulterous act” (0:2; נקבל גִּיּוֹר), “And now we are prisoners!” (0:8; וּבְעֵן הָא אַנְחֹנָא אַסִּירִין;), and “our imprisonment” (0:13; אַסְרֵנָא;) it is clear that the narrators are the fallen Watchers<sup>12</sup>—the antagonistic group from which we hear so little in the first person in Enochic literature.<sup>13</sup> Second, the Watchers are addressing the Great Holy One, the Lord. This is apparent from the statements “you will intensify your anger and will be unrelenting” (0:5; רַגְזָךְ תִּתְקַף; וּזְהַתְקִיאָם), “the heat of your anger” (0:6; חֶמֶת רַגְזְךָ;), and “Now your hand has come near to strike” (0:12; וּבְעֵן קִרְיָבָהּ יָדְךָ לַמַּמְחָה;). From these phrases it is obvious that a main topic is the Lord’s judgment of the penitent Watchers, but it also appears that 0:15 alludes to the destruction of the Watchers’ offspring, the giants, through warfare. We have, then, the better part of one column (at least) dedicated to the Watchers addressing the Lord.

Like so many other aspects of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, this petition is unique in early Jewish literature. The general setting of the address, however, is probably to be found in *1 En.* 13:4–7. Here the Watchers approach Enoch and ask that he write them a petition acknowledging and begging forgiveness for their grave transgressions, and then read it before the Lord of heaven. This Enoch does, but with quite the opposite result than the Watchers had hoped for. Although the reader of *1 En.* 13 might expect to receive a glimpse of what the petition contained, she or he is made privy only to the most general description of its contents: that it addressed the Watchers’ individual misdeeds and asked forgiveness and longevity for their sons, the giants—the petition itself is not provided. It is apparently this omitted petition that is recorded by the *Apocryphon*, either preserving a part of the Enochic tradition that has not survived in *1 Enoch*, or filling in what was perceived as a gap in the story by the scroll’s author.

This proposed setting of *1 En.* 13 raises the question of who is in fact speaking in *GenAp* col. 0. If we indeed have here the absent petition, it must be either that the Watchers are relating their plea to Enoch, or

<sup>12</sup> All readings used in this essay are my own, for which now see Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009). Of course, I am deeply indebted to those who worked on the textual aspects of the scroll prior to me, especially Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin, Joseph Fitzmyer, Jonas Greenfield and Matthew Morgenstern, Elisha Qimron, and Klaus Beyer.

<sup>13</sup> See the few brief statements made by them in *1 En.* 6:1–4.

that Enoch is reading it before the Lord of Heaven.<sup>14</sup> The possibility that Enoch is speaking to the Lord on the Watchers' behalf is strengthened by two factors. First, it appears that the Watchers are already imprisoned by this point in the story,<sup>15</sup> and therefore would be unable to go before the Lord with their request. This in itself is noteworthy, for *1 En.* 13 portrays the Watchers as still unbound at Abel-Main, albeit crippled by shame and fear. Perhaps this is a response to the fact that the *Book of Watchers* never explicitly declares that the Watchers have been imprisoned, as we find in the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En.* 88). Or maybe it is the byproduct of the *Apocryphon's* incorporation of the petition into the narrative of Genesis, from which it is relatively free in *1 Enoch*. Second, what appears to be a brief, two-line summary of the petition occurs at 0:17–18 (it is delimited by two *vacats*). Very little is preserved of these lines, but the final three words read clearly “before the Lord of Eternity” (קודם מרה עלמא). This mirrors the language of the Watchers' plea for Enoch to read their petition “before the Lord of Heaven” (ἐνώπιον κυρίου τοῦ ουρανοῦ) in *1 En.* 13:4.

Although *GenAp* col. 1 is very fragmentary, it seems very likely to contain the Lord's response to the petition. Again, it is now impossible to tell whether here the Lord (or his messenger) is responding directly to Enoch, or Enoch is relating the indictment to the Watchers; the latter option is once more recommended by the fact that the Watchers appear to be bound. That the section is cast in the Lord's voice is suggested both by the general content, which speaks of the “mystery of evil” (1:2; רז רשעא) and “medicines, acts of sorcery, and divi[nations]” (1:9; [שמין כשפין וחור] שין),<sup>16</sup> by the phrase “all your sons” (1:8; כול בניכון), which is presumably addressed to the Watchers concerning the giants,<sup>17</sup> and especially by the first person verb “I will seek to” (אבעי ל) in 1:10. In the text following the *vacat* of 1:20, which includes the so-called Trever Fragment, the narrative may again shift away from speech by the Lord. Judging by the phrase “and by messengers he sent

<sup>14</sup> A third possibility is that the Watchers are addressing the Lord directly, but this would not cohere with the narrative setting of *1 En.* 13 and therefore seems to me less likely.

<sup>15</sup> Although the text is not complete, this seems the implication of the statement in *GenAp* 0:13, “because he ceased his words at the [time] of our imprisonment” (בעד מלזיה סאף ב[עדנ] א אסרנא), in addition to the earlier “And now we are prisoners!” (ובכע הא אנהנא אסירין) of 0:8.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *1 En.* 7:1; and 8:3.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *1 En.* 10:9–10, 15; 12:6; and especially 14:6.

to you” (0:2; *ובמשלחן לכון שלח הוא*), with “to you” in the plural, this appears to be a concluding summary of God’s edict spoken by Enoch to the Watchers. Perhaps this recalls the roles of Raphael, Gabriel, and Michael in *1 En.* 10:4–11:2, or Enoch’s own role in *1 En.* 12–13.

Scrutiny of these columns reveals that they contain(ed) an extensive elaboration on the *Book of Watchers*, focusing especially on the interaction between the Watchers and the Lord. Here the familiar Enochic themes of the Watchers descending from heaven and sinning with women, being bound, and their illicit revelation of the divinatory arts seem to figure prominently.

## 2.2. *The Birth of Noah and Enoch’s Proclamation: GenAp 2–5:27*

The connection to *1 Enoch* grows even stronger in *GenAp* 2–5, where the striking parallel with *1 En.* 106–107 has often been cited. Since this parallel has been competently treated numerous times,<sup>18</sup> I will merely note some of the important aspects for our present purposes.

These columns may be divided into two parts: (1) Noah’s birth and Lamech’s related anxiety; and (2) the resolution of this anxiety by Enoch’s prophetic proclamation concerning the infant. We are missing the initial description of Noah (which once stood at the very end of col. 1), but Enoch later recounts the child’s radiant eyes and luminescence (*GenAp* 5:12–13)—a trait also found in *1 En.* 106 and another Cave 1 text, 1Q19, and echoed in later Jewish descriptions of Cain, Abraham, and Moses.<sup>19</sup> The scroll almost certainly once included the additional characteristics of red and white skin, wool-like hair, and the ability to leap up and speak upon emerging from the womb. The

<sup>18</sup> See, e.g., Bernstein, “From the Watchers to the Flood”; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 541–43; and George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Patriarchs who Worry About Their Wives. A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon,” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 137–58. More recently, the issue has been treated in a trio of papers by Esther Eshel, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, and Matthias Weigold at a conference titled *Les textes araméens de Qumrân/The Aramaic Texts from Qumran*, Aix-en-Provence, June 30–July 2, 2008 (Proceedings to be published by Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stoekl Ben Ezra).

<sup>19</sup> For Cain see the *Life of Adam and Eve* 21:3 (ed. Gary A. Anderson and Michael E. Stone; also found in *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer*). For Abraham see A. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* (2d. ed.; Jerusalem: Bamberger & Wahrman, 1938), 1:25–34. For Moses see *b. Soṭah* 12–13, and Avigdor Shinan, “The Birth of Moses in View of Talmudic Sources,” *Rimonim* 5 (1997): 4–7 [Hebrew]. These parallels were kindly brought to my attention by Aryeh Amihay.

central dilemma in the first part of the story is Lamech's fear that his wife Batenosh has been unfaithful, and that Noah has, in fact, been fathered by an errant angelic being. Despite Batenosh's impassioned denials and reminders, Lamech seeks absolute assurance from a most trustworthy source, his well-connected grandfather Enoch, who occupies a privileged position somewhere between the earthly and heavenly realms at the "end of the earth" (*GenAp* 2:23, *1 En.* 106:8).<sup>20</sup> Aside from its greater length and detail, a notable aspect of the *Genesis Apocryphon's* version of this part of the story is that it is told from Lamech's perspective, rather than that of Enoch.

In the second part we find Enoch's response to his son Methuselah, who serves as an intermediary between Enoch and Lamech.<sup>21</sup> Both versions of the story may be properly termed "apocalyptic," or revelatory, since each alerts the reader that mysteries (אֲרִיזוֹת), having to do with hidden past and future events, are being revealed. The contents of the proclamation in the *Apocryphon* and *1 Enoch* appear to be quite similar (including some nearly identical phrases),<sup>22</sup> but the former account is clearly much longer.<sup>23</sup> The basic outline of Enoch's response in both texts appears to be: (1) a historical review of the sin of the Watchers during Enoch's time on earth; (2) notification of Noah's special role as survivor of the Flood, accompanied by assurances that he is indeed Lamech's son; and (3) an added warning that the cycle of great iniquity and subsequent salvation will repeat itself following the restoration during Noah's days. While the first two elements seem clear enough in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the third is less certain. Statements by Enoch of evildoing in the third person plural in *GenAp* 4:1–3 and 5:16–19 could refer either to the wickedness preceding the Flood or to later, post-Noachic times of wickedness, since both are in the future from the narrator's perspective. The second reference, however, falls near the end of Enoch's speech and more plausibly concerns the

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *1 En.* 33.

<sup>21</sup> Here the perspective is largely the same in both texts, since Enoch is the speaker. In the *Apocryphon* there may be more frequent switches between narration by Lamech, Methuselah, Enoch, and perhaps an anonymous narrator (or the Lord); cf. *GenAp* 3:26–27; 4:11 (cf. Bernstein, "From the Watchers to the Flood"); and 5:23–27. Unfortunately, the lack of context leaves us uncertain.

<sup>22</sup> E.g., the phrase "in the days of Jared my father" in *GenAp* 5:3 and "in the generation of Jared my father" in *1 En.* 106:13 (cf. *1 En.* 6:6). Also note the heavy repetition in both texts of "upon the earth."

<sup>23</sup> See the handy graphic comparison of Nickelsburg in "Patriarchs Who Worry," 178–80.



distant future than the imminent Flood. Regrettably, the lack of context precludes certainty on this issue.

Although the added length of the *Apocryphon* appears partly due to the simple repetition of themes from elsewhere in the story, it also contains several elements that distinguish it from the parallel in *1 Enoch*. Most prominently, there is far more emphasis placed on the figure of Noah, his legitimacy as a non-angelic being, and his special task in the salvation of humankind from the coming judgment. Whereas Noah's role is mostly passive in *1 Enoch* (i.e., he is saved), in the *Genesis Apocryphon* he has a more active role. First, he is said to be "the one who will divide the entire earth" (*GenAp* 3:17)—a statement which reverberates throughout the scroll, and constitutes one of its most sustained themes, from the fulfillment of the prophecy with Noah's oversight of the earth's apportionment (*GenAp* 16–17) to the divine reassurance that Arpachshad's geographic share will go to Abram (*GenAp* 21:8–22).<sup>24</sup> Second, Noah is portrayed as one who will be entrusted with the role of a judge (*GenAp* 5:11). Furthermore, Enoch barrages Methuselah with assurances that Noah was truly the son of Lamech and not an angel, mentioning it at least three times in the fragmentary textual remains. This much elevated portrayal of Noah sets the *Apocryphon* apart from the less fulsome description in *1 Enoch*.

A related issue, which I will touch on only briefly, is the nature of the relationship between the two accounts. Although opinion began in favor of the *Genesis Apocryphon's* priority, the consensus has now shifted to the view that *1 Enoch* must be earlier.<sup>25</sup> This is based partly on what I consider to be a questionable dating of the *Apocryphon's* composition to the first century B.C.E. In my opinion, there are three factors arguing that the *Apocryphon* is the more original form of the story, whether it is directly related to the account in *1 Enoch* or merely shares a common source: (1) in the *Genesis Apocryphon* the episode is a coherent part of a broader narrative, exhibiting literary links as far away as the Abram columns much later in the scroll.<sup>26</sup> In *1 Enoch*, however, the story is clearly a floating composition, attached only in the loosest sense to its surrounding context, and seemingly added as

<sup>24</sup> On this point see my *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*, 90–94.

<sup>25</sup> For bibliography and further discussion see Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*, 8–13.

<sup>26</sup> See the following discussion.

an afterthought; (2) The *Genesis Apocryphon* frames the story as a tale told by Lamech, while in *1 Enoch* it is Enoch who is the narrator. Although Nickelsburg argued that this supports the priority of *1 Enoch*, it is clear that elsewhere (e.g. *1 En.* 60:23; 65–67) a pro-Enoch redactor has subsumed earlier Noah traditions under an Enochic structure in order to sustain the literary unity of the book and grant authority to Enoch. It seems very likely to me that the same thing has happened with this story—that is, it has been altered to fit its Enochic setting; (3) Finally, it is clear from the beginning of both versions that Noah, with his astounding appearance, is the story’s central character. The *Apocryphon*’s extensive treatment of his historical situation, legitimacy, and divinely appointed roles is more in keeping with the tale’s Noachic focus than the brief description of him in *1 Enoch*. Consider that the latter text spends five verses recounting young Noah’s stunning appearance, but only four explaining what this means. Again, one suspects the downplaying of an originally prominent emphasis on Noah, as found in the *Genesis Apocryphon*.

In the two episodes just discussed Enoch is presented by the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* much as in *1 Enoch*. He occupies a unique position between the earthly and heavenly realms, both physically and figuratively, especially regarding what may be termed revealed wisdom, or the divine mysteries. He may or may not be on the same level as the Lord’s heavenly entourage, but Enoch is certainly peerless compared to other human beings. When asked about Noah’s legitimacy he need not receive a vision or an angelic explanation, he simply knows the child’s future because he is fully acquainted with the divine plan. As in *1 Enoch*, the Enoch of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is the veritable embodiment of divine revelation—an enfleshed apocalypse.

### 3. *Noah the Seer*

#### 3.1. *Noah’s First Vision(s)*: GenAp 6:11–7:6

Beginning in col. 6, after he has “become a man” (*GenAp* 6:6), Noah begins to experience visions and visitations from the Lord. The first of these begins in *GenAp* 6:11, where Noah is informed of the conduct of the heavenly beings; presumably the errant Watchers. This is clearly privileged information, since he hides it away in his heart and tells no one. It is unclear whether these two lines serve merely as an introduction for the visionary account which follows, or represent a brief, separate

vision. However, the fact that the ensuing lines speak of similar matters argues that it is a *précis*, and not a distinct vision of its own. In either case, what follows line 12 is related to Noah by an angelic messenger, who appears to first inform the patriarch about matters that have already occurred (a historical review),<sup>27</sup> including the conduct of humanity, the bloodshed carried out by the giants, the sin of the holy ones with women, and the illicit role of magic (קסמא). The fortunate preservation of the words “two weeks” (שבועין תריין) indicates that these events were periodized according to a “weeks” scheme, as we also find in *Jubilees*. *Genesis Apocryphon* 6:23 emphasizes that in the midst of such wickedness Noah has found favor in the Lord’s eyes. The vision also includes a list of earthly creatures (6:26), probably those doomed to perish in the Flood, and a declaration of Noah’s authority over the various geographic regions of the earth (7:1). It is relatively plain that this vision concerns the events that precipitate and directly follow the Flood, again emphasizing Noah’s God-given role.

With this vision the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* may again be expanding on a segment from the *Book of Watchers*, this time building on the Most High’s command to Sariel in *1 En.* 10:2–3:

Go to Noah and say to him that the end is coming, that the whole earth will perish; and tell him that the deluge is about to come on the whole earth to destroy everything on the earth. Teach the righteous one what he should do, the son of Lamech how he may preserve himself alive and escape forever. From him a plant will be planted, and his seed will endure for all the generations of eternity.

The subject matter of the *Apocryphon*’s revelation fits this command uncannily well, depicting an angelic being who instructs Noah about why the earth must be destroyed and outlines the patriarch’s own role in the salvation of humanity.

A *vacat* at 7:6 appears to mark the end of this vision, but the vocabulary of the rest of cols. 7–8 suggests that in these columns Noah received other dream-visions and prepared for the coming Flood. Most interesting is the occurrence of the word “week” four times in just nine preserved words of the extremely damaged lines of *GenAp* 8:15–19. Here we get a hint that the schematization of history by weeks must

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<sup>27</sup> Historical reviews are a common element in apocalypses. See G. I. Davies, “Apocalyptic and Historiography,” *JOT* 5 (1978): 15–28; and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 32–33.

have been prominent in this part of the scroll, with these references to weeks appearing to fall within a description of the Flood (cf. *GenAp* 8:9).

### 3.2. *Noah's Second Vision(s): GenAp 11:15–12:6*

A second divine visitation occurs in cols. 11–12. This segment of the scroll is badly damaged, but a few observations may be made. First, in contrast to the other dream-visions given to Noah, this one is modeled quite closely on Gen 9:1–17. The extant parts of the vision include the biblical command to be fruitful and multiply (Gen 9:1), the ordinances concerning food and blood (Gen 9:2–6), and the promise of the bow in the clouds (Gen 9:12–16). The *Apocryphon's* author deftly adds some of his own touches as well, such as yet another mention of Noah's authority over the earth (*GenAp* 11:16), and perhaps a preservation of the antediluvian injunction against eating meat (*GenAp* 11:17).<sup>28</sup> Another difference seems to be the mode and agency of this appearance. We have no explicit indication that the vision comes as a dream in the night, or that it is related by an intermediating angelic messenger—two elements present in Noah's other visions. It is interesting that in the one vision exhibiting a close correlation to the Genesis narrative two key elements found in the other, less scripturally-bounded visions are absent.

### 3.3. *Noah's Third Vision: GenAp 12:26(?)–15*

Noah's final and most enigmatic dream directly precedes and is related to his division of the earth. Like the first vision it deals with historical events, here symbolized by a succession of trees reminiscent of Dan 4. Like Dan 7 and 8, the basic layout of the dream is a symbolic vision followed by an angelic interpretation. The early part of the dream, which appears to include a historical review of the Flood and the destruction of a great olive tree, is difficult to decipher with certainty (the explanation no longer exists). The latter portion, however, may be decoded with the help of thematic parallels from the *Book of*

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<sup>28</sup> The point has been emphasized by Daniel Falk who has noted its subtle departure from the Genesis account. See his *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures Among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (CQS 8; LSTS 63; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 59–64.

*Giants and Jubilees*.<sup>29</sup> Here Noah is portrayed as a great cedar tree and his three sons as shoots springing from it. Future events are explained through various interactions between the shoots and further offshoots of the cedar, which appear to include the travel of Shem, Ham, and Japheth's sons to their various geographic allotments (cf. cols. 16–17) and Canaan's unwise decision to occupy the land originally allotted to Arpachshad—the biblical Land of Canaan. At some point after these events Noah is told of a cataclysmic, final judgment during which the Lord is depicted as a warrior coming from the south, with fire at his side and sickle in hand.<sup>30</sup>

This apocalypse is unique and exceedingly creative. It begins shortly after Noah drinks of his wine and lay down on his bed, suggesting that the author anchored the dream in Noah's drunken slumber inside his tent (cf. Gen 9:20–24), and more concretely in the difficult word לַחֲמֵי־יָיִן in Gen 9:21. All of this puts a decidedly positive spin on an incident that has often been taken as negative by readers of Genesis throughout history. Once again, Noah is portrayed as paradigmatically righteous.

In the visions just surveyed Noah is portrayed as a seer *par excellence* of the divine mysteries. Through his visions, the first and third of which may properly be termed apocalypses by the definitions of both Collins and Nickelsburg, Noah is the recipient of the type of revealed wisdom accessed directly by Enoch in the earlier columns of the scroll. Unlike Enoch, however, Noah is one step removed from the mysteries, and must have them explained to him by the messenger of the Great Holy One.<sup>31</sup> Nonetheless, Noah clearly occupies a highly privileged position among humanity and with the Lord, having special access to the Lord's hidden plan. Revelation of the mysteries is divided between what has happened in the past (historical review) and what will occur in the future (historical preview) according to the divine plan for history. It should be stressed that this image of Noah is unique in Jewish literature, though a similar portrayal underlies some Noah traditions that have now been incorporated into *1 Enoch*.

<sup>29</sup> See Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*, 94–104.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Deut 33:1–3; Judg 5:4–5; Isa 42:13–25, 63:1–6; Joel 4:11–16; Zech 9:13–17; Pss 18:5–6; 50:1–6, 68; *1 En.* 1:3–9; Matt 13:30, 39; Mark 4:26–29; and Rev 14:14–20.

<sup>31</sup> Of course, this may be merely accidental, since we are missing the first columns of the scroll, which must have dealt with Enoch more fully, and since Enoch is the recipient of both angelically mediated and symbolic visions in *1 Enoch*.

4. *Abram the Transmitter*4.1. *The Lord's Appearances to Abram: GenAp 19:8, 14–17; 21:8–14; and 22:27–34*

God communicates with Abram four times in cols. 19–22. The first (*GenAp* 19:8) is a brief, direct notification by God that Abram had not yet reached the “Holy Mountain”—a proclamation not found in Gen 12.<sup>32</sup> The second (*GenAp* 19:14–17) is the well-known symbolic tree dream, by which Abram discovers that Sarai should act as his sister while in Egypt, which is also not found in Genesis. Unlike Noah’s tree dream, Abram does not need an interpreter, but rather discerns the dream’s meaning on his own. The third occurrence (which is split into two parts; *GenAp* 21:8–10 and 12–14) is another direct notification by God that Abram and his descendents will receive all the land visible from Ramat-Hazor, and that Abram is to go and survey it. Unlike the previous two episodes, this is a relatively close rendering of Gen 13:14–17, with the addition of some geographic details and the setting of a nocturnal vision. The final visitation (*GenAp* 22:27–34) is a slightly expanded account of the exchange between God and Abram in Gen 15:1–4, in which God promises Abram an offspring as his heir. In both Genesis and the *Genesis Apocryphon* the encounter is called a vision (מחזה/חזוֹן).

There are two striking aspects of the divine communication in these columns compared to the Enoch, Lamech, and Noah sections. First, the *agency* of communication is different. There is no angelic mediation between God and Abram, as we find with Noah, and Abram does not have unmediated access to the heavenly mysteries, as Enoch did. Notably, however, the mode of a nighttime dream, or vision, continues to be used. Second, the *content* of the revelation has a different character. Instead of dealing with the Lord’s stunning, metahistorical plans for humanity, as we find in earlier encounters, Abram receives knowledge about more immediately pressing and seemingly mundane matters. Instead of hearing about God’s plan for the sweep of human history, Abram is informed about his land inheritance, how he should

<sup>32</sup> The Holy Mountain (טוֹרָא קַדִּישָׁא) probably refers to the mountain east of Bethel (see Gen 12:8 and *Jub.* 13:5–7, 15). Cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (3d ed.; BibOr 18/B; Rome: Biblical Institute, 2004), 180.

proceed while in Egypt, and the future status of a direct descendent. Perhaps we should not make too much of this difference, since it may simply be a byproduct of this section following Genesis much more closely than the earlier parts of the scroll.

#### 4.2. *Abram in Pharaoh's Court: GenAp 19:24–31 and 20:21–32*

Columns 19–20 include two captivating episodes in which Abram is portrayed as a teacher of the Enochic tradition and a healer. In the first (*GenAp* 19:24–31), Abram is approached by three of Pharaoh Zoan's courtiers, apparently because word of his teaching and wisdom had spread to Pharaoh's household. The purpose of the visit is to ask Abram for instruction in scribal knowledge, wisdom, and truth, and the patriarch does not disappoint. His response is to read in their presence the book of the words of Enoch. This alone was apparently not enough, for in the following line (19:26) the reader is notified that the Egyptians would not leave until Abram clearly expounded something for them—presumably the aforementioned Enochic teaching. The incident ends with a ceremonial meal, as we find with the three Amorite brothers in *GenAp* 21:21–22. Here Abram is portrayed as a transmitter of the teaching of his ancestors, written down in a book. Unlike Enoch and Noah, it does not appear that Abram is the recipient of new mysteries by way of angelic messengers or symbolic visions, but had access to such sacred information in written form. It was now his job to preserve the wisdom vouchsafed to his fathers, and to reveal it to those who were worthy. That the Egyptians are worthy is somewhat surprising, and was seemingly an attempt to provide a Semitic etiology for any true wisdom possessed by the Egyptians before or during the author's time. In this way, all Egyptian wisdom is in fact attributable to Abram and his ancestors.<sup>33</sup> It is worth noting that the word קוֹשְׁטָא, "truth" or "uprightness," so often associated with Enoch, and especially Noah, in the scroll's earlier columns, is found only here in the Abram columns. It seems that this word was closely associated with the mysteries revealed to Enoch and Noah. Furthermore, the explicit use of the word "wisdom" (חכמתא) to refer to Enochic teaching is yet another example of the "conflicted boundaries"—or

<sup>33</sup> As noted by Wacholder, a similar tradition is preserved by Eusebius (*Praep. evang.* 9.17.6–8). See Ben Zion Wacholder, "How Long did Abram Stay in Egypt?" *HUCA* 35 (1964): 43–56.

perhaps lack of boundaries—between wisdom and apocalypticism in Jewish literature.<sup>34</sup>

The second episode concerns Abram's healing of Pharaoh and his household after he had been plagued for two years by an evil spirit for keeping Sarai as his wife. Abram is said to lay his hands on Pharaoh's head and utter a prayer, at which the spirit is rebuked. There is nothing here explicitly invoking knowledge from Enoch, Noah, or a book written by them, but there is some reason to believe that Abram's act may also represent part of the wisdom handed down to him. As Stone has noted a number of times<sup>35</sup> there is a tradition, already present in *Jub* 10 and redeployed as late as *Sefer Asaf ha-Rofe* and *Sefer ha-Razim*,<sup>36</sup> that identified Noah with special medical and apotropaic knowledge written in a book and transferred first to Shem, and then to Abram. It is also worth noting that healing through the cutting of roots, loosing of spells, and power over spirits is part of the illicit, heavenly knowledge revealed to humankind by the Watchers.<sup>37</sup> Accordingly, it is possible that Abram's healing power is another sign of his familiarity with divinely revealed wisdom.

Abram's relationship to God in the *Genesis Apocryphon* has a different feel than that of Enoch or Noah. This may be due in part to different sources underlying the various "books" that make up the scroll.<sup>38</sup> Whatever the case, the depiction of Abram bears a closer resemblance to the Genesis narrative, where the Lord typically appears to the patriarch directly. In general, the revelations given to Abram are less grandiose than those of Enoch or Noah, dealing with more pressing exigencies like safety in Egypt, the reacquisition of ancestral land,

<sup>34</sup> See, e.g., Benjamin G. Wright III and Lawrence M. Wills, eds., *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005).

<sup>35</sup> See Michael E. Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Esther G. Chazon and Michael E. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 133–49; and idem, "The Book(s) Attributed to Noah," *DSD* 13 (2006): 4–23.

<sup>36</sup> The former dates to around the 7th c. C.E. The latter to the late 3d or early 4th c. C.E.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *1 En.* 7:1, 8:3, and 69:12.

<sup>38</sup> The notion that the *Apocryphon* was made up of different books, which may reflect different underlying sources, was posited as early as 1956 by Nahman Avi-gad and Yigael Yadin (*A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1956], 38–39), and has since been strengthened by the heading in *GenAp* 5:29, "A [c]o[p]y of the book of the words of Noah." More recently, Moshe Bernstein has bolstered the claim for at least two sources with his study "Divine Titles and Epithets and the Sources of the Genesis Apocryphon," *JBL* 128 (2009): 291–310.



or a household heir. Most striking, however, is the fact that Abram occupies a role as transmitter of the divine wisdom inherited from his ancestors—he is a link in the chain of tradents handing down the antediluvian knowledge to Israel. He is aware of the mysteries, written in a book and referred to as the words of Enoch, and even teaches part of this body of wisdom to the Egyptian courtiers. If we count the geographic sketch of the earth's proper division among the body of revealed wisdom, which I believe we should, then Abram must also be aware of it, since he notifies Sarai that they leaving their land and entering the land of the sons of Ham in *GenAp* 19:13.

### 5. Conclusions

The *Genesis Apocryphon* clearly contains an apocalyptic worldview, and even distinct apocalypses. In fact, it might be classified as a textbook example of George Nickelsburg's definition of "apocalyptic texts."<sup>39</sup> Its author (or that of its source[s]) was vitally interested in the divine mysteries, which seem to consist largely of God's concealed plan for human history, the clash between good and evil, and perhaps some realms of hidden knowledge, such as calendrical information, magic, and healing. This revealed wisdom was granted only to select, righteous individuals, who gained access to it either directly (Enoch), through angelically mediated dream-visions (Noah), or by way of a book (Abram). Looming behind the scroll's presentation of the mysteries is an understanding of history which culminates in a calamitous judgment of the wicked. Like *1 Enoch*, the third *Sybilline Oracle*, the *Life of Adam and Eve*, and other early Jewish texts, our author almost certainly believed this judgment to be prefigured by the Flood, and consequently betrays an intense—even obsessive—interest in the events precipitating the deluge, and in its protagonist, Noah. It is easy to imagine that, like the Phrygian sybil, the author of the *Apocryphon* identified closely with the plight and pivotal historical situation of this patriarch, who fills the messiah-like roles of savior, judge, priest and ruler in the scroll.<sup>40</sup> Unlike *1 Enoch*, there is no effort to subsume Noah under the character of Enoch; he is left to stand on his own, as

<sup>39</sup> Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic Texts."

<sup>40</sup> All of this gives the patriarch an impressive *gravitas* in the scroll, which in the end seems aimed (at least in part) at legitimizing his division of the earth, the central

a figure of eminent righteousness and heavenly insight. Still, the basic outlook of the *Apocryphon* bears a closer resemblance to *1 Enoch* than to *Jubilees*—the two texts with which the scroll is so often compared. We might say that it takes the worldview of *1 Enoch* and integrates it into a *Jubilees*-like retelling of Genesis.

It is not certain at present what to make of the different ways in which Enoch, Noah, and Abram access divinely revealed wisdom. Did the type of access depend on the righteousness of the individual or on his historical situation, in which case the author intended there to be some significance in the disparity? Or are the differences simply a product of diverse literary sources—a theory for which there is mounting evidence (even if, as seems to be the case, *Jubilees* is not one of those sources)?<sup>41</sup> One interesting observation is that the visions of Noah and Abram that adhere quite closely to Genesis portray the Lord speaking *directly* with each patriarch, without the mediation of a dream or a messenger. This simply agrees with the biblical account, but contrasts with the other visions, which tend to draw more heavily on apocalyptic motifs and modes of revelation. Perhaps these two types should be distinguished from each other, with the author's preferences more prominently displayed in the latter. In any event, it is clear that this fascinating Cave 1 text contains a number of apocalyptic episodes found nowhere else in comparative Jewish literature. This makes it especially relevant to the study of Jewish apocalyptic beliefs in the second century B.C.E., and reflects a community invested in the interpretation of scripture through an apocalyptic prism.

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claim of which is that the Land of Canaan has rightfully belonged to Israel from the very beginning.

<sup>41</sup> See Bernstein, "Divine Titles and Epithets." On the (un)likelihood of *Jubilees* as a source for the *Apocryphon* see Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*, 8–17, 105–30.



THE RECOMBINATION AND EVOLUTION OF NOAH  
TRADITIONS AS FOUND IN THE *GENESIS APOCRYPHON*  
AND *JUBILEES*: THE DNA OF FRATERNAL TWINS

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1. *Introduction*

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, Noah appears in a puzzling number of guises, frequently mixing and matching pieces of traditions. He is, at various times, the “second Adam” on a renewed earth or a “second Enoch” given to apocalyptic visions, a “priest like Levi” or a “Torah-abiding, covenant-making predecessor to Moses,” a “sage” or “mystical” Noah, receiving and transmitting esoteric knowledge and perhaps even “glorified among the sons of heaven.” He is compared to a “great cedar” and a righteous planting but, at times, his righteousness is so suppressed that he is only a seed carrier, a mere conduit of righteousness between his righteous ancestor Enoch and the righteous descendents of a latter day.<sup>1</sup>

*Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon* present idealized, composite portraits of Noah patterned after Genesis while responding to wisdom, apocalyptic, and priestly traditions. Yet, the two resultant “Noahs” are hardly identical twins. In this paper, we will observe the emergence and development of two portrayals of Noah that shared the priestly characterization of the priestly Levi but are nuanced differently in Aramaic and in Hebrew. Noah was legitimized as Enoch’s worthy successor in the Aramaic *Genesis Apocryphon* and was refashioned as a worthy and legitimate predecessor to Moses in *Jubilees*, originally written in Hebrew.

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<sup>1</sup> For a more complete discussion of the nuanced portraits of Noah in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Dorothy M. Peters, *Noah Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Ancient Conversations and Controversies of Antiquity* (SBLJL 26; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008).

## 2. Aramaic Levi Document: *Noah the Progenitor to a Line of Priests*

In *Aramaic Levi Document* (ALD) 10:10, Isaac instructs grandson Levi concerning sacrifices, appealing to the priestly lore handed down from Noah: “For thus my father Abraham commanded me for thus he found in the writing of the book of Noah concerning the blood” (ALD 10:10).<sup>2</sup> This section survives only in the Greek Mt. Athos text and is not extant in any of the seven Aramaic copies at Qumran<sup>3</sup> or in the Aramaic Genizah fragments.

However, there is good reason to believe that Noah as a legitimate priestly ancestor to Levi existed even in the earliest “Aramaic Levi” traditions. First, based on other overlaps between the Aramaic texts and the observed reliability of the Greek text, J. C. Greenfield, M. E. Stone, and E. Eshel believe that this line mentioning Noah *was* originally in the Aramaic, for which they posit a third-century or very early second-century B.C.E. compositional date.<sup>4</sup>

Secondly, ALD demonstrates a concern for proper transmission of wisdom and priestly lore, naming not only Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but also Qahat, Levi’s son who is called to the high priesthood (ALD 11:5–6) and grandson Amram (ALD 12:3), father of Moses. 4QTesta-

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, the translation and numeration of ALD follows Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, and Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004); henceforth TALD.

<sup>3</sup> 1Q21, 4Q213, 4Q213a, 4Q213b, 4Q214, 4Q214a, and 4Q214b range in date from the late 2d c. B.C.E. in the Hasmonean period until the early Herodian period in the late 1st c. B.C.E. See official editions: 1Q21 (Józef T. Milik, DJD 1) and 4Q213–214b (Michael E. Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, DJD 22). Dates are obtained from DJD 39.

<sup>4</sup> ALD is quoted in the *Damascus Document* (2d c. B.C.E.) and something like it served as a source for *Jubilees*, dated to the first third of the 2d c. B.C.E. (TALD, 19–20). Appealing to Babylonian metrological lists and Babylonian scribal education, H. Drawnel argues for a *terminus a quo* of ALD within the historical context of Ezra and Nehemiah’s mission for “the formation of the Levitical tradition that eventually led to the composition of the *Document*,” a dating that would be consistent with Milik’s suggestion. This could put the composition of the document as early as the end of the 4th c. B.C.E., an Aramaic work being composed at the same time that the earliest Enochic books were being written but with a particularly *priestly* slant. Drawnel argues that Levi as “ideal priest” is observed as early as Mal 2:4–7, which attests religious reforms that led “to the reinterpretation of the biblical Levi and his life story in accordance with the new historical circumstances during the Persian dominion in the Trans-Euphrates province.” Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 66–68.

ment of Qahat ar (4Q542) and 4QVisions of Amram (4Q543–548)<sup>5</sup> are other Aramaic texts likely inspired by *ALD* and that “legitimate the continuity of the priestly line and its teaching.”<sup>6</sup> 4QVisions of Amram<sup>e</sup> names Noah together with Levi and Moses as ones who offer up offerings (4Q547 5 1–3; 8 1–3); therefore, the text either transmitted the Noah tradition it found in *ALD* or perceived Noah’s priestly behavior as a logical development.

Thirdly, “Noah” as portrayed in the *Genesis Apocryphon* bears a striking resemblance to the figure of Levi in the *Aramaic Levi Document*, suggesting that the creation of one idealized figure was patterned after the other. Unless the elusive Book of Noah could be found and proven to be more ancient than the *Aramaic Levi Document*, it may well be that that *Genesis Apocryphon*’s Noah is based on the priestly Levi of the *Aramaic Levi Document* and not the other way around.

The priestly Levi in *ALD* is characterized by wisdom (חכמה), and Levi’s prayer, a wisdom poem, and a teaching of Levi are all permeated with wisdom language.<sup>7</sup> Levi wisdom traditions were adjusted away from “wisdom” and towards Torah as source of revelation only in later “priestly Levi” traditions, for example *T. Levi*<sup>8</sup> and also, I would argue, in *Jubilees*. In *Jubilees*, Torah replaces the חכמה of *ALD* as the primary source of revelation. In his contribution to this conference, John Kampen finds that the term חכמה is replaced by אמת in the sectarian literature. It may be that חכמה had associations with Enochic

<sup>5</sup> The visions and words of Amram, grandson of Levi, survive in six copies of 4QVisions of Amram (4Q543–548). The fragments follow the chronology of the Samaritan Pentateuch and copies range in date from the second part of the 2d c. B.C.E. to the turn of the era (Émile Puech, DJD 31).

<sup>6</sup> *TALD*, 31. Noah’s name does not survive in the extant text of 4Q542 but, as M. Stone argues, the text “stresses a cardinal point, the descent of priestly teaching from Abraham and eventually, according to Aramaic Levi, from Noah.” Michael E. Stone, “The Axis of History at Qumran,” in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Esther G. Chazon and Michael E. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 133–49, at 137.

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion on the “the sapiential characteristics of the priesthood” in *ALD*, the *Testament of Levi*, and Ben Sira, see Michael E. Stone, “Ideal Figures and Social Context: Priest and Sage in the Early Second Temple Age,” in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (ed. Patrick D. Miller, Jr., Paul D. Hanson, and S. Dean McBride; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 575–86.

<sup>8</sup> M. de Jonge has argued that *ALD* “stresses ‘truth’ and ‘wisdom’, whereas in *T. Levi* the law of God and wisdom (subordinate to it) occupy a central position.” Marinus de Jonge, “Levi in Aramaic Levi and in the Testament of Levi,” in Chazon and Stone, *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives*, 88–89.

apocalyptic wisdom that the sectarians purposefully avoided as they became more oriented to a newly interpreted Torah of Moses.

4QVisions of Amram<sup>e</sup> (4Q547 9 7) states: “[...he will be anoint]ed and his sons after him for all the eternal generations in ri[ghteousness ...]” ([דר]י עלמין בקו]שטא).<sup>9</sup> “Generation” (דר]י) and the Hebrew equivalent of בקושטא (צדק/צדיק) are found together in the Hebrew Bible *only* in verses describing Noah as righteous (צדיק) in his generation (דור] (Gen 6:9; 7:1) and in Ps 14 that has extensive linguistic and thematic parallels to the Genesis narrative. “Eternal generations of righteousness” might thus find a home particularly in Aramaic texts that visualized a righteous genealogy that stretched way back to the archetypical Noah who was a “righteous” in his generation, that continued into the present, and was expected to stretch into the future. If this is true, we might expect to find a prescribed set of ideal characteristics attributed interchangeably to different figures in this line in various texts as the tradition developed (Noah, Levi, Qahat, and Amram, as well as wise, priestly teaching figures contemporary to the writers).

*Genesis Apocryphon*’s Noah resembles Levi in yet another intriguing way. In *ALD*, Levi speaks, “I was eighteen years old when I entered the land of Canaan; and I was eighteen when I killed Shechem and destroyed the workers of violence (עבדי חמסא), I was nineteen when I became a priest” (*ALD* 12:6–7). It appears that Levi’s priesthood was at least partially contingent upon his action against Shechem who had violated the purity of Dinah, Jacob’s daughter, and that his priesthood was at least partially contingent upon destroying the “workers of violence.” This theme returns in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, where we find Noah, the wise, priestly ancestor of Levi *and* visionary descendent of Enoch.

### 3. *Genesis Apocryphon: Noah, the Wise, Priestly Ancestor of Levi and Visionary Descendent of Enoch*

In the *Genesis Apocryphon*, Noah atones for the land with animal sacrifices and praises God, saying: “Again I blessed him because he had mercy upon the earth, and because he removed and destroyed from

<sup>9</sup> This phrase roughly parallels 4Q542 1 i 3–4 and also echoes the Enochic *Birth of Noah* in which the דר]י קושטא would arise in the eschaton (4Q204 5 ii 28/1 *En.* 107:1).

upon it all who work violence, evil and deceit, (עבדי חמסא ורשעא, ושקרא) but rescued a righteous man (צדיקא) for [...] for all creation, for his own sake” (1Q20 11:13–14). Noah does not actively slay the “workers of violence” in the *Genesis Apocryphon* as Levi had done in *ALD*; however, neither is he merely a passive observer. His vivid visions of both imminent and eschatological judgment make Noah a confidant of God himself, an accessory, if you will, to the destruction of the workers of violence, evil and deceit and, incidentally, properly credentialing Noah to the priesthood in this line of tradition.

While Noah as the righteous one differentiated from the violent and evil ones could be derived from Genesis, “deceit” is introduced into the Noah narrative by another route. The term appears in Aramaic Enoch and Aramaic Levi traditions associated with Noah and Levi, respectively.

Week 2 of the Enochic *Apocalypse of Weeks*, narrating the days of an unnamed flood survivor and Week 7, the writer’s own day, are characterized by “deceit (שקר) and violence (חמס).”<sup>10</sup> The priestly figure in the Aramaic *Apocryphon of Levi* also lives in days marked by deceit and violence (שקר וחמס), therefore likely representing a teacher in the writer’s own day, as I argue elsewhere.<sup>11</sup>

Furthermore, the targum on Mal 2:6 reads: “The instruction of truth or righteousness (אורייתא דקשטא) was in his [Levi’s] mouth and no deceit was (שקר) found on his lips; he walked (הלך) before me (קדמי) in integrity and in uprightness and he turned many away from sin (חובא)” (*Tg. Jon. Mal 2:6*).<sup>12</sup> Most interesting is the interpretative substitution of שקר for the Hebrew עולה at this point in a text where a priestly Levi is said to have walked with God in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>13</sup> This targum may thus preserve an early Aramaic tradition concerning one interpretation of a lineage of “priests-like-Levi” who walked with God—that is, were visionaries—and who were characterized by truth or righteousness and *not* by deceit. This tradition came to include Noah in the *Genesis Apocryphon*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. 4Q541 9.

<sup>11</sup> Peters, *Noah Traditions*, 100–101.

<sup>12</sup> אמתא appears here as the Aramaic equivalent of אמת.

<sup>13</sup> In the targum, Levi walks *before* God. Enoch and Noah walked in the “fear of the Lord” (*Tg. Onq. Gen 5:22; 6:9*), an interpretative step that removes the anthropomorphism.



Introduced by the words “Book of the Words of Noah” (1Q20 5:29),<sup>14</sup> col. 5 and following of the *Genesis Apocryphon* reveal significant parallels between a “priestly, wise Levi” in *ALD* and “priestly, wise Noah” in *Genesis Apocryphon*, but with some important differences. Not only does Noah absorb the character qualities of קשט and חכמה but the Aramaic cognates of the Hebrew language of “righteousness” (צדיק) and “truth” (אמת) are also attributed to him.

In *ALD*, Levi is taught priestly instruction from the writing of the Book of Noah (*ALD* 10:10) while *Genesis Apocryphon* claims to contain the “Book of the Words of Noah” (1Q20 5:29). Levi asks to be granted the paths of righteousness (קשט) (*ALD* 3:4); Noah claims to have walked in paths of truth (אמת) and righteousness (קשט) (1Q20 6:2–3). Levi asks for wisdom (חכמה) (*ALD* 3:6/4Q213a 1 14); Noah has already donned wisdom (1Q20 6:4). Levi is instructed regarding endogamous marriage and then takes a wife from Abraham’s family (*ALD* 6:4; 11:1); Noah has married his sons properly “in accordance with the law of the eternal statute” (1Q20 6:8).

Levi destroys the “workers of violence” (עבדי חמסא; *ALD* 12:6; cf. 2:1)<sup>15</sup> and Noah blesses God for destroying the “workers of violence” (עבדי חמסי; 1Q20 11:13–14). Abraham is promised a righteous seed (זרע דקשט; *ALD* 3:15/4Q213a 2 6–7);<sup>16</sup> Noah is told that Shem’s seed (זרע) would be “a righteous (קושט) planting...existing forever (לעלמיס)” (1Q20 14:11–14). Based on the parallels between Levi and

<sup>14</sup> The “Book of Noah” contains first person speeches that a Second Temple Jew would expect to find in such similar “books” such as those purporting to contain speeches by Enoch and Levi. F. García Martínez takes the heading at face value, claiming that the existence of the lost *Book of Noah* “is now completely certain thanks to the discovery of the heading of this book in a blackened fragment of 1QapGen V 29.” Florentino García Martínez, “Interpretations of the Flood in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Interpretations of the Flood* (ed. Florentino García Martínez and Gerard P. Luttikhuisen; Themes in Biblical Narrative 1; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 86–108, at 88–89. However, it must be observed that in all other potential source texts for the *Genesis Apocryphon*, Noah always speaks or is spoken of in the third person. Devorah Dimant, “Two ‘Scientific’ Fictions: The So-Called *Book of Noah* and the Alleged Quotation of *Jubilees* in CD 16:3–4,” in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (ed. Peter W. Flint, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; VTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 230–49, at 234.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Gen 49:5 in which Simeon and Levi are cast as the violent ones.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *ALD* 6:4 where Isaac teaches Levi, telling him not to defile his seed with harlots, adding “you are holy seed (זרע קדיש), and sanctify (קדיש) your seed like the holy place (קודשא).”

Noah, if Noah does not function explicitly as a priest, at the very least he is proven to be a worthy priestly ancestor to Levi.

Noticeably, in *ALD*, although Levi's vision confirms his priesthood, he sees neither imminent nor eschatological judgment. When Noah envisions the final destiny of the righteous planting and also of the apostates who would be hurled upon the fire, he is much more like his great-grandfather Enoch as portrayed in the Enochic tradition.<sup>17</sup>

*ALD* emphasizes the *beginning* of Levi's priestly career at a time when he supplicates God and receives priestly instruction. 1Q20, on the other hand, records the successes of an experienced, priestly Noah who claims to have been righteous from conception and whose prayer is one of thanksgiving rather than of supplication. Noah is presented as the elder priest, suitably qualified to father a lineage of priests.<sup>18</sup> His character is painted in bold, confident strokes as if the writer were utilizing traditions already familiar to the reader.<sup>19</sup>

Both the figure of Levi in *ALD* and of "Enoch" in the Enochic corpus may have been "textual archetypes" for Noah in the *Genesis Apocryphon* in which Noah is recreated not only as Enoch's legitimate successor (visionary figure) but also as Levi's legitimate archetype (the wise "first priest"). The narrator of *Genesis Apocryphon* thus creates a

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<sup>17</sup> "He has made all known to you in righteousness, and thus is it written about you [...] and do not [...] [Then] I, Noah, [awoke] from my sleep, and the sun... because I was blameless (זכי)... the righteous man (צדיקא)" (1Q20 15:20-23).

<sup>18</sup> Parallels could also be drawn between Levi and Enoch. Enoch had visions of judgment, wrote books, was a purveyor of wisdom, counseled his children to walk in paths of righteousness (שבילי קושטא; 4Q212 1 ii 19-20/1 *En.* 91:19) and acted as a priest in Eden.

<sup>19</sup> Of further interest is how Noah and Levi became associated as "priests" in the first place. Enoch, Noah, and Levi are the only figures in the Hebrew Bible who are said to have "walked with God" (Gen 5:22, 24; 6:9; Mal 2:6) but Malachi may also be the text that links Noah to Levi with respect to priestly matters. R. Kugler has pointed out that a synoptic reading of Gen 34, Exod 32:25-29, Num 25:6-13 and Deut 33:8-11 provided the "scriptural background for the priestly covenant" in Mal 2:4-7, that served to "reshape the biblical image of Levi." Malachi's reading of these texts placed the groundwork "for the development of the Levi-Priestly tradition." Robert A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi* (SBLEJL 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 22. On Deut 33:8-11 in Mal 2:4-7, also see *TALD*, 34. That Levi's vision in *ALD* derives from Mal 2:4-7, see James L. Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings," *HTR* 86 (1993): 1-64, at 31-32. If Noah and Levi were already linked as ones who "walked with God," then the inclusion of Noah as priest would have been only a small exegetical step. Therefore, the priestly, wise and visionary characteristics attributed to Levi in *ALD* could be expanded and justifiably transferred to Noah who was in the same priestly line as the prototype of an idealized priest.

kind of a hybrid Enochic/Levitic super-righteous Noah who is unrestrained by Sinai/post Sinai Mosaic Torah. So what happened as the Aramaic Enoch and Aramaic Levi traditions encountered the back-to-Moses, back-to-Torah, back-to-Hebrew movement gathering strength in the early second century B.C.E.? *Jubilees* answers with a whole new reconfiguration of Noah.

4. *Jubilees: Noah, the priestly ancestor of Levi and Torah-obedient ancestor of Moses*<sup>20</sup>

In *Jubilees*, Noah does not possess the visionary character that he does in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Instead he is a hard-working, down-to-earth character, the epitome of a priestly Jew obedient to the freshly reinterpreted revelation given to Moses. He pronounces suitable blessings and curses and oversees the division of the land. He is the first human to celebrate the covenant, establishing the feast of *Shevuot*. Upon the chronology of the flood events are based the Days of Remembrance for perpetual observance. Noah intercedes for his grandchildren because of the demons and carefully transmits teachings orally.

While *Jubilees* honors Enoch and faithfully records the angelic visitations found in the biblical text, it severely restricts post-Enochic “extra-biblical” accounts of dreams and angelic visitations.<sup>21</sup> Although angels *do* teach Noah herbal remedies against demonic seductions, Noah sees no eschatological visions. *Jubilees* neither composes nor adapts a remarkable birth narrative for Noah, stories found in *1 Enoch* and in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Even if the author knew of the Birth of Noah stories—and it is not at all clear that they were known—the birth story may have been deliberately excluded, for it implied a freedom of movement between the earthly and quasi-heavenly spheres that was restricted in *Jubilees*. Therefore, the Noah figure is not privy to the apocalyptic wisdom that he is the recipient of in the *Genesis*

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<sup>20</sup> Of Enoch it is said that he “learnt writing and knowledge and wisdom” (*Jub.* 4:17). While “wise” also describes Joseph (*Jub.* 40:5, following Gen 41:8), wisdom is not attributed to Noah.

<sup>21</sup> Levi dreams at Bethel that he had been appointed priest but angels are not mentioned (*Jub.* 32:1); *Jubilees* had made it clear that Levi’s ordination as priest was contingent upon the retribution Levi had paid against Shechem (*Jub.* 30:18). Bethel is the same location as Jacob dreamt and saw angels and God (*Jub.* 27:21; cf. Gen 28:12–19). God appears a second time to Jacob and the angels bring him heavenly tablets at Bethel (*Jub.* 32:16–29).

*Apocryphon*. The job description of the priest like Levi in *Jubilees* simply does not demand it.

As in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, Noah also offers an “atoning for the land” postdiluvian sacrifice in *Jubilees*; however, in *Jubilees*, this sacrifice offered during the third month redefines and reinterprets the priestly ancestor to Levi. Noah is the first to offer an atoning sacrifice, the first to celebrate *Shevuot* and the first to make a covenant with God. “Covenant” language that is missing from the extant Aramaic Noah texts is found in *Jubilees* but is greatly expanded to include calendar, establishment of *Shevuot*, blood prohibitions, and the oath made by Noah. The language of the Noachic covenant is strongly linked to Mosaic covenant by means of parallels and reiterations of covenant renewal throughout the book; making the Noachic covenant foundational to subsequent renewals. In fact, the literary setting of *Jubilees* itself is the third month, at the time of covenant renewal and during God’s revelation to Moses.

This reinterpreted Noah as a priestly ancestor also appears in *other* Hebrew presectarian and sectarian texts at Qumran. The covenant with Noah is remembered in a set of Day of Atonement Prayers found in 4QFestival Prayers<sup>b</sup> (4Q508), and the sectarian 4QCommentary on Genesis A (4Q252) begins its account with Noah who appears as the “first” in a selective retelling of Israel’s early history in which he becomes even more intimately connected with the 364-day solar calendar.<sup>22</sup>

The historical retelling in 5QRule (5Q13)—perhaps a variant Covenant Renewal Ceremony—includes “Noah” in a “liturgical framework”<sup>23</sup> as part of a particular priestly line of transmission that includes Levi. This suggests that, even in the sectarian texts, there continued to be a persistent tradition preserved by some Levites who consciously remembered and honored Noah.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> “The physical evidence of the scroll indicates—apparent remnants of the tie and discoloration of the reverse of frg. 1—that the text of 4Q252 does indeed begin with the extant col. I” (DJD 22:190).

<sup>23</sup> George J. Brooke, “Levi and the Levites” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 115–139, at 121.

<sup>24</sup> This contrasts with Ben Sira’s selective genealogy that subdues Enoch, presents Noah as a survivor who kept the race alive but does not attribute to him any priestly or law-keeping role, exalts Abraham as the first one who keeps the law, ignores Levi and his immediate descendents, acknowledges Moses but highly praises Aaron, claims Phinehas for itself and eventually honors the Maccabean high priest, Simon II (Sir 44:1–50:21).

In conclusion, Noah as a priestly ancestor to Levi was portrayed in the *Genesis Apocryphon* as a wise, priestly figure like Levi that also shared Enoch's visionary DNA. In *Jubilees*, however, he was fashioned into a newly interpreted Torah-obedient and covenant-making priestly ancestor for Moses—with a partially suppressed or subordinated Enochic ancestry. So, the two “Noahs” are hardly twins. But, even so, the features of textual ancestors—Aramaic Levi and Aramaic Enoch—whether more or less dominant and variously arranged, are still found in the *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Jubilees* as stamped into the character of Noah.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Were the texts products of different groups or movements? It is not necessarily so. That copies of both the *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Jubilees* were preserved and sealed up in Cave 1 demonstrates their value to some Jews at the turn of the era who were, perhaps, adept at managing the textual tension exhibited by these profoundly different portrayals of archetypical Noahs.

THE FIGURE OF ABRAHAM IN THE *GENESIS*  
*APOCRYPHON'S* RE-NARRATION OF GEN 12:10–20

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It is well known that the *Genesis Apocryphon* embellishes the biblical narration of Abraham's and Sarah's stay in Egypt (Gen 12:10–20) with the aim to fill the narrative gaps of the biblical story, and to make it more attractive and more edifying. In this context, a chronological and spatial framework has been given, and biblical figures like Lot and Hagar have been inserted into the story. However, most of the embellishments have been added in order to underline Abraham's outstandingly pious character. Research literature often hinted at this aspect.<sup>1</sup> Still lacking in research, however, is a comprehensive overview

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (2d rev. ed.; StPB 4; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 125: "The author of GA does indeed try, by every means at his disposal, to make the biblical story more attractive, more real, more edifying, and above all more intelligible. Geographic data are inserted to complete biblical lacunae or to identify altered place names, and various descriptive touches are added to give the story substance. There were, for example, three Egyptian princes, and the name of one of them was Harkenosh. They praised Sarah as though with one mouth. Abraham was frightened by his dream and Sarah wept because of it. The Patriarch prayed for the deliverance of his wife and his tears flowed. He was sad when his kinsmen went away from him. The summary statements of Genesis are often expanded to explain how the Egyptian princes praised Sarah's beauty, how God afflicted Pharaoh, how Abraham obeyed the divine command to travel through the land, how he was informed of Lot's misfortune, and so on. To this work of expansion and development *Genesis Apocryphon* adds another, namely, the reconciliation of unexplained or apparently conflicting statements in the biblical text order to allay doubt and worry. Abraham knew that Sara would be taken from him because of his dream. Sara's identity was revealed to Pharaoh by Lot." Cf. also Peter Weimar, "Formen frühjüdischer Literatur: eine Skizze," in *Literatur und Religion des Frühjudentums* (ed. Johann Maier and Josef Schreiner; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1973), 123–62, at 153. Furthermore, it seems notable that the events are put in chronological order: After five years of inhabiting Egypt, Sara is brought to the Pharaoh's harem; after two further years she is rescued from there; cf. Ben Zion Wacholder, "How long did Abram Stay in Egypt," *HUCA* 35 (1964): 43–56; Benjamin Ziemer, *Abram—Abraham: Kompositionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Gen 14, 15 und 17* (BZAW 350; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 43 n. 176. Concerning the aspect of embellishment cf. Craig A. Evans, "The Genesis Apocryphon and the Rewritten Bible," *RevQ* 13/49–52 (1988): 153–65, at 162–64. Concerning the literary relation of Gen 12:10–20 and the *Genesis Apocryphon*,

of Abraham's role in the re-narration of the story of the sojourn by Abraham and Sara in Egypt as it is attested in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Therefore, this contribution will show the patriarch's depiction in this passage. In addition to the motif of Abraham's exculpation, as expressed in a dream much debated in the scholarly literature, further elements in this story of the *Genesis Apocryphon* characterise Abraham as an ideal figure who has a distinct relationship with God. He is depicted as a transmitter of divine revelation, as a God-trusting man of prayer, and as an exorcist.<sup>2</sup> Finally, it will be made clear that Abraham's wide-ranging wisdom and his prayers play an outstanding role in the plot of the overall story.

### 1. Abraham's Dream

Some scholars have already pointed out that Abraham's dream in the *Genesis Apocryphon* functions as an exculpation for Abraham who—according to the biblical narration—gave his wife Sara to Pharaoh for fear of being killed by the Egyptians.<sup>3</sup> As Abraham passes Sara off

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cf. Moshe J. Bernstein, "Re-Arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization as Exegetical Features in the Genesis Apocryphon," *DSD* 3 (1996): 37–57.

<sup>2</sup> Subsequent to the presentation of this paper at the IOQS congress in Ljubljana, Daniel K. Falk's contribution concerning the parabiblical texts was published (*The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* [CQS 8; LSTS 63; London: T&T Clark, 2007]). This significant book also contains a large chapter on the figure of Abraham in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Falk refers to the following "Abraham Motifs": (a) Character and Piety of Abraham [80–85]; (b) The Beauty and Purity of Sarai [85–87]; (c) The wisdom of Abraham [87–88]; (d) Revelation [88–89]; (e) Abraham as Patriarch (e.g., Abraham as prophet and as priest) [79–93]; (f) Chronology and Calendar [91–93]; (g) Geography [93]; (h) Characterization (e.g., the emotional aspects of Abraham's depiction) [94]. I am grateful to Daniel K. Falk for his important analysis which adds some important aspects to my paper. However, whereas Daniel Falk gives an overall sketch of the traditions in the *Genesis Apocryphon* as an interpretation and expansion of the biblical Book of Genesis, my study can be characterised as a close reading of the *Genesis Apocryphon*'s re-narration of Gen 12:10–20, taking a special interest in the relationships the various Abraham motifs have with each other. I would also like to express my gratitude to the editors for their willingness to include my paper in this volume.

<sup>3</sup> Craig A. Evans refers to the aspect of Abraham's exculpation in "Abraham in the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Man of Faith and Failure," in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape and Interpretation* (ed. Peter Flint; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2001), 149–58; cf. Moshe J. Bernstein, "Pentateuchal Interpretation at Qumran," *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 1:129–59. See now also Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 83f.

as his sister (cf. Gen 12:13) one cannot avoid getting the impression that he employs a lie. By receiving sheep, cattle, donkeys and slaves in reward, he additionally profits from the whole transaction (cf. Gen 12:16). The *Genesis Apocryphon* admittedly portrays these circumstances differently. Here, we are told that Abraham's idea to deliver Sara is motivated by a dream. On the night of his entry into the land of Egypt, Abraham sees a cedar and a very beautiful date palm in a dream. When some men come and intend to cut down and uproot the cedar leaving the date palm by itself, the date palm remonstrates and says: "Do not cut down the cedar, for we are both from one family." Due to the help of the date palm, the cedar is therefore spared and saved. After waking up from this dream, Abraham concludes the following: the dream refers to a situation in which Abraham shall be killed but Sara shall be spared (1QapGen 19:19). Therefore he asks his wife to pass herself off as his sister, so that he will be saved. Since in antiquity, people usually regarded dreams as divine revelations,<sup>4</sup> Abraham is clearly disburdened by this dream. He does not act from egoism or self-interest when he instructs Sara to impersonate his sister, but in some way from divine authorisation.<sup>5</sup>

It is worth noting that the story of Abraham and Sara in Egypt, as it is told in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, contains further motifs which underline the author's desire to show the arch-father in a positive manner: thus, according to the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the further progress of the action confirms that Abraham's estimation of the situation was quite realistic. While Gen 12 states succinctly that Sara was taken to Pharaoh's palace, the *Genesis Apocryphon* explicitly tells that Pharaoh means to kill Abraham (cf. 1QapGen 20:9). By impersonating his sister, Sara acts at Abraham's bidding and hence the arch-father is spared as a result of her actions.

Since Abraham is able to interpret his dream in the right way, he is also characterized as a "recipient and transmitter of divine revelation." As Daniel Falk has already emphasized, Abraham's dream is unique to the *Genesis Apocryphon* and has no counterpart in ancient Jewish literature. However, "the revelatory language is similar to that

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<sup>4</sup> Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (3d ed.; BibOr 18/B; Rome: Biblical Institute, 2004), 184.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 84.



in Daniel ('dreamed a dream'; 'saw a dream'; 'behold'; 'vision of the night'; 1QapGen 19.14; 21.8; Dan 2.1, 19, 43; 4.15; 7.7).<sup>6</sup>

## 2. Abraham as Teacher of the Nations

After Abraham's depiction as a representative of revelatory wisdom in the *Genesis Apocryphon's* re-narration of Gen 12:10–20, he is characterised as a sage and teacher. Abraham, who has moved to Egypt with his wife due to a famine, is visited by the nobles of Pharaoh on account of his "words" and his "wisdom."<sup>7</sup> Although the text is damaged at col. 19:25, it appears that the author describes Abram reading to the Egyptian princes from "the book of the words of Enoch."<sup>8</sup> The Enoch texts of Cave 4, discovered years after the finds of Cave 1, have shown that the expressions **הַכְּמֹתָא** and **קוֹשְׁטָא**, which appear immediately previous to this narrative detail, are key words for the content of the Enoch message.<sup>9</sup> To today's reader, the question of the content of Abraham's teaching arises. A look at the traditions of ancient Judaism reveals that the motif of a "Book of Enoch" is also attested elsewhere. According to *Jub.* 21:10, Abraham passes on various commandments to his son Isaac, including the admonition of idolatry as well as several regulations concerning dietary laws and sacrifice. A further example of this motif appears in *Pirqe R. El.* §8; here it is stated that the books of the forefathers were entrusted to Abraham by Shem. Further references to a Book of Enoch, although without any association to Abraham,

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 89.

<sup>7</sup> The motif of Abraham's wisdom is emphasised by Falk's new reading and translation of 1QapGen 19:24: "And at the end of these five years [came] three men of the nobles of Egypt[t...] of Pharaoh Zoa[n] on account of my words and my wisdom (הַכְּמֹתָי). They gave [to me great gifts and sought for me to teach?] to them writing (or "reading"; **סְפֵרָא**), wisdom (**הַכְּמֹתָא**), and truth (**קוֹשְׁטָא**). And I read before them the [book] of the words of [En]och" (see Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 87). Daniel Machiela's new reconstruction of the text is quite similar; cf. Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 72–73. According to Fitzmyer's reading of the text, the men of Pharaoh came to Abraham because of his "words" and his "wife"; cf. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 99.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. already the reading of the editio princeps in Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*.

<sup>9</sup> George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs Who Worry about Their Wives. A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 137–58, at 149.

appear in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In this context the Book of Enoch seems to prophesy judgement upon Jacob's posterity.<sup>10</sup>

However, these admonitions and warnings are not appropriate as a teaching for the Egyptians. Thus, the question remains concerning the contents of Abraham's teachings, which he gathers from the "Book of Enoch."<sup>11</sup> In my opinion, the missing link between "Abraham" and the "Book of Enoch" is to be found in the motif of astrology. On the one hand, in several early Jewish traditions, Abraham is characterised as a teacher and the inventor of astronomy who teaches the Egyptians;<sup>12</sup> on the other hand, the figure of Enoch, as especially the *Astronomical Book* (1 En. 72–82) clearly reveals, is associated notably with astrological knowledge. A connection of the elements "Abraham," "Enoch," and "Astrology" can be found in *Pseudo-Eupolemos* (referred to by Alexander Polyhistor according to Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.17.8). Here, we are told that Abraham lived in Heliopolis with the Egyptian priests and introduced astrology to them. He had gathered this astrological knowledge with the Babylonians, whereas the original invention dates from Enoch: "Abraham lived in Heliopolis with the Egyptian priests, and taught them much. He explained astrology and the other sciences to them, saying that the Babylonians and he himself had obtained this knowledge. However, he attributed the discovery of them to Enoch. Enoch first discovered astrology, not the Egyptians."<sup>13</sup>

Against this background, it seems plausible to suggest that the "Book of Enoch" refers to the astrological parts of the Enoch tradition

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<sup>10</sup> See *T. Sim.* 5:4–6; *T. Jud.* 18:1; *T. Naph.* 14:1; *T. Benj.* 9:1. As J. Becker has pointed out in reception of older research (such as De Jonge, Baltzer and Steck), these traditions belong to the so-called SER (Sin, Exil, Return) fragments which are influenced by the conception of the Deutoronomistic history. Becker assumes that with the naming of the sources, no real intended quotation of to the author available literature can be meant; the reference to Enoch serves rather the purpose of authorising the announcement of justice; cf. Jürgen Becker, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen* (AGAJU 8; Leiden: Brill, 1970), 175.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 191: "However, a reference to a book of Enoch in this literature is not without its problems... It may seem strange that Abram would be communicating the secrets of Enoch to Egyptian princes."

<sup>12</sup> On this aspect see Annette Yoshiko Reed, "Abraham as Chaldaean Scientist and Father of the Jews: Josephus, *Ant.* 1.154–168, and the Greco-Roman Discourse about Astronomy/Astrology," *JSJ* 35 (2004): 119–58; Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus. Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jh.s v. Chr.* (3d ed.; WUNT 10; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988), 168 n. 256; Ziemer, *Abram*, 246.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted according to the translation of Robert Doran (*OTP* 2:881); cf. Reed, *Abraham*, 126; Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 168; Ziemer, *Abram*, 246.

in particular. Abram is depicted as the teacher of the nations who is able to bring wisdom to all the peoples.<sup>14</sup>

### 3. Abraham's Prayer and His Trust in God

Furthermore, Abraham's pious character becomes evident in the motif of his prayer:<sup>15</sup> immediately after Sara's kidnapping, Abraham turns to God in an invocation in which he pleads to Him to do justice to Pharaoh, "that he may not be able to defile my wife this night" (1QapGen 20:15).

The prayer's intensity is emphasised by the motif of crying. Thus, Abraham, who is the I-narrator in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, recounts: "But I, Abraham, wept bitterly that night" (ובבכית אנה אברם בְּכִי תִקִּיף) (1QapGen 20:10–11). The prayer itself is introduced with the following words: "That night I prayed, pleaded and entreated and said while my tears ran down" (בליליא דן צלית ובעית ואתחננה ואמרת באתעצבא) (1QapGen 20:12), and in turn at the end of the prayer it says: "And I wept and I stayed silent" (ובבכית וחשית) (1QapGen 20:16). Hence, it becomes evident that the whole prayer is framed by the crying motif. This implies, on the one hand, that the biblical narrative is emotionalised,<sup>16</sup> but it also underlines Abraham's suffering and the intensity of his devotion to God. All these reactions show that Abraham releases Sara out of acute self-defence and deep pain and that he fully entrusts himself to God in his misery.<sup>17</sup>

After this, God sends a scourging spirit to weaken Pharaoh and every other man in his house so that these men certainly cannot approach

<sup>14</sup> Also Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 88, emphasizes the aspect of Abraham's wisdom; however, he does not refer to the motif of astrology in particular. Concerning his new reading of this passage, see n. 7 above.

<sup>15</sup> On this aspect see now Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 83–85. Concerning prayer in Qumran generally, cf. Eileen Schuller, "Petitionary Prayer and the Religion of Qumran," in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000), 29–45; Esther G. Chazon, "Hymns and Prayers in the Dead Sea Scroll," in Flint and VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, 1:244–70.

<sup>16</sup> Referring to the psychological interest of this narration, cf. Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs," 148f.; see also Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 93, who refers to 1QapGen 2:9–10 as a further emotional passage in the *Genesis Apocryphon*.

<sup>17</sup> A similar prayer for rescue cannot be found in any of the biblical evidence. However, this motif is attested in Philo (*Abr.* 95) and Josephus (*War* 5.380) as well as various evidence from rabbinical literature.

Sara.<sup>18</sup> This is in line with several sectarian traditions which attest to the belief that bodily sickness was caused by demons (4QD<sup>a</sup> [4Q266] 6 i; 1QS 3:14).<sup>19</sup> God's immediate response to Abraham's prayer by sending the demon illustrates Abraham's elevated relationship with God.

#### 4. Abraham as Exorcist

Finally, Abraham appears as an exorcist in the context of Pharaoh's healing. For two years, a spirit strikes Pharaoh and his whole house. After Pharaoh's magi and all his conjurors fail to heal him and his household, HRKNWS, one of Pharaoh's wise men, approaches Abraham to ask for his help. This paragraph also shows how Abraham was seen as a sage. Now his wisdom obtains a new dimension, as, in the context of this healing, it virtually can be called a "magical wisdom" (1QapGen 20:19–35).

Only when Sara has left Pharaoh's court, Abraham indeed interferes in favour of the Pharaoh and his gentry. Abraham speaks a prayer of petition and exercises the rite of laying on of hands, so that the demon is banished. Hence, in the *Genesis Apocryphon* we read the following words by Abraham: "I prayed that he might be cured and laid my hands upon his head. The plague was removed from him; the evil spirit was banished from him and he recovered" (1QapGen 20:28–29).

<sup>18</sup> The text either speaks of רוח מכדש (20:16; Fitzmyer: "pestilential spirit"), רוח באישה (20:16–17; Fitzmyer: "evil spirit") or רוחא דא באישהא (20:28; cf. 29). In 20:26 he is also called רוח שחלניא (Fitzmyer: "spirit of purulence"); according to Dupont-Sommer, "l'esprit des pustules," derived from the root שחל "couler, sup-purer"; André Dupont-Sommer, "Exorcismes et guérisons dans les écrits de Qumran," in *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959* (VTSup 7; Leiden: Brill, 1960), 246–61 at 249ff.

<sup>19</sup> Philip S. Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in Flint and VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment*, 2:331–53, at 347. Concerning exorcism of demons in Qumran, cf. also Dupont-Sommer, "Exorcismes et guérisons"; Ida Fröhlich, "Demons, Scribes, and Exorcists in Qumran," in *Essays in Honour of Alexander Fodor on His Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. Kinga Dévényi and Tamás Iványi; The Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic 23; Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University Press, 2001), 73–81; Esther Eshel, "Genres of Magical Texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Die Dämonen. Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt* (ed. Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and K. F. Diethard Römheld; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 395–415; eadem, "Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 69–88.

When Abraham is thus presented as a dominator of the demonic sphere, this text reminds us of the Abraham narrative at the beginning of the *Book of Jubilees*. Here, we are told that Abraham is able to drive away the ravens who represent the demonic sphere of Mastemah; later on, he asks for protection from the power of the evil spirits who rule over those human minds who believe in astrology (*Jub.* 11:11–21).<sup>20</sup>

Furthermore, with regard to Abraham's exorcism, it is worth noting that in Qumran, several texts were found which attest to the practice of exorcism.<sup>21</sup> Some of these texts are—according to Esther Eshel's classification—incantations “aimed to exorcise or drive out evil spirits or other evil forces, as such are addressed directly to the evil force.”<sup>22</sup> As incantations one could mention for example 4Q560, the first three of the four psalms in 11Q11, and the very badly preserved small fragment in 8Q5.<sup>23</sup> The second group of magical texts are classified as apotropaic hymns, which “include requests addressed to God for protection from evil spirits,” as for example 4Q510–4Q511, 4Q444, 6Q18, as well as Ps 91 in 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>.<sup>24</sup>

The narration of Abraham's exorcism has been shaped by the reception of Gen 20:17 when Abraham prays for the sick king Abimelekh. This explains why the demon is not—other than in 4Q560—directly addressed with an incantation spell, but Abraham speaks a prayer of petition. Despite this difference, the texts from Cave 4, which were discovered years after those from Cave 1, serve to illuminate particular narrative strands in the Abraham narrative of the *Genesis Apocryphon*. On the one hand they show that the plot of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is closely related to the world conceptions of other Qumran texts; on

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<sup>20</sup> Concerning this text see also Armin Lange, “The Essene Position on Magic and Divination,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995* (ed. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 377–435 at 382; idem, “1QGenAp XIX 10–XX 32 as Paradigm of the Wisdom Narrative,” in *Qumranstudien. Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Münster, 25.–26. Juli 1993* (ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 191–204 at 198; see also Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers,” 84f.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the literature given in n. 19.

<sup>22</sup> Eshel, “Genres of Magical Texts,” 396.

<sup>23</sup> For examples of incantations, see Eshel, “Genres of Magical Texts,” 396–406; eadem, “Apotropaic Prayers,” 85f.

<sup>24</sup> For examples of apotropaic texts, see Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers,” 70–84, who also discusses 1QH<sup>a</sup> 22; eadem, “Genres of Magical Texts,” 398.

the other hand they also manage to bring the specifications of the *Genesis Apocryphon* distinctly forward: the importance of the prayer is once again emphasised as before with Abraham's lamentation, and it becomes evident that Abraham bears a special relation to God.

Furthermore, as already mentioned above, the "cure of Pharaoh is accomplished not only by Abraham's prayer... but also by his laying on of hands.... The laying on of hands is part of the exorcism by which the spirit is driven out and the person is cured."<sup>25</sup> In an article published already in 1957, David Flusser has pointed out that this is the first time that the rite of healing by the laying on of hands has been found in a Jewish source, for it does not appear in the Hebrew Bible, nor in rabbinical literature. However, we have some New Testament parallels where this rite can be found.<sup>26</sup> The closest New Testament parallel to this passage is Luke 4:40–41, where both the "rebuking" and the "laying on of hands" occur. However, it should be stressed that instead of a petitionary prayer (as the case in Abraham's healing), Jesus uttered an incantation spell addressing the demon directly.

The narration ends with the banishment of the demon and the healing of Pharaoh. When Pharaoh gives many presents to Abraham after his cure, it becomes obvious that "Abram does not owe his wealth to the deception, as in Gen 12, but to the pious act of praying for God's healing."<sup>27</sup>

Now Abraham returns to the Land of Canaan. Back again in the Holy Land, Abraham offers sacrifices in Bethel and thanks God "for all the flocks and the good things which he had given me; because he had done good to me; because he had brought me back to this land in safety" (1QapGen 21:3–4). Apart from the fact that here Abraham appears as a priest,<sup>28</sup> he expresses his gratitude to God by a prayer and signifies that his destiny is a result of the divine assistance and guidance. This passage plays an important role in the overall story, since

<sup>25</sup> Fitzmyer, "Genesis Apocryphon," 213.

<sup>26</sup> For example Mark 5:23; 6:5; 7:32; 8:23–25; 13:13; 16:18; Acts 9:12, 17–18; 28:8. On the New Testament evidence, see also Dupont-Sommer, "Exorcismes et guérisons," 252; Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 213. Cf. Lange, "The Essene Position on Magic and Divination," 382.

<sup>27</sup> Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 84.

<sup>28</sup> Concerning this motif, see *ibid.*, 89ff. On Abraham as a priest, as in *Aramaic Levi Document* 4Q214b 2–6 i, cf. Søren Holst, "Abraham at Qumran," in *Historie og konstruktion. Festschrift til Niels Peter Lemche i anledning af 60 års fødseldagen den 6. September* (ed. Mogens Müller and Thomas L. Thompson; Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 2005), 180–91, at 183f, 187f.

here Abraham shares his perspective as an I-narrator: All that has happened was the result of God's help and guidance.

### 5. Conclusion

Numerous insertions and embellishments of the biblical narration of Abraham's stay in Egypt, which we find in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, take on the task of letting Abraham appear in a positive and ideal way. Compared to the other Abraham traditions of ancient Jewish literature, the depiction of Abraham in the *Genesis Apocryphon* seems extremely broad and rich, since here a lot of different Abraham motifs are accumulated. Abraham is exculpated by his dream. Furthermore, he is depicted as a recipient of divine revelation, as a wise teacher, God-trusting in his prayer after the loss of his wife, and as magician who, by means of his prayer, is able to expel demons.

Finally, the question arises concerning the relationships among these different motifs. The key to answering this question lies in the succession of the individual elements. First of all, the beginning of the narration portrays Abraham as a sage in two ways. With the interpretation of the dream, he shows his mantic competence, whereas the instruction of the wise men, in all probability, demonstrates his knowledge of the cosmic secrets. It can certainly be assumed that this talent is God-given, although this aspect is not mentioned here explicitly. The abduction of Sara into the harem of Pharaoh entails a crisis. Now, Abraham explicitly turns to his God and asks him for rescue in his prayer. God immediately reacts by sending the demon which plagues Pharaoh and his house. Hence, it becomes apparent that Abraham and Sara are under God's protection.

When Pharaoh's people again turn to Abraham and ask him to assist with Pharaoh's cure, a further aspect of Abraham's wisdom takes effect, namely a kind of "magical wisdom." On the one hand, Abraham, who addresses a prayer to God for the banishment of the demon, demonstrates his trust in God. On the other hand, the success of his acting also shows that he is under God's imminent protection. This close bond with God is confirmed, eventually, when Abraham, after having returned to the Land of Canaan, thanks God with a sacrifice and a prayer for his safe return.

In summary, the two motifs of wisdom—in its mantic, cosmic and magical form—and trust in God, expressed in the prayer, can be

understood as the determining theologoumena of the re-narration of Gen 12:10–20 in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. As the course of the overall story shows, these two belong together most closely and cannot be separated from one another.





## OTHER SCROLLS



PALEOGRAPHICAL OBSERVATIONS REGARDING  
1Q5—ONE OR SEVERAL SCROLLS?

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1. *Introduction: 1Q5 (1QDeut<sup>b</sup>)*

During a reexamination of the minor biblical scrolls from Cave 1, originally edited in DJD 1 by the great French scholar Dominique Barthélemy in the early fifties, I looked upon 1Q5, the second copy of Deuteronomy from that cave, and noted that the style of the script on some fragments varies widely from others.<sup>1</sup> These differences have led me to the conclusion that the fragments currently assembled under the label 1Q5 are more likely to have been written by different scribes. If the scroll was not written by several scribes, a possibility not to be discarded lightly, one of these fragments should be considered the sole surviving fragment of a third copy of Deuteronomy, which would according to the nomenclature then be 1Q5a (1QDeut<sup>c</sup>). The writing of at least one other fragment seems close to 1Q4 (1QDeut<sup>a</sup>), though the evidence is less conclusive.

Barthélemy assembled 50 fragments under the label “1Q5.”<sup>2</sup> With very few exceptions these fragments are small to tiny. More than half of the fragments (24 to 50) contain only six or less decipherable letters from one or two lines that could not be assigned to a specific passage. Compared to more recent editions of biblical scrolls from Qumran this is a relatively large number. Only two fragments, frg. 8 (giving the texts of Deut 24:10–16) and frg. 13 (Deut 29:12–20 and 30:19–31:6) contain more than one column. These two fragments shall form the base for the paleographical comparison of 1Q5, below.

Despite the fragmentary present state of affairs, it is important to remember that we look on the fragile remains of a once particularly impressive scroll. Based on frg. 13, Barthélemy estimated a column

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my deep gratitude to Ada Yardeni with whom I had the honor and the pleasure to first speak about the observations expressed here.

<sup>2</sup> DJD 1:57–62.

height of  $\pm 40$  lines (29 cm), which approximately agrees with my calculations (39 lines). This scroll should therefore be added to the about 30 Qumran scrolls with very large writing block listed by Emanuel Tov in his seminal *Scribal Practices*.<sup>3</sup> From Cave 1, Tov lists only 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> and 1QH<sup>a</sup> in this category.<sup>4</sup> With regard to the text form, Barthélemy noted that it differs from the MT quite often, Lange considers it as idiosyncratic,<sup>5</sup> while Tov classifies it as proto-Masoretic with few scribal interventions (1 correction on more than 82 lines).<sup>6</sup> The scribe wrote ch. 32 but not ch. 33 in stichographic arrangement.<sup>7</sup> There are at least three other scrolls that do this,<sup>8</sup> but only 1Q5 follows the same arrangement as prescribed by the rabbinic rule.

As was usus in that period, Barthélemy's paleographical and codicological notes are rather brief:

Peau de nuance moyenne, plutôt fine, à surface très lisse et dont le dos s'écaille. Lignes très légères et fines de  $\pm 15$  cm. de long. . . Écriture un peu empâtée, sans caractéristique globale bien spéciale. Malgré des variations notables, tout semble de la même main. Comme pour le ms. précédent, l'appartenance de presque tous les fragments est garantie par les caractères extérieurs du ms. (ici la nature du dos.). Les graphies sont aussi classiques que celles de 1QIs<sup>b</sup>, mais le texte l'est moins.<sup>9</sup>

Barthélemy prudently states that *almost* all fragments surely belong to 1Q5. In addition, he mentions the variability in hand-writing. Very kindly, Pnina Shor (Head of the Department for the Treatment and Conservation of Artifacts for the Israel Antiquities Authority) and Elena Libman (Head of the Conservation Laboratory for the Dead Sea Scrolls) at the Shrine of the Book permitted and facilitated a preliminary glance on the original plates that still await conservation treatment. Regrettably, I have not been able to thoroughly assess the codicological part of Barthélemy's argument since the present state of preservation of this manuscript does not yet allow a fresh scrutiny of the *verso* under the microscope. It seems to me that the

<sup>3</sup> Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 88–89.

<sup>4</sup> Armin Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer. Band 1: Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 84–85, adds 1Q4 Deut<sup>a</sup>, 1Q5 Deut<sup>b</sup>. 1Q7 Sam also belongs here.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>6</sup> Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 254.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 167, 171, 173, 275.

<sup>8</sup> 4QDeut<sup>b</sup>, 4QDeut<sup>a</sup>, 4QpaleoDeut<sup>e</sup>, perhaps 4QDeut<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> DJD 1:57.

paleographical deliberations could perhaps be further corroborated by a future close examination of the physical remains of the *vellum*.

## 2. Discussion of Frg. 1

Fragment 1 shows the remains of up to seven letters in four extant lines ostensibly from Deut 1:9–13.<sup>10</sup>

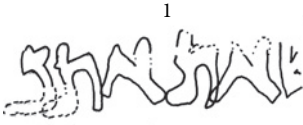


As becomes apparent from the drawing on the left comparing **אלהי** on fragment 1 with the first four letters of **אלהינו** from frg. 13 i 2,<sup>11</sup> the general aspects and the letter forms

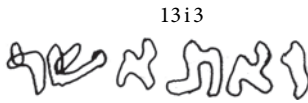
<sup>10</sup> If the text of frg. 1 was shorter than the extant MT, Barthélemy's reconstruction and identification of the *mem-vav* sequence are correct. If the text of frg. 1 was longer than the extant MT, the two letters could be the ending and beginning of the preceding words **חכמים ונבנים** and **אתכם** and after **אלהי**.

<sup>11</sup> The drawings were according to scans of photos in the archive of the Orion Center at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. I would like to express my gratitude to its directors, Esther Chazon and Stephen Fassberg, as well as to Emanuel Tov who bestowed these photos to the Center. Please note that in order to make details of letter forms better visible I use a greater enlargement for single letter forms than for words.

of the script of frg. 1 are clearly different from those of frgs. 8 and 13 (note that the lower end of all letters of אלהי on fragment 1 is missing). To begin with, the overall size of the letters of frg. 1 differs substantially from the other fragments of 1Q5,<sup>12</sup> the letters of frg. 1 being taller. In addition, one (reconstructed) line of frg. 1 comprised about 60 letter spaces, compared to about 80 in frg. 13. Line lengths, however, may differ greatly in one manuscript.

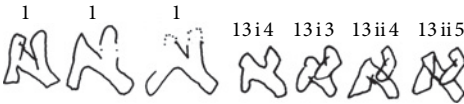


A much more significant marker for different scribes is the smaller distance between letters and words in frg. 1 compared to 1Q5. Usually the letters touch their neighbors or they “invade” their neighbor’s space as shown in the drawing of the first line of frg. 1.



In frg. 13, usually, the space between letters is a little wider. Also, the script of frg. 1 slants slightly more to the left—even when we take into consideration that plate X of DJD 1 displays frg. 1 in a different angle than the rest of 1Q5. Most importantly, however, the form of the letters is quite different and betrays two hands. I confine the following discussion to those letters appearing in frg. 1.

The most important letter for the distinction is *alef* as it is well attested by three occurrences on the relatively small frg. 1 and as the form of *alef* is very regular in 1Q5.

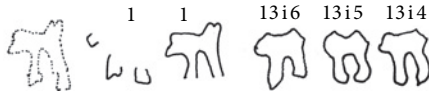


In the seventy-five extant *alefs* of 1Q5, the short right downstroke is always topped with a tick from the left, completely absent from the three *alef* on frg. 1. It is also more inclined to the right than in frg. 1, where the right downstroke can be

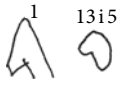
<sup>12</sup> For the sake of comprehensibility I will speak of 1Q5 when I mean “all fragments assigned to the siglum 1Q5 with the exception of frgs. 1 and 2.”

vertical or slightly inclined to the left and where the downstroke is also considerably longer. The right downstroke of *alef* in 1Q5 often meets the central line closer to its middle than in frg. 1. The central line is slightly less inclined (ca. 35°) than in frg. 1 (43°). Finally, in 1Q5 the letter is narrower.<sup>13</sup>

1 Reconstructed



*He* is extant only in two fragmentary examples on frg. 1. It seems rather slim and tall with slightly curved legs. The two strokes for the roof slant to the left and leave a small “hole.” The form of both legs resembles the *taw* of frg. 1. *He* on 1Q5 is usually closer to the square form having the same height as their width. Many are close to the loop form of the ossuaries, sometimes with two almost symmetric parts (compare the third *he* from the right in the drawing).



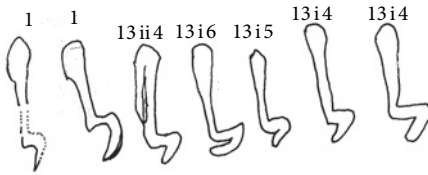
The only extant *yod* on frg. 1 differs very clearly from all attested *yod* on 1Q5 despite its fragmentary state. Its left upstroke is longer and steeper. The angle between both strokes is much smaller and therefore its top is very pointed.



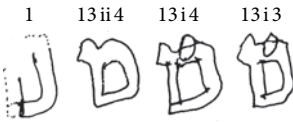
*Kaf* differs to a lesser extent. In frg. 1 it is longer and proportionally slightly narrower. In 1Q5, the bottom line seems to be drawn sometimes independently, perhaps even from left to right (in the same way the scribe writes *bet*).

<sup>13</sup> The first *alef* in frg. 17 looks at the first sight similar to those from frg. 1, yet, the border of the fragment cuts exactly the crucial ends of the right downstroke and the central stroke.

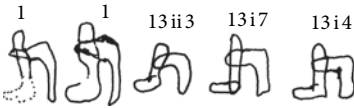




*Lamed* is attested twice on fig. 1, but once too fragmentary to be of much help. The full form is more inclined to the left, and its hook is much wider and “rounder” and goes further down than in 1Q5, where the hook is quite pointed and straighter. The top of the mast is thickened on the left in a way differing from most *lameds* on 1Q5, where the thickening is more on the left side.



The three instances of final *mem* are too fragmentary to be a good indicator. It seems longer. The bottom right corner has a very nice right rounded angle of about 90°. The base line of most of the final *mems* in 1Q5 is more inclined to the left and their bottom right corner has an angle closer to 120°. Yet, the base for any clear distinction is too small.



Finally, *tav* differs again rather clearly. It is narrower in fig. 1 and the left downstroke begins higher above the roof and is more inclined to the left. The roof is inclined, too, and its right end is higher than its left, while the roof of *tav* in 1Q5 is quite level. The right downstroke is considerably curved to the right, while the strokes of 1Q5 are very straight.

We can conclude with considerable conviction that fig. 1 was written by a different hand than the remaining fragments of 1Q5. One solution is that fig. 1 belongs to a different copy of Deuteronomy from Cave 1, which I suggest to call 1Q5a. This would be the third copy of Deuteronomy from Cave 1 aside of 1Q4 and 1Q5. Alternative solutions would be that 1Q5 was written by several hands or that fig. 1 comes from a text that quotes Deuteronomy. The latter option is unlikely due to the length of the hypothetical quotation. The former option should not be discarded out of hand as the ratio of scrolls with more than one scribe is quite high among the full scrolls. More fragmentary scrolls than hitherto recognized could have been written by more than one

scribe.<sup>14</sup> To me, this seems less likely as all other fragments of 1Q5 come from chapters much later than the first chapter.<sup>15</sup>

If this conclusion is so obvious, one could ask, why Dominique Barthélemy has missed to consider it in his edition? Maybe Barthélemy hesitated in assigning a single fragment to yet a third copy of Deuteronomy. In 1954, the predilection for this book among the Qumranites—clearly attested today through the mass of copies in Cave 4—was still unknown in its full scope. In Cave 2 (which was better known at that time), the distribution of books from the Tora is more even: three copies of Deuteronomy are matched by three or four copies of Exodus and Numbers each. Still, if the similar condition of the vellum of the verso of frg. 1 to the rest of 1Q5 was the decisive point, he could have noted more explicitly that the scroll has been written by two hands, a possibility already known at that time from 1QpHab, 1QH<sup>a</sup>, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, 4Q176.

I have compared the script of frg. 1 to all other scripts in Cave 1 and to all other copies of Deuteronomy in the other caves without finding a match.<sup>16</sup> With only six different almost complete letters, the fragment is too small to be securely dated beyond 125 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E., though the probability that it belongs to the earlier part of this period is greater.

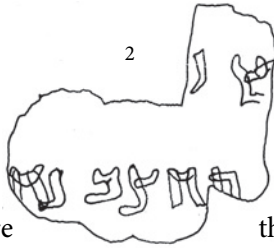
### 3. Discussion of Frg. 2

Another fragment that portrays differences to the rest of 1Q5 is frg. 2 (with Deut 8:8–9). However, the differences are not great enough to

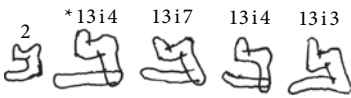
<sup>14</sup> See Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, “Deconstructing the so-called *Genesis Apocryphon* from Masada (*Mas 1m* or *MasapocrGen*),” *RevQ* 23/92 (2008): 533–42, at 538.

<sup>15</sup> Fragment 1: Deut 1:9, 11, 13; frg. 2, whose association with 1Q5 can also be contested, has Deut 8:8–9. There are, however, at least four scrolls from books of the Pentateuch that include fragments from the beginning and from much later chapters without anything in between: e.g., 4Q24=4QLev<sup>b</sup> (eight fragments from Lev 1–3 and the other seventeen fragments from Lev 21–25); 4Q26a=4QLev<sup>c</sup> (two fragments from Lev 3 and six from Lev 19–22); 4Q35=4QDeut<sup>b</sup> (eight fragments from Deut 1 to 4, one with Deut 19, and six from Deut 31–33); 4Q38=4QDeut<sup>kl</sup> (one fragment from Deut 5, one from Deut 11, and three with Deut 32).

<sup>16</sup> 4QDeut<sup>c</sup> (125–100 B.C.E., Cross fig. 2, line 2) and 4QDeut<sup>d</sup> portray some similarities (middle Hasmonean, 125–75 B.C.E. according to Sidnie Crawford in DJD 14:35). See Frank M. Cross, “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. G. Ernest Wright; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961), 133–202.



be sure that we have to speak of two scribes. In general, the letters on fig. 2 are much smaller and more semi-formal than the letters on the other extant fragments of 1Q5.<sup>17</sup> The spacing between lines is also much tighter. However, the other extant fragments portray quite a great variability in line spacing. Despite the different letter size, the reconstructed numbers of letters in a column is about the same as in fig. 13. The column of fig. 2 was less wide than the 15 cm given for frgs. 8 and 13.



*Bet* has a more concave roof than most, yet not all 23, *bets* preserved in 1Q5. Also, in 1Q5, the serif, sometimes a separate downstroke, begins almost always considerably higher up than the right edge of the roof, while both are on the same height in fig. 2 (cf., however the *bet* on fig. 13 i in line 7 לבו).



A comparison with the script of 1Q4 shows that the letters are of similar height and somewhat similar style, though not an exact match. The base line is often convex.



Of the few extant *khets* of 1Q5, two come from fig. 2. One is fragmentary, the other one is complete. Both differ slightly from the other *khet* of 1Q5. The overall size is considerably smaller. Its legs

<sup>17</sup> The first *tav* in col. ii of fig. 13 is of about the same size as the fragmentary *tav* of fig. 2.

are slightly x-legs and the top stroke is less concave. In the other fragments the legs of the *khēt* are straight. The roof of 1Q5 swings a little to the right, an effect absent from frg. 2. The *khets* of 1Q4 are of the same height, though not necessarily by the same hand.

2 13i4



Final *nun*<sup>18</sup> varies greatly in the three versions attested in 1Q5. *Nun* on frg. 2 is smaller, has a more emphasized top movement and a stronger curved tail. 1Q4 seems closer.



*Tsade* differs from 1Q5 in that it is more semi-formal. The right arm does not include an independent or semi-independent downstroke. The left downstroke is much more inclined to the left and curves into the base line without an angle. I have not been able to perceive switches to semi-formal forms in the other fragments of 1Q5. Regretfully, the two *tsades* attested on 1Q4 are very fragmentary. Nevertheless, they show one similarity to frg. 2 in the absence of an independent downstroke for the right hand and a curve instead of a distinct angle for the bottom stroke. Yet, the right arm is more independent than in 1Q5 fragment 2.

In sum, it is not impossible that frg. 2 of 1Q5 was written by the scribe who penned 1Q4. In this case, the fragment, currently called 1Q5 frg. 2 would belong between 1Q4 frg. 2 (Deut 4:47–49) and 1Q4 frg. 3 (Deut 8:18–19) and should best be called 1Q4 2a.<sup>19</sup> Another possibility would be that frg. 2 was part of the same scroll of Deuteronomy as 1Q5 written by a different, i.e., second or third, hand. There are not enough letters though for a clear-cut decision. A codicological examination is needed.

<sup>18</sup> *Mem* is too fragmentary and medial *nun* is very similar. *Tav* is again too fragmented to draw conclusions.

<sup>19</sup> Alternatively, the fragment belongs to a nonbiblical scroll with a long quotation from Deuteronomy.

4. *Dating of 1Q5 Frgs. 3–50*

How old is the main scroll (1Q5 frgs. 3–50)? In general, different letters are roughly of an equal size in one given line though final *mem* is not yet of the same size as the other letters and also *kaf* is still a bit long and narrow (see especially frg. 13 ii). Final *mem* and *samek* are closed. *Vav* and *yod* are with very few exceptions well distinguished—*vav* has a smaller head and a longer downstroke. The base stroke of *bet* is sometimes made from left to right, however, almost always without passing the downstroke. *He* has a double stroke roof.

With regard to ticks and ornaments, we can point to the following observations: *Alef* has a right downstroke (comp. also 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, late Hasmonean-early Herodian). *Nun* sometimes has a slight flag on top of the main downstroke (comp. also 1QM, early Herodian). *Mem* is often crowned with an extra extension in the middle of the roof as is very frequent in the Ossuaries (compare also 1QM, early Herodian). On the other hand, there are no regular ornamental serifs on *gimel* (they are attested in 4QNum<sup>b</sup>, 30 B.C.E.–20 C.E.).<sup>20</sup> And the base stroke of *bet* is not always from left to right, at least it usually does not cross the downstroke. *Lamed* does not have a separate tick, only a thickened mast. With the exception of the closed *samek*, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (line 3 on p. 138 of Cross's schema—50–25 B.C.E.) seems a close comparison. 4Q34 Deut<sup>g</sup> has some similar letters (for example *alef* and *he*) script, yet the overall script seems younger (look, e.g., at the very even letter size of frg. 6 and the base line of *bet*). Sidnie Ann Crawford dates this scroll to 1–25 C.E.<sup>21</sup>

The 30 year ranges proposed in Cross's magisterial paleographical study seem quite narrow compared to ranges given by experts in Greek and Latin paleography of usually 100 years and in the best cases around 50 years. I plan to discuss elsewhere in more detail a proposal to consider the probability of Cross's dates as similar to the  $\sigma^1$  probability in the <sup>14</sup>Carbon tests (ca. 66%), i.e., with a probability of one out of three that the scroll was written earlier or later. A  $\sigma^1$  with

<sup>20</sup> This stroke is attested twice. In addition, twenty-three *gimels* have a small tick, while thirteen *gimels* have none. 4Q427 (4QH<sup>a</sup>), dated to the first century B.C.E., also has a surprising tick on one *gimel* (frg. 7 i 23), see Eileen Schuller's comments in DJD 29:85.

<sup>21</sup> DJD 14:55.

a more reliable 95% probability would enlarge these 30 year ranges considerably.

In view of the above, I would date these fragments to early Herodian as a “ $\sigma^1$  dating” (30–1 B.C.E.). This roughly agrees with Barthélemy’s brief comparison of the style to 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>.<sup>22</sup> I would not exclude the possibility that the scroll was written in the transition from Hasmonean to Herodian period or in the first third of the first century C.E. (mid-Herodian) giving as a “ $\sigma^2$  date” 50 B.C.E.–30 C.E. A date in the second half of the first century C.E. is in my eyes too late when we take into consideration all scribal features of this scribe.<sup>23</sup>

In any case, the date is not the central point of this communication, but the distinction of the hand of frg. 1, and less categorically also frg. 2, from that 1Q5. We have either one scroll with two or even three hands, or more than one scroll from Deuteronomy.

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<sup>22</sup> Cross has compared the script of 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> to 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, characterizing it as transitional type from late Hasmonean to early Herodian. Cf. “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” 138.

<sup>23</sup> Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer*, 85 suggests 25–68 C.E.



THE FIRST PRAYER OF *FESTIVAL PRAYERS* (1Q34+1Q34BIS,  
4Q508, 4Q509): A PRAYER FOR THE BEGINNING OF THE  
QUARTER?

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1. *Introduction*

A fragment with a formal script was discovered in 1949 in Qumran Cave 1, which Józef T. Milik identified like the remainder of a “recueil de prières liturgiques.”<sup>1</sup> This fragment received the siglum 1Q34. In the first volume of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, Milik added two other fragments which belong “presque certainement au même rouleau.”<sup>2</sup> The new fragments edited in the appendix of the volume received the mark 1Q34bis. John C. Trever re-edited these two fragments in an article that completed the publication of fragments from Cave 1.<sup>3</sup> In the seventh volume of DJD in 1982, Maurice Baillet identified three scrolls with a similar content: 4Q507, 4Q508 and 4Q509.<sup>4</sup> He gave them the title “prières pour les fêtes” (i.e., *Festival Prayers*). The two last scrolls are very fragmentary: forty-three fragments in 4Q508 and 303 in 4Q509. Florentino García Martínez assigned the ten fragments of 4Q505<sup>5</sup> to the manuscript 4Q509.<sup>6</sup> Therefore this scroll counts 313 fragments now. Considering the number of fragments, the reconstruction of the columns is difficult. Nevertheless, three passages of 4Q508 and 4Q509 present significant overlaps in 1Q34+1Q34bis and few words of 4Q508 are similar to 4Q509.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Józef T. Milik, DJD 1:136, 152–55, pl. XXXI.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

<sup>3</sup> John C. Trever, “Completion of the Publication of Some Fragments from Qumran Cave 1,” *RevQ* 5/19 (1965): 323–44 at 333, pl. IV.

<sup>4</sup> Maurice Baillet, DJD 7:175–215, pls. IX, XI, XIII, XV, XVII, XIX, XXI–XXII, XXVIII, LIV.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 168–70, pl. XXIII.

<sup>6</sup> Florentino García Martínez, review of Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4 III (4Q482–4Q520)*, *JSJ* 15 (1984): 157–64.

<sup>7</sup> 4Q509 3 // 1Q34 2+1 // 4Q508 2; 4Q508 1 // 1Q34 3 i; 4Q509 97+98 i // 1Q34 3 ii; 4Q508 22–23+21 // possibly 4Q509 8. Cf. Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 161; Elisha Qimron, “Prayers for the Festivals from Qumran: Reconstruction and Philological



## 2. Structure and Literary Genre

Despite the few words preserved, the title given to the document by Maurice Baillet, *Festival Prayers*, is in conformity with the readable passages. The document seems to be a collection of prayers recited during Jewish festivals. But, considering the small fragments, it is difficult to know if each prayer corresponds to a particular festival and if all the Jewish festivals are considered in the document. Only passages about the Day of Atonement (יום כפורים)<sup>8</sup> and the Feast of Weeks (שבועות)<sup>9</sup> are clearly identified by opening formulas. The Passover also seems to be identified.<sup>10</sup> The document *Festival Prayers* has some textual links with another liturgical collection named *Words of the Luminaries* (דברי המארות), i.e., 4Q504 and 4Q506.<sup>11</sup> For example, both documents introduce either the days of the week or the festivals with the same formula: “a prayer for the day of...” (תפלה ליום). Then, in both documents, there is a succession of biblical episodes with some requests in the shape of prayers. Finally, the prayers finish in a benediction like “blessed be the Lord who...” (ברוך אדוני אשר) followed by a double response of the assembly: “Amen. Amen.”<sup>12</sup> A *vacat* often divides the prayers into parts. As *Words of the Luminaries* presents prayers for each day of the week, it is not impossible that the text of 1Q34+1Q34bis gives the prayer(s) for each festival celebrated in the year.

The manuscript 4Q509 allows us to reconstruct the order of the festivals registered in the scroll. The papyrus is an opistograph, i.e., it is written on both sides. On the recto, the *Festival Prayers* (4Q509) were copied around 70–60 B.C.E. according to Baillet.<sup>13</sup> A few years later, according to the editor, a version of the *War Scroll* (4Q496) was copied on the verso around the middle of the first century B.C.E.<sup>14</sup> Then, on the same side, the text of *Words of the Luminaries* (4Q506) was written one century later.<sup>15</sup> The verso of 4Q509 183–313 is blank.

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Observations,” in *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. Martin F. J. Baasten and Wido Th. van Peursen; OLA 118; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 383–93.

<sup>8</sup> 1Q34 2+1 6.

<sup>9</sup> 4Q509 131–132 ii 5. Reconstruct before the word יום or הַג.

<sup>10</sup> 4Q505 125 1–2.

<sup>11</sup> Baillet, DJD 7:137–68, 170–75, pls. XVIII, XX, XXIV, XLIX–LIII.

<sup>12</sup> David Hamidović, “אמן,” in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumranschriften* (ed. Ulrich Dahmen and Heinz-Josef Fabry; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, forthcoming).

<sup>13</sup> Baillet, DJD 7:184.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

By symmetry with both documents copied on the verso and with the overlaps between the copies of *Festival Prayers*, we can try to reconstruct the order of the festivals quoted. Esther G. Chazon<sup>16</sup> and Daniel K. Falk<sup>17</sup> have moderated the order of the festivals proposed by Baillet in the *editio princeps*. Baillet had suggested to put the prayers in the chronological order of the festivals, but he also recognized extra prayers at the end of a few festivals.<sup>18</sup> Chazon and Falk impugn the elementary disposition of the fragments and the prayers according to the annual order of the festivals. The fragments are actually isolated, without textual join. Therefore no order out of the material context of the papyrus can be attested concerning the festivals. Thus, they review the list of the festivals proposed by Baillet. They retain, successively, a possible autumn New Year, the Day of Atonement, the Feast of Booths with possible extra prayers, perhaps the Passover, the Feast of Weeks, and the Passover again. A few fragments remain which may belong to the Passover or the Feast of Weeks.<sup>19</sup>

### 3. *The First Prayer of Festival Prayers: Text, Translation and Notes*

I will discuss only the identification of a prayer with the autumn New Year, the first day of the seventh month (Nisan) of the year which is attested before the quotation of the Day of Atonement and the prayer recited during the feast in 1Q34 2+1 6, "Prayer for the Day of Atonement. Remem[ber, O L]ord [...]," a *vacat* probably indicates the transition from a feast to another. I focus on the feast just before the Day of Atonement. Its prayer is preserved in the four first lines of 1Q34 2+1. Fragment 3 of 4Q509 presents words in common with 1Q34 2+1. It seems that both passages are identical. In the same way, the first line of 4Q508 2 is probably to be placed just before the prayer for the Day of Atonement. Therefore the text read can be increased. Following the framework of the papyrus 4Q509, two fragments marked 1 and 2 have been located before the passage previously described. Thus, there are three passages preceding the prayer for the Day of Atonement.

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<sup>16</sup> Esther G. Chazon, "A Liturgical Document from Qumran and Its Implications: Words of the Luminaries" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1991).

<sup>17</sup> Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 160–62.

<sup>18</sup> Baillet, DJD 7:177, 185.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 162.

4Q509 1+2

	]	כנו	[	1
	]◦◦	מ◦	[	2
	]	יט	חוצות	3
		לפניכֹה	גִּשְׁפֹדֶךָ	4
	]	חֲנוּ	בִקְצֵהָ	5
	] [	ל	[	6
	]◦◦	◦◦	◦◦	7
	]	מוֹשֶׁה	וְתִדְבַר	8
	]	בִּיָּמֵי	אֲשֶׁר	9
	]	אֲשֶׁר	צִוִּיתוֹ	10
	]	כֹּה	עֲמַכָּה	11
	]◦◦	[	◦◦	12

1	] we [
2	] [
3	the m]ud of the streets [
4	in front of y]ou, we pour out [our] pla[int
5	] we [ ] at <sup>21</sup> the period of [
6	] [
7	] [
8	] Moses. And you spoke to[
9	] which is upon [
10	wh]ich you commanded him <sup>22</sup> to[
11	] you [ ] with you <sup>23</sup> [
12	] [

4Q509 3 1-9 + 1Q34+1Q34bis 2+1 1-4 + 4Q508.2 1

	]◦	וְאֹנֶה	הָ	◦	[	1
	]	מִוְעֵד	שְׁלוֹמֵנוּ	]	◦	2
	]	כִּי	שִׂמַחְתָּ	]	◦	3
	]	וְנִפְצֹצוֹתֵינוּ	לְ	]	◦	4

<sup>20</sup> The *yod* is conjectural but a vertical stroke of ink is preserved.

<sup>21</sup> Or “during.”

<sup>22</sup> Or “it.”

<sup>23</sup> Or “your people.”

<sup>24</sup> Qimron, “Prayers for the Festivals,” 384, reads תביאינה.

<sup>25</sup> Qimron, *ibid.*, restores וזכרתה.

<sup>26</sup> Qimron, *ibid.*, proposes to continue with the first word restored in the first lacuna of line 3. He reconstructs the text from 1Q34bis 2+1 because we can see the right margin and the first words of three lines. Nevertheless, his proposition does not seem to correspond to the available space and layout of the words in 4Q509 3. Blank spaces or scribal errors can be alleged but it is speculative.

<sup>27</sup> Qimron, *ibid.*, restores תשמח]נו.

<sup>28</sup> Qimron, *ibid.*, restores פדותך.

<sup>29</sup> Qimron, *ibid.*, does not restore this word. He restores שנה ותתן after לתקופת.

ח[סְדִיכָהּ עַל עֲדַתְנוּ כַּשֵּׁ עִירִים עַל הָאָרֶץ בְּמוֹעֲדֵי זֶרַע]	5
]וּכְרַבִּיבִים עַל־עָשָׁב בְּמוֹעֲדֵי דְשָׂא וְ] <sup>31</sup>	6
]וְאֵנוּ נִסְפְּרָה־נָּ] פְּלֵא[וֹ]תִיכָה לְדוֹר וְדוֹר] <sup>33</sup> vacat	7
וְ] בְּרוּךְ אֲדוֹנָי <sup>34</sup> אֲשֶׁר שִׂמַּח־נוּ וְשִׂכְנָתָהּ בְּתוֹכֵנוּ	8
]־־־[	9

- 1 ] and her sorrow [
- 2 ] the appointed time of our peace[
- 3 for you gladdened] us<sup>35</sup> from our suffering and you gathered[ our proscribed ones for the appointed time of
- 4 ] and our scattered on[e]s for [the turning of, you] as[sembled (them) for the turning of
- 5 ] your [mer]cies on our congregation are like the ra[indrops on the earth at the appointed time of seed]
- 6 [and like the sudden downpours on the gr]ass at the appointed time of germination and[
- 7 [We shall recount] your [w]ond[er]s for generation after genera[tion. vacat]
- 8 [vacat Bless]ed be the Lord who made [us] rejoice [and may he dwell in our midst
- 9 ] [

The preserved text remains very fragmentary and the interpretations on these fragments are to be carefully considered. Moreover, Falk identifies a prayer for the autumn New Year and he adds a question mark.<sup>36</sup> In the same way, Milik<sup>37</sup> and Baillet<sup>38</sup> remained cautious about this identification. I propose another interpretation.

Like the other festival prayers and the daily prayers preserved in *Words of the Luminaries*, 4Q509 1+2; 3 seems to be a form of historical confession of sins and of wonders accomplished by God. Following the prophetic passages in Mic 7:10; Zech 9:3; 10:5 and Ps 18:43, the picture of the “mud in the streets” in 4Q509 1+2 3 aims at pointing out an ignominious situation for the speaking group. This group, identified

<sup>30</sup> 1Q34+1Q34bis 2+1 3: עָלֵי.

<sup>31</sup> For Qimron, “Prayers for the Festivals,” 384, this *vav* is the conjunction prefixed to וְ, i.e., the first word restored in the lacuna of line 7.

<sup>32</sup> Qimron, *ibid.*, does not note the *he*.

<sup>33</sup> According to 1Q34+1Q34bis 2+1 4, the last word is directly followed by the words read in line 8. The end of line 7 and the beginning of line 8 may have a *vacat*.

<sup>34</sup> 1Q34+1Q34bis 2+1 4: אֲדוֹנָי.

<sup>35</sup> According to the reading of Qimron, “Prayers for the Festivals,” 384: “[for you make] us rejoice.”

<sup>36</sup> Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 162.

<sup>37</sup> Milik, DJD 1:136.

<sup>38</sup> Baillet, DJD 7:185.

by the personal pronoun “we,” directly speaks to an entity in the singular who can be only God himself. The confession of the group is in the shape of a plaint (שׁיח)—the word is probably at line 4 of the same fragment—which recalls the first verse of Ps 102. This literary genre probably harks back the offences committed by the Israelite people during the time of Moses in spite of God’s commandments according to the last words preserved in 4Q509 1+2.

After this form of historical confession of sins, there are the wonderful actions accomplished by God in 4Q509 3. Fragments 1+2 and 3 seem to be separated by two lines only in the framework of the papyrus 4Q509. Therefore frgs. 1+2 must be followed by frg. 3. The sorrow, probably the sorrow of the afflicted ones in the first fragment, finishes with the rejoicing of the group in 4Q509 3 3. In the previous line, the expression “the appointed time of our peace” seems to indicate that God has already intervened to console the sinners.<sup>39</sup> The locution is attested in 4Q512 17 2 but it is in a broken context,<sup>40</sup> and in 4Q284 2 ii 6: “the appointed times of peac[e] for the weake[ned ones (אומל[לים]).”<sup>41</sup> This last manuscript looks like a liturgy of purification. The quoted passage is situated after a purification of an impure person during seven days. This person cannot eat with his fellows during this time. At the end of the seven days, the excluded person begins a benediction: “Blessed are you, God of Israel [...]” Then, the following line mentions “the appointed times of peac[e] for the weake[ned ones.” The locution recited in the framework of a prayer indicates that the period of impurity is now over for the “weakened ones,” literally the “wasted away” after impurity. Therefore the expression “the appointed time of our peace” in 4Q509 3 2 indicates that the misfortune which strikes the group is now finished.

Then the second part of the seemingly historical confession begins with the wonderful actions accomplished by God himself during history. God restores joy among the afflicted ones with the verb שׁמח. This idea is very close to Jer 31:13 when God comforts (נחם) and he gladdens (שׁמח) from the suffering (יגון) at the return of Exile. In the first prayer of *Festival Prayers*, God gathers the “proscribed ones” and

<sup>39</sup> Billah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. Jonathan Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 102, noted the expression invokes “the promise of mercy and redemption at a predetermined time.”

<sup>40</sup> Baillet, DJD 7:262–86.

<sup>41</sup> Joseph Baumgarten, DJD 35:126.

the “scattered ones” of the group. The phraseology is also close to Isa 11:12. This chapter of Isaiah aims at establishing a pacific kingdom where harmony will rule all the Israelites and where the Israelite Diaspora settled among the nations will come back as the Hebrews came out of Egypt to settle down in Canaan. This verse explains more precisely the sense of the expression “the appointed time of our peace.” The theme of gathering the proscribed ones and the scattered ones is frequent in biblical history. If we assign this pattern to a Jewish feast, we may choose the feast of Passover which commemorates the departure from Egypt. But no passage of the Passover’s liturgy resumes the preserved expressions in the considered fragments. The passage of Isa 11:12 probably inspired the following sentence in the “sanctification of the day” extracted from the service of *musaf* ‘*Amida* recited during the festivals:<sup>42</sup> וקרב פזורינו מבין הגוים ונפוצותינו כנס מירכתי ארץ, “Bring these of ours together who are scattered from among the nations: gather our scattered ones from the corners of the earth.” The passage looks like the verse of Isaiah, but the Hebrew terminology presents very few words in common with 4Q509 3 3–4.<sup>43</sup> The theme of the proscribed ones and the scattered ones does not seem to be attached to one festival in particular around the turn of the era.<sup>44</sup>

The regained joy of the group with God’s help in lines 3 to 8 has served as an argument to identify a prayer recited during the autumn New Year. The first day of the seventh month is actually described with this pattern in the *Temple Scroll* (11QT<sup>a</sup> 25:9). After having given the detail of the holocausts, the oblations, and the libations, we read: “you shall rejoice on this day and then, you shall do no servile work.

<sup>42</sup> *Seder R. Amram* in Daniel Goldschmidt, *Maḥzor for the Days of Awe* (Jerusalem: Qoren, 1970), 126 [Hebrew].

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Lawrence H. Schiffman, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early History of Jewish Liturgy,” in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (ed. Lee I. Levine; Philadelphia, Pa.: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1987), 33–48 at 42; Moshe Weinfeld, “Prayer and Liturgical Practice in the Qumran Sect,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 241–58, at 245.

<sup>44</sup> Esther G. Chazon, “Prayers from Qumran and Their Historical Implications,” *DSD* 1 (1994): 265–84 at 278–79; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 106–7: “a kind of crystallized model of the needs of the people, consistently repeated. These petitions are not concerned with the ordinary, everyday needs of people, but address themselves to needs concerned with the spiritual perfection of the worshippers—forgiveness, repentance, knowledge; and with national hopes—the end of the sufferings of humiliation and dispersion, the uprooting of evil, and the realization of the aims of the election of Israel: to be a holy people, and to serve God constantly.”

This day will be for you a day of rest.” The same verb (שמח) is used in both texts. But if we examine the description of each festival given in the first part of the *Temple Scroll*, the theme of rejoicing is not attached to one festival in particular. For example, the pattern is found in the notice on the investitures requiring the attendance of the high priest and priests, after the celebration of New Year, the first day of the first month. In 11QT<sup>a</sup> 17:2, it is written: “they [i.e., the priests] shall rejoice.” In the same way, during the Feast of New Wine in 11QT<sup>a</sup> 21:8, we can read: “the sons of Israel shall rejoice in front of YHWH.” During the Feast of New Oil in 11QT<sup>a</sup> 22:16, it is written: “they shall rejoice.” In the quoted passages, the rejoicing of the Israelites often concludes the description of the rituals. The pattern simply marks the popular approval in front of the achievement and the efficiency of the prescribed ritual like in Deut 12:12–18. In a poem recited during the Samaritan liturgy of the Day of Atonement,<sup>45</sup> the final benediction indicates that God gladdens the faithful as in 4Q509. But it seems that this theme is not specific to the Day of Atonement.

In the rabbinic liturgy of the Jewish festivals, joy is associated with the three festivals of pilgrimage (Passover, Feast of Weeks, and Feast of Booths) like in the benediction of the “sanctification” in the *kiddush*: “in your love (for us), O Lord our God, you have given us (the Sabbath of the rest and) the festivals for joy, the solemnity and the (sacred) epochs for rejoicing.” The Feast of Booths seems to attach a great importance to the pattern of joy because many passages preserve the motif. The following passage in the *kiddush* notes: “(this day of Sabbath and) this Festival of Unleavened Bread, period of our deliverance, of Weeks, period of the gift of our Torah, of Booths, period of our joy, (by love), holy convocation, remembrance of the departing of Egypt.” Then the benediction recalls that the festivals, without distinction, are moments of joy: “It is for us that you have given in inheritance (the Sabbath in love and in benevolence and) your sacred festivals for joy and rejoicing.” Thus the regained joy of the group like a gift of God is attested in the prayers of the pilgrimage’s festivals, especially in the Feast of Booths, but this pattern is not attested in the liturgy of the New Year festival. The mention of regained joy seems to

<sup>45</sup> Arthur E. Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1909), 2:506; Manfred R. Lehmann, “‘Yom Kippur’ in Qumran,” *RevQ* 3/9 (1961): 103–24, at 120–21.

be a common theme for nearly all the Jewish festivals.<sup>46</sup> In the fragments of *Festival Prayers*, the motif of rejoicing is not the mark of God's wonderful intervention in the biblical history. Thus, the passage from Isa 9:2 recalls that God gives to people: "great joys; he rejoices before you as men rejoice in harvest, and as men rejoice when they divide the spoil."

In the framework of the wonderful actions accomplished by God, the group which is named "congregation" (הַעֲדָה) profits from divine "[mer]cies." The Hebrew word indicates a community or a particular group in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The word is a synonym for קָהָל if we compare CD 13:11 and 1QS 8:19, for example. The term also indicates groups like the "congregation of treacherous" in CD 1:12 or the community of the Israelites in the Old Testament.<sup>47</sup> With the fragmentary state of the scrolls, it is difficult to identify the group because the word "congregation" is generic.

#### 4. Chronological hints and natural phenomena

The natural phenomena and the calendrical references preserved in 4Q509 3 4–6 are particularly instructive in order to understand the first prayer of *Festival Prayers*. In line 4, God must gather the "scattered ones" for "the turning of..." The end of the line is also lost in 1Q34+1Q34bis. The word תְּקוּפָה is found twenty-four times in the nonbiblical Qumran scrolls. Its translation is under debate: "middle of course," "cycle," "circuit" or "season." After examining the references in the scrolls, the word seems to indicate either a period or a precise moment during the year. For example, in the Hebrew of *Jub.* 2:9 preserved in 4Q216 VI 7–8, the author describes the solar calendar: "He has put the sun like a [gre]at [sign above the earth] for the day[s], the [Sab]baths, [the months, the feasts, the years, the weeks of years, the jubilees, and for all the cycles of years]." The author of *Jubilees*

<sup>46</sup> 4Q502 9 3, 8 presents this pattern for a ritual. The identification of 4Q502 with a ritual of marriage is still in debate, cf. Baillet, *DJD* 7:81–105; Joseph M. Baumgarten, "4Q502, Marriage or Golden Age Ritual," *JJS* 34 (1983): 125–35; Weinfeld, "Prayer and Liturgical Practice," 241–58; García Martínez, review of Maurice Baillet, 161; Michael L. Satlow, "4Q502 A New Year Festival?" *DSD* 5 (1998): 57–68. The theme of joy is omnipresent in the marriage according to Gary A. Anderson, *A Time to Mourn, A Time to Dance: the Expression of Grief and Joy in Israelite Religion* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 59–97 and 117–26.

<sup>47</sup> For example, Exod 12:3, 6, 47; Num 16:2.



classifies the temporal units by the increasing order of duration. He notes the feasts, i.e., the appointed times of the year. He concludes with the expression [תק]ופות השנים. It may be understood as either the “cycles of years” gathering all the preceding measures of time in use, or the expression may constitute a different periodization of the chronological units named previously. Although we keep in mind that the same word can receive a different meaning from one author to another, the comparison between two passages is instructive.

A fragmentary passage of the *War Scroll*, 1QM 10:15, is helpful. In the exhortation of the high priest before the battle, it is noted after a lacuna: “holy feasts, annual cycles, and periods of eternity.” The “cycles” (תקופות) are distinguished from the feasts or the appointed times (מועד) and the eternal periods (קץ). Thus, there is no confusion between the feasts, the appointed times, and the cycles. In the *Hodayot*, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:25–26, it is written: “everything has been engraved before you with the pen of memorial for all the perpetual periods and the cycles of the eternal years’ number with all their appointed times.” The cycles serve to count the years which themselves contain the feasts. From this comparison, we maintain that the תקופות indicate the annual cycles without confusion to the feasts or the appointed times. In the considered passage, 4Q509 3 4, the term is in the singular (and in the construct state: תקופת). A passage of *Daily Prayers*, 4Q503 215, gives the clue to the translation. At the beginning of the passage, the faithful praises and blesses the God of Israel during the evening. Then, in lines 6 to 9, it is written: “when the light of day shines on the earth, they shall bless and shall answer saying: ‘Blessed are you, God of light [...] he shall send the peace [...] the peace on you, Israel, at the תקופת השנה.’” If we translate “the peace on you, Israel, at the cycle of the year,” the meaning is peculiar.

The same locution exists in another context, in Exod 34:22: “You shall celebrate the Feast of Weeks, of the First fruits of wheat harvest, and the feast of Ingathering at the תקופת השנה.” If we translate again “at the cycle of the year,” the sense is obscure. Therefore the word תקופת probably indicates a “turning” of the year, a moment when the agricultural activities change. Only the context allows one to know if it is the “cycle” or the “turning.” It is also possible that behind the mention of cycles (*infra*), there is an echo of an old-fashioned count of annual turning points linked to agricultural works. Our predecessors in translation were obviously puzzled, for the Septuagint translated by

an approximate expression: μεσοῦντος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, “in the middle of the year.” This translation might mean that the Feast of Weeks is near the middle of the autumn year. Otherwise, the Masoretic Text of Exod 34:22 considers the Feast of Weeks, the Feast of First Fruits, and the Feast of Ingathering like a “turning” (תְּקוּפָה) of the year, i.e, the agricultural year. This “turning” is probably the autumn equinox, for the Feast of Ingathering corresponds to the Feast of Booths according to Exod 23:16. Flavius Josephus, in *Ant.* 3.244, obviously links the Feast of Booths to the moment when “the climate turns towards the winter.” The context of 4Q503 215 9 may be translated by the “turning of the year” because the light shines on the earth when the day arrives. Its benefits seem identical to those of the spring, the “turning of the year.” Thus, the word תְּקוּפָה notes a “turning” point of the agricultural year in connection with a solstice or an equinox. The liturgical calendar 4Q324d 3 ii 3 specifies that the תְּקוּפָה is a special day in the liturgy:<sup>48</sup> [...תְּקוּפָה] [יְעִי] [וּמֵהַרְבֵּי יְעִי], “[...on the fou[rth d]ay, the turning poi[nt of...]”. But the same word can also note a “cycle” in some texts as we have seen.

What is the best translation of תְּקוּפָה for 4Q509 3? Although the context is fragmentary, the terminology is connected to the natural phenomena and the agricultural seasons in lines 5–6. Therefore line 4 probably indicates one of the year’s four “turnings.” It is difficult to know which “turning” point is noted. But the text associates a “turning” with the gathering of the “scattered ones.” As we have written, if this last theme corresponds to the Passover celebrated the fourteenth day of the first month or, according to Exod 23:16, the Feast of Unleavened Bread held from the fifteenth to the twenty-first day of the same month, then concomitance of these feasts with the vernal equinox may identify this moment with the “turning” noted. Both feasts are celebrated during the month of Abib, “month of ears” in Deut 16:1, 8, which is the first month of the vernal year. Following this interpretation, the locution “and may he dwell in our midst” in 4Q509 3 8 (4Q508 2 1) may be an echo of the deuteronomistic prescription to sacrifice in “the place which YHWH your God shall choose” according to Deut 16:6. Nevertheless, the hypothesis presents

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<sup>48</sup> Stephen Pfann, DJD 28, pls. LIX–LX.

a fragile base because the gathering of the scattered ones is not specific to the Passover liturgy.

Finally, although the text is fragmentary, it preserves the term מועד four times. It may be translated as “feast” or “appointed time” in the Bible<sup>49</sup> and in the nonbiblical texts of Qumran.<sup>50</sup> As we have seen above, the expression of line 2, “the appointed time of our peace,” means that the time of distress is finished: God comforts the afflicted group. The translation “appointed time” seems imperative for this line. But, in the next line, the sentence “you gathered our proscribed ones for the appointed time of . . .” invites to not eliminate the possibility of a feast in the lacuna. In the preserved context, it is difficult to know which feast may be noted. We have examined the Passover and the Feast of the Unleavened Bread but such phraseology is unknown out of Isa 11:12. Lines 5 and 6 are more complete. The divine mercies fall to the congregation. The benefits of mercy are compared to “the rain drops on the earth” and to “the sudden downpours on the grass,” i.e., the fertilizing power of the rain on the cultivated land. The comparison recalls the second verse of the Song of Moses in Deut 32. But the context is different because both images of fertility mean that the instructions of Moses must spread in the Israelite people.<sup>51</sup> Manfred R. Lehmann notes the use of Moses’ Song in a poem recited on the Day of Atonement by the Samaritans.<sup>52</sup> As we have noted, if both images used in the song are near these of 4Q509, the context is firmly different. Therefore the images on the benefits of the rain could not be an argument to identify the Day of Atonement.

These two images correspond to two different moments in the agricultural calendar. The “raindrops on the earth” happen to מועדי זרע. The expression refers to the moment when the farmer sows his field. The image of the raindrop, which will allow to the seed to grow from the matrix constituted by the earth, means the benevolence of

<sup>49</sup> For example, Exod 9:5; Deut 16:6.

<sup>50</sup> For example, CD 3:14; 1QS 1:9; 1QM 1:8.

<sup>51</sup> Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 102: “This aspect of the season of mercy and forgiveness is likewise seen in the metaphor ‘Your [gr]aces on our congregation like ra[in]drops . . . in the season of sowing], and like showers . . . in the season of sprouting,’ which reverses the metaphor borrowed from Moses’ eschatological song (Deut 32:2) to an image concerning a promise of something that will take place at a fixed time known in advance, like the fixed seasons of the year. The prayer itself refrains from defining this period too explicitly, sufficing with a mere hint.”

<sup>52</sup> Lehmann, “Yom Kippur’ in Qumran,” 120–21.

God for the congregation. God has helped or will help the congregation to grow. Therefore the locution זרע מועדי is to be translated “the appointed times of seed.” The word “seed” is not in the three considered manuscripts (1Q34+1Q34bis, 4Q508, 4Q509) but we have restored it to balance the locution מועדי דשא, “the appointed times of germination.” The metaphor of the “sudden downpours,” the “showers,” refers to the birth of the congregation, the time when the group has taken shape; it seems to spring from the earth if we follow the image. The restoration of זרע after מועדי is unknown in the Bible but it is attested in 1QS 10:7 in the singular.

Both agricultural periods in 4Q509 3 are explained by the passage of 1QS 10:6–8:

<p>6 {oo} תרומת שפתים הברכנו כחוק חרות לעד בראשי {o} שנים ובתקופת מועדיהם בהשלם חוק</p> <p>7 תכונם יום משפטו זה לזה מועד קציר לקיץ ומועד זרע למועד דשא מועדי שנים לשבועיהם</p> <p>8 וברוש שבועיהם למועד דרוור ובכול היותי חוק חרות בלשוני לפרי תהלה ומנת שפתי</p>	<p>6</p> <p>7</p> <p>8</p>
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- 6 (With an) offering of lips, I will bless him according to an eternally engraved precept: at the beginnings of the years and at the turning of their appointed times, when is realized the precept of
- 7 their measure the day of his ordinance, one to the other, the appointed time of harvest until the summer and the appointed time of seed until the appointed time of germination; the appointed time of years until their weeks (of years)
- 8 and the beginning of the weeks (of years) until the appointed time of liberation. During all my existence, the engraved precept will be on my tongue like a fruit of prayer and a part of my lips.

Column 10 of the *Community Rule* enjoins the faithful to respect the calendar fixed by God at the time of Creation. Thus, the column begins with the recall of the course of light and darkness. Each is well delimited by a “turning” (תקופה). These courses are similar to the courses of the celestial luminaries. In a difficult text, the author explains the links between the celestial luminaries, the appointed times with the sense of seasons, the months and the days. In line 4, the respect of the appointed times beginning the days of the new moon are the sign of the God’s “eternal mercies.” The divine “mercies” on the congregation are also noted in 4Q509 3 5. The respect for the beginning of the months and days is perceived like a “memorial” of the appointed times. Thus, these times are sacred and therefore they are honoured by

an “eternally engraved precept.” Lines 6 to 8 specify what is revered. By the prayer, i.e., the “offering of lips,” the faithful commits himself to bless God “at the beginnings of the years and at the turning of their appointed times.” The beginning of the year refers to the first day of the year or the period just after this day. According to the following line where the listing of the appointed times begins with the vernal equinox, it is probably the spring New Year,<sup>53</sup> the first day of the first month. The author distinguishes this moment from the turnings of the appointed times: the time of harvest, i.e., the vernal equinox, the summer with the sense of the summer solstice, the time of seed, i.e., the autumn equinox,<sup>54</sup> and the time of germination, i.e., the winter solstice. Other cycles are also considered in this notice: year, week (of years) and jubilee. The passage of 4Q509 3 5–6 probably refers to the autumn equinox and winter solstice. Following the pattern of 1QS 10:6–8, the lost appointed time in the lacuna of line 3, when the “proscribed ones” are gathered by God, corresponds to the summer solstice. In the same way, the “turning” when the surviving ones are assembled in line 4 may correspond to the vernal equinox. In the following line, the divine mercies take place in a context similar to 1QS 10.

### 5. *A Feast for the Beginning of the Quarter?*

Thus the very close parallel with 1QS 10:6–8 and the difficulty to assign the locutions preserved in 4Q509 3 to a feast suggest a new interpretation of the first prayer in *Festival Prayers*. The preserved passages in this document correspond to prayers recited during feasts. If the first three fragments of 4Q509 may be assigned to a feast, the hypothesis of a feast for the beginning of the quarter may fit in with the preserved locutions. As we have seen, according to the context, the term *תְּקוּפָה* like the word *מוֹעֵד* may note a precise moment. Therefore we translate respectively “turning” and “appointed time.” But if it is duration, we translate respectively “cycle” and “feast” without knowing if the feast lasts one day or many days.

Before examining this option, we cannot avoid another interpretation of the same fragments of 4Q509. The beginning of the document

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *1 En.* 82:11–20; *Jub.* 29:16.

<sup>54</sup> Joseph Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns* (SJ 9; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977), 151.

is not assigned to a particular feast. It may be an introduction for the following prayers recited during the festivals. According to this interpretation, 4Q509 1+2; 3 may explain and justify the grounds for the calendar of the festivals. Fragments 1+2 recall the punishment imposed on the Israelites after the violations of the commandments given to Moses by God. The plaint, the sorrow of the sinners ceased so as to give way to the wonderful actions of God related for generation after generation. The congregation is no more weighed down with misfortune; the proscribed ones are gathered; the scattered ones are assembled. These noteworthy acts for the congregation take place at an appointed time or at a turning point of the agricultural calendar. The reference to the agricultural calendar instead of the commemorative feasts is explained by the demonstration given in 1QS 10. The agricultural calendar is based on the appointed times, i.e., the solstices and the equinoxes. The latter are perceived like remarkable moments in the course of the celestial luminaries, created by God in Gen 1:14–16. The celestial luminaries are created after the distinction between day and night at the beginning of Creation in Gen 1:5. The day and the night follow the separation between light and darkness in Gen 1:3–4. With the demonstration counted down, the author puts forward the respect of the sacred times created by God during the creation. The feasts like the other sacred times must be celebrated by prayers and benedictions according to the notice of 1QS 10:6–8. In the collection of *Festival Prayers*, the final benedictions of prayers correspond to the pattern: “Blessed be the Lord who . . .” Moreover, the same benediction of 4Q509 3 8 probably indicates the end of the introduction. The passage of *1 En.* 82:13–20 may confirm this interpretation because there is the same division of times in quarters. Each quarter of the year is under the authority of an angelic “guide” and each quarter is described by natural phenomena and agricultural times according to each corresponding season. The first day of each quarter is perceived by the author of this passage like an important moment of the year. In lines 5–6, these four days of the year are a subject of controversy because they are not respected: “The men lead astray in not counting in the calendar of the year.” The author recalls: “they belong to the calendar of the year and they are really assigned to the eternity.”

According to another interpretation based on the parallel of 1QS 10 also, the introduction of *Festival Prayers* may be a prayer for the beginnings of the quarter. These moments are not precisely defined; we do not know if these times correspond to the first day of the quarter or

the time of the solstice or the equinox. The beginnings of the quarter are reserved for the recitation of the prayers like during the Sabbath according to 4Q512 33+35 1–3.<sup>55</sup> The preserved text in 4Q509 3 recalls the digression after the appointment of the Feast of Weeks in *Jub.* 6:23–29. The commemoration of this feast recalls for the author of *Jubilees* the commemoration of the beginning of each season “in the four divisions of the year,” i.e., each quarter. The beginning of each season recalls a moment of the flood’s story: the beginning of the first month commemorates the order of making the ark and the opening of the ark at the end of the flood; the beginning of the fourth month indicates the end of the torrential rain; the beginning of the seventh month commemorates the beginning of the drop in level; and the beginning of the tenth month corresponds to the rejoicing of Noah when he saw the top of the mountains. These dates are “feasts of remembrance” instituted eternally.

The author continues with the description of the solar calendar and the injunction to respect strictly its organisation. The explanation of the division of time in quarters linked to the flood is specific to the *Jubilees*, but the idea by which the beginnings of the quarters are “feasts of remembrance” exists before the writing of the *Jubilees*.<sup>56</sup> In addition to the Passover characterized by the remembrance in Exod 12:14, the first day of the seventh month (the autumn New Year) is also a moment of remembrance. But, according to Num 10:10, the motif of remembrance seems to be extended to other feasts and to the beginnings of the months. Other fragments of *Festival Prayers* attest to this preoccupation because remembrance is present in the liturgy of many feasts.<sup>57</sup> The appointed times of the agricultural calendar in 4Q509 3 invite us to assign the theme of remembrance to the appointed times for the beginning of the quarter. The remembrance of events, lived or not by a group or a congregation, may fit with the content of 4Q509 3 3–4. As we have seen, the mention of “proscribed ones” and “scattered ones” gathered by God at an appointed time or at a turning point does not correspond to what we know about the content of the Feast of Booths. And the agricultural images are remote from the themes of Passover. But remembrance of such an event may be commemorated

<sup>55</sup> Baillet, DJD 7:264.

<sup>56</sup> Lev 23:24–25 for the first day of the seventh month; *1 En.* 82.

<sup>57</sup> 1Q34+1Q34bis 3 ii 5; 4Q505 125 1; 4Q509 12 i+13 5; 131–132 ii 5.

in a feast for the beginning of the quarter, a feast characterized by remembrance. The feasts for the beginning of the quarter are attested by two calendars excavated from Cave 4: the calendar of 4QMMT (marked 4Q327 or 4Q394 1–2 ii 16) and the calendar 4Q320 4 iii 6. After having received a date, they are named “day of remembrance” (יום זכרון).

The author of the introduction of *Festival Prayers* may develop the ideas of *Jubilees*, of the *Astronomical Treatise* (1 En. 72–82), and of the hymn in 1QS 10. We can say no more on the *Sitz im Leben* of *Festival Prayers* by studying only these fragments. The provenance of the collection is still in debate.<sup>58</sup> It is difficult to choose between these two interpretations. But the pattern of the preserved passages is similar to the following prayers for the festivals and to the daily liturgy of *Words of the Luminaries*. This resemblance suggests identifying a prayer for the beginning of the quarter. According to Chazon<sup>59</sup> and Falk,<sup>60</sup> the prayers are not listed in the order attested in the *Temple Scroll*, for example. The indisputable identification of a prayer for the Day of Atonement after the considered fragments does not prove the reference to a prayer for the autumn New Year. But the identification of a feast and a liturgy for the beginning of the quarter can also include a reference to the autumn New Year. As we have underlined, the considered passages are fragmentary. Thus it is reasonable to be cautious when studying these interpretations and the complicated history of Jewish festivals.

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<sup>58</sup> Johann Maier, “Zu Kult und Liturgie der Qumrangemeinde,” *RevQ* 14/56 (1990): 543–86 at 577, thinks that *Festival Prayers* are influenced by the 777 theology; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 156–57 knows “no features distinctive to the Yahad” (156); James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls 6; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000), 17: “Nothing in the surviving content is specifically sectarian, but neither are there elements that would be objectionable to the sectarians. Overall it seems more likely than not that the Festival Prayers were composed outside the Qumran community and were adopted for use by its members.”

<sup>59</sup> Chazon, “A Liturgical Document.”

<sup>60</sup> Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 160–62.





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