

Sapiential, Liturgical  
& Poetical Texts  
from Qumran

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*Proceedings of  
the Third Meeting  
of the International  
Organization for  
Qumran Studies,  
Published  
in Memory of  
Maurice Baillet*

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*Edited by*  
Daniel K. Falk,  
F. García Martínez &  
Eileen M. Schuller

BRILL

SAPIENTIAL, LITURGICAL AND  
POETICAL TEXTS FROM QUMRAN

# STUDIES ON THE TEXTS OF THE DESERT OF JUDAH

EDITED BY

F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ  
A. S. VAN DER WOUDE

ASSOCIATE EDITOR

P.W. FLINT

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*Abbé Maurice Baillet (1923-1998)*

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## PREFACE

The Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies (IOQS) was held in Oslo, Norway, on 2-4 August 1998, in association with the Meeting of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament (IOSOT). The meeting was mainly dedicated to the study of the "Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran", although other topics were also discussed. In the Business Meeting of the IOQS, which was held as usual at the close of the congress, it was decided to publish the lectures dealing with the central topic in memory of Prof. Maurice Baillet, the editor of many liturgical compositions from Cave 4 in DJD 7, who passed away shortly before the meeting. His publication of 4Q498-512 in 1982 has had a lasting impact on later study of the liturgical texts discovered at Qumran, and we are all in his debt for that pioneering work. Prof. Émile Puech has kindly provided a biographical sketch and a complete bibliography of Maurice Baillet which, together with the opening words of the Executive Secretary of the IOQS on the topic of the congress, open this volume.

The fourteen papers selected for publication are arranged in three sections. The first section, "Sapiential Texts," contains four studies on different wisdom texts from Cave 4. The second section, "Liturgical and Poetical Texts," is formed by seven papers dealing with independent poetic or liturgical compositions. The third section, "Qumran Wisdom and the New Testament," presents three papers which explore the relationship of wisdom materials found at Qumran and some passages of the New Testament. Within each section the papers are arranged alphabetically, according to the name of the author.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the unfailing support at the Qumran Institute of the University of Groningen for all the activities of the IOQS, and to thank Dr. Anders Aschim and the Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology of Oslo for the gracious help with the organization of the congress and the splendid reception offered to all participants to the meeting.

The Editors

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## ABBÉ MAURICE BAILLET (1923-1998)

ÉMILE PUECH

CNRS – Jérusalem

Né le 25 mars 1923 à Bordeaux (Gironde), l'abbé Maurice Jean Joseph Baillet s'est éteint dans sa soixante quinzième année au matin du 4 février 1998 dans la maison qui l'a vu naître et où il a passé, en ermite, la majeure partie de sa vie.

Après de brillantes études secondaires à l'école Saint-Genès de Bordeaux où, à seize ans, en 1939, il passa son baccalauréat de philosophie, il suivit de 1939 à 1941 des études classiques de grec, latin, littérature française, grammaire et philologie à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux où il obtint la licence ès lettres. De 1941 à 1943, il étudia au Grand Séminaire de Bordeaux et, de 1943 à 1948, il poursuivit ses études de théologie à l'Institut Catholique de Toulouse où il obtint la licence, après une interruption d'une année, pour le service armé dans la vallée d'Aspe d'abord et ensuite comme professeur de philosophie et de littérature française à l'École Militaire Préparatoire d'Autun (mars 1945-mars 1946). Ordonné prêtre le 22 mars 1947 au Sacré-Cœur de Bordeaux par Monseigneur Feltin, il fut nommé en mars 1948 vicaire à Saint-Ferdinand d'Arcachon, ville durement marquée par la guerre. L'année académique 1949-50, il partit Outre-Rhin aux Facultés de Théologie Catholique et Protestante, de l'Université Karl Eberhard de Tubingue. De retour en France, il fut nommé vicaire de Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois et, de 1950 à 1952, il suivit des cours de spécialisation, principalement en langues orientales, akkadien, hébreu, araméen et syriaque, au Collège de France et à la IV<sup>e</sup> section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études de Paris où il fut admis comme élève titulaire en 1951. Parallèlement, il suivait des cours d'arabe littéral et oriental et d'hébreu moderne à l'École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, des cours d'akkadien et d'archéologie orientale à l'École du Louvre et des cours de syriaque à l'École des Langues Orientales Anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris.

Muni d'un tel bagage, il était fort bien préparé pour un séjour fructueux à l'École Biblique et Archéologique Française comme

boursier de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres de 1952 à 1954. L'année 1952 était l'époque des grandes découvertes de manuscrits anciens dans les grottes 2, 3, 4, 5 et 6 de Qumrân, sans compter ceux de *Khirbet Mird* et des wadîs Khabra et Seyiâl dans le désert de Juda. L'abbé Maurice Baillet se mit tout de suite au travail. Il commença à se familiariser avec cette nouvelle littérature et à se faire la main à l'édition de manuscrits. Les deux mémoires d'élève titulaire et d'élève diplômé de l'École Biblique et Archéologique Française, également présentés à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, s'intitulaient respectivement "La grotte II de Qumrân et le manuscrit de Jérémie 2QJer," et "Essai sur les fragments araméens de Qumrân Grotte 2." Il en extraira l'essentiel dans la publication *princeps*. Tout en assouvissant sa passion de la Bible et de l'Orient, il préparait ses examens pour la Commission Biblique Pontificale de Rome où il obtint le baccalauréat et la licence ès Sciences Bibliques en 1954.

Stagiaire de recherche au Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (octobre 1954 – septembre 1955), il retourna à Jérusalem pour travailler sur les manuscrits des grottes 2, 3 (le Rouleau de cuivre excepté) et 6 dont il eut à charge l'*editio princeps*. Pendant les années académiques 1955-1957, l'abbé Maurice Baillet était rentré en France comme Chargé de Cours et, le mois suivant, comme Maître de Conférences à la Faculté de Théologie de l'Institut Catholique de Toulouse où il succéda au chanoine Durand dans l'enseignement de l'Ancien Testament, assurant aussi celui de l'hébreu, de l'araméen et de l'akkadien et remplissant encore la fonction de secrétaire de la Faculté de Théologie. Mais ces lourdes charges ne lui permettant pas d'avancer dans l'édition des fragments de manuscrits, il demanda un congé et, dès octobre 1957, il revint à Jérusalem pour reprendre l'étude des manuscrits qui lui étaient confiés et auxquels s'ajoutèrent alors ceux des grottes 7, 8, 9 et 10, découvertes par le fouilleur, R. de Vaux, en 1955. En 1958, il remit, à regret, sa démission de professeur d'Ancien Testament à la Faculté de Théologie pour se consacrer désormais à plein temps à la recherche. Dès lors, il passa quelque huit mois par an au contact des originaux jusqu'en juin 1962. Dès la fin des années 1950, l'édition des petits fragments étant bien avancée, il lui fut proposé d'entrer progressivement comme huitième membre dans l'équipe internationale de l'édition des manuscrits de la grotte 4. C'était, comme il aimait à le rappeler, une consécration pour l'éditeur consciencieux des fragments des 'Petites grottes.' En 1962 pa-

raissait enfin à la Clarendon Press d'Oxford *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan III, par M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, et R. de Vaux O.P.

Engagé comme attaché de recherche à temps partiel en octobre 1958 et à plein temps en octobre 1959, il passe chargé de recherche en 1966. En 1968-69, il avait terminé une première rédaction du lot de manuscrits de la grotte 4 que lui avaient confiés J. Starcky et J. Strugnell. Aussi, dès 1969, R. de Vaux lui proposa de prendre la relève de C.-H. Hunzinger pour d'autres manuscrits, charge qu'il lui retira peu après – C.-H. Hunzinger s'étant entre temps manifesté –, mais qu'il lui réattribua finalement en 1971. C'est au cours de ses missions à Jérusalem entre 1970 et 1972 que j'eus le privilège de le rencontrer et d'apprécier son attachante personnalité et son souci de la précision. Il fallait voir avec quel scrupule il vérifiait tout lorsque fut lancée de Rome en février-mars 1972 l'hypothèse non fondée de la présence de fragments grecs du Nouveau Testament parmi les bribes de la grotte 7 qu'il avait lui-même publiées. Content d'en avoir fini avec les petits fragments, il rédigeait en 1976 les dernières lignes de *Qumrân Grotte 4. III (4Q480-4Q520)*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, VII. Pour diverses raisons, la correction des épreuves ayant duré deux ans, l'ouvrage ne paraîtra à Oxford qu'en 1982. Ayant terminé son travail d'éditeur consciencieux de milliers de petits fragments, tâche ingrate s'il en est mais exigeant une bonne dose de patience, l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres lui décerna, à juste titre, en 1983 le prix Charles Clermont-Ganneau. Rattaché au Collège de France en 1974, puis en 1975 à l'Équipe de Recherche Associée 358 de l'Institut d'Études Sémitiques du Collège de France, il passa Maître de Recherche en 1978 et Directeur de Recherche en 1984.

En 1984 enfin, il présenta à Lyon sa thèse de doctorat d'État ès Lettres sur titres: *La Bible, les manuscrits de la mer Morte et les Samaritains*, ce qui lui faisait dire en guise de boutade, en fin d'introduction de sa thèse, qu'après avoir été sans doute l'un des plus jeunes licenciés de France, il craignait d'être un des plus vieux candidats au doctorat!

Déchargé de tous ces fardeaux, il pouvait se consacrer enfin aux études samaritaines qu'il affectionnait tout particulièrement, y compris dans sa retraite prise en 1988. Dès ses études d'orientaliste, il avait beaucoup investi dans la langue arabe, le classique et le dialectal, et il avait poursuivi à l'École Biblique de Jérusalem en se mettant à l'école du Père A.-S. Marmadji. Obsédé par cette langue sémitique

vivante qui se parlait autour de lui, cela lui posa même un moment, écrit-il, de sérieux problèmes d'orientation de carrière. Pensant se spécialiser un moment en dialectologie arabe, le doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg le pressentit pour devenir professeur d'arabe dans son Université. Même si ce projet n'eut pas de suites, M. Baillet ne se contenta pas de parcourir les ruines, il savait que, pour devenir un orientaliste, il fallait aussi faire sienne une mentalité en vivant avec les populations. Au cours de ses séjours comme étudiant à l'École Biblique et Archéologique Française et par la suite, il s'était fait arabe avec les Arabes, à demi-assimilé au clergé melchite, ce qui lui valut d'exercer une mission pastorale de plusieurs mois en milieu arabe, soit parmi les chrétiens de Jérash, soit en assurant les célébrations byzantines de la Semaine Sainte chez les bédouins de Simakiyeh aux confins du désert, au nord-ouest de Kérak.

En même temps, le contact était pris avec les Samaritains, et en particulier avec celui qui devait devenir grand prêtre en 1960, Amram ben Isaac. Conversations en arabe, visites à Naplouse, pèlerinages au Garizin pour la Pâque, achats ou reproductions de documents en compagnie des abbés Milik et Starcky, ses collègues et devanciers, tout cela l'introduisit dans un domaine qui lui était nouveau mais qui regroupait tous ses centres d'intérêt: la Bible et l'Orient, l'ancien et le moderne, l'hébreu, l'araméen et l'arabe, le goût des manuscrits et des inscriptions, sans négliger le charme des contacts humains. Ces quelques remarques expliquent l'éveil de M. Baillet pour les études samaritaines dès ses premières années au Proche-Orient. Ayant écrit une véritable somme sur les *Samaritains* dans un article très long et très documenté dans le *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* – XI, Paris 1991, colonnes 773-1047, il préparait depuis longtemps l'édition d'un Pentateuque hébreu de 629 de l'Hégire acheté par J. Starcky et J. T. Milik à un prêtre samaritain de Naplouse en 1957-58 (maintenant au Musée Bible et Terre Sainte à l'Institut Catholique de Paris), l'édition d'un lot de manuscrits achetés par J. Starcky ou lui-même aux mêmes Samaritains avec lesquels ils avaient lié amitié durant leurs longs séjours dans le pays, et l'édition de la bibliothèque du grand prêtre samaritain Amram ben Isaac auprès de qui Maurice Baillet avait acquis les droits, comme il l'a précisé lui-même dans un article fort documenté et précis sur "Quelques manuscrits samaritains," *Semitica* 26 (1976) pp. 143-166 (p. 147). En effet, dans la liste de ses savants travaux, il annonçait dès 1984 comme titres en préparation: "Le texte hébreu du Pentateuque sama-

ritain d'après un manuscrit du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” “Le commentaire de *h'z̄ymw* (Deut 32,1-43) d'Abu l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūri. Edition *princeps*” et “Le traité des empêchements de mariage (*Kitāb al-'urbāt*, commentaire de Lévi 18,16-23) d'Abu l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūri. Edition *princeps*.” En revanche, il avait achevé en 1986 deux études : “Le livre des commandements d'Abū l-Faraj ben Iṣḥāq ben Kaṭṭār” et “Le commentaire des 72 lois d'Ismaël Rumayḥī” (annoncées comme à paraître dans la revue *Syria*, mais malheureusement il nous a été impossible d'en trouver des traces).

Ce départ inattendu ne lui aura pas permis de finir l'édition de ces manuscrits samaritains auxquels il a consacré tant d'énergies. Entre temps, il acheva en 1996, “Le répertoire généalogique national des familles Baillet.” Mais, même si Maurice Baillet n'a pas beaucoup publié – et il gardait par devers lui l'impression que ses productions n'étaient pas à la mesure de ses projets –, cet érudit a fait œuvre de pionnier dans des domaines difficiles, que ce soit dans l'édition de manuscrits de la mer Morte ou dans les manuscrits et les études samaritaines, et la communauté scientifique lui en est reconnaissant. Et il nous laisse le témoignage d'un chercheur tenace, patient et appliqué, d'une grande probité intellectuelle et scientifique, qualités pas si fréquentes de nos jours.

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## SAPIENTIAL, LITURGICAL AND POETICAL TEXTS FROM QUMRAN

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During the so-called “battle of the Scrolls,” one of the most commonly heard complaints against our guild was that we were sitting upon the Dead Sea Scrolls material assigned to us, without releasing it for publication to the Oxford University Press, which, as a caring midwife, would deliver it to the world in the *Discoveries of the Judaean Desert* series. Over the last few years, though, a different complaint has often been heard: We are publishing so many DJD volumes that nobody can read all of them, let alone buy them (even at the discount price the Oxford University Press grants to its authors).

I shall not comment on the first complaint, but the second one is true enough. I think Emanuel Tov can proudly look back on the impressive number of DJD volumes published since he, with a firm hand, took over the helm of our editing ship.<sup>1</sup>

What is true of the Dead Sea Scrolls in general is especially true of the sort of texts which form the core of our Congress in Oslo: the *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran*. Wisdom, liturgical and poetic compositions have been a component of the Qumran collection since the beginning of the discoveries.<sup>2</sup>

The first published material from Cave 1 already provided certain samples of the three categories. The *Serek ha-yahad*, in the words of Harrington, “though surely not a wisdom book in itself, does include so many sapiential elements that one can at least talk about wisdom

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<sup>1</sup> See the account written by E. Tov, “Discoveries in the Judaean Desert,” *RevQ* 17 (1996) 613-21, which covers the first 15 volumes published in the Series. Since then 12 more volumes have been published. A regularly updated list, with the table of contents of each volume, can be found in the Orion web page: <http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il>.

<sup>2</sup> See the survey article on the sapiential materials by J.I. Kampen, “The Diverse Aspects of Wisdom in the Qumran Texts,” and on the liturgical and poetic materials by E. Chazon, “Hymns and Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” both published in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill 1998) 1. 211-43 and 244-70.

influences or elements in it.”<sup>3</sup> The function of the *Maskil* in the *Serek*, the tractate of the Two Spirits (1QS 3-4), and the concluding hymn celebrating Wisdom (1QS 10-11) are clear examples of these elements and influences. And the same *Serek ha-yahad* has preserved the liturgy of the Annual Covenantal Ceremony (1QS 1-2). The *Hodayot* not only gave us the most complete collection of poetical compositions with fully assimilated wisdom concepts and terminology, but initiated very lively discussions for many years on the liturgical or didactic setting of these compositions (worship or instruction), a discussion carried on, at a different level, with the blessings of the *Serek ha-Milhamah*.

The publication of DJD 1 tangibly increased the amount of liturgical material at our disposal.<sup>4</sup> It is enough to mention the blessings of the *Serek ha-berakhot* (the third composition in the 1QS manuscript), or 1Q34, a copy of the *Festival Prayers*. But it also provided us with the first copy of *The Book of Mysteries* (1Q27), a wisdom composition with eschatological undertones, and even a very fragmentary copy (1Q26) of what later became known as 4QSapiential A or 4QInstruction, published there as “Un apocryphe”.

More wisdom compositions became available with the publication of DJD 5,<sup>5</sup> the Allegro volume: the famous *Lady Folly* (4Q184) and the somehow less famous but equally interesting *Wisdom Instruction* (4Q185).

As for the liturgical compositions, the publication of DJD 7,<sup>6</sup> the Baillet volume, marked a watershed. Perhaps the most interesting manuscripts of the whole volume were the “Liturgical Texts” 4Q498 to 4Q512, including, among others, the three copies of the *Dibrei hamme’orot*, the two copies of the *Festival Prayers*, and the fascinating *Daily Prayers*.

Thus, since 1982, the year of publication of the Baillet volume, we have had at our disposal a huge collection of texts belonging to the three categories. Many studies have already been dedicated to the analysis of these texts.

But the last few years have witnessed an impressive increase in scholarly interest in these sorts of texts. This interest has been fuelled, in my opinion, by two factors: (1) the availability of new compositions in these three categories, and (2) the awareness of the amount and the

<sup>3</sup> D.J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts From Qumran* (The Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls; London: Routledge 1996) 76.

<sup>4</sup> D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955).

<sup>5</sup> J.M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4.I* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968).

<sup>6</sup> M. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III (4Q482-4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982).



specific importance of these compositions within the whole collection of manuscripts from Qumran.

(1) The first factor is the most obvious. Concerning the “Wisdom Texts,” Harrington says:

Wisdom at Qumran is a relatively new topic on the agenda of Dead Sea Scrolls research. It has come to prominence most obviously because in recent years the photographs of all the Qumran manuscripts have become generally available, and among these manuscripts there are wisdom texts.<sup>7</sup>

Two of the recently released volumes of the DJD Series exclusively contain compositions that can be indexed in one of these three categories: DJD 11 “Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1”<sup>8</sup> and DJD 20 “Sapiential Texts, Part 1.”<sup>9</sup>

Two other DJD volumes contain a proportionally huge amount of material that can be defined as liturgical, poetical or sapiential: DJD 23 “Qumran Cave 11”<sup>10</sup> and DJD 25 “Textes Hébreux.”<sup>11</sup>

In addition, a good number of preliminary publications, the list of which is too long to quote here, have made available other poetical (especially 4Q*Hodayot*), liturgical (4Q408, 4Q409) or wisdom fragments (several fragments of 4Q*Instruction*) which still await publication in the DJD Series.<sup>12</sup>

As a result of this availability, a good number of studies have been dedicated to this sort of texts (and not only to the famous “Prayer for King Jonathan”), as is evident even in a cursory reading of the bibliography I published with Donald Parry in 1996,<sup>13</sup> and even more in the

<sup>7</sup> Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 1.

<sup>8</sup> E. Eshel et al., *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998)

<sup>9</sup> T. Elgvin et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997).

<sup>10</sup> F. García Martínez et al., *Qumran Cave 11.II (11Q2-18, 11Q20-31)* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

<sup>11</sup> É. Puech, *Qumrân grotte 4.XVIII: Textes Hébreux (4Q521-4Q528, 4Q576-4Q579)* (DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

<sup>12</sup> These texts have now appeared in the DJD Series: J. Strugnell et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2* (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999) and E. Chazon et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).

<sup>13</sup> F. García Martínez and D.W. Parry, *A Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1970-95* (STDJ 19; Leiden: Brill, 1996).

almost 1000 items of the supplementary Bibliography which I prepared with Eibert Tigchelaar and which was published in the *RevQ*<sup>14</sup>

If the publications in the *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* Series (STDJ) may serve as an indication of what is going on in the field, I can note two monographs on liturgical texts recently published<sup>15</sup> and one on wisdom texts,<sup>16</sup> as well as three more which will be published shortly (Torleif Elgvin's and Eibert Tigchelaar's works on 4QInstruction, and Esther Chazon's book on 4QDibrei ham-me'orot). And in a collective volume of the Series, the next one to be released, containing the Proceedings of the Provo Congress I count the following papers dealing with aspects of our central topic (which amount to about 25% of the material in the book):<sup>17</sup>

- J.J. Collins, "The Creation of Humankind in a Wisdom Text from Qumran,"
- E. Eshel, "The Identification of the Speaker of the Self-Glorification Hymn,"
- D. Falk, "Biblical Adaptation in 4Q392 *Works of God* and 4Q393 *Communal Confession*,"
- B. Nitzan, "The Textual, Literary, and Religious Character of 4QBerakhot,"
- D. Seely, "4Q437: A First Look at an Unpublished *Barki Nafshi* Text,"
- J. Strugnell, "The Sapiential Work 4Q415ff and Pre-Qumranic Works from Qumran: Lexical Considerations,"
- E. Tigchelaar, "Reconstructing 11Q17 *Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat*."

The increase of scholarly interest in the compositions which belong to this sort of texts as a result of the availability of new materials seems to me clear enough.

<sup>14</sup> F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, "Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *RevQ* 18 (1998) 459-90 and 605-39.

<sup>15</sup> B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994) and D.K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998).

<sup>16</sup> A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination. Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995).

<sup>17</sup> The book has since appeared: D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich, *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts and Reformulated Issues* (STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999).

(2) The second factor may be less obvious, but I think it has also been a determinant in the increase of scholarly interest in these texts.

Now that we have all the non-Biblical texts found at Qumran in the *Study Edition*<sup>18</sup> in two handy volumes, it is easy to appreciate how large this corpus of material is, and how often we have multiple copies of many of these compositions. And this inevitably leads one to ask questions as to the specific weight of this sort of compositions within the whole collection.

Where, in the first years of Qumran research, 1Q*Hodayot* could still be seen (in the words of Schuller) in “splendid isolation”<sup>19</sup> and be considered a composition *sui generis* without further consequences for the understanding of the other material, this is now no longer possible. Where, before Baillet’s publication, there was little indication that specifically liturgical materials were an important component of the collection of manuscripts, we now know much better. Where, with the Allegro volume we had a couple of fragmentary examples of “Wisdom compositions,” each one preserved in a single copy, we now possess some very extensive manuscripts (albeit also fragmentary), some of them in many copies (six copies of 4Q*Instruction*, for example). It is only logical that many of us have begun to draw the unavoidable conclusions of these facts for the collection as a whole.

The choice of the topic for our meeting thus seems more than justified. And because my “introductory remarks” were supposed to justify the topic chosen, I could finish now. But, at least according to some of the members of the “Steering Committee” of our Organization, the introductory remarks should also serve as a general introduction to the topic of our meeting. As such, a sort of “status quaestionis” on the topic would seem appropriate. But you do not need to worry. I will not attempt here to present a *status quaestionis* on each one of the three sectors.

One of the reasons for not doing so is that the division into three different categories is completely artificial, and I do not want to get involved in problems of definitions. As anyone of you who has attempted to classify the manuscripts into different literary categories is

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<sup>18</sup> F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Volume One 1Q1-4Q273; Volume Two 4Q274-11Q31* (Leiden: Brill, 1997-98).

<sup>19</sup> E.M. Schuller, “Prayer, Hymnic, and Liturgical Texts from Qumran,” in E. Ulrich and J.C. VanderKam (eds.), *The Community of the Renewed Covenant. The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 10; Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) 155.

well aware, there may be some clear cut cases which can easily be labelled, but most of the texts rightly refuse the procrustean bed we try to impose upon them. Poetic texts are used in the liturgy; Wisdom language is used in poetic texts; and some sapiential compositions are highly poetical.

Another reason for not doing so is that we already have an excellent *status quaestionis* on the wisdom texts written by Daniel Harrington,<sup>20</sup> and one equally excellent on the liturgical texts by Daniel Falk.<sup>21</sup> And if we do not yet have a complete *status quaestionis* on Qumran poetry, we at least have a working bibliography on the *Hodayot*.<sup>22</sup>

As a general Introduction to the topic of our meeting, I will simply list what in my opinion are the main problems posed by these texts which are still waiting to be resolved, much as Schuller did at the Notre Dame congress with her paper on the “state of the question” on “Prayer, Hymnic, and Liturgical Texts from Qumran.”<sup>23</sup> As you can imagine, this is a rather subjective list. And it is my sincere hope that, if not all, at least some of them will be solved by the end of our congress.

There are problems which are common to the three categories of texts, and there are problems which are specific to each one of them. Here is my own list of both.

#### *Problems Common to All These Texts*

(a) First, I should mention the problem that Schuller called “the boundaries of the corpus”<sup>24</sup> – what exactly belongs within the framework of the three designations. In spite of her lucid plea for clarity, we are far from having reached an agreement on this basic issue. The ongoing discussion on what I have called “borderline” texts, of which we do not know whether they are “Biblical” or “non-Biblical” manuscripts, illustrates my point. And the recent edition of 4Q380-381 in DJD<sup>25</sup> will inevitably reopen the old discussions first started with the

<sup>20</sup> In the work quoted in note 3.

<sup>21</sup> In the work quoted in note 14.

<sup>22</sup> E. Schuller and L. DiTommaso, “A Bibliography of the Hodayot, 1948-1996,” *DSD* 4 (1997) 55-101.

<sup>23</sup> Schuller, “Prayer, Hymnic, and Liturgical Texts from Qumran,” 153-71.

<sup>24</sup> Schuller “Prayer, Hymnic and Liturgical Texts,” 159.

<sup>25</sup> By E. Schuller, in DJD 11, 75-172, pls. X-XV.

publication of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. To give only one example: 11Q*Berakhot* has become 11Q*Sefer ha-Milhana* in the DJD edition.<sup>26</sup>

(b) Next, I would signal the problems of genre distinction and of terminology. If “Sapiential Texts” seems a self-evident or a well-defined category, due to its Biblical precedents and ancient Near Eastern Wisdom tradition (although we do also have “Wisdom psalms” and a plethora of “Wisdom fragments” imbedded in other Qumranic compositions of distinct generic profile), “Poetical and Liturgical” texts are no more than vague designations, short-hand commodity labels, which need much more precision to be really useful. Although some progress has already been made in the classification of the different compositions, the observations on “The Designation ‘Liturgical’” made by Schuller in the Notre Dame Congress have lost none of their actuality.<sup>27</sup> Similarly the observation she has made on terminology in her review of Nitzan’s book in *JQR*<sup>28</sup> has lost none of its urgency.

(c) A third fundamental question common to all these texts is the problem of their origin. Are we dealing with “sectarian texts” or did they represent more generally what some call the “Judaisms” of the time, or “mainstream Judaism” of sorts? Carol Newsom’s observations, originating from her study of the *Shirot ‘Olat ha-shabbat*,<sup>29</sup> Esther Chazon’s annotations on the character of 4Q*Dibrei ham-me’orot*,<sup>30</sup> Armin Lange’s criteria used in relation to 4Q*Sapiential A*,<sup>31</sup> and the lexicographical analysis of Strugnell also applied to 4Q*Sapiential A*<sup>32</sup> have provided a set of useful elements to determine the origin of these texts. But they need to be applied systematically to all of them.

And closely related to the problem of their origin, but somehow independent of it, and in my view even more important, is the problem

<sup>26</sup> DJD 23, 243-51, pl. XXVIII.

<sup>27</sup> E.M. Schuller, “Prayer, Hymnic, and Liturgical Texts,” 162-69.

<sup>28</sup> E. Schuller, in *JQR* 88 (1997) 104-07.

<sup>29</sup> C.A. Newsom, “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature from Qumran,” in W. Propp et al., (eds.), *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 167-87.

<sup>30</sup> E. Chazon, “Is *Dibrei ha-me’orot* a Sectarian Prayer?” in D. Dimant - U. Rappaport (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 3-17.

<sup>31</sup> A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 6-20.

<sup>32</sup> J. Strugnell, “The Sapiential Work 4Q415ff and Pre-Qumranic Works from Qumran: Lexical Considerations,” *The Provo International Conference*, 595-608.

of the function of these texts. Although this problem is especially acute in the case of the "liturgical" texts and of the several "rituals" (what was the function of 11Q*Apocryphal Psalms* for example?), the old discussion on the *Sitz im Leben* of the *Hodayot* shows that it is not restricted to them. And I expect the same sort of discussion concerning the *Book of Mysteries* and, of course, *Sapiential A* or 4Q*Instruction*.

Next to these basic problems common to the three categories of texts, there are many others which are specific to each one of them. The following list is simply a selection.

### *Problems specific to the Sapiential Texts*

Specific to the wisdom texts seems to me the acute need to analyze their relationships with Biblical wisdom compositions (in terms of ideas, vocabulary, compositional techniques, literary patterns, etc.) and with the larger continuum of the Near- Eastern wisdom tradition. There is also the specific problem of the historical context in which these texts originated and their function there, as well as their function in the Qumran context in which they were transmitted, in which they were almost certainly used, and to which they may have been adapted. And finally, there is the specific problem of the relationship of these texts both to the Wisdom of the Rabbis and to Christian Wisdom.

I assume that most of these problems will be dealt with in the future in the study of the best preserved wisdom compositions, or of the ones which have been transmitted through many copies. But these problems also need to be taken into account in the smallest fragments, as illustrated by the comments of Harrington on 4Q413, a composition of which only a single fragment of no more than four lines has been preserved:

Thus this little passage, hardly significant in itself, illustrates a basic methodological problem encountered in studying the Qumran wisdom texts: the combination of biblical, distinctively sectarian, and nonsectarian sapiential language in four lines of text.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 65.

*Problems Specific to the Liturgical Texts*

The liturgical texts have a plethora of specific problems, many of them originating from our ignorance of the origins and development of Jewish institutional prayer in the time prior to the destruction of the Temple.

First, their origin and their relationship to the Temple cult and Temple liturgy to which they are coetaneous must be taken into account.

Second, and equally important, their motivation (the “why”) and their function (the “how”, the liturgical context) in the concrete setting in which they were preserved and evidently used must be examined. In the words of Daniel Falk:

If different possible motivations for institutionalized prayer have yet to be considered for settings other than Qumran, it is also necessary to question whether replacement for the sacrificial cult was the primary motivation even at Qumran.<sup>34</sup>

Third, the homogeneity or the diversity of the different liturgical texts needs to be analyzed, especially of those texts which apparently presuppose a different liturgical calendar, such as the *Daily Prayers* with its lunar calendar, and the *Shirot ‘Olat ha-Shabbat* with its solar calendar.<sup>35</sup>

Another thorny problem, it seems to me, is their importance for the development of, and their relationship with, both the later institutionalized Jewish prayer and with the Christian prayer, or, if you wish, with the synagogal and Christian liturgy.

*Problems Specific to the Poetical Texts*

Insofar as the poetical texts are a specific category (most, not to say all, the liturgical texts and many of the sapiential compositions are indeed poetry, although they have scarcely been seen as such), they also have their share of problems that need to be clarified. If we concentrate (for the sake of the argument) on the *Hodayot* as the prime representative, I would list:

First, and foremost, their setting and function, a problem which has

<sup>34</sup> Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 8-9.

<sup>35</sup> See J.C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (The Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls 3; London: Routledge, 1998).

been discussed since their first publication, but one that still awaits a solution. Eileen Schuller expresses it as follows in her review of Nitzan:

Are the *Hodayot* liturgical compositions that were used somehow in the public, communal worship of the community, or are these individual poems that belong to the realm of private meditation or instruction?<sup>36</sup>

Second, their growth and their status as a composite collection, in the light of the 4Q copies of the collection otherwise arranged, but also in the light of the use of some compositions in other literary settings.<sup>37</sup>

Third, a thorough study of these compositions not only as literature, but specifically as poetry is sorely missed. Although some of the images and metaphors used by their authors have received some attention, investigation of the poetic structures of these compositions is surprisingly scarce. If we leave aside the articles by Kraft,<sup>38</sup> Carmignac,<sup>39</sup> and Thiering,<sup>40</sup> I only can count as significant studies the dissertation by Bonnie Kittel<sup>41</sup> and the one by Williams on parallelism which is still unpublished.<sup>42</sup> A thorough comparison with Biblical poetry and with later Hebrew poetry is badly need. The use of parallelism, cola arrangement, and other poetic techniques and stylistic features, need to be researched, as well as the metric arrangement, stanza development and rhythmical balance of each composition.

\* \* \*

But it is time to close this list of problems pending. I do hope that you have brought the answers to some, many, or all of them. And if you do not have ready answers, I do hope that, at least, we will be able to leave

<sup>36</sup> E. Schuller, *JQR* 88 (1997) 105.

<sup>37</sup> See E. Schuller, "The Cave 4 *Hodayot* Manuscripts: A Preliminary Description," *JQR* 85 (1994) 137-50; J.J. Collins and D. Dimant, "A Thrice-Told Hymn: A Response to Eileen Schuller," *JQR* 85 (1994) 151-55; D. Dimant, "A Synoptic Comparison of Parallel Sections in 4Q427 7, 4Q491 11 and 4Q471B," *JQR* 85 (1994) 157-61.

<sup>38</sup> C.F. Kraft, "Poetic Structure in the Qumran Thanksgiving Psalms," *BR* 2 (1957) 1-18.

<sup>39</sup> J. Carmignac, "Étude sur les procédés poétiques des hymnes," *RevQ* 2 (1959-60) 515-32.

<sup>40</sup> B. Thiering, "The Poetic Forms of the *Hodayot*," *JSS* 8 (1963) 189-209.

<sup>41</sup> B.P. Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary* (SBLDS 50; Chico: Scholars Press, 1981).

<sup>42</sup> G.R. Williams, "Parallelism in the *Hodayot* from Qumran," Diss. Annenberg Research Institute, 1991.



Oslo with the problems more clearly focused and with a clear consciousness of the urgency of the task in front of us.

The concentration on *Legal Texts and Legal Issues* during our previous congress in Cambridge has led (after the unavoidable delays) to the publication of what, I think you will agree, is the most useful and important volume on the topic.<sup>43</sup> I am sure that our efforts during this congress will lead to the publication of a similarly solid and important volume on *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran*. The floor is yours.

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<sup>43</sup> M. Bernstein et al. (eds.), *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge, 1995. Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

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## SAPIENTIAL TEXTS

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# WISDOM WITH AND WITHOUT APOCALYPTIC

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This paper will explore the relation between sapiential and apocalyptic traditions in the Qumran literature, and between writings that represent one or the other of these streams in early Judaism.<sup>1</sup> We will further discuss the convergence of these different traditions in the Community of the *Yahad*<sup>2</sup> and among its predecessors.

We start with some terminological clarifications. With P.D. Hanson we find it fruitful to distinguish between the literary genre *apocalypse*, *apocalyptic eschatology* and *apocalypticism*. The apocalypse can be defined as “a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.”<sup>3</sup> With apocalypticism we mean “the symbolic universe in which an apocalyptic movement

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<sup>1</sup> We have discussed some of the same issues in “Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Early Second Century BCE: The Evidence of 4QInstruction,” forthcoming in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery—Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997* (eds. L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov, J.C. VanderKam, G. Marquis; Israel Exploration Society); and “Wisdom and Apocalypticism at Qumran,” forthcoming in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 3 (ed. J.H. Charlesworth).

<sup>2</sup> For sake of convenience we use the term ‘sectarian’ in the meaning ‘connected to the *Yahad*’. On the characteristics of sectarian documents, see C. Newsom, “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature from Qumran,” *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (eds. W.H. Propp, B. Halpern, D.N. Freedman; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 167-87; E.G. Chazon, “Is *Divrei ha-me’orot* a Sectarian Prayer?” *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Forty Years of Research* (eds. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; Leiden and Jerusalem: Brill and Magnes, 1992) 3-17; D. Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance,” *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness. Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989-90* (eds. D. Dimant, and L.H. Schiffman; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 23-68. We see the *Yahad* as an elite group within a wider Essene movement. The *Yahad* was in some way connected to the center at Qumran, but was probably not restricted to this geographical location.

<sup>3</sup> J.J. Collins, “Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” *Semeia* 14 (1979) 1-20, p. 9.

codifies its identity and interpretation of reality.”<sup>4</sup> There are different shades of what can be designated apocalyptic eschatology, but the hope of a cosmic renewal that will bring both judgement and salvation is a main thread. The apocalypses reflect a transcendent eschatology that looks for retribution beyond the bounds of history.<sup>5</sup> Biblical books before Daniel might demonstrate an apocalyptic eschatology, but only in the second century BCE we encounter apocalypses and full-fledged apocalypticism(s) in the Jewish tradition. G.W.E. Nickelsburg has wisely noted that “the terms ‘apocalyptic’ and ‘apocalypticism’ should designate entities for which revelation is a significant component.”<sup>6</sup> Collins mentions three basic elements in an apocalyptic world view: the importance of supernatural revelation, the heavenly world (including the angels), and eschatological judgement.<sup>7</sup> In our opinion, one should note a further marker, *ecclesiology*: in apocalyptic writings there is a close relation between revelation and the eschatological community of the chosen – those who have the right, salvific, knowledge.

### *Sapiential and Apocalyptic Writings at Qumran*

In the Qumran caves were found writings that can be characterized at the same time as sapiential, non-sectarian and non-apocalyptic (for the sake of simplicity: *clearly sapiential*); others that are apocalyptic with few sapiential and sectarian markers (*clearly apocalyptic*); and lastly a number of writings that include both sapiential and apocalyptic elements (*mixed sapiential-apocalyptic*). The following is a short overview according to this subdivision.

The caves revealed a number of *clearly sapiential* compositions in

<sup>4</sup> P.D. Hanson, “Apocalypticism,” *IDBSup* (1976) 28-34.

<sup>5</sup> J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination. An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* (2nd. ed.; New York: Crossroad, 1992) 9: “Among the prominent themes [in Jewish apocalypses] are the periodization of history, an angelic world developed far beyond that of the biblical one, an emphasis on the last judgment, and a belief in afterlife or resurrection”; idem, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (The Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls; London: Routledge, 1997); D. Dimant, “Apocalyptic Texts at Qumran,” *The Community of the Renewed Covenant. The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1994) 175-92, p. 175.

<sup>6</sup> “Wisdom and Apocalypticism in Early Judaism,” *SBLSP* 33 (1994) 715-32, p. 717.

<sup>7</sup> *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 10.

Hebrew. As in biblical wisdom writings, the genre *paraenesis* and its subgenres (admonition, exhortation, command, prohibition and instruction) are easily identified. A number of literary forms point to sapiential circles for their origin: lists of virtues or vices,<sup>8</sup> beatitude,<sup>9</sup> parable,<sup>10</sup> and numerical saying.<sup>11</sup> Wisdom terminology is easily found, such as the roots *דע*, *שכל*, *בין*, and *חכם*. Most of the Qumran wisdom writings neither display apocalyptic traits nor identity markers characteristic of the *Yahad*. Among such non-sectarian and non-apocalyptic writings we can mention Sirach, 4Q184 (*Wiles of the Wicked Woman*) and 4Q185 (*Sapiential Work*), who portray Lady Wisdom and Dame Folly,<sup>12</sup> 4Q525 (*Beatitudes*), 4Q302 (*Admonitory Parable*), the proverbial composition 4Q424 (*Sapiential Text*), and some of the non-biblical hymns in the great psalm scroll from Cave 11 (11QPs<sup>a</sup> 154, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> 155, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> Sirach, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> *Hymn to the Creator*).<sup>13</sup> We suggest that most of these compositions predate the *Yahad* and perhaps were preserved at Qumran due to their sapiential language, which had affinities with that of the Community.

We turn to the *clearly apocalyptic* writings. The caves contained a number of texts with apocalyptic markers or at least reflecting an apocalyptic eschatology. Most of the Aramaic documents found at Qumran display apocalyptic markers, but hardly any sectarian characteristics. It is generally agreed that the Aramaic works were not authored within the Community,<sup>14</sup> whose members wrote their works in Hebrew. Paleographically most of the Aramaic works can be dated to the first century BCE or first century CE. Other criteria, however, suggest that their origin should be ascribed to the period before the formation of the *Yahad*.<sup>15</sup> According to Dimant, "of the 25 Aramaic

<sup>8</sup> 4Q421 1 ii 10-17; 4Q424 3 7-10; Sir 40:5, 8-9, cf. IQS 5:3-5.

<sup>9</sup> 4Q185 1-2 ii 8, 13, 4Q525 2 ii 1-3; Sir 14:1-2, 20-27; 50:28.

<sup>10</sup> 4Q185 1-2 i 9-13; 4Q302 2 ii 2-4, 4Q500 1; cf. Sir 24:30-34, 33:16-19.

<sup>11</sup> Sir 23:16-18; 25:1-2, 7-10; 26:28; 50:25-26.

<sup>12</sup> 4Q184 employs mythological (but not eschatological) language in the description of Dame Folly: 'foundations of darkness', 'gates of death', 'couches of corruption', 'tents of the underworld'.

<sup>13</sup> See recently D. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (The Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls; London: Routledge, 1996), and further DJD 20 which presents a number of minor sapiential texts.

<sup>14</sup> D. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance."

<sup>15</sup> B.Z. Wacholder, "The Ancient Judaeo-Aramaic Literature (500-165 BCE), A Classification of Pre-Qumranic Texts," *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: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990) 257-81.

works, ten can be defined as apocalypses or visionary narratives; another nine as aggadic narratives; and the other six as testaments.<sup>16</sup> Dimant sees all of these as having affinities to the apocalyptic literature. Among Aramaic texts with clear apocalyptic elements, we will mention *Visions of Amram* (4Q543-547, 548?), *Four-Kingdoms* apocalypse (4Q552, 553), and the pseudo-Daniel texts (4Q243-246).<sup>17</sup>

If we turn to the Hebrew scrolls and specifically to the parabiblical works, we find three non-sectarian books with strong affinities to the historical apocalypse and few sapiential elements: *Jubilees*, *Pseudo-Moses* and *Pseudo-Ezekiel* (4Q385-390). *Jubilees* was a popular book at Qumran (14 copies) and perhaps derives from precursors of the *Yahad*.<sup>18</sup> *Pseudo-Moses* and *Pseudo-Ezekiel* also should be dated to the mid-second century.<sup>19</sup> 4Q521 (*Messianic Apocalypse*) may be another presectarian work reflecting apocalyptic eschatology.

When we turn to the third group according to the subdivision above, the mixed *sapiential-apocalyptic*, we must include Daniel and the Enochic books. They may be the only Qumranic works that safely can be categorized as apocalypses. However, these books include not only apocalyptic themes, but sapiential ones as well: Daniel is educated as a sage (1:3-10), while Enoch is designated as scribe (*I En.*

<sup>16</sup> "Apocalyptic Texts at Qumran," 180. Dimant here lists the Enochic *Book of Dreams*, *Apocalypse of Weeks*, *Book of Watchers* and *Book of the Luminaries*; Aramaic *Levi*; 11QNew Jerusalem; 4Q246 (4Qaramaic Apocalypse); 4Q552-553 (4QFour Kingdoms); 4Q534 (4QElect of God); 4Q243-244 (4QPseudo-Daniel).

<sup>17</sup> E. Puech previously designated 4Q246, which probably describes the rise of a blasphemous ruler and the following rule of the people of God, 'Aramaic Apocalypse'. However, the text is too fragmentary to ascertain whether it is part of an apocalypse or only an apocalyptically flavoured work, and it is now designated 'Apocryphe de Daniel ar'.

<sup>18</sup> J. VanderKam dates *Jubilees* to the period between 164 and 142 BCE, probably before 152 (*Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* [Missoula: Scholars, 1977] 255-83). Nickelsburg and Goldstein have given good reasons for a dating between 170 and 167 (G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981] 78-9; J. Goldstein, "The Date of the Book of Jubilees," *PAAR* 50 [1983] 63-86). D. Dimant has suggested that a priestly parent community of the *Yahad* produced *Jubilees*, *T. Levi*, the Enochic *Animal Apocalypse*, 4QPseudo-Moses, and perhaps also *T. Moses* and the Temple Scroll ("New Light From Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha - 4Q390," *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21. March 1991* [eds. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992] 405-448).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the reference in *Pseudo-Moses* to three ungodly priests who rule the land and defile the sanctuary (4Q387 2 4; 4Q388<sup>a</sup> 1 ii 7-10 = Jason, Menelaus, and Alcimus).



12:4; 15:1; 92:1). The Book of Daniel concludes with praising the wise ones who have led many to righteousness (12:1-3). Interpretation of dreams and visions, a central element in the apocalypses, belonged to the office of the sage (Genesis 40-41; Daniel 2-5). The sapiential Joseph circle in Genesis ascribes the wisdom of Joseph to a God-given charisma; the same is true of the apocalyptic heroes Enoch and Daniel. The same biblical circle introduces the theme of the Jewish sage at the royal court, which will recur in Daniel and Daniel-related writings at Qumran<sup>20</sup> as well as Tobit and Esther. The content of the Enochic books is described as wisdom (5:6; 92:1; 93:10). The preamble to the *Book of Watchers* admonishes the reader to observe the created world (2:1-5:4). The *Epistle of Enoch* (chs. 91-105) contains a teaching of the two ways similar to that of Proverbs and Psalm 1, and displays sapiential forms such as the beatitude and the ethical admonition. The *Book of the Luminaries* as well as *1 Enoch* 2-5 are occupied with the order of creation, a central sapiential theme.<sup>21</sup>

Further, most of the writings with undisputed origin in the *Yahad* falls into this category. Main sectarian works such as the *Rule of the Community* and the *Hodayot* display sapiential themes and terminology.<sup>22</sup> At the same time they reflect a distinct apocalyptic eschatology.<sup>23</sup> Three sapiential writings (two of them represented by numerous copies in the caves) also include passages with an apocalyptic eschatology: *Mysteries* (1Q27, 4Q299-300, perhaps 4Q301), *Instruction* (1Q26, 4Q415-418, 418a, 423), and *Time of Righteousness* (4Q215a). We will return to these works, which perhaps should be classified as presectarian, below.

A preliminary conclusion may be outlined: the *Yahad* continues a tradition that combines sapiential and apocalyptic elements, a tradition we have found represented primarily in the Enochic books (authored between the late 3rd and mid-2nd century BCE), Daniel (finalized c.164 BCE) and three other sapiential-apocalyptic writings.

<sup>20</sup> 4Q246, 4Q552/553 (*Four-Kingdoms*), 4Q242 (*Prayer of Nabonidus*), 4Q550 (*Proto-Esther*).

<sup>21</sup> On sapiential themes in *1 En.*, see further Nickelsburg, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism," 720.

<sup>22</sup> S. Tanzer, *The Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the Hodayot* (Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1987); E.H. Merrill, *Qumran and Predestination. A Theological Study of the Thanksgiving Hymns* (STDJ 8, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975).

<sup>23</sup> See Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

Most of these books were held in high esteem in the Qumran commune; cf. the high number of copies found in the caves: seven copies of Enochic books (apart from the Book of Giants), seven copies of *Instruction*, six copies of Daniel,<sup>24</sup> and three or four copies of *Mysteries*.

At the same time, among the non-sectarian works the *Yahad*-affiliated library at Qumran preserved a number of *clearly sapiential* (and less apocalyptic) books, as well as apocalyptic books with few sapiential elements. Are we able to draw some lines of development which may explain the presence of such different categories of books in a Community library?

### *Two 'Irregular' Cases*

We will first discuss two books which seem to cross our categories. Only one work with obvious sectarian markers falls into the category of *clearly sapiential* works (i.e., wisdom without apocalyptic): *Ways of Righteousness* (4Q420-421). We have previously demonstrated that *Ways of Righteousness* is a composite work. The first section deals with the organization of the *Yahad* and inclusion of new members into the Community (with terminology close to *Rule of the Community* and *Damascus Document*). The second section consists of descriptive wisdom sayings on the righteous man, while the third one deals with halakhic elements connected to temple and sabbath.<sup>25</sup> In fact, only the section with wisdom sayings falls into the *sapiential* category. These sayings represent traditional wisdom teaching and do not betray any sectarian influence. This section of the work refers to Lady Wisdom, – which is noteworthy since none of the main sectarian works refer to Wisdom in a hypostatic sense.<sup>26</sup> 4Q421 1 ii 9-10 exhorts man to

<sup>24</sup> The Book of Daniel was considered as authoritative Scripture at Qumran (cf. the reference to the words of Daniel in 11QMelch 1 ii 18 and 4QFlor 4:3 [frag. 1 ii 3]).

<sup>25</sup> See our edition *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (eds. T. Elgvin et al.; DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 173-202. L. Doering and E. Tigchelaar discovered an overlap between 4Q421 13 and 4Q264a 1 (see *DJD XXXV*) we were not aware of, which indicates that 4Q421 13 deals with sabbath halakha. For an improved understanding of frgs. 11-13, see E. Tigchelaar, "Sabbath Halakha and Worship in 4QWays of Righteousness: 4Q421 11 and 13+2+8 par 4Q264a 1-2," *RevQ* 18 (1998) 359-372.

<sup>26</sup> We have suggested that the sectarians, following the lead of 1Q/4QMysteries and 4QInstruction, reinterpreted the tradition on hypostatic Wisdom and replaced it with the more apocalyptic concept *raz* (*nihyeh*) [see "Wisdom and Apocalypticism at

“carry the yoke of Wisdom” (לְשַׂאֵף עוֹל הַכֹּמֵץ) before the text continues with an elaboration of the virtues of the righteous:

[ ] to carry the yoke of Wisd[om ... A ma]n who is knowledgeable and has understanding will draw them up and [ ... A man of virtues(?) will receive the admonition of the knowledgeable. A man of [prudence(?) will know ]to walk in the ways of God, to do righteousness [as follows: he will not answer before he hears, and not speak before he understands. With great patience will he give answer, and [with peace of mind(?) he will utter a word ... he will seek true judgement, and by studying righteously he will understand its consequences. A m[an who is humble and meek in mind will not turn] away until [ ... A man who is trustworthy will not turn aside from ways of righteousness. ]He will set [his heart to truth(?), and his bones and his hands to righteousness(?) (4Q421 1 ii 9-17 [par. 4Q420 1 ii 1-6, underlined])

The logical conclusion is that the wisdom sayings, including the one on the yoke of Wisdom, came from an earlier source which was combined with passages dealing with halakhic and congregational issues by a sectarian editor.<sup>27</sup> The wisdom sayings were obviously considered relevant for life in the Community. In particular, the advice about careful judgement could have been considered relevant for speaking in the common meetings of the *Yahad* (cf. 1QS 6: 9-13).

Another ‘problem case’ is MMT (4Q394-399), which I would characterize as both non-sapiential and non-apocalyptic. MMT’s use of the term אַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים/הַעֵת ‘the end of days’ (4QMMT C 14, 21, 30) stems from Deut 4:30; 31:29, and does not reflect the apocalyptic view of the periods of history shared by the *Yahad*.<sup>28</sup> Further, מַחֲשַׁבָּה רְעוּהָ וְעֵצָה בְּלִיעוּל (C 29) may rather be translated ‘(any) evil plan and

Qumran”]. Tigchelaar questions our reading לְשַׂאֵף (“Sabbath Halakah,” note 39). This tentative reading is based on examination of the original manuscript. Moreover, Tigchelaar doubts that the ‘yoke of Wisdom’ should be interpreted as a hypostatic concept (p. 371); it should rather be equated with the yoke of the Law. However, the evidence of Sirach shows that equating Wisdom with Torah go well together with a hypostatic view of Wisdom (see Sir 1:1-20; 24; and the references to the ‘yoke of Wisdom’ in 6:24, 30; 51:26).

<sup>27</sup> Tigchelaar concludes that 4QWays of Righteousness should be regarded as a sectarian Rule book, where the section of wisdom sayings (‘the only remarkable feature’ in the composition) depicts the ideal member of the Community, and serves as a prolegomenon to the halakhic section.

<sup>28</sup> See F. García Martínez, “4QMMT in a Qumran Context,” *Reading 4QMMT. New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (J. Kampen, M. Bernstein, eds.; SBLSymS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 15-27, pp. 20-23.

device of nought' than Qimron's 'the plans of evil and the device of Belial.' בלעיל is here more probably used with the biblical meaning 'nought' than as designation of an evil angelic prince.

It may be noted that not every sectarian writing displays both sapiential and apocalyptic markers. If we turn to the pesharim, we find that this genre had no need for sapiential themes and thinking. However, the apocalyptic world view of the sectarians is reflected also in these writings. Can the halakhic nature of MMT explain the absence of both sapiential and apocalyptic characteristics? One could then compare MMT with minor halakhic scrolls of possible sectarian providence, such as *Ordinances*<sup>a,b,c</sup> (4Q159, 513-514).<sup>29</sup>

Most scholars date MMT to the mid-second century BCE, and see it as an important document from the formative period of the *Yahad*.<sup>30</sup> If this were the case, it is strange that sapiential and apocalyptic terminology, which a couple of decades later penetrate the rules and hymns of the Community, are totally absent from the parenetic part C of MMT. If the Righteous Teacher was connected to the circles behind MMT (so Qimron), the difference in thinking and terminology to the 'Teacher Hymns' is indeed striking. Moreover, the terminology of 4QMMT does not reflect the structure of the *Yahad*. The difference in world view between MMT and the main sectarian writings could suggest that the former reflects a more peripheral Essene group than the *Yahad*, and perhaps derives from a time much later than the formative days of the Community.<sup>31</sup> This would fit well the paleographical dates of the manuscripts.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> 5Q13 (5QSectorian Rule) represents a different case. It includes sections of halakhic nature, but also passages reflecting an apocalyptic world view, as it refers to the revelation of hidden things and to Noah as recipient of divine revelation, both common apocalyptic themes (1 11; 1 7).

<sup>30</sup> E. Qimron sees MMT as a treatise deriving from the Qumran group or one of its antecedents, probably the group of the Teacher, between 159-152 BCE: E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V: Miqṣat Ma'āšē Ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 109-21; cf. J. Strugnell, "MMT: Second Thoughts on a Forthcoming Edition," *The Community of the Renewed Covenant*, 57-73. Other scholars have argued for a pre-sectarian provenance of MMT: it would then belong to a priestly antecedent of the Qumran community, before the Teacher emerged as leader of the community. See the various essays in *Reading 4QMMT*.

<sup>31</sup> For another 'protestant' voice against the consensus dating of MMT, see P.R. Callaway, "4QMMT and Recent Hypotheses on the Origin of the Qumran Community," *Mogilany 1993. Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls offered in Memory of Hans Burgmann* (ed. Z.J. Kapera; Krakow: Enigma Press, 1996) 15-29. For stylistic and linguistic evidence suggesting another milieu of origin than the *Yahad* and circles of the Teacher, see S. Morag, "Language and Style in Miqṣat Ma'āšē Ha-Torah: Did

*Wisdom and apocalypticism in 4QInstruction*

We now turn to 4QInstruction, a large sapiential-didactic composition which probably derives from precursors of the *Yahad*.<sup>33</sup> This work is an early example of the sapiential-apocalyptic tradition which was to unfold in the *Yahad*. It was highly esteemed in the Community and was influential for the development of sectarian thinking. Large sections of 4QInstruction consist of short and concise wisdom admonitions (a command or prohibition followed by a motive clause, plain commands, and prohibitions occurs as well) which conveys traditional sapiential advice based on reason. The horizon is this world: if one takes heed of the advice, success in earthly life will follow. A poetic structure can often be perceived:

Do not humble yourself before someone who is not your equal, otherwise you will b[e] his servant(?) ] Do not strike someone who does not have your strength, lest you stumble and be put greatly to shame ... Do not fill yourself with bread when you lack clothing. Do not drink wine when there is no food. Do not request luxury when you lack bread. Do not boast about your lowly estate – you who are poor – lest you bring your life into contempt. (4Q416 2 ii 15-21)

The book further includes longer sections dealing with eschatology and revelation to the elect. While the shorter admonitions often allude to biblical wisdom books, the longer discourses are more closely related to Psalms and prophetic books. We have suggested that these passages belong to a second literary stratum within 4QInstruction. A close relation can be observed vis-à-vis the Enochic literature. The author probably used the *Epistle of Enoch* (1 Eno. 91-105) as a literary source, and related to other Enochic material in a free manner.

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Moreh Ha-Sedeq Write This Document?" (Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 65 (1996) 209-23. Further, MMT C 22 probably alludes to Dan 12:30 (DJD 10, 61); M. Kister, "A Common Heritage: Biblical Interpretation at Qumran and its Implications," *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 101-111, note 7. Some time should be allowed to pass between the composition of Dan 7-12 in 164 BCE and MMT's allusion to the same text as authoritative.

<sup>32</sup> All copies of MMT display Herodian script. Four are early Herodian (i.e., from the end of the 1st century BCE to the beginning of the 1st century CE), and 4Q396 is either early or middle Herodian.

<sup>33</sup> 4QInstruction is now available in DJD 34. For a comprehensive analysis of this composition, see our dissertation *An Analysis of 4QInstruction* (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998). For a shorter introduction, see T. Elgvin, "Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology in an early Essene Writing," *SBLSP* 34 (1995) 440-63.

4QInstruction clearly displays an apocalyptic eschatology. A discourse on the coming universal judgement runs as follows:

[He comes to convict(?)] all the spirit [of flesh for the works of wickedness which they have committed(?),] and establish His will [over all evil. He made known to Noah what was ] to come, period upon period,] set time upon set time. [He will shut up all the sons of evil, and visit all flesh(?)] according to their hosts, h[in upon hin, generation upon generation, city upon city(?), kingdom] upon kingdom, provi[n]ce upon province, man upon man ... ] according to the needs of their host [and the judgement upon all, to ... ]

In heaven He will judge the work of iniquity, and all the sons of truth will be pleased by[ the appointed time(?)] of its period, and all those who have defiled themselves by it will fear and wail, for the heavens will fear, [the kingdom of iniquity(?) will tremble,] the water and the depths will fear, all the spirit of flesh will be stripped naked and the sons of heave[n will rejoice on the day] of its [jud]gement. And all iniquity shall be consumed when the period of tru[th] is completed[ and He will reign(?)] in all the ages of eternity, for a God of truth is He and [His] years from the days of old [ , and God will appear] to establish justice between good and evil], so that everyone should k[no]w the judg[ements of God, and every creature will understand(?) that] it is a [cr]eature of flesh. (4Q416 1 1-6, 10-16, underlined 4Q418 73, 201, 213, 212, 286, 1, 2)

This passage envisages the universal judgement both on sinners on earth and cosmic powers antagonistic to God. The ‘sons of truth’ on earth and the ‘sons of heaven’ above will together rejoice at God’s judgement. Similar to sectarian writings the text refers to the preordained periods (עֲצָיִם) of the end-time: ‘its period,’ that is, the period of iniquity, and ‘the period of truth’.

*Raz nihyeh* – the mystery to come – is the central revelatory concept in 4QInstruction, occurring 23 times. It is repeatedly stated that God has ‘opened your ear to the mystery to come’ (גַּלְיָה אָזַיִן בְּרוּ נִהְיָה).<sup>34</sup> Different from Sirach 1 and 24, Bar 3:9-4:4, 4Q525 and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> 154, true wisdom and earthly blessings have their source in (studying) *raz nihyeh*, not in (following) the Torah.

One text presents *raz nihyeh* as God’s agent in creation and plan for world history, cf. Prov 8:23-31; Gen 1:1: “By the mystery to come He designed its foundation, <and> its creatures with a[ll wis]dom. Ac-

<sup>34</sup> In biblical religious usage ‘open the ear’ is a technical term for revelation, see 1 Sam 9:15; 2 Sam 7:27; Job 33:16; 36:10, 15.

ording to all[ cun]ning He fashioned it, and the domain of its creatures according to a[ll] [under]standing(?)” (4Q417 2 i 8-10) We have therefore suggested that *raz nihyeh* is an apocalyptic reinterpretation of the biblical and early Jewish concept of ‘the Wisdom of God,’ which stresses the esoteric nature of divine revelation.<sup>35</sup>

The passage on *raz nihyeh* and creation continues with a reference to what has been decreed from the time of creation and engraved on heavenly tablets:

And you will understand the origin of your own doing when you remember the st[ylus. For] with it<sup>36</sup> was the decree engraved, and decreed is the entire visitation. For the engraved is decreed by God against all the sons of perdition, and written in His presence is a Book of Memory of those who keep His word. It is the Vision of Hagi and a book of memory. He gave it as inheritance to man with a spiritual people...” (4Q417 2 i 13-16).

The apocalypists have received knowledge about the divinely ordained periods of history, from creation to the last days. According to their literary fiction, these secrets were revealed already to biblical sages, were then sealed or forgotten, and are in the present again revealed to the elect ones who stand on the threshold to the last days. When the apocalypists describe history as divinely ordained from the beginning, they often turn to the ancient image of the heavenly tablets. The idea of the heavenly book or tablets where God has recorded the preordained history of the world (or the names of the righteous) is an old Sumerian theme which is adopted in biblical and Jewish tradition.

The passage just quoted merges this idea with the concept of the heavenly book of knowledge which is revealed only to a restricted circle, an idea found in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*. The text refers to the stylus with which was engraved the divine decree, that determined the origins of one’s deeds. Other Qumran sources also refer to the engraving (i.e., predetermination) of human as well as universal history before God. What is engraved reveals the iniquity of men before the heavenly judge.<sup>37</sup> The ‘Book of Memory’, which in this text is equated with the heavenly Book of Hagi, is a well-known image in

<sup>35</sup> See “Wisdom and Apocalypticism at Qumran.”

<sup>36</sup> Text emendation. We read כּ ‘with it’, while the scribe wrote בא ‘came’.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *Jub.* 30:22; *1 En.* 104:7; and *T. Jud* 20:4, which refer to a book that records the deeds of the wicked.

the Ancient Near East and in Jewish tradition; it is a heavenly record of the names of the righteous.<sup>38</sup>

*The remnant community in 4QInstruction and presectarian writings*

One wisdom instruction describes the portion of the elect and the idea of the remnant community, of which the addressee is a partaker:

For He] 'opened your lips as a fountain to bless the holy ones. And you, as an everflowing fountain praise [ ...] He separated you from all the spirit of flesh. <Hence> you shall separate from everyone He hates and keep apart from all abominations of the spirit. [Fo]r He made everyone and bequeathed them, each man his inheritance, and He is your portion and your inheritance among the sons of Adam. [In] His [in]heritance He gave you authority.

And you, <sup>4</sup>honour Him in this: in sanctifying yourself to Him. As He set you to sanctify the holy ones [throughout all] the earth, and among all [the an]g[els] He cast your lot and greatly increased your glory, and set you as His firstborn am[ong the sons of Israe]l(?), [ and said 'My riches(?)] and My favour I will give you.' Is not His goodness yours? <So> walk always faithful to Him[...]

<sup>9</sup>And for you He opened insig[ht], gave you authority over His storehouse and entrusted[ you] with an accurate ephah[ ... for His holy ones(?)] <sup>10</sup>are with you. It is in your hands to turn aside wrath from the *men of <His> favour* and punish[ the foolish of heart(?) ... ] are <sup>11</sup>your people. Before you take your portion from His hand, honor His holy ones, and be[fore you ... ] <sup>12</sup>He opened[ a foun]tain <for> all the ho[ly] ones, all who by His name are called holy o[nes, ... they will be] for all the eras the splendors of His *sprout*, an *[ete]mal planting* [ ... to] it you shall co[me], for thus will walk all those *who inherit the land*, for by [His] name[ are they called.] (4Q418 81 1-6, 9-14, par. 4Q423 8, underlined).

In this text lines 1-11 are addressed to the individual in the second person, while lines 11-14 describe a community in the third person. This wisdom instruction is a meaningful entity only if the addressed individual is seen as a member of the community. We therefore suggest that the entire instruction deals with the idea of the end-time community, of which the addressee is a partaker. The elect are 'the

<sup>38</sup> Exod 32:32-33; Isa 4:3, Mal 3:16 (quoted in this passage in 4QInstruction); Ps 69:29; Dan 12:1; *Jub.* 19:9; 30:22-23; *1 En.* 104:1; CD 20:19; Rev 3:5; 13:8; 17:8; 20:12-15; 21:27. The 'Book of Memory' is identical with the 'Book of Life' or 'Book of the Living': see 4Q504 (4QDibHam<sup>a</sup>) 1-2 vi 14 and 1QM 12:3, which refers to the book of names of the elect community and God who engraves the favours of His blessings toward them with the engraving-tool of life.



men of God's favour,' the community is the 'eternal planting' promised by Trito-Isaiah, the members of the community are the group which will 'inherit the land' (italicized above).

'The men of <His> favour' (אנשי רצונו, line 10) is a designation for the elect community which is under God's favor. Unlike faithless Israel, these circles enjoy God's acceptance. The use of 'men of favor' in Instruction was influential: sectarian writings use similar expressions as technical terms for the Community.<sup>39</sup>

In biblical (Isa 60:21; 61:3) and post-biblical literature, the 'planting' is a metaphor for the righteous community, the true descendants of the patriarchs – either national Israel of the end-time, or a more narrowly defined *ecclesia*. We suggest that the circles behind 4QInstruction coined the precise term 'eternal planting' (משעת עולם) in Hebrew, perhaps inspired by Enochic works.<sup>40</sup> Also the term 'eternal planting,' a metaphor for the righteous community, was to be essential for the self-understanding of the *Yahad*.<sup>41</sup> The term 'eternal planting' indicates that the author of 4QInstruction viewed his circle(s) as the nucleus of the community of the end-time, that will exist forever. As in later sectarian parlance, the 'planting,' a tiny plant which will grow into a large tree which will cover the land, refers to the group of the elect, who are now few but are destined to rule the land in the future.<sup>42</sup>

A plant requires soil to grow. The 'planting' concept is therefore connected to the end-time inheriting of the land. The members are

<sup>39</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12 (4): 32-33; 19 (11): 9 'the sons of His/Your favour'; 1QS 8:6 'the elect of favour' 4Q298 (4Qcra Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn) I 3-4 "O m[en of ]His fa[vour and] eternal [peace without] end".

<sup>40</sup> Cf. 1 En. 10:3 'a planting that will stand for all the generations of eternity' [with the Greek text of Syncellus, which according to Milik, corresponds with 4QEn<sup>a</sup> ar: (J.T. Milik with the collaboration of M. Black, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976) 162]; 84:6 'a planting of eternal seed'; 93:5 'a righteous planting forever'; 93:10 'the eternal p[lanting] of righteousness'.

<sup>41</sup> For the 'eternal planting' as designation for the remnant community, see 1QS 8:5-6; 11:8; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 14 (6):15; 16 (8):4-26. 'Planting' is used as an image of the community in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16 (8):5, 9, 20, 21; CD 1:7 'a root planting'.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Ezek 17:22-24; Hos 14:6-9; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 14 (6):15 "they shall cause a shoot to grow into the boughs of an everlasting planting, and it shall cover the whole [land] with its shadow". See J. Licht, "The Plant Eternal and the People of Divine Deliverance," (Hebrew) *Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of E.L. Sukenik* (eds. C. Rabin, Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: Shrine of the Book, 1961) 1-27.

'those who inherit the land' (נחלי ארץ).<sup>43</sup> In presectarian<sup>44</sup> as well as sectarian literature,<sup>45</sup> Matthew and Mishnah,<sup>46</sup> 'inherit the land' has an eschatological meaning, and the same is the case in this text.

In lines 3-5 the portion of the elect is described with the words inherit (ירש), 'inheritance' (נחלה; 3x), 'portion' (חלק) and 'lot' (גורל). These terms can denote the spiritual-eschatological inheritance of the elect community, both in the writings of the *Yahad* and synagogue liturgy.<sup>47</sup>

The elect is admonished to praise the holy ones, that is, the angels (14Q18 81 1, 4, 11). However, according to line 12, God has opened a fountain for the 'holy ones' on earth. As in later sectarian writings, there seems to be a fellowship of the saints which includes both the angels and the earthly community. This text overflows with images such as 'garden,' 'planting,' 'sprout,' and 'fountain,' images that in exilic and post-exilic texts are connected with Eden and the temple.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>43</sup> For the background of this term, see the eschatological promise in Isa 60:21 "the righteous ones will inherit the land forever"; and Ps 37:9, 11 "the poor ones will inherit the land", "those who trust in the Lord will inherit the land" (in the biblical text, 'inherit the land' refers to life on this side, not in the hereafter; second century readers could interpret it otherwise).

<sup>44</sup> *I En.* 5:7-9 "for the chosen there will be light and joy and peace and they will inherit the land" (5:7). In *Jubilees*, Jacob is promised that his seed will inherit all the earth, an interpretation shared by 4Q171 (see below): *Jub.* 22:14 "and may you inherit all the earth"; 32:19 (a rendering of Gen 28:13-14) "I will give to your seed all the earth under heaven ... and they shall get possession of the whole earth and inherit it forever". For 4QPseudo-Ezekiel, see 4Q385 2 2-3 "I have seen many men from Israel who have loved Your name and have walked in the ways of [righteousness; And th]ese (things), when will they be, and how will they be recompensed for their loyalty?"; 3 3 "will not the days be shortened so that Israel will get its inheritance"; 5 1 "when [it inherits the land of]".

<sup>45</sup> CD 1:7-8 "to inherit His land"; 8:14-15 (=Deut 9:5) "to possess these nations"; 4Q171 (4QP<sup>s</sup>) 1 iii 9-11 "Its interpretation concerns the congregation of the poor, who [shall possess] the whole world as an inheritance. [ ] shall possess the high mountain of Isra[el]."

<sup>46</sup> Matt 5:4; *m. Sanh.* 10:1; *m. Kidd.* 1:10.

<sup>47</sup> 1QS 2:2; 11:7-8; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19 (11):11-12; 1QM 12:12; 4Q525 (4QBeat) 14 ii 13-14; 4Q393 (4Qliturgical work) 3+7 3-9 "dispossessing b[e]fore them [great nations ... to give us houses full [of all good things, hewn cisterns and reservoir]s of water, vineyards and olive trees, the inheritance of [a great(?) people]", cf. Zech 3:7; Mal 2:7; Dan 7:18. See M. Weinfeld, "The Heavenly Praise in Unison," *Maqor Hajjim. Festschrift für Georg Molin zu seinem 75. Geburtstag* (ed., I. Seybold; Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1983) 427-37.

<sup>48</sup> The images of Eden, planting, and temple are connected both in the Bible and post-biblical tradition, including that of the *Yahad*: The sectarian use of planting terminology is related to the idea of the community as a spiritual temple. See Elgvin, *An Analysis of 4QInstruction*, 128-33; T. Stordalen, *Echoes of Eden*. Genesis 2-3 and

There is thus reason to believe that the circles behind 4QInstruction viewed themselves as a spiritual temple. The expression ‘open a fountain’ (פּתַח מְקוֹר, lines 1, 12) is not used verbally in the Bible, but a similar construction occurs once. According to Zech 13:1, God will at Zion open a fountain for repentant Israel of the end-time: יִהְיֶה מְקוֹר יְהוָה לְבַיִת דָּוִד וְלִישְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם. When the phrase recurs in our text and the *Hodayot*,<sup>49</sup> it is clearly an eschatological term with temple connotations.

4QInstruction is usually addressed to a sage or ‘son of a sage’ in the second person. This text reveals that the addressee belongs to a fellowship that saw itself as the community of the last days. Revelation of esoteric wisdom has been given to the elect fellowship that stands on the threshold to the eschatological time. Wisdom, apocalyptic eschatology, and a narrow ecclesiology have been combined.

Also Enochic books and *Jubilees* are connected to specific circles who see themselves as living in the end-times. *1 Enoch* reflects some kind of community with a distinctive self-understanding.<sup>50</sup> According to the introduction to the *Book of Watchers*, only the remnant will ‘inherit the land’ (5:7-9). The *Epistle of Enoch* and *Apocalypse of Weeks* foresee the emergence of an elect group at the end of the seventh week of history. By the completion of the seventh week of history “there shall be chosen the e[lect] ones as witnesses of righteousness from the eter[n]al p[lanting] of righteousness, [to whom] shall be give[n] sevenf[old] wisdom and knowledge” (*1 Enoch* 93:10, 4QEnoch<sup>g</sup>, cf. 91:10 “Wisdom shall arise and and be given to them”). They shall receive books conveying knowledge (104:12-13). The

Symbolism of the Eden Garden in Biblical Hebrew Literature (Dr.theol. diss., The Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology, Oslo 1988) esp. 357-99.

<sup>49</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10 (2):18; 14 (6):17-18; 16 (8):8; 18 (10):31; 23 (18):10,12,13; cf. 1QSb 1:3,6. 4Q286 (4QBer<sup>a</sup>) 1 ii 6.

<sup>50</sup> “To what extent it is appropriate to refer to an identifiable Enochic community, with structure and organization, is difficult to say. *1 Enoch* is not a *Rule of the Community*. Nonetheless, the distinctive Torah explicit in the *Book of Luminaries* and implicit in the *Epistle’s* criticism of false teachers who pervert the eternal covenant, seems to posit a distinctive community ethos that encourages and facilitates progress along the paths of righteousness”: G.W.E. Nickelsburg, “The Nature and Function of Revelation in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and some Qumranic Documents,” *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives. The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 January, 1997* (eds. E.G. Chazon and M. Stone with the collaboration of A. Pinnick; STDJ 31; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999) 91-119, 99.

Enochic tradition reflects a group of scribes and wise men (5:8), who see themselves as the end-time group that has received sevenfold wisdom, the Enochic books are the books that convey knowledge and salvation. According to the *Epistle*, only those who listen to the words of these wise ones will be saved (99:10; 105:1), while the others will be destroyed (98:9).

The *Book of Jubilees* reflects some kind of remnant group, which had a clear view of salvation history and espoused a lunisolar calendar that was a matter of controversy. *Jubilees* purports to be special revelation, received in ancient times and now presented for Israel which stands on the threshold to the end-time. *Jub.* 23:26-31 envisages a group that searches the scriptures differently from their fathers and discovers the right halakha. *Jubilees* refers to the Enochic revelations, but different from *1 Enoch* this group of exegetes still hoped that national Israel would return to 'the way' (i.e., live according to the right halakah) and experience the blessings of the eschaton (1:15-26; 23:20, 27-29). The restored people is designated 'a planting of righteousness' (1:16; 36:6).

### *1Q/4QMysteries and 4QTime of Righteousness*

Before turning to the writings of the *Yahad*, we will discuss 4Q215a (4QTime of Righteousness) and 1Q/4QMysteries. Similar to 4QInstruction, 4QTime of Righteousness employs sapiential terminology and sees the time of redemption close at hand. The text of the main fragment runs as follows:<sup>51</sup>

For the age of wickedness has been completed and all injustice shall p[ass away].

[For] the time of righteousness has come, and the earth has been filled of knowledge and praise of God.

For [ ] the age of peace has come, and of true laws and [r]ighteous testimony,

to instruct[ the sons of men] in the ways of God[ and] in His mighty deeds[ and the strength of His power f]or ever.

<sup>51</sup> See E.G. Chazon, M.E. Stone, "4QTime of Righteousness (4Q215<sup>a</sup>, *Olim 4QTNaphthali*): A Preliminary Publication of Fragment 1 ii," *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (D.W. Parry, E. Ulrich, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 124-5; E.G. Chazon, "A Case of Mistaken Identity: *Testament of Naphthali* (4Q215) and *Time of Righteousness* (4Q215<sup>a</sup>)," *ibid.*, 110-123.

Every t[ongu]e shall bless Him and every man shall prostrate bef[ore Him], and their he[arts] will be on[e.]

For He [knew] their deeds before they were created, and the deeds of righteousness He portioned out in their divisions [and orders] for their generations.

For the dominion of good has come, and He will highly raise up the throne of [His reign].

Knowledge, prudence and sound insight are proved by the h[o]ly pla[n...] (4Q215a 1 ii 3-10)

The text presupposes a periodical understanding of history. Further, the deeds of men are predetermined by God. Both ideas are typical of apocalyptic thinking of the second century. The concept of the present 'age of wickedness' (קץ הרשע) which soon comes to an end recurs in presectarian<sup>52</sup> as well as sectarian writings.<sup>53</sup>

At the same time, the text is filled with wisdom terminology: to instruct (להשכיל), knowledge (שכל), the ways of God (דרכי אל), prudence (ערמה), insight (תושיה), plan (מחשבה). The concepts of 4Q215a are close to those of the *Yahad*, but this text seems to be somewhat more universal in its outlook; it probably looks forward to a general renewal of humankind.<sup>54</sup> We therefore tend to see *Time of Righteousness* as another presectarian work preserved by the commune at Qumran.

The mysteries of God is a main theme in 1Q/4QMysteries. Similar to 4QInstruction, 1Q/4QMysteries distinguishes sharply between those who have insight into the mysteries and the ungodly who lack understanding.<sup>55</sup> *Raz nihyeh*, the central revelatory concept in 4QInstruction, occurs twice in 1Q/4QMysteries, and *raz* another 11 times.<sup>56</sup>

Similar to the *Book of Watchers* and *Jubilees*, 1Q/4QMysteries reflects a dualistic world view and refers to cosmic antagonists of God.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>52</sup> 4Q301 (4QMyst<sup>c</sup> ?) 3 8; 4Q416 (4QInstruction<sup>b</sup>) 1 10-11.

<sup>53</sup> CD 6:10, 14; 12:23; 15:7, 10; 1QpHab 5:7-8; 4Q266 (4QD<sup>b</sup>) 3 iii 7; 4Q269 (4QD<sup>b</sup>) 10 7; 4Q271 (4QD<sup>b</sup>) 1 ii 12, 4Q509 (4QFestival Prayers<sup>c</sup>) 205.

<sup>54</sup> For a similar universal hope, see *Test. Sim.* 6:4; *Test. Levi* 18:4-5 and 4Q475 (4QRenewed Earth). See T. Elgvin, "Renewed Earth and Renewed People: 4Q475," *The Provo International Conference*, 576-91.

<sup>55</sup> 1Q27 1 i 2-7; 4Q299 (4QMyst<sup>a</sup>) 3a ii-b 2-5; 6 ii 4; 8 2-7; 4Q300 (4QMyst<sup>b</sup>) 1 ii 2-5 "you have not considered the eternal mysteries, and you have not come to understand wisdom"; 9 1.

<sup>56</sup> *Raz nihyeh* in 1Q27 1 i 3, 4 (=4Q300 3 4), *raz* further in 1Q27 1:2, 7; 13 3; 4Q299 3a ii 11, 15; 3c 5; 5 2; 43 2; 4Q300 16:2; 8 5, 7.

<sup>57</sup> 1Q27 1 i 2, 7 "the mysteries of wickedness"; 4Q299 3a ii 5 "the wisdom of evil cunning and the de[vi]ces of Belial(?)", 5 2 "migh[ty] mysteries of light and the ways of dark[n]ess", cf. 4Q416 1 10-11 "In heaven He will judge the work of iniquity

Four passages from 1Q/4QMysteries deal with the day of judgement and the consumption of evil. One relates salvation and judgement to 'the mystery to come.'

But they did not know *the mystery to come*, and the former things they did not consider. And they did not know what shall befall them. And they did not save their lives by *the mystery to come*. And this shall be the sign to you that it is taking place: when the begotten of unrighteousness are delivered up, and wickedness is removed from before righteousness, as darkness is removed from before light. Then, just as smoke wholly ceases and is no more, so shall wickedness cease forever, and righteousness shall be revealed as the sun (throughout) the full measure of the world. And all the adherents of the mysteries of wickedness are to be no more. But knowledge shall fill the world, nor shall folly evermore be there. (1Q27 1 i 3-7)

According to 4Q299 53, God's anger is kindled by the abominations on earth, and at the appointed time he will exact vengeance upon the ungodly. 4Q300 9 2 refers to 'the day of dispute' (יום הדין) for those who did not understand the heavenly secrets, while 4Q301 (4QMyst<sup>c</sup> ?) 3 8 expects the end of the period of wickedness (כלית [ת] קץ) (רשעה). The theme of God who has established the universe and determined the ways of men, is found in 1Q/4QMysteries as well as 4QInstruction.<sup>58</sup>

1Q/4QMysteries seems to be more national and less sectarian in its hope for restoration than 4QInstruction. In contrast to 4QInstruction, it does not refer to a defined community within national Israel, but mentions both a king and the people of Israel (4Q299 10 1-6; 13a 2; 39 1; 66 3; 68 1-2). The gentile peoples are portrayed as ungodly and addressed rhetorically (1Q27 1 i 8-12, ii 10; 9-10 3; 4Q299 3c; 4Q301 1 4), while 4QInstruction is not concerned with the gentiles. 1Q/4QMysteries could have derived from the same circles as 4QInstruction, but is more likely an earlier writing which influenced 4QInstruction and therethrough also the *Yahad*. 1Q/4QMysteries (perhaps the first writing to use the phrase *raz nihyeh*) would then represent sapiential-apocalyptic circles close to those who produced

...[the kingdom of iniquity(?) (ממלכת רשעה?) will tremble,] the water and the depths will fear ... And all iniquity shall be consumed"; 1QapGen 1:2 "the wrath of the mystery of evil" (אף הו רשעה).

<sup>58</sup> 4Q299 3a ii-b 10-16; 5 1-5; cf. 4Q416 (4QInstruction<sup>b</sup>) 1 7-9; 4Q417 (4QInstruction<sup>c</sup>) 2 i 7-12; 4Q418 (4QInstruction<sup>d</sup>) 126 ii 3-5; 127 5-6; 4Q423 (4QInstruction<sup>e</sup>) 5 3-5.

the Enochic writings and *Jubilees* early in the second century BCE. These (possibly pre-Maccabean) circles hoped for a national restoration of Israel. Together with Enochic traditions 1Q/4QMysteries provided inspiration for the more narrow community behind 4QInstruction. Together, this tradition (*1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, 1Q/4QMysteries, 4QInstruction) seems to have had a profound influence upon the *Yahad*,<sup>59</sup> to which we now turn.

*Wisdom and apocalypticism continued: the Yahad*

The Two-Spirit Treatise (1QS 3: 13 – 4: 26) abounds with sapiential terms and motifs: the two ways, ‘knowledge, understanding, and powerful wisdom,’ ‘the God of knowledge,’<sup>60</sup> ‘spirit of knowledge.’ The *Community Rule* may be seen as the handbook of ‘the Instructor’ (הַמְּשִׁיל, 3:13; 9:12; CD 12:21; 13:22), a typical sapiential term. The hymns of the *Yahad* praise God who has given knowledge to the Teacher and to the community.

However, sectarian writings do not represent ‘pure wisdom’, they reflect a community with an apocalyptic world-view.<sup>61</sup> Eschatology, angelology, and revelation to the community of the last days are important themes. In this setting, knowledge and wisdom is inti-

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Dimant’s suggestion to view the Qumran library as representing the literature of the Community as well as that of their parent group. “If this would be the case, the study of the ‘non-community-terminology’ part of the library may hold the key for uncovering the origins and nature of the Qumran community”, (“The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance,” 36).

<sup>60</sup> The designation ‘God of knowledge’ (אל הדעת) is based on 1 Sam 2:3, and used by 4QInstruction (4Q417 2 i 8; 4Q418 55 5) and 1Q/4QMysteries (4Q299 35 1; 73 3) before it is adopted by the *Yahad* (1QS III 15; 1QH<sup>a</sup> I 26; 1QH<sup>a</sup> frg. 4 15). Similar phrases occur in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400 2 8, 4Q401 11 2; 4Q401 4 12; 4Q405 23 ii 12) and 4QCant (4Q510 1 2; 4Q511 1 7-8).

<sup>61</sup> An early generation of scholars (Cross, Licht, Hengel) defined the Community as apocalyptic, and saw the *Yahad* as an offspring of apocalyptic streams in the Maccabean period. Subsequently other scholars questioned the apocalyptic character of the *Yahad* [H. Stegemann, “Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde für die Erforschung der Apokalypitik,” *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1983) 495-530; P.R. Davies, “Eschatology at Qumran,” *JBL* 104 (1985) 39-55; idem, “Qumran and Apocalyptic or *Obscurum per Obscurius*,” *JNES* 49 (1990) 127-34]. In the last decade the ‘apocalyptic’ position has got new spokesmen: F. Garcia Martínez, “Qumran Origins and Early History: A Groningen Hypothesis,” *Folio Orientalia* 25 (1988) 113-36; J.J. Collins, “Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Movement?” *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 25-51.

mately connected to revelation: "I [thank You, Lord], for You have enlightened me through Your truth. By Your marvellous mysteries You have granted me knowledge, in Your loving-kindness to a man [of vanity, and] in the greatness of Your mercy to a perverse heart" (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:26-27). We shall see that the *Yahad* continues and interprets themes from the earlier sapiential-apocalyptic tradition.<sup>62</sup>

### *Dualism and History*

The Two-Spirit Treatise demonstrates eschatology and dualism with apocalyptic traits. It expects an eschatological confrontation between the spirits of good and evil, followed by an eschatological purifying and renewal of the earth. The righteous are ruled by the 'Prince of Light', while the wicked follow the 'Angel of Darkness'. The righteous will inherit all the glory of Adam, the wicked will experience punishment and, ultimately, destruction. The last part of the discourse makes it clear that every man has a portion of both spirits, who fight their battle in the heart of man (the balance between the spirits will vary from one man to another).

The Two-Spirit Treatise might be a presectarian work adopted by the *Yahad* and included in the 1Q version of the Community manual.<sup>63</sup> However, a similar dualism is reflected in the first part of the *Rule of the Community* which prescribes a covenant ceremony to be conducted by the Community "for all the days of Belial's dominion" (1:18, 2:19). The liturgy has the sons of light pronounce curses against the sons of darkness, "the men of Belial's lot" (2:4-5).

Also the *Damascus Document* refers to antagonistic heavenly powers. The Watchers of heaven fell as they did not follow the precepts of God (2:18). CD attributes the rising of Moses and Aaron to the Prince of Light, and their adversaries to Belial: "For in ancient times, during the first deliverance of Israel, there arose Moses and Aaron, by the hand of the Prince of Lights; and Belial, with his cunning, raised up Jannes and his brothers" (5:18-19). In the present time Belial has been let loose upon Israel (4:12-19).

<sup>62</sup> Collins comments, "... the books of Enoch and Daniel ... exercised a profound influence on the Dead Sea Sect. Their worldview, however, is not simply adopted and reproduced in the sectarian documents. They represent a source for the ideology of the sect, not an expression of it" (*Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 11).

<sup>63</sup> So A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in der Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995) 121-70.



The imagery of light and darkness penetrates the *War Scroll*. Angelic and demonic forces confront each other, headed by Michael, Prince of Light, and Belial, Prince of Darkness. The sons of darkness are identified as 'the army of Belial'. But also Belial is subordinate to God, "who made Belial to corrupt, an angel of hatred" (1QM 13:11). God has ordained a day "to annihilate the sons of darkness, (when there will be) rejoicing for al[l the sons of light]" (13:16). In 11QMelchizedek, the angelic opponent of Belial is named Melchizedek, who will implement the judgement on Belial and the fallen angels.

The dualism embedded in these sectarian texts is different from traditional sapiential thinking, and is closely related to the world-view of Daniel, Enochic books, *Jubilees* and 1Q/4QMysteries. The *Book of Watchers* ascribes the origin of evil to a rebellion in heaven, and the fallen angels convey magic and evil mysteries to the daughters and sons of men. *Jubilees* 5 shares the same interpretation of Genesis 6, and the sins of Israel are inspired by the fallen angel Mastema ('Antagonist', 10:8; 11:11; ch. 48). The Hebrew chapters of Daniel are intensely occupied with the heavenly world, Michael is the leader of the heavenly hosts (10:13; 12:1). Angelic evil powers are represented by empires and ungodly rulers on earth.

We have seen that 1Q/4QMysteries (and probably 4QInstruction as well) refers to cosmic evil powers. Both of these writings divide Israel into those who have knowledge of God's mysteries and those who have not: 4QInstruction refers to the former as 'sons of truth', 'seekers of truth', 'elect of truth' (4Q416 1 10, 4Q418 69 ii 7, 10), and to the latter as 'foolish of heart', 'sons of iniquity' (4Q418 69 ii 4-8).<sup>64</sup>

A similar sorting of the people of Israel into 'sons of light' and 'sons of darkness' is found in the Aramaic 4QVisions of Amram (4Q543-547. 548?), found in five or six copies at Qumran. Puech dates this composition to c. 200 BCE. The text in question (whose attribution to the *Visions of Amram* is probable, but not certain)<sup>65</sup> runs as follows.

[... For the sons of light] will be brilliant, and all the sons of darkness will be dark. [For the sons of light ... ] and for all their knowledge they will be [ ... ] but the sons of darkness will be destroyed [ ... ] for all senselessness and ev[il are dark,] and all [pea]ce and truth are brilliant. [This is why the sons of light] will go to the light, to [everlasting]

<sup>64</sup> For 1Q/4QMysteries, see note 55.

<sup>65</sup> É. Puech, "Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology at Qumran and in the New Testament," *The Community of the Renewed Covenant*, 235-56, p. 247.

happiness, [to rejoicing;] and all the sons of dark[ness will go to the shades, to death] and to annihilation. [ ... ] There will be light for the people and they shall live [ ..](4QAmram<sup>f</sup> ar 1 9-14)

The *Yahad* continued an apocalyptic tradition of the predetermined periods of history, ordained in the heavenly tablets at the time of creation. The Enochic *Animal Apocalypse* and *Apocalypse of Weeks* (1 Enoch 85-90; 93:1-10; 91:12-17) divide history into predetermined periods, and foresee the emergence of an elect group in the latter days and the ultimate annihilation of evil. *Jubilees* 23, in a similar way, expects the appearing of an elect group after a time of apostasy in Israel. Also Daniel portrays the movement of world history through ages and empires toward redemption.

From the perspective of the members of the *Yahad*, the Community has already seen 'the last days' that encompass days of trials but also a foretaste of the time of redemption. The elect look forward to God's ultimate intervention which will bring the destruction of evil. They have a glorious future and will inherit a renewed land. The periods of history are preordained by God and inscribed in the heavenly tablets.<sup>66</sup> According to the Two-Spirit Treatise, the spiritual struggle will last "for all the periods of eternity" (1QS 4:16). In the scenario of the *War Scroll*, history moves through determined periods towards crisis and redemption. The book elaborates on the role of the elect community in the last stages of history, before the breaking in of the messianic age.

We have seen that sectarian authors drew upon a number of dualistic-apocalyptic works when they described the cosmic realities that encounter their 'community of latter days saints'. From their predecessors (or: from literary works they held in high esteem) they had learned about the cosmic struggle between light and darkness and the spiritual forces that oppose the sons of light. The present as well as the future were interpreted in light of this apocalyptic dualism.

### *Revelation, Mysteries and the End-time Community*

The main sectarian writings, the *Hodayot* in particular, display knowledge of 4QInstruction.<sup>67</sup> In all of these writings revelation of the

<sup>66</sup> Cf. e.g., 4Q180 AgesCreat 1 1-3; 4Q369 (4QPrayer of Enosh) 1 i 4-7; 1QH<sup>a</sup> I 23-25.

<sup>67</sup> There are a number of allusions and some direct quotes from 4QInstruction in sectarian writings. John Strugnell might exaggerate somewhat when he suggests that

mysteries of God is a central issue. In 1Q/4QMysteries and 4QInstruction we encounter *raz nihyeh* 'the mystery to come', God's preordained plan for creation and history, which includes the eschatological community and its salvation. 1QS once uses the term 'mystery to come' with the same meaning as the two earlier writings, but in general the Community writes about God's 'mysteries' and 'wondrous mysteries', very much in the same sense that 1Q/4QMysteries and 4QInstruction use this word group. The mysteries are the secrets of God that are revealed to the elect community, and these mysteries include knowledge about the ways of history and the last days.<sup>68</sup>

The eschatological community portrayed in the *War Scroll* enjoys fellowship with the angels, who play an important role in the battle. Other texts portray the sectarians as partners of the angels in God's revelation and in the heavenly praise (1QS 11:7-8; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 3:20-23; 13-14; frg. 1 6-7). This preoccupation with the heavenly world belongs to the apocalyptic heritage of the *Yahad*. In the writings of the *Yahad*, angelology is related to ecclesiology. The community saw itself as a spiritual temple that temporarily substitutes for the defiled temple in Jerusalem.<sup>69</sup> The worship in this 'temple of men' (4QFlor 3:6) is connected to the angelic worship in the heavenly temple.

The 'planting' terminology which the *Yahad* inherited from Enochic writings, *Jubilees* and 4QInstruction is another sign of the ecclesiology of the Community. It sees itself as the elect planting of righteousness which God has caused to sprout in one of the last periods of history. Through the planting a touch of Paradise can be perceived in the land.

Throughout this sequence of writings the ecclesiology becomes more distinct. Enochic writings and 4QInstruction presuppose a connection between revelation and the fellowship of the elect. The authors of the Enochic books belonged to circles – perhaps some kind

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this book enjoyed almost canonical status in the Community: "The Sapiential Work 4Q415ff and Pre-Qumranic Works from Qumran: Lexical Considerations," *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 595-608, p. 607.

<sup>68</sup> "The sequence of the periods of history according to the divine plan is enigmatic and mysterious, and therefore designated אַרְרִי" (D. Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period. Apochrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* [ed. M.E. Stone; Assen/Maastricht and Minneapolis: van Gorcum and Fortress, 1984] 483-550, 536).

<sup>69</sup> See 1QS 5:5-7; 8:1-10; 9:3-6; CD 3:19-4:1; 1QP<sup>b</sup>Hab 12:1-6; 4Q164 (4Q<sup>b</sup>Isa<sup>d</sup>) frg. 1; 4Q174 3:6-7.

of a community – who saw themselves as living in the end-times. In 4QInstruction, the elect addressee who has knowledge of God's mysteries is related to the 'eternal planting' who will inherit the land (4Q418 81 10-14). When we come to sectarian writings, we encounter the *Yahad*, a clearly defined community with a hierarchical structure. The last days have broken in, and God has established on earth a spiritual temple, a community that actively participates in the final spiritual struggle.

... the Council of the Community is founded by truth. And it shall be an eternal planting, a holy house for Israel, an assembly of supreme holiness for Aaron. They shall be witnesses to truth at the judgement, the elect of (His) goodwill that shall atone for the land. (1QS 8:5-6)

### *Summary*

The library of the Qumran caves preserved pure sapiential works, apocalyptic works, as well as witnesses of a joint sapiential-apocalyptic tradition. The number of sapiential books and the distinct wisdom terminology found in sectarian writings indicate that sapientially oriented scribes were influential in the formation and continued life of the *Yahad*. While the *Yahad* knew and transmitted a wide variety of books, some writings from the sapiential-apocalyptic tradition (books of *Enoch*, Daniel, 1Q/4QMysteries and 4QInstruction) exercised a particular influence in the framing of sectarian thought. Sectarian authors used sapiential terminology, but found their most important keys for the interpretation of past, present and future in dualistic-apocalyptic works from the early second century BCE. The (biblical and post-biblical) tradition of 'the wisdom of God' is reinterpreted in these works in an apocalyptic manner. True wisdom belongs to the mysteries of God which he has revealed to the elect community only. The revelation of these mysteries provides knowledge of God and his ways as well as understanding of history and the last days. The elect community is portrayed as a spiritual temple that enjoys fellowship with the angels; it is the 'eternal planting' that will enjoy the blessings in the renewed land of Israel.

THE DETERMINATION OF FATE  
BY THE ORACLE OF THE LOT  
IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS, THE HEBREW BIBLE AND  
ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIAN LITERATURE

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The intention of the following article is to demonstrate how 4QInstruction (1Q26, 4Q415-4Q418, 4Q423) participated in terms of *Traditionsgeschichte* in the Ancient Near Eastern history of thought. For this purpose the mention of the oracle of the lot in 4Q418 81 4-5 provides a good example because the lot's metaphorical use is not only prominent in texts found at Qumran (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> [*Hodayot*] 11:23 [ed. Suk. 3:22]; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:37 [ed. Suk. 7:34];<sup>2</sup> 1QM [*War Scroll*] 13:9; 1QS [*Rule of the Community*] 4:26; 4Q176 [*Tanhumim*] 16-18,22-23,33,51 3; 4Q181 1 ii 5) but also attested in Israelite, Jewish and Mesopotamian literature (Wisdom text from Emar and Sippar 2;<sup>3</sup> Isa 34:17; Ps 16:5; Esther (LXX) 10:3g-h).

*“He Caused the Lot to Fall” 4Q418 81 5*

In 4Q418 81 3-5 the election of a person not named in the preserved text is described in several different phrases:

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<sup>1</sup> For the correction of the English of this article I am obliged to Dr. Stephen Chapman.

<sup>2</sup> The *Hodayot* are numbered here according to the edition of H. Stegemann, “Rekonstruktion der Hodayot: Ursprüngliche Gestalt und kritisch bearbeiteter Text der Hymnenrolle aus Höhle I von Qumran,” (Diss.: Heidelberg, 1963). The alternate numeration of E. Sukenik's older edition (*The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955]) is given in brackets.

<sup>3</sup> Counting according to M. Dietrich, “‘Ein Leben ohne Freude...’: Studie über eine Weisheitskomposition aus den Gelehrtenbibliotheken von Emar und Ugarit,” *UF* 24 (1992) 9-29, 14ff.

- 3 ויורישם איש נחלתו והוא חלקכה ונחלתכה בתוך בני אדם] ובנ] חלתו המשליכה ואתה  
 4 בזה כבדהו בהתקדשכה לו כאשר שמכה לקדוש קדשים [...]בל  
 ובכול[...]ל[...]  
 5 הפיל גורלכה וכבודכה הרבה מוארה וישימכה לו בכור ב[...]

(3) and causes each man to inherit his portion. And he is your portion and your inheritance among the sons of man, and he gave you rule[over] their [in]heritance. And you, (4) honor him in this when you consecrate yourself for him, as he placed you at the holy among holy things [...] in everything [...] (5) he caused your lot to fall and increased your honor exceedingly and he established you as firstborn for himself.

The sentence והוא חלקכה ונחלתכה בתוך בני אדם “and he is your portion and your inheritance among mankind” in l. 3 is an almost literal quotation of Num 18:20.<sup>4</sup>

Because in the book of Numbers Aaron is meant, and because in l. 4 it is said that God has placed the elected person at “the holiest of holy things,” 4Q418 81 should be interpreted as describing the election either of Aaron or Aaronite priests. This is confirmed by the behaviour to be expected of the elected one: l. 1 emphasizes that he shall praise God at an eternal well, and thus alludes by use of the motif of the Temple well<sup>5</sup> to the priestly praises of God in the Temple. According to l. 2 he should separate himself from everything which God hates and keep himself apart from all the abominations of life. To emphasize this, 4QInstruction uses here in parallel to the *hiph'el* of ברל the *niph'al* of נור – a verb which often bears in postexilic times priestly connotations (“to dedicate, devote, consecrate one-

<sup>4</sup> For the quotation cf. T. Elgvin, “Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology in an Early Essene Writing,” *SBLSP* 34 (1995) 440-463, 454; idem, “Early Essene Eschatology: Judgment and Salvation according to Sapiential Work A,” *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995*, (eds. D.W. Parry and St.D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 126-165, 138f.; idem, “An Analysis of 4QInstruction,” (Ph.D. diss.; Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1997) 134-5.

<sup>5</sup> The motif is frequently used in the Hebrew Bible in connection with the Jerusalem Temple; cf. e.g., Ezek 47:1ff.; Ps 36:10; 46:5; 65:10. B. Ego has convincingly shown that Ben Sira adapted the temple well image in Sir 24:25ff. to describe the teaching of the Tora, which is identified with wisdom in this chapter (cf. “Der Strom der Tora – Zur Rezeption eines tempeltheologischen Motivs in frühjüdischer Zeit”, *Gemeinde ohne Tempel – Community Without Temple. Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kultes im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*, (eds. B. Ego, A. Lange, P. Pilhofer; in cooperation with K. Ehlers; WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999) 205-14. For the adaption and transformation of the motif in Ps 1:1-3 cf. the article of E. Zenger, “Der Psalter als Heiligtum,” in the same volume, pp. 115-30.

self").<sup>6</sup> In addition, the elected one is commanded in l. 7 to interpret God's laws, and is thus asked again to assume a priestly function. Therefore, 4QInstruction should be interpreted at this point as describing metaphorically the election of Aaron or of the Aaronite priests as determined by God by means of the oracle of the lot.<sup>7</sup> Such a metaphorical use of the oracle of the lot is also attested in texts earlier and later than 4QInstruction.

### *Early Judaism*

Texts later than 4QInstruction attest to a metaphorical use of the phrase הפיל גורל in a context of the determination of fate:<sup>8</sup> At the end of the Treatise of the Two Spirits it is reasoned: כִּי אֵל [לֵא] פִּיל גּוּרְלוֹת "because God throws the lots for every living being according to its spirit" (1QS 4:26).<sup>9</sup>

With a slightly different phrasing the idiom is attested in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:23 (ed. Suk. 3:22): after the entrance of the praying person into the community with the angels is described, the *hodayah* expresses this election in ll. 23-24 with the sentence ותפל לאיש גורל עולם עם רוחה דעה ("and you have cast an eternal lot for the man together with the spirits of knowledge"). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:37 (ed. Suk. 7:43), at the beginning of another *hodayah*, the idiom is again employed in the context of the election of the praying person to the *yahad*: לֹא הִפְלַחְתָּ לִּי לֹא הִפְלַחְתָּ אֲדוֹכָה אֲדוֹנָי לִּי לֹא הִפְלַחְתָּ "I will praise you my Lord, because you have not cast my lot in the assembly of worthlessness nor have you placed my destiny in the counsel of hypocrites").

<sup>6</sup> G. Mayer, "nrz, גורל," *TWAT* 5.329-334, 332-334.

<sup>7</sup> T. Elgvin's interpretation of the 4Q418 81 5ff. as concerning the individual member of an early Essene remnant community (cf. "Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology", 454 [see note 4]; "Early Essene Eschatology", 138f. [see note 4]; "Analysis of 4QInstruction", 134f. [see note 4]) does not correspond to the placement of the elected person at the holy of holies, i.e., the central part of the Jerusalem Temple, which was avoided by the Essene community. For a detailed discussion of T. Elgvin's hypothesis of an Essene or proto-Essene origin of 4QInstruction cf. my article "In Diskussion mit dem Tempel. Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kohelet und weisheitlichen Kreisen am Jerusalemer Tempel," *Kohelet in the Context of Wisdom* (ed. A. Schoors; BETL 136; Leuven: Peeters, 1998) 113-159, 127-134.

<sup>8</sup> For the dating of 4QInstruction cf. my article quoted in note 7, pp. 127-8

<sup>9</sup> For the transcription of l. 26 cf. H. Stegemann, "Zu Textbestand und Grundgedanken von 1QS III, 13-IV, 26," *RevQ* 13 (1988) 95-131, 107-108.

Another example can be found in 4Q181 (*Ages of Creation*) 1 ii 5. The fragment draws a dualistic image of the world. And here again the idiom הפיל גורל is employed in the context of determining negative or positive destinations respectively: איש לפי גורל אשר הִפִּיל לֵל [... לְנוּ] (“each person according to a lot which he casted for [him]”).

The same idea is expressed in 1QM 13:9 in connection with the oracle of lot, but in a different way: ואת[ה] אל ב[ר]יתנו לכה עם עולמים (“and yo[u, God, have c]reated us for yourself as an eternal nation and you have made us fall into the lot of light”).<sup>10</sup>

In each of these attestations the phrase הפיל גורל is used with God as its subject to describe the determination of the fate of a given person. The linguistic form of the idiom differs in all attestations: while the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* attests to the imperfect יפיל and the plural גורלות, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:23 (ed. Suk. 3:22) a *waw*-imperfect (ותפל) and a singular (גורל) are used. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:37 (ed. Suk. 7:34) employs a perfect form (הפלתה) and attaches a suffix to the noun גורל, while 4Q181 1 ii 5 uses a relative clause אשר הִפִּיל לֵל [... לְנוּ]. The linguistic differences demonstrate that the connotation was not bound to a specific verbal form. It should especially be noted that neither the time of the lot-casting nor the number of the lots cast is fixed. The linguistic variation is even greater in 1QM 13:9. While the semantic supply used is basically comparable to the other references (a form of נפל in the *hiph'il* with God as its subject and the noun גורל connected to it), here the lot is not cast by God, but rather God casts the elected people into the lot of light. Thus, although still connected with the lemmata of the phrase “God caused the lot to fall,” 1QM 13:9 attests an already independent use of גורל as a metaphor for fate.

This linguistic variation demonstrates in my opinion that the phrase “God caused the lot to fall” is used in these examples as a metaphor for the determination of fate no longer directly connected to its origin.

How was this metaphor developed? Should it be understood in light of a common oracle type? Is its background the distribution of land by means of lot-casting described in Jos 13-19? Or is it to be understood in another context? First hints can be found in two texts of the second or first century BCE, that is 4Q176 16-18,22-23,33,51 and Esther (LXX)10:3g-h.

<sup>10</sup> The lacunae are reconstructed according to 4QM<sup>c</sup> (4Q495) 2 1.



## 4Q176 16-18,22-23,33,51

In his extensive review of DJD 5 J. Strugnell<sup>11</sup> proposed a reconstruction for 4Q176 16-18,22-23,33,51 which results in a description of creation in lines 2-3:

- 1 ויִסְּ [...] וגם אף במקדוֹשׁ [...]־[...]. נחלת ידו כי לוא יצדקן [איש]  
 2 מל[פניו ...] כיא הוא ברא כול[ רוח דור] ות עולמים [והכין כ]משפטו דרכי כולם  
 ודאד[ן]  
 3 בר[א בימי]נו טרם היוותם ובעוֹד[ ] אינם פק[ד] על כול א[שר בה וב]רוז הפיל גורל[ ]  
 לאיש לתת[...]

(1) *wy* [...] and even in the sanctuary[...]־[...]. the inheritance of his hand, because no[body] will be justified (2) in front o[f him, ]for he created every[ spirit of the] eternal generat[ions]. And he established according to] his law the paths of everyone. And the lan[d] (3) he crea[ted with] his [rig]ht (hand) before they existed. And when [they existed not] yet [he paid atten]tion to everything in it (scil. the land) [and in] his mystery he has cast a lot for everyone, in order to give[...]

Lines 2-3 explain why no one can be righteous before God. Reminiscent of doxologies of lowliness – for example as known in the *Hodayot* – the text refers to the creator. He created every spirit. And before they existed he determined their paths. He created the land and paid attention to everything in it before it existed. Therefore a lowly human being cannot be recognized as righteous before the glorious creator. In this way 4Q176 emphasizes God's creation and the predestination of fate. In his mystery God has cast the lot for everyone – וברז הפיל גורל לאיש. Thus, the text witnesses to a creation-myth in which God used the oracle of the lot to determine the fate of his creatures before they existed. Different from IQM 13:9; IQS 4:26; and 4Q181 1 ii 5 the idiom הפיל גורל is used in this myth in a non-metaphorical way.

<sup>11</sup> "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan,'" *RevQ* 7 (1969-1971) 163-276, 234f.; for the use of the oracle of the lot in 4Q176 cf. also A. Lange, "The Essene Position on Magic and Divination," *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (eds. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 377-435, 423.

*Esther (LXX) 10:3g-h*

In the secondary frame of the Book of Esther, attested in its Greek translation, the oracle of the lot is also used by God to determine the fate of people:

(3g) διὰ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν κλήρους δύο, ἓνα τῷ λαῷ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἓνα πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· (3h) καὶ ἦλθον οἱ δύο κλήροι οὗτοι εἰς ὥραν καὶ καιρὸν καὶ εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,

(10:3g) because of this, he (i.e., the Lord) made two lots, one for the people of God and one for all other people. (10:3h) And both of these lots came out at the hour and the moment and the day of decision before God and upon all other people.

The verses reflect Haman's use of the "purim" in Est 3:7; 9:24. Like Haman, God determined the moment of action by means of the oracle of the lot, but now not Israel but all other people suffer. While the Greek translation of Esther thus does not refer to a use of the oracle of the lot during creation, the text does not use God's lot casting as a metaphor but describes with it in a literary way how God determined the fate of his people and of all other people. It seems not impossible to me that God's lot-casting in Est (LXX)10:3g-h was designed with the myth attested in 4Q176 in mind.

*The Origin of the Myth*

Is this myth relatively late? Was it thus developed out of the metaphorical use of the phrase הפיל גורל for the determination of fate? Or does 4Q176 attest to an old myth from which later developed the metaphorical use of the oracle of the lot for the determination of fate? In my opinion there exists good evidence that the myth is indeed very old and that the metaphorical use of the phrase הפיל גורל developed out of it.

In the last decades a Sumero-Akkadian poem named the *Wisdom Text from Emar and Sippar* was discussed several times in connection with sapiential books of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>12</sup> The oldest versions of

<sup>12</sup> For an edition and German translation cf. M. Dietrich, "Ein Leben ohne Freude," 14-20 (see note 3); for a discussion see also Chr. Uehlinger, "Qohelet im Horizont mesopotamischer, levantinischer und ägyptischer Weisheitsliteratur der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit," *Das Buch Kohelet. Studien zur Struktur, Geschichte, Rezeption und Theologie* (ed. L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger; BZAW 254; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997) 155-247, 192-196.

this text, found in Sippar and Nippur, can be dated in the time from 1800 to 1600 BCE and are written in Sumerian. Two Sumero-Akkadian bilingual versions, dated in 13th century BCE, were found in Ugarit and Emar. The latest copy preserved comes from the library of Assurbanipal and dates thus to 7th century BCE.<sup>13</sup> Several very damaged stanzas are attested. Each stanza starts with a refrain:<sup>14</sup>

With Enki the rules were formulated  
by command of the (same) God the lots have been cast  
since early times it happened in this way.

The poem, as far as it can be understood, emphasizes the transitory quality of life in a way comparable to Egyptian *Harper-* and Akkadian *ašammu-*songs. Chr. Uehlinger characterizes it as follows: "Der Sinn des Passus besteht offenbar darin, die Nichtigkeit des Nachruhms hervorzuheben. Den Toten hilft aber aller Ruhm nichts, man weiß nichts mehr von ihnen."<sup>15</sup>

On the background of this refrain the references to death and the transitoriness of life should be understood as the fate which was determined on command of Enki by means of lot-casting. The *Wisdom Text of Emar and Sippar* thus attests to a myth comparable to the creation myth found in 4Q176, not only in Sumero-Akkadian culture but also in Syro-Palestine in the late Bronze Age.

### *The Hebrew Bible*

But the mythological motif of lotcasting is not only attested in early Jewish literature and a Sumero-Akkadian poem about one and a half thousand years older. In my opinion it can also be found in the Hebrew Bible.

#### *Isa 34:17*

Following the judgement against Edom in Isa 34:1-15 the last two verses of that chapter give two reasons for the validity of this prophecy: the judgement over Edom will come true because it is attested in

<sup>13</sup> For the different witnesses cf. Dietrich, "Ein Leben ohne Freude," "Qohelet," 11-13 (see note 3).

<sup>14</sup> Translation according to M. Dietrich, "Ein Leben ohne Freude", 14 (see note 3) and Chr. Uehlinger, "Qohelet," 193f. (see note 12); for a transcription of the different witnesses cf. M. Dietrich, "Ein Leben ohne Freude," 14.

<sup>15</sup> Uehlinger, "Qohelet," 194.

the ספר יהוה, “the Book of the Lord,” and because the Lord has cast the lot for those who will live in the ruins of Edom.

והוא הפיל להן גורל וידו חלקתה בקו  
עד עולם יירשנה לדור ודור ישכנו בה

and he caused the lot to fall for them  
and his hand allotted it with the measuring line;<sup>16</sup>  
until eternity they will possess it, from generation to generation they will  
live in it.

In addition to the account of the allotment of Palestine to the tribes of Israel in Jos 13-19, Isa 34:17 should also be interpreted in the context of Obad 11.<sup>17</sup>

Although the noun גורל and the verb חלק remind one of Jos 18f., the use of the oracle of the lot differs in Isa 34:17 distinctively from Jos 13-19. While in the book of Joshua the oracle of the lot serves as a means to determine the intention of God, in Isa 34:17 God himself uses it as an oracular medium. On the other hand, Obad 11 describes how Edom participated in the allotment of Jerusalem: “On the day when you stood aloof, on the day when strangers carried off his wealth, when foreigners trooped in by his gates and parcelled out Jerusalem by lot, you yourselves were of one mind with them”. Isa 34:17 should thus be understood in the context of Obad 11: as the Edomites have distributed Jerusalem among themselves, God has cast the lot to give the land of Edom to various demons and animals. That God’s casting of the lot is expressed in Isa 34:17 in the perfect rather than in the imperfect demonstrates that in the opinion of the verse’s author it had already happened long before the time of Isaiah. So here, too, the oracle of the lot was used by God for the determination of fate in a distant past.

### *Ps 16:5*

In Ps 16:5 the oracle of the lot is mentioned in connection with God and the fate of a human being:

יהוה מנה חלקי וכוסֵי אתה תומוך גורלי

Oh Lord, you are the part of my portion and my cup, you are the one who holds my lot!

<sup>16</sup> להם is missing in Ⓞ and was inserted at a later stage of the text’s history in order to interpret the verse concerning the conquest of Edom by Israel.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. 3. Teilband: Jesaja 28–39. Das Buch, der Prophet und seine Botschaft* (BKAT 10.3, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1982) 1350.

The first part of the verse emphasizes by means of a superlative idiom that God is the portion of the praying person and his cup. In its last stichos his total dependence upon God is expressed by another metaphor: God holds his lot. V. 6 demonstrates that the distribution of the land in Jos 13-19 forms at least partly the background of v.5: "The measuring lines fell upon beautiful places for me, indeed I am well content with my inheritance". But to understand the *אחה תומיך גורלי* in the context of Josua 13-19 only<sup>18</sup> seems difficult to me because of the parallelism between *כוס* and *גורל*.

By the preceding *מנה חלקי* the meaning of *כוס* is determined as an expression of fate as in Pss 11:6; 23:5; 75:8f.: with God lies the salvation and welfare of a human being. That *גורל* is used on the other hand in parallel to *כוס* hints of a divinatory connotation of *כוס* itself.<sup>19</sup> In the way of a Janus parallelism.<sup>20</sup> *כוס* bears in Ps 16:5 two connotations. As an expression of fate it is linked with the preceding *מנה חלקי*, as a means of divination it corresponds to the following *אחה תומיך גורלי*. Thus *כוס* should also be understood as referring to a lecanomantic cup-oracle as attested in Gen 44:5. A.L. Oppenheim describes the practice as follows:<sup>21</sup>

When the diviner, who was called *bārū*, poured oil into a bowl of water which he held in his lap, it was done to establish the will of the deity either with regard to the country or to an individual. The movements of oil in the water, in relation to the surface or the rim of the cup, could portend for the king peace and prosperity or war and rebellion; for the private citizen it might portend progeny, success in business, the recovery of health, and the right girl when he was about to marry – or the opposite.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Thus e.g., H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. 1. Teilband: Psalmen 1-59* (BKAT 15.1; 6th ed.; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1989) 265f.; F. L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger, *Die Psalmen I: Psalm 1-50* (Die Neue Echter Bibel; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1993) 111f.; J. L. Mays, *Psalms* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox, 1994) 87.

<sup>19</sup> In connection with Ps 16:5 the readers of modern commentaries are referred to oracular practices by K. Seybold, *Die Psalmen* (HAT 1.15; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996) 71.

<sup>20</sup> For this stylistic figure cf. S.B. Noegel, *Janus Parallelism in the Book of Job* (JSOTSup 223; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 11ff.

<sup>21</sup> For further information concerning lecanomancy the reader is referred to A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia. Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (revised edition completed by Erica Reiner; Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1977) 208.212; G. Pettinato, *Die Öhwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern* (vols. I-II, Studi Semitici; Rom: Istituto di studi del vicino Oriente, 1966); and F. H. Cryer, *Divination in Ancient Israel and its Near Eastern Environment. A Socio-Historical Investigation* (JSOTSup 142; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994) 145-147.

<sup>22</sup> *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 212 (see note 21).

That Ps 16:5 describes God as the praying person's cup and emphasizes that he holds his lot in his hand should thus be understood as a use of different divinatory means by God himself. Thus, in addition to other meanings, cup and lot in Ps 16:5 are also employed as metaphors hinting to a myth in which God used both as divinatory means to determine fate. Ps 16:5 should therefore not be understood as being monovalent. The verse consciously employs and alludes to a gamut of different metaphors. Two of these metaphors should be interpreted in the context of a myth in which God used divinatory means to determine the fate of human beings. Isa 34:17 and Ps 16:5 therefore attest to an adaption of the myth found in the *Wisdom Text from Emar and Sippar* in the traditions of Israel.

### *Conclusion*

In its use of the phrase הפיל גורל 4QInstruction participates in a mythological motif already attested in Syro-Palestine in the late Bronze Age and used and developed over the centuries. In the Hebrew Bible and Early Judaism this motif developed into a metaphor for the predestined fate, which was often connected with other metaphorical expressions developing out of the distribution of the land described in Jos 13-19. In these traditions, as in 4Q418 81 5, God uses the oracle of the lot to determine the fate of human beings.

4QCRYP A WORDS OF THE *MASKIL* TO  
ALL SONS OF DAWN:  
THE PATH OF THE VIRTUOUS LIFE

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4Q298, *Words of the Maskil to all Sons of Dawn* is intriguing, to start, due to the fact it is written in cryptic script, yet with its opening line in plain Hebrew. The content of the manuscript, once the esoteric script is deciphered, is clearly 'sectarian', with vocabulary which is in keeping with what is called 'sectarian' terminology, and the use of Biblical vocabulary in sectarian context. The editors of the manuscript, Stephen Pfann and Menahem Kister, have proposed a reasonable explanation for the scroll's use of an esoteric text:

The owner of the text is the *Maskil*, whose responsibility it is to teach the members of the community. To teach novices would require leaving the community premises (due to purity regulations). The size of the scroll makes it portable; the secret script prevents it from being read by outsiders (or, it should be added, the uninitiated) should it be lost or stolen. The title, in regular Hebrew script, would allow it to be returned to its owner.

The scroll consists of introductory teaching to novices. The title 'Sons of Dawn', which is a term unique to this manuscript, is explained as implying those who are 'dawning' out of darkness, and becoming 'Sons of Light'.<sup>1</sup>

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss this proposal, and the explanation will be essentially accepted. The conclusions found below do not, at any rate, depend on this explanation for their validity. They may, however, shed a more focussed light on the recipients of the instruction.

The focus of this paper is on the list of positive values which are used to describe the wise and reputable men of the community – presumably the recipients of the instruction of the *Maskil*. Pfann and

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<sup>1</sup> Summary of S. J. Pfann and M. Kister, "4QcrypA Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn," T. Elgvin et al. *Qumran 4. X: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (DJD 20; Oxford, Clarendon, 1996) 17.

Kister note the similarity of this list to that of 1 Peter 1.<sup>2</sup> We shall look more closely at this similarity by considering first the biblical roots of the vocabulary used, and then compare both the Qumran and New Testament lists to contemporary Hellenistic lists of virtues.

*The Virtues of 4Q298*

Pfann and Kister transcribe the text of Frgs. 3-4 ii as follows:<sup>3</sup>

ומספר גבולותיה	י'	1
ך לבלתי רום		2
ות את גבולה ועתה	מת[כונה	3
וידיים שמעו אנשי	האויני]	4
לק]ה ודורש[י] משפט הצניע	בינה ה]	5
הוסיפו אומץ ואנשי	לכה יו[דעי	6
ואהבו חסד הוסיפו	אמת רדפ]	7
ד]עת[י] מי תעודה אשר	ענוה והו]	8
אספ]ר בעבור חבינו בקץ	פחר[י]הם]	9
	עולמות ובקד[מ]וניות תבישו לדעת	10

- 1 ]and the number of its boundaries
- 2 without raising itself up
- 3 from [its] po[sition]<sup>1</sup>, and to ] its boundary. And now
- 4 give ea[r, O wise ones]; and you who know, listen! And men of
- 5 understanding, in[crease learning<sup>2</sup>]; and you who seek justice, (add) modesty;
- 6 you who kn[ow the way], add strength; and men of
- 7 truth, pur[sue righteousness]; and you who love kindness, add
- 8 humility; and a[dd kn]owledge of the appointed [t]imes, whose
- 9 interpre[ta]tion [I will recou]nt, in order that you may give heed to the end
- 10 of the ages and that you may look upon for[m]er things in order to know

<sup>1</sup> If זבולה, then perhaps 'its habitation'.

<sup>2</sup> If כן, then perhaps 'a[dd strength/stamina]'.

The list of virtues in the list consists of: understanding (בינה), learning (לקח, if we accept the reconstruction), justice (משפט), modesty (הצניע), strength (אומץ), truth (אמת), righteousness (צדקה, only in reconstruction), love of kindness (חסד), humility (ענוה), and knowledge of the determined end of time (תועדה).

<sup>2</sup> Pfann and Kister, DJD 20, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Pfann and Kister, DJD 20, 25. Their reconstructions are not included. The first *waw* of גבולותיה, line 1, is missing from their text.



The call at this point of the text to pursue righteousness, love kindness, and walk in modesty is a reflection of Micah 6:8, which probably provides the basis for compiling a list of virtues: the command to do justice, love kindness, and walk humbly. The same concern becomes 'Rule' in 1QS (*Rule of the Community*) 5:4-5: 'They shall do truth and humility as one, righteousness and justice, and love of kindness, and modesty in all their ways'. Six of the above virtues are listed in this one sentence. Other lists occur in the Rule: 4:3-8, describing the sons of truth, which includes understanding, humility, truth, justice, kindness, righteousness, and modesty; and 8:2, virtually a quotation of Micah.

The participles which modify these virtues are instructive of Qumran interests, too. This list repeats the same terms of zeal as the introduction of the scroll, Frg. 1 2-3. They are those who pursue (ררף) righteousness; they seek (דרש) justice, as 'knowers' (ידעים), probably of 'the way' (in Frg. 1 they seek 'these things' because they are 'knowers'); they are men of understanding (בניה), because they have listened to the words of the *maskil* (1:2).

*Table 1: List of virtues in 4Q298.*

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#### 4Q298 3-4 ii 4-8

Give ear, O Wise Ones, and Reputable Ones Listen!

<b>Men of understanding</b>	—▶	<b>increase</b> learning
Seekers of justice	—▶	walk modestly/humbly
Knowers [of the way]	—▶	<b>increase</b> strength
<b>Men of truth</b>	—▶	pursue righteousness
Lovers of kindness	—▶	<b>increase</b> humility
	—▶	<b>increase</b> knowledge of times

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There is a recognisable progression in the list from knowledge to further knowledge, with the Micah 6:8 virtues holding up the centre. One can see an alternation in the left column of basic virtues which seem to be self-descriptive of the Community, to which are added additional virtues, or, which the hearers are urged to increase (considering the use of the hiphil, this could be considered as an imperative call to growth). The desired virtues, in turn, alternate the verb

הוסיף with verbs of zeal. Added on above all is the goal: to learn the times in order to give heed to the end, to interpret the past accurately, and, presumably, to know how to live in the last days.

In this list we can see the chief concerns of the Community: *knowledge*, particularly of the times (the key place of ‘knowing’ together with esoteric instruction and cryptic writing give an air of gnosticism to the teaching); *zeal*, in pursuit of true knowledge; and *justice* – if the recurrent use of Micah 6 has anything to do with the explicit concerns of the prophet (though, undoubtedly, with their own esoteric twist).

### *Biblical Influences*

We have already suggested that Micah 6:8 holds an important place in the teaching of this manuscript. There are other important OT influences felt in this text, too, however. The most significant, and most obvious, is that of Wisdom Literature. Perhaps this goes without saying. Even so, it bears a closer look at the specific ways in which this literature is used by the *Maskil*.

#### *The Getting of Learning – Proverbs 1*

A key imperative of 4Q298 is הוסיף ‘increase’, or ‘add’ (Hiphil of הוסיף)<sup>4</sup>. This is not an uncommon biblical term, but it is more prominent in wisdom literature. More to the point, it figures importantly in the introduction to Proverbs concerning the purpose of wisdom. The first seven verses of Proverbs are an excellent source for those seeking esoteric interpretations of scripture. The highlighted terms are those which appear in our list:

*To know* wisdom and instruction, for understanding words of *insight*,  
for gaining instruction in wise dealing, *righteousness*, *justice*, and equity;  
to teach shrewdness to the simple, knowledge and prudence to the  
young –

Let *the wise* also *hear* and *increase in learning*, and the discerning acquire  
skill,

to understand a proverb and a figure, the words of the wise and their  
riddles.

<sup>4</sup> G. André, “הוסיף *yasaf*,” TDOT VI, defines the Hiphil of הוסיף as ‘increase,’ in both positive and negative senses.

In the 4Q298 list of virtues the verb הוסיף appears twice with certainty, and is reconstructed once by Pfann and Kister, in 3-4 ii 5, with reasonable confidence.<sup>5</sup> The editors offer הוסיפו לקח, 'increase learning', as the reconstruction, following Proverbs 1:5.<sup>6</sup> Whereas an alternative is also suggested, the whole of this section favours this phrase. This text provides much of the key terminology of the manuscript: the command to 'hear'; 'understanding'; 'righteousness'; 'justice'; 'the wise'; 'knowledge' (indicated above by highlighting).

It is this last term, דעת, which frames verses 2-7, that is important to note. A sectarian interpretation of this wisdom passage finds knowledge to be given supremely to the *maskil* and to the community. All virtue, as in 1:7, flows from knowledge. Undoubtedly, Proverbs 1 provides the basis of the call to virtuous living.

### *Men of Heart – Job, et. al.*

Apart from this starting point, there is a great deal of vocabulary of the text which is common to wisdom literature as a whole. However, there are a number of terms which are unique to specific wisdom settings. To these I now turn.

#### 1. 'Give Ear!' (האזינו)

This imperative, stated twice in the text, is common to poetic speech in the Bible. Lamech, Balaam, Moses, and Deborah, all begin their speeches with the call. Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Joel say it. The Psalms repeat it. Interestingly for our purposes, however, is Job 34:2,16: "Hear my words, you wise men, and give ear to me, you who know!" [שמעו חכמים מלי וידעים אזינו לי]. Frg. 3-4 ii:4 virtually lifts Elihu's harangue of Job into the text at this point (reversing the order of the imperatives).

There are other connections of importance:

#### 2. 'Men of heart' (אנשי לבב)

There are only two instances in the Hebrew Bible of this term which is found in frg. 2 i: Job 34:10 and 34. The RSV translates this 'those

<sup>5</sup> Pfann and Kister, DJD 20, 25. In Plate 1 the cross bar of the initial *he* is discernible. Then, there is a gap in the manuscript, after which the left curl of the *heth* is clearly visible as the final letter of a word.

<sup>6</sup> The same phrase is cited in 4Q418 81 17; 4Q436 1 I 2, see Pfann and Kister, DJD 20, 20 and 26.

who have understanding'. In our text the phrase is in parallel with a missing term. On the strength of Job 34:34, "Men of understanding will say to me, and the wise who hear me will say...", 'the wise' is a reasonable reconstruction in 4Q298, as suggested by Pfann and Kister. The *Rule of the Community* frequently uses the classification "men of...", with their own people being men of holiness, of glory, of the covenant, of truth, or of wisdom (see 1QS 6; cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 1:34). Here they are men of understanding/insight, and men of truth.

### 3. 'Knowers' (יְדָעִים).

This form of the participle occurs in the Bible only in Job 34:2 and in Deut 1:13 ('choose men who are wise, discerning and *reputable*'). However, the pointing by the Massoretes differs. In Deut 1 the vowels are passive: 'those who are known',<sup>7</sup> or of repute, as the NRSV translates; in Job 34 the vowels are active: 'those who know', or 'knowers'. The question is, which is appropriate to 4Q298? The direct affinity of the manuscript with Job 34:2 at this point, in addition to the above examples of affinity, argues in favour of the active sense, the course chosen by the editors of the scroll, and carried on in this paper. However, perhaps the Massoretes got it wrong here, and the sense of 'reputation' is more important. In this case, the *Maskil* would be drawing attention to the fact that those receiving instruction have come this far on the basis of the knowledge their superiors have of them. Or, perhaps we are better to leave the issue ambiguous, as the unpointed text allows, in which case the novices are both known and knowledgeable.

The setting of Deut 1:13 is a favourite at Qumran, notably in the Temple Scroll 57, of the faithful leaders in the desert. Such is the pattern the Community follows.

### 4. 'My words' (מִלִּי)

Although the restored beginning of the scroll is suggested reasonably to read דְּבַרֵי מִשְׁכִּיל, the 'words' of the *maskil* after the first line are consistently מִלִּי. This is a term almost exclusively found in Job (also once in Daniel 5:10), and of five occurrences, all but one are in the speech of Elihu (33:1, 34:2, 34:16, 36:4).

<sup>7</sup> My thanks to Bernard Jackson, University of Manchester, for drawing attention to this point.

### 5. Terms not exclusive to Job, but within Elihu speech

Beyond the above striking examples of words from Elihu's speech in Job, there is other vocabulary of this manuscript which can be found in other parts of the Bible, but are also in Job and particularly in the words of Elihu.

- חקר (searching; investigation) of 1-2:4, in Job 34:24 (36:26, plus twice more). Isa 40:28, and Ps 145:3 are also of interest. It is also interesting to note that 11QTargum Job translates this לֹא סוּף ('without end') in both places in Job, apparently following a different *vorlage* than the author of this scroll.
- תבל (world) in 3-4i:5, is found in Job 34:13 and 37:12 (otherwise, 10x in Isa).
- התבונן (consider diligently) in 2 ii:3, is in Job 37:14 (26:14) as well as Isa 1:2 and 52:15.
- דרך (tread) of Frg. 5, and Job 34:27 and 36:23 (among many).
- יוסיף in Job 34:37, though in a negative sense.
- בינה in Job 34:16.

Further examples could be given, but this should suffice to indicate the extent to which the *Maskil*, in his description of the men of virtue, draws vocabulary from the speech of Elihu.

### *The Speech of Elihu and the Book of Job*

The question is, what can be made of this evidence? Is there significance in the favourable use of Elihu's speech, which appears as an essentially discredited speech in Job? Is there any possibility of the speech in an independent form as a text for the Community? Or, does the ideology of the speech itself derive from a Qumran text?

These questions are virtually unanswerable, but not beyond conjecture. To begin, let us consider the question of the unity of the text of Job.

The majority of contemporary commentators on Job consider the Elihu speech, chapters 32-37, to be secondary to the book. That is, it is either added in a later edition of the book by its author, or interjected in a later edition by another author. The chief reason given for this is the observation that neither Job nor God reply to Elihu, and Elihu is not mentioned by God alongside the other three friends at the end of the story.

Reasons for this later edition vary. Yair Hoffman<sup>8</sup> considers its purpose to be primarily literary due to the truncated third speech of Bildad, and the absence of a third speech by Zophar. The new section is written by someone who wishes to show his own artistic and aesthetic abilities. Harrald Martin Wahl sees an unknown poet, a Sage or a Priest, who composed this wisdom monologue in the third century BCE as a theological corrective to the book.<sup>9</sup> In either case the author of the speech is seen to write it specifically for the new edition of the book.

Wahl is certainly wrong to see the speech as a corrective, for the speech is clearly viewed as inadequate within the flow of the whole book. Yet, something can be said for its representing a contemporary wisdom argument. If Job's three friends are to be seen as traditional wisdom having its say, and falling short, then Elihu's speech, from younger, newer wisdom, is of another provenance. There is a new approach that has to be shown as inadequate, too.

Where does this new approach come from? It is one that holds strongly to the sense that one must simply let God make his own decisions of how to treat a man (Job 34:10ff., etc.; predestination?); who finds wisdom in direct revelation by the Spirit of God through dreams and visions (32:18; 33:15); who considers himself perfect (36:4). These things are considered arrogant by the editor of the final edition, but have much in common with the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Perhaps, then, it is possible that the Elihu speech represents a new strain of wisdom teaching which appeared at a later point than the first edition of Job. Perhaps in the third century, perhaps earlier, the lines of doctrine which become firmly set in the second century in a document such as 4Q298 are to be found in this speech of Elihu. If this were to be the case, then the editor who placed the Elihu speech in the Book of Job is presenting a viewpoint which uses catchwords of a group which later is represented at Qumran – for the purpose of showing the inadequacy of its arguments. In Job, then, we may be witness to one of the early arguments involving the precursors of the Qumran community.

<sup>8</sup> *A Blemished Perfection; The Book of Job in Context* (JSOTSup 213; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 291.

<sup>9</sup> "Das 'Evangelium' Elihus (Hiob 32-37)," *The Book of Job* (ed. W. Beuken; BETL 114; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1994).

*Hellenistic Influences?*

We have attempted to place 4Q298 within a context of biblical loyalties. What, on the other hand, can we make of the similarity of the List of Virtues with the list in 2 Peter 1?

The call to seek truth, to search, or to pursue, virtue is relatively rare in the NT. Usually Christ or God is the object of these commands. 1 Peter 3:11 ('seek and pursue peace') and 1:10 ('the prophets searched the scriptures') have close affinity to the vocabulary of this scroll.

There are many lists of virtues in the NT. Paul, of course, often provides such lists, Romans 5:2-5 being most similar in vocabulary to this passage ("We boast in our sufferings, knowing that suffering produces endurance, and endurance produces character, and character produces hope, and hope does not disappoint us...")<sup>10</sup>.

Most discussions of these lists relate them to Hellenistic virtues and lists. Richard Bauckham, for instance, cites Wibbing who finds 2 Peter closer to the ethical terms of Stoicism and popular philosophy than to 1QS 4.<sup>11</sup> It is instructive to look at some examples of virtue lists from contemporary Hellenistic writings.

Five examples of lists of virtues are shown in Table 2. Notable, of course, is the fact that most of them come from a later period than either of our texts under comparison, and that three are Christian lists. These provide a glimpse of the range of terms which may be included, and reveal the degree to which early Christianity made use of Stoic terms in its teaching.

However, neither the 4Q298 list, nor that in 2 Peter 1, is simply a list of virtues. These are examples of *sortes*, a rhetorical device of

<sup>10</sup> A closer parallel to Romans 5 is *m. Sotah* 9:15: "Heedfulness leads to cleanliness, and cleanliness leads to purity, and purity leads to self-restraint, and self-restraint leads to holiness... humility ... shunning of sin ... saintliness ... the Holy Spirit ... the resurrection of the dead. And the resurrection of the dead shall come through Elijah of blessed memory. Amen". (trans. Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933] 306-7). This list appears in the comparative chart of Table 3.

<sup>11</sup> Richard Bauckham, *2 Peter and Jude* (WBC 50; Dallas: Word, 1983) 174, citing S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament und ihre Traditionsgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Qumran-Texte* (BZNW 25; Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1959) Cf. discussion of 1QS above. See also J. R. Neyrey, *2 Peter, Jude: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 37C: New York: Doubleday, 1993).

Table 2  
Hellenistic Lists of 'Virtues'

<u>Hermas Man. 12.3.1</u>	<u>Hermas Sim. 9.1.2</u>	<u>1 Clement 62:2</u>	<u>Maximus of Tyre Oratio 16.3</u>	<u>Seneca Ep. Mor. 85.2</u>
πίστις	πίστις	πιστεύω	ἀλήθειαν	virtutum
φόβος κυρίου	ἐγκράτεια	μετανοίας	ὕγιή λόγον	temperans
ἀγάπη	δύναμις	γενεσιᾶς	ἀρεστήν	constans
ὁμόνοια	μακροθυμία	ἐγκράτειας	γνώσιν νόμον	imperturbatus
ῥήματα δικαιοσύνης	ἀπλότης	σωφοσύνης	δίκης	tristitia
ἀλήθεια	ἀκακία	ὑπομονῆς		beatus
ὑπονομή	ἀγνεΐα			satis
	ἰλαρότης			
	ἀλήθεια			
	σύνεσις			
	ἀγάπη			

Table 3  
*Sorites<sup>M</sup> Ascending Lists*

<u>Romans 5:3-4</u>	<u>Hermas Vis. 3.8.7</u>	<u>Wisdom 6:17-20</u>	<u>Maximus of Tyre</u>	<u>m. Sotah 9:15</u>
θλίψις	πίστεως	παιδείας ἐπιθυμία	διαρετήν	תוריד
ὑπομονή	ἐκράτεια	φροντίς παιδείας	λογοῦς	תוקן
δοκιμή	ἀπλότης	ἀγάπη	ἄσκησις	תשיש
ἐλπίς	ἀκακία	τήρησις νόμων	ἀλήθεια	תרה
	σεμνότης	προσόχη νόμων	σχολή	תשוק
	ἐπιστήμη	βεβαιοσύνη ἀφθαρσίας		ענה
	ἀγάπη			ראתא
ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ				תוסת
				תוקן תוקן
				תוקן תוקן
				אליהו זכור לשב
κατεργάζεται	γεννᾶται	ἀνάγει	διδόασιν	מביאה לידי
ἐπίγωσις	ἀγνὰ καὶ σεμωὰ καὶ θειά	ἐπὶ βαδιλείαν		



putting the virtues in a chain which ascends towards a climax.<sup>12</sup> New Testament examples may be found in Romans 5:3-5 and 10:14-15. Other examples may be seen in Table 3, with a greater dispersion for comparison: one NT, one early Christian, two Jewish, and one Stoic.

These examples provide material for comparison and for contrast. It is not surprising that 2 Peter and Hermas have more in common than the other examples. There is no one verb of choice to link the lists (shown at the bottom of each column, along with the goal of the list), but the sense of motion towards a goal is always apparent. And, both the Christian and Jewish texts show affinity to the Stoic choice of vocabulary and use of a 'capping' verb.

In summary, this comparison shows Hellenistic rhetorical devices, and value statements, to be used in common among both Jewish and Christian writers of the Second Temple period and into the early Christian era (or, CE).

#### *4Q298 and 2 Peter*

With this in mind, we may turn to a direct comparison of 4Q298 to 2 Peter 1, as in Table 4.

*Table 4: 2 Peter and 4Q298*

<i>2 Peter 1:5-8</i>	<i>4Q298</i>
πίστις	בינה ... לקח
ἀρετή	משפט ... הצניע לכת
γνώσις	יודעי ... אומץ
ἐγκράτεια	אמת ... צדקה
ὑπομονή	אהב חסד ... עונה
εὐσέβεια	
φιλαδελφία	
ἀγάπη	
Capping verb: <i>πλεονάζειν</i>	הוסיף
Goal: <i>ἐπίγνωσις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ</i>	לדעת ימי העודה

The first thing to note is the governing verb. The 2 Peter passage begins with *ἐπιχορηγεῖν*, 'to support', or 'to grant'. This does not

<sup>12</sup> Baukham, *2 Peter and Jude*, follows H.A. Fischel, "The Uses of Sorites (Climax, Gradation) in the Tannaitic Period," *HUCA* 44 (1973) 119.

have the connotation of ‘adding’, and the verb does not appear in the Greek Bible except in 2 Maccabees and Sirach (25:2). However, the idea of ‘adding’ is provided at the end of the list, as a ‘capping’ verb, in v. 8, “... if these things are yours and are increasing (πλεονάζειν) among you, they keep you from being ineffective and unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.” This compares to the 4Q298 use of הוסיף. Remarkably, these are the only two texts we have seen which share the same capping verb.

Secondly, there is again no surprise that the emphasis of each list is different. The NT list begins with ‘faith’ and ends with ‘love’, as is true of many Christian lists. The Qumran list begins and ends with ‘knowledge’, and that is in keeping with Qumran concerns as well – although the term is also important in the NT text.

Thirdly, and in keeping with this last observation, five of the eight NT virtues can be paralleled with 4Q298 (provided we accept these as to some degree equivalents). In 2 Peter love stands on its own; in 4Q298 it is in construct with ‘kindness’. Hope does not appear in the Scroll text, and is a typical Christian virtue.<sup>13</sup> The two remaining virtues which do not appear in the Scroll, self-control and brotherly love, may well be put down as due to Hellenistic influence, for these are definitely Hellenistic virtues brought into the Christian sphere of practice.<sup>14</sup>

Fourthly, considering both texts in their larger contexts, 4Q298 and 2 Peter share concern for these virtues for the same eschatological reason: both lists of virtues are offered as proper preparation for those living in the last days. Compare, ‘[I will recou]nt in order that you may give heed to the end of the ages...’ (Frgs, 3-4 ii 9-10), and 2 Peter 3:11, ‘Since all these things are to be destroyed in this way, what sort of people ought you to be in holy conduct and godliness...’. In both cases the virtuous life will assure the necessary knowledge needed for the last days (Frgs 3-4 ii:9-10 and 2 Peter 3:10-11).

<sup>13</sup> Yet, the Jewish form of the virtue may be represented in the *m.Sotah* list by the phrase, ‘the resurrection of the dead shall come through Elijah.’

<sup>14</sup> So Wibbing, *Die Tugend-und Lasterkataloge im NT*, cited by Baukham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 174. *Philadelphia* is extended by the NT from inner family relationships to church family relationships. *Egkrateia* seems to refer specifically to sexual control in the Christian context. Even here, though, *m.Sotah* offers some possibility of similar Jewish thinking, too, if a word such as פִּרְשָׁה were to be viewed as a near equivalent.

In these respects our two texts show more in common with each other than any of the other texts we have looked at, but 4Q298 shows little more in the way of Hellenistic influence than the rhetorical technique of *sortes*.

Turning to comparison of the NT list to the Scroll, it is worth noting what the 2 Peter list does not include: 'understanding,' ['learning'], 'justice,' 'modesty' and 'humility.' These are terms specifically rooted in the Wisdom and Prophetic contexts we have already examined. One conclusion that might be drawn from this, therefore, is that the NT passage does not pattern itself upon Hebrew Wisdom, as is the case in the Qumran passage. Yet, the NT terms, so similar to the manuscript's in many ways (as enumerated above), indicates that the NT concerns still remain closely related to their Hebrew Bible roots. 2 Peter gives us an example of the contextualising of Hebrew wisdom to the Hellenistic recipients of the letter.

In contrast, 4Q298 reveals its own setting within a Jewish context. Hellenistic thought is not unknown nor unacknowledged, but its themes and vocabulary are unsuited to recipients whose authoritative sources are found within Jewish thought. The similarities of the texts come from this same bedrock of Jewish belief and writings; the differences are due to very different audiences receiving the teaching.

In summary, this study has approached 4Q298 from two directions – the biblical background, and the Second Temple Hellenistic milieu. The rhetorical device used in this small but fundamental sectarian text shows us that the Community did not isolate itself wholly from the outside world, but lived within the same set of influences as the rest of society of that day. In comparison to 2 Peter 1, however, 4Q298 is seen to be an internal conversation in terms of contemporary biblical interpretation, where the New Testament text engages with a Hellenistic world-view. Perhaps most interesting of all, examination of striking affinities to the Elihu speeches suggested that there we may have a glimpse of an ancient argument carried out within the book of Job, so that the context of our text may extend into the shadowy years of the third century BCE.

# THE ADDRESSEES OF 4QINSTRUCTION\*

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## 1. Introduction

The literary composition formerly referred to as *Sapiential Work A*, but now named *Instruction* (the editors also suggest the title *Musar le-Mebîn*), is the most extensively preserved sapiential work found in the caves near Qumran. Seven<sup>1</sup> copies of the composition have been identified with certainty (1Q26, 4Q415-418, 4Q418a, 4Q423).<sup>2</sup> Altogether these manuscripts consist of more than 425 fragments. Nevertheless, it is difficult to get a good idea of the composition as a whole.

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\* This paper is a product of a project on 4QInstruction for which I was granted a postdoctoral fellowship by the KNAW, the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.

<sup>1</sup> For this article it is irrelevant whether the 4Q418 fragments belong to one or more manuscripts. On the other hand 4Q424 may be a copy of *Instruction*, although the 4Q424 fragments do not show an overlap with the *Instruction* manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> The official DJD edition of the cave 4 manuscripts had not yet been published at the time of the conference [it is now available in DJD 34]. Strugnell's transcriptions of 4Q415-4Q418 and 4Q423 are included in *A Preliminary Concordance to the Hebrew and Aramaic Fragments from Qumran Cave II-X Including Especially the Unpublished Material from Cave 4*. Printed from a card index prepared by R.E. Brown, J.A. Fitzmyer, W.G. Oxtoby and J. Teixidor, prepared and arranged for printing by Hans Peter Richter. Privately printed *ad usum editorum* 1988. This Preliminary Concordance was the main source of the transcriptions in B.Z. Wacholder, M.G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls. The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four. Fascicle Two* (Washington, D.C.: Dead Sea Scroll Research Council, Biblical Archaeology Society, 1992). The presentation of some fragments in R.H. Eisenman and M. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered: The First Complete Translation and Interpretation of 50 Key Documents Withheld for Over 35 Years* (Shaftesbury, Element, 1992) is not reliable. Cf. the Critical Note of D.J. Harrington and J. Strugnell, "Qumran Cave 4 Texts: A New Publication," *JBL* 112 (1993) 491-499. Most of the major fragments are transcribed in T. Elgvin, *An Analysis of 4QInstruction* (diss. Hebrew University, 1998) and in F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1997-1998; rev. ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 2000). Daniel Harrington placed a draft of his and J. Strugnell's DJD edition of 4Q415-4Q418, 4Q418a, at my disposal, and Torleif Elgvin allowed me to use the manuscript of his dissertation. I wish to express my sincere thanks to those scholars, and to J. Strugnell for reviewing some of the identifications and joins I suggested.

Some sections of the text are relatively well preserved, but the majority of the fragments, many of which are small, contribute little to our understanding of the composition. It is difficult to place those fragments in the right order, and only in a few cases do they preserve complete lines. Of course, scholars of the texts from the Judaean Desert are accustomed to working with fragmentary texts. In the case of *Instruction* the task of interpretation is slightly more complex: the text contains unknown words and ambiguous technical terms, and the style of the composition makes it hard to analyze the syntax of the clauses.

When I started to examine *Instruction*, I departed from the supposition that it should be possible to identify more overlaps between the manuscripts, and to join more fragments. This proved to be true, but the results have only a limited importance for the overall understanding of the composition. In need of a point of departure, I decided to look further into the question of the addressees of the text.<sup>3</sup> The work generally addresses a 2nd person masculine singular addressee, commonly acknowledged to be a מְבִין (henceforth *Mebin*), “someone who understands”. One fragment, however, has a feminine singular addressee (4Q415 2 ii), and in a few cases the text uses 2nd person plural forms.<sup>4</sup> In addition there are at least two sections with 1st person plural forms (4Q418 55 3-4; 69 11-12). Several explanations have thus far been offered.<sup>5</sup> The female addressee in 4Q415 2 ii could be the wife of the *Mebin*,<sup>6</sup> and this 2nd person feminine singular, as well as some of the 2nd person plural discourses, could have been part of an instruction to the *Mebin* to speak in *oratio recta* to his wife or to another audience.<sup>7</sup> Alternatively, the 2nd person masculine singular addressee could have been part of a group; in some cases all members of the group are addressed, instead of that individual member. The twin set-pieces addressed to the אִרְלֵי לֵב, “foolish of heart,” and the בְּחִירֵי אֱמֶת, “chosen ones of the truth,” in 4Q418 69 may have been an original composition integrated in the present text.<sup>8</sup> In one

<sup>3</sup> For a short discussion of the addressee(s), cf. Elgvin, *An Analysis*, 48-49.

<sup>4</sup> Cf., e.g., 4Q417 1 i (*olim* 2 i) 20, 27; 6 1; 20 2 (?); 4Q418 46 1; 55 6, 7, 8, 12; 69 ii 9, 10, 11; 79 2; 162 2; 221 4, 5; 4Q423 5 10; 6 3; 7 7. Cf. also Elgvin, *An Analysis*, 48 note 48, who mistakenly also refers to 4Q416 2 iii 8.

<sup>5</sup> Elgvin, *An Analysis*, and Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34.

<sup>6</sup> Thus, e.g., D.J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge, 1996) 57.

<sup>7</sup> Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34, 48.

<sup>8</sup> Strugnell and Harrington DJD 34, 14.

or two cases the uncommon 2nd person plural forms can be explained as belonging to a scriptural quotation or allusion. The 1st person plural forms in 4Q418 55 are thought to include the instructor and his student, the *Mebin*, as opposed to a non-specified they-group.<sup>9</sup> In none of these cases, however, apart perhaps from 4Q418 69, has the context been sufficiently preserved to prove or to disprove such explanations.

An explanation for the occasional shift of addressee may start with a fresh examination of the identity of the 2nd person singular masculine addressee. The examination presented here is based primarily on a limited number of formal observations, and does not intend to give an exhaustive interpretation of the composition.

As a starting point, one may observe several formal peculiarities of the composition.<sup>10</sup> First, one cannot fail to observe the large number of so-called vetitives, the negation אַל with the 2nd person jussive. There is not one single text from Qumran which has so many cases of this form, and the total number of cases of אַל with jussive in *Instruction*<sup>11</sup> and 4Q424<sup>12</sup> is more or less the same as that in all other nonbiblical scrolls together. The only sapiential text with a higher number of vetitive forms is Ben Sira. Second, the text uses the independent personal pronoun אַתָּה, "you," more often than all but one other composition. That exception is the *Hodayot*, where אַתָּה is used to address God, whereas in *Instruction* the addressee is a human being.<sup>13</sup> Such peculiarities<sup>14</sup> are of course closely linked to the forms and

<sup>9</sup> In view of the many correspondences between 4Q418 55 and 69 ii it is also possible that the 1st person plural forms in 4Q418 55 3-4 are a direct oration, introduced by האמר or יאמר as in 4Q418 69 ii.

<sup>10</sup> J. Strugnell, "The Sapiential Work 4Q415ff and the Pre-Qumranic Works from Qumran: Lexical Considerations," *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (eds. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 595-608 compares the vocabulary of 4Q415ff vis-à-vis the other texts of 1Q-10Q.

<sup>11</sup> Most cases are found in the section starting with 4Q417 2 i (*olim* 1 i) and ending with 4Q416 2 iv.

<sup>12</sup> The high number of cases of אַל with jussive in 4Q424 is remarkable, since in other respects it also seems related to *Instruction*.

<sup>13</sup> Not only the addressee differs, but also the syntax of the clauses. In the *Hodayot* אַתָּה is most often constructed with a 2nd person masculine singular perfect form, e.g., ואתה עשיתה, whereas in *Instruction* ואתה אַתָּה is more often followed by an imperative than by any other verbal form. In fact, this construction consisting of a 2nd person independent pronoun followed by an imperative is very rare in the nonbiblical scrolls. Cf. 1QM 17: 4 and 8-9 where ואתם is followed by התחוקו, and 4Q221 4 2-3 ואתה צו.

<sup>14</sup> Other stylistic peculiarities are the disproportionately frequent use of הָלַי, especially in 4Q418 55 and 69 ii, the strange frequency of וַיֵּא (note that אַל preceded by

genres of the composition, but these are also characteristic of the style of the work, and the peculiarity of these traits distinguishes *Instruction* from the other identified sapiential compositions.<sup>15</sup>

The high number of vetitives and other 2nd person masculine singular verbal forms, as well as the use of the personal pronoun *אָתָּה*, is accompanied by an even larger number of 2nd person singular pronominal suffixes. In fact, apart from very small fragments, there is hardly a fragment which does not use 2nd person masculine singular forms. The only fragment of some substance which does not have such forms is 4Q416 1, which is a 3rd person narration, describing God's rule over the cosmos, the reward of the righteous, and the punishment of the wicked at the judgment. The very large right-hand margin of 4Q416 1 strongly suggests that this is the beginning of the manuscript.<sup>16</sup> Only in one other case (4Q418 122 ii + 126 ii) do we have a substantial portion of a 3rd person narration of eight lines, but this section is introduced by the vocative *וְאַתָּה מִבֵּן יוֹן בְּאֵמֶת*, "And y[ou who under]stand truth".

## 2. *The Use of the Vocative וְאַתָּה מִבֵּן יוֹן and its Variants*

Who then is this 2nd person masculine singular addressee? The text seems to give the answer by addressing the person as a *Mebin*. Hence

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*weav* is used more often in *Instruction* [20x] than in the Hebrew Bible [4x] and the other Dead Sea Scrolls [6x] together), and the use of *לָמָּה* with the meaning of *פֶּן*. Some other stylistic features which are seldom attested in the nonbiblical scrolls are mainly restricted to 4Q418 55 and 69 ii, such as the use of *ha-interrogativum* apart from *הֲלֹא*, and the use of the *infinitivus absolutus*.

<sup>15</sup> Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34, 2, pose the question whether other manuscripts might be witnesses to the text of *Instruction*, in parts where no parallels with 4Q415ff happened to survive. They tentatively refer to 4Q420-421, and 4Q424-426, but only 4Q424 has the same formal characteristics as *Instruction*. The text of this manuscript is also addressed to a 2nd person masculine singular addressee, and contains many vetitive forms. G. Brin calls attention to this form as a characteristic of the document, but he only refers to *Ben Sira* ("Studies in 4Q424 1-2," *RevQ* 18 [1997] 21-42). 4Q424 is the only text apart from *Instruction* which uses the word *אָתָּה* and the expression *הַכְּמַת יָדִים*, and several words which occur often in *Instruction* are also found in 4Q424, e.g., *הוֹן*, *מַחֲסוֹר*, *הַמְשִׁיל*, *מִשְׁקָל*. *Instruction* and 4Q424 are certainly related, but there is no conclusive evidence that 4Q424 is another copy of *Instruction*.

<sup>16</sup> B. Lucassen and A. Steudel suggest, on the basis of a material reconstruction of the manuscripts, that there were different redactions of the composition, "Aspekte einer vorläufigen materiellen Rekonstruktion von 4Q416-4Q418," handout *Forschungsseminar: Die Weisheitstexte aus Qumran, Tübingen, 22.-24. Mai; 20.-21. Juni 1998*. It is therefore possible that other manuscripts had a different introduction.

the proposal of the editors for calling the work *Musar le-Mebin*, “Instruction For One Who Understands”. In fact, the word מוסר is hardly used at all in the composition, and may therefore not be the most appropriate word. However, here we are especially concerned with the word *Mebin*. Apart from 4Q418a 7 2, which preserves the words ]<sup>oo</sup>ו אהה מבין, the usual construction is ואהה מבין. Although some translators have understood these words as a verbal construction, “and you understand,” I agree with the editors that these words always seem to serve as a vocative introducing a new section.<sup>17</sup> The following table lists all the preserved occurrences of ואהה מבין and the variants of this formula.<sup>18</sup>

Table 1: ואהה מבין and Variants in *Instruction*

(1) 4Q416 4 3	ואהה מבין שמחה בנחלת אמת וב ] <sup>o</sup>
(2) 4Q417 1 i 1	]ואהה מבין]
(3) 4Q417 1 i 13-14	ואהה \ מבין רוש פעלחכה בזכרון השללום
(4) 4Q417 1 i 18	<i>vacat</i> ואהה בן מבין הבט <i>vac</i> ברו נהיה ודע
(5) 4Q417 1 i 25	ואהה] \ בן משכיל החבונן ברויכה
(6) 4Q418 69 ii 15	<i>vacat</i> ואהה בן]
(7) 4Q418 81 15	\ ואהה מבין אם בחכמת ידיים המשלכה ודע]
(8) 4Q418 102 3	ואהה] מבין באמת מיד כול חכמת ידיי]מ}כה]
(9) 4Q418 122 ii + 126 ii 5 <sup>19</sup>	\ וא]הה מבין] באמת מיד כול אוט אנשים א]
(10) 4Q418 122 ii + 126 ii 15	ואהה מ]בין
(11) 4Q418 123 ii 5	\ ]ואהה מבין בהבישכה בכול אלה ה]ל <sup>20</sup>
(12) 4Q418 168 4	וא]הה <sup>21</sup> מבין
(13) 4Q418 176 3	ואהה]ת <sup>22</sup> מבין בהוות מדהבה אל ה]

<sup>17</sup> A verbal construction with ואהה followed by a participle is found in the circumstantial clause 4Q416 2 ii 19-20 ואהה חסר להם. The use of the personal pronoun with participle to denote the present tense is common in MMT (e.g., ואתם יודעים), but not common in other Dead Sea Scrolls. The formula ואהה מבין, often followed by an imperative should rather be likened to such vocatives as אדם בן אדם in Ezekiel, or e.g., 1QM 17: 8-9 (ואהם בני בריתו החזוק). The phrase should not be likened to 4Q417 1 ii (*olim* 2 ii) 10 ברצונו היו והואה מבין, “at his will they came into being, and he (God) brings to insight”.

<sup>18</sup> Not included are the many instances where only ואהה is used, nor those cases where only מבין is preserved (4Q418 158 4; 227 1).

<sup>19</sup> 4Q418 122 ii 5-6 preserves the first letters of 4Q418 126 ii 2-4, and 122 ii 7 the top of the first letter of 126 ii 5. Cf. also DJD 34, 350.

<sup>20</sup> The head of the last letter is narrow, suggesting *kaf*, but since the skin has shrunk here *bet* is not impossible.

<sup>21</sup> There is, *pace* DJD 34, 390, no trace of <sup>alep</sup> on the fragment.

<sup>22</sup> The trace before *he* is not ink.



In some cases the formula is preceded by a blank space (*Table 1*, 4 and 6), or starts on a new line (1, 7, 9, 11).<sup>23</sup> Several times the vocative is followed by an imperative (1, 3-5).<sup>24</sup> In other cases, where the vocative is followed by a conditional or circumstantial clause, the imperative may have stood further on in the sentence (7, 11, 13; an imperative may also have followed in 8 and 9). The preserved parts of the composition use two, and probably four, variants of this vocative:

1. *ואתה מבין*. This is the most commonly used address (1-3, 7, 10-13).

2. *ואתה בן מבין*. In this variant *מבין* should be interpreted as an adjective “understanding” qualifying “son”. This address is attested once in full, but might be reconstructed once more (4, 6).

3. *ואתה בן משכיל*. Strugnell originally read in 4Q417 2 i 25 *בן משכיל*, but Strugnell and Harrington now interpret the traces at the beginning of the line as *בן* in stead of *בן*. In that case one may supply *ואתה* at the end of the preceding line (5).

4. *ואתה מבין באמת*. “You who understand truth”, or perhaps, “you who truly understand”. This vocative has been preserved twice in part, but in both cases the following clause is broken. Therefore one cannot be completely certain that *באמת* really served as a qualifier of *מבין* (8, 9).<sup>25</sup>

The vocatives beginning with *בן* ואתה, where *בן* is qualified either by *מבין* or by *משכיל*, seem to indicate that this *מבין* or *בן מבין* is some kind of a student.<sup>26</sup> One need only refer to other proverbial literature like *Proverbs* and *Ben Sira* which regularly use the address *בני*, “my son”. Hence, Strugnell and Harrington state that this text is a wisdom instruction in which the speaker (an instructor who might have been called *משכיל*) gives counsels to the student (the *מבין*). According to the editors this “rhetorical situation of instruction suggests a

<sup>23</sup> The preceding *vacat* suggests that 4Q418 182 2 ואתה *vacat* [ also had a form of the formula.

<sup>24</sup> The imperative always follows the vocative. One should therefore reject Elgvin's reconstruction of 4Q417 1 i (olim 2 i) 2 (Elgvin: 4Q417 IX 4) והבן אתה (An Analysis, 256).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. 4Q418 122 ii + 126 ii 14 ואתה באמת התהלך, where *באמת* is the first word of the instruction.

<sup>26</sup> A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination. Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfinden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995) 54, suggested that the *מבין* was a teacher, and the *בן מבין* a student.

“school” setting (as in Sirach), though what sort of “school” is to be imagined is not at all clear”.<sup>27</sup> The editors may be right, but two typical elements of *Proverbs* and *Ben Sira* are lacking in *Instruction*. First, this so-called instructor is not present in the text, but postulated by the editors. The so-called student is not called “my son,” and there are no other 1st person singular forms which could refer to an instructor. Second – and this may be related to the first observation – contrary to *Proverbs* and *Ben Sira*, there is no admonition to listen, or to pay attention, to the instructor’s words. Of course, this may be due to the fragmentary nature of the copies. One or two fragments preserve the letters שמע, possibly being an imperative “hear”, but in both cases the word is broken and the context lacking,<sup>28</sup> and 4Q418 177 4 reads ]אקח בינה האזינה ל]ס, “and get understanding; give ear to”. In those cases it is not clear whether the object might be the words of the instructor, or a more abstract term like “wisdom” or “instruction”. A reference to a “school” setting may perhaps be implied in 4Q418 81 17 ]ומיד כול משכילכה הוסף לקח, “and increase learning from everyone who teaches you”, but nothing in this clause indicates that such a משכיל should be identified with the person who delivers the instructions of the composition.

One can also observe that the vocative מבין ואתה and its variants are employed mainly in a specific kind of context. Four out of thirteen cases are found in one column (4Q417 1 i), which calls upon the *Mebin* to meditate on the רז נהיה. Inasmuch as can be ascertained, most other occurrences are also related to what might be called “intellectual” or “learning” activities, like “knowing” (ידע), “understanding” (התבונן), or “gazing upon” (הביט). The only clear exception is 4Q416 4 3 where the *Mebin* is called upon to “rejoice in the אמת”, “the true inheritance”, but there too a second imperative might have referred to a learning activity. The relation between the address of a *Mebin* and an admonishment containing some kind of intellectual activity, seems to be valid for the few other cases in the Qumran texts where those addressed are called מבנים. 4Q303, one of the texts

<sup>27</sup> Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34, 20. Cf. also, in more general terms, Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 40: “In the instructional setting the senior sage gives advice to a novice sage”.

<sup>28</sup> 4Q417 29 8 may perhaps read ]ושמע, but other readings are possible as well. 4Q418 202 2 reads ]שמע, which might be an imperative in view of קח in the preceding line.

named *Meditation on Creation*, starts with מבינים שמעו], which the editor translates “having understood they listened”.<sup>29</sup> I think it is more likely that in this text “understanding ones” are admonished to listen, and to reflect on God’s wonders which started with the creation. Likewise in 4Q525 (Beatitudes) 14 ii 18, a new section starts with ועדה מבין (not: “and you”, but “and now”), and calls upon the addressee to meditate.

We may conclude that although the literary genre of this kind of instructions probably originated in some kind of school setting, there are no explicit references in the preserved fragments of *Instruction* to such a situation. That is, the genre or the forms are used in a literary manner, dissociated from their original setting. Secondly, and resulting from the first conclusion, the term מבין, or even מבין בן, need not be taken to refer to a “student.” Rather, both *Instruction* and other texts use this term especially in contexts where the addressee is called upon to meditate, study, or consider.

### 3. *The Addressee as a Poor Man?*

A more specific characteristic of the addressee seems to be that he is poor. Several scholars have briefly embarked on this issue, mainly concerned with the question whether the addressee is poor in a material sense, or “poor”, that is “humble”, in a religious sense. Here one should take a more sophisticated approach. On the one hand, מחסור, which can mean “lack”, “need” or “poverty”, is used throughout the composition, often with the 2nd person suffix מחסורכה. Unfortunately, it is often not quite clear how one should understand this word in its specific contexts, especially since it is regularly used with the ambiguous word חפץ, and the unexplained אש. On the other

<sup>29</sup> T. Lim, “4QMeditation on Creation A,” *Qumran Cave 4. XV: Sapiential Texts. Part I* (eds. T. Elgvin et al.; DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 151-153, pl. XIII. His translation is probably prompted by his incorrect reading וישביתו in line 2 (instead of השביתו), which suggests a narrative introduction. Note the correspondence between 4Q303 1-2 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9: 36-38 (Sukeniak 1: 34-36), both texts using השביתו in the call to listen. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9: 36 השביתו עולה מעל in מעל in מעל in 4Q303 2 is the noun “deceit”, or “unfaithfulness”, and not a compound preposition as I translated in F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. Volume Two 4Q274-11Q31* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 669. For השביתו with a direct object cf. also *Sira* 7:6 אל תבקש להיות מושל אם אין לך חיל להשבית זדון.

hand, the best preserved section of *Instruction* seems to call the addressee אביון and רש. This section, 4Q416 2 ii-iii, which is concerned with all kinds of financial matters such as loans, deposits, or how to spend one's money, twice says אביון אתה (4Q416 2 iii 8, 12) followed immediately by a vetitive, and three times uses the word רש, "poor", in relation to the addressee. The following table lists all the occurrences where the addressee is called "poor".

Table 2: "You are Poor" Formula's

(1) 4Q416 2 ii 20	אל תחכד במחסורכה ואתה רש
(2) 4Q416 2 iii 2	וזכור כי ראש אתה]
(3) 4Q416 2 iii 8	vac אביון אתה אל תתאו זולת נחלתכה
(4) 4Q416 2 iii 12	vac אביון אתה אל תאמר רש אני
(5) 4Q416 2 iii 19	vac ואם רש אתה כשהו:]
(6) 4Q415 6 2 (par 4Q418a 7 3?)	אביון א[ת]ה ומל[כים]
(7) 4Q418 177 5	א[ת]ה רש ונדיבים יו]

Collins observes that *Instruction* "is punctuated by reminders "that you are poor"", and states that this composition "has no precedent in Jewish wisdom literature for its insistence on the poverty of the addressee".<sup>30</sup> One should nuance this description. Apart from 4Q416 2 ii-iii (Table 2, 1-5) there are only two statements that the addressee is poor.<sup>31</sup> The word רישכה, "your poverty", is also used only in this section of 4Q416 2 ii-iii, as well as in the immediately following section on family affairs, in 4Q416 2 i 4,<sup>32</sup> and in 4Q415 6.

Only in a few of those cases has the context been fully preserved, and one may wonder whether the text states that the addressee is

<sup>30</sup> J.J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (The Old Testament Library; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997) 118. Likewise Collins, "Wisdom Reconsidered, in the Light of the Scrolls," *DSD* 4 (1997) 265-281 (esp. 272), "A distinctive feature of the work is the assumption that the addressee is poor". Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 45 does not claim that the work as a whole, but only that "the third column is punctuated with reminders about the poverty of the one who is receiving the instruction".

<sup>31</sup> The editors consider the reading ]יש רש אתה[ in 4Q418 148 ii 4, but examination of the fragment shows that the two descenders are too close to represent *res* and *waw*, and that there is no trace after the second descender. Nothing in the next lines of the fragment seems to be related to the poverty of the addressee.

<sup>32</sup> Reading בראשכה. In view of the lacunas in the text it is not certain whether to read "on your head", or "while you are poor".

poor, or whether it gives admonitions in case he becomes a pauper. In 4Q416 2 iii 19 the clause is explicitly conditional, וְיָאֵם רֵשׁ אֲתָהּ, “and if you are poor”, though it is not clear how to supplement and interpret the next broken word, ]כִּשְׁהֵ. The two or three sentences with אֲתָהּ אֲבִיךָ אֲתָהּ can be interpreted in the same way, even though the conditional particle אִם is missing. This type of conditional sentence with an asyndetic juxtaposition of two clauses is rare in the Hebrew Bible, but becomes more common in later Hebrew, starting with Late Biblical Hebrew and Ben Sira.<sup>33</sup> Thus one should not translate: “You are poor. Do not ...”, but “If you are poor, do not ...”. The section as a whole should be read as an instruction on how to behave *if*, or *when*, one is poor, but the resumption of the theme of poverty in the next section on family matters seems somewhat strange. The text continues with the admonishment to honour one’s father in one’s poverty, and one’s mother in one’s neediness, and some lines further on a conditional clause begins with “if you marry a wife in your poverty”. The meaning of the last clause can not be ascertained because of a lacuna, but one wonders why “in your poverty” is mentioned in relation to the commandment to honor one’s parents. Does the text suggest that the addressee might be less inclined to honor his parents if he is poor? Perhaps he would blame them for his poverty? I suggest the possibility that the reference to poverty in these commandments serves to smooth the transition from the theme of financial matters to that of family affairs.

In short, the word מַחְסוֹרְכָה, “your need”, “your lack”, or “your poverty”, is used throughout *Instruction*. Phrases which seem to state explicitly that the addressee is “poor” are limited to a few sections (4Q416 2 ii-iii and 4Q415 6), and can all be interpreted as conditional clauses. The text does not, therefore, insist on the poverty of the addressee, but envisages the possibility that the *Mebin* might be, or become, poor.

#### 4. *Social Positions of the Addressee(s)*

Can one come to a better understanding of the identity of the addressee by examining the subjects discussed in *Instruction*? A few frag-

<sup>33</sup> Cf. P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l’Hébreu biblique* (Rome: Institut Biblique Pontifical, 1923) § 167a.

ments use words related to agricultural matters,<sup>34</sup> but especially in such cases one seldom knows for sure whether the expressions are meant literally, or should be taken metaphorically. If they are taken literally, it would mean that the addressee was a farmer. Then again, some fragments mention the *מסחור* of the addressee, his “merchandise,” which would suggest he was engaged in trade.<sup>35</sup> In addition, the texts refer to *חכמת ידיכה*, “your craftsmanship.”<sup>36</sup> The badly preserved and obscure passage before the section on poverty mentions reproof, the pronouncement of judgments, and contending for judgment (4Q417 2 i). Collins regards this section as dealing with reproof, but one may also consider the possibility that the addressee is portrayed here as having a legal or administrative-scribal function.<sup>37</sup> Since most passages are broken and often obscure, one cannot draw solid conclusions, but it seems to me that all these different kinds of activities of the addressee are barely compatible.

In fact, some clauses in the preserved text suggest that, as in the case of the section on poverty, all these subjects are conditional. The first example is the difficult sentence in 4Q418 81 15 *ואתה מבין אם* [ *באחמה ידים המשילכה ודען*]. This text has been translated by scholars in various ways.<sup>38</sup> I suggest: “And you, O understanding one, if He has appointed you over manual crafts, know then” (with the apodosis being introduced by *waw*),<sup>39</sup> or, more liberally, “O sage, if He has made you a craftsman, you should know”. In some other cases we may also have remnants of such conditional addresses. For example, 4Q418 122 i 4 reads *ואם איש* [ , where the next lines mention “your

<sup>34</sup> Cf. especially 4Q418 103 ii; 107; 4Q423 1 i 1-3; 5 6-7.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. 4Q418 103 ii 6; 107 4; 122 i 5, 7. The mentioning of *מסחור* in sections which also use agricultural terms, may imply that the merchandise consists of crops.

<sup>36</sup> The constructions *ידים חכמה* and *ידים חכם* are found in 4Q418 81 15, 19; 102 3; 139 2; and possibly in 4Q418 137 2. The phrase is also used in 4Q424 3 7 and the related *ידים חכמי* in *Sira* 9:17. The precise meaning of both *ידים חכמה* and *ידים חכם* is not certain, but both phrases seem to refer to skills. Cf. also G. Brin, “Studies in 4Q424, Fragment 3,” *VT* 46 (1996) 271-295, especially 288-289.

<sup>37</sup> This is suggested by Strugnell and Harrington in several comments, but they do not elaborate on this possibility.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. e.g., Elgvin, *An Analysis*, 325: “And you understand if He gave you a position of authority due to the skill of your <own> hands? Know”. Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34, 303: “And as for thee, O understanding one, if over the manual artisans He has set thee in charge, and (over) the knowledge of”. F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden: Brill, 1994): “And you, understand; if through the wisdom of hands he has given you dominion.”

<sup>39</sup> Cf. J. Jouon, *Grammaire de l'Hébreu biblique*, § 176d.

merchandise,” and the small fragment 4Q423 26 reads אִשׁ אֲדַמָּה [אֲתָהָ] אֲתָהָ, which one is tempted to interpret as the protasis of a conditional sentence, whether with or without a preceding וְאִם.

If this interpretation is correct, the 2nd person masculine singular is not one specific addressee, but is used more generally to address מְבַנִּים with different skills and social status. That is, the direct discourse with 2nd person addresses is a literary form which was used to give instruction on a variety of topics. In that case, 4Q415 2 ii with its 2nd person feminine forms, can be explained according to this line of interpretation. One may regard it as one of the many shifts of addressee, this time directed towards women in their social position as wife and perhaps daughter-in-law.<sup>40</sup> Of course, shifts of addressee are not uncommon in other literature, though there the shift is not marked by conditional sentences (“if you are ...”). More common in other texts is a new vocative like in 4Q418 69 ii, which first addresses the foolish, or ungodly, with the vocative וְעַתָּה אֲוִילִי לֵב,<sup>41</sup> and then the chosen ones with וְאַתֶּם בְּחִירֵי אֲמָתִי.

In a sense, this shift of addressee complicates the interpretation of the preserved fragments. More often than not, the addressee is not mentioned in the extant text. In those cases we cannot be certain to whom the admonitions are directed. This goes, for example, for 4Q418 81, which uses Aaronite priestly language. Is it possible that this section was addressed to priests, or are those priestly terms transferred to another figure?

### 5. *The Audience of the Work*

What then, is the function of all these different instructions to different addressees? Or stated more comprehensively, what is the function, and who are the addressees, of the work itself? The composition is not merely a collection of instructions for different kinds of addressees, but underlines that God has portioned out the share of all living beings (cf., e.g., 4Q418 81 20 [ח] ל[ח] כ[ח] ל[ח] ח[ח], “for God has

<sup>40</sup> Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34, 47, transcribe ]ס[ ]ס[ כָּאֵב לְבָדִי, and translate “like thy father, honour thou [ (fem.) e.g., thy father-in-law”. Indeed, the traces after כָּבֵדִי can be read ח[ח] וְיָתִיב, but כָּאֵב and כָּבֵדִי need not of necessity belong to the same clause.

<sup>41</sup> Note, by the way, that this is the only time וְעַתָּה is used in the preserved text of *Instruction*.

allotted the inheritance of [eve]ry [living being],” and 4Q416 3 2 חִי מֵאֵתוֹ נַחֲלָה כָּל חַי, “for from him is the inheritance of every living being”). The word נַחֲלָה is used very frequently in *Instruction* to refer to one’s fate and position in life, and the addressees are constantly reminded that they should behave according to the portion, that is, the social position given to them. This is not only expressed by נַחֲלָה, but also by the verb הַמְשִׁיל and the noun חֶפֶץ. The verb הַמְשִׁיל is used disproportionately often in *Instruction* and refers to the tasks and the relationships ordained by God. God has appointed parents over children, husband over wife, the farmer over the land to till it and take care of it, the craftsman over crafts. In addition, the word חֶפֶץ, found very often in *Instruction*, may at some places have the original meaning of “pleasure” or “desire”, but it also conveys the meaning attested in 1QS 3: 17 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5: 37 (Sukenik 13: 20), and common in later Hebrew, of “business”, “affair”, and hence “task”. That is, the composition does not only give instructions to the addressees, but it also admonishes them to behave according to the positions and the tasks allotted to them.

The present time with its social order and ordained tasks is placed in the framework of creation and judgment. This framework seems to be spelled out in 4Q416 1, which in all likelihood constituted the beginning of the composition, but references to the judgment are interspersed throughout the composition. God’s order is founded in the days of old, and obedience or disobedience to this order results in future glory or punishment in the day of judgment. The same theme of this 3rd person discourse of 4Q416 1 reappears in the 2nd person singular discourse of 4Q417 1 i which admonishes the “understanding one” to consider, to examine, and to gaze upon, the רִו נְהִיָּה. It seems to me that the context clearly indicates that this רִו נְהִיָּה encompasses both past, present, and future.

The issue of the addressees of this work is related to the question where to place this composition in the social and religious map of the last centuries BCE. A definite answer to this question, if there ever is to be one, should await a much more thorough investigation of both *Instruction*, and the other texts of this period. Therefore, I will merely present some observations.

First – and this has been pointed out in most previous studies – the composition with its interest for family affairs, with its discussion of how to manage one’s financial matters, and with its lack of any explicit reference to a community, clearly presupposes a setting dif-



ferent from that of the *Serekh ha-Yahad*.<sup>42</sup> That is, it is clearly distinct from the works commonly considered sectarian. The same goes for other issues which are of importance in the postulated community of Qumran. For example, calendrical matters and purity affairs are not discussed in the preserved fragments of *Instruction*.

Second, *Instruction* does exhibit some parallels with both non-sectarian and sectarian texts.<sup>43</sup> We have no way of knowing, however, to what extent *Instruction* was a composite work with different sources, or layers of redaction. Source or redaction critical methods can hardly be applied to such a fragmentarily preserved text. Yet, because of the possibility of editorial or redactional activities we should be very careful in our conclusions. This goes especially with regard to the relationship between *Instruction* and other Qumran literary works. There are various kinds of correspondences between *Instruction* and other works, but especially in the case of several of the *Hodayot* some kind of a literary relationship seems very likely to me. It is convenient to assume that the author of those *Hodayot* was influenced by *Instruction*, but other possibilities should not be ruled out beforehand.

Thirdly – and then we return to where I began – the work, or at least sections of the work, are addressed to a *Mebin*, who, contrary to the addressee of Ben Sira, was not a professional sage, but could be anyone in society.<sup>44</sup> The composition apparently intends to admonish people from all layers of society to behave according to their God-given ordained position, and promises them everlasting glory. Those who understand, know that, in spite of their need, they will be rewarded by God, whereas the foolish or ungodly will be punished.

<sup>42</sup> Strugnell, "The Sapiential Work 4Q415ff."

<sup>43</sup> Elgvin, *An Analysis*, 160-175, discusses the relation to other writings, and suggests that the *Epistle of Enoch* was one of the sources used by the author of the discourses of *Instruction*.

<sup>44</sup> After writing this article I noticed that G. Brin, "Wisdom Issues in Qumran: The Types and Status of the Figures in 4Q424 and the Phrases of Rationale in the Document," *DSD* 4 (1997) 297-311 (esp. 306) arrives at a similar conclusion with regard to 4Q424: "perhaps the second person pronoun in this portion of the document does not refer to any particular person or to the holder of any particular office, but is an indefinite form of address directed towards the listener, whoever he may be".

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LITURGICAL AND POETICAL TEXTS

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# BODY PARTS IN *BARKHI NAFSHI* AND THE QUALIFICATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP OF THE WORSHIPPING COMMUNITY

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## I. Introduction

The *Barkhi Nafshi* manuscripts are rather fragmentary. David Seely has described them in a preliminary form.<sup>1</sup> He is inclined to think that five of the manuscripts (4Q434-438) are five different copies of the same text or collection of texts, whereas 4Q439 contains a different composition. Furthermore, Seely believes that *Barkhi Nafshi* is a sectarian work: the late Hasmonean or early Herodian date of the extant manuscripts, the full orthography of 4Q436 and 4Q437, and the general tone of the vocabulary being similar to much of that found in the *Hodayot* lead him to such a conclusion.<sup>2</sup> In fact, there is no explicit sectarian vocabulary in the extant fragments of *Barkhi Nafshi*, so we should allow that the composition of the poems could have been in non-sectarian circles, but that the hymn or hymns were very obviously subsequently used by those responsible for the collection of manuscripts found in Qumran cave four. Indeed, the contents of *Barkhi Nafshi* are entirely consistent with the community's world view.

At the 1997 international congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Jerusalem, D. Seely presented a detailed paper entitled "Implanting

<sup>1</sup> D.R. Seely, "The Barkhi Nafshi Texts (4Q434-439)," *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (ed. D.W. Parry and S.D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 194-214. Other preliminary work on these manuscripts is mentioned in the notes to Seely's article. Most of these ideas are now repeated in the principal edition of the manuscripts: M. Weinfeld and D. Seely, "Barkhi Nafshi," *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetic and Liturgical Texts*, Part 2 (eds. E. Chazon et al.; DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 255-334.

<sup>2</sup> Seely does not refer to the use of the term *'byren* in 4Q434 1 i 1 nor to the element of predestination implied in some parts of the composition; on these characteristics of *Barkhi Nafshi* see W. Kahl, "The Structure of Salvation in 2Thess and 4Q434," *QC* 5/2 (1995) 103-21, esp. 106-10.

Pious Qualities as a Theme in the *Barkhi Nafshi* Hymns".<sup>3</sup> In his presentation he described how in 4Q434 God opens the eyes of his people to see his ways and their ears to hear his teaching; he circumcises the foreskins of their hearts and gives them a new and pure heart. Seely also pointed out that in 4Q436 and 4Q437 biblical phrases mentioning parts of the body are similarly used to describe pious qualities which God instills in the hymnist or those who use his compositions.

This short study is heavily indebted to Seely's work on the *Barkhi Nafshi* hymns, especially his observations concerning the theme of the pious qualities which are linked with various parts of the body in more than one section of the hymnic material. However, the overall purpose of this short study is to ask whether for the *Qumran reader or hearer* the references to various parts of the body may indicate something more than desirable pious qualities. Compositions like *Barkhi Nafshi* must be viewed from at least two perspectives. Firstly, because *Barkhi Nafshi* is quite likely not to be a sectarian composition, the hymns should be looked at from their author's point of view. As Seely has clearly pointed out, the author may indeed have worked with many biblical phrases in mind to produce a new poetic work which preaches a particular kind of piety; the author may also have intended his original audience to understand his work in such a way. Secondly, however, the *Barkhi Nafshi* compositions must be considered from the point of view of their sectarian copyists and readers or listeners. What did the first century BCE Qumran reader and hearer understand the poetical imagery to be about? With this question in mind, this study argues that the references to parts of the body in some sections of the *Barkhi Nafshi* hymns serve a physiognomical function: those at Qumran who used the *Barkhi Nafshi* compositions found their positions as members of the worshipping community endorsed as they rehearsed verbally some of the necessary physical

<sup>3</sup> D. R. Seely, "Implanting Pious Qualities as a Theme in the *Barkhi Nafshi* Hymns," *The Dead Sea Scrolls – Fifty Years After Their Discovery, Major Issues and New Approaches: Abstracts* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, Israel Antiquities Authority, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, 1997) 92.

<sup>4</sup> Beyond the detailed concern with physiognomy, it should be noted that it is commonly pointed out that hymnic or liturgical texts can function to delimit community membership. Those who can worship through such texts are the insiders. See, e.g., L.A. Hoffman, "Censoring In and Censoring Out: A Function of Liturgical Language," *Ancient Synagogues: The State of Research* (ed. J. Gutmann; BJS 22; Chico: Scholars Press, 1981) 19-37.

qualifications for membership.<sup>4</sup> Thus in origin, these hymns can be read largely as Seely has proposed as poems inculcating pious qualities, but at a later date within the confines of the community they were probably read in a somewhat different way. Though their content remained the same, the significance altered considerably as the hymns took on a new role for their new sectarian masters.

## II. *Body Parts in the Barkhi Nafshi Texts*

The material with which this study deals comes from two different manuscripts, 4Q434 and 4Q436.

The first text to be described and commented on briefly is the opening column of fragment 1 of 4Q434. Seely has translated it and arranged it stichometrically as follows:

Bless, O my soul, the Lord,  
 for all his wonders forever,  
 and blessed be his name.  
 For he has delivered the soul of the poor,  
 and the humble he has not despised,  
 and he has not forgotten the distress of the helpless.  
 He has opened his eyes to the helpless,  
 and the cry of the orphans he has heard,  
 and he has turned his ears to their cry.  
 In the abundance of his mercy he was gracious to the needy  
 and he has opened their eyes (*synhm*) to see his ways  
 and their ears (*zn[y]hm*) to hear his teaching.  
 And he has circumcised the foreskins of their heart (*lbm*).  
 And he has delivered them because of his grace  
 and he set their feet (*rglm*) to the way... (4Q434 1 i 2-4)<sup>5</sup>

Seely has noted that the biblical background to the phrases mentioning parts of the body suggests a set of pious qualities which are extolled in this poem. Whatever the biblical background of the phraseology,<sup>6</sup> it is important to note that it is emphasized that God has paid particular attention to the needy by opening their eyes to see his

<sup>4</sup> The Hebrew text was first made available in B.Z. Wacholder and M.G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic texts from Cave Four* (Washington: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1995) 3.310 where the column is labelled as column 2 of fragment 1; the Hebrew is now published in DJD 29, 270. The translation here is from D. Seely, "The Barki Nafshi Texts (4Q434-439)," 197-99.

<sup>6</sup> The most obvious scriptural sources are Deut 29:4 and Isa 6:10.

ways, opening their ears to hear his teaching, circumcising their heart, and setting their feet on the way. Put another way he has changed their status from being blind, deaf, spiritually uncircumcised and lame so that now they can see, hear, be spiritually acceptable, and walk aright. Whereas before God's action the needy were excluded by virtue of their physical characteristics, now they are graciously delivered by God himself. For the author of the hymn, God is described as changing the physical circumstances of the needy, though it is also clear that some of the language is directly metaphorical.

The phrase "circumcised the foreskins of their heart" (*wymw'el 'wrlwt lbn*) deserves a few further comments. Seely has devoted a short study to the phrase,<sup>7</sup> following up the work of R. Le Déaut.<sup>8</sup> He has noted that the heart is one of the dominant motifs of the compositions found in the *Barkhi Nafshi* manuscripts.<sup>9</sup> The idiom is based in various scriptural passages, notably Deut 10:16, 30:6 and Jer 4:4.<sup>10</sup> It is found also in *Jub.* 1:23-24: God declares that to bring the people back to the land he will "cut off the foreskin of their heart and the foreskin of the heart of their descendants". Perhaps because he has determined that the *Barkhi Nafshi* hymns are sectarian compositions, Seely has proposed that the most notable parallel to the phrase in 4Q434 is to be found in IQS 5:5, "He shall rather circumcise in the community the foreskin of the inclination and a stiff neck". The whole context of IQS 5:4-5 is significant:

No man shall wander in the stubbornness of his heart (*lbn*), to err following his heart (*lbnw*), his eyes (*w'myhw*), and the plan of his inclination. He shall rather circumcise in the Community the foreskin of the inclination (*lbnw'el byhd 'wrlt ysr*) (and) a stiff neck.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> D.R. Seely, "The 'Circumcised Heart' in 4Q434 *Barkhi Nafshi*," *RevQ* 17 (1996) 527-35.

<sup>8</sup> R. Le Déaut, "Le thème de la circoncision du coeur (Dt. XXX,6; Jér. IV,4) dans les versions anciennes (LXX et Targum) et à Qumrân," *Congress Volume: Vienna 1980* (ed. J.A. Emerton; VTSup 32; Leiden: Brill, 1982) 178-205.

<sup>9</sup> Seely refers to an unpublished 1968 study by E. Tov, "A Commentary on 4Q437 (*Barkhi Napshi*)," for the first scholarly notice that several words recur in many of the poems: "heart", "soul", "way", "spirit", "bless", "nations", "deliver".

<sup>10</sup> Various negative formulations occur too: Lev 26:41; Jer 9:25; cf. Exod 6:12; Jer 6:10. Note also the same phrase in Acts 7:51.

<sup>11</sup> Trans. J.H. Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community," *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (Tübingen: Mohr/Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994) 21.



By juxtaposing the *Barkhi Nafshi* phraseology with 1QS 5:5, I would argue that Seely has moved from describing how the original author of the hymn might have understood his own use of imagery to asking questions about how the phraseology of *Barkhi Nafshi* could have been understood and appropriated by a Qumran community member. This particular passage (1QS 5:5) is absent from the equivalent section in both 4QS<sup>b</sup> and 4QS<sup>d</sup>, which raises the intriguing question whether a longer passage has been shortened or a shorter one lengthened.<sup>12</sup> Whatever the facts with regard to the recensional history of the *Rule of the Community*, it could well be the case that the form of the text represented by 1QS 5:5 has been influenced by the *Barkhi Nafshi* hymnic materials. In this way it is possible to differentiate between the understanding of the hymn's original author and the subsequent reading of the hymn by a community member. The *Barkhi Nafshi* poem with its concern for describing God's action on behalf of the needy through reference to parts of the body is unconsciously echoed or even referred to intentionally in a rule which elaborates on the qualifications of those who have joined the community and who seek to remain members. This observation will become increasingly significant in the subsequent parts of this study.

A second manuscript of *Barkhi Nafshi* (4Q436) contains a poem with similar sentiments.

...understanding to strengthen the contrite heart and the spirit (which is) in it forever; to comfort the weak in the time of their distress and the hands of the fallen so that they may rise; to make instruments of knowledge; to give knowledge to the wise so that they may increase understanding; so that they may understand Thy deeds which Thou hast done in the years of old, in the years of all generations. Eternal understanding which...before me, and Thou keepest Thy law before me and Thou hast entrusted Thy covenant to me. And Thou dost strengthen the heart... to walk in Thy ways. Thou hast visited my heart (*lby*) and Thou hast sharpened my kidneys (*klywty*) that they may not forget Thy precepts...Thou hast...Thy law. Thou hast opened my kidneys and hast strengthened me to pursue Thy ways... Thy ... Thou hast made my mouth (*py*) into a sharp sword and opened my tongue (*lswny*) for words of holiness. And Thou hast set... discipline that they may not meditate

<sup>12</sup> The debate on how best the relationship between the various versions of the *Community Rule* should be assessed historically is well represented in the differing positions of P.S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of *Serekh Ha-Yahad*: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17 (1996) 437-56 and of S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

on man's actions, on the talk of his lips (*šptyw*). Thou hast strengthened my feet (*rgly*) .. and with Thy hand Thou hast strengthened my right hand (*ymym*) and Thou hast sent me (4Q436 1 i 1-9).<sup>13</sup>

The poet extols God's generosity in giving knowledge and understanding appropriately. He then turns to acknowledge how God has acted in his own life. In so doing he itemizes parts of the body, beginning with his kidneys, moving on to his mouth and tongue, his lips, and then his feet and his right hand. All these ideas can be variously located in the phraseology of biblical antecedents. On the basis of such antecedents the original author describes his spiritual experience and insight, his pious qualities. However, for the Qumran community reader or listener, the particular combination of references to the parts of the body coming after a statement concerning how the hymnist has been entrusted with the covenant might suggest that competence to stand within the covenant was easily recognizable not just in the spiritual acumen which could be described metaphorically by reference to parts of the body, but also by explicit reference to the actual parts of the body themselves. For the Qumran community reader the one entrusted with the covenant is not emotionally unstable, is not dumb, and is crippled in neither feet nor hands.

The address to God continues in the second column which is not so well preserved:

And Thou hast placed [the spirit of holine]ss into my heart and hast taken away from me the eyes of fornication. And Thou hast looked... Thy [wa]ys; Thou hast removed from me the stiff neck and replaced it with humility. Thou has taken away [from me] the rage of anger and hast placed in me the spirit of patience. A haughty heart and lofty eyes Thou hast cleansed away (?) from me... (4Q436 1 ii 1-3).<sup>14</sup>

As with the previous column of 4Q436, various parts of the body again come to the fore: heart, eyes, stiff neck, heart and eyes again.

All in all, while the original author in each case might be princi-

<sup>13</sup> Trans. G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Allen Lane, 1997<sup>5</sup>) 417-18. The Hebrew text was first made available in R. Eisenman and M. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992) 238 (as fragment 1); B.Z. Wacholder and M.G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four*, 3.316; the Hebrew is now published in DJD 29, 297. See also D. Seely, "The Barki Nafshi Texts (4Q434-439)", 201-202 (4Q436 1 i 2-4).

<sup>14</sup> Trans. G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 418. The Hebrew text was first made available in B.Z. Wacholder and M.G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls*, 3.317; see now DJD 29, 297.

pally interested in making his point through the metaphorical appeal to parts of the body, metaphors which are reminiscent of numerous scriptural antecedents, for the member of the Qumran community or the wider movement of which it was a part, these passages might have suggested that more was at stake than mere pious qualities based on scriptural antecedents. In what follows I shall try to show that in a sectarian context the various physical characteristics mentioned in the *Barkhi Nafshi* hymns could have been understood by the community user as playing a significant role in marking out the true member of the community from his peers.

### III. *Physiology and Physiognomy at Qumran*

In several sectarian compositions found in the Qumran caves it is clear that physical features played a role in disqualifying members from particular functions or even prohibiting membership at all. Most well-known of such passages is the statement in the *Rule of the Congregation*:

And no man smitten with any human uncleanness shall enter the assembly of God; no man smitten with any of them shall be confirmed in his office in the congregation. No man smitten in his flesh, or paralysed in his feet or hands, or lame, or blind, or deaf, or dumb, or smitten in his flesh with a visible blemish; no old and tottery man unable to stay still in the midst of the congregation; none of these shall come to hold office among the congregation of the men of renown, for the Angels of Holiness are [with] their [congregation] (1QS<sub>a</sub> 2:3-9).<sup>15</sup>

This set of rules is based on Lev 21:16-24 which outlines how priests serving in the sanctuary should be physically normal and unblemished. This Leviticus passage is expanded and interpreted by implicit references to some other passages: 2 Sam 4:4 on being crippled in the legs, Exod 4:11 on the blind, the dumb, and the deaf in combination. What in the Torah disqualifies priests from serving in the sanctuary is taken by the sectarians as excluding such people from the congregation itself, or at least from some roles within it.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Trans. G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 159.

<sup>16</sup> For detailed explanation of the various categories of exclusion, see L.H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SBLMS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 43-49.

In a very similar vein the *War Rule* (1QM 7:4-5) speaks about who is eligible for fighting in the army: "Neither lame, nor blind, nor crippled, nor a man in whose flesh there is a permanent blemish, nor a man stricken by some uncleanness in his flesh, none of them shall go to battle with them".<sup>17</sup> As Y. Yadin commented long ago, these prohibitions arise "not from military causes but from regard for the purity of the camp".<sup>18</sup> We may notice that as with the limitations outlined in the *Rule of the Congregation*, the majority of matters itemized here are likely to be permanent states, though cases of "uncleanness in his flesh" are less likely to have been thought of as permanent.

Further similarities can be found in such passages as 11QT<sup>a</sup> 45:12-14 which prohibits a blind man from ever entering "the city of the sanctuary", a term referring to Jerusalem but which for some readers may have been understood as a euphemism also referring to the community. Or again, a similar prohibition is to be found in 4QMMT (4Q394 8 iii):

[And concerning] the blind who cannot see so as to beware of all mixture and cannot see a mixture that incurs [reparation]-offering; and concerning the deaf who have not heard the laws and the judgements and the purity regulations, and have not heard the ordinances of Israel, since he who has not seen or heard does not know how to obey (the law): nevertheless they have access to the sacred food.<sup>19</sup>

Two of the recently published cave four manuscripts of the *Damascus Document* contain a more complete version of CD 15:15-17 than is preserved in the medieval manuscripts:

Neither shall any simple minded or errant man, nor one with dimmed eyes who cannot see, [nor] a limping or lame or deaf person, nor a young boy, none of these shall [come] into the congregation, for the hol[y] angels [are in their midst] (4Q266 8 i 7-9).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Trans. J. Duhaime, "War Scroll (1QM; 1Q33; 4Q491-496 = 4QM1-6; 4Q497)," *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations: Vol. 2: Damascus Document, War Scroll, and related Documents* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Tübingen: Mohr, 1995) 111. Cf. 4Q491 1-3 6-10.

<sup>18</sup> Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962) 72.

<sup>19</sup> Trans. E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 51-53.

<sup>20</sup> Trans. J.M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 64. The passage has some overlaps in 4Q270 6 ii.

In all these texts it is clear that certain physical deformities bar one from membership in the community or at the very least from the principal functions within it. In most instances the exclusion or ban is permanent, in a few the process of aging makes for a change of status; in still others purification may allow for restored participation.

Other compositions found in the caves at Qumran must also be taken into account in constructing an overall picture of the place of physiology and physiognomy in the outlook of the community. In a recent study P.S. Alexander has drawn attention to the proper significance of 4Q186.<sup>21</sup> He outlines carefully the principal characteristics of the text. Unlike what we have observed for both the *Barkhi Nafshi* hymns and also for the sectarian rulings already mentioned, Alexander has noted that nothing in 4Q186 has a scriptural precedent. He has stressed that the physiognomy of 4Q186 is linked with astrology; it involves the whole body from head to toe, it is concerned with determining a man's spirit which is measured on a nine-point scale of darkness and light so that nobody is equally good and bad; it makes explicit what was predetermined and inscribed on the heavenly record; and it links certain human types with certain animals.

Two of these characteristics of 4Q186 are particularly significant for illuminating the quest of this study. Firstly, 4Q186 treats the whole person from head to toe. In the *Barkhi Nafshi* poems various features of the head are mentioned as well as the feet; in other Qumran texts eyes and ears are as important as lameness.<sup>22</sup>

Secondly, the object of the exercise is to determine a person's spirit. In 4Q186 the important significance given to "the house of light" (*byt h'wr*) and "the pit of darkness" (*bur h'wšk*) cannot be adequately explained in terms of the astrological features of the composition itself. Rather, as Alexander has pointed out,<sup>23</sup> it seems as if they are technical terms which are equivalent to "fountain of light" (*m'yn 'wr*) and "source of darkness" (*mqr h'wšk*) as found in IQS 3:19, part of a passage which details how the *Maskil* will instruct the sons of

<sup>21</sup> P.S. Alexander, "Physiognomy, Initiation, and Rank in the Qumran Community," *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr, 1996) 1.385-94. The text of 4Q186 was published by J.M. Allegro with the collaboration of A.A. Anderson, *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158-4Q186)* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968) 88-91.

<sup>22</sup> It may be that physiognomy could only be carried out on those parts of the body which were visible at some point.

<sup>23</sup> "Physiognomy, Initiation, and Rank in the Qumran Community," 390.

light in recognizing the character of a person's spirit by observing its signs (*ʿwtwt*). These signs are best understood as physical features which reflect a person's spiritual status.<sup>24</sup> Thus the determination of a person's spirit is partly possible through an analysis of his physical features. The language of the spirit is frequently found in the *Barkhi Nafshi* texts, nine times according to Seely,<sup>25</sup> which together with the passages that describe the parts of the body might make them especially appealing as poems for use in the community. Concern with the matters of the spirit is clearly a dominant feature in the *Rule of the Community*<sup>26</sup> and also in the *Hodayot*. It seems as if physiognomical information could be used to help determine a person's standing in the spirit.<sup>27</sup>

In relation to the references in *Barkhi Nafshi* to the eyes, the ears, the lips and the feet, it is important to recall that the toes and feet feature in 4Q186 1 ii 5-6 ("his toes are thin and long") and 2 i 5 ("the soles of his feet...") and that the eyes are referred to in 4Q186 2 i 1 ("his eyes are black and glowing") and 4Q561 ("his eyes will be between white and black").<sup>28</sup> In addition, though the lips are not mentioned in the extant fragments, there are several descriptions of teeth (4Q186 2 i 2-3; 4Q561 1 i 3). Together with 4Q186 and 4Q561, 4Q534 should also be considered.<sup>29</sup> In 4Q534 1:1-3 the subject of the text is described according to his physical features, especially his hands, his hair, and his moles. The manuscript is very

<sup>24</sup> The use of *wtwt* in 1QS 3:13 was long ago associated by G. Scholem with the technical terminology of Jewish physiognomic texts in which the same term in Gen 5:1 is understood to refer to the nature or physical characteristics of human beings; see the discussion and references assembled by J.A. Davila, "4QMess Ar (4Q534) and Merkavah Mysticism," *DSD* 5 (1998) 367-82, pp. 369-70.

<sup>25</sup> Seely, "The 'Circumcised Heart'," 528.

<sup>26</sup> At least in its 1QS form; over half the uses of *ruah* in 1QS occur in the first four columns.

<sup>27</sup> As additional physiognomic texts Alexander also cites 4Q561, which "assigns the secret wisdom of physiognomy to the competence of the *maskil*" (cf. 1QS 3:13), and 4Q534: "Physiognomy, Initiation, and Rank in the Qumran Community," 391-93.

<sup>28</sup> The Aramaic text of 4Q561 is partially transcribed in K. Beyer, *Die aramäische Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Züaten: Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994) 125-26.

<sup>29</sup> See J. Starcky, "Un texte messianique araméen de la Grotte 4 de Qumrân," *Mémorial du cinquantenaire de l'École des langues orientales de l'Institut Catholique de Paris* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1964) 51-66; for lists of other studies and a fresh English translation see J.A. Davila, "4QMess Ar (4Q534) and Merkavah Mysticism."

damaged at this point and other parts of the body could well have been mentioned too, but even on the basis of those that are mentioned it is clear that the subject's physical features were indications of his future qualifications and status.<sup>30</sup>

When the citations from the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa) and the *War Rule* (1QM) are read together with 4Q186, 4Q561, and 4Q534, then one can begin to appreciate the role of physical features as hallmarks of those admitted to the eschatological worshipping community. At this juncture other texts can be introduced into the discussion, in particular those that take up the hopes of Isaiah 35 and 61 that in the eschatological age there would be no blind, deaf or lame members of God's people. Several texts fall into this category, but most notable amongst them is 4Q521 which describes one who "liberates the captives, restores sight to the blind, straightens the bent" and who will "heal the wounded, and revive the dead and bring good news to the poor".<sup>31</sup> The first statement imitates Ps 146:7-8, the second Isa 61:1. Isaiah 61 at least is also programmatic for what survives in 11QMelchizedek 2.<sup>32</sup> These are actions which will make for an inclusive unblemished community in the eschatological age.<sup>33</sup>

A similar phenomenon may lie behind aspects of the blessings in 4Q525. Several of them mention parts of the body: "...] with a pure heart, and does not slander with his tongue" and "Blessed are those who seek her with pure hands, and do not search for her with a deceitful heart". The implication is that the activities of the parts of the body declare what a person is really like. The blessings of 4Q525

<sup>30</sup> For discussion of who this figure might be and for a further suggestion about the significance of the physiognomical matters in the surviving text see J.A. Davila, "4QMess ar (4Q534) and Merkavah Mysticism."

<sup>31</sup> E. Puech, "Une apocalypse messianique (4Q521)," *RevQ* 15 (1991-92) 475-522.

<sup>32</sup> Note also, for example, the possible testament 4Q474 10: "[and a[]] their ears are deaf". T. Elgvin notes that this could either contain a negative statement about the people or an eschatological promise based on the language of Isa 35:5 and similar texts: "A Joseph Apocryphon from Qumran," *Built on Solid Rock: Studies in Honour of Professor Ebbe Egede Knudsen on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday April 11th 1997* (ed. E. Wardini; Oslo: Novus Forlag, 1997) 70-81.

<sup>33</sup> These same biblical texts, even mediated by a tradition such as found in 4Q521, seem to be programmatic for Jesus' ministry which can be portrayed as being about creating a people fully capable of worshipping God. On 4Q521 and the Gospel traditions, see most recently C.M. Tuckett, "Scripture and Q," *The Scriptures in the Gospels* (ed. C.M. Tuckett; BETL 131; Leuven: University Press/Peeters, 1997) 3-26; see also in the same volume the essay by F. Neirynck, "Q 6,20b-21; 7,22 and Isaiah 61," 27-64.

adapt the language of Ps 24:4-6. But more than describing the true character of the blessed, the macarisms in this text found at Qumran might have functioned as has been suggested for the beatitudes in the New Testament, namely as markers of the initiated.<sup>34</sup> On the one hand it should be recalled that the *Rule of the Community* in its cave one form begins with a series of blessings and curses uttered possibly at the ceremony at which new members were received into the community and old members renewed their commitment. On the other hand H.-D. Betz has argued convincingly that eschatological judgement passed proleptically is a feature of macarisms in several different kinds of text, the earliest example of which may be in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter: "Happy is he among men upon earth who has seen these mysteries; but he who is uninitiate has no part in them; never has a lot of like good things once he is dead, down in the darkness and gloom".<sup>35</sup> The macarism is addressed to those who have been initiated into the Eleusian mysteries.<sup>36</sup> This leads us naturally to discuss in more detail the topic of physiognomy and initiation.

#### IV. *Physiognomy and Initiation*

With regard to 4Q186, P. Alexander has asked what function such a text would have and at what time reference would be made to it. He proposes that the most obvious setting in which a physiognomic test might be applied would be when somebody applied to join the community. Alexander cites CD 13:12 to support his line of reasoning. CD 13:12 describes how the Guardian must examine everyone who enters the congregation so that the one entering may be inscribed in his place according to his rank in the lot of light. Alexander notes that how the Guardian could determine whether someone was amongst the elect is not revealed, but he implies that perhaps the Guardian might have had recourse to physiognomic manuals to as-

<sup>34</sup> For this suggestion see G. Brooke, "The Wisdom of Matthew's Beatitudes (4QBeat and Mt. 5:3-12)," *ScrBt* 19 (1989) 35-41.

<sup>35</sup> Cited by H.-D. Betz in his *Essays on the Sermon on the Mount* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985) 26-27, n. 17.

<sup>36</sup> For Jewish counterparts to this macarism Betz cites *4 Ezra* 8:46-54 and *2 En.* 42:6-14 and 52:1-15. The *4 Ezra* passage is not a true macarism and does not contain reference to any parts of the body; the *2 Enoch* passages are replete with lips and heart and hand and tongue.



sist his deliberations.<sup>37</sup> J. Davila has noted that 4Q534 may also be best understood as a physiognomic tractate, identifying the one who will have access to esoteric wisdom and knowledge.<sup>38</sup>

Once admitted, community members would have their status implicitly challenged or confirmed every time that blessings or poetic texts referring to parts of the body were used. Since most often it seems as if such texts might be used at times of private prayer or public worship, it can be concluded that prayer and worship acted as significant means of control within the community. Ritually enshrined, such controls are clearly exercised by the priestly group in charge of the community. The frequent references to parts of the body in various liturgical texts served to endorse priestly control. Perhaps the *Barkhi Nafshi* texts, as copied and used at Qumran within the community, are one of several examples of the public face of physiognomy in the community; more detailed materials were less accessible, as the cryptic script of 4Q186 suggests.

In Jewish compositions more or less contemporary with the Qumran community or the wider movement of which it was a part, the most striking example of the role of physical appearance in the description of a process of initiation (in this case also conversion) is to be found in *Joseph and Aseneth*.<sup>39</sup> Widely held to be the product of Egyptian Judaism from approximately the turn of the era,<sup>40</sup> *Joseph and Aseneth* describes the conversion to Judaism of Aseneth, the daughter of Pentephres, priest of Heliopolis, before she marries Joseph. Her conversion is facilitated by an angel. At the height of the process of conversion the angel says to Aseneth:

<sup>37</sup> "Physiognomy, Initiation, and Rank in the Qumran Community," 391; Alexander goes on to draw comparisons with later Merkavah texts and with the Pythagoreans who also appear to have used physiognomy as a means of controlling admission.

<sup>38</sup> See his summary conclusion, "4QMess ar (4Q534) and Merkavah Mysticism," 379.

<sup>39</sup> *Joseph and Aseneth* has been given a wide range of settings by scholars. It should probably not be viewed as Essene, but the most recent attempt at associating *Joseph and Aseneth* with the Therapeutae, the Essenes, and the Qumran community is by J.C. O'Neill, "What is Joseph and Aseneth About?" *Henoch* 16 (1994) 189-98. O'Neill reads *Joseph and Aseneth* as an allegory about apostate Israel.

<sup>40</sup> In recent publications the principal dissenting voice to such a dating is R.S. Kraemer, "The Book of Aseneth," *Searching the Scriptures: A Feminist Commentary* (ed. E. Schüssler Fiorenza; New York: Crossroad, 1994) 860: "third and/or fourth centuries C.E."

Behold, you have eaten bread of life, and drunk a cup of immortality, and been anointed with ointment of incorruptibility. Behold, from today your flesh (will) flourish like flowers of life from the ground of the Most High, and your bones will grow strong like the cedars of the paradise of delight of God, and untiring powers will embrace you, and your youth will not see old age, and your beauty will not fail for ever (16:16).<sup>41</sup>

When she finally adorns herself in her wedding garments and washes, she realizes that this promise has come true and that her appearance has all the marks of an angelic being. The narrative tells us at the outset that she had always been famously beautiful, “she was tall as Sarah and handsome as Rebecca and beautiful as Rachel” (1:5), indeed by comparing her with Sarah, Rebecca and Rachel, Aseneth is already talked about as if she had the features of an Israelite matriarch. And yet, as her preparation through conversion is complete, even her great beauty is transformed so that it is a recognizable qualification for the marriage that is about to take place.

And Aseneth leaned (over) to wash her face and saw her face in the water. And it was like the sun and her eyes (were) like a rising morning star, and her cheeks like fields of the Most High, and on her cheeks (there was) red (color) like a son of man’s blood, and her lips (were) like a rose of life coming out of its foliage, and her teeth like fighting men lined up for a fight, and the hair of her head (was) like a vine in the paradise of God prospering in its fruits, and her neck like an all-variegated cypress, and her breasts (were) like the mountains of the Most High God.

And when Aseneth saw herself in the water, she was amazed at the sight and rejoiced with great joy, and did not wash her face, for she said, “Perhaps I (will) wash off this great beauty”. And her foster-father came to say to her, “Everything is prepared as you have commanded”. And when he saw her he was alarmed and stood speechless for a long (time), and was filled with great fear and fell at her feet and said, “What is this, my mistress, and what is this great and wonderful beauty? At last the Lord God of heaven has chosen you as a bride for his firstborn son, Joseph” (18:7-11).<sup>42</sup>

Over against those who would look for a very specific purpose and setting for *Joseph and Aseneth*, R. Chesnutt has suitably argued that the story is concerned with conversion and in particular with putting at

<sup>41</sup> Trans. C. Burchard, “Joseph and Aseneth,” *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1985) 2.229.

<sup>42</sup> Trans. C. Burchard, “Joseph and Aseneth,” 2.232-33.

ease those amongst the Jewish community who might have reservations about the full integration of converts.<sup>43</sup> Thus it is important to describe the prototypical model of conversion as having fully satisfied all the necessary requirements and as having displayed the very obvious physical characteristics which mark her out as a member of the Jewish community.

It is easy to be distracted from this central concern with the validity of conversion. For example, in his edition of the text M. Philonenko's principal comment on this passage concerning Aseneth's features is an identification of what has taken place with lecanomancy.<sup>44</sup> However, with the overarching interest in conversion foremost in the discussion, it is important to note that the story of Aseneth is not designed solely to put concerned Jews at their ease, but is also a description of a process, not strictly an initiation into the mysteries,<sup>45</sup> but an initiation into the Jewish community.<sup>46</sup> Clearly too physical features play a part in the process of initiation and in signalling that a person is worthy of full community membership. As with the physiognomic texts at Qumran, physical features play a role in determining membership, and even status amongst members of the community.

### V. Conclusion

In this short study it has been suggested that the *Barkhi Nafshi* hymns were probably not composed within the Qumran community or the movement of which it was or had been a part. Whoever composed them was clearly able to use and reuse scriptural imagery for new ends. However, it has also been argued that when used by the

<sup>43</sup> In addition to his monograph *From Death to Life: Conversion in Joseph and Aseneth* (JSPSup 16; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), Chesnutt has presented a forceful summary of his conclusions in his essay "From Text to Context: The Social Matrix of *Joseph and Aseneth*," *SBL 1996 Seminar Papers* (SBLSPS 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 285-302.

<sup>44</sup> M. Philonenko, *Joseph et Aséneth: introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes* (SPB 13; Leiden: Brill, 1968) 193.

<sup>45</sup> As D. Sängler has described the passage under discussion here: *Antikes Judentum und die Mysterien: Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Aseneth* (WUNT 2/5; Tübingen: Mohr, 1980) esp. p. 176.

<sup>46</sup> This process of transformation is described well from an anthropological perspective by R.C. Douglas, "Liminality and Conversion in Joseph and Aseneth," *JSP* 3 (1988) 31-42.

Qumranites, the hymns and poems of the *Barkhi Nafshi* manuscripts could have been copied, read, even prayed, as reinforcing the community's views on how divine election to the eschatological worshipping community was reflected in each individual's physical composition. Thus in the sectarian context scriptural metaphors for piety also took on a concrete meaning. Those with particular physical characteristics could be seen as displaying the appropriate signs of membership and rank within the community; those who were deformed were either barred from entry or if the deformity occurred while they were members could lead to their exclusion. Textual physiognomies were probably used in the community to distinguish members from non-members during the process of initiation and to rank members amongst themselves. The need to refer to an individual's physical make-up was motivated by a combination of factors: standard practices for determining eligibility for membership amongst some religious groups at the time (such as is apparent in *Joseph and Aseneth*), the insistence that the whole community should consider itself as a priesthood at work in the sanctuary (such as can be deduced from IQSa 2:3-9 and similar texts), and the eschatological perspective at which time the blind would see, the deaf hear and the lame walk (as is apparent in compositions like 4Q521).

When reading scroll fragments found in the Qumran caves it is still common for modern readers to assume that, even for the non-sectarian compositions, there was a single meaning which passed from author to listener. More attention should be paid to the possibility, especially in relation to the non-sectarian compositions found at Qumran and probably copied there, that in their new contexts such works could take on new or additional meanings. Such may have been the case with the *Barkhi Nafshi* hymns. In their Qumran context, the imagery in the hymns that centres around parts of the body could have been heard and used, not just as echoes of scriptural metaphors, but also as reflections of the community's understanding of the role of physical features in determining membership and status within the community. The authorities within the community could even have permitted and encouraged the spiritual use of these poems because through them in a small way their control of the community was implicitly endorsed.

# LITURGICAL COMMUNION WITH THE ANGELS AT QUMRAN<sup>1</sup>

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The initial discovery of sectarian works in Cave 1 more than half a century ago first revealed the Qumran Community's belief in its common lot with the holy ones in heaven. One aspect of this shared destiny is communion with the angels while praising God. In the words of the *Hodayot*:

The corrupt spirit you have purified from great sin  
so that he can take his place  
with the host of the holy ones,  
and can enter *in communion* (בִּיחָד)  
with the congregation of the sons of heaven.  
You cast eternal destiny for man  
with the spirits of knowledge,  
so that he praises your name *together* (בְּיַחַד) in celebration,  
and tells of your wonders before all your works.<sup>2</sup>

The liturgical texts from Qumran open a window onto this realm of the Community's religious experience. The present study will examine liturgical communion with the angels at Qumran from the vantagepoint of three relevant liturgical texts: 4Q503 Daily Prayers, *Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat*, and the recently published 4Q*Berakhot* text.<sup>3</sup> Of

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<sup>1</sup> The research for this paper was carried out during my tenure as a fellow at the Institute of Advanced Studies, the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (1996-97). I thank the Institute for its generous support and am grateful to my colleagues there in the group on "The Beginnings of Jewish Prayer" for sharing their knowledge and insights.

<sup>2</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11 (= 3: 21-23 in Sukenik). See also 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19 (= 11: 10-14), 1QH<sup>a</sup> frg. 10 6-7 and its overlapping text in 4QH<sup>a</sup> 8 i 4-6. The translation given here basically follows F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden: Brill, 1994) 332. The emphasis is my own.

<sup>3</sup> M. Baillet, "503. Prières quotidiennes," *Qumrân Grotte 4 III (4Q482-54Q20)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982) 105-36. C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985); see also F. García Martínez, E. Tigchelaar, A. S. van der Woude, "11QShirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat," *Qumran Cave 11. II, 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) 259-304 and C. Newsom,

these three texts, *Berakhot* is distinctively Qumranic, *Shirot* was used extensively at Qumran but may not be Qumranic in origin, while the Daily Prayers seem to have been neither authored nor widely used by the Qumran community.<sup>4</sup> This study can, therefore, shed light on liturgical communion with the angels both within the Qumran community and among other contemporary groups whose texts were preserved at Qumran.

The focus of this study will be the nature of the praise with the angels as reflected in the three key texts, in particular *what* was said, and *how* the joint praise was carried out. Since I have dealt elsewhere with the issue of when joint praise took place,<sup>5</sup> it will not be treated here.

Careful attention will be paid to the correlation between the liturgical phenomenon of joint praise attested in the Scrolls and the *Qedushah* prayer in the later Jewish liturgy. In the *Qedushah*, the human congregation participates in angelic praise by quoting the blessing ascribed to the heavenly figures in Ezek 3:12 as well as the Serafim's *trishagion* in Isa 6:3 (קדוש, קדוש, קדוש) which gives the *Qedushah* its name. The different approach to these verses taken by the liturgies from Qumran, as well as the phenomenological and historical implications of this and other points of correspondence with the *Qedushah* will be considered in the course of the discussion.

I turn now to the analysis of the three main liturgical texts from Qumran containing praise with the angels.

<sup>4</sup> "Shirot 'Olat Hashabbat," *Qumran Cave 4 .VI Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 11; ed. J. VanderKam and M. Brady; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) 173-401. B. Nitzan, "Berakhot," *Ibid.*, 1-74.

<sup>4</sup> For *Berakhot* see below. On the *Shirot*'s extensive use at Qumran but its origin outside of that community see C. Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," *The Hebrew Bible and its Interpreters* (ed. W. Propp, B. Halpern, and D. Freedman; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 179-85. For the non-Qumranic provenance of 4Q503 see E. Chazon, "Prayers from Qumran and Their Historical Implications," *DSD* 1 (1994) 281-82. Both 4Q503 and the *Shirot* follow the 364-day solar calendar and, therefore, must come from the same wing of Judaism as the Qumran sect.

<sup>5</sup> E. Chazon, "The Qedushah Liturgy and Its History in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *From Qumran to Cairo: Studies in the History of Prayer* (ed. J. Tabor; Jerusalem: Orhot Press, 1999) 7-17.

4Q503 (*Daily Prayers*)

4Q503 contains blessings for every evening and morning of the month<sup>6</sup> (“on the X of the month in the evening/when the sun goes forth to shine on the earth, they shall bless and recite”). This liturgy praises God for the regular renewal of the heavenly lights. Each blessing not only heralds the change in solar light at sunrise and sunset but also lauds the daily increments in lunar light and darkness as the moon waxes and wanes during the month.<sup>7</sup>

A description of the worshippers’ praise with the heavenly hosts is an essential feature of each blessing, intrinsically connected with its main astronomical theme. The most complete reference to joint human-angelic praise is preserved in the morning prayer for the sixth day of the month (frgs. 8-9 ll. 1-5): “[We] the sons of your covenant shall praise[...] with all troops of [light]” ([ואנן] בני בריתה נהלל [...] עם [light]) (כול דגלי [אור])<sup>8</sup>. The construction “troops of [light]” ([אור-]) evidently serves here as an epithet for the angels associated with the heavenly lights.<sup>9</sup> In the parallel passages, heavenly beings engaged in joint praise are called “hosts of angels” (frg. 65), “those who testify with us” (frgs. 11, 15, 65), and “those praising with us” (frgs. 38, 64, cf. frg. 30).

<sup>6</sup> For the proposal that the blessings preserved in 4Q503 are for the first month (Nisan) and that similar blessings were recited daily throughout the year see E. Chazon, “The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls – Fifty Years After Their Discovery* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, forthcoming) 217-25.

<sup>7</sup> Each day’s evening and morning blessings count the incremental changes in the fourteen portions of lunar light and darkness (נוריות אור / חושך) on that day. The astronomical terminology and calculations are explained in J. M. Baumgarten, “4Q503 (Daily Prayers) and the Lunar Calendar,” *RevQ* 12 (1986) 399-406 and M. G. Abegg, “Does Anyone Really Know What Time It Is? A Reexamination of 4Q503 in Light of 4Q317,” *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (STDJ 30; ed. D. W. Parry and E. C. Ulrich; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 396-406.

<sup>8</sup> The juxtaposition of fragment 8 with fragment 9 is confirmed by the references to six gates of light in frg. 9 and to the seventh day of the month in frg. 8 (for the astronomical system and terms see Baumgarten, “4Q503”). For the restorations of the first person plural pronoun and the word אור in the construction כול דגלי אור compare frgs. 10 and 11.

<sup>9</sup> See Newsom, *Songs*, 320 and B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 56n.29. 4Q503 also uses דגל as an astronomical term for counting the half-day increments in lunar light and darkness (e.g., frg. 1 4). This dual usage implies a connection between the heavenly lights and the “troops” of angels.

The content of the joint praise is palpable in frg. 30: “[We pra]ise your name, God of *lights* in that you have renewed [...] gates of *light* and with u[s] in praises of your glory” (מהל]לים שמכה אל אור [י]ם אשר) (חדשחה [...] שער אור ועמ[ן] ברנות כבודכה). These words together with the astronomically-charged epithet “troops of light” demonstrate that the joint praise, like the rest of the blessing, extols God for the regular renewal of the heavenly lights. This scroll thus witnesses joint praise in the context of a blessing for the luminaries’ daily renewal, as found in the *Qedushah* said in the *Yoser*, the rabbinic blessing on the heavenly lights.

In view of this similar liturgical context, as well as thematic and functional parallels between 4Q503 and the *Yoser* blessing in which the *Qedushah* is embedded,<sup>10</sup> it is both surprising and significant to discover that the *Qedushah* verses are neither part of 4Q503’s earthly liturgy nor of the angelic liturgy described in it. The closest the extant text comes to an allusion to the *Qedushah* verses is a reference to angels’ testifying for the human congregation “in the holy of holies [on high]” (ועדים לנו בקודש) קודשים [במרומים] (במרומים).<sup>11</sup> Even if Isa 6:3 is alluded to here, it has been used to depict the angels’ location in the heavenly sanctuary rather than to supply their words of praise. In fact, 4Q503 offers few details about the angelic praise.<sup>12</sup> More information about angelic praise is found in the other two liturgies considered below, both of which share a keen interest in the angels, the divine chariot-throne, and the heavenly abode.

### *Shirot ‘Olat Ha-Shabbat*

These songs from Qumran and Masada constitute a liturgical cycle for the first thirteen Sabbaths of the year. The dates designated in the

<sup>10</sup> The parallels and their implications for continuity between the two liturgies are discussed in Chazon, “Qedushah”, and “Prayers from Qumran,” 282-83.

<sup>11</sup> 4Q503 15 5. The manuscript reads קודש. This is evidently a scribal error for the adjective קודש. The context indicates that the heavenly sanctuary is meant. Line 2 explicitly refers to the “holy of holies on high”, קודש קודשים במרומים, Note the possible references in this passage (frgs. 15 4, 16 6) to praising God’s holiness and glory (for the latter see also frg. 30 7).

<sup>12</sup> A similar approach and liturgical practice seems to be attested in another set of morning and evening blessings from Qumran, whose text was published in A. Steudel, “4Q408: A Liturgy on Morning and Evening Prayer, Preliminary Edition,” *RevQ* 16 (1994) 313-34. On the relationship between these two liturgies and its significance see Chazon, “Function”, and “Qedushah”.



titles (e.g., “[Song of the whole-offering of the] first [Sabba]th on the fourth of the first month”<sup>13</sup>) indicate that this liturgy followed the fixed solar calendar and, therefore, could have been repeated on a quarterly basis throughout the entire year.

The *Shirot* are, first and foremost, an earthly liturgy recited by a congregation of human worshippers who invite the angels to praise God and describe angelic worship in the heavenly Temple. Not only do the invitations to the angels and the description of their praise imply that the human congregation is joining them in prayer but such joint praise is explicitly mentioned in one passage (4Q400 2):

- 1 to praise Your glory wondrously with the gods of knowledge and the praiseworthiness of Your kingship with the holiest of the h[oly ones.]...
- 6 how shall we be considered [among] them?...
- 7 [What] is the offering of our tongues of dust (compared) with the knowledge of the g[ods]?
- 8 ] our [jub]ilation, let us exalt the God of knowledge[.<sup>14</sup>

These self-effacing remarks by the human worshippers and the low estimation of their own prayer as compared with that of the angels are instructive. On the one hand, they do not inhibit the human worshippers from exhorting themselves to praise God nor from praising him together with the holiest angels. On the other hand, a qualitative distinction is drawn here between angelic praise and human

<sup>13</sup> The translation is from Newsom, “*Shirot*,” 178. Different explanations have been offered for the connection with the Sabbath sacrifice mentioned in the titles. J. Maier argued that the *Shirot* were a substitute for the Sabbath sacrifice in the Jerusalem Temple (“*Shirê ‘Ôlat hash-Shabbat. Some Observations on their Calendric Implications and on their Style*,” *The Madrid Qumran Congress* [eds. J. Trebelle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill and Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1992] 552-53, see also B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 285-93). A.S. van der Woude proposed that they served as liturgical accompaniment to the heavenly cult (“*Fragmente einer Rolle der Lieder für das Sabbatopfer aus Höhle XI von Qumran (11QSirŠabb)*,” *Von Kanaan bis Kerala. Festschrift für Prof. Mag. Dr. Dr. J.P.M. van der Ploeg* [eds. W. C. Delsman et al.; AOAT 221; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982] 332, now also D. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* [STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998] 137-38). C. Newsom suggested that they were recited at the hour of the Sabbath sacrifice and served to evoke an experience of being present in the heavenly Temple (*Songs*, 17-20, 59-72 and “*He Has Established for Himself Priests: Human and Angelic Priesthood in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot*,” *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls* [ed. L. H. Schiffman; JSP Sup 8; Sheffield Academic Press: Sheffield, 1990] 113-20).

<sup>14</sup> The translation basically follows Newsom, “*Shirot*,” 187-88. See her discussion of this passage there.

praise. This distinction may provide a clue to the *Shirot's* puzzling omission of the angels' words in general, and of the *trishagion* (Isa 6:3) and the blessing of God's glory (Ezek 3:12) in particular.<sup>15</sup>

Scholars have noted that while these two verses are not actually quoted in this liturgy, some of the songs do allude to them and even reflect their post-biblical interpretation.<sup>16</sup> The beginnings of Songs 7 and 12 provide good examples:

Song 7 (4Q403 1 i 31):

יקדילו קדושי אלוהים למלך הכבוד המקדיש בקודשו לכול קדושו

Let the *holiest* of the god-like beings magnify the King of glory who *sanctifies* by his *holiness* all his *holy* ones.<sup>17</sup>

Song 12 (4Q405 20ii-21-22 lines 7-10):

יפול[ו]ן [לפניו] ה[כרון] בים [נכר/כ] כו כדוּמַם קול דממת אלוהים

[ושמע] והמון רנה נרים כנפיהם קול [דממת] אלוהים

הבנית כסא מכבה מברבים ממעל לרקיע הכרובים [והו]ן ר רקיע אור ירנו מתחת מושב כבודו

The *cheru[bim]* fall before him; and they *bl[es]s* as they *lift* themselves up. A sound of divine stillness [is heard; ]and there is a tumult of jubilation at the *lifting* up of their wings, a sound of divine [stillnes]s. The image of the chariot throne do they *bless* (which is) above the platform of the cherubim. [And the splend]our of the luminous platform do they sing (which is) beneath *his glorious seat*.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> For different explanations of this phenomenon see Newsom, *Songs*, 16 and "Shirot," 350-51; D. C. Allison, "The Silence of Angels: Reflections on the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *RevQ* 13 (1988) 189-97; I. Knohl, "Between Voice and Silence: The Relationship between Prayer and Temple Cult," *JBL* 115 (1996) 17-30 and Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 367-69.

<sup>16</sup> See the bibliography cited in notes 17 and 18

<sup>17</sup> The translation follows Newsom, "Shirot," 269-71 and reflects the understanding of יקדילו as a phonetic misspelling of יגדילו and of בקודשו as a scribal error for בקודשו (see her NOTES ON READINGS there). The emphasis is my own; it highlights four words derived from the root קדש (holy) which call Isa 6:3 to mind. For the proposal that the author used precisely three occurrences of this root, corresponding to Isaiah's thrice-holy, and for the suggestion of an allusion to Ezek 3:12 at the end of this song see A.M. Schwemer, "Gott als König und seine Königsherrschaft in den Sabbatlidern aus Qumran," *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult in Judentum, Urchristentum und in der hellenistischen Welt* (ed. M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer; WUNT 55; Tübingen: Mohr, 1991) 97-98 and also Falk, *Prayers*, 139-45. The divine epithet מלך הכבוד (King of Glory) may allude to the blessing of God's glory in Ezek 3:12

<sup>18</sup> The translation is by Newsom, "Shirot," 347. The italicized words emphasize the song's use of two different textual traditions for Ezek 3:12 (ברוך/ברום) as well as its allusion to the rest of that verse (כבוד ה' ממקומו). For the allusions to and interpretations of Ezek 3:12 in these lines see Newsom's comments *ad loc.* (Ibid., 350-51) and

These examples certainly imply that the angels recite the *trishagion* and *baruk* verses as well as many more sublime words of praise and blessing. But the human worshippers merely describe and paraphrase the angels' words, without quoting them precisely. Perhaps by praying with, and to a certain extent *like* the angels, echoing *some* but not all of their words, human worshippers approximate angelic praise while maintaining the proper distinction between themselves and the angels. In accord with this approach, it is my understanding that the human worshippers, not the angelic chief princes, pronounce the blessing at the end of the sixth song which opens with the words ברוך [ה] אד[ו]ן [ו]ן מל[ך] ה[ו] כול מעלה לכול ברכה ות[ה]לה "Blessed be the Lord, the Ki[ng of] all, above all blessing and pr[aise]" (4Q403 1 i 28-29).<sup>19</sup> This blessing would then constitute the human congregation's response in kind to the blessings of these seven chief princes previously described in this song.

To sum up, the *Shirot* maintain a substantive and qualitative distinction between human praise and that of the angels. The human worshippers describe the angelic praise, and echo it in kind; but they never repeat the angels' words *verbatim*. Human inadequacy rather than angelic silence appears to be the reason for the omission of the angels' precise words. We can surmise that the angels recited both the *trishagion* in Isa 6:3 and the blessing of God's glory in Ezek 3:12 as well as many more doxological statements. This concept of angelic prayer and joint human-angelic praise is also found in *Berakhot*, as I shall demonstrate below.

But first, I would like to suggest that the same concept may underlie the Hymn to the Creator in 11QPsalms<sup>a</sup>, whose parallels with the *Qedushah* of the *Yozer* blessing have been well-documented.<sup>20</sup> The

C.A. Newsom, "Merkabah Exegesis in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot," *JJS* 38 (1987) 11-30, especially 21-24. Nitzan (*Qumran Prayer*, 367 n. 3) suggested that this passage might also allude to Isa 6:3 in the words והלהן קודש (line 12).

<sup>19</sup> A similar argument is made by Falk, *Prayers*, 146-48. Newsom (*Songs*, 195-96, 206) proposed that this blessing was recited by the angels (see also Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 304). For the reconstruction of the word ות[ה]לה and this blessing's similarity with Neh 9:5 and the *qaddish* prayer see E. Qimron, "A Review Article of Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition, by Carol Newsom," *HTR* 79 (1986) 367-68. The translation is taken from Newsom, "*Shirot*," 261.

<sup>20</sup> M. Weinfeld, "Traces of Qedushat Yozer and Pesukey de-Zimra in the Qumran Literature and in Ben-Sira," *Tarbiz* 45 (1975-1976) 15-26 (in Hebrew) and "The Angelic Song Over the Luminaries in the Qumran Texts," *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness* (eds. D. Dimant and L. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995).

opening line , גדול וקדוש ה' קדוש קדושים לדור ודור appears to allude to the *trishagion* (קדוש קדוש קדוש) of Isa 6:3 while the next line (ואחריו המון) may reflect *merkabah*-throne exegesis involving Ezek 1:24 (מים רבים כקול מים רבים כקול שד').<sup>21</sup> The Hymn's recitation by human worshippers would then imply that they praise with the angels.<sup>22</sup> The pattern would be like the one in the *Shirot* and the *Berakhot* – that is, human words echoing but not identically repeating those of the angels.

#### 4QBerakhot

4QBerakhot is a liturgy for the Qumran community's annual covenant renewal ceremony.<sup>23</sup> What most distinguishes 4QBerakhot from the covenantal liturgy in *Serek ha-Yahad* is its remarkably different set of blessings. This section praises God's attributes and mysteries, and describes the heavenly Temple, the divine chariot-throne, and various classes of angels among them the *cherubim* and *ofanim*, spirits of the holy of holies and ministering angels, luminaries and angels of lightning, clouds, and rain.<sup>24</sup> The section concludes with a well preserved, liturgical rubric which indicates that "the council of the community" was instructed to recite these covenantal blessings (עצת היחד יזמרו) (4QBer<sup>a</sup> 7 ii 1).

Careful analysis of the blessings reveals that they entail praise with

<sup>21</sup> In his edition of the Hymn, J. Sanders cites Jer 10:13 (לקול תתו המון מים בשמים) as a parallel for this colon (*The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11* [11QPs<sup>a</sup>] [DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965] 89-90). While that verse is quoted at the end of the Hymn and may be alluded to here as well, the immediate context of God's majesty and throne brings to mind Ezekiel's *merkabah* vision which likens the sound of the wings of the creatures moving the chariot-throne to the "voice of many waters" (כקול מים רבים) and then to God's voice (כקול שד'). For a similar approach in the *Shirot* see Newsom, "Merkabah Exegesis."

<sup>22</sup> The Hymn's liturgical use is not only accepted *ipso facto* by those who see the Psalms Scroll as a liturgical collection, but it is also entertained by some scholars who view the Psalms Scroll as a canonical psalter. For a summary of this debate see P. W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and The Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 202-27.

<sup>23</sup> The evidence is summarized in Nitzan, "Berakhot," 1-3. Consult the bibliography listed there as "previous discussion".

<sup>24</sup> Especially 4QBer<sup>a</sup> 1 ii-3 and 4QBer<sup>b</sup> 1-2. Note the plurality of chariots in 4QBer 1 ii 2 and of sanctuaries in 4QBer<sup>b</sup> 2a-b 11. Nitzan cites the parallels with the *Shirot* and with *Hekhalot* literature in "Berakhot," *ad loc.*, and in "4QBerakhot (4Q286-290): A Preliminary Report," *New Texts and Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (STDJ 15; ed. G. J. Brooke 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 53-71.

the angels and can prove quite instructive for understanding the phenomenon of joint human-angelic praise. Although joint praise is not explicitly mentioned in the *Berakhot*, it is implied by the emphasis on angelic praise<sup>25</sup> and by the juxtaposition of angelic praise with human blessings. A striking example of this is found in 4QBer<sup>a</sup> 7 I 6-7 which describes praise by the 'c]ouncil of *pure* angels with all those who have eternal *knowledge*' immediately after it describes praise by the (human) '*elect* ones...and all those (mortals) who have *knowledge*'.<sup>25</sup> This passage as well as others suggest that the Qumran covenanters believed that the angels were blessing God with them and participating from on high in this ceremony in which all "sons of light" affirm their commitment to the divine covenant. This interpretation fits the Qumran Community's belief in its communion with "the congregation of the sons of heaven".<sup>27</sup>

Three important aspects of the joint praise may now be identified in *Berakhot*. The first is that the human praise *echoes* the angelic praise. As Nitzan has observed,<sup>28</sup> the blessings by the earthly and heavenly realms are characterized by similar liturgical phrases.

In the earthly realm:

And] all creatures of flesh, all those [You] created, [will ble]ss You (4QBer<sup>d</sup> 3 2)

and] all of them<sup>29</sup> [will bless] You togeth[er] (4QBer<sup>b</sup> 5 5)

<sup>25</sup> For example, 4QBer<sup>a</sup> 2 I 4, 7 I 6-7; 4QBer<sup>b</sup> 2 4-9, 3 1. Angelic praise in the heavenly Temple and blessings by the human congregation are main themes. Praise offered by other earthly creatures is a relatively minor theme, occurring in 4QBer<sup>b</sup> 3 2-3 and perhaps in 4QBer<sup>a</sup> 5 1-10; for the view that this is a "cosmological approach" see B. Nitzan, "Harmonistic and Mystical Characteristics in Poetic and Liturgical Writings from Qumran," *JQR* 85 (1995) 169-74.

<sup>26</sup> Bilhah Nitzan remarks (in "Preliminary Report," 69) that 4QBer<sup>a</sup> 7 I 6-7 "reflects the blessing of the earthly community in unison with the heavenly hosts". Similarly, she contends in the final publication ("*Berakhot*," 3, 27) that this passage contains blessings "recited by the chosen people and angels in unison". While I agree with Nitzan's basic assessment that this passage attests joint praise, she somewhat overstates the case. The passage neither claims that the angels recite these liturgical blessings nor explicitly states that they bless together with the human elect ones (note that lines 6-7 refer to groups of angels praising together, not humans with angels).

<sup>27</sup> As expressed, for example, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11 (= 3: 21-23 in Sukenik) and 1QH<sup>b</sup> 19 (= 11: 10-14).

<sup>28</sup> Nitzan, "Harmonic and Mystical," 174-75.

<sup>29</sup> The nations and "families of the earth" are described in the immediate context (lines 7-8 and 13; cf. 4QBer<sup>a</sup> 7 I 1-5). The DJD edition (Nitzan, "*Berakhot*") has been used for the transcriptions and translations. The emphasis is my own.

(4QBer<sup>b</sup> 3 2) ויברך כוכה כול בריאות הבשר כולמה אשר בראתה  
 ויברכ[וכה ב]י[חד] כולמה אמן אמן (4QBer<sup>b</sup> 5 5).

In the heavenly realm:

all [will bless toge]ther Your holy name (4QBer<sup>a</sup> 2 4)  
 and they will bless ]the name of Your glorious divinity  
 (4QBer<sup>b</sup> 2 8)  
 and they will bless Your holy name with the blessings of]  
 (4QBer<sup>b</sup> 3 1)  
 and to bles]s Your glorious name in all [ever]la[sting ages]<sup>30</sup>  
 (4QBer<sup>a</sup> 7 i 7)

(4QBer<sup>a</sup> 2 4) וברכו ב]י[חד כולמה את שם קודשכה  
 (4QBer<sup>b</sup> 2 8) וברכו] את שם כבוד אלוהותכה  
 ויברכו את שם קודשכה בברכות (4QBer<sup>b</sup> 3 1)  
 ולבר[ך את שם כבודכה בכל [קצי ע]ל] מים (4QBer<sup>a</sup> 7 i 7)

A closer look at these parallel phrases reveals two more aspects of this liturgy's praise in unison. They are: 1) the angelic praise has special elements, and 2) these elements, which are not repeated by earthly beings, are the blessings of God's holy and glorious name (שם קודשכה and שם כבודכה). The latter appear to allude to the angelic words in Isa 6:3 and Ezek 3:12. The implication is that the angels indeed pronounce these two verses, the *trishagion* and the blessing of God's glory. But, as in the *Shirot*, the human congregation does not repeat the angels' exact words, at least not the biblical verses ultimately ensconsed in the *Qedushah* prayer. Instead, it echoes them, thereby approximating the angelic praise.

### Conclusion

This study has revealed a common factor in liturgical communion with the angels at Qumran. It is the phenomenon of praying like the angels. In the daily prayers of 4Q503, the liturgical blessing and angelic praise are alike in *content*, both offering praise for the renewal of the luminaries. In the *Shirot* and *Berakhot*, the earthly congregation

<sup>30</sup> The last passage is discussed above. In the other three, the context is a description of the angels in the heavenly sanctuary. Nitzan suggests restoring קדושי קדושים in the lacuna at the end of line 1 in 4QBer<sup>b</sup> 3 (see her comments in "Berakhot," 51-4).

actually echoes the angels' words, including *parts* of the *Qedushah* verses. It responds in kind but not precisely with the same words, taking what may be called a point/counterpoint approach.<sup>31</sup>

This new, more nuanced, appreciation of liturgical communion with the angels at Qumran may provide a key to understanding the historical phenomenon which perplexed liturgists and Qumran scholars alike -namely, the fact that the two biblical verses which contain words of angelic praise and form the cornerstone of the *Qedushah* prayer are not recited in any of the ancient liturgies of joint praise.<sup>32</sup> I propose that the answer to this puzzle may lie in the concept of joint praise isolated in the present study which is, to paraphrase the *Shirot*, 'human praise is *like* but not *equal* to angelic praise.'

In conclusion, it is important to note that this concept and its concomitant liturgical practice of joint praise seem to have been current not only at Qumran but also outside of that sectarian community,<sup>33</sup> both in the matrix of Second Temple Judaism and to some extent in subsequent periods.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Zvi Szubin uses this term to describe a similar phenomenon in ancient legal texts (private communication).

<sup>32</sup> The other ancient sources which attest joint human-angelic praise also lack a recitation of Isa 6:3 and Ezek 3:12 (see Ps 103:20-22, Ps 148, Tob 8:15, and *Jub.* 2:21; contrast *1 En.* 61:11-12, Luke 2:14, and Rev 4:8-11, where the context is heavenly and/or eschatological).

<sup>33</sup> For the argument that the *Shirot* and the *Daily Prayers* in 4Q503 originated outside of Qumran but within the same branch of Judaism which advocated the solar calendar see note 4. For sources other than the Dead Sea Scrolls see note 32.

<sup>34</sup> A similar practice is attested in *AposCon* 7.35.3-4 where the earthly assembly responds to the angelic *trishagion* with Ps 68:18. In effect, this type of antiphonal singing is precisely what the two different angelic choirs do in the *Qedushah* prayer: the chariot figures and *ofanim* respond with Ezek 3:12 (ברוך כבוד ה' ממקומו) to the *serafim*'s *trishagion*. A third verse, which is not part of the angelic repertoire (Ps 146:10), is added in the *Qedushah* of the *Amidah*, but in all forms of the *Qedushah* the earthly congregation also quotes the angels' words *verbatim*. How this different approach to the Isaiah and Ezekiel verses developed historically, theologically and phenomenologically is a question which arises from, but goes beyond the scope of, this article. I hope to explore it in a future study. The most recent treatment of the *Qedushah*'s development is E. Fleischer, "The *Qedushah* of the *Amida* (and other *Qedushot*): Historical, Liturgical, and Ideological Aspects," *Tarbiz* 67 (1998) 301-50.

## QUMRAN PRAYER TEXTS AND THE TEMPLE

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In discussions of the origin and development of institutionalized prayer in Judaism, the role of the Temple has a prominent place. At its simplest, the problem can be portrayed as a gap between two poles: while the first Temple stood, institutionalized daily ritual in Israel focused on the Temple and the sacrificial service but prayer was predominantly free; after the destruction of the second Temple, institutionalized daily ritual in Israel focused on prayer.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to deny that there was some connection between the origin of institutionalized prayer and the Temple: Temple imagery may be found in references to prayer and prayers of the synagogue, and scholars have long claimed to find reflection of the synagogue liturgy in texts from the time of the Second Temple.<sup>2</sup> But what precisely was the relationship? What are the missing links in between the two poles?

The caves of Qumran are the Galapagos Islands for prayer in Second Temple Judaism. Here are abundant specimens of liturgical prayers and references to prayer as an established institution. And here is evidenced a community that apparently lived without participation in the Temple cult and nurtured the idea of the community offering prayer as sacrifice. In the light of the paucity of comparable evidence for liturgical prayer elsewhere in Judaism of the Second Temple period, the conclusion might seem plain: institutionalized prayer originated as a substitute for the Temple. One of the most influential expressions of this theory remains that by Shemaryahu Talmon. He argued that institutionalized prayer sprang from com-

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<sup>1</sup> See E. Fleischer, "On the Beginnings of Obligatory Jewish Prayer," [Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 59 (1989-1990) 397-441.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., L. Ginzberg, "Randglossen zum hebräischen Ben Sira," *Orientalische Studien. Theodor Nöldeke: zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag (2. März 1906) gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern 2* (ed. C. Bezold; Giessen: Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann, 1906) 624; A. Marmorstein, "Jesus Sirach 51:12ff," *ZAW* 29 (1909) 287-93; K. Kohler, "The Origin and Composition of the Eighteen Benedictions with a Translation of the Corresponding Essene Prayers in the Apostolic Constitutions," *HUCA* 1 (1924) 391-3; J. Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns* (SJ 9; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977) 219-21.



munal needs otherwise met by the sacrificial service, and that it was able to develop as a replacement for the sacrificial service only after the destruction of the Second Temple. However, among the "Covenanters of Qumran" who followed a different calendar, their

voluntary abstention from Temple rituals created a situation within this group which was similar to the circumstances that were to determine the socioreligious development of 'normative' Judaism after the destruction of the Temple. In both instances the lack of the medium of sacrifice promoted the emergence of institutionalized prayer.<sup>3</sup>

Although this hypothesis is often repeated, that does not transfer it to the realm of secure fact. At its base is the supposition that institutionalized prayer could not co-exist with the practice of sacrificial cult in Judaism and hence must be an alternative, but this has never been proven. The evidence summoned in support of it speaks to the theological significance that prayer can have, not necessarily the historical originating motivations. Furthermore, the field has changed a great deal since Talmon formulated the theory<sup>4</sup> and it is in need of reconsideration in the light of current research.

My goal in this paper is to spur serious reconsideration of the question of the historical origins of institutionalized prayer in light of the growing body of evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the first part, I argue that the functional meaning of prayer in the sectarian texts cannot necessarily be extrapolated to explain the historical origins of prayer texts probably of different origins, above all *Words of the Luminaries*. In the second part, I engage in a speculative reconsideration of how the institutionalized prayer found at Qumran could have

<sup>3</sup> S. Talmon, "The Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer in Israel in Light of Qumran Literature," *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem/Leiden: Magnes/Brill, 1989) 209. This is an expanded version of the article originally published in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. by M. Delcor (BETL 46; Paris: Duculot, 1978) 265-84, also incorporating another article, "The 'Manual of Benedictions' of the Judean Desert Covenanters," *RevQ* 2 (1959-60) 475-500.

<sup>4</sup> Although the fullest form of his argument appears in an article published in 1989, it is important to recognize that despite some updating, the article reflects scholarship of the late 1970s when it was first published rather than the situation of the late 1980s (see previous note). I counted only four references to items published after 1976, and these are not incorporated into the argument of the article. Most notably, his reconstruction of the "Covenanters' Manual of Benediction" (p. 211) does not include any mention of the collections of liturgical prayers published by M. Baillet in *DJD* 7 (1982), although he mentions preliminary announcements of them from the 1950s and 1960s (see p. 210 n. 19 and p. 225 n. 82).

come about, this time against a background of association with the Temple. The purpose of this speculation is to demonstrate that the data can be read very differently, and thus without specific evidence we cannot simply repeat unproven assumptions that institutionalized prayer originated as an alternative for sacrifice.

## I

Scholars now recognize that at least some of the liturgical prayers found at Qumran did not originate within a limited sectarian community (the *Yahad*; the "Community of the Renewed Covenant"). Unless we are to imagine that these prayers developed in other communities that also had separated themselves from the Temple, a question mark should have been raised over the explanation that institutionalized prayer results primarily from the need to replace the Temple sacrificial service. Nevertheless, the significance of these prayer texts is still discussed primarily in terms of replacement for the temple service in the Qumran context.<sup>5</sup> The two matters must be clearly distinguished: the context in which these prayers came to be used at Qumran does not necessarily imply anything about the context of their origin.

In general, the recognition that not all of the liturgical prayers found at Qumran are of the same provenance is part of a larger trend to be more cautious in attributing the label "sectarian" to texts and to develop specific criteria.<sup>6</sup> In application to liturgical texts among the

<sup>5</sup> For example, although Chazon argues that institutionalized prayer probably originated in circles apart from Qumran, she discusses only the meaning of such prayer at Qumran, once again echoing Talmon: "these sectarians, in the wake of their split with the Jerusalem Temple, cultivated prayer as a substitute for sacrificial worship". E. G. Chazon, "Prayers from Qumran and Their Historical Implications", *DSD* 1 (1994) 265. See also E. Chazon and M. Bernstein, "An Introduction to Prayer at Qumran," in *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine. A Critical Anthology* (eds. H. Kiley et al.; London: Routledge, 1997) 9–10.

<sup>6</sup> See H. Lichtenberger, "Kriterien für genuine Texte der Qumrangemeinde," *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980) 13–9; C. A. Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (eds. W. Propp, B. Halpern and D. N. Freedman; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 167–87; E. G. Chazon, "Is *Divrei Ha-Me'orot* a Sectarian Prayer?" *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research. Papers Read at a Symposium Sponsored by Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi at the University of Haifa and at Tel Aviv University March 20–24, 1988* (eds. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992)

Dead Sea scrolls, a significant proportion of the prayer texts lack indications of origin within the *Yahad* or otherwise contain features positively suggesting a different provenance.

One example is sufficient. There are two collections of prayers explicitly intended for daily recital. First, *Words of the Luminaries* is a collection of lengthy supplications for each day of the week followed by a hymn for the Sabbath. As has been clarified by Esther Chazon's analysis,<sup>7</sup> the weekday supplications exhibit a consistent structure: (1) a superscription indicates the type of recital and the occasion (e.g., תפלה בין ימים הרביעי 3 ii 5), (2) the prayers begin with an invocation summoning God to remember (זכור אדוני) his holiness or his past dealings with Israel, followed by (3) an extended historical summary that chronicles Israel's relationship with God and (4) a petition, concluding with (5) a benediction and (6) a response "Amen, Amen".<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, Chazon has shown that the historical summaries in the weekday supplications form a progressive narrative throughout the week, indicating that the entire cycle was composed as a unit.

On the basis of the lack of ideas distinctive to the *Yahad* in the detailed historical surveys,<sup>9</sup> and the early date of one copy (middle of the second century BCE), Chazon has argued that the prayers were of a pre-Qumran provenance, probably outside the *Yahad*.<sup>10</sup> This I believe to be sound.

3-17; D. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989-1990* (STDJ 16; eds. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 26-30; A. Lange and H. Lichtenberger, "Qumran," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 28 (1997) 571-2; D. K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 9-16.

<sup>7</sup> E. Chazon, "4QDibHam: Liturgy or Literature?" *RevQ* 15 (1992) 447-55; E. Chazon, "A Liturgical Document from Qumran and Its Implications: 'Words of the Luminaries' (4QDibHam)" [Hebrew]; (Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University, 1991).

<sup>8</sup> E. Chazon, "Liturgical Document," 4 (English abstract); E. G. Chazon, "*Dibre Hamme 'Orot*: Prayer for the Sixth Day (4Q504 1-2 v-vi)," *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine*, 23.

<sup>9</sup> On the one hand, such silence requires caution, because as Eileen Schuller has noted, one should not expect prayers to be vehicles for sectarian expression. E. Schuller, "Prayer, Hymnic and Liturgical Texts from Qumran," *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) 170. On the other hand, Chazon has convincingly argued that in this case, we should have expected a hint at least of sectarian polemic in the detailed historical survey of the sins of Israel which extend up to the contemporary period. In this case, at least, the argument from silence is loud.

<sup>10</sup> E. G. Chazon, "Is *Dibre Ha-Me'orot* a Sectarian Prayer?"

There is insufficient evidence to determine the socio-liturgical setting of these prayers with any confidence. Nevertheless, for comparative purposes, it is useful to consider the limited evidence available and to contemplate what speculations this evidence might suggest.

1. this cycle of prayers has the markings of a professional composition
2. the prayers are concerned with themes often associated with the Levites, particularly history-of-salvation and reverence for Moses
3. the only other analogy to prayers for days of the week in the Second Temple period is the singing of certain psalms for each day of the week by the Temple singers (*m. Tam.* 7:4)
4. calls to prayer with congregational responses “Amen” are characteristic of levitical liturgy<sup>11</sup>

Speculation on the basis of content and style would suggest initial consideration of the realm of the levitical temple singers. Although such speculation is not helpful in positive terms, it is of some value in highlighting the character of these prayers in contrast to the other collection of daily prayers to be considered, 4Q503 *Daily Prayers*.

4Q503 *Daily Prayers* is a collection of separate, short benedictions for evening and morning of each day of a month. They too exhibit a rigidly consistent form:

1. Statement of setting/ritual: In the fifteenth of the month in the evening they shall bless;  
And when the sun rises to shine on the earth they shall bless;
2. Speech formula: they shall recite, saying
3. Opening Blessing: Blessed be the God of Israel who has done ...
4. Body of prayer: short, related to occasion
5. Closing benediction: Blessed be You, God of Israel, You did ...
6. Response: Peace be on you, Israel.

It is first of all important to notice that the collection is fundamentally different than *Words of the Luminaries*, not only in general content (blessings versus supplication) and overall form, which could be related, but in every respect. The prayer formulas are distinctively different: *Words of the Luminaries* shares the same structure and prayer formulas as *Festival Prayers*, whereas 4Q503 *Daily Prayers* resembles

<sup>11</sup> Alternatively: delegations of lay persons – known as *ma'amads* – which would meet for one week at a time to represent the nation when the priests were making sacrifices. During their week of service, they would read passages from the creation story and probably recite prayers. The weekly cycle, and the idea of a covering a progression of history throughout the week, is particularly appropriate for the *Words of the Luminaries*.

other prayers associated with the *Yahad*.<sup>12</sup> 4Q503 *Daily Prayers* functions on a monthly cycle with two different prayers for each day, evening and morning, whereas *Words of the Luminaries* functions on a weekly cycle with only one prayer for each day. We do not know when the latter was recited, nor if it was recited more than once such as morning and evening. In contrast to the deuteronomic salvation-historical themes of *Words of the Luminaries*, 4Q503 *Daily Prayers* is marked by typically priestly concerns, such as the Temple and unity with the heavenly congregation. If one were to speculate a socio-liturgical setting for 4Q503 *Daily Prayers*, the most natural context would be a priest-dominated group. This is suggested not only by the priestly themes, but also by the blessing on the congregation at the end of each prayer: "Peace be on you, Israel".<sup>13</sup>

With regard to provenance, the evidence from content is ambivalent. Some scholars argue for a sectarian origin on the basis of characteristic phrases (sons of Zadok; dominion of light/darkness) whereas others argue for a pre-Qumran or extra-Qumran origin on the basis that it lacks distinctive indicators of the *Yahad* and may presuppose a lunar calendar.<sup>14</sup> I argue that the matter may be answered more securely in this case on the basis of formal links with other texts.<sup>15</sup> 4Q503 *Daily Prayers* shares a common form with three other collections of prayers: what appears to be a marriage liturgy (4Q502 *Ritual of Marriage*) and two liturgies for ritual immersion (4Q414 *Baptismal Liturgy* and 4Q512 *Ritual of Purification*). These exhibit the same formal features.

1. A statement of the setting precedes each prayer. This describes the occasion and/or the ritual and usually ends with a prescription to recite a blessing (יברך or יברכו).<sup>16</sup> Sequential rituals are introduced with וְאָחֵר.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See below.

<sup>13</sup> This second person address in the concluding blessing abruptly contrasts with the second person address to God in the prayer. I believe that this is an indication of liturgical dialogue: the congregation recites a prayer, and then some other individual or group recites a blessing on the congregation. See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 53-4.

<sup>14</sup> See E. G. Chazon, "Prayers from Qumran and Their Historical Implications," 282.

<sup>15</sup> This criterion is only useful if one is dealing with distinctive forms without biblical precedent, as is the case here.

<sup>16</sup> 4Q502 96 4; 105+106 1; 4Q512 17 1; 29-32 4-5,8; 33+35 5-6; 51-55 ii 7-8; 72 6; 4Q414 7 ii 2.

<sup>17</sup> 4Q502 19 6; 4Q512 15 ii 4; 1-6 7; 24+25 4; 41 2; 42-44 2; 48-50 5; 4Q414 2 ii 5; 12 6.

2. The blessings are introduced by a speech formula, either *וענה ואמר* or *וענו ואמר*.<sup>18</sup>
3. The blessings themselves predominantly begin with essentially the same opening *berakhah* formula: *ברוך אל ישראל* followed by a relative clause.<sup>19</sup>

All of these collections of prayers are further linked by similar vocabulary and style, and the copies of 4Q502, 4Q503, and 4Q512 all date from the beginning of the first century BCE, the latter two being copied on opposite sides of the same manuscript.<sup>20</sup> On the basis of content, there are some reasons to suspect that these three other texts originated in the *Yahad*.<sup>21</sup>

Furthermore, the formal elements found in these texts underlie the blessing and cursing distinctive to the *Yahad*, and especially of its covenant ceremony. This is attested in the *War Scroll* (1QM 13:1-2; 1QM 14:3-4//4QM<sup>a</sup> 8-10 i 1-2; 1QM 18:6-7), the *Community Rule* (1QS 1-2), the *Berakhot* (4QBer),<sup>22</sup> and also the expulsion ceremony described at the end of the *Damascus Document*,<sup>23</sup> which apparently took place at the annual covenant ceremony.<sup>24</sup>

There is no true precedent to this form either in the Bible or in other Jewish sources. I suggest, then, that this prayer form originated in the *Yahad*, and likely at first for their own covenant ceremony, and thence to other prayers. I would thus conclude that 4Q503 *Daily*

<sup>18</sup> 4Q502 9 2; 19 6; 10 1; 5Q512 33+35 6; 29-32 8; 1-6 1; 40 2; 42-44 3; 48-50 2; 51-55 ii 8; 4Q414 2 i 1; 2 ii 6.

<sup>19</sup> 4Q502 19 6; 24 2; 30 3; 46 2; 96 2; 104 4; 4Q512 1-6 1-2, 7-8; 29-32 8-9, 21; 33+35 6-7; 41 3; 42-44 3-4; 64 5; 4Q414 2 i 1-2; 2 ii 6; 7 ii 2-3.

<sup>20</sup> M. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4, III (4Q482-4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982) 81, 105-6, 262-3.

<sup>21</sup> See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 25-6.

<sup>22</sup> In the latter two writings, the full form for blessings is not preserved, but the corresponding curse formulas are attested: "they shall curse" followed by ... *אחה* *אחה* *ארו* *וענו ואמר* *ארו* (1QS 2:5; 4QBer 7 ii 1-2). Note also the use of *ואחר* (4Q286 7 ii 1) and the blessing of *אל ישראל* (4Q286 7 i 8).

<sup>23</sup> It uses, however, a *berakhah* formula corresponding to those common in the *Hodayot*.

<sup>24</sup> "He will speak . . . and he will recite, saying Blessed be you, Lord of all . . . you who founded. . . ." ... *אשר ידחה* ... *אשר ידחה* ... *אשר ידחה* (4Q266 11 8-9). J. Baumgarten suggests that *אשר ידחה* is a substitution for the divine name. J. M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4. XIII. The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD 18; on the basis of transcriptions by J. T. Milik, with contributions by S. Pfann and A. Yardeni; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 77.

*Prayers* is likely to have originated in the *Yahad* and after the institution of the covenant ceremony.<sup>25</sup>

At the very least, we can be confident that we have two collections of daily prayer that originated in different socio-liturgical settings, even if we cannot specify these. Also significantly, it is the one most likely to be non-sectarian in origin – *Words of the Luminaries* – that is the earliest attested collection of common prayer with explicit liturgical function. If such prayer was a new development motivated by dissociation from the Temple, this collection of prayers is right near the beginning. Is it possible that such a new departure would leave no trace on the prayers themselves? But in the prayers there is no hint of any polemic with the Temple, even though the sins of the people are catalogued up into the post-exilic period. Chazon recognized that there is no suggestion of prayer being offered as a substitute for sacrifice, although she still favored this explanation of their meaning on the assumption that the title *דברי המארות* refers to prayer morning and evening at the time of sacrifice.<sup>26</sup> It is far from certain, however, that this title refers to twice daily prayer since only one prayer is given for each day. It is also less than sure that prayer at sunrise and sunset actually did correspond to the times of sacrifice.

If it is true that some at least of the institutionalized prayers found at Qumran originated in different communities, what was the originating motivation for these prayers? Even if it were securely proven that the sectarian group at Qumran initiated institutionalized prayer only after complete withdrawal from participation in the Temple cult and did so consciously to fill the place of sacrifice, to assume without concrete evidence that the same *must* have been the case for these other prayers is precarious.

## II

It needs to be admitted, however, that even for the sectarian group at Qumran it is not clear that they withdrew from the Temple and only then began to develop institutionalized prayer. Different stances to-

<sup>25</sup> The argument for a non-sectarian origin on the basis of the presumed calendar is not compelling. See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 22 and R. T. Beckwith, *Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian: Biblical, Intertestamental and Patristic Studies* (AGJU 33; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 3-9, 113-25.

<sup>26</sup> E. Chazon, "Liturgical Document," 70, 90.

ward the Temple seem discernible in the scrolls, but it is not yet possible to be confident of a linear chronology. Nor can we be confident when it could be said that this community practiced institutionalized prayer. For example, assuming that *Words of the Luminaries* was composed in a different context and adopted at Qumran, we still could not specify when it was adopted. It must also be acknowledged that the language of prayer as sacrifice is demonstrably not incompatible with participation in Temple sacrifice.<sup>27</sup>

Furthermore, Talmon recognized over twenty years ago that

the propagation of institutionalized prayer among the Qumran Covenanters cannot fully and adequately be explained as arising solely from the historical circumstances of their dissociation from the Temple of Jerusalem and its sacrificial worship.<sup>28</sup>

He argued that other “socioreligious factors” must be taken into account. This insight has been little picked up or pursued by subsequent scholarship, overshadowed by attention to Talmon’s larger argument that voluntary abstention from the Temple provided the conditions necessary for institutionalized prayer to develop earlier at Qumran than in so-called “normative Judaism”.

Talmon seemed to be thinking of co-factors, that is withdrawal from the Temple plus something else. He suggested that that something else was a particular “communal ideology”. I believe that further consideration of the inspiration for institutionalized prayers at Qumran may point toward the Temple arena as providing resources rather than merely institutions to be replaced.

It is necessary at first to admit that it is not possible to reconstruct the liturgy practiced at Qumran with certainty. We have some prayer texts with liturgical directions, but many fragmentary prayer/poetic texts for which the use is uncertain. In almost no instance can any of these be fit within the life of the community at Qumran with precision – if at all. There are a number of descriptive and prescriptive passages about prayer, some of which occur in sectarian rule books, but one cannot be certain that these connect with particular prayer texts. This is partly because it is not clear whether the descriptions intend to be specifically denotative, and partly because it is unclear

<sup>27</sup> Ben Sira 34:21-35:13 offers a strong analogy: he presents a scathing rejection of sacrifices by the unjust and describes Torah observance and acts of charity as offerings in the same context as he insists that one should not neglect to offer sacrifices.

<sup>28</sup> S. Talmon, “The Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer,” 278.



whether the relevant terminology is used precisely. Furthermore, the problems associated with textual redaction, community development, and identification of provenance render the task of reconstructing "a Qumran liturgy" a futile task.

With this rather large caveat, let us begin by considering the poem at the end of 1QS (*Rule of the Community*), which contains the closest thing we have to an inventory of prayers connected with the *Yahad*. Having noticed this, Talmon argued forty years ago that the poem at the end of 1QS reflects a Manual of Benedictions summarizing the times for prayer each day and throughout the year along with the prayers to be recited at those times.<sup>29</sup> With the publication of further texts, it is now clear that there was no comprehensive Manual of Benedictions such as Talmon hypothesized, but that prayers were grouped in collections of the same type of prayer.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, it is most likely that the calendar of sacred times (1QS 10:1b–8a) was originally distinct from the poem now following it which alludes to the purpose and nature of prayer morning and evening, at meals, and in times of affliction (1QS 10:9–17a).<sup>31</sup> There is no reason to suspect that this would originally have summarized the content of all the prayers throughout the year. Thus, I will pare Talmon's hypothesis down to suggest that one may find in 1QS 10:9–14 reflection of the *Yahad's* cycle of daily prayers.

Although one must be cautious about attempting to draw technical information out of poetic language, it does seem possible to discern allusions to different types of prayer in this passage. Least controversially, many scholars recognize that the language of entering into God's covenant and reciting his laws morning and evening in 1QS 10:10 alludes to daily recital of the *Shema* together with the Decalogue:

<sup>29</sup> S. Talmon, "The 'Manual of Benedictions' of the Sect of the Judean Desert," *RevQ* 2 (1959-1960) 475-500. This is a revised English translation of the Hebrew original "'Maḥazôr' Ha-Bërakôt šel Kat Midbar Yëhûdâ," *Tarbiz* 29 (1959-1960) 20-31. The article is incorporated into his expanded version of the article, "Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer."

<sup>30</sup> B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (STDJ 12; trans. J. Chipman; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 20, 65-6. There is a collection of benedictions for each morning and evening of a month, a separate collection of petitions for days of the week, another collection of mystical sabbath songs, prayers for festivals, purification prayers, and so on. No evidence has turned up for a comprehensive *siddur*.

<sup>31</sup> That they did not originate together was recognized by J. Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté," *RB* 76 (1969) 529-32, 544-6. See further Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 104-5.

עם מבוא יום ולילה  
 אבואה בברית אל  
 ועם מוצא ערב ובוקר  
 אמר חוקיו

With the arrival of day and night,  
 I will enter into the covenant of God.  
 And with the departure of evening and morning,  
 I will recite his laws.

This is echoed by the use of Deut 6:7 in 1QS 10:13b–14a, forming a frame for the passage.

ברשית משלה ידי ורגלי אברך שמו  
 בראשית צאת ובוא לשבת וקום  
 ועם משכב יצועי ארונה לו

As soon as I stretch out my hand or my foot,  
 I will bless his name;  
 As soon as (I) go out or come in,  
 to sit down or rise up,  
 And while I recline on my couch,  
 I will cry out to him.

Given the allusion to Deut 6:7, however, the language of blessing and crying out to God (in rejoicing) in the latter passage is somewhat unexpected. It would, however, be appropriate language if benedictions were recited along with the *Shema*. I suggest tentatively that this passage may be an allusion to recital of the *Shema* with benedictions, as also seems to be the case in Josephus *Ant.* 4.212.

Between these frames is further prayer language, but suggesting confession of sins and of God's just judgement.

1QS 10:10b–13a

ובהיותם אשים גבולי לבלתי שוב  
 ושפטו אוכיח כנעויתי  
 ופשעי לנגד עיני כחוק חרות

ולאל אומר צדקי ולעליון מכין טובי  
 מקור דעה ומעין קודש  
 רום כבוד וגבורת כול לחפארת עולם  
 הבחרה באשר יורני וארצה כאשר ישופטני

In their existence<sup>32</sup> I will place my boundary without turning back.  
 I will declare his judgement concerning my sins,  
 and my transgressions are before my eyes as an engraved statute.

<sup>32</sup> I.e., the existence of the laws mentioned in 10:10a.

To God I say “My Righteousness”,  
 and to the Most High “Author of my Goodness”,  
 “Fountain of Knowledge”, and “Source of Holiness”,  
 “Summit of Glory”, and “Almighty Eternal Majesty”.<sup>33</sup>  
 I will choose what he instructs me,  
 and I will delight in however he judges me.

The location of these two strophes between the references to the *Shema* may allude to the recitation of supplications morning and evening including confession of sins and of God’s just judgement.

Finally, just before this poetic description of daily prayers is a description of songs of praise:

1QS 10:9

אומרה בדעה  
 וכול נניתי לכבוד אל  
 וכנור נבלי לחכון קודשו  
 והליל שפתי אשא בקו משפטו

I will sing with knowledge:  
 and all my song  
 (will be) for the glory of God,  
 and the strings of my harp  
 (will be) for the measure of his holiness,  
 and the flute of my lips  
 I will raise as the cord of his judgment.

Although this passage stands as a general statement and is thus not specifically associated with morning and evening prayer, it is almost certain that daily prayer is included within its purview.

If this passage may be taken as representative – by allusion – of the content of prayers in the daily liturgical cycle of the *Yahad*, we can suggest four types.

1. songs of praise:

“I will sing with knowledge, and all my song (will be) for the glory of God, and the strings of my harp (will be) for the measure of his holiness, and the flute of my lips I will raise as the cord of his judgement”

2. recital of the *Shema* and Decalogue:

“With the arrival of day and night, I will enter into the covenant of God. And with the departure of evening and morning I will recite his laws”

<sup>33</sup> The translation of the titles is that of G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 1997) 113.

3. blessings added to the *Shema*:

“as soon as I stretch out my hand or my foot, I will bless his name; As soon as I go out or come in, to sit down or rise up, and while I recline on my couch, I will cry out to him”

## 4. confession of sins:

“I will declare his (God’s) judgement concerning my sins, and my transgressions are before my eyes as an engraved statute ... I will delight in however he judges me”

As noted above, this remains speculative because we cannot be sure how much specific information to seek in such passages. Nevertheless, there does appear to be some merit in finding here reference to the basic types of prayer encompassed in the daily liturgy at Qumran. This is supported above all in that this “inventory” of prayers in 1QS 10:9-14 accounts remarkably well for the diverse range of evidence found at Qumran associated with daily prayers.<sup>34</sup>

Numerous *tefillin* were found at Qumran, including the Decalogue along with the *Shema*.<sup>35</sup> In the light of other evidence for the use of *tefillin* in the latter Second Temple period in conjunction with the recital of the *Shema* and Decalogue (*Let. Arist.* 159–60; *Jos. Ant.* 4:212–3), and 1QS 10:10, 13b–14a in particular, these can reasonably be assumed to indicate morning and evening prayer practice.

As mentioned earlier, there are two collections of prayers explicitly designated for daily recital in a communal context. 4Q503 *Daily Prayers* is a collection of short benedictions for sunrise and sunset.

<sup>34</sup> The process of presentation in this paper is directly opposite to that of the thinking process. I started first with analysis of the various evidence for daily prayers among the Dead Sea scrolls. It was only after distinguishing between those prayers I regarded as probably original to the *Yahad* and those of different provenance and pondering the question whether they could all have been used in the *Yahad* that I noticed that all of the types of prayers were represented by the “inventory” in 1QS 10:9-17. Furthermore, those of non-*Yahad* provenance were necessary to fill out the “inventory”, as it were. Of the texts associated with daily prayers, I would regard 4Q503 (similarly 4Q408) and the *Hodayot* as probably having been produced within the *Yahad*, and *Words of the Luminaries* and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> David’s Compositions as probably having originated elsewhere. The provenance of the *tefillin* found at Qumran is uncertain.

<sup>35</sup> For the Qumran *tefillin*, see G. Vermes, “Pre-Mishnaic Jewish Worship and the Phylacteries from the Dead Sea,” *VT* 9 (1959) 65-72; Y. Yadin, *Tefillin from Qumran* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and The Shrine of the Book, 1969); R. S. Fagen, “Phylacteries,” *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 5. 368-71.

Thematically, they invite comparison with the benedictions which accompany the *Shema* in the later synagogue liturgy, especially the motifs light/darkness, joint praise with the angels, enlightenment with knowledge, and election. If I am correct to suggest from 1QS 10:13b–14a that benedictions accompanied the morning and evening recital of the *Shema* in the *Yahad*, these are the most likely candidates. 4Q408 seems to be a collection of similar benedictions, but there is no explicit indication of their use.

*Words of the Luminaries*, on the other hand, is a collection of long supplications for each day of the week, including confession of sin and God's just judgement, followed by a hymn for Sabbath. Verbal and thematic similarities with the *Amidah* petitions have been recognized by several scholars. Nitzan, for example, compares the benedictions for knowledge, repentance, forgiveness, redemption, healing, gathering of exiles, and compassion, although she rightly states that this does not indicate identity.<sup>36</sup> There are other supplications and prayers of confession among the Dead Sea scrolls, but *Words of the Luminaries* is the only collection where explicit designation for daily recital is preserved.

Finally, a range of evidence for daily liturgical activity is best classified loosely as songs of praise. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> *David's Compositions* mentions 364 songs (77) attributed to David "to sing before the altar over the whole-burnt *tamid* offering every day, for all the days of the year" (11QPs<sup>a</sup> 27:2–11).<sup>37</sup> 4Q334 *Order of Divine Office* prescribes "songs" and "words of praise" to be recited morning and evening, although the large numbers suggests that this may be intended to describe angelic liturgy.

Echoing the language of 1QS 10:10, the *War Scroll* mentions morning and evening prayer, seemingly of the community.

We, your holy people, will praise your name for the deeds of your truth, for your mighty deeds we will extoll [your] spl[endour, at every] moment and at the times indicated by your eternal edicts, at the on[se]t of day and at night at the fall of evening and at dawn (1QM 14:12b–14a).<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 108.

<sup>37</sup> J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>)* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) 92.

<sup>38</sup> F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1997-1998) 1:137.

This may provide support for the suggestion that 1QS 10:9 does allude to daily praise.

Many songs and sacred poems have been preserved at Qumran, including biblical and non-canonical psalms. Although we have no collections which are explicitly designated exclusively for a particular use each day, many of these were probably available for daily recital. This is suggested, for example, by a lengthy rubric (1QH<sup>a</sup> 20[=12]:4-11) in the *Hodayot* which seems to stand as a heading for a series of the hymns: "For the Instructor. Praise and prayer for prostration and pleading mercy always at every fixed time".<sup>39</sup> Then it goes on to specify sunrise and sunset as well as other times ordained for praise. Once again, there are strong similarities to 1QS 10, and in content the *Hodayot* suit well the reference in 1QS 10:9: they frequently praise God for his holiness and just judgements.

It needs to be repeated that it is not possible to make positive connections between references to various prayers in the scrolls and specific prayer texts. We could not even say with certainty that the *tefillin* found at Qumran were actually used in the *Yahad* in connection with the recital of the *Shema*, however likely that may seem. Still, it is important to recognize that all of the evidence for daily prayer practice found at Qumran corresponds remarkably well – in general terms – to the description of daily prayer in 1QS 10:9–14.

1QS	QUMRAN
<i>Shema</i> + Decalogue	<i>tefillin</i>
Blessings	4Q503 4Q408
Confession/Supplication	<i>Words of the Luminaries</i>
Songs of praise	<i>Hodayot</i> songs of praise (4Q334) Davidic songs (11QP <sup>s</sup> <sup>a</sup> David's Compositions)

<sup>39</sup> For the restoration of the beginning of this hymn, see É. Puech, "Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH)," *JJS* 39 (1988) 50 and 4QH<sup>a</sup> 3 ii 5. See also the similar heading in 1QH 5:12-14 [frgs. 15 1-3 + 31], reconstructed by É. Puech, "Un hymne essénien en partie retrouvé et les Béatitudes, 1QH V 12-VI 18 (=col. XIII-XIV 7) et 4QBéat," *RwQ* 13 (1988) 59-88.

It is not possible to be certain, of course, but it does seem likely that the list of prayers in IQS 10:9–14 reasonably reflects the daily liturgy of the *Yahad*. Consequently it is furthermore probable that the diverse range of prayer texts found at Qumran – both originating in the *Yahad* and of different provenance – could have been used in the *Yahad* as part of a daily liturgical cycle. This does not, of course, imply that prayers were conjoined, either at all or in any particular way. We may note, however, that when time elements are specified, whether in liturgical rubrics or descriptions, these invariably are sunrise and sunset. Probability inclines toward a conglomeration of prayers at these times, but this is not proven. Nor does it imply that the particular prayer texts serendipitously found at Qumran were specifically used together. My argument is restricted to the proposal that the variety of evidence for daily prayer found at Qumran provides an reasonably accurate portrayal of the basic *types* of prayer that the *Yahad* used in some way in daily liturgy. From the evidence available it furthermore seems probable that for their daily liturgy the *Yahad* both composed some of their own prayers, but also adopted and adapted prayers from elsewhere.

Given this conclusion, it is intriguing to notice that the elements of daily prayer attested are roughly analogous to the liturgy of the later synagogue:

1. psalms
2. *Shema*<sup>40</sup> with
3. blessings
4. supplications (*Amidah*)

This does not at all imply direct continuity. Despite some thematic and minor verbal similarities we cannot say that we are dealing with the same prayers in any meaningful way. What is striking, however, is that we find a comparable conglomeration of similar types of prayer. That thematic similarities also appear merely heightens the perception that the phenomenon of institutionalized prayer at Qumran is not unrelated to that in the synagogue.

Furthermore, these observations make it important to consider possible precedents for the prayers at Qumran. Daily recital of the *Shema* and Decalogue are attested as early as the second century BCE

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<sup>40</sup> Rabbinic texts attest that the Decalogue was eliminated from the synagogue service at some point (*m. Tam.* 5:1; *b. Ber.* 12a; *y. Ber.* 1.8, 3c).

in Egypt (*Let. Arist.*, 159–60; Nash Papyrus). If my hypothesis is correct, at Qumran, this was combined with blessings, as in the later synagogue. That at least some others also recited blessings with the *Shema* seems to be implied by Josephus when he refers to daily recital of the *Shema* as thanksgiving, and as acknowledging “before God the bounties which he has bestowed on them through their deliverance from the land of Egypt”.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, Josephus understood this to be a Mosaic ordinance. Nevertheless, there is no hint that this was anything other than a private and individual activity, whereas the daily prayers at Qumran were communal (e.g., 1QS 10:14).

Prior to the destruction of the Temple, there is only one setting for daily corporate recital of the *Shema* mentioned in the sources: a service held by the priests in the Temple. According to a passage in the Mishnah (*m. Tamid* 5:1), after the priests had offered the daily sacrifices but before they offered the incense, they would withdraw to a particular place in the Temple precincts where they would recite together a blessing and the *Shema* and Decalogue, and then also pronounce a blessing on the people, suggesting that the public might have been involved to some extent. The basic practice is analogous to that attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls, particularly if we imagine that *Daily Prayers* reflects blessings to accompany the *Shema* followed by a priestly blessing on the people.

Next, we need to consider the confessions/supplications. Confessions of sin are very important in the later Second Temple period, both private and public, but for the most part these are *ad hoc* or associated with festivals. The only setting for daily, public confession of sins possibly hinted in the sources for the Second Temple period is in connection with the Temple service. Ben Sira, writing near the beginning of the second century BCE, describes popular prayers with prostration accompanying the songs of the Temple singers, a picture that is generally supported by other sources (Luke 1:10; Acts 3:1; *Jos. Ag Ap.* 2.196–7, *m. Tam.* 5:1; cf. 2 Macc 1:23–30). Admittedly, we cannot know what the prayers of the people consisted of. For the most part, they were apparently individual and private, although in a public

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<sup>41</sup> The latter is the theme of the benediction which is recited immediately following the *Shema* in the synagogue liturgy, and the Mishnah (*Tamid* 5:1) claims that the priests recited this benediction with the *Shema* in the Temple while it still stood. Of course, this cannot be interpreted to mean that Josephus attests the synagogue blessings – the most that we have is an allusion to the same general theme as in one of the blessings in the synagogue liturgy.



context. There is, however, wide-spread attestation of the Temple as a particularly appropriate place for supplication, both of the individual and the community in times of need, including confession of sin, petition for help, and intercession (e.g., 1 Kings 8:31, 33, 38; 1 Macc 7:36–38; 2 Macc 3:18; Bar 1:101–4; 3 Macc 1:20–21, 23). One can reasonably assume, then, that the daily scenario of people praying in the Temple at the time of sacrifice predominantly consisted of individual supplications (cf. Hannah's prayer at the sanctuary in 1 Sam 1:9–18). In times of local or national crisis prayers this setting would naturally become a focus for corporate supplication, in some cases led by priests or others. Once again, then, the closest precedent for daily, public supplication is in the sphere of the Temple.

Finally, we must consider hymns and songs. Apart from sectarian groups (Essenes and Therapeutae) mentioned by Josephus and Philo, daily corporate singing of psalms is attested in sources for the Second Temple period only in connection with the Temple singers at the daily sacrifices. As Ben Sira and others inform us, the people actively participated in the ritual by prostrating themselves and saying their own prayers.

General similarities between the types of prayers attested at Qumran, attributed to various connections with the Temple, and later enshrined in the synagogue liturgy can be charted as follows.

1QS 10	QUMRAN	TEMPLE	SYNAGOGUE
<i>Shema</i> + Decalogue	<i>tefillin</i>	Priestly Service	<i>Shema</i>
Blessings	4Q503	Priestly Service 4Q408	<i>Shema</i> Blessings
Confession/ Supplication	Words of the Luminaries	Temple Prostrations and supplication	<i>Amidah</i>
Hymns of praise	Hodayot 4Q334 11QPs <sup>a</sup> David's Compositions	Temple Singers	Psalms

From this comparison, it is not justifiable to say that the daily liturgical practices attested at Qumran represent specific prayers from the

Temple. Nor could we chart a simple development process from the Temple through Qumran to the later synagogue liturgy. There is no evidence that the various prayers that came to be associated with the Temple were obligatory or specifically regulated. Nor did these disparate elements seem to be related in any particular way. The priestly service – if we can accept *m. Tamid* 5:1 as reflecting some sort of reality – appears to have been geographically separated and was perhaps a private service. The supplications of the people were for the most part individual prayers recited in a public context, in contrast to the liturgical songs of the Temple singers. That is, there is no evidence for a unified liturgy at the Temple which could have served as a precedent for what we find at Qumran.

Qumran is the earliest community we know of that had a comprehensive daily liturgy of institutionalized prayers. Nevertheless, it seems clear that it did not compose all of those prayers but also adopted and adapted prayers from other settings. It is significant that in both cases, the types of prayers found at Qumran correspond in a general way at least to customary practices associated with various spheres of the Temple arena, and that these practices associated with the Temple provide the closest analogous precedents. Furthermore, such practices held by the force of custom may legitimately be regarded as religious institutions.<sup>42</sup>

It is at least plausible that the *Yahad* liturgy was inspired by disparate elements of prayer already associated with the Temple as venerable customary practices. Perhaps in the *Yahad* such elements were first adapted and assembled into a coherent liturgy. For example, guided prayers led by Temple liturgists to replace or supplement the individual prayers of the public at feasts, fasts, and other special occasions might have served as models for the content of the supplications.

The *Yahad* was alienated from the Temple in some way, as can be read numerous places in the scrolls. What meaning would a liturgy of prayers, modeled on piety associated with the Temple, have to such a group? It is undeniable that they would have had meaning for them as sacrifice. But if the above speculation has any plausibility, this was not necessarily a newly created institution to replace sacrifice.

<sup>42</sup> See, e.g., the discussion of customary law versus codified law in Åke Viberg, *Symbols of Law: A Contextual Analysis of Legal Symbolic Acts in the Old Testament* (ConBOT 34; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1992) 14-7.

Rather, the prayers would thus serve as tokens of the Temple service, making it natural to apply sacrificial language to them. After all, prayer is what the angels are envisaged as doing at the time of sacrifices.<sup>43</sup>

A similar process following the destruction of the Temple would explain continuity with the synagogue liturgy apparent both in the priestly prayers in the Temple and in prayers found at Qumran. In short, loss of the Temple would not be the impetus to creating institutionalized prayer, but to the development. The ultimate substitution of prayer for the Temple service would thus not be a substitution of something from without, but of something already customarily associated with.

Carrying further along the lines of this conjectural reasoning, Temple themes in prayer and prayer presented as a sacrifice would reflect, in the first instance, the attraction of prayer to the temple rather than substitution: prayers rise with the incense and not initially in the place of. Prayer at the time of sacrifice, would then not be something that one does simply because one cannot be at the Temple (Judith) as a substitute for sacrifice, but because it is what one would do if one were at the Temple (e.g., Acts 3:1). In considering the institutionalization of prayer, Friedrich Heiler stated

The factors conditioning or favourable to this process of petrification are the frequent recurrence of the occasions for prayer as well as their close connection with definite ritual acts.<sup>44</sup>

I would suggest that the attraction of prayer to the Temple ritual assisted the process of formalizing prayer prior to and in addition to the need to substitute for sacrifice.

### III

The speculation presented in this paper is far from proving specific connections between prayer practices at the Temple and the origins of institutionalized prayer. We must confess that we do not yet know with confidence why or how institutionalized prayer emerged. As

<sup>43</sup> E.g., *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices*.

<sup>44</sup> F. Heiler, *Prayer: A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion* (ed. & trans. S. McComb; with the assistance of J. E. Park; London: Oxford University Press, 1932) 66.

attractive as is the theory that it was initiated as a replacement for sacrifice, I urge that we must seriously consider the possibility that the evidence from Qumran may also point in the opposite direction. There are good reasons to believe that the roots to institutionalized prayer need to be explored also in the attraction of customary prayer practices to the Temple. This may ultimately help explain the perceived partial continuity between the Dead Sea Scrolls and rabbinic prayer of the synagogue.

# THE IDEA OF HOLINESS IN QUMRAN POETRY AND LITURGY

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## I

Generally speaking, the concept of holiness in the writings of Qumran is based on the biblical concept of holiness; that is, holiness expresses the very nature of God, and it is he who is its ultimate source and is denoted the holy one.<sup>1</sup> This biblical concept of holiness entails two aspects: psychological and cultic. The psychological aspect concerns the emotional religious experience of fear and respect that a human being feels towards the presence of the sublime deity. This was defined by R. Otto as the *mysterium tremendum*, and considered *numinous*.<sup>2</sup> This psychological aspect possibly guided and preceded the cultic aspect of holiness, which may be defined as “tangible holiness”.<sup>3</sup> According to the cultic aspect, everything which belongs to God and has been set apart for God is defined as holy: the place of His earthly dwelling (his Temple – including its priests, utensils, sacrifices, his chosen Land and City), the days of Sabbath and festivals dedicated to his worship, and the people of Israel, which has been elected to worship God.<sup>4</sup> All these are distinguished from

<sup>1</sup> See s.v. “Kedusha,” *Encyclopedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1972) 10: 167; J. Licht, s.v. “*Qodesh, Qadosh, Qedusha*” [Hebrew], *Encyclopedia Biblica* (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1976) 7: 44.

<sup>2</sup> See R. Otto, *The Idea of the Holy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), 5-11, 12-24, 31-40, 53-55, 72-81.

<sup>3</sup> Licht, “*Qodesh, Qadosh, Qedusha*”, 61-62.

<sup>4</sup> For the holiness of space and times, see M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1959) 20-113. For the holiness of the chosen people and the chosen land in biblical and post-biblical concept, see Lev 18:25-28; Y. Kaufmann, *Toledoth ha-'Eminah Ha-Yisra'elit* (Jerusalem/Tel-Aviv: Devir, 1955) I:539-574 (at 565); J. G. Gammie, *Holiness in Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989) 9-44; J. Kugel, “The Holiness of Israel and the Land in Second Temple Times,” *Texts, Temples and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran* (eds. M. V. Fox et al., Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996) 21-32. For the holiness of the Sabbath see R. T. Beckwith, *Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 20-22.

unconsecrated objects (חולין) by laws, primarily proscriptions, intended to prevent the profanation of this holiness. These two aspects of biblical holiness – the adoration and fear of the sublime God on the one hand, and the setting apart as holy of everything that belongs to him, on the other – were expressed and upheld in Qumran, albeit at times metamorphosed into specific sectarian practices.<sup>5</sup> The following topics will be dealt with in this article in terms of their liturgical facets:

- a) The reflection of the priestly doctrine of holiness in Qumran regulations about institutionalized prayer,
- b) The literary expression of holiness in Qumran liturgy,
- c) The liturgical methods of confirmation of the cultic worship of God without an earthly temple.

Devoted to the Zadokite priestly doctrine of maintaining the prohibitions against profaning the cultic holiness, which were not kept strictly by the Hasmonean priesthood,<sup>6</sup> the *Yahad* (i.e., the Qumran community) refrained from participating in the sacrificial cult of the Second Temple with the multitude of Israel, and assigned itself the task of preservation of the biblical laws of separation from any impurity, physical and ethical, which, according to its doctrine, defiled the holiness of the Temple, the Chosen People, and the Chosen Land.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See H.K. Harrington, "Holiness in the Laws of 4QMMT," *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995. Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (eds. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, J. Kampen; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 109-130; idem, "Biblical Law at Qumran," *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (eds. P. W. Flint and J. C. Vanderkam; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 160-185.

<sup>6</sup> See E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V. Miqṣat Ma'ase Ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 121, 152-153, 161-162; Y. Sussmann, "The History of the Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Preliminary Talmudic Observation on Miqṣat Ma'ase Ha-Torah (4QMMT)," *ibid.*, 179-200, at 191-196; J. M. Baumgarten, "The Pharisaic-Sadducean Controversies about Purity and the Qumran Texts," *JJS* 31 (1980) 157-170; idem, "Sadducean Elements in Qumran Law," *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (eds. E. Ulrich and J. Vanderkam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993) 27-36; L. H. Schiffman, "The New Halakhic Letter (4QMMT) and the Origin of the Dead Sea Sect," *BA* 53 (1990) 64-73; idem, "Miqṣat Ma'ase Ha-Torah and the Temple Scroll," *RevQ* 14/55 (1990) 435-457 (esp. 438-442, 457); idem, "The Sadducean Origins of the Dead Sea Scrolls Sect," *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. H. Shanks; New York: Random House, 1992) 35-49. This anti-Pharisaic doctrine confirmed the information of Josephus (*Ant.* 18:17) about the great influence of the Pharisaic regulations during the Hasmonean period.

<sup>7</sup> 7 Kugel ("The Holiness of Israel and the Land," 27-32) explains how the need to fix non-geographical borders between Israel and foreign peoples living in the Land of Israel during the Second Temple times aggravated the prohibitions of intermar-

Espousing for itself the identity of a "holy congregation", which symbolized the ideal title "holy people" given to Israel when they keep the Law (Exod 19:6; Lev 11:44; 19:2; 4Q381 76-77 5, 7; 4Q504 4 5, 10),<sup>8</sup> the *Yahad* instituted a system of fixed prayer worship at the holy times dedicated for sacrifices.<sup>9</sup>

To understand this revolutionary act from the cultic aspect of holiness, one needs to consider the biblical priestly doctrine of keeping the holiness of the Temple. According to this doctrine, impurity caused by sins was considered as a physical substance, possessing a magnetic attraction for the realm of the sacred. The *hatt'at* blood was designated for the purgation of the Temple and all its utensils (Lev 4:6-7, 18, 25, 30, 34), and thus prevented the penetration of impurity into the inner sanctum.<sup>10</sup> However, when the priests, who were appointed for the purgation of the sanctuary, did not keep their own purity (as was the case in the Second Temple), according to the regulations of purity held by the *Yahad* legislation (4QMMT B13-17, 23-26; CD 11:18c-20), pollution accumulated in the Temple. The axiom that the God of Israel does not abide in a polluted sanctuary, as detailed by Ezekiel when the divine chariot flew heavenward (11:22),<sup>11</sup> made the physical existence of the Second Temple insignificant for its main religious task, the atonement of sins.<sup>12</sup> Thus, accord-

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riage with other peoples. Harrington ("Holiness in the Laws of 4QMMT," 120, 127) assumes that the Qumran laws expanding the holy area of Jerusalem beyond the Temple Mount itself (11QT 52:12-18; CD 5: 6-9; 4QMMT B 27-33, 58-62) and extending the area of the holy camp to the entire area of Jerusalem, may have been a protest against the expansion of Jerusalem to include a secular Hellenistic area during the Hasmonean reign.

<sup>8</sup> This idea is expressed by the following titles used for the Qumran community, according to their contexts: עדה קדש (1QS 5:20); עזת קדש (1QS 2:25; 8:21); אנשי חמים קדש (CD 20:2, 5, 7; 1QS 8:20-21).

<sup>9</sup> See B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 49-63.

<sup>10</sup> See J. Milgrom, "Israel's Sanctuary: The Priestly 'Picture of Dorian Gray,'" *RB* 83 (1976) 390-399; idem, "The Function of the *Hatt'at* Offering" [Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 40 (1970-1971) 1-8.; idem, "The Graduated *Hatta't* of Leviticus 5:1-13," *JAOs* 103 (1983) 249-254; J. Licht, s.v. "Qorban, Qorbanot" [Hebrew], *Encyclopedia Biblica* 7: 237, 239.

<sup>11</sup> Milgrom, "Israel's Sanctuary," 396-97.

<sup>12</sup> According to Lev 14:51-53; Ezek 43:20, 26, *kipper* in the context of *hatt'at* means "purge" (Milgrom, *ibid.*, 391; Licht, "*Qodesh, Qadosh, Qedusha*," 48-49. Although the *hatt'at* blood is not applied on the sinner or the impure person himself, but on the altar in order to purge it, the person who caused the impurity of the Temple is responsible for this impurity. His sin could not be atoned unless the altar and the Temple's utensils become clean (see Licht, "*Qorban*," 237; Milgrom, "The Function,"

ing to the concept of holiness held by the *Yahad*, so long as the purity of the Temple was not properly kept,<sup>13</sup> Israel was left in the same dangerous situation as when the polluted sanctuary had been left by God to its doom when it was destroyed physically in 586 B.C.E. In the event of contamination or the absence of the Temple, the holiness of Israel may only be maintained by strict observance of the Law, which isolates it from any impurity.<sup>14</sup> This concept, which directed the *Yahad* during the Second Temple period, likewise directed Rabbinic activity in creating a comprehensive *halakhah* after the destruction of the Second Temple. The *Yahad* waited for the End of Days, when their concept of the holiness of the Temple would be kept, but meanwhile they strictly kept the Law, in order to prevent the accumulation of impurity at least within their community, and instituted prayer worship in place of sacrificial worship.

## II

According to the *Rule of the Community*, the law regulating prayer as an institutionalized form of worship equivalent to sacrificial worship (1QS 9:3-5) was stipulated by the existence of an holy community, defined as בית קודש לישראל וסוד קודש קודשים לאהרון ("holy house of Israel and the foundation of the holy of the holiest for Aaron") and the like (1QS 8:5-6; 8-9; 20-21; 9:5-6).<sup>15</sup> The existence of such a holy community was stipulated according to the context of 1QS 8 by their isolation from any impurity. This strict isolation consisted of two

3-4; "Israel Sanctuary," 391). The blood which purges the person himself comes from other sacrificial animals (Lev 14:14, 25; 8:22-24; Exod 29:20).

<sup>13</sup> This applied to the eschatological plan for the Temple designated by Ezekiel (Chs. 40-48), and the halakhic legislation stated in the *Temple Scroll* and in *Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah*, which I shall not deal with here. See Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), and the bibliography noted above, n. 6. For a comprehensive study of holiness in the laws of Qumran, see the articles of Harrington cited in note 5.

<sup>14</sup> The cultic and ethical spheres of the laws were already integrated into one cultic complex by the biblical tradition of holiness. See I. Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence. A Study of the Priestly strata in the Pentateuch* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993) 158-184 [Hebrew].

<sup>15</sup> For the significance of this definition, alluded to by the status of the priests attested in 1 Chr 23:13, see J. Licht, *The Rule Scroll* (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1965), 171-172 [Hebrew]; P. Wernberg-Moller, *The Manual of Discipline* (STDJ 1; Leiden: Brill, 1957) 124, n. 14.



stages: (1) יבדלו קודש בתוך עצת אנשי הייחוד (“they will be segregated as holy ones in the midst of the council of the men of the Community”, 8:11) – i.e., isolation even from whatever impurity may occur within the *Yahad* itself;<sup>16</sup> (2) יבדלו מחוץ מושב הנשי העול ללכת למדבר (“they will be segregated from within the dwelling of the men of sin to walk to the wilderness”, 8:13). Because of such isolation and the perfect knowledge and performance of the halakhic regulations of the Law revealed among the *Yahad*, this holy entity was considered worthy of atonement for the people and the Land of Israel, i.e., of keeping the existence of Israel until the End of Days (cf. 1QSa 1: 3). This idea is expressed in 1QS 9:3-6, as follows:

... בהיות אלה בישראל...  
 ליסוד רוח קודש לאמת עולם  
 לכפר על אשמת פשע ומעל חטאת  
 ולרצון לארץ מבשר עולות ומחלבי זבח  
 והרומת שפתים למשפט כניחוח צדק  
 וחמים דרך כנרבה מנחת רצון<sup>17</sup>

When these exist in Israel...

in order to establish the spirit of holiness in truth eternal,

in order to atone for the fault of the transgression and for the guilt of sin,

and for approval for the earth without the flesh of burnt offerings and without the fats of sacrifice.

The offering of the lips in compliance with the decree will be like the pleasant aroma of justice;

and the correctness of behaviour will be acceptable like a freewill offering.<sup>18</sup>

Two revolutionary ideas are expressed in this sectarian regulation: (1) the atonement for sins without sacrifice and sanctuary; (2) the consideration of prayer as an equivalent to sacrifice. As the atonement by

<sup>16</sup> Possibly in isolation from candidates who accompanied the congregation (see 1QS 5:13); from those who were expelled from the congregation (see 1QS 8:23; CD 20:3-7; 4Q266 11 14-16); and from the handicapped who could not keep their purity strictly (see 1QSa 2: 4-10; 1QM 7: 4-6; CD 15:15-17 [= 4Q266 8: 7-9]; 4QMMT B 49-54). Possibly such a regulation also refers to the distinction between groups of celibates and the family camps included in the *Yahad* congregation. See E. Qimron, “Celibacy in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Two Kinds of Sectarians,” *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Madrid 18-21 March 1991* (eds. J. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 1: 287-294.

<sup>17</sup> A similar idea is formulated otherwise in CD 11:20-21.

<sup>18</sup> F. Garcia Martinez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden: Brill, 1994) 13.

the sacrificial cult was avoided as far as the sanctuary was defiled, only the atonement mentioned here was available, i.e., not an atonement by a tangible cult, but that attained by a community through a “holy spirit”. This idea of gaining atonement by the “holy spirit” is detailed in IQS 3:6b-8: *וברוח קדושה ליחד באמתו יטהר מכול עוונותו וברוח* (“It is by the holy spirit of the Community in its truth that he can be cleansed from all his sins. It is by an upright and humble spirit that his sin can be atoned”, cf. IQS 4:20-22).<sup>19</sup> That is to say, a community that becomes spiritually holy by performing all its regulations – the physical, the ethical and the cultic – may effect atonement by prayer.<sup>20</sup> This includes repentance by confession (IQS 1:24–2:1; CD 20:29-30; etc.)<sup>21</sup> and observance of the holy times for worship (which will be considered later). As prayer was not commanded by the Torah, it was considered like the gift a person dedicates to God through his own volition (*נדבת מנחת רצון*). Nevertheless, as prayer became an obligatory form of worship among the *Yahad*, performed at the fixed times dedicated for sacrificial worship (see IQS 10:1-8), it became a fixed remembrance of those devoted to God (possibly a midrashic interpretation of Num 10:10 *והיו לכם לזכרון* “they shall serve you for remembrance before your God”).<sup>22</sup> A similar evaluation of prayer was accepted by the rabbinic

<sup>19</sup> See Licht, *The Rule Scroll*, 74-76, 79-80, 103, 172-173.

<sup>20</sup> According to Lev 19 these three aspects of the Law are considered the essence of the Law by which the holiness of Israel is stipulated (see Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence*, 165-184). These three aspects of the Law are regulated in the annual covenantal ceremony of the *Yahad* as depicted in *4QBerakhot*<sup>c</sup> = 4Q286 fragments 13-15, 20 and 4Q288 1. (See B. Nitzan, “The Laws of Reproof in *4QBerakhot* in Light of Related Texts,” *Legal Texts and Legal Issues*, 149-178; idem, “*4QBerakhot* (4Q286-290): A Covenantal Ceremony in the light of Related Texts,” *RevQ* 16 (1995) 487-506; idem, “286-290. *4QBerakhot*<sup>c</sup>,” *Qumran Cave 4.VI* (DJJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) 35-48, 61-65. For a philosophical explanation of such a religious concept and consciousness, see J. Ben-Shlomo, “The Rational and the Irrational in Rudolf Otto’s Philosophy of Religion,” *The Rational and the Irrational* (eds. M. Dascal and A. Parush; Be’er Sheba: Ben Gurion University Press, 1975) 78-87 [Hebrew]. According to this concept, only a spiritual consciousness of the synthesis between the irrational aspect of the holy and its ethical aspect may be considered the essence of religion.

<sup>21</sup> For the idea of repentance and its performance by the *Yahad* congregation, see B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 132-133; idem, “Repentance in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (eds. P. W. Flint and J. C. Vanderkam; Leiden: Brill, 1999) vol. II, 145-70.

<sup>22</sup> See Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 90-116, where the Biblical, Qumranic and Rabbinic regulation of remembrances were discussed.

definition of the obligatory prayer of Israel – עבודה שכלב – namely, worship.<sup>23</sup> In the rabbinic definition this expresses the fixed devotion of the worshippers to God, but obligatory prayer could act as a sacrifice only from the aspect of its fixed timing and regulations.<sup>24</sup>

The holiness of the *Yahad* was symbolized by the idea that מלאכי קודש מתחצבים בעדתם “Holy angels are standing with their congregation” (e.g. CD 15:17; 4Q266 8 i 9; 15 1; 1QM 7:6;<sup>25</sup> 11QBer 1-2 14 = 4Q285 1 9; see also 4Q181 1 3-4). According to the *Book of Jubilees*, communion between the angelic hosts and the holy people was derived from the distinction of both these chosen entities for performing the Law (*Jub.* 2:17-21, 30-31; 15:27).<sup>26</sup> This communion applied as well to the prayer and praise of God recited by both entities on Sabbath (*Jub.* 2:21-32; 50:9) and at other times (*1En.* 39:5; 40:3-10).<sup>27</sup> Thus, fixed worship in prayer and praise of God attained legitimacy.<sup>28</sup> Its efficacy for atonement of sins, however, was contingent on the purity of the worshippers, as inferred from the regulations of prayer and the texts of prayers preserved in Qumran.

### III

The regulations concerning prayer worship written in the *Damascus Covenant* (CD 11:21-23) did not allow the worshipper to enter the בית השחוחה (“house of prostration”)<sup>29</sup> “in so far he was in a state of

<sup>23</sup> The term עבודה in the sense of worship is used in CD 11:23. See A. Steudel, “The Houses of Prostration, CD XI, 21–XII, 1- Duplicates of the Temple,” *RevQ* 16 (1993) 49-68 (at 56).

<sup>24</sup> See J. Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1977) 14-15; J. Tabory, “Prayer and Halakhah,” *Prayer in Judaism* (eds. G. H. Cohn and H. Fisch; Northvale: Jason Aronson, 1996) 53-55. In this article Tabory refers to Maimonides’ and Nahmanides’ conceptions concerning prayer as a commandment.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Deut 23:15.

<sup>26</sup> See Kugel, “The Holiness of Israel and the Land,” 25-26; D. Dimant, “The Sons of Heaven – Angelology in the *Book of Jubilees* in Light of the Qumran Writings” [Hebrew], in *Tribute to Sara. Studies in Jewish Philosophy and Kabbala Presented to Professor Sara O. Heller Wilensky* (eds. M. Idel et al; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1994) 97-118.

<sup>27</sup> See M. Mach, “קדושים-מלאכים: האל והליפורגיה השמימית”, in: משואות: מחקרים בספרות: האל והליפורגיה השמימית, in: מחקרים בספרות: משואות: מחקרים בספרות: האל והליפורגיה השמימית, in: מחקרים בספרות: משואות: מחקרים בספרות: האל והליפורגיה השמימית (eds. M. Oron and A. Goldreich; Jerusalem, 1994) 298-310, at 306-309.

<sup>28</sup> See 1QH 3:21-23; 6:6-14; 11:7-14; 1QS 11:6-9.

<sup>29</sup> The term בית השחוחה (CD 11:21) refers either to 2 Kgs 5:18 (S. Talmon, “The Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer in Israel in Light of Qumran Literature” in *The World of Qumran from Within* [Jerusalem – Leiden: Magnes and Brill, 1989] 241-

uncleanness” (טמא כבוד).<sup>30</sup> This law also regulated the time of the prayer by the blasting of the *חצוצרות הקהל* (“trumpets of the assembly”).<sup>31</sup> All these terms, derived from the worship held in the Temple, demonstrated that *the place for prayer* was considered holy, and its holiness was to be kept as that of the holiness of the Temple itself.<sup>32</sup> Thus, the prayer worship held there was considered equivalent to the sacrificial worship held in the Temple. A specific blessing was mentioned in the Qumranic *Ritual of Purity* (4Q512 4: 1-3) for the ritual immersion before the Sabbath and the festivals, in order to keep the holiness of the worship performed on these specific *holy days*. Furthermore, those who recite the praise of God in perfect purity (מזוקקי שבעת ימים; “purified seven times”) were considered equal to the angelic priests of the heavenly temple (4Q511 35 2-5), whose purity was considered perfect for the purpose of atonement for sin (see below).<sup>33</sup> Thus, prayer was an holy worship embracing three categories: the purity of its place, the purity of its worshippers, and its proper times.<sup>34</sup>

Traditionally, the literary expression of liturgical holiness in Jewish and Christian prayer refers to the angelic doxology of Isa 6:3 and

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242), or to Zech 14:16 (Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 62), where the Temple is defined as a place of bowing down to God, the King of Hosts. See also Lev 9:24; Sira 50:17-21. Talmon observed that the use of the term *בית השתחוות*, which is equivalent to the Greek *proskunio* rather than *synagoge*, is worthy of note due to its difference from the terms used by the “normative” Jewish community. A. Steudel considered the *בית השתחוות* as *בית קודש*, referring here to the substitute place of the Temple and not to the Community, as stated in 1QS 8. (“The Houses of Prostration,” 49-68, at 52-53).

<sup>30</sup> These are possibly such cases as mentioned in Lev 15 (cf. 4QMMT B 48, and Qimron’s interpretation in DJD 10, 48, 139-140). Referring to Num 19:19, Qumran’s purity rules involve various stages of purification, including waiting for sundown (see 4QMMT B 13-15; 11QT 49:20, and Qimron’s interpretation, DJD 10, 99). *טמא כבוד* may therefore designate an intermediate state of uncleanness (see *Damascus Document War Scroll and Related Documents* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; [Tübingen: Mohr/ Louisville; Westminster John Knox Press, 1994], 51, n. 178).

<sup>31</sup> For the use of the trumpet blast in the Temple, see Josephus, *Jewish War* IV.582; J. M. Baumgarten, “The Sabbath Trumpets in 4Q493 M<sup>c</sup>,” *RevQ* 12 (1985-1987) 555-559; Steudel, “The Houses of Prostration,” 55-56.

<sup>32</sup> Josephus related such a holy status to the place where the Essenes assembled for their meal after ritual immersion (*War* II.129-130). See also Philo, *Omnis Probus Liber Sit*, § 81.

<sup>33</sup> In the context of 4Q511, the praise of God recited by those who are perfectly pure has the power of magical defence against the harm of the impurity (see B. Nitzan, “Hymns from Qumran וּלְבַהַר וּלְפֶהרַי Evil Ghosts,” *Tarbiz* 55 [1985-1986] 35 [Hebrew]); idem, *Qumran Prayer*, 242. Cf. 1QH 14:3.

<sup>34</sup> See above, n. 4. For the criteria of time in Judaism, see R. Elior, “The Jewish Calendar and Mystical Time” [Hebrew], in *The Hebrew Calendar* (Jerusalem: The Presidential Residence, 1995) 22-42.

Ezek 3:12.<sup>35</sup> In their biblical context, these verses symbolize the idea of the eternal holiness of God, whose transcendental being cannot be influenced by any impurity of the existential entities of the created world. In the context of post-biblical liturgy – prayers to God the creator and the redeemer – the *Qedusha* recitation became a symbol of longing for the religious experience of renewal and of closeness to the Divine presence.<sup>36</sup> In Qumran poetry and liturgy, however, it is not the recitation of the *Qedusha* verses that is designated for this purpose,<sup>37</sup> but rather the praise of God as such, when recited by pure

<sup>35</sup> The recitation of this angelic *Qedusha* became, in the post-biblical Jewish and Christian traditions, the holiest recitation by angels and human beings for praising and proclaiming the eternal omnipresence of the glory of God (it was already used in *1 En.* 39:12-13 and in the *Book of Adam and Eve* 43:4). See I. Gruenwald, "The Songs of the Angels, the *Qedushah* and the Composition of the *Hekhalot* Literature," *Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period* (eds. A. Oppenheimer et al.; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1980) 459-481 [Hebrew]; D. Flusser, "Jewish Roots of the Liturgical Trishagion," *Imm* 3 (1973-74) 37-43; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 273-282.

<sup>36</sup> M. Weinfeld, "The Angelic Song Over the Luminaries in the Qumran Texts", *Time to prepare the Way in the Wilderness* (eds. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 137-144, shows that the idea of eschatological redemption is symbolized through the connection between the idea of the creation of the luminaries and their renewal. This idea appears in the *Yoser 'Or* liturgy, the "Hymn to the Creator" in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> 26: 9-15, the poetry of 1QS 10: 3-4 and 11QH 11: 3-14. An apocalyptic harmony between *Urzeit* and *Endzeit* is demonstrated by M. Mach ("קדושים-מלאכים", [see above, n. 27], 306-309, at 308) in the angelic recitation of *1 En.* 39:10-14, where the *Qedusha* verses are recited in accordance with the apocalyptic vision of the judgment day, and likewise in the *2 En.* 31:2 (long version). R. Kimelman, "The Literary Structure of the Amidah and the Rhetoric of Redemption," *The Echoes of Many Texts. Reflections on Jewish and Christian Traditions. Essays in Honor of Lou H. Silberman* (eds. W. Dever and J. Wright; Providence: BJS 313; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997) 207-209, demonstrates an eschatological ideology in the *Qedusha* of the *Amidah*, while alluding to the prophetic sources of its main motifs. God's name as "holy" in the first strophe of this *Qedusha* (Isa 57:15) uses the divine epithet as a designator of God as redeemer according to Isa 41:14; 43:3, 4; 47:4; 48:17; 49:7; 54:5; 57:15; Ps 111:9. The use of "great and holy" in the third strophe of this *Qedusha* recalls Ezek 38:23 (cf. Ezek 20:41; 36:23-24), while God's epithet as a King in this strophe refers to Zech 14:9. D. Flusser, "Sanktus und Gloria," *Abraham Unser Vater. Juden und Christen im Gespräch über die Bibel. Festschrift für Otto Michel zum 60. Geburtstag* (eds. O. Betz, M. Hengel and P. Schmidt; Leiden: Brill, 1963) 128-151, at 142-151, shows the similarity between the Gloria in Luke 2:14, recited by the angels at the birth of the redeemer, and the Aramaic Targum of the *Qedusha* verses in the *Qedusha de-Sidra*, which express a hope for eschatological forgiveness. The *Qedusha* verses are also recited in the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* 7.35.3 in a hymn to God as creator and redeemer, and *ibid.*, 8.12.27. See D. A. Fiensy, *Prayers Alleged to be Jewish. An Examination of the Constitutiones Apostolorum* (BJS 65; Chico: Scholars Press, 1985).

<sup>37</sup> The *Qedusha* verses of Isa 6:3 are not cited even in the apocryphal "Hymn to the Creator," preserved in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> 26: 9-15. However, the terms קדוש, לדור ודור of its opening clause are reflected in the various forms of the *Qedusha* benediction of the

worshippers, angels and human beings, at its proper times.<sup>38</sup> This idea of holiness is specified in *4QBerakhot* (4Q286-290)<sup>39</sup> and in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q400-407; MasSS; 11QSS).<sup>40</sup>

Various scholars have attempted to find some allusion to the *Qedusha* verses in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, or to explain the absence therein of their explicit recitation.<sup>41</sup> However, these attempts have not considered the predominant literary method in this composition.<sup>42</sup> A similar literary technique of blessings by angelic and human beings blessings has recently been discovered in *4QBerakhot*,

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*Amidah*, as suggested by Weinfeld ("The Angelic Songs over the Luminaries," 131-137). As he demonstrates, the main motifs of the three first verses of this hymn allude to Ps 89:1-19; 96:6 and 99, where God is praised as the Creator and king of the whole universe.

<sup>38</sup> The idea that the act of praising God is considered as an religious value in itself may be inferred from the biblical psalms, as stated in Ps 145:12: "to make known to the sons of men his mighty deeds, and the glorious splendor of his kingdom". See J. Kugel, "Topics in the History of the Spirituality of the Psalms," in *Jewish Spirituality I. From the Bible through the Middle Ages* (ed. A. Green; New-York: Crossroad, 1986) 113-44 (at 121-29, esp. p. 127), where he suggests "that to praise God is, as stated, a kind of *prise de position*, a formal setting up of the worshipper as a subject to God... a devotee". A similar idea appears in a hymn to the Creator preserved in the *Thanksgiving Scroll* (1QH 1: 28-31), where the praise of God is considered as an entity unto itself, created for the sake of God. However, the right to recite the praise of God was conditional upon the purity of the worshippers, and was thus considered equal to the praise of God recited by the angles, and even as a means of communion between human beings and angels for this purpose (1QH 3: 21-23; 6: 6-14; 11: 7-14; 1QS 11: 6-9, 13b-15). See J. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll* (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1957, 43-44 [Hebrew]; M. Weinfeld, "The Heavenly Praise in Unison," in *Meqor Hajim. Festschrift für Georg Molin zu seinem 75 Geburtstag* (ed. I. Seybold; Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1983) 429-432. Hence, the description of the liturgical act of praising God by pure worshippers at its proper times served the cultic goal of these hymns. See Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 367-369.

<sup>39</sup> B. Nitzan, "4Q286-290. *4QBerakhot*," *Qumran Cave 4.VI* (DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) 1-74.

<sup>40</sup> C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985); idem, "4QShirot 'Olat HaShabbat," *Qumran Cave 4.VI* (DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) 173-401.

<sup>41</sup> For the first attempt, see A. M. Schwemer, "Gott aus König und seine Königsherrschaft in den Sabbathliedern aus Qumran," in *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult in Judentum, Urchristentum und in der hellenistischen Welt* (eds. M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer; WUNT 55; Tübingen: Mohr, 1991) 45-118, at 45-51. For the latter, see D. Allison, "The Silence of Angels: Reflections on the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *RevQ* 13 (1988) 189-197; J. Maier, "Zu Kult und Liturgie der Qumrangemeinde," *RevQ* 14 (1989-1990) 573-574. These attempts were surveyed and criticized by D. A. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scroll* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 138-149.

<sup>42</sup> See Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 297-307.

which shall be helpful for solving the enigma of the absence of explicit recitation of the *Qedusha* verses in these compositions. In both cases, the blessings and praises are of a descriptive type, the main theme being the portrayal of the liturgical procedure of the blessing's ceremony. This is done by portraying series of worshippers, or their blessings, according to their order, places, appearance, the subjects of the blessings, and their liturgical form. The texts of the blessings themselves, however, are not cited; the only explicit extant blessings extol the transcendence of God as King of the whole universe "Blessed be the Lord, the King of all, above all blessing and praise" (4Q403 1 i 28);<sup>43</sup> and "and your kingdom is exalted", (4Q286 7 i 5; 4Q287 5 10).<sup>44</sup>

Unlike some of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*,<sup>45</sup> the liturgical form of 4Q*Berakhot* is not schematically arranged in cyclic forms, but is freely structured. Nevertheless, the description of each of the series of the worshippers is typically styled.<sup>46</sup> Each of these series is closed by a rubric concerning a liturgical benediction of God's holy name – ויברכו את שם קודשכה, [יברכו בן] חד כולמה את שם קודשכה (4Q286 2 5),

<sup>43</sup> Falk (*Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 146-148) notes the doxological structure and usage of the benediction of 4Q403 1i 28. Newsom (*Songs*, 206) compares its Divine attribute, אדון מלך הכול, to God's attribute as אלה כל in Sir 45:23 and אדון הכול in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> 28:7-8. For the last part of this doxology cf. Neh 9:5d. For the praise of God's exalted kingdom in 4Q*Berakhot*, see Nitzan, DJD 11, 26, 56. The exaltation of the glorious majesty of God is reflected in these two compositions in most of God's attributes and the descriptions of His heavenly abode and throne. In the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* the glorious majesty of God and His holiness are sometimes explicitly versified. See מלך הקודש ("king of holiness", MasShirShab ii 18; 4Q405 23 ii 11), מלך [קודש מלך הכבוד] ("[...ho]liness of the king of glory", 11QShirShab 2-1-9 4-5), מלך הכבוד ... מלך השהור ("king of Glory...king of purity", 4Q403 1 ii 25-26). Cf. קדוש אדוני ומלך הכבוד ("the Lord is holy and the king of glory") in IQM 12: 8; 19: 1), and similar attributes in the Bible (Isa 6:5c; Ps 47:9; 68:25). For the theological concept of the glorious majesty of God, see M. Weinfeld, s.v. "kavod," *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (eds. G. J. Botterweck et al., trans. D. E. Green; Grand Rapids: Erdmans, 1995) VII. 26-31, 37-38; J. Licht, s.v. "Malkhut 'Adonay," *Encyclopedia Biblica*, IV. 1118-1128 (esp. at 1124) [Hebrew]; Schwemer, "Gott als König," 58-118.

<sup>44</sup> Because of the damaged state of the text, one can not know if the term ברוך was written at the beginning of these blessings in 4Q286 and in 4Q287. ברוך is clearly extant in 4Q*Berakhot* in a blessing of 4Q289 1 6, but the subsequent words were damaged.

<sup>45</sup> Cyclic patterns appear in the songs for the sixth and eighth Sabbaths. See Newsom, *Songs*, 178-180, 207-208, 242; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 297-307.

<sup>46</sup> See Nitzan, "4Q286-290. 4Q*Berakhot*," DJD 11, 4-5.

ולברך] את שם כבודכה – (4Q287 3 1), or of God's glorious name – (4Q287 2 8) [וּבְרַכְוּ] אֶת שֵׁם כְבוֹד אֱלֹהֵיכֶם [ה], (4Q286 7 i 7), [קִצְיַ עוֹלָמִים] – followed by the response *Amen Amen*.<sup>47</sup> But the liturgical benedictions referred to here, which may have been applied to God's holy name and God's glorious name mentioned in the *Qedusha* verses of Isa 6:3 and Ezek 3:12, are not cited.

The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* contain proclamations concerning the praise of God's holiness and glory,<sup>48</sup> as well as other subjects of praise (see, for example, the cycle of the psalms mentioned in the song of the sixth Sabbath (4Q403 1 i 1-9; MasShirShab ii 1-22), but in keeping with the literary method of descriptive liturgy none of them is followed by an explicit benediction.<sup>49</sup> This is implemented even in the case of such proclamations as “and they praise (his) holiness” (4Q405 20-22 ii 12), and “make known the glory of the king” (4Q405 23 i 9) in the *Song of the Twelfth Sabbath*, referring to the recitations of the creatures of the heavenly chariot<sup>50</sup> and of the holy angels who guard the gates of the heavenly temple (4Q405 23 i 6c-10a). In both these clauses, the praise of God referred to may have been implied in the *Qedusha* doxology,<sup>51</sup> but following the technical practice of descriptive liturgy exhibited in these songs, the author preferred to describe only the manner of their singing: “there is a still sound of blessing” (4Q405 20-22 ii 12; cf. [ת] הִלִּי פִּלְא בְרַמְמַת ק[וֹל] “wondrous [ps]alms with the quiet vo[ice]” [4Q405 18 5]); and “with a voice of song” (4Q405 23 i 8).<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Nitzan, *ibid.*, p. 1. The *Amen Amen* response of the concluding benedictions is extant in 4Q286 5 8; 7 i 7; 9 3; 7 ii 1; 4Q287 1 4; 4 3; 5 11; 4Q289 2 4. Such a response is also extant after some of the curses to Belial and his lot in 4Q*Berakhot* (4Q286 7 ii 5, 10; 4Q287 6 6; 7 2).

<sup>48</sup> See proclamations of praising God's glory in 4Q400 2 1 (= 4Q401 14 i 7); 4Q403 1 i 3, 31, 36, 38; MasShirShab i 10, ii 13; and proclamations of praising God's holiness in 4Q403 1 i 6, 7, 9 (= MasShirShab ii 17, 18, 22).

<sup>49</sup> See Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 367.

<sup>50</sup> C. A. Newsom, “Merkabah Exegesis in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot,” *JJS* 38 (1987) 11-30.

<sup>51</sup> See, for example, *1 En.* 61:10-12, where the praise of the heavenly hosts is described both according to its manner and to its text. See also the *Hekhalot* texts of *Ma'asseh Merkabah* 6, where the descriptions of the worshippers in the seven heavenly temples are followed with the doxologies recited by them in each temple. Cf. G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1965) 106-107.

<sup>52</sup> Newsom, *Songs*, 291-292, 306, 317, 324. The silence referring to the exaltation of God in the song of the twelfth Sabbath was dealt with by Allison, (“The Silence of



Nevertheless, the atmosphere of holiness attained in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*<sup>53</sup> and *4QBerakhot* is not blemished by the absence of explicit recitation of the text of the *Qedusha* verses and other liturgical benedictions. The descriptions of the liturgy performed by the heavenly hosts in the heavenly realms and temples, together with pure human worshippers on earth at the holy times for the worship of God, is used for confirming the practice of cultic worship without a temple, as held by the sectarian circles. However, the holiness of the liturgical worship is confirmed differently in these two compositions, as explained below.

#### IV

According to these two compositions, holiness was attained in sectarian worship by its relationships with celestial worship.<sup>54</sup> This was done by means of two different liturgical methods: in the blessings of *4QBerakhot*, the holiness of the Community's worship was attained and confirmed through the inspiration from the heavenly realms to the earthly realms, whereas in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* there is a process of elevation from earthly songs to heavenly songs, seeking

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Angels," 193-194). However, as the "still sound of blessing" in the face of the heavenly throne is replaced by rejoicing with "a voice of song" and not by an explicit benediction, the various manners of singing should be considered as the reflections of different religious sentiments attained during the ascent of the songs (see below). The method of describing the manner of the singing is variously stylized in this composition. Sometimes it is clearly described, as in the above-mentioned *Twelfth Sabbath Song*; see also בקול המוני קודש "with the sound of holy multitudes", referring to the manner in which *debir* to *debir* are praising God (4Q403 1 ii 14, Newsom, *Songs*, 229, 236). Sometimes it is stylized by using adverbs forms. See the use of the adverb פלא in the clause להלל כבודכה פלא "to praise your glory wondrously" (4Q400 2 1, 4Q401 14 i 7, Newsom, *Songs*, 112), and וברכו פלא כרוביחמה ואופיחמה "and their cherubim and their ophanim praise wondrously" (4Q403 1 ii 15, Newsom, *ibid.*, 229, 236-238). In 4Q403 1 i 36 we find the use of the adverb ברויג "with rejoicing" ("rejoicingly"?) in the clause רנו מרני דעו [ב]רויג (Newsom, *ibid.*, 209, 212).

<sup>53</sup> See Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 368-369.

<sup>54</sup> A similar literary method was used later in the Hekhalot literature (G. G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* [New York: Schocken, reprinted 1961] 46). Cf. the development of this idea on three literary levels – Apocrypha, Qumran and Hekhalot – by R. Elior, "From Earthly Temple to Heavenly Shrine: Prayer and Sacred Liturgy in the Hekhalot Literature and its Relation to Temple Traditions" [Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 64 (1994-1995) 341-380 (esp. pp. 345-363). However, while the Hekhalot literature directed personal experience, that of Qumran attempted to direct the collective experience of a congregation.

the confirmation of the liturgical Sabbath sacrifice by the celestial realm.

The text of *4QBerakhot* (4Q286-290) consists of a series of liturgical-ceremonial blessings and curses designated for the annual covenantal ceremony of the *Yahad*.<sup>55</sup> Blessings addressed to God by all of creation are successively recited, starting with the heavenly creatures and gradually continuing by the earthly creatures, thus attesting to the greatness of God and his glory in the whole universe.

The extant part of the opening of *4QBerakhot* (4Q286 1 ii) is a hymn, praising the glorious God in His heavenly throne by cataloguing three kinds of items: (1) visions of the heavenly abode and throne (lines 1-3);<sup>56</sup> (2) divine attributes (lines 4-8b);<sup>57</sup> (3) the mysteries of God's knowledge (lines 8c-11).<sup>58</sup> The sublime contents expressed in these three subjects are written, not as a description, but as lists of nouns.<sup>59</sup> The list detailing attributes of God's mysterious knowledge is

<sup>55</sup> For data concerning the function of this composition, see B. Nitzan, "4QBerakhot (4Q286-290): A Preliminary Report," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies* (eds. G. J. Brooke and F. García Martínez; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 53-71; idem, "4QBerakhot (4Q286-290): A Covenantal Ceremony," 487-506.

<sup>56</sup>

1	מושב יקרה ויהומו רגלי כבודכה בנמורומי עומדכה ומדרתך
2	קודשכה ומרכבות כבודכה כרוביהמה ואופניהמה וכול סודינהמה
3	מוסדי אש ושביבי נגנה וזהרי הוד נהור[י] אורים ומאורי פלא

1. "The seat of your honour and the footstools of your glory in the [h]eights of your standing-place and the trea[d]
2. of your holiness; and the chariots of your glory, their cherubim and their wheels with all [their] councils;
3. foundations of fire and flames of brightness, and flashes of splendour, li[gh]t[s] of flames and wondrous lights".

<sup>57</sup>

4	{הוד} וזהר ורום כבוד סוד קודש ומקור זןהר ורום הפארת פלא
5	{הוד} ונת ומקה נבורות הדר תשבוחות וגדול נוראות ורפאות
6	ומעשי פלאים סוד חוכמא וחבנית דעה ומקור {מ} בנה מקור ערמה
7	ועצת קודש וסוד אמת אוצר שכל מבני צדק ומכני יושר רב
8	חסדים וענות טוב וחסדי אמת ורחמי עולמים

4. "[Maj]esty and splendour, and height of glory, foundation of holiness and foun[tain of b]rightness, and height of beauty; wo[nder]
5. [of thanks]giving and a well of powers, splendour of praises and great in awesome deeds and healin[g] / healing[s]
6. and miraculous works; a foundation of wisdom and a structure of knowledge and a fountain of insight, a fountain of prudence
7. and a counsel of holiness, and a foundation of truth, a treasury of understanding; structure/s of justice, and place/s of hone[sty; abounding]
8. in kind deeds and virtuous humility, and true kindness and eternal mercies".

<sup>58</sup> ורזי פלאים בהר[אתם]ה...

<sup>58</sup> "And wo[ndrous] mysteries when th[ey app]ear ..."

<sup>59</sup> Nitzan, "4QBerakhot... A Preliminary Report," 63-64.

particularly interesting, using the terms מקור (fountainhead) and סוד, in the sense of יסוד (foundation).<sup>60</sup> This phrasing is intended to express the idea that God is the source of the knowledge given to his creatures, which is specified below concerning the mysteries of the times considered holy:

שבועי קודש בתכונמה ודגלי חודשים] ראשי שנים בתקופותמה ומועדי כבוד בתעודות[מה] [...] ושבתות ארץ במחל[קתמה ומן] עדי דרו[ר]...<sup>61</sup>

holy weeks in their fixed order, and divisions of months, [beginnings of y]ears in their cycles and glorious festivals in times ordained [for them, ] and the sabbatical years of the earth in [their] divi[sions and appo]inted times of liber[ty ]. (lines 9-11)

These are the liturgical times which were consecrated to the worship of God, and whose holiness were to be kept, according to Qumran legislation, by a 364-day calendar (4QMMT A; cf. *1En.* 72-75; 82; *Jub.* 2:3, 21; 6:17-32).<sup>62</sup> As the controversy concerning the liturgical calendar was one of the factors preventing the *Yahad* from participating with the rest of Israel in the Temple worship (4QMMT C 7-8),<sup>63</sup> the undertaking of this liturgical calendar was considered one of the laws that needed to be renewed annually in a covenantal ceremony (cf. 1QS 1:14-15).

The central importance of this topic in *4QBerakhot* is demonstrated repeatedly in the extant fragments by the blessings of the angelic hosts and the earthly creatures at their proper times. The blessings of two angelic hosts were preserved: the angels titled גבורי אלים בכוח

<sup>60</sup> Cf. 1QS 10: 12; 11: 3-6; 1QH 2: 18; 10: 31; 12: 28b-29. מקור and סוד are parallel in 1QH 1: 22, but in another context (סוד הערמה ומקור הנדה), referring to human beings.

<sup>61</sup> See the commentary on these terms in Nitzan, "4QBerakhot... A Preliminary Report," 62-63; idem, DJD 11, 16-17.

<sup>62</sup> Their holy foundation was authorized in the Book of Enoch by the astronomical tables and calculations of a 364-day calendar revealed to Enoch (*1 En.* 72-75, 82; cf. *Jub.* 2:3, 21; 6:17-32). See J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 7-22. In the *Book of Jubilees*, their holy foundation and authority was revealed to Moses by the angel of the inner heavenly sanctuary, and was symbolized by the angels who celebrate them in heaven (*Jub.* 2:3, 21; 6:17-32). See Dimant, "The Sons of Heaven" (*op. cit.*, n. 26), 97-118.

<sup>63</sup> For the calendrical issue of 4QMMT, see DJD 10, 44-45, 109-110; L. H. Schiffman, "The Place of 4QMMT in the Corpus of Qumran," in *Reading 4QMMT. New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (eds. J. Kampen and M. J. Bernstein; SBLSS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 82-86. The main factor of the 364-day calendar was the prevention of profaning the Sabbath with the festivals' offerings. See Beckwith, *Calendar and Chronology*, 101-104.

(“mighty *elim* in power”) who were nominated to discipline God’s commandments (4Q286 2 2-4), possibly a midrash on Ps 103:20 ברכו דברו וה’ מלאכיו גבורי כח עושי דברו לשמוע בקול דברו and the angels who were successively nominated on the meteorological works of each season (ibid., frg. 3). Another allusion to times of holiness was preserved in the context of the earthly blessing by mentioning “[grain, w]ine, and oil, and all produce [ ] and all elevated offerings of the world <presented to God> in twe[lve] months” (ibid., frg. 5, lines 6-7), i.e., produces which are to be presented at the ordained times during the year (see Lev 23:9-21; 11QT<sup>a</sup> 18-23:02; 43:3-10; 60: 6; 4QMMT A i 15-17, iii 12-15, v 2-6).<sup>64</sup> This notion reaches its climax in the series of 4QBer<sup>a</sup> (4Q286) with the mention of the blessings of “*the elect ones...* who have knowledge in psalms ... and blessings of truth in the times of fe[stivals]”, when the exalted kingdom of God is blessed (7 i 2-5), *along with the angels*, those of “[the c]ouncil of *elim* of purification who have eternal knowledge” of praising and blessing “the glorious name in all [ever]la[sting ages]” (7 i 6-7). In the series of 4QBer<sup>b</sup> (4Q287), the authority of the holy times for blessing God was demonstrated by the blessings of the angelic images of the heavenly sanctuary, defined as רוחי קודש קודשים (“spirits of the holiest holiness”), who bless God “in all the due times” (frg. 2, lines 5, 7-8). The earthly worshippers who follow the angelic authority were considered קרו[ב]ים אליכה וור[ע] קודש (“those who become clo[se] to you and [holy] offspr[ing]”, frg. 5, line 12).<sup>65</sup> By this definition, homiletically related to Deut 4:7-8, the closeness of those who renewed the Sinai Covenant by undertaking its laws was expressed. Among these laws are those defined in the book of the *Damascus Document* ומועדי קדשו ושבתות קדשו ומועדי כבודו (“the holy Sabbaths and the glorious festivals... of which all Israel walked astray”; CD 3:12b-16a).<sup>66</sup>

It is thus clear that the idea of holiness as expressed in 4QBerakhot, referring to the numinous image of the celestial throne and the angelic hosts, was used to invoke psychologically the authority of God’s liturgical laws by ceremonially creating a *collective religious experience*, similar to that which inspired the children of Israel when they re-

<sup>64</sup> For the Qumran legislation of the festivals of offering the new harvest of grain, wine and oil see Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, I, 99-122; Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10, 7, 44-45.

<sup>65</sup> See Nitzan, “4Q287 4QBerakhot<sup>b</sup>,” DJD 11, 56. The restored term ורע קודש is one of the possibilities suggested there.

<sup>66</sup> For this idea cf. 1QS 1:13b-15; 5:7b-10a.

ceived the Sinai Covenant.<sup>67</sup> This collective experience, attained liturgically, could neither be defined mystically nor apocalyptically, as there is here no elevation to heaven, nor any revelation of an apocalyptic vision. However, the collective experience of undertaking to keep the commandments of the Law is one of approaching the ideal of holiness designated for the Chosen People, and thus spiritually strengthens the religious consciousness of the worshippers.

## V

As indicated by their title, the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* were considered a substitute for the Sabbath sacrifice ritual held at the earthly Temple.<sup>68</sup> This concept is demonstrated in the *Song of the First Sabbath* by a description of the establishment of an heavenly priesthood, defined as משרתי פנים ברביר כבודו [... קורב] כוהני ("priests [of the inner sanctum...], ministers of the presence in his glorious *debir*", 4Q400 1 i 3-4, and the like),<sup>69</sup> "there is n[o] unclean thing in their holy places". Thus they were considered to atone for all those repent of sin (4Q400 1 i 14-16). During a series of thirteen Sabbaths of one season according to the 364-day calendar, another song was recited each Sabbath by a different group of worshippers. These gradually elevated from the song of the earthly worshippers of the Community, through the songs of the angelic hosts, the angelic priesthood, the chariots, cherubim and wheels beneath the heavenly throne, until reaching the songs of the angelic high priesthood ministering in the inner *debir* of the heavenly sanctuary. At the last Sabbath of the series, these reached the heavenly altar itself, where the ritual of atonement was performed (11QShirShab 7-8).<sup>70</sup>

<sup>67</sup> According to Deut 33:2; Ps 68:18, hosts of angels accompanied God's revelation on Mount Sinai.

<sup>68</sup> This concept of a substitution ritual for that of the earthly priesthood is clarified by other definitions of the songs, such as מנה פלאיו ("his wondrous portion", 4Q403 1 ii 20) and מנה רוח רוש ("choicest spiritual portion", 4Q400 1 i 40), etc. See Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 291-292.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. משרתי פני מלך קודש ("priests [of] the inner sanctum who serve before the king of holiest", 4Q400 1 i 8); כוהני קורב קדושי קדושים ("priests of the inner sanctum, the holiest of the holy ones", *ibid.*, line 19). See Newsom, *Songs*, 89, 93, 98, 101, 106. For the establishing of the heavenly priesthood see *ibid.*, 34-38; 59-72; *idem*, "He Has Established for Himself Priests': Human and Angelic Priesthood in the Qumran Sabbath *Shirot*," *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, JSPSup 8; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990) 101-120.

<sup>70</sup> See Newsom, *Songs*, 371-372

Such an ascent created a mystical experience, of the type known as cultic. Its psychological affect upon the earthly worshippers seems to have progressed from feelings of anxiety in the face of the heavenly priesthood and the celestial throne to a sense of great joy. Anxiety of *mysterium tremendum* type is caused by the consciousness of ontological nothingness, elicited by reflecting upon the gap between the earthly worshippers and the high degree of holiness of the angelic priests of the heavenly inner sanctuary, who are considered נכבדים בכלל מחני ("honored among all the camps of godlike being and revered by mortal councils", 4Q400 2, 2, 6-7), as well as by reflecting upon the notion of heavenly war expected against evil and impurity (4Q402 1; 4 7-10). An experience of anxiety again seems apparent while describing the silent blessings of the angelic creatures when confronting the numinous, majestic sight of the Divine throne (4Q405 20 ii-22:7-8, 12-13).<sup>71</sup> These feelings of *mysterium tremendum* seem to be replaced by an experience of joyfulness at the end of the *Song of the Twelfth Sabbath* (4Q405 23 i 6-7; 12),<sup>72</sup> and in the *Song of the Thirteenth Sabbath*. On the last Sabbath (11QShirShab 2-1-9 2-3), this joyfulness is accompanied by blessings of God's compassion and peace,<sup>73</sup> symbolizing the atonement attained once the songs of the Sabbath sacrifice reach the heavenly altar and are accepted as a liturgical gift before God.<sup>74</sup> This experience of joyfulness may thus be considered the climax of this liturgical ascent, reflecting the purpose of the songs: to bridge liturgically and spiritually the gap between the earthly worshippers and the holy God in his heavenly dwelling.

In conclusion: in following the liturgical expression and meaning

<sup>71</sup> For this type of experience of *mysterium tremendum*, see Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, 17, 72-81.

<sup>72</sup> "and all the s[pirits] of the pure firmame[nt]s rejoice in his glory; ... S[ure]ly he will show compassion (even) in the dominion of the fury of his [annihilating wr]ath". (4Q405 23 i 6-7; 12, Newsom, *Songs*, 322, 324). An experience of joyfulness was already attained in the *Song of the Seventh Sabbath*, at the center of this cycle of thirteen songs (4Q403 1 i 40, Newsom, *Songs* 209, 220).

<sup>73</sup> "His [rec]ompense...his mercy...[and] all the blessings of [his] peace" (Newsom, *Songs*, 374).

<sup>74</sup> The corruption of the manuscript of 11QShirShab 8-7 (Newsom, *Songs*, 371) does not allow us to know the exact sacrifice which was presented to God on the heavenly altar. However, if it was symbolized as a sacrifice without blood, as depicted in the *T. Levi* 3:6, it might have been the songs of the Sabbath sacrifice themselves. The kind of heavenly sacrifice mentioned in *b. Hagiga* 12b was not specified.

of the idea of holiness according to its Qumranic concept, we may conclude that the quest for holiness was the essence of the religious ideology and existence of the Qumran community. By its isolation from any impurity and evil, including those of the earthly Temple, and by its cultic rituals of atonement-seeking which substituted for the Temple worship, the Community fostered the consciousness of an holy congregation. Spiritual holiness, attained by strict devotion to the Law and by conscious maintenance of cleanness from any physical and ethical impurity, was considered an alternative means for atonement. It was this attempt for the acceptance of spiritual holiness as an appropriate cultic means which was the focus of the Qumran liturgy.

## 4QSAM<sup>a</sup> AND THE ROYAL SONG OF THANKSGIVING (2 SAM 22//PS 18)

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The Royal Song of Thanksgiving, presented in 2 Samuel 22//Psalm 18, provides textual critics with a rare opportunity to weigh and measure two poetic Hebrew texts of considerable length; with 4QSAM<sup>a</sup> in hand, there is now an even greater occasion to contrast these three parallel texts, all written with Hebrew characters.<sup>1</sup> The single drawback to the 4QSAM<sup>a</sup> witness is its fragmentary nature. In the larger of two fragments from this chapter of Samuel, only portions of verses 30-51 are extant. Yet the fragment does hold one's interest due to its significant variant readings and orthographic differences. This paper will pay special regard to the variant readings, while not ignoring the metrical scheme, parallelistic format, and the syntactical, morphological, and conventional language patterns that are associated with psalmic texts.

The Psalm is attributed to David,<sup>2</sup> whom "Yahweh delivered . . . from his enemies and from Saul" (2 Sam 22:1); hence the Psalm is a

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<sup>1</sup> 11QPsd<sup>1</sup> (11Q8), which includes sections of Psalm 18:39-42, was also examined for this paper, but there are no major variant readings to be considered. See Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 42; see also 42, n.101.

<sup>2</sup> Julius Wellhausen doubts that David authored the psalm, arguing that the psalm's language is not befitting the warrior-king that David was purported to be; he asks if it is "credible that the genuine David would blend all his enemies, Saul and Absalom, the Philistines and the Arameans, in one indistinguished mass . . . . Can it be believed that an experienced warrior would describe his fight as falling into water, and as being drawn out by JHVH? Would he have reckoned himself among humble people (v. 27), and limited his share in the merit of his victories to his having observed JHVH's statutes and ordinances?" Wellhausen concludes that the psalm "is the product of an age when pseudonymous literature flourished among the Jews". See his introduction to Psalm 18 in *The Book of Psalms* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1898), 170. Wellhausen, however, tends to ignore the psalm's archaic features; also, the location of the Royal Song in the book of 2 Samuel together with the "last words of David" (2 Sam 23:1-7) must be taken into account when attempting to date the book and determine its authorship. On this, see Artur Weiser, *The Psalms* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962) 185-186.



Royal Song of Thanksgiving<sup>3</sup> wherein the king celebrates his victory. The psalm is one of a group of ancient Hebrew poetic texts that date, according to one prominent school of thought (Albright, Cross, Freedman), between the 8th and 10th centuries BCE; these include two victory hymns known as the Song of Deborah (Judg 5) and the Song of the Sea (Ex 15:1-18), the Oracles of Balaam (Num 23-24), the Lament of David (2 Sam 1:19-27), the Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49), and the Blessing of Moses (Deut 33).<sup>4</sup>

The Royal Song may be the youngest of the group. Its *terminus ad quem*, based on its archaisms<sup>5</sup> and linguistic forms, and determined through an orthographic analysis, appears to be the 8th century BCE.<sup>6</sup> This date is derived from the following points: an enclitic *mem* with a noun in a construct state (מִן אֶפְקַי 2 Sam 22:16); the preposition *bet* is used archaically, having the translational value of מִן ("from") in 2 Sam 22:9, 14, 16; there is a scarcity of the article throughout the song, and when it is attested it is often used demonstratively, as in v 33, where it is attached to the term <sup>3</sup>*el*; the direct object marker (אֵת) is rarely used; the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר is not among the older elements; and examples of the *yqtl* form having a "vari-temporal" usage occur (often) without the *waw* conversive and yet parallel with or in

<sup>3</sup> Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing, 1988) 258, explains that Psalm 18 is a "song of thanksgiving [that] refers to a victory that Yahweh has granted his chosen king."

<sup>4</sup> In 1950, Frank Moore Cross and David Noel Freedman introduced this group of poetic texts with these words: "In this small body of literature are preserved the oldest expressions of Israel's faith. It reveals a conception of God at once intuitive and concrete, born of vividly direct experience and participation in his mighty acts, a conception devoid of the sophistication and formalism which result from centuries of theological speculation. The language of the poems is rich and exuberant, the imagery is picturesque, the figures of speech extravagant. The compositions are marked by a strong rhythm, with a regular musical beat, frequently organized into strophes of considerable complexity. Altogether, they are the product of the most dynamic and creative era of Israel's literary enterprise." "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18," *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry* (SBLDS 21; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975) 3. This article was first published in *JBL* 72 (1953) 15-34. Page references are to the 1975 edition.

<sup>5</sup> Donald Watson Goodwin, *Text-Restoration Methods in Contemporary U.S.A. Biblical Scholarship* (Naples: Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 1969), *passim*, examines a number of archaic particles and related aspects in this Royal Song and other poetic works from the same general time period.

<sup>6</sup> "2 Samuel preserves a number of archaic readings which point to a minimal date in the ninth-eighth centuries B.C. for the written composition of the poem." Cross and Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18," 125.

sequence with *qtl* forms throughout the Royal Song (see, for example, 2 Sam 22=Ps 18:7, 12, 14, 16, 39 bis, 44).<sup>7</sup> The fact that the *waw* appears to have been introduced in certain places (on this, see below, 2 Sam 18:40) after the creation of the Royal Song also attests to the hymn's archaic nature; and the spelling of *בכה* (2 Sam 22:30) with a *he* rather than without (contrast *בך* in Ps 18:30) is indicative of an older form.<sup>8</sup> Correspondingly, 2 Sam 22, as it will be seen below, contains a number of terms that are written defectively, suggesting an early date for this text.<sup>9</sup>

### *Physical Description*

The 4QSam<sup>a</sup> fragment belongs to a single column of text, probably column 52 of the scroll. It has approximately 340 identifiable characters on 21 lines.<sup>10</sup> The righthand margin is clearly visible. Three holes in the leather create questionable readings; a single interlinear word *לָא* followed by what may be a *mem* is apparent between lines four and five. With magnification, some horizontal rulings are visible on the leather.

### *Orthography*

In general, the spelling of the Masoretic text of 2 Sam 22 is written more defectively than Ps 18.<sup>11</sup> Of the 30 variable spellings in the entire psalm, 2 Sam 22 possesses a shorter spelling in 22 instances, e.g., *אאו* (2 Sam 22:1), *אאוו* (Ps 18:1); *מסדוח* (2 Sam 22:16), *מוסדוח* (Ps

<sup>7</sup> On the vari-temporal usage of the *yqtl* form in the Royal Song, see Cross and Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18", 28-29.

<sup>8</sup> See James Barr, *The Variable Spellings of the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) 123-125; 173.

<sup>9</sup> Cross and Freedman point out that in this Royal Song, 7 of the 11 words that possess the diphthong *aw* are "written according to Israelite practice, without the *waw*. The same words in Psalm 18 are spelled in accordance with Judahite practice (i.e., with the *waw*), which, with some modifications, became standard in post-exilic times" "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18," 126). Caution should be exercised here, for the orthographic nature of a poetic text cannot always assist one in dating that text beyond general terms.

<sup>10</sup> In this paper, however, I will deal with only 2 Samuel through the end of chapter 22—the Royal Song itself.

<sup>11</sup> Cross and Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18," 125; Barr, *The Variable Spellings of the Hebrew Bible*, 169.

18:16); יעבדני (2 Sam 22:44), יעבדוני (Ps 18:44); Ps 18 has the shorter spelling in the remaining eight variable spellings, e.g., קולו (2 Sam 22:14), קלו (Ps 18:14); בכה (2 Sam 22:30), כך (Ps 18:30); מגדיל (2 Sam 22:51), מגרל (Ps 18:51). This tendency – *plene* spelling in Ps 18 and defective spelling in 2 Sam 22 – follows generally throughout the books of Samuel and Psalms. For instance, the *waw* termination of the plural verb (e.g., אפפני [2 Sam 22:5], אפפוני [Ps 18:5]) is often lacking in the books of Samuel but present in the Psalter.<sup>12</sup>

There are ten variable spellings where all three Hebrew witnesses are attested – 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, the Masoretic text of 2 Sam 22 (hereafter, to distinguish 4QSam<sup>a</sup> from the Masoretic text of 2 Sam 22, the symbol ׀ will be used to signify the Masoretic text) and Ps 18. These variable spellings appear as follows:

	4QSam <sup>a</sup>	׀	Ps 18
v 34	יעמדני	יעמדני	יעמידני
v 38	ולוא	ולא	ולא
v 40	ותכרע	תכריע	תכריע
v 42	משיע	משיע	מושיע
v 44	גויים	גוים	גוים
v 44	יעבדני	יעבדני	יעבדוני
v 48	נקמות	נקמת	נקמות
v 48	תחתנִי	תחתני	תחתי
v 51	ישועה	ישועות	ישועות
v 51	ועושה	ועשה	ועשה

In the ten expressions that exhibit orthographic differences, Ps 18 has the longer spelling on six occasions, agreeing with the fuller spelling of ׀ twice and with 4QSam<sup>a</sup> once. With regard to all of the variant orthographic readings, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> agrees with ׀ four times and Ps 18 once. 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has five unique readings.

<sup>12</sup> See Barr, *The Variable Spellings of the Hebrew Bible*, 172-173 on other orthographic characteristics belonging to both Samuel and Psalms.

## 2 Sam 22:24-27

[		[ <sup>24</sup> וא]	1
[	חס[י] הַ תַּחֲסֹד עָם	[ <sup>26</sup>	2
[	עם]	[ <sup>27</sup>	3

## 2 Sam 22:24-28 can be reconstructed as follows:

[	<sup>24</sup> ואחיה תמים לו	[וא] שתמרה מעוני <sup>25</sup> וישב יהוה לי כצדקתי כברי	1
[	לנגד <sup>26</sup> עם חס[י] הַ תַּחֲסֹד עָם	גבור תמים תחמם <sup>27</sup> עם נבר תחבר	2
[	ועם עקש תחפל <sup>28</sup> ואח עם עני	תושיע ועיניך על רמים תשפיל	3

## 2 Sam 22:30-23:6

[	בכ] הַ אֲרָ[ן] יָ	]	1
[	הַ מִגֵּן הוּא]	]	2
[	ה[ <sup>33</sup> אֵל מאורני ח]ל	]	3
[	ב]מוחי יעמדנו <sup>35</sup> מלמד ידי לם[ל]חמה ונ[חח	]	4
[	ולא הַ[עדו קרסלי]	]	
[	ישעך ועזרתך תרבני <sup>37</sup> חר[ח]ב צעדי ו[א]	]	5
[	ואשמידם ולוא אשוב עד כלוחם <sup>39</sup> אמח[צם	]	6
[	י[ <sup>40</sup> תאורני חיל למלחמה ותכרע קמי תח]תני	]	7
[	אצמית[ם] <sup>42</sup> י[שועו ו]אין משיע אל יהוה ו[לוא	]	8
[	פני ארה [כ]איש חוצ[ן]ת ארקעם <sup>44</sup> ותחפל[ני	]	9
[	גויים עם לא ידעתי [י]עברני <sup>45</sup> לשמ[וע	]	10
[	לא יחגרו ממסרותם <sup>47</sup> חי יהוה וב[רוך	]	11
[	ינתן נקמות לי ומרדד עמים תחחנ[ני]	]	12
[	מאיש חס[ים] תצרני <sup>50</sup> על כן אודך]	]	13
[	ישועת מלכו ועושה חסד למשוחו לד[ויד	]	14
[	<i>vacat</i> <sup>23:1</sup> ואלה הַ בְּרִי דויד האחר[ונים]	]	15
[	הגבר הקים אל משיח [אלו]ת הי יע[קב	]	16
[	דבר בי ומלחו על לשונ[י]	]	17
[	באדם [צדי]ק משל ]	]	18
[	ממ]שר כד[שא	]	19
[	ערוכ]ה בכל [תשמורה	]	20
[	[ ובליע]ל	]	21

## 2 Sam 22:30-23:6 can be reconstructed as follows:

[	יגיה חושכי <sup>30</sup> כי בכ] הַ אֲרָ[ן] יָ	[גודד ובאלהי אדלג שור <sup>31</sup> האל תמים דרכו ]	1
[	[אמרת יהוה צרופ]ה מג הוא [לכל חסים בו <sup>32</sup> כי מי אל מבלעדי יהוה ומי צור	]	2
[	[זולתי אלהינו <sup>33</sup> ה]אֵל מאורני ח[יל ויתן תמים דרכי <sup>34</sup> משוה רגלי כאילות ועל	]	3

- 4 [ב]מותי יעמדנו<sup>35</sup> מלמד ידי למ[ל]חמה ונ[ח]ת קשת נחושה וזעתי<sup>36</sup> וחתן לי מגן]  
ולא מ[ע]דו קרסלי]
- 5 ישעך ועזרתך תרבני<sup>37</sup> תר[ח]ן ב צעדי ול[א] עמדו הקמים עלי<sup>38</sup> ארדף איבי ]  
6 ואשמידם ולוא אשוב עד כלותם<sup>39</sup> אמח[צ]ם ולא יקומון ויפלו חחת רגלי ]  
7 [ו]תאורני חיל למלחמה ותכרע קמי תח[ת]ני<sup>41</sup> ויאבי נתתה לי ערף משנאי]  
8 אצמיתם]<sup>42</sup> [שועו ו] אין מושיע אל יהוה ו[ל]וא ענם<sup>43</sup> ואשחקם כעפר על ]  
9 פני ארח [כ] פִּישׁ חוֹצֵ[ו]ת ארקעם<sup>44</sup> ותפלִּטֵ[נ]י מרבי עמים חשימי לראש ]  
10 גויים עם לא ידעתי [י] עבדני<sup>45</sup> לשמ[ו]ע און ישמעו לי<sup>46</sup> בני נכר יכחוש לי ]  
11 לא יחגרו ממסרותם<sup>47</sup> חי יהוה וב[ר]וך צורי וירום אלהי ישעי<sup>48</sup> האל ]  
12 [ת]תן נקמות לי ומרדד עמים תחונ[י]<sup>49</sup> ומוציאי מאיבי ומקמי תרוממי ]  
13 מאיש חמ[ס]ים [ת]צרני<sup>50</sup> על כֵּן אודך [ב]גויים יהוה לשמך אומר<sup>51</sup> מגדיל ]  
14 ישועת מלכו ועושה חסד למשיחו לד[ו]יד וזרעו עד עולם *vacat* ]  
15 *vacat*<sup>23.1</sup> ואלה דְּבָרֵי דוֹיד האחר[ו]נים נאם דוֹיד בן ישי ונאם ]  
16 הגבר הקים אל משיח [אלו]הי יעִקב ונעים וזרות ישראל רִוּחַ יהוה ]  
17 דבר בי ומלחו על לשונ[י]<sup>3</sup> אמר אלהי ישראל לי דבר צור ישראל משל ]  
18 באדם [צדי]ק משל [ב]יראת אלהים<sup>4</sup> וכאור בקר יורח שמש בקר ]  
19 [לא עבות מנגה ממ]טר כד[ש]א מארץ<sup>5</sup> כי לא כן ביחי עם אל כי ברית ]  
20 [עולם שם לי ערוכה] בכל ו[ש]מורה כי כל ישעי וכול ]  
21 [חפץ כי לא יצמיה] ובליע[ל] כקוץ מגד כלהם כי לא ביד יקחו ]

## Notes on Readings

L. 2-4 (22:32/33) 4QSam<sup>a</sup> cannot hold the full reading of מ.

L. 4-5 Four characters appear between lines 4 and 5, reading ולא. The ink of these four is of a lighter shade than other characters on the fragment; the four characters are smaller as well.

L. 9 (22:43) The apparatus of BHS erroneously reads לפני for the reading of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, but a space precedes the *pe*.

L. 13 (22:49) McCarter<sup>13</sup> reads תצרני rather than תצרני, but computer-enhanced photos reveal that the visible foot belongs to a *taw* and not a *nun*.

L. 14-15 (22:51-23:1) A *vacat* exists at the end of the Royal Song on line 14, and a second *vacat* appears at the beginning of line 15.

## Variants

22:33 (3) ש מ עווי ] ס ט ש 18:33 ש ש ש המאורני; ש מאורני

A preference for one of these variant readings is difficult to determine, although the attached article in Ps 18 is suspect.<sup>14</sup> 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and מ may represent different traditions, with a third tradition found in Hab 3:19. 4QSam<sup>a</sup> reads "this God girds me with strength," anticipating a parallel reading in verse 40,

<sup>13</sup> McCarter, P. Kyle, Jr. *II Samuel. A New Translation With Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (AB 9; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984) 463.

<sup>14</sup> Cross and Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18," 152, n. 73.

ותאורני חיל (cf. ותאורני חיל מ). מ has "this God is my powerful refuge." If חיל is emended to read וחילי, based on corresponding words in Hab 3:19 (as suggested by Cross and Freedman), then מ would have האל מעוזי וחילי, "This God is my fortress and my army."

22:36 (5) omit ] שׁוּט וּמִינֶךָ הַסַּעֲדָנִי ] שׁוּט 18:36

Critics have paid much attention to the plus in Psalms. McCarter<sup>15</sup> prefers the shorter text of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, מ, ש, against Ulrich (the plus was "lost from Samuel through haplography"),<sup>16</sup> Cross and Freedman ("this colon has accidentally dropped out of Samuel"),<sup>17</sup> and Thenius ("lost from our version").<sup>18</sup> Kraus sees the expression of Ps as an explicatory plus that upsets the 3 + 3 meter.<sup>19</sup> B. Couroyer's engaging emendation of Ps 18:36b, which reads "Ta droite assiste mon épée,"<sup>20</sup> may be correct, but it clearly has no support from 4QSam<sup>a</sup>.

22:36 (5) שׁוּט מִינֶךָ הַסַּעֲדָנִי ] שׁוּט מִינֶךָ הַסַּעֲדָנִי 18:36

The second person suffix, belonging to all three Hebrew witnesses, is the favored reading.

22:36 (5) שׁוּט מִינֶךָ הַסַּעֲדָנִי ] שׁוּט מִינֶךָ הַסַּעֲדָנִי 18:36

Although the reading of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> stands nonaligned to other witnesses, it finds support from one textual critic, as Wellhausen conjectured in his commentary on Ps 18:36 that once read וענתך. Barthélemy sees 4QSam<sup>a</sup>'s reading as a simplification, citing other places where שׁוּט parallels ענה in Psalms (vs. 42, Ps 60:7, and 118:21).<sup>21</sup>

22:37 (5) שׁוּט מִינֶךָ הַסַּעֲדָנִי ] שׁוּט מִינֶךָ הַסַּעֲדָנִי 18:36

Both מ and Ps, with the inclusion of חחתי, have a 3 + 3 metrical arrangement, a common pattern in Hebrew poetry.<sup>23</sup> 4QSam<sup>a</sup>'s omission of the preposition and suffix presents a 3+2 pattern, also attested in Hebrew poetry. Of all the wit-

<sup>15</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 460.

<sup>16</sup> Ulrich, Eugene C. *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula: Scholars Press) 140.

<sup>17</sup> Cross and Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18," 154, n. 82.

<sup>18</sup> Thenius, Otto. *Die Bücher Samuels*. (2nd ed: Leipzig)

<sup>19</sup> Kraus, *Psalms 1-59 A Commentary*, 256-57.

<sup>20</sup> Couroyer attempts to restore the metrical scheme of Ps 18:36b while at the same time removing the ambiguous terms in "Ta droite assiste mon épée," *RB* 93 (1986) 38-47.

<sup>21</sup> Wellhausen, *The Book of Psalms*, 171.

<sup>22</sup> Dominique Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l'Ancien Testament* (OBO 50/1; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982) 1. 307.

<sup>23</sup> Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques* (JSOTSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1984) 98.

nesses, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> alone omits *חחתי*, perhaps as a result of a scribal error, for the same expression is found on the fragment directly two lines below. *חחתי* (with the *nun*) appears three times in the Hebrew Bible, but only in this Royal Psalm (here and in vv. 40 and 48). The form *חחתי*, minus the *nun*, is well attested in the Bible.

- 22:38 (6) *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* 18:38  
 Ps stands alone against all traditions with its root נשג “to overtake,” perhaps influenced by Exod 15:9. 4QSam<sup>a</sup>’s reading of *שש* (and I destroyed them) equates with *שש*, except for the attached conjunction, with which it parallels Ps. Although the verb נשג often follows *ררף* (see Exod 15:9),<sup>24</sup> the reading of *שש* offers the preferred reading, for *שמד* parallels *כלה* in this synonymous parallelism.
- 22:39 (6) *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* 18:39 *שש*<sup>L</sup>  
*שש*, with its duplication of the verbs *ואכלם* and *ואכלם* (one verb closes v. 38 and the other opens v. 39) exhibits an example of ditto-graphy, but compare McCarter.<sup>25</sup> The reading of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> agrees approximately with the verb in the Old Greek, but precisely with the verbal tense of *שש*.<sup>26</sup> Note that 4QSam<sup>a</sup>’s lack of the *waw* conjunction on the expression *אמחצם* agrees with Ps 18:39, against *שש*.
- 22:40 (7) *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* 18:40  
*שש*’s reading may indicate a scribal error, an orthographic deviation; or perhaps a scribe omitted the *’alep* to reflect the spoken form (*tazreni*), an adjustment that achieves metrical harmony in the bicolon (cf. *ta’azzireni*).
- 22:40 (7) *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* *שש* 18:40  
 The conjunction “and” that begins the cola in this Royal Song did not exist in all instances exist when it was composed; many were subsequently introduced in all three Hebrew witnesses in a seemingly indiscriminate manner by scribes/tradents/copyists, perhaps to conform to prosaic sections of the Bible. A study conducted almost half a century ago (near the time of the discovery of Qumran Cave 4) revealed that “for II Sam 22, out of a total of 106 cola, 47 begin with the conjunction; for Ps 18, with 107 cola, 47 likewise begin with the conjunction. The two texts differ, however, in 16 instances. There are eight cases in which Ps 18 reads the conjunction, while II Sam omits it; in the other eight cases, the reverse is true.”<sup>27</sup> A list of these variant readings of the *waw* in

<sup>24</sup> On this, see Georg Schmuttermayr, *Psalm 18 und 2 Samuel 22: Studien zu einem Doppeltext* (SANT 25; München: Kösel-Verlag, 1971), 156, n. 1.

<sup>25</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 460.

<sup>26</sup> See Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, 109.

<sup>27</sup> Cross and Freedman, “A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18,” 126-27.

the Royal Song, along with a statement of significance, may be seen in the study of Cross and Freedman.<sup>28</sup>

In the 4QSam<sup>a</sup> fragment the placement of the *waw* varies as follows: In two instances (vv. 38, 46), ׀ and Ps have the *waw* where 4QSam<sup>a</sup> omits it; in two instances (vv. 39, 41) ׀ has the *waw* where Ps and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> omit it; in one instance (v 44) ׀ and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> have the *waw* where Ps omits it. In short, ׀ and/or Ps have the *waw* in four instances where 4QSam<sup>a</sup> omits it and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has the *waw* once where Ps omits it; or, in these five instances where the placement of the *waw* varies, ׀ and/or Ps have it four times and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has it once. These numbers are significant because only 20% of the Royal Song is extant on the 4QSam<sup>a</sup> fragment (approximately 77 words of a total of 377 that compose the Royal Song, as presented in 2 Sam 22).

22:41 (8) ׀ ואצמיה] ׀ ] ׀ 18:41 ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀

For the variance of the *waw*, see comments on 22:40.

22:42 (8) אל ׀] על ׀ 18:42

This may be a simple interchange of prepositions, a common occurrence between 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and ׀; or, as Cross and Freedman suggest, Ps 18:42 once read ל, the ‘*ayin* added by ditto-graphy, for ‘*ayin* is the final letter of the preceding word.<sup>29</sup> Dahood suggests that על is an apocopation of עליון, thus reading “Most High Lord” (see Ps 7:18), based on his consideration of Ps. 7:11, where it reads על אלהים. He writes that “the redactor of II Sam xxi did not understand the meaning of ‘*al* which he altered to the preposition ‘*el*.”<sup>30</sup> Dahood’s suggestion may somehow be connected to the fact that ׀<sup>l</sup> misreads אל as God, thus *theos kurios*. A look at the metrical scheme of this colon does not assist us choosing a preference between אל or על.

22:43 (9) ב׀ ׀ ארץ] ׀ 18:43 ׀ ׀ ׀ על פני רוח; על] פני ארח

BHS critical apparatus is incorrect in its rendering of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> as [ל] פני ארח. The vacant space immediately before the *pe* of פני is clearly distinguishable at the fragment’s righthand margin.

The three Hebrew witnesses provide three variant readings in the second half of the colon. From the standpoint of poetic meter, ׀’s reading is most suitable, presenting a 3 x 3 metrical pattern for the couplet (that is, with the omittance of the final word of the verse; on this, see below), although the term ארץ presents the *lectio facillior* when weighed against the expressions

<sup>28</sup> Cross and Freedman, “A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18,” 163-168.

<sup>29</sup> Cross and Freedman, “A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18,” 155, n. 97.

<sup>30</sup> M. Dahood, *Psalms I. 1-50* (AB 16; Garden City: Double Day, 1975) 1:117.



from the other two Hebrew witnesses. From the outlook of the parallel word pairs in the first colon of this couplet, either ארץ or ארח (translated as “way,”<sup>31</sup> Cf. Isa 41:3) serves well as a poetic synonym for חוצות (streets). (See Isa 51:23 where ארץ and חוץ are used as word pairs.)

It is noteworthy that Driver revocalizes *nuah* (wind) to read *rewah*, reading “square,” thus creating a parallel to *huzot*. He cites two other places where he perceives the Masoretes incorrectly vocalized *nuah* in the stead of *rewah*, at Ps 18:11 and again in Job 41:8.<sup>32</sup>

- 22:43 (9) שמת אריקם; ט ט מ ארקם ארקעם ] ארקעם 18:43  
The three Hebrew variants have comparable appearances – each has an <sup>ʾ</sup>*alep*, *resh* or *dalet*, *qof*, and final *mem*. The 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and Ps texts each have an additional letter – <sup>ʾ</sup>*ayin* or *yod*. These graphically similar terms may have once originated from a single word, passed down orally and eventually recorded and understood as three different roots: אריקם from רוקק, ריק, רוקק,<sup>33</sup> ארקעם from רקע,<sup>34</sup> and ארקם from דקק.<sup>35</sup> The Greek terms are difficult to equate to the Hebrew and can only be approximated.<sup>36</sup>

It appears that מ's two words for the single term in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and Ps are a dittography with graphic confusion, writing *resh* for *dalet*. Hence, ארקם should be omitted, and of the two terms that remain (אריקם and ארקעם), the latter would serve best as the parallel for ואשחקם that appears in the first half of this couplet.

- 22:44 (9) שמת תפלטי ] מ ותפלטיני 18:44  
On the variance of the conjunction *and*, see 22:40 above.
- 22:45 (10) מ בני נכר . . . ישמעו לי ] שמת לשב[ת]ע . . . יכחשו לי 18:45  
For the word order of the bicolon, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> equals Ps against מ. The word order of מ, perhaps to be preferred, introduces the psychological and grammatical subject (which here coincide), בני נכר, in the first colon rather than the second.
- 22:46 (11) שמת מ בני נכר יבלי ] לא 18:45; cf. 5  
Much textual activity has occurred in vv. 45-46, resulting in some commotion in the three Hebrew witnesses (see the Variants and Reconstructed Variants). For these verses מ reads:

<sup>31</sup> Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1994-) 1:87.

<sup>32</sup> Samuel R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913) 107, 117.

<sup>33</sup> HALOT, 3:1228.

<sup>34</sup> HALOT, 3:1292.

<sup>35</sup> HALOT, 1:229.

<sup>36</sup> See Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, 104.

בני נכר יכחשו לי  
 לשמוע און ישמעו לי  
 בני נכר יבלו  
 ויחגרו ממסגרותם

while וַיִּחַגְרוּ has:  
 לשמוע און ישמעו לי  
 בני נכר יכחשו לי  
 בני נכר יבלו  
 ויחגרו ממסגרותיהם

One partial word (לשמ[וע]) and three complete words (לא יחגרו) belonging to vv. 45-46 remain on the leather of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, making an exact reconstruction difficult. The word order of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> follows Ps – both texts begin with לשמוע, versus וַיִּחַגְרוּ, which begins the second colon with the same term. There is not sufficient space on the leather to hold all the text belonging to וַיִּחַגְרוּ and Ps. A careful calculation of the characters on lines 10 and 11 suggests that the phrase בני נכר יבלו (or the phrase (בני נכר יכחשו לי) is missing from 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, which evidently dropped out due to haplography, בני נכר . . . בני נכר. Subsequent to the haplographic omission a later copyist attempted to make sense of the strange reading of לי יכחשו לי by writing לא יכחשו לי לא יכחשו לי. Thus 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is reconstructed as

לשמוע און ישמעו לי  
 בני נכר יכחשו לי  
 לא יחגרו ממסרותם

If the omitted phrase בני נכר יבלו is placed in the text of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and לא is revised to לי, then 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is emended as follows (with Cross and Freedman; but cf. Ulrich; McCarter<sup>37</sup>):

לשמוע און ישמעו לי  
 בני נכר יכחשו לי  
 בני נכר יבלו לי  
 ויחגרו ממסרותם

22:46 (11) וַיִּחַגְרוּ וַיִּחַרְגוּ ] וַיִּחַגְרוּ (ויחגרו) יחגרו 18:46

Simple metathesis between the *resh* and *gimmel* caused the variant reading, but which is the correct reading? Based on a corresponding expression in Mic 7:17 (ירגזו ממסגרותיהם), the phrase ויחגרו/ויחרגו/יחגרו may best be emended to read יחרדו. The *waw* conjunction is a late addition.

<sup>37</sup> Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, 109-111; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 462.

- 22:46 (11) מִמְסַרְוֹתָם [לֹא מִמְסַרְוֹתָם] 18:46; cf. מִסַּר  
The meaning of the text is obscure with either variant, מִסַּר or  
מִסַּר. Cf. Mic 7:17.
- 22:48 (12) מִן הַתֵּן [ הַתֵּן ] 18:48 מִן  
4QSam<sup>a</sup>, with its lack of the article, preserves the older form.
- 22:48 (12) מִן וּמִרִיד [ וּמִרִיד ] 18:48 מִן  
The three variant readings of the Hebrew witnesses reflect  
three root traditions: מִרִיד from מִרִיד,<sup>38</sup> מִרִיד from מִרִיד, and  
מִרִיד from מִרִיד. Of the three, מִרִיד, meaning “to cause to fall  
down” or “to subjugate” is *lectio facilior*. מִרִיד may be an as-  
cendant of מִרִיד, the latter becoming such due to graphic  
confusion between the *yod* and the *dalet*. The reading of Ps  
follows other occurrences of the phrase וּדְבַר עֲמִים תַּחֲתִי (see Ps  
47:4; 144:2). It is difficult here to determine the Vorlage of  
the Greek witnesses.<sup>39</sup>
- 22:48 (12) מִן תַּחֲתִי [ מִן תַּחֲתִי ] 18:48  
See 22:37 for the discussion of these variants.
- 22:49 (13) מִן חֲמִס [ מִן חֲמִס ] 18:49 מִן  
Proper attention to space reveals that 4QSam<sup>a</sup>'s reading is  
plural.
- 22:49 (13) מִן תַּצִּילֵנִי [ לֹא תַצִּילֵנִי ] 18:49 מִן  
Both readings are well attested in Hebrew poetry.

#### Reconstructed Variants

- 22:32 (3) מִן אֱלֹהִים [ מִן אֱלִי ] 18:32  
4QSam<sup>a</sup> is reconstructed after מִן, due to space considerations.
- 22:32 (3) מִן מְבַלְעֵרֹו [ מִן מְבַלְעֵרֹו ] 18:32 מִן  
Did a copyist of Ps wish to avoid repetition (see Thenius)?
- 22:33 (3) מִן וַיַּחַר [ מִן וַיַּחַר ] 18:33 מִן  
The reading מִן וַיַּחַר in מִן may be based on the root letters מַחַר or  
תַּחַר, probably the former (“and he sets free perfectly my  
course;” cf. Ps 105:20; 146:7); but cf. Thenius, who proposes  
מַחַר as the root letters for this verb. Either way מִן presents the  
*lectio difficilior*. Ps 18:33 has וַיַּחַר, a reading identical to מִן except  
for the *nun* termination, “and he makes my course perfect.”
- 22:33 (3) מִן דְּרָכֵי [ מִן דְּרָכֵי ] 18:33 מִן  
22:34 (3) מִן רַגְלֵי [ מִן רַגְלֵי ] 18:34 מִן  
The expression מִן רַגְלֵי with its third masculine singular suffix  
may be a harmonization with the identical suffix attached to  
מִן in verse 33. רַגְלֵי is the preferred reading, based on מִן, Ps  
18:34, and a parallel reading in Hab 3:19. Note also the

<sup>38</sup> HALOT, 3:1189.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, 91; and Edward D Herbert, *Reconstructing Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Method Applied to the Reconstruction of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>* (STDJ 22; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 190.

first person attachments found in subsequent verses (see esp. vv. 35-41). 2 Sam 22:34 then reads, "Who makes my feet like the hart, and on high places makes me to stand."

22:37 (4) [ולא מן]עדרו קרסלי] omit וזו Ps 18:37

Four superscripted characters are visible between lines four and five; the first three characters read ולא, followed by a space, and the fourth character may have been a *mem*, although this identification is not certain. This phrase appears to read ולא מן]עדרו קרסלי, which is found in וזו Ps as the second line of a bicolon, following צערי החתי. See Ulrich for a complete discussion.<sup>40</sup> See also the following comment.

22:37 (5) שזו וזו ולא מעדו קרסלי ] ול[א עמדו הקמים עלי] Ps 18:37 s

The words that are expected to emerge in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> after the terms תרחיב צערי החתי, based on the reading of both וזו and Ps, likely appeared in interlinear form on the leather between lines 4 and 5 (see comment immediately above). Here, rather, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is reconstructed according to  $\sigma^L$  (καὶ οὐχ ἔπεισε τὸν με οὐ σπεναντῖου), which presents a plus that is not attested in the other witnesses. Hence, v. 37 of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> reads:

תרחיב צערי  
ולא מן]עדרו קרסלי  
ולא עמדו הקמים עלי

Two questions should be posed before concluding the discussion of this verse. Should the interlinear reading of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (ולא מן]עדרו קרסלי, see above) be expanded to read ולא מן]עדרו קרסלי, after  $\sigma^L$ ? And do  $\sigma^L$  and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> have a conflated text where ולא מעדו קרסלי through error became ולא עמדו קמים לי [Ulrich, p. 101 reads קמי rather than קמים, which makes the graphic similarities between the two expressions even more complete], and later a copyist corrected the text to include both expressions?

22:38 (5) וזו אררפה ] שזו [אררפה] Ps 18:38

Either variant is workable, given the space requirements.

22:39 (6) שזו וזו יכלו קום ] וזו [יקומון] Ps 18:39 s  $\sigma$

4QSam<sup>a</sup> is reconstructed with יקומון for metrical considerations.<sup>41</sup>

22:40 (7) שזו החתי ] וזו הח[תני] Ps 18:40

The Psalms reading has been "modernized."

22:41 (7) וזו תחה ] שזו [נתחה] Ps 18:41

וזו Samuel is a *hapax legomenon* and presumably once shared the reading of Ps; or the term once read תחה and lost its initial *yod*

<sup>40</sup> Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, 101-102.

<sup>41</sup> See Cross and Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18," 154, n. 89.

through haplography (as suggested by Cross and Freedman<sup>42</sup>). Wilfred Watson sees an example of “shared consonants” here, writing that “Ps 18,41 has נחזה suggesting a *qtl* form in 2 Sm, the *yodh* borrowed from foregoing ואיבי.”<sup>43</sup>

22:41 (8) מ משנאי ואצמיהם ] משנאי אצמיהם [ 18:41 שן ומשנאי אצמיהם ;  
This is another example of an indiscriminate placement of the *waw*. See above Variants, 22:40.

22:42 (8) שן ישעו ] ט ש ט שן ישעו ]  
The Masorettes vocalized י שעו to read “they looked,” perhaps misreading the root שוע (to cry out) for שעה. The parallel verb of the couplet (ענה) usually accompanies שיע rather than שעה, thus reading “They cried out . . . he answered them not.”

22:44 (9) שן עמי ] ב עמי [ 18:44 שן עמי ;  
Space considerations permit a reconstruction of the plural, agreeing with the parallel עמי. Cf. Ps 144:2 where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> מ<sup>11</sup> reads עמי against עמי, the reading of מ ש.<sup>44</sup>

22:44 (9) שן השמרני ] שן 18:44 שן [ 18:44 שן [השמני]  
Graphic similarity may explain the variants (*resh* for *yod* or vice versa), followed by metathesis.

22:47 (11) שן אלהי צור ] שן 18:47 שן [ אלהי ]  
צור in מ is a reminiscence of צורי in the preceding colon.

22:49 (12) שן מפלטי ] מן 18:49 שן מפלטי ;  
פלטי and הפלטי are synonymous readings.<sup>45</sup>

22:49 (12) שן אפ מן קמי ] שן 18:49 ; cf. שן 18:49 [ומקמי]  
שן interprets אפ as “wrath,” i.e., “wrath of my enemies,” and apparently misreads its *Vorlage* of מקמי to read ממקמי. The interjection of Ps 18:49 is omitted from מ.

22:50 (13) שן יהוה בנוים ] שן 18:50 שן [בנויים יהוה]  
Metrical considerations encourage an arrangement where בנויים appears before the Divine Name, rather than after, hence:

על כן אורך בנויים  
יהוה שמך אמר

22:50 (13) שן אומר ] שן 18:50 שן אומר [אמר]  
שן regularly parallels אומר (see Ps 7:18; 57:10; 92:2). Could שן have misunderstood its *Vorlage* by reading אומר?

22:51 (13) שן מגרול ] שן 18:51 שן [מגרול]  
4QSam<sup>a</sup> is reconstructed after Ps 18:51 and מקטב, reading a verb rather than a noun.

<sup>42</sup> Cross and Freedman, “A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18,” 154-55, n. 91.

<sup>43</sup> Wilfred Watson, “Shared Consonants in Northwest Semitic,” *Bib* 50 (1969) 528.

<sup>44</sup> See Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, 78.

<sup>45</sup> Shemaryahu Talmon, “Synonymous Readings in the Textual Traditions of the Old Testament,” *Studies in the Bible* (ScrHier 8; ed. Chaim Rabin; Jerusalem: Magnes, Hebrew University, 1961) 357.

## LES PSAUMES DAVIDIQUES DU RITUEL D'EXORCISME (11Q11)

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Cette note voudrait montrer qu'il est possible de donner une réponse positive à la question de l'attribution davidique du rouleau 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>. Un déchiffrement éprouvé et une restauration raisonnée des lacunes devraient aider à venir à bout de quelques difficultés et à s'assurer de l'attribution davidique d'au moins trois des quatre Psau-  
mes.

Suite aux éditions préliminaires de Van der Ploeg en 1965 et 1971,<sup>1</sup> nous avons essayé à plusieurs reprises et spécialement à l'occasion d'un congrès pour les 40 ans et du congrès qumranien à Groningen de tirer quelque profit d'une bande de manuscrit de la grotte 11 restée sans interprétation cohérente.<sup>2</sup> Depuis lors vient de paraître l'édition *princeps* par les soins de García Martínez, Tigchelaar et Van der Woude, ce dont nous leur sommes tous reconnaissants.<sup>3</sup>

Van der Ploeg le premier avait, avec quelque hésitation, suggéré d'identifier les compositions "apocryphes" de ce rouleau avec les quatre chants de David mentionnés en 11QPs<sup>a</sup> 27:9-10 (11Q5): *wšyr lgn l hpgwšym rb'h* "et des cantiques à cantiler sur les possédés: qua-

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<sup>1</sup> J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "Le Psaume XCI dans une recension de Qumrân," *RB* 72 (1965) 210-217, du même, "Un petit rouleau de psaumes apocryphes (11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>)," dans *Tradition und Glaube. Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt. Festgabe für Karl Georg Kuhn* (eds. G. Jeremias, H. W. Kuhn, H. Stegemann; Göttingen 1971) 128-139.

<sup>2</sup> (Dans l'ordre de rédaction) E. Puech, "Les deux derniers psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> IV 4-V 14," dans *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (eds. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 64-89; du même, "11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>: un rituel d'exorcismes. Essai de reconstruction," *RevQ* 14 (1990) 377-408; du même, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien*, II (Études Bibliques NS 22; Paris: Gabalda, 1993) 617-26.

<sup>3</sup> F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar and A. S. van der Woude, incorporating earlier editions by J. P. M. van der Ploeg with a contribution by E. Herbert, *Qumran Cave 11 - II. 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) 181-205.

tre." Nous l'avions suivi avec beaucoup plus d'assurance grâce à un essai de restauration des cinq colonnes du manuscrit et du fragment A, et la conclusion paraissait largement acceptée. Mais les éditeurs, quoique admettant cette possibilité, sont beaucoup plus réticents, faisant valoir, outre l'attribution de l'avant-dernier Psaume du rouleau "à David" (5:4 et peut-être encore le Ps 91/90 avec les LXX), la grande incertitude au sujet du psaume précédent à attribuer peut-être à Salomon mentionné en 2:2 et au sujet du nombre de psaumes d'un rouleau fort endommagé.<sup>4</sup> Est-il possible de lever le doute des éditeurs ? Pour cela, il importe de lire très attentivement les restes préservés et de considérer leur contenu.

Dans l'ensemble, les éditeurs ont suivi de près les propositions que nous avons avancées, çà et là ils ont proposé des améliorations mais en d'autres endroits leurs propositions sont discutables. Nous voudrions passer en revue ces passages et proposer quelques amendements afin de mieux comprendre ces textes et le rouleau en général. Les éditeurs n'ont pas suivi la numérotation des colonnes du premier éditeur, van der Ploeg, mais ont incorporé le fragment A comme colonne I, décalant l'ensemble d'une colonne. On se demande alors pourquoi ils ne sont pas allés jusqu'au bout en incorporant aussi les deux autres fragments, frgs. 1 et 2, qui, comme le fragment A, portent des réglures et doivent appartenir a priori à une même feuille de cuir, différente de l'autre feuille sans réglures ou correspondances de lignes d'une colonne à l'autre. Dans ces remarques, nous commencerons par le dernier psaume, le mieux conservé, col. 6:3b à 13 = Ps 91.

### *Le Psaume davidique (Ps 91)*

#### Col. 6

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| [לדויד יושב] בסתר [עליון בצל שדי]                                | 3  |
| [יתלונן] והאומר [ליהוה מחסין] ומצודתני אלוהי [מבטח] [אבטח] ובו   | 4  |
| 5 [כי הוא] יצילך [מןפח יקו]ש מדבר הנותן [בואברתו יסך]ן לך [וזתחת | 5  |
| 6 [כנפו] תשכון חסדנו [עוליד צנה] וסוחרה אמתו סלה לוא תירא        | 6  |
| 7 מפחד לילה מחץ יעוף יומם מקטב ישוד [צ]הרים מדבר [בא]פל          | 7  |
| 8 יהלך יפול מצדך אלף [ור]בבה [מ]מינד אלודך [לוא יגע רקן תבין]ט   | 8  |
| 9 [בעינין] ותרא[ה שלו]ת[ם] רשעים [קר]את מחנסך [שמת] מחמדון [לוא] | 9  |
| 10 תראנה בך רע [ולוא יגע] נגע באה[ליך] כני מלאכיו [יצוה] לך      | 10 |
| 11 לשומרך בדרכיך על כפיסן ישאונך פון תגוף בא[בן] רגלך על         | 11 |

<sup>4</sup> Idem, p. 183.

פתון ואפעה תד[רוך תרמזוס כפיר ו]תנין [כי בי ח]שקתה [ואפל[ך]	12
[ ] [ ] vacat [ ] תואשנבך וא[ר]אך בישועתי סלה [ ]	13
vac]at סלה [ ] ויענו אמן אמן [ ]	14

## Traduction

[De David.

Qui demeure] à l'abri [d'Elyon,  
à l'omb]re du Puissant <sup>4</sup> [il gîte.]

Lui qui dit [à Yahvé: "Mon refuge] et [ma] forteresse,  
[mon Dieu,] la sécurité en qui [je me fie.]"

<sup>5</sup> [Car ]lui te délivrera du [filet de l'oïse]leur,  
d'un accident désas]treux.

De] son pennage il [te] couvrira  
et sous <sup>6</sup> ses [aile]s tu habiteras.

[Son] amour [est pou]r toi une protection  
et un bouclier sa vérité. *Selah*

Tu ne craindras pas <sup>7</sup> l'effroi de la nuit,  
la flèche qui vole le jour,  
le fléau qui dévaste en [plein] midi,  
la peste qui marche <sup>8</sup> [dans l'obs]curité.

Qu'il en tombe mille à ton côté  
ou dix [mille à] ta [d]roite,  
vers [toi il n]e peut frapper.

[Regar]de seulement <sup>9</sup> avec tes yeux,  
[et tu verra]s la récompense [des] méchant[s.]

Tu as [inv]oqué [ton ]ab[ri],  
tu as [recher]ché son délice.

Tu <sup>10</sup> [ne] peux voi[r *quant à toi* le malheur,  
et le coup] ne peut frapper [dans] tes [ten]tes.

Ca[r] il a commandé pour toi [à ses anges]  
<sup>11</sup> de [te] gard[er dans] tes [chemins.]

Sur les mains [ils] te [porteront]  
de peur que [ton] pied ne [heurte une pi]erre.  
[Sur] <sup>12</sup> la vipère [et l'aspic tu ma]rcheras,  
tu piéti[ne]ras [le lionceau] et le dragon.

[Car à moi] tu t'es [at]taché  
et [je te sauverai,]

<sup>13</sup> et [je t'exalterai]

et je] te [ferai vo]ir [mon] salu[t. *Selah*

<sup>14</sup> Et [ils] répon[dront: Amen, amen.] *Selah*

– A la l. 4 (v. 2) une lecture *mb!hy* ne se pose même pas et *mb!h* [ est assuré.

– A la l. 6 (v. 4), les éditeurs proposent un *vacat* après *slh*, mais des



intervalles plus grands se retrouvent à la ligne suivante et dans la suite.

– A la l. 9 (v. 9), après hésitation, *šlw* a été corrigé en *šlum* et non en *šlw<m>t* du Texte Hébreu qui est donc original. Ensuite les éditeurs ne proposent rien du verbe avant *mḥmdw* dont est conservé le *taw* et qui est parallèle à *qr't mḥ/sk*. Le Texte Hébreu porte *'lywn šmt m'wnk*. Il semble possible de lire *š]mt mḥmdw* : “tu as placé/ recherché son délice,” comp. 1 R 20:6 *whyh kl mḥmd 'ynyk yšymw bydm wlqḥw* et mieux encore Ez 24:16 et 25 avec *lqh* pour une image semblable.

– A la l. 10 (v. 10) les auteurs proposent *lw'] / tr'[h r'h w]lw'* au lieu de notre *lw'] / tr'[h bk r' w]lw'* invoquant que le pronom *bk* est difficile et non nécessaire. On peut le disputer puisque l'espace ne s'y oppose pas ainsi que le parallélisme *b'h]lyk* et le TM *l' t'nh 'lyk r'h*, soit “tu ne peux voir [quant à toi] le malheur et ]...” paraît tout à fait possible.

– Les ll. 12-13 font toujours difficulté à cause des trous du cuir et des restaurations. Les éditeurs nous ont suivi à l'exception du *waw/ 'p*, l. 13. Mais au lieu de *[ byhwḥ h]šqth w]ypltk*, nous préférierions maintenant *[ ky by h]šqth* sur le modèle du TH *ky by ḥšq*,<sup>5</sup> suivi de *w]pltk* “et je te sauverai.” Si *[ ' ]p* n'est pas possible (l. 13), comprendre *w]šgbk w'r]k byšw' [ty* “et [je t'exalterai et je] te[ ferai v]oir [mon] salut,” à la première personne au lieu de la troisième personne. Cette lecture a l'avantage de respecter au maximum le TH et de former inclusion avec la première personne du v. 2: la réponse de Dieu à la première personne renvoie à l'appel/ confession du fidèle “mon refuge, ma forteresse.”

– Enfin l. 3, l'espace favorise la lecture *[ ldwyd ...*, avec le grec, pour en faire un psaume davidique.

*Le Psaume davidique (avant dernier Psaume): col. 5:4 – 6:3a*

Col. 5

4 לדוד עַל פְּנוֹעַ לְחַשׁ בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה קָרָא בְכוּלָּ עַת  
5 אֵל הַשְּׁמַיִם אֲשֶׁר זָיְבֹא אֵלָיְךָ בְּלִינְעַל וְאַמְרַתָּה אֵלַי  
6 מִי אַתָּה [אֲרוּר מֵאָדָם וּמוֹרַע הַקְּרוּשִׁים פִּנְךָ פָּנִי  
7 [שָׁנוּ וְקִרְנִי קִרְנֵי חַלְתָּם חוֹשֵׁךְ אַתָּה וְלֹא אִיר  
8 [עוֹל וְלֹא צַדִּיקָתְךָ וְבִיד] שֶׁר הַצְּבָא יְהוָה [יֵאסְרוֹךְ  
9 [בְּשֶׁאֵוֹל תַּחְתִּית [וְיִסְגֹּר דְּלַחִי נְחוֹשֶׁת בְּנֵאֱלֹה לְוָא  
10 [תִּרְאֶה] אִיר וְלֹאן תֵּאִיר לְךָ הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר יִזְרַח

<sup>5</sup> Contrairement à van der Ploeg, *cit.*, 215, l'espace n'est pas trop grand pour *ky by*, et il n'y a pas de place pour *ky byhwḥ*, voir Puech 1992, 77.

- 11 על הצדיק להאיר את פניו ואמרתה הנלוא מלאך  
 12 עם הצדיק לבואן לשומריו כי הרע לו שנפן ויצילהו  
 13 רוח אמת מחושך אשר הצדקה לון לקום במשפט/במס(ת)  
 14 צדיקים ילון וארזיב רוח המשטמה במולנאך התקיף ויהוה יכה

## Col. 6

- 1 [המכה ה]עגולה הוואת לאבין אה השד ואת [הלן ילית ואת הת]נין  
 2 [ביד גבור]תן כי נדבי אמתו ב[יחנה החזיקו ו]יהתה יאביד ל[עולם  
 3 [את כול [בני בל]יעל אמן אמן סלהן

## Traduction

<sup>4</sup>De David. S[ur un possédé. In]cantation au nom de Yahv[é].

Invoke en tou]t temps <sup>5</sup>les Cieu[x].

Quand] viendra à toi Béli[al.]

tu lui [d]iras:

<sup>6</sup>Qui es-tu, [maudit des ]hommes et de la race des sa[int]s ? *ou* [maudit sois-tu des] ...!

Ton visage est un visage de <sup>7</sup>[van]ité,

et tes cornes sont des cornes de rê[v]e.

Tu es ténèbres et non lumière,

<sup>8</sup>[in]justi]ce et non justice.

[Et par] le Prince de l'Armée,

Yahvé t'<sup>9</sup>enchaînera dans le Shéo]l infernal,

[et il fermera ]les deux [va]ntaux de bronze

à travers [lesquels <sup>10</sup>tu] ne [verras pas] la lumière

et ne[ brillera] pas [pour toi le] soleil

qu[i se lève <sup>11</sup>sur le] juste pour il[luminer son visage.

Et] tu diras:

Est-ce qu'il [n'y a pas un ange <sup>12</sup>avec le ju]ste

pour venir [le garder,

car] Sa[tan] l'a maltraité ?

[Et l'esprit de vé]rité <sup>13</sup>[le délivrera] des tén[èbres

parce que la ju]stice est en sa faveur

[pour tenir lors *du jugement / épreuve(s)* <sup>14</sup>*du/ des juste(s)*].

L'esprit <sup>14</sup>d'*hostilité*<sup>nc</sup> cherchera <sup>pas</sup> que[relle à l' a]n[ge fort,

et Yahvé fra]ppe[ra <sup>6</sup>1 ce ]g[rand coup

pour faire péri]r[ le démon, l]a l[i]lith et le dra]gon

<sup>2</sup>par la main de ]sa[ puissan]ce.

Car *les volontaires de sa vérité*, en] Yah[vé, se sont affermis,

et] Yahv[é fera périr pour ]toujours <sup>3</sup>[tous ]les fils de Béli[al.

Amen, amen, ]Selah.

Ce psaume apocryphe est, lui, clairement davidique par son en-tête:  
*ldwyd.*

– l. 4: les lectures  $\text{'[l et l]hš}$  étant assurées, nous avons proposé de comprendre  $\text{'[l dbry l]hš bšm yhw}$  “A propos de l’incantation au nom de Yhwh,” en nous inspirant par ex. du Ps 7:  $\text{šgywn ldw}$   $\text{šr šr lyhw}$   $\text{'l dbry kwš bn ymyny}$ . Mais cette formule était critiquable et plusieurs l’ont signalé. A. Caquot nous avait suggéré soit  $\text{l]hš bšm yhw}$ , “incantation au nom de Yhwh,” soit  $\text{ml]hš}$  “incantateur.”<sup>6</sup> De leur côté, les éditeurs proposent en note: soit  $\text{'[l rwḥ/šdym/štn}$  au sens de “co[n]tre ...,” soit encore  $\text{'[l pḡw}$ . La première proposition ( $\text{rwḥ}$ ) est exclue car trop courte pour l’espace et  $\text{'[l šdym}$  est trop long. Convierait  $\text{'[l štn}$  mais ils ne retiennent pas la restauration  $\text{š[tn}$  l. 12 où ils proposent  $\text{š[d}$  “démon.” Comme la restauration  $\text{'[l pḡw}$  convient bien pour l’espace et le sens, elle aurait la préférence pour ce titre de Psaume d’incantation “Sur un possédé.”<sup>7</sup>

– l. 5: Bien que retenant notre lecture  $\text{'l hšm[ym}$ , les éditeurs maintiennent comme possible celle de  $\text{'l ršp}$ .<sup>8</sup> Mais celle-ci est impossible et le  $\text{he}$  est certain: traces des deux jambages d’une part et, d’autre part, en lisant  $\text{pe}$  médial et non final, on aurait dû attendre  $\text{'l ršp[ym}$  qui est exclu par la suite toujours au singulier: verbe  $\text{ybw}$ , suffixe  $\text{lyw}$ ,  $\text{th}$  et suffixes de la 2<sup>e</sup> personne, ll. 6 à 8, etc. Cette expression est plus sûrement suivie de  $\text{šr}$  précédemment proposé que du  $\text{ky}$  des éditeurs beaucoup trop court pour l’espacement dans ces lignes. Nous avons restauré ensuite  $\text{bly[ʿl}$  comme sujet du verbe  $\text{ybw}$  au lieu de  $\text{bly[th}$  attiré par la lecture  $\text{ršp}$ .<sup>9</sup> Sans doute la nuit est-elle un moment dangereux et propice pour les attaques du démon, mais le Psaume 91:5-6 met sur le même plan la terreur de la nuit et la flèche de jour, le fléau de midi et la peste de l’obscurité. N’ayant pas retenu  $\text{ršp[ym}$ , les éditeurs ont quand même préféré  $\text{bly[th}$  mais au nom de quelle logique? On a noté que, l. 4, ni  $\text{šdym}$  ni  $\text{šd}$  ni  $\text{rwḥ}$  ne sont acceptables pour l’espace, seul  $\text{štn}$  convierait mais est refusé l. 12, et encore ce mot ne serait à retenir qu’en lisant  $\text{'l štn}$  au sens de “contre Satan” et en faisant de  $\text{lhš}$  un impératif  $\text{pš'el}$ : “murmure au nom de Yhwh,” ce qui paraît difficile en tête comme titre du Psaume. En faveur de “Satan,” on pourrait invoquer Za 3:2 “Que Yhwh te réprime, Satan, etc ... ( $\text{hštn}$ )” mais pas comme titre. Il est bien plus simple de lire  $\text{bly[ʿl}$

<sup>6</sup> Lors d’un cours au Collège de France en janv.-fév. 1991.

<sup>7</sup> M. Wise, M. Abegg, E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Translation* (San Francisco, 1996), qui ne nous est connue que par P. W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 247-48, comprennent “contre.”

<sup>8</sup> Idem, pp. 199-200. Mais Wise, Abegg, Cook, *cit.*, retiennent  $\text{ršp}$ .

<sup>9</sup> Wise, Abegg, Cook, *cit.*, lisent  $\text{bly[th}$ .

comme désignation de l'ennemi, le prince des anges d'impiété, d'autant que le mot *bly'l* est bien mieux attesté que *štn* à cette époque: *štn* : 4Q504 1-2 IV 12 *w'yn štn wpg' r'* "et ni adversaire ni malchance," mais *bly'l* dans le Cantique du Sage en 4Q511 18 ii 5 *wlw' bly'l [blb(b)y ]wrvh bynty t'bh 'bwdt rš'h* "et pas de Bélial [dans mon cœur (?)] et mon esprit intelligent a abhorré l'œuvre d'impiété," etc. En fin de compte, la lecture de Bélial personnalisé s'impose dans ce contexte comme sujet de *ybw'* repris par le suffixe *'lyw* et l'interrogation ensuite, *my 'th* "qui es-tu ?"

– A la l. 6, la lecture *hqd[wšy]m* que nous avons faite est indiscutable.<sup>10</sup> Nous avons proposé de restaurer dans la lacune *'rwr* pour retrouver une expression connue de la Genèse, Gn 4:11, *'rwr 'th mn 'dmh* à propos de Caïn et *'rwr 'th mkwl ...* et *zr'* en Gn 3:14-15. Or le serpent personnifie le diable en Sg 2:24; Jn 8:44; 1 Jn 3:8-15, et de nombreux passages qumraniens offrent un bon parallèle pour la malédiction de Bélial et des esprits de son lot par la race des saints (les anges) et les hommes, 1QS 2:4-7 (11,17), 1QM 13:4-5, CD 20:8, 4Q175 23, 4Q511 52-59 iii 5. Dans ce cas, *'rwr mn* au sens de 'par' introduisant l'agent est attendu. Aussi comprend-on difficilement la proposition des éditeurs *my 'th [lyhw d m]'dm* qui est bien trop long et qui ne peut convenir dans ce passage; la descendance de l'union des anges déchus et des filles des hommes, ce sont les *nephilim* de Gn 6 et les géants ou bâtards d'après 1 Hén. 6; 10:9, Jub. 5, etc. On aura du mal à en faire des mauvais esprits à chasser par des exorcismes. Il n'est pas assuré que cette interprétation rende mieux compte de la suite *m]'dm wmr' hqd[wšy]m*, et elle n'appuie pas la restauration *bly[lh]*, l. 5.<sup>11</sup> Nous en restons donc à notre proposition.

– A la l. 7, la lecture *hl[w]m* paraît seule acceptable comme nous l'avons proposé, et à l'aide du microscope un *he* final étant exclu, les propositions *hl[k]h* "misérable" et *hl[q]h* "flatterie" sont sans fondement.<sup>12</sup> Par métonymies, ce passage décrit l'aspect flatteur et trompeur de l'esprit mauvais à conjurer et à chasser. Les cornes impuisantes *qmy hl[w]m* désignent parfaitement le serpent-céraste

<sup>10</sup> Les éditeurs semblent hésiter sur *dalet* et *mem* final, pourtant indiscutables, un *yod* est exclu vu le retour à droite de la tête de la lettre, aussi *hqw[dš k]y* de van der Ploeg n'a-t-il aucun appui.

<sup>11</sup> Wise, Abegg, Cook, *cit.*, traduisent "[Withdraw from] humanity and from the ho[ly] race"! Au lieu de *'rwr*, apposition, on peut lire *h'r*, imp. *nifal* "sois maudit ...," ou comprendre *'rwr ...* "maudit sois-tu ...".

<sup>12</sup> Wise, Abegg, Cook, *cit.*, lisent "cornes de sable" (*hwel*) qui est impossible.

symbolisant le diable,<sup>13</sup> de même que les ténèbres *hwšk* et l'injustice [*'w*]l conviennent au plus haut point à Bélial dans de nombreux passages qumraniens, appuyant ainsi la restauration de la l. 5. Cela est confirmé par la l. 8 où *šr hšb'*, l'archistratège, ne peut désigner que le prince de lumière, Michel, que l'on sait être l'antonyme de Bélial, prince des ténèbres et d'impiété.<sup>14</sup> Au [*ngdk*] de notre restauration, les éditeurs proposent [*ykkh*] ou [*wbyd*] mais *wbyd* aurait alors la préférence pouvant renvoyer à *1 Hén.* 10:4 (ordre à Raphaël), 12 (ordre à Michel) d'enchaîner le chef des anges, Azaël ou Shemēhaza, et leurs complices dans les profondeurs de la terre, à comparer à *bs'w*]l *thyt* (l. 9). Mais ces passages appuient notre restauration [*y'sr*]k au lieu de [*ywryd*]k des éditeurs (l. 8) trop long, et on peut invoquer en ce sens *Jude* 6 où les *bené ha-élohām* de Gn 6:1-2 "sont gardés pour le grand jugement dans les liens éternels au fond des ténèbres". En outre, en *Jude* 9, l'archange Michel plaide contre le diable au sujet du corps de Moïse à sa mort et dit "que le Seigneur (= Yahvé) te condamne". Dans la même ligne, on devrait invoquer l'opposition Melkisédeq-Michel et Bélial-Malkiréša' de *4QVis'Amr<sup>b</sup>* où il est clair que deux anges, l'un bon et l'autre mauvais, se disputent le salut ou la perte de l'homme, croyance connue de *l'Épître de Barnabé* 18,1, de *Origène, Homélie XXXV* sur Lc 12:58-59<sup>15</sup>, du *Pasteur d'Herma*s, *Sim.* VI 2,1, etc.

– A la l. 10, nous avons proposé *lw*] / [*y'bw*] *'wr*, mais ainsi que nous le faisait remarquer A. Caquot, ce verbe paraît inattendu; et il vaut mieux comprendre [*tr'h*] *'wr* "à cause d'[eux, tu ne verras] pas la lumière" rappelant *1 Hén.* 10:5 "... enveloppe-le (Azaël) de ténèbres..., recouvre son visage et qu'il ne voie pas la lumière." Cette solution est aussi proposée en note par les éditeurs qui ont toutefois retenu notre restauration. Ensuite, soit garder *wlw*] [*y'yr 'wr h*] *šmš*, soit lire de préférence *wlw*] [*t'yr lk h*] *šmš* "et [le] soleil ne [brillera pas pour toi]," mais *yhyh lk* ou *y'yr lk* proposés en note paraissent un peu courts.

– A la l. 11, *lh*] *'yr 't pnyw* paraît seule possible, mais des propositions *'t drkw* est trop long comme nous l'avons déjà signalé et *lh*] *gyh hškw* trop court.

<sup>13</sup> Voir Puech, *La croyance*, cit., 621, n. 14, et R. J. Tournay, "La stèle du roi Tukulti-Ninurta II. Nouvelle interprétation," *Subartu* 4/2 (1998) 273-77.

<sup>14</sup> Les éditeurs reconnaissent (p. 201) qu'il s'agit bien là de l'opposant céleste de Bélial et de ses esprits démoniaques, ce qui affaiblit d'autant leurs considérations, ll. 4 à 6, en faveur de la lecture *bly*] *lh*.

<sup>15</sup> Voir J. T. Milik, "4QVisions de 'Amram et une citation d'Origène," *RB* 63 (1956) 77-97, pp. 86s.

– Aux ll. 11-12, nous avons proposé *h[ʔw' ml'k / 'm hs]dyq lbw'[ bmšpł ky]* qui a des parallèles bibliques et qumraniens. Compte tenu de la difficulté de ma précédente lecture *lbw'[ bmšpł* normalement construit avec 'm ou 't, comprendre de préférence *lbw'[ lšwmrw*, voir 6:11 avec *ml'k*, voir encore Testament de Dan 6:5, d'Asher 6:4-6, de Benjamin 6:1. Les éditeurs proposent encore une autre possibilité: *h[ʔp wš' / mn hs]dyq* “Re[nonce et sors du ju]ste”, en renvoyant à Lc 4:35. Cette solution s'accorde mal avec la suite et avec la disposition, *mn* aurait sans doute été écrit à la fin de la l. 11. Puis, suite aux remarques des ll. 4-5, comprendre très vraisemblablement *ky ]hr' lw š[tn*, non *š[d*, habituellement au pluriel dans ces lignes.

– A la l. 13, si *bny 'jmt* est possible pour l'espace, mais *bn 'jmt* est trop court et *rwħ h'jmt* trop long, l'expression ne s'accorderait pas avec la suite *hs]dqh lw[* qui ne peut viser qu'un singulier. La proposition que les éditeurs estiment plus adaptée au contexte *wyħrwħ / rwħ 'jmt mħt[ʔtw* “et l'esprit de vé]rité [le purifiera] de [son] pé[ché” ne nous paraît pas meilleure que notre proposition *wysylhw / rwħ 'jmt mħw[šk* “et l'esprit de vé]rité [le délivrera] des tènè[bres” qui s'adapte mieux aux lignes précédentes, en supposant le possédé guéri et donc soustrait à la main-mise du Shéol infernal ténébreux. En fin de ligne, on pourrait aussi bien lire *lqem bmsħ* “pour tenir dans l'épreuve” ou *bms(w)t* “dans l'épreuve/ les épreuves de.”<sup>16</sup>

– A la l. 14, lire sans doute *w/yr[* (tête et jambage de *reš*) et en correction supralinéaire *]l[w]'*, mais certainement pas *]wl[* des éditeurs. On proposerait comme possibilité de restauration : *hsdyq ]/ šdyqym] <[w]'* *yr[yb rwħ hmštmh bm]l[ʔk htqyp wyħwħ yk]h*. Dans ce cas, l'esprit de vérité, l'ange fort, est cet ange gardien et protecteur du fidèle qui agit au nom de Yahweh et l'emporte sur l'ange de ténèbres, Bélial. C'est lui le prince de l'armée (5:8), sa main puissante (6:2), comp. 3:11s, 4:4.

– En 6:1, les *he*, *gimel* et *dalet* peuvent se compléter ainsi d'après d'autres passages du psaume précédent: *m]l[ʔk tqyp wyħwħ yk]h / [ħmkh h]g[dwlh hzw't lh'by]d[*, que nous compléterions avec les restes de 6:1-2: *'t hšd w't ]hl[ylyt w't h]nyn / [byd gbwr]tw [ky ndby 'mtw b]yh[wh hħzyqw* (comp. 1QM 10:5), et la dernière phrase du Psaume se compléterait ainsi *w]yħw[ħ y'byd* ou *y'sr l[ʔwlm / [ʔt kwl ]bny bl[by'l 'mn 'mn ]slh*, ainsi

<sup>16</sup> La tradition rabbinique en *Midrash Tehillin* (voir n. 42) favoriserait une interprétation “jugement” puisque l'usage de ces psaumes est mis dans la bouche de Moïse au moment de sa mort et de son jugement.

que nous l'avions déjà proposé et qui a été partiellement accepté par les éditeurs.<sup>17</sup>

Le Psaume davidique, tel qu'on peut le comprendre, offre un dénouement heureux à la prière d'exorcisme: la victoire de l'ange fort Michel en faveur des fidèles (*ndby 'mtw*) contre Bélial et les esprits de son lot, les démons. Cette finale et le contenu général du Psaume renforcent la lecture Bélial au début du Psaume qui est fortement teinté de dualisme où les *bny bly'l* ne peuvent être que des *bny hwešk*.

*Le Psaume (davidique) 2:1 – 5:3*

Col. 2

01	1 לדויד על פגוע לחש ובשמן יהוה קרא אל
2	2 השמים כאשר עשׂה שלומה ויקרא בשם יהוה
3	3 לפלט מכול נגע הרוןחות והשדים והלילית
4	4 והאחים והצייסן אלהן השדים בשם המשתמם
5	5 אןשרן יורידו ואל תהום חושך
6	6 אל שן ולהגדיל אלוהי
7	7 וישראל(?) וְעַמּוֹ תַמָּה רַפּוּאָה
8	8 ינצל אשר על ושמך נשען וקרא
9	9 אל השמים ובטח על שומר ישראל החזק
10	10 ביהוה אלוהי אלים אשר עשה את השמים
11	11 ואת הארץ ואת כול אשר בם אשר הבדילן בין
12	12 האור ובין החושך וְ עַמּוֹ
13	

Col. 3

01	1 ואמרתה אליו מי(?)
1	1 אנתהן כי ימשול על רוחות ואתהומות ועל אשר על/רוחות(?)
2	2 הארץ ועל כול יושבי הארץ מי עשה את האותות
3	3 ואת המופתים האלה בארץ יהוה הואנה אשר
4	4 עשה את האלה בגבורתו משיבע לכול מןלאך מרע
5	5 את כול זרנע הקודש אשר התניצבו לפנינו ויעיד את
6	6 (כול השמים ואת כול) הארץ בהם (ב)אשר ישלחנו ועל
7	7 (כול נפש חטא ועל כול אנדם רשע וזהם יודעים
8	8 מעשי פלאו אשר אינם עושים לפני יהוה אם לוא
9	9 יפחדו מלפני יהוה לןאסור אדם ולהרוג נפש

<sup>17</sup> Voir Puech, *RevQ* 14, 381s. Malgré les remarques des éditeurs, la lecture *[yhw]h* en 6:2 est tout à fait possible, il arrive que selon les alignements des lettres, des *waw* descendent moins bas que la haste du *he*, 3:3 *yhw*<sup>h</sup>, ou du *zain* 3:10 *hwz*<sup>h</sup>, etc.

- 10 [וישפטם] יהוה וייראנו את המכה ה[גדולה] הוואנת  
 11 ויירדוף א[חד מכם א]נלף ומלאך(?) אחר [מעבדי יהוה]  
 12 יכה מכה ג[דולה] ר[ת] [ר ת]  
 13

## Col. 4

- 1 [וגדול] [מ]שביענ לך בשם הנורא  
 2 והגדול בנפאל המלאך ה[תקיף] ור[דף] אותך [מעל]  
 3 כול הארצ[ן] אשר יקרא א[ל] השמים ו[על] הארצ[ן]  
 4 יכה יהוה מ[כה גדולה] אשר לאבד[ת] לעולם  
 5 ובחרון אפ[ו]ן ישלח [עליך] מלאך תקיף לעשות  
 6 כו[ל]ן דברו אשר ב[ל]וא רחמים [עליך] אשר הוא  
 7 שליט [על כול] אלה אשר ישלח[ו]ך לתהום רבה  
 8 [ולשאל] [התחיה] וממנע[ו]ן אור [תשכב] וחשך  
 9 [בתהום] ר[בה] מואדה [לוא] תשלט [עוד] בארץ  
 10 [ותאסר] [עד עולם] ואנחה תקלל [בקללת] האבדון  
 11 ותבהל ב[חרון] אף י[הוה] ותשבה ב[חושך] בכנול  
 12 תעודות [תענייתו] ותתן לאיש אחר [מתנתך]  
 13 [ל] [ר] [המכה] הגדולה  
 14 הוואת

## Col. 5

- 1 [ר] [ובצ]דקנה כי נגן שיר/לחש על ה[פגוע]  
 2 אשר נגן רייד על [הפגועים] ויחלכו עם כו[ל]  
 3 נדבי אמתו כאשר ר[פאל] שלמם אמן אמן סלה

## Traduction

<sup>1</sup> De David. Sur un possédé. Incantation [au nom] de Yahvé.

Invoque <sup>2</sup> les Cieux comme (le) fi]t Salomon.

Il invoqu[ait le nom de Yahvé

<sup>3</sup> pour qu'il délivre de tout fléau des esp]rits et des démons,  
 [des liliiths, <sup>4</sup> des hiboux et des chats sauvages.]

Ceux-ci [sont les dé]mons au n[om de l']hostilité

5.... q]ui[ font descendre ]à l'Abi[me ténéb]reux

<sup>6</sup>[...]. ..[... pour magnifi[er le D]ieu des <sup>7</sup>[dieux/ d'Israël,

.....

pour les possédés/ fils de ]son peuple la guérison est complète.

<sup>8</sup>... sera délivré celui qui sur] ton nom s'est appuyé,

et a invo[qué <sup>9</sup> les Cieux

et a fait confiance au gardien d'Is]raël.

Prends appui <sup>10</sup> [sur Yahvé, le Dieu des dieux

qui a fait ]les cieux <sup>11</sup> [et la terre et tout ce qu'ils contiennent,

q]ui a séparé[ <sup>12</sup> la lumière des ténèbres,

....]....[...]



13

.....

**3**<sup>01</sup>.....*et tu lui diras(?) :**Qui*<sup>1</sup> *es-tu* (?)

que tu domines sur les esprits ]des abîme[s,

et sur *ce qui est sur / les esprits de(?)*<sup>2</sup> la terre et su[r tous les habitants de la ]terre [?]Qui a fa[ït ces signes]<sup>3</sup> et ces ]prodi[ges sur la ]terre?C'est lu[i], Yahvé, [qui]<sup>4</sup> a fait c[es choses par ]sa puissan]ce,  
conjurant chaque a[n]ge qui fait du tort]<sup>5</sup> à toute la rac[e sainte] qui se ti[e]nt en [sa] présence[et il a pris à témoin<sup>6</sup> tous les cie]ux et [toute] la terre [contre eux,  
par]ce qu'[ils] envoient sur<sup>7</sup> [toute âm]e le péché et sur tout h[omme le mal.Mais ]eux, ils connaissent<sup>8</sup> [les œuvres de] son [agir merveill]euxqu'aucun d'eux ne peut [accomplir devant Yahv]é.S'ils ne<sup>9</sup> [tremblent] pas devant Yahvéquand [ils enchaînent un homme et ]qu'ils suppriment une vie,  
<sup>10</sup> [alors] Yahvé [les ]*jugera*] et [ils] craindront ce grand [coup.]<sup>11</sup> Un seul parmi vous [pourra en poursuivre] mi[lle  
et un ange/ *Raphaël*, un des] serviteurs de Yahvé<sup>12</sup> frappera un g]rand [coup]et .[....]...[....13.....**4**<sup>1</sup> et] grand[...  
te] conjurant [par le nom redoutable]<sup>2</sup> et grand, par [Raphaël, l'ange fort,  
et il [te] cha]ssera de sur]<sup>3</sup> toute la terre.  
[Lorsqu'on invoquera v]ers les cieux,  
alors [sur la terre]<sup>4</sup> Yahvé te frappera d'un [gran]d co[up]  
qui est pour te détruire [à jamais.]  
<sup>5</sup> Et dans l'ardeur de sa colère, [il enverra] contre toi un ange fort  
[pour exécuter<sup>6</sup> tou]s ses [ord]res,  
qui [sera sans ]pitié contre toi,  
qu[i, lui, <sup>7</sup> aura autorité ]sur tous ceux-ci,  
qui t'[enverra] au Grand Abîme<sup>8</sup> [et au Shéol] infernal,  
et loin du sé]jour lumineux, tu ]habiteras,  
et il fait extrêmement<sup>9</sup> noir [dans le Gr]and [Abîme.  
Tu n'auras pl]us [de pouvoir] sur la terre  
<sup>10</sup> [mais tu seras enchaîné ]à jamais.  
Et [tu seras maudit] de la malédiction de l'Aba]ddon,  
<sup>11</sup> et tu seras terrifié par ]l'ardeur de la colère de Ya[hvé,  
et tu seras prisonnier/enfermé dans ]les ténèbres pour to]utes<sup>12</sup> les périodes  
[de jeûnes,  
[et tu peux donner à un autre ]ton cadeau,  
13 [et ...]...[....<sup>14</sup> ce]<sup>13</sup> gr[and co]up,  
<sup>14</sup> [....  
**5**<sup>1</sup>....]...[....en ju]sti]ce,  
car il a cantilé *le cantique/ l'incantation* sur le ]poss[édé]  
<sup>2</sup> que[ David cantilait sur ]les possédé[s,

et ils marchent avec tous] <sup>3</sup> les volontaires de [sa] vé[r]ité, depuis que Ra]phaël [les] a guéris. [Amen, amen, selah].

Après avoir passé rapidement en revue les principales difficultés des deux derniers psaumes du rouleau, clairement délimités, il est plus facile de reprendre l'examen du psaume précédent qui semble commencer à la col. 2:1 (en fait l. 2 de la col.)<sup>18</sup> où, en remettant en place une écaille, la lecture ]bšm[ s'impose.<sup>19</sup> La structure du Psaume semble impliquer cette division comme nous le verrons ci-dessous, puisque celui-ci ne peut commencer en 3:01 (3:1 des éditeurs est la l. 2 de la col. du rouleau). On connaît l'activité de Salomon dans les formules magiques<sup>20</sup> mais il est plus que difficile de lire ici une allusion à un psaume ou livre d'exorcismes attribué à Salomon.<sup>21</sup> En complétant et corrigeant quelque peu notre premier essai, nous comprenons ainsi ce début de Psaume 2:1-2: [ldwyd 'l pğw' lš ]bšm[ yhw h q' 'l / hšmym k'š' 'š]h štwmh wyqr[ ' bšm yhw. On retrouve une inclusion en 5:1-2 sur l'activité du fils de David, agissant comme son père.

– Les ll. 3-4 donnent une liste de démons intervenant chez les hommes. La lettre partiellement effacée et exponctuée n'est pas 'alef en waw comme nous l'avions pensé<sup>22</sup> mais bet, réécrit sous la ligne (déchiffrement à l'aide du microscope). Aussi, au lieu de wš[r hmšt]mh, il est préférable de lire bš[m hmšt]mh "ceux-ci (ce sont) [les dé]mons au no[m de Masté]mah/ au no[m de l'hostili]té."

– l. 5: Les traces suggèrent de lire ]'l th[wem hws]k, à comprendre peut-être 'šr[ ywrydw ]'l thw[m hws]k.<sup>23</sup>

– l. 6: lire ]kšd[ ou mieux ]l šo[. Puis ]lhgd[ est assuré,<sup>24</sup> à compléter ]lhgd[yl 'l]why / [(h)lwhym/yš' 'l (4Q511 8,12, etc.).

- l. 7: La lecture tmh (à l'aide du microscope) est assurée au lieu de

<sup>18</sup> Voir Puech, *RevQ* 14, 386.

<sup>19</sup> Il faut descendre l'écaille portant le reste du šin (PAM 43.982) et base de bet. Pour le mem final, est visible la jonction des deux tracés à gauche.

<sup>20</sup> Voir nos remarques en *RevQ* 14, 389-90 qu'il est inutile de répéter.

<sup>21</sup> Comme l'estiment les éditeurs, DJD 23, 191, et déjà Wise, Abegg, Cook, *cit.*, p. 247 : "A Psalm of] Solomon. He took[."

<sup>22</sup> *RevQ* 14, 390-91 et références, lecture acceptée par les éditeurs.

<sup>23</sup> Restes de 'alef (?) sur une écaille à faire pivoter ]'l, et 'šr est préférable à y]sr[ 'l de Wise, Abegg, Cook, *cit.*

<sup>24</sup> Le lamed a pu être inséré après coup mais sa hampe et le coude sont certains (malgré les éditeurs qui proposent ensuite 'l]why, un aramaïsme!).

notre précédent *tmw* accepté des éditeurs,<sup>25</sup> confortant celle de ‘*mw* “son peuple,” pour comprendre par ex. *lbny/ p꜡w’y j꜡mw tmh r꜡w’h*.

– ll. 12-13 (en fait 13-14): Manquent une ligne et demie au bas de la col. II et une ligne complète au début de la col. III. La fin de la l. 2 peut se comprendre *j꜡th꜡mw[t w꜡l ’šr ’l] / h꜡r꜡s w꜡[l*. Il n’est pas possible de lire *wk[w꜡l* (l. 2) comme nous l’avions proposé et l’absence de la *nota accusativi* ne favorise pas notre précédente restauration visant la création comme l’ont bien vu les éditeurs. Il semble plutôt être question de l’action ou domination du prince des démons sur les abîmes, sur la terre et sur ses habitants: par ex. *wšr / h꜡th[꜡wm ymš꜡w ’l r꜡w꜡wt j꜡th꜡mw[t w꜡l ’šr ’l / w꜡l r꜡w꜡wt (?)] / h꜡r꜡s w꜡[l k꜡w ꜡wš꜡by h꜡r꜡s* ou encore: *w꜡mr꜡th ’꜡yw my / ’꜡th[ ꜡y ymš꜡w ’l r꜡w꜡wt j꜡th꜡mw[t* etc. Ceci se comprend mieux après la mention de la création col. II 10-12 et la séparation de la lumière des ténèbres. Mais la restauration *my* ‘[*šh ’t h꜡wt꜡t*] est assurée.<sup>26</sup>

– 3: 4 Nous avons restauré *h꜡[k꜡w b꜡b꜡wr]꜡w* après la mention de la création, les éditeurs optent pour *h꜡꜡th* qui convient dans le cadre de ces actions merveilleuses. La phrase suivante est plus difficile. Les éditeurs proposent de comprendre *mš꜡by꜡ lk꜡w m꜡[l꜡꜡y꜡w / w꜡]꜡t k꜡w z꜡r꜡[꜡ h꜡꜡w꜡š꜡ ]* en coordonnant *lk꜡w* et *w꜡t* en dépendance de *mš꜡by꜡*. Cela paraît difficilement acceptable d’autant que, dans ce cas, *w꜡t* aurait largement trouvé place à la l. 4 et *w꜡t* est exclu l. 5. Nous maintenons notre restauration *lk꜡w m꜡[l꜡k* et introduirions *mr꜡* au lieu de *꜡z꜡wr* pour expliquer l’accusatif suivant *꜡]꜡t k꜡w z꜡r꜡[꜡ h꜡꜡w꜡š꜡ ]*. Le verbe *r꜡* peut régir l’accusatif de la personne, Nb 16:15, etc. Dans ce cas, la conjuration porte bien sur une puissance nocive attendue.

– ll. 5-6: Cette restauration exige une autre proposition en fin de l. 5 et nous acceptons celle des éditeurs, *w꜡y꜡yd* et de *b꜡hm* dans la lacune l. 6, avec Dt 4:26; 30:19 et 31:28,<sup>27</sup> suivi peut-être de (*b*)]š꜡r. A la fin de la l. 6, nous proposons soit *y꜡š꜡w* soit *yš꜡[l꜡]h꜡[w ꜡]꜡l*, les éditeurs ont retenu *y꜡š꜡[w* mais n’aurait-on pas attendu des traces du *w꜡w* ? *yš꜡[l꜡]h꜡[w* nous paraît bien préférable, voir 1 Hén. 98:4 à propos du péché envoyé sur la terre et sur les hommes.

<sup>25</sup> Trait horizontal de la tête du *he* et premier jambage touchant la base du *mem*, pas *šin* ou *nun*; et *mem* certain malgré les éditeurs!

<sup>26</sup> Au lieu du “who m[ade the host of heaven for seasons]” de Wise, Abegg, Cook, *cit.*, beaucoup trop long, et les *m꜡꜡꜡ym* en parallèle ne renvoient pas à la création dans la Bible mais à d’autres actes merveilleux.

<sup>27</sup> En *RwQ* 14, 393, nous proposons soit *k꜡w* dans les deux cas, soit *b꜡ny* dans le premier, mais il faut reconnaître que le parallélisme recommande la première solution.

- l. 7: les éditeurs proposent *kwl y]š*, ce pourrait être aussi bien *np]š*.<sup>28</sup>
- l. 8: *m'sy pl]w* est bien préférable à *rzy pl]w* beaucoup trop court.
- l. 9: *yphdw* paraît préférable à *yprw* pour l'espace.
- l. 10: au lieu de notre *wyšpwł ]*, il est préférable de lire *wyšptm ]* avec les éditeurs.<sup>29</sup>
- l. 11: lire sûrement *wyrdwł* pour l'espace et selon l'orthographe pleine du manuscrit, non *wyrdł*, citant Jos 23:10. Les suffixes au pluriel renvoient aux anges mauvais (ll. 6-10) ou bons (l. 11). La lecture *]m'bdy* qui paraît bien préférable à *]f'bdw*, devrait s'imposer, *bet* est exclu et *mem* (certain) reprend celui de *mkm*. Enfin, au lieu de *šr hšb'* de notre précédente proposition qui désigne en général Michel comme protecteur du peuple d'Israël, il est préférable d'envisager un ange particulier protecteur d'un individu, et de proposer *wml'k/ wřp'l 'hd ]m'bdy ...*, et peut-être (*'š]r t[qp*, l. 12.
- 4:1: *w]gdwl* se rapporte sans doute à la l. 3:13 entièrement manquante. La suite, ll. 1-2, se rapporte à la conjuration d'un démon; lire certainement *m]šby'[ lk bšm hwr'] whgdwl b[řp'l hml'k h]tqp*, reprenant en clair col. 3:11-12, *ml'k/řp'l 'hd] m'bdy yhw*. L'ange particulier y est très vraisemblablement invoqué par son nom, comme il le sera encore en 5:3. Dans ce passage, *bšm hwr'] whgdwl* reprend le tétragramme *bšm yhw* du titre du troisième Psaume (5:4) et probablement aussi de ce psaume, voir Dt 7:21; 10:17; Ne 1:5; 4:8; 9:32; Dn 9:4.
- l. 3: trace de la hampe de *lamed* <sup>30</sup> qui autorise à lire *]l hšmym*, comme en 5:5.
- ll. 5-6: La restauration que nous avons proposée est assurée et acceptée: *wbhřwn ]w[ yšlh ]lyk ml'k tqyp[ l'swt / kw]l[ db]řw ]ř[ blw' ]řhm]ym ]*, comp. Ps 103:20 (anges), 148:8 (les éléments), CD 16:8, et restes de *kw]l*.<sup>31</sup>
- ll. 6-7: Nous avons proposé *š]r šlyt / hw'h ]l kwl 'lh* qu'on peut aussi bien entendre *š]r hw'h / šlyt ]l ...*, comme le proposent les éditeurs, les deux mots occupent un même espace et les deux constructions sont connues. Puis la lecture *yš]l[h]k* déjà proposée s'impose avec des

<sup>28</sup> On comprend difficilement les lectures de Wise, Abegg, Cook, *cit.*: "every ]sin, all these (*'lh* ?)" et "you know," *]tm* est impossible.

<sup>29</sup> On ne comprend pas la lecture de Wise, Abegg, Cook, *cit.*, "this great [spell]," comp. col. 3:4.

<sup>30</sup> Malgré la remarque des éditeurs, la photo PAM 43.984 porte les traces de la hampe du *lamed* (déjà van der Ploeg).

<sup>31</sup> Une restauration *š* (DJD 23, 197) est exclue, voir déjà Puech, *RwQ* 14, 395.

traces du *lamed* au lieu de *ywrydwk* des éditeurs.<sup>32</sup> Le sujet du verbe est un singulier, l'ange puissant exécutant l'ordre divin.

– L. 8: La lecture *wmm[* est certaine au lieu de *wmy[* des éditeurs, et très probablement *]skb* ensuite.<sup>33</sup> La restauration *wmm[ʿwn ʿwr t]skb* est *ad sensum*, mais la phrase doit signifier le lieu sans lumière qu'est le grand abîme où réside le démon, *wmm[šlw t]skb* paraît un peu court et donc moins probable.

– ll. 9-10: les restaurations *lw' tšl[ ʿjwd* et *wt'sr* (ou *wšgr ]* mais un peu court) semblent s'imposer dans ce contexte, voir *Jub* 5:6, mais *m'wlm ]d ʿwlm* des éditeurs n'est pas en situation après *ʿjwd*.

– l. 10: *w[ʿth tqll ]bqlt h'b[awn* avec la paronomase que nous avons déjà proposée paraît préférable à *w[ʿrwr ʿth ]bqlt ...* qui serait un peu court.

– l. 11: Nous avons proposé *wtmšwl b]hwsk* mais ce verbe renverrait avant tout à Bélial, le prince des démons, qui domine sur le royaume des ténèbres. Il est préférable de proposer un verbe plus neutre, certainement pas avec les éditeurs "être lié" (déjà l. 10), "périr" ne convient pas dans ce passage, et "habiter" *wšb* serait trop court, nous proposerions *wetišabeh* "et tu seras prisonnier" puisque le démon a été expulsé du monde des hommes et du royaume de lumière, ou plus neutres *wšgrw* mais *wškb* est déjà l. 8, comp. Mt 4:1-11 et parall., 17:21 et paral.

– ll. 12-13: restauration *ad sensum* d'après Dn 5:17 *wtn l'ys ʿhr*, mais, l. 14, *hg[* est certain<sup>34</sup> et la restauration qui vient à l'esprit est *hmk]h hg[dwth hzw't*, plusieurs fois attesté.

– 5:1-3: Ne sont clairement identifiables que *]dō[ pour š]dq[(h*, voir l. 8), *y]d'[, g]dl[,* etc., et *]p° [ pour ]pg[w'. Ces lectures permettent de restaurer avec vraisemblance la finale de ce psaume 'davidique'*

<sup>32</sup> Au microscope, le tracé vertical convient parfaitement au ductus du *lamed* dans ce manuscrit mais nullement à la base de 'ain. De plus, *ywrydwk* remplirait tout l'espace. On ne comprend pas la lecture "[against all these which] shall be sent forever] into" de Wise, Abegg, Cook, *cit*.

<sup>33</sup> Un *yod* est totalement exclu puisque le trait a une tête et un retour, de même un 'ain ensuite sans base. La haste du šin peut être souple et légèrement recourbée à gauche, voir par ex. *mšby'* 3:4.

<sup>34</sup> Le ductus de la lettre exclut la lecture *waw* des éditeurs. Il y a sans doute même des restes de la tête du *kaf*, *hm]kh[*.

<sup>35</sup> Le *dalet* avec tête profonde et dépassement au-delà de la haste ne peut être confondu avec *reš* (éditeurs) et le *qof* est possible (*lamed/ ʿain*). Ensuite le *pe* est certain que rejoint une haste très oblique, *gimel* préférable à *yod*, etc., certainement pas *tet*. Il y a sans doute le sommet de la hampe d'un *lamed* de la l. 2 sous le coude du *pe*, voir déjà *La croyance, cit.*, 621.

*wbs]dq[(h) ky ngn lḥš/šyr 'l h]pg[w' ] / 'šr[ ngn dwyd 'l ]hpgw' [ym wythlkw 'm kw]l / ndby '[mtw k'sr r]p'l šlm[m 'mn 'mn slh], "... et en ju]stic[e parce qu'il a cantilé l'incantation/le cantique sur le ]pos[sédé ]que[ cantilait David sur] les possédé[s, et ils marchent avec tou]s les volontaires de [sa ]vé[rité depuis que Raphaël [les] a guéris[. Amen, amen. Sélah]."<sup>36</sup> Voir l'inclusion avec 2:1-2.*

L'ange fort de la col. 4:2,5 est clairement identifié à Raphaël comme ange protecteur d'un individu qui, comme son nom l'indique, est en même temps un ange guérisseur, ce que précise la suite *šlm*. Son rôle dans les guérisons est fort bien documenté: Tob 3:17; 6:8-9,17; 11:7-8; 12:14; *1 Hén.* 10:4-8; 20:3; 22:3 ss; 40:9; .... (1QM 9:15), ainsi que dans des textes magiques et d'exorcismes, et l'expulsion d'un mauvais démon est une guérison, Lc 8:2; etc.

De ce long Psaume de 44 lignes sur plus de trois colonnes, dont il ne manque que 7 lignes, l'essentiel est préservé, et la reconstruction nous assure, semble-t-il, de son appartenance aux cantiques de David sur les possédés et non à Salomon.

*Le Psaume col. 01-1 (frgs.. 1 + 2 + 4 + 3 + A)*

Col. 01

		(01-05)
[	ויהנה	1
ה[	אולן זכבש	] 2
ת[	[ הארץ	] 3
יד[	ם ע	] 4
	אדם ת	] 5
	סוכות [	] 6
	לם [	] 7
		(13)

Col. 1

		(01)
	ת[	] 1
זבוכה[	[ ויריק ]	] 2
שבועה[	[ למים ]	] 3
ביהודה[	אחת[	] 4

<sup>36</sup> On ne comprend pas les lectures "those crushed [by Belial, ... on Isra]el, peace [eternal...]" de Wise, Abegg, Cook, *cit.*; *r]p'l* et *šlm* [avec *mem* medial sont certains et on attendrait l'orthographe *šlum* pour ce sens.

הַתְּנִין ]	5
אֶת הָאָרֶץ	6
[ מִשְׁבֵּיעַ לָךְ ]	א 7
[ אֵחָ בֵּן ]	בִּשְׁמֵ הַנּוֹרָא וְהַגְדוֹל 8
[ הַמַּכָּה הַגְּדוֹלָה ] הַזּוֹאֶתְנָן ]	אֶתְנָן 9
אֶת הַשְּׂדֵיִם	שְׁבַעִים 10
וַיִּשָּׁב ]	לְ- 11
	(13)

Col. 2

אָמֵן אָמֵן סֵלָה 01

### Traduction

<b>01</b> <sup>1</sup>	...]Yah[vé...	
<sup>2</sup>	.... n]c domi[nera pas...	
<sup>3</sup>	...]la t[erre...	
<sup>5</sup>	...ho]mme [...	
<sup>6</sup>	...]ointes[...	
<b>1</b> <sup>2</sup>	... et vanité [...	...]et celui qui le pleure
<sup>3</sup>	[... ...] en eaux [...	...]serment
<sup>4</sup>	[... ...]une[...	...]par Yahvé[...
<sup>5</sup>	....	...le]dragon [...
<sup>6</sup>	....	...]la terr[e...
<sup>7</sup>	...te ] conju[rant <sup>8</sup>	par le nom redoutable et grand(?)
...		
<sup>9</sup>	....	...frappera ]ce [grand coup...]
<sup>10</sup>	soixante-dix[...	...]les démon[s...
<sup>11</sup>	....	...]et il habite[...
<b>2</b> <sup>01</sup>	... . Amen, amen, Selah].	

Du premier psaume ont été préservés des restes des deux dernières colonnes: frgs. 1 + 2 i d'une part et frgs. 2 ii + 4 + 3 + A (= col. I) d'autre part, qui ajoutent ainsi deux colonnes aux cinq autres de la feuille de cuir suivante. Mais cette nouvelle feuille devait compter au moins 3 ou 4 colonnes sans prendre en considération la colonne de garde, ce qui reviendrait à faire du premier Psaume le plus long du rouleau, comme si les quatre<sup>37</sup> Psaumes copiés à la suite allaient du plus long au plus court, le Psaume 91 étant dans une version abrégée. On a sans doute affaire à "un rouleau de poche" ou rituel de quelque

<sup>37</sup> Sont conservés des restes de quatre Psaumes puisque la col. 1 ne peut appartenir au Psaume de la col. 2.

130 à 140 cm de long au minimum, sur 14 lignes (col. 2-6) et 13 (?) lignes sur la première feuille, en 9 ou 10 colonnes au total.

– Au frg. 1, on pourrait lire l. 1: *ʔyh[wh]*, l. 2: *ʔl [y]kb[š]* “n]e domi[nera pas/ n]assuje[ttira pas” ou avec la défense “qu’il n]e domi[ne pas,” l. 3: *ʔh[ʔrš]*, l. 5: *ʔdm*, l. 6: *ʔswkwat* “ointes,”<sup>38</sup> vocabulaire qui se retrouve à la colonne suivante.

– col. 2 (= frgs. 2 ii + 4 + 3 + A). Il semble que frgs. 4 + 3 joignent par la hampe du *qof* et que frg. 4 se superpose à 2: 2 (*šlwmh*) et frg. 3 à 2:3-4 (*whdšym*, *ʔdym bš[ ]*), l. 2: soit *ʔyryq* [“] il videra/ versera [,” soit *wryq* [“] et vanité [,” l. 3: *ʔlmym* [“en eaux” bien en situation après *wbwkhw* et *yryq*, puis *ʔšbwʔh* [“serment,” l. 4: *ʔʔt* certain et *ʔbyhw[ ]*, l. 5: *h]tnym* “le dragon,” l. 6: *ʔt hʔr[š]*, l. 7: *mšb[ʔ lk]* et l. 8: *b[šm hnwrʔ whgdwl* ou un équivalent, voir 4:1-2, l. 9: (*h]mkh hgdwlh ʔhzwʔ[ ]*, comp. 4:4, 3:10,12, 4:13, 5:14-6:1, et l. 10: *šbʔym* connu des bols et amulettes<sup>39</sup> et *ʔt hšd[ʔ(m]* voir II 3-4 toujours au pluriel dans ces textes, et enfin l. 11: probablement *ʔwysb[ ]*.

Ce vocabulaire est à tel point comparable à celui des autres psauces de ce rouleau qu’il est recommandé de faire de ces fragments remis en place des restes de la fin d’un autre psaume d’exorcisme (conjuración par le nom et exécution de l’ordre), vraisemblablement lui aussi davidique, les trois derniers l’étant sans nul doute.

Si telle est bien la conclusion, on aurait alors identifié, dans ces colonnes à renuméroter de 1 à 7, “les quatre cantiques à cantiler sur les possédés,” *šyr lngn ʔl hpgwʔym ʔbʔh*, attribués à David et mentionnés en 11QP<sup>a</sup> 27:9-10, comme il a été suggéré dès la publication préliminaire<sup>40</sup> et plus fermement ensuite.<sup>41</sup>

Un aperçu sur le schéma général de ces Psaumes d’exorcisme devrait renforcer les délimitations du deuxième Psaume en 2:1-5:3.

*Schéma du troisième Psaume: 5:4-6:3a:*

- attribution du Psaume “de David,” titre et exorcisme au nom de Yahwé,
- invitation à l’invocation,
- invective à Bélial, l’être maléfique, maudit, faussement puissant et être de ténèbres,

<sup>38</sup> De la racine *swk* I ou *swk* II, mais rien à voir avec *sukkôt* “tentes.”

<sup>39</sup> Voir J. Naveh et S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls. Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem-Leiden, 1985) Geniza 7, amulette l. 2: *bšbʔym šmw*.

<sup>40</sup> Van der Ploeg, *Festgabe Kuhn*, 129.

<sup>41</sup> Puech, *RevQ*, 399-403.



- confiance en l'action puissante de Dieu par son ange Michel qui l'emprisonnera dans le Shéol.
- appel à l'ange contre satan et délivrance du juste par l'ange fort,
- perte éternelle de Bélial et de ses associés.

*Schéma du quatrième Psaume (Ps 91) : 6:3b-13*

- attribution du Psaume "de David,"
- confiance dans la délivrance divine,
- pas de crainte d'êtres maléfiques qui seront jugés,
- invocation à Dieu d'envoyer ses anges protecteurs,
- délivrance divine.<sup>42</sup>

*Schéma du deuxième Psaume: 2:1-5:3*

- [attribution du Psaume "de David," titre et exorcisme] au nom de [Yahvé],
- invitation à l'invocation "au nom de Yahvé" comme le fit Salomon à la suite de David pour la délivrance des esprits et démons,
- confiance en la puissance de Dieu créateur et providence,<sup>43</sup>
- apostrophe à l'être maléfique sur fond de puissance divine qui le jugera et le vaincra par un ange,
- conjuration par le Nom et intervention de l'ange fort, Raphaël, exécutant les ordres divins et envoyant le démon enchaîné dans l'Enfer ténébreux,
- efficacité de l'incantation de David.

En conséquence, ni la disposition matérielle (bas de la col. 2 et début de la col. 3), ni le schéma général de ces Psaumes n'autorisent un début de Psaume après la col. 2. En revanche, l'invitation à l'invocation du Nom et l'appel à la confiance en la puissance du Dieu créateur se placent en tête de ces compositions, alors que l'assistance des

<sup>42</sup> La tradition rabbinique ne cite que Ps 91:1-9 comme cantique sur les possédés, *Yerushalmi Shabbat* 6,2 (fin), *Erubin* 10,11 (fin). Et le *Midrash Tehillin* (Ps 91) ignore l'attribution davidique mais il connaît une disputation pour une composition salomonienne qu'il récuse, le Psaume ayant été composé par Moïse lui-même: "Quand Moïse partit pour les cieux, il récita ce Ps. contre les mauvais esprits qui commencent par 'Qui demeure à l'abri du Très-Haut...'", W.G. Braude, *The Midrash on Psalms, Translated from the Hebrew and Aramaic* (Yale Judaica Series 13: 1-2; New Haven, 1959).

<sup>43</sup> Les amendements des restaurations du début de la col. 3 ne visent plus l'activité créatrice de Dieu mais, en opposition, une invective à la domination de l'être maléfique impuissant face à l'agir merveilleux de Dieu dans l'histoire des hommes, suite à son agir dans la création, col. 2.

anges, les menaces et jugement de la puissance maléfique et l'affirmation de la délivrance viennent ensuite. Ce schéma général invite à rechercher le début du Psaume dans la colonne 2, comme nous l'avons proposé, puisque, malgré son état très fragmentaire, la col. I traite de conjuration et de victoire divine, c'est-à-dire des thèmes de la finale d'un autre psaume. Les restes de ce rouleau s'organisent donc autour de quatre compositions psalmiques.

Il est possible, sinon très probable, que ce premier Psaume conservé, manifestement de même type que les suivants, soit le plus long et le premier du rouleau, comme nous l'avons déjà suggéré, et que, compte tenu du genre, il soit lui aussi attribué à David comme les trois autres, ainsi que la restauration de passages lacuneux semble l'indiquer dans deux cas sur trois. Ainsi, nous estimons qu'il existe assez de preuves pour identifier ce rouleau avec celui mentionné en 11QP<sup>s</sup><sup>a</sup> 27:9-10.

Ces quatre Psaumes ne sont certainement pas les seules compositions sur les possédés, d'autant que Flavius Josèphe décrit les Esséniens comme experts dans l'art de la guérison et des propriétés médicinales des plantes et des pierres, *Guerre* VII § 136. Les *Cantiques du sage* (4Q510-4Q511) en sont d'autres, mais ces derniers *šyr tšbwħwt brkwet lmlk hkbwd dbry hwdwet ...*, sont manifestement attribués au sage *lmskyl* et non "à David." Ils ne peuvent donc pas entrer en ligne de compte, comme l'avait bien noté M. Baillet: "Il est cependant assez invraisemblable que les Esséniens eux-mêmes aient jamais vu dans ces cantiques, qui sont bien de leur cru, une composition davidique."<sup>44</sup> Il est même probable que, une fois les fragments mis en ordre, leur nombre dépasse le total de quatre cantiques.

Dans la mesure où il a été possible d'en restaurer le début et la fin, le deuxième Psaume de 11Q11 appartiendrait à un Psaume davidique et non salomonien, invitant l'exorciste à pratiquer l'incantation de David comme le fit Salomon, son fils, qui devint l'exorciste par excellence, ainsi qu'il est bien connu de la tradition ancienne.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Voir M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4. III (4Q482-4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982) 215.

<sup>45</sup> Voir Puech, *RevQ* 14, 399 ss. La pratique magique juive était très répandue en Palestine et l'on a retrouvé quantité d'amulettes et anneaux portant le nom de Salomon. Origène blâmait les chrétiens qui, comme les juifs, invoquaient Salomon contre les démons, *In Mattheum*, PG XIII, 1757, Eusèbe de Césarée, *Hist. Eccl.* V 1,14, etc.

Les *Cantiques du sage*, compositions esséniennes, n'utilisent jamais le tétragramme mais des substituts comme *Yod* dans la citation de Ps 19:10 en 4Q511 10,12, alors que ces Psaumes davidiques ne s'embarassent pas de ces subtilités et en usent fréquemment pour l'efficacité des invocations et des conjurations. Mais ils ne manquent pas pour autant de vénération pour le Nom qui n'est pas prononcé en vain selon Ex 20:7 = Dt 5:11. Les amulettes, bols magiques et autres continueront dans le même sens.<sup>46</sup> L'utilisation du tétragramme concourt avec le genre littéraire à en faire des Psaumes pré-qumraniens, comme il en est du Ps 91. Cela explique aussi leur parenté théologique avec *1 Hénoch*, *Jubilés*, *4QVisions d'Amram*: opposition lumière – ténèbres, prince de lumière – prince de ténèbres, Michel – Bélial, (*Testament des XII Patriarches*, Lévi 5:6-7, Dan 6:1-5), Raphaël<sup>47</sup> – démon, justes – méchants, etc.

Enfin, le rouleau 11Q11 est organisé de telle sorte qu'il se présente comme un rituel d'exorcismes, puisque la finale porte le répons: "Et on répondra: amen, amen" et *selah* (musique!). Toutes ces indications sont nettement en faveur d'une identification du rouleau avec les "Quatre cantiques à cantiler sur les possédés" attribués à David. Le doute des éditeurs nous paraît devoir être levé.

<sup>46</sup> Nous avons donné des indications à ce sujet en *RevQ* 14, 401s.

<sup>47</sup> En *1 Hén.* 20:3, Raphaël est préposé aux esprits des hommes.

THE CLASSIFICATION *HODAYOT* AND *HODAYOT*-LIKE  
(WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO  
4Q433, 4Q433A AND 4Q440)

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The scroll from cave 1 at Qumran that contains a collection of over thirty poetic compositions has come to be designated in different ways. There is no title preserved on the scroll itself.<sup>1</sup> In the *editio princeps* E. L. Sukenik explained the rationale that informed his naming of the scroll: "... the songs express thanks for the acts of kindness God has performed for their author. Since the great majority begin with the phrase "I thank thee, God," אודך אדוני, I have called the entire group the *Thanksgiving Scroll* (מגילת ההודיות)."<sup>2</sup> The term that Sukenik coined, *Hodayot*, was adopted and the scroll came to be designated as IQH (subsequently as IQH<sup>a</sup> when it became clear that there was a second copy in cave 1; see below). The term הודיות has either been kept in Hebrew and transliterated (*Hodayot*<sup>3</sup>), or has been rendered into English as *Thanksgiving Hymns* or *Thanksgiving Psalms*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Only rarely is the original title preserved, for example, [ך היוד ומן] as part of the title of the scroll containing IQS, IQSa and IQSb (J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD] 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955] 107 and plate XXII); דברי המארוח on frg. 8 verso of 4Q504 (M. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III (4Q482-4Q502)* [DJD] 7; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982] 138 and plate XLIX.

<sup>2</sup> E. L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955) 39.

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes *Hodayot* is italicized as is technically correct for a transliteration (occasionally even indications of vowel-length are supplied *Hôdâyôt*); more often 'Hodayot' or 'the Hodayot' is not italicized but treated as an anglicized title. This usage goes back to the early 1960s, for example, S. Holm-Nielsen writes "Hodayot has gradually become the popular name for them (I use it throughout with the definite article for the sake of fluency)" (*Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* [ATDan 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget I, 1960] 13).

<sup>4</sup> Compare the title of the commentary of M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961) with that of S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (see note above). The variation in usage persists in recent translations; compare "The Thanksgiving Hymns" in G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (4th ed.; London: Penguin, 1997); "Thanksgiving Psalms," in M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1996); "1QHodayot" in F. Garcia Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

In addition to this large scroll and the sixty-six small fragments that broke off from it, two other fragments were recovered from cave 1 that contain text that overlaps with material in the more extensively-preserved manuscript: IQ35 frg 1 = IQH<sup>a</sup> 15: 30 - 16: 2 (7: 27 - 8: 1<sup>5</sup>); IQ35 2 = IQH<sup>a</sup> 16: 13-14 (8: 12-13). This scroll is designated IQH<sup>b</sup>,<sup>6</sup> although whether this was ever a manuscript of the entire *Hodayot* collection as found in IQH<sup>a</sup> cannot be determined. The fact that there are only two lines on frg. 2 (with extensive blank skin above and below these lines) and that the line width is much shorter than in frg. 1 raises questions about the nature of this second copy, and it is not easy to propose any satisfactory explanation.<sup>7</sup>

From among the mass of cave 4 fragments, John Strugnell identified six manuscripts that contain text that overlaps with text in IQH<sup>a</sup>, and designated these as 4QH<sup>a-c</sup> and 4QpapH<sup>f</sup> (4QH427-432).<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the grouping of 4Q fragments that are textually identified with IQH<sup>a</sup> with other 4Q fragments that are paleographically identical and of similar literary form added some additional material that is not found in IQH<sup>a</sup>. The recent edition of these manuscripts and especially the attempts to reconstruct the original ordering of the fragments has alerted us to the fact that what is contained in 'the *Hodayot*' is more complex than previously recognized.<sup>9</sup> Only one of

<sup>5</sup> Whenever reference is made to IQH<sup>a</sup> in this paper, the column and line numbers are given first according to the reconstructed scroll and then, in brackets, according to the *editio princeps* of Sukenik. The reconstruction of the original scroll was established by H. Stegemann in his Heidelberg dissertation, "Rekonstruktion der *Hodayot*: Ursprüngliche Gestalt und kritisch bearbeiteter Text der Hymnenrolle aus Höhle von Qumran," (1963, unpublished); for a description of the results, see "The Reconstruction of the Cave 1 *Hodayot* Scroll," *Dead Sea Scrolls Congress Volume: Proceedings of the International Dead Sea Scrolls Congress, Jerusalem 1997* (ed. L. Schiffman et al., Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, forthcoming). E. Puech made a similar but independent reconstruction of the scroll which is described in "Quelques aspects de la restauration du rouleau des hymnes (IQH)," *JJS* 39 (1988) 38-55.

<sup>6</sup> At first, Milik thought that these two fragments belonged "presque certainement a IQH" and thus IQ35 was given the title "Recueil de cantiques d'action de grâces (IQH)" (DJD 1, 136).

<sup>7</sup> Very little attention has been paid to IQH<sup>b</sup>. Probably the fullest discussion of the problems is by Puech, "Quelques aspects de la restauration," 39-40.

<sup>8</sup> For an initial identification of these fragments see J. Strugnell, "Le travail d'édition des manuscrits de Qumrân," *RB* 63 (1956) 64.

<sup>9</sup> The cave 4 manuscripts are now published in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 69-254. This *editio princeps* expands and sometimes corrects earlier descriptions of these manuscripts, especially in E. Schuller, "The Cave Four *Hodayot* Manuscripts: A Preliminary Description," *JQR* 85 (1994) 137-50; also "The Cave 4 *Hodayot* Manuscripts: A

these manuscripts, 4QH<sup>b</sup>, contains the same collection of compositions as IQH<sup>a</sup>, that is, the same psalms arranged in the same order. 4QH<sup>a</sup>, which is dated palaeographically to approximately the same time as 4QH<sup>b</sup>, clearly has the psalms arranged in a different order than the order of IQH<sup>a</sup>. It does not contain any of the 'Hymns of the Teacher', that is, the section from columns 10-17 (2-9) of IQH<sup>a</sup>. Whether 4QH<sup>a</sup> contained material not in IQH<sup>a</sup> is impossible to determine (e.g., 4QH<sup>a</sup> frag. 8 i 13-ii 9 does not overlap with any material found in IQH<sup>a</sup> but this psalm could have been preserved in columns 1-3 or 27-28 of IQH<sup>a</sup> from which very little has survived). In the case of 4QH<sup>c</sup>, it is proposed in the *editio princeps* that the two surviving fragments came from the beginning of the scroll; if this is correct, this manuscript had yet another order of psalms, different than either 4QH<sup>a</sup> or IQH<sup>a</sup>/4QH<sup>b</sup>. In 4QH<sup>c</sup>, the material realia of the scroll, with its very narrow columns and only twelve lines to a column, indicates that it contained a much shorter collection of psalms than did IQH<sup>a</sup>, perhaps only the Hymns of the Teacher section. Likewise, according to the proposed reconstruction of 4QpapH<sup>f</sup> in terms of the shape of the fragments and the distances between corresponding shapes, it seems as if the scroll began with the psalm that comes in column 9 (1) in IQH<sup>a</sup>, that is, the material that is found in IQH<sup>a</sup> columns 1-8 did not come at the beginning of 4QpapHod<sup>f</sup>. Thus, although the designation *Hodayot* is used for all eight copies and although there is some text in 1QH<sup>b</sup> and in each of the 4QH copies that is also found in IQH<sup>a</sup>, these are not all identical copies of a set collection. There is a corpus of poems that belong to the category of *Hodayot* but these poems are collected and arranged in various ways that still need to be examined and studied in detail.

The issue is further complicated because in theory there could be some fragments that preserve text that belonged to the same corpus of poems even though this text does not appear in the surviving sections of IQH<sup>a</sup>. As the IQH<sup>a</sup> scroll is reconstructed by Stegemann and Puech, columns 1, 2 and 28 and most of columns 3 and 27 are totally missing; furthermore, some lines or parts of lines from the top and bottom lines of many columns have not been preserved at all. In

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Preliminary Description," *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Münster, 25.-26. Juli 1993* (ed. H.-J. Fabry, A. Lange und H. Lichtenberger; SJD 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996) 87-100.

a recent article, Strugnell and I undertook to re-examine many small manuscripts that had in the past been given a variety of titles like “prayers,” “liturgical pieces,” “poetic fragments,” or “hymn-like;” we paid particular attention to what Strugnell has called the “collected miscellanea” of 4Q433-481.<sup>10</sup> Much of the classification of these small clusters of fragments and the assignment of titles to them had been done in the early years of scrolls study, often after an impressionistic and preliminary examination.<sup>11</sup> We sought to determine whether any of these fragments might be classified – with a reasonable degree of probability – not merely as “prayer” or “hymnic” nor even generically as thanksgiving psalmody, but as witnesses to the specific collection of *Hodayot* that is attested in IQH<sup>a,b</sup> and 4QH<sup>a-f</sup>. The conclusions of our study were cautious. Some fragments that fit into the broad category of “I-thou” language addressed to God could be eliminated with a high degree of certainty as specifically *Hodayot* compositions. In these fragments (over 25 documents, see chart 1, pp. 65-68 of Strugnell and Schuller), the content is primarily petitionary or narrative; or these fragments have specific rubrical headings or conclusions (e.g., a small fragment that concludes  $\text{יְהוָה יְהוָה}$  is unlikely to be from the *Hodayot*); or they use the Tetragrammaton (never found in IQH<sup>a</sup>); or they contain terms like “Israel” and other “salvation-history” language, which is very rare in the *Hodayot*. In contrast, we found about 15 fragmentary documents that are difficult to exclude from the category of *Hodayot* on formal or terminological grounds (see chart 2, pp. 68-69 of Strugnell and Schuller). Such fragments are to be found in cave 4 (4Q445, 447, 472, 498, 499, 500), cave 1 (1Q36, 38, 39, 40, 45, 49, 52, 57) and some of the small caves (3Q6, 3Q9, 5Q18). Because they are so fragmentary, it is difficult to make a convincing argument that they should be included with the *Hodayot* in any formal way. At best we can conclude that there is nothing to preclude that some of these bits and pieces might have been associated with the *Hodayot* collection.

<sup>10</sup> J. Strugnell and E. Schuller, “Further *Hodayot* Manuscripts from Qumran?,” in *Antikes Judentum und Frühes Christentum: Festschrift für Hartmut Stegemann zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. B. Kollmann, W. Rienbold, A. Steudel; BZNW 97; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999) 51-72.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, the preliminary surveys by Strugnell, “Le travail d’édition,” and M. Baillet, “Psaumes, hymnes, cantiques et prières dans les manuscrits de Qumrân,” *Le Psautier: ses origines, ses problèmes littéraires, son influence* (ed. R. de Langhe; Orientalia et biblica Lovaniensis 4; Louvain: Louvain publications universitaires, 1962) 389-405.

There is yet a third category of texts. In addition to the eight manuscripts that are designated as *Hodayot* and the fifteen or so manuscripts that bear various titles but that could possibly be part of the *Hodayot* collection, there are a few other fragmentary manuscripts that have been given the specific designation of *Hodayot*-like or pseudo-*Hodayot* in various lists over the past decades.<sup>12</sup> These terms were assigned at an early stage before much work had been done on the manuscripts and the titles have been kept in the DJD publication: 4QH*Hodayot*-like Text A (4Q433), 4Qpap*Hodayot*-like Text B (4Q433a), 4QH*Hodayot*-like Text C (4Q440).<sup>13</sup> Further study indicates that these have varying degrees of similarity to the *Hodayot*. While this paper can give only a brief description of these manuscripts, preliminary to their full publication in DJD 29,<sup>14</sup> a comparison of these three manuscripts serves to highlight some of the issues and problems associated with this designation *Hodayot*-like.

4Q440, *Hodayot*-like Text C, has the most serious claim to be considered as *Hodayot* material. There are three fragments preserved of this late-Hasmonean/early Herodian manuscript including a large portion of the final column that is blank except for two words in the top line. The amount of text is limited: frg. 1 gives seven partial lines from the top of a column; frg. 2, ten words or partial words from five lines; and frg. 3, the left-hand side of the bottom twelve lines of a column and a few letters from the top line of the final column. The *vacat* line in 3 i 17 suggests a series of compositions such as are found in the *Hodayot*. God is always addressed in the second person and the speaker is first person singular or, in some instances, perhaps the first person plural (אלי 3 20; כולנו להעשותנו [ 3 21; נו [ or ]ני in 3 ii 1; for the use of the first-person plural in the *Hodayot*, cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7: 12-20 (frag. 10

<sup>12</sup> Other compositions were sometimes described as "like the *Hodayot*" even though the scroll was officially given another name. Occasionally a scroll has gone through a series of designations: for example, 4Q439 was once called "Work Similar to *Barkhi Nafshi*," then it was suggested that it "is probably more accurately referred to as a *Hodayot*-like text" (D. Seely, "The *Barkhi Nafshi* Texts (4Q434-439)" in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls* [ed. D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996]: 206); in the *editio princeps* the work is entitled *Lament By a Leader* (DJD 29, 334-41).

<sup>13</sup> Since this paper was presented at Oslo, there is now a *Hodayot*-like Text D (4Q440a), *olim* 4QH<sup>a</sup> frg. 14. This single fragment, which had been once associated with 4QH<sup>a</sup> although it is clearly not by the same hand, will be published by A. Lange in DJD 36.

<sup>14</sup> See DJD 29, 233-54.



1-9) //4QH<sup>a</sup> 8 6-12; IQH<sup>a</sup> 6: 13 (frag. 18 2); 4QH<sup>a</sup> 7 i-ii). In frag. 1 the subject is the creation of light and darkness and the establishment of their respective spheres, ביום ה[רביעי פתחתה מאור גדול בממש]לה, “[on the f]ourth [day] you opened a great luminary in the dom[ain of ...]”. Frag. 2 also speaks of ביום ה[רביעי פתחתה מאור גדול בממש]לה (“glor]ious fe[stivals]”). In spite of the fragmentary state of what is preserved, the most interesting feature is that there is evidence for a series of blessings. Unfortunately all are fragmentary or need to be partially restored so it is difficult to know whether a standardized blessing formulary was used: frag. 2 2 (after a small *vacat*) אלה ברוך אל; frag. 3 i 24 / ברוך; frag. 3 20 אלי אלה ברוך. At first glance, then, this might invite comparison with other series of blessings such as are found in *Berakot* (e.g., 4Q289 1a-b 6 / ברוך), the *Daily Prayers* (4Q503) with the opening formula ברוך אל ישראל, or 4Q408 which has the combination of similar second-person creation language (בראתה) frag. 1 4 followed by the formula ברוך יהוה (corrected to ברוך יהוה, frag. 1 6).<sup>15</sup> However, the absence of any traces of liturgical rubrics (אמן ואמן or ויענו ויאמרו) or any occurrences of the tetragrammaton make it unlikely that 4Q440 belongs to any of these works. The similarities are more with the multiple blessings that are to be found occasionally in the *Hodayot*. Sometimes, of course, in the *Hodayot* אלה ברוך אלה אדוני serves as an introductory formula, e.g., after the *vacat* line in IQH<sup>a</sup> 18: 16 (10: 14), and in 13: 22 (5: 20) where it is written interlinearly above אדוכה אדוני. However, occasionally there is a series of short blessings within a psalm in the *Hodayot*. One example is the triple blessing within six lines in IQH<sup>a</sup> 19: 30-36 (11: 27-33)

ברוך אלה [אדוני אשר נתתה לעבדך שכל דעה  
ברוך אלה אל הרחמים והחנינה  
ברוך אלה [אדוני כי אלה פעלתה אלה

Blessed are you [Lord wh]o give to your servant discerning knowledge  
... blessed are you God of mercy and compassion .... blessed are you  
Lord because you did these things.

Also in the composite text recovered from 4QH<sup>a</sup> 7 ii 7-23//4QH<sup>c</sup> 2 6-9//4QH<sup>b</sup> 21 4-6//IQH<sup>a</sup> 26: 26-42 there is another series of blessings:

<sup>15</sup> See the preliminary publication of A. Steudel, “4Q408: A Liturgy on Morning and Evening Prayer-Preliminary Edition,” *RevQ* 16 (1993-1995) 313-34. This has been renamed as “apocrMoses?” on the basis of some overlapping text with 4Q374 apocrMoses<sup>a</sup> and will be discussed more fully in DJD 36.

גדול אל ע[ושה פלא] ...  
 ברוך אל ה[מפ] לי [פ]לאות נאות ...  
 [ברוך אל הדעות הנ]וטה שמים ...

Great is God who do[es marvels] .... blessed is God who [doe]s mighty [m]arvels .... [blessed is the God of knowledge who str]etches out the heavens ...

Admittedly, in the first example there is some question of whether all three blessings belong to the same psalm,<sup>16</sup> and in the latter, the formulas are somewhat more divergent and one segment is largely restored. Yet the basic pattern of a series of blessing is quite certain. Certainly it cannot be said that blessings and/or a series of blessings precludes classification with the *Hodayot*. It is interesting to note that in IQH<sup>a</sup> the first series of blessings comes toward the end of a major unit or sub-division (that is, a new section clearly begins with IQH<sup>a</sup> 20: 7 [12: 4] למשכיל הודות ותפלה), and the second series comes in a psalm that is close to the end of the collection, at least in the arrangement in IQH<sup>a</sup>.<sup>17</sup> Likewise this portion of 4Q440 is from the end of the scroll.

It is difficult to be more definite about 4Q440. Since only three fragments have survived, one of which is from the end of the scroll, it is impossible to know whether the earlier part of the scroll might have contained some *Hodayot* text that we could recognize as overlapping with something in IQH<sup>a</sup> or 4QH<sup>a</sup>. What has survived is *Hodayot*-like in form and style, and it is just possible that 4Q440 was a collection of psalms that were part of the *Hodayot* collection, and we have preserved here at the end of the manuscript material not found in any other *Hodayot* collection.

In contrast, 4Q433, *Hodayot*-like A, has much less claim to be linked with the *Hodayot* collection. The three fragments are all small. Frg. 1 is 7.2 cm by 5.7 cm with a round hole in the center; it has parts

<sup>16</sup> That is, I consider IQH<sup>a</sup> 19:18-20: 6 (11: 15-12: 3) to be a single psalm. The division here has been much discussed, and some commentators have begun a new psalm with the blessing formula in 19: 30 (11: 27) or in 19: 32 (11: 29) but even if a new psalm begins at either point, there are still at least two consecutive blessings in a single composition. It is most unlikely that each blessing functions to begin a new unit.

<sup>17</sup> This could possibly be the final psalm in IQH<sup>a</sup>; it concluded at some point in column 27 (or perhaps even in column 28). In 4QH<sup>a</sup> the psalm comes in column 2-5 as the manuscript is reconstructed; it is followed by the psalm corresponding to IQH<sup>a</sup> 7:12-20 (frg. 10 1-9) and then there is a new section of material with a rubrical heading which overlaps with IQH<sup>a</sup> 7: 21 (frg. 10 10).

of 10 lines. Frg. 2 has only four full words and three partial words; it is not certain that frg. 3 (with eleven letters from over four lines) actually even belongs to the same manuscript. The form is what suggests some link with the *Hodayot*. There is a first person singular speaker (ואני in 1 2 [twice]; ואהיה 1 3; העמדתני 1 6; אני 1 8; אני 3 2; palaeographically it is difficult to distinguish whether some of these might be plural (אנו) and second person language that almost certainly refers to God (אתה משפיל [ים] והמלכ[ים] 1 4; תשפיל 1 5; העמדתני 1 6; חורחך 2 2). The use of rhetorical questions with מי has long been recognized as a stylistic feature of the *Hodayot*; frg. 1 2 reads [מי אני ומי ..]. There is nothing particularly sectarian in the vocabulary, but neither is there anything that distinguishes it from the lexical practice of the *Hodayot*. In sum, for 4Q433 there is nothing that would eliminate these fragments from being part of a psalm that belongs to the *Hodayot* collection but there is very little positive to support such an identification.

4Q433a poses particular issues and challenges and since it has come rather lately into the discussion, it will be described in somewhat more detail. The four fragments assigned to this manuscript are written on the other side of the fragments that have been designated as 4QpapSerek *ha-Yahad*<sup>18</sup>, 4Q255. This papyrus manuscript had a different publication-history than the rest of the *Hodayot* and *Hodayot*-like material since it was part of the material allotted to J.T. Milik along with the other ten copies of *Serek*. The fact that the text on the other side was not *Serek* material was recognized early on, and in the handwritten card concordance (*Preliminary Concordance*) at the Rockefeller Museum these fragments were already described as “pseudo-*Hodayot*.” However, they were not assigned a distinct number and name until 1996 when they were given the designation 4Q433a in order to insert them into the series of miscellanea 4Q433-481.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The readings from the card concordance were reproduced by B. Z. Wacholder and M. G. Abegg in their volume under the title “4Qpapyrus *Hodayot*-Like” but there was no number assigned to the manuscript (*A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls, Fascicle 3* [Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1995], 369-70). Likewise in the translation of Wise, Abegg, and Cook (*Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*), this is the work, without a number, called “Thanksgivings (4QHodayot-like),” 446-7. In Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, it appears as “Hymnic Fragments (4Q255 recto).” S. Metso uses the designation “Pseudo-*Hodayot*” (*The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* [STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997]18-21).

Milik (followed by Sarianna Metso) thought that the *Serek* was written on the *recto* of the papyrus sheet and the pseudo-*Hodayot* text on the *verso*. Philip Alexander, after examination of the papyrus, concluded that the *Serek* text was written on the *verso* (that is, “with the vertical fibres uppermost”<sup>19</sup>) and *Hodayot*-like B on the *recto*. Although Alexander then deduced that the *Hodayot*-like text was “presumably written first” (that is, because it was on the *recto*), this is difficult palaeographically. Alexander accepts the dating that Frank Moore Cross gave for the *Serek* writing: “a crude early cursive script” from “the second half of the second century BCE, preferably ... the end of the century.”<sup>20</sup> In contrast, *Hodayot* -like Text B was written in a Hasmonean semiformal hand, very similar to the hand of many other papyrus manuscripts, and to be dated around 75 BCE. In the view of many papyrologists the vertical or horizontal direction of the fibres has little to do with which side was written first, and so the terminology of *recto* and *verso* is perhaps not very helpful in understanding how the two sides of the papyrus are related. The sheet was turned upside down when the writing was done on the other side.

The fragments of 4Qpap*Hodayot*-like Text B are numbered on the basis of evidence supplied by the *Serek* text. In that manuscript, frgs. 1 and 2 are so identified because the text corresponds to IQS 1: 1-5 (frg. 1) and IQS 3: 7-12 (frg. 2). The two smaller fragments (designated Frg. A and B by Alexander, frgs. 3 and 4 by Metso) contain text that is vaguely similar in content to IQS 3-4, though it does not correlate exactly with any portion of IQS. Metso attempted to associate frg. 3 specifically with IQS 3: 20-25 which would put it in “the column on the left-hand side of frg. 2,” but admits that this is speculative and at best there is “a loose parallel.”<sup>21</sup> It is likely that these unidentified fragments came from columns subsequent to the column containing frg. 2 – though if this recension of the *Serek* were significantly different than that of IQS, these fragments could conceivably

<sup>19</sup> P.S. Alexander and G. Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts* (DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). The quotation is from p. 28, and Alexander assured me in oral conversation that this was based on a reexamination of the originals.

<sup>20</sup> F.M. Cross, “Appendix: Paleographical Dates of the Manuscripts,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck/Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994) 57.

<sup>21</sup> Metso, *The Textual Development*, 19.

have stood in a different order. As we will observe below, when the fragments of pap*Hodayot*-like Text B are numbered as frgs. 1-4 on the basis of the *Serek*, the order is certainly plausible in terms of the themes and content.

Both Alexander and Metso came to the conclusion that it is impossible to reconstruct the original scroll on material and/or textual grounds with any degree of confidence, or even to determine the number of lines in the column.<sup>22</sup> Thus we can only make a few general observations about the physical arrangement of the pap*Hodayot*-like Text B material. Assuming that the beginning of 4QpapS<sup>a</sup> was the actual beginning of the scroll, fig. 1 in our text would have come at the bottom left corner of the first column (that is, the sheet was turned upside-down when the writing was done on the second side). Frgs. 1 and 2 of 4Q433a would have come at some distance from each other, given the overlap with IQS 1: 1-5 and 3: 7-12 (if we assume that IQS and 4QpapS<sup>a</sup> were similar in content, for example, that 4QpapS<sup>a</sup> also contained the complete description of the Covenant Renewal liturgy, IQS 1: 18-2: 18). It is likely that frgs. 3 and 4 also came the lower half of the sheet, although at what distance is impossible to determine.

There are certainly similarities of vocabulary, theme, and form that explain why an association was made from early on between this material and the *Hodayot*. The manuscript contained a series of discrete compositions, as evidenced most clearly in the first lines of fig. 2: in fig. 2 line 1 the left part of the line is uninscribed after עולמים (standard vocabulary in a concluding phrase); there is a *vacat* space at the beginning of the next line and then the rubrical note למשכיל. The occurrence of למשכיל as an incipit at the beginning of a new unit can be compared to למשכיל in IQH<sup>a</sup> 20: 7 (12: 4) and 25: 34 (fig. 8 10) and reconstructions with למשכיל have been proposed for two other places, IQH<sup>a</sup> 7: 21 (fig. 10 10) and 5: 12 (fig. 15 i 1).

Fig. 2 is a fable (ל[ש]ל) – if the reading and reconstruction is cor-

<sup>22</sup> Metso very tentatively suggests that there were 12 lines to a column in 4QpapS<sup>a</sup>, and approximately six columns between fig. 1 and 2 (*Textual Development*, 20). But this is based on the identification of fig. 3 with IQS 3: 20-25 and the assumption that fig. 3/A comes from the bottom of the column, that is, that the large *vacat* space is the bottom margin. Alexander claims that this is “probably not a bottom margin, since traces of three further lines of writing show up in it under strong magnification. It is no longer possible to say whether these lines were erased deliberately or accidentally. They are now completely illegible” (DJD 26, 27).

rect<sup>23</sup>) of the “plant of delight” (נֹטֵעַ שְׁשׂוּעִים). The passage draws specifically upon Isa 5:1-7, but employs vocabulary and imagery from a wide variety of “tree” parables in the Hebrew Bible (including Ezek 17, 19, Job, Song of Songs, Ps 80, Jer 2:21). In contrast to the vine of Isa 5, this vine does not produce “sour grapes” and thus is an image of a righteous group. Frgs. 3 and 4 speak of wrath and destruction, especially by fire (נֶחֱלִי זֹפֶת לְאַכּוֹר [3 9]). Although the physical distance in the original scroll between the fragments cannot be ascertained (see above), it is certainly possible that all these fragments were all part of the same composition, and the contrast is between the flourishing tree that produces only good fruit (frg. 2) and the destruction that will come upon the wicked (frgs. 3 and 4). Frg. 1 is more independent and without a broad context, but the vocabulary is full of words of praise and joy (יִשְׂמַח, וְחִשְׁבֹּחַת, שִׁירוֹתָיו).

The imagery recalls the lengthy “tree” passages in IQH<sup>a</sup> 14 (6) and 16 (8) in which the ‘eternal plantation’ מִצְעַת עוֹלָם is the image for the community. The description in frgs. 3 and 4 of eschatological destruction by fire has parallels in IQH<sup>a</sup> 11: 20-37 (3: 19-36), and there is some specific shared vocabulary (נֶחֱלִי זֹפֶת frg. 3 9 and IQH<sup>a</sup> 11: 32 [3: 31]; בְּלִיעַל frg. 4 2 and IQH<sup>a</sup> 11: 29, 30, 33 [3: 28, 29 32]).

In formal terms, however, there is little to link these fragments with the *Hodayot*. There is no first-person speaker (singular or plural) nor is there an address to God in the second person; instead God is referred to in the third person. Apart from the designation לְמַשְׁכִּיל, there is little that is specifically sectarian in the vocabulary or content, though terms such as בְּלִיעַל and the expectation of the eschatological fire of destruction can readily fit into a sectarian context. Although the attribution “to/for the *Maskil*” (לְמַשְׁכִּיל) is well attested in the *Hodayot* (as specified above) and in other prayer/liturgical-type works (e.g., IQSb, the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the *Songs of the Sage*), it is by no means a sure indication of this genre, but is equally common in didactic and instructional works such as *Serek*, *Damascus Document*, *War Rule*, and *The Words of the Maskil to All the Sons of Dawn* (4Q298). Likewise the image of the community as tree is not limited to the *Hodayot*, but is found in a wide spectrum of genres: “the eternal planting” in IQS 8: 5-15, 11: 7-9 and CD 1: 7-8; the parable of the tree in 4Q302 2 ii 2-9; the tree of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 2 10; the

<sup>23</sup> For further discussion see the *Notes on the Readings and Comments* on this line in DJD 29.

vineyard of 4Q500; tree language in 4Q418 81 i 13 and 6Q11. There is yet another “tree” fragment (“Unidentified Fragment B”) which Alexander and Vermes included as part of 4QS<sup>b</sup> (4Q262), though they admit that “Frg. B almost certainly belonged to a different scroll,”<sup>24</sup> as Puech has noted there is a certain hymnic, poetic quality that is recognizable even in the small amount of text preserved.<sup>25</sup> But there is no specific overlap between this fragment (4Q262a) and 4Q433a that would enable us to associate these two works more closely. Considered independently and on their own merits, the fragments of 4Q433a might be classified as a hymn (in the strict formal-critical sense since God is in the third-person) or, more likely, as some type of extended sapiential-type reflection or instruction.

In conclusion, this brief examination of 4Q433, 433a and 440 has highlighted some problems with the designation *Hodayot*-like. Indeed the language of *Hodayot* itself needs careful reconsideration in light of the cave 4 materials. At the most basic level, it is becoming increasingly clear that “the *Hodayot*” and IQH<sup>a</sup> are not one and the same thing, and that there were various *Hodayot* collections as well as other poetic materials more-or-less closely linked. As we study all the rich and varied material that is now available, we may discover that we need to develop some more precise and nuanced designations, but that remains a task for the future.

<sup>24</sup> DJD 26, 190.

<sup>25</sup> See the brief but important comments and new readings in Puech’s review of Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, *RevQ* 18 (1997-1998) 450 and his review of F. García Martínez & E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. Volume I IQ1-4Q273*, *RevQ* 18 (1997-1998) 447.

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QUMRAN WISDOM  
AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

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# THE NOTION OF 'FLESH' IN 4QINSTRUCTION AND THE BACKGROUND OF PAULINE USAGE\*

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## 1. *The religio-historical problem: The background of the negative usage of σάρξ in Paul*

One of the most debated issues in New Testament research has been the question of the origin and background of Pauline thought and terminology. A controversial point within this discussion is Paul's usage of the term "flesh" (σάρξ) which goes far beyond the range of meanings of בשר in the Hebrew Bible. There, בשר can denote the human body and its physical substance or, generally, the created human being in its weakness and mortality.<sup>1</sup> But in Paul, at least in some passages, the use of the term σάρξ is strongly associated with the notion of evil and iniquity. It even seems to denote a sphere or power opposed to God and his will, most obviously when it is used in contrast with the term "spirit" (πνεῦμα), e.g. in Gal 5:17 or Rom 8:5ff:

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<sup>1</sup> In other passages, בשר can denote also a family relative, a part of the human body, e. g. genitals, or an animal body – dead or alive – or part of an animal body, e.g. as meat or as an offering; cf. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (ed. D. J. A. Clines; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995) 2. 277; *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (ed. L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner and J. J. Stamm; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994) 1.164; see more extensively F. Baumgärtel, "σάρξ; B. Flesh in the Old Testament," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971) 7. 105-108; G. Gerleman, "בשר *bašar* Fleisch," *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (ed. E. Jenni, C. Westermann; München: Chr. Kaiser and Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1971) 1. 376-379; N. Bratsiotis, "בשר," *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (ed. G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1973) 1. 850-867.

For the Flesh is actively inclined against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the Flesh. Indeed these two powers constitute a pair of opposites at war with one another, the result being that you do not actually do the very things you wish to do. (Gal 5:17).<sup>2</sup>

For those who exist in terms of the flesh take the side of the flesh, whereas those who exist in terms of the Spirit take the side of the Spirit. For the flesh's way of thinking is death, whereas the Spirit's way of thinking is life and peace. For this reason the flesh's way of thinking is hostility toward God, for it does not submit itself to the law of God; for it cannot. And those who are in the flesh are not able to please God. (Rom 8:5-8).<sup>3</sup>

The religio-historical explanation of the Pauline antithesis of "flesh" and "spirit" and the background to his negative usage of "flesh" has been an unresolved problem up until now. From the middle of the last century, scholars have attempted an explanation of Pauline usage in terms of Hellenistic or even Gnostic ideas.<sup>4</sup> More recently, a concept of dualistic wisdom offered an explanation for the Pauline antithesis. Egon Brandenburger tried to give evidence of this in Hellenistic Judaism, chiefly in the Wisdom of Solomon and in the works of Philo.<sup>5</sup> It is conjectured, then, that Paul came across the concept in

<sup>2</sup> Translation from J. L. Martyn, *Galatians* (AB 33A; New York: Doubleday, 1998) 479. Text: Ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκός, ταῦτα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκειται, ἵνα μὴ ἂ ἐὰν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε.

<sup>3</sup> Translation from J. D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8* (WBC 38A; Waco: Word, 1988) 414. Text: Οἱ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ὄντες τὰ τῆς σαρκός φρονοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος. Τὸ γὰρ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός θάνατος, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος ζωὴ καὶ εἰρήνη· διότι τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός ἔχθρα εἰς θεοῦ, τῷ γὰρ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐχ ὑποτάσσεται, οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνανται· οἱ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ὄντες θεῷ ἀρέσαι οὐ δύνανται.

<sup>4</sup> The explanation from pagan Hellenistic thought was offered during the 19th century by adherents of the Tübingen school of Ferdinand Christian Baur. The delineation from Hellenism or Hellenistic syncretism was then continued by the scholars of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule, e. g. by Wilhelm Bousset (see his: *Kyrios Christos* [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921] 134) and Richard Reitzenstein (*Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* [3<sup>rd</sup> ed.; Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1927] 86), who characterized Paul as the greatest of all Gnostics (loc. cit.). The explanation from Gnosticism was also accepted in the influential works of Rudolf Bultmann (cf., e.g. "Paulus," *RGG* 4 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1930] 1019-1045: 1035) and his pupil Ernst Käsemann (*Leib und Leib Christi. Eine Untersuchung zur paulinischen Begrifflichkeit* [BHT 9; Tübingen: Mohr, 1933] 105). On the history of research see R. Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms. A Study of their Use in Context Settings* (AGJU 10; Leiden: Brill, 1971) 49-94; A. Sand, *Der Begriff "Fleisch" in den paulinischen Hauptbriefen* (Biblische Untersuchungen. Neue Folge 2; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1967) 1-121.

<sup>5</sup> E. Brandenburger, *Fleisch und Geist. Paulus und die dualistische Weisheit* (WMANT 29; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968); cf. also H. Paulsen, *Überlieferung*

the circles of Hellenistic-Jewish Christianity in Syro-Palestine<sup>6</sup> or – more precisely – at Antioch.<sup>7</sup>

The textual evidence, however, for such a conception in Hellenistic Judaism is rather weak. An antithesis of σάρξ and πνεῦμα comparable to the Pauline usage can be found neither in Wisdom<sup>8</sup> nor in Philo. For even though there are some passages in the works of Philo in which σάρξ and πνεῦμα or their derivatives are used in contrast,<sup>9</sup> they are just one pair of terms among others<sup>10</sup> and are not used as a fixed antithesis. Furthermore, compared with σάρξ, Philo uses σῶμα more than ten times as much.<sup>11</sup> Of course, in his view bodily and

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*und Auslegung in Römer 8* (WMANT 43; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974) 45-47, and U. Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer 2* (Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar 6,2; Zürich: Benzinger and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1980) 67f.

<sup>6</sup> E. Brandenburger, *Fleisch und Geist*, 228.

<sup>7</sup> A. Dauer, *Paulus und die christliche Gemeinde im syrischen Antiochien* (BBB 106; Weinheim: Philo, 1996) 77f. and 114f.; K. Berger, *Theologieggeschichte des Urchristentums* (Tübingen and Basel: Francke, 1995<sup>2</sup>) 423. The impact of Antiochian traditions on Pauline theology is also confirmed by J. Becker, *Paulus. Der Apostel der Völker* (3rd. ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998) 108ff.; see also E. Rau, *Von Jesus zu Paulus. Entwicklung und Rezeption der antiochenischen Theologie im Urchristentum* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1994) 109ff. Cf., however, the critical refutation of the 'pan-Antiochenism' in New Testament scholarship, in M. Hengel / A. M. Schwemer, *Paul Between Damascus and Antioch* (London: SCM, 1997) 279ff.

<sup>8</sup> There is only one passage in which σάρξ is used in an anthropological sense: in Wis 7:1 the author in the royal garments of Pseudo-Solomon points out that he is a mortal man like all the rest, wrought into flesh (ἐγλύφην σάρξ) in his mother's womb. Then, six verses later, he tells that he prayed, and the "spirit of wisdom" (πνεῦμα σοφίας) was given to him (7:7; cf. 1 Kgs 8:12-53). In this composite term, the predominant element is σοφία, not πνεῦμα (see B. L. Mack, *Logos and Sophia. Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie im hellenistischen Judentum* [SUNT 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973] 64 n. 6). Therefore, it is not possible to take this passage as an argument for any kind of fixed opposition between σάρξ and πνεῦμα in Wisdom or in Hellenistic Jewish circles.

<sup>9</sup> *On the Giants* 19f.29; *On the Unchangeableness of God* 2; *The Worse attacks the Better* 84f.; *On the Special Laws* 4,122f.; *Who is the Heir* 55f.; cf. E. Brandenburger, *Fleisch und Geist*, 116 n. 5.

<sup>10</sup> See, e.g., the opposition of σῶμα – ψυχή: *On the Giants* 12; *On the Unchangeableness of God* 55, σῶμα – νοῦς: *On the Giants* 9; *Who is the Heir* 274, σῶμα – σοφία: *Allegorical Interpretation* 3,151f., σῶμα (and γῆ) – πνεῦμα: *Allegorical Interpretation* 161, σάρξ – ψυχή: *On the Giants* 40; *On Drunkenness* 69f; *On the Unchangeableness of God* 55f.; *Allegorical Interpretation* 3,158, σάρξ – νοῦς: *On the Giants* 40; *Allegorical Interpretation* 2,49f.; *Who is the Heir* 267f.274; *The Worse attacks the Better* 84f.; *On the Special Laws* 4,122f., σάρξ – λόγος: *Allegorical Interpretation* 3,158 (cf. *On Drunkenness* 87), σάρξ – σοφία: *On the Unchangeableness of God* 141-143; *Allegorical Interpretation* 3,152.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. J. Leisegang, *Index ad Philonis Alexandrini Opera* (Philonis Alexandrini Opera 7; ed. L. Cohn; P. Wendland; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1926) 703 (1 1/2 columns) and 748-758 (about 20 columns).

earthly things are inferior to spiritual things, and σάρξ belongs, like σῶμα, to the earthly sphere. But in contrast to Paul, σάρξ is considered neither to be the reason or occasion for sin,<sup>12</sup> nor to be seen as a quasi-daemonic power with cosmic dimensions. Therefore, summarizing the religio-historical discussion, Robert Jewett correctly points out that “on the key issue of the precedent for Paul’s cosmic σάρξ usage, the Qumran tradition offers a somewhat closer correlation than Hellenistic Judaism.”<sup>13</sup>

## 2. *The classical Qumran parallels for Paul’s usage of “flesh”*

Some of the parallels for the Pauline usage of “flesh” from the manuscripts from Cave 1 are well known. They were discussed already in the 1950s by Karl Georg Kuhn, W. D. Davies and others.<sup>14</sup> With the exception of these passages, the vast majority of occurrences of בשר in Qumran remain firmly within the Biblical range of meanings.<sup>15</sup> For

<sup>12</sup> This holds true for *On the Giants* 29 as well, where “flesh” is said to be “the chief cause for ignorance”. But in this passage, flesh denotes only the duties of daily life, marriage, rearing of children, provision of necessities and the business of private and public life which tie the human being to the earthly sphere and hinder the growth of wisdom.

<sup>13</sup> R. Jewett, *Paul’s Anthropological Terms*, 92f.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. K. G. Kuhn, “Πειρασμός – ἁμαρτία – σάρξ im Neuen Testament und die damit zusammenhängenden Vorstellungen,” *ZTK* 49 (1952) 200-222: 209ff.; idem, “New Light on Temptation, Sin and Flesh in the New Testament,” *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; New York: Harper, 1967) (94-113; W. D. Davies, “Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit,” *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; New York: Harper, 1957) 157-182 and 276-282; idem, “Additional notes”, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (2nd ed.; London: SPCK, 1955) 352f.; D. Flusser, “The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity,” *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Ch. Rabin and Y. Yadin; ScrHier 4; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958) 215-266: 252-263. On the earlier discussions, see also H. Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1966) 2. 175-177.

<sup>15</sup> Thus already H. Huppenbauer, “בשר ‘Fleisch’ in den Texten von Qumran,” *TZ* 13 (1957) 298-300. In the discussion of the 1950’s, the main issue was whether the Qumran usage attests to foreign religio-historical influences: K. G. Kuhn was one of the first scholars who tried to explain the dualism in the Qumran texts in terms of Persian thought (see his article “Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion,” *ZTK* 49 [1952] 296-316, and, even earlier, “Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament,” *ZTK* 47 [1950], 192-211 [211]). His theories were refuted by F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumrantexte* (BBB 10; Bonn: Hanstein 1956), on the use of בשר, see op. cit., 85; cf. also R. Meyer, “σάρξ C: Fleisch im Judentum,” *TWNT* 7. 109-118 (111-113); ET: “σάρξ C: Flesh in Judaism,” *TDNT* 7.110-119 (112-114). These authors might have been right in respect of the majority of Qumran occurrences, but they failed to evaluate the pas-

the present purpose, I can omit all these passages and discuss only the few, but important texts where בשר is strongly linked with the idea of sin and iniquity or even seems to represent a sort of cosmic power.

a) *The closest terminological parallels*

Firstly, there are some terminological parallels in the *War Rule* and in the concluding 'psalm' in 1QS<sup>16</sup> where בשר is used in connection with terms of sin, as in בשר עול (1QM 4: 4; 1QS 11: 9) and בשר אשמה (1QM 12: 12<sup>17</sup>) which correspond to the Pauline σάρξ ἁμαρτίας in Rom 8:3.<sup>18</sup> But the semantical differences should not be overlooked: in the *War Rule*, "sinful flesh" is used to denote "the wicked" (1QM 4: 4), "Belial and all the men of his lot" (1QM 4: 2), or the hostile "nations" (1QM 12: 11; cf. 14: 7; 15: 2), who will be destroyed in the eschatological war by the power of God. But in the phrases in 1QM 4: 4 and 12: 12 the notion of sin or guilt is conveyed by the words עול and אשמה. Therefore, strictly speaking, the meaning of בשר in these passages does not go beyond the Biblical range of meanings. בשר simply denotes a kind of human being,<sup>19</sup> which is characterized more precisely by the terms עול and אשמה. The composite terms בשר עול and בשר אשמה, then, refer to the nations as wicked and opposed to Israel or the sons of light.<sup>20</sup> But in spite of the semantic differences,<sup>21</sup>

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sages where the Qumran usage goes beyond the Biblical usage. In any case, the issue of the religio-historical explanation of Qumran dualism should be treated quite cautiously. I have discussed the problems in my article "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library," *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies. Cambridge 1995. Published in Honour of J. M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. Bernstein; F. García Martínez; J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden etc.: Brill, 1997) 275-335.

<sup>16</sup> On this text, see below.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the parallel passage without אשמה in 1QM 19: 4, from which some authors conjectured that אשמה in 1QM 12: 12 is an interpretative addition, cf. J. Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1958) 182; J. van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre* (STDJ 2; Leiden: Brill, 1959) 148; J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes. Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament* (SUNT 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964) 111.

<sup>18</sup> Thus already Kuhn, "Πειρασμός," 210 n. 2; cf. also Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 248; Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1966) 1. 178.

<sup>19</sup> Huppenbauer, "בשר 'Fleisch' in den Texten von Qumran," 299.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 111.

<sup>21</sup> Loc. cit.: "בשר" ist hier ... noch nicht der Fromme selbst, sofern er der Sünde unterliegt."

phraseologically בשר ערל is much closer to the term σάρξ ἁμαρτίας (Rom 8:3) than it is to any of the Greek parallels.<sup>22</sup>

b) *Semantic parallels in the Hodajot*

Even closer to the Pauline usage semantically are some passages in the *Hodajot* and similarly in the 'psalm' attached to the *Community Rule* in IQS. In these passages, the notion of sin is conveyed by the term בשר itself, not just by its complements. We should also note that some passages of the *Hodajot* even show a certain opposition of בשר and רוח, even if it is quite far removed from the Pauline antithesis.

1) In IQH<sup>a</sup> 5: 30-33 (= 13: 13-16 Sukenik),<sup>23</sup> one of the characteristic passages which Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn has called "Niedrigkeitsdoxologien,"<sup>24</sup> the author says:

In the mysteries of your insight  
[you] have apportioned all these things,  
to make your glory known.  
[However, what is] the *spirit of flesh*<sup>25</sup>  
to understand all these matters

<sup>22</sup> The closest Greek parallel seems to be ἁμαρτία τῆς σαρκός (*Apoc. Mos.* 25).

<sup>23</sup> References to the manuscript IQH<sup>a</sup> are quoted according to the counting of columns and lines in H. Stegemann's reconstruction of the scroll. The reference according to the *editio princeps* by E. L. Sukenik is given in brackets. Cf. H. Stegemann, *Rekonstruktion der Hodajot. Ursprüngliche Gestalt und kritisch bearbeiteter Text der Hymnenrolle aus Höhle 1 von Qumran* (dissertation; typescript; Heidelberg, 1963). I owe thanks to Prof. Stegemann for permission to use his unpublished dissertation and to quote according to his reconstruction of the *Hodajot*.

<sup>24</sup> See the definition in H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil. Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) 27f.; cf. also H. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde* (SUNT 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980) 73f, and J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 136f. The term is coined as a parallel to "Gerichtsdoxologie", a specific genre in the Biblical tradition (cf. Exod 9:27f.; Lam 1:18-22; Job 4f.; Ezra 9; Neh 9; Dan 3:31-4:34; 9); on this genre, see F. Horst, "Die Doxologien im Amosbuch," *ZAW* 47 (1929) 45-54, republished in *Gottes Recht. Gesammelte Studien zum Recht im Alten Testament* (Theologische Bibliothek 12; München: Kaiser, 1961) 155-166; G. von Rad, "Gerichtsdoxologie," *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (Theologische Bibliothek 48; München: Kaiser, 1973) 2. 245-254. Kuhn describes the difference between the two genres: "Im AT handelt es sich um ein Schuldbekennnis, das mit einer Doxologie, die im besonderen Jahwes 'Gerechtigkeit' ausspricht, verbunden ist. In den Gemeindeliedern wird neben dem Bekenntnis der Sünde ebenso die kreatürliche Nichtigkeit des Menschen hervorgehoben. Der 'Niedrigkeit' des Menschen als Sünder und Geschöpf wird Gottes דקדק und seine Allmacht gegenübergestellt" (Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 27).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. 4Q301 5 3; on this passage, see below.



and to have insight in [your woundrous] and great counsel?  
 What is someone born of a woman among all your awesome works?  
 He is a structure of dust fashioned with water,  
 his counsel is the [iniquity] of sin, shame of dishonor and so[urce of]  
 impurity,  
 and a depraved spirit rules over him.<sup>26</sup>

In this passage the term רוח בשר, "spirit of flesh,"<sup>27</sup> refers to the human spirit,<sup>28</sup> which is characterized as fleshly, i.e. not capable of grasping God's counsel and his woundrous deeds. בשר refers to the created existence of the human being, which is also described by ילוד אשה, "born of a woman", and מבנה עפר, "structure of dust," and finally characterized in terms of sin, impurity and depravation. But in this passage, the author chiefly stresses the incapability of the human being to understand God's counsel and to appreciate his glory. Humanity is unable to have insight, ruled by a depraved spirit (רוח גערה), and, consequently, acts in sin and impurity.

Having stated the human incapability of understanding, the hymn goes on to highlight the miracle of revelation and salvation. This is continued by the confession:

And I, your servant, have known  
 thanks to *the spirit* you have placed in me [...].<sup>29</sup>

Whereas human nature is unable to appreciate the works of God, the author is led towards salvation by the divine spirit which provides knowledge. In some respects, the passage even plays with the contrast between 'flesh' and 'spirit': whereas the 'fleshly' human nature, called רוח בשר, is unable to get insight, the blindness of the flesh is healed by the gift of the spirit.<sup>30</sup> However, the contrast could also be expressed as the opposition of two different 'spirits', the 'spirit of depravation' that rules over the 'fleshly' human being, and the spirit that provides insight.

<sup>26</sup> English translation according to *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; ed. F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar; Leiden etc.: Brill, 1997-99) 1.150f, who count the lines differently (there 1. 19f). Cf. the discussion of conjectures in H. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, 91.

<sup>27</sup> See also 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4: 37 (= 17: 25 Sukenik). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12: 30 (= 4: 29 Sukenik) the composite term is replaced by the single word בשר.

<sup>28</sup> A. E. Sekki, *The Meaning of ruah at Qumran* (SBLDS 110; Atlanta: Scholars, 1989) 104 n. 24.

<sup>29</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5: 35f. (= 13: 18f. Sukenik).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, 91.

2) A contextual opposition of 'flesh' and 'spirit' can be found more clearly in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7: 34f. (= 15: 21 Sukenik). The statement on the spirit in this passage is also preceded by a 'Niedrigkeitsdoxologie' which uses בשר to denote human incapability of understanding the divine mysteries.

What, then, is flesh, to understand [your mysteries]?  
How can dust direct its steps?

Then, the author continues:

You have fashioned the spirit  
and have organised its task [before the centuries].  
From you comes the path of every living being.<sup>31</sup>

In this passage, the human being, as a mere creature of dust, is contrasted with God, who has predestined the ways of every creature and "in his hand is the inclination (צַר) of every spirit (כּוּל רוּחַ)."<sup>32</sup> The context shows that the opposition of 'flesh' and 'spirit' in this passage must be understood in anthropological terms. Whereas 'flesh' characterizes the nature of the created being, 'spirit' denotes the predestined inclination, or even the predestined existence of every human being.<sup>33</sup> This usage is quite close to the way predestination is expressed in the pre-Essene doctrine of the two spirits in 1QS 3: 13 - 4: 26.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7: 34f. (= 15: 21f. Sukenik).

<sup>32</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7: 27 (= 15: 14 Sukenik).

<sup>33</sup> "Mit 'Geist' ist das prädestinierte Sein des Menschen gemeint, durch das sein Tun von vornherein bestimmt ist" (Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 123; on this notion of רוּחַ in the Hymns of the Community, cf. generally 120-130).

<sup>34</sup> See esp. 1QS 3: 15-18. In this text, however, the main opposition is that of two spirits governing human beings, not the opposition of 'flesh' and 'spirit'. This is clearly visible in 1QS 4: 20f. (transl. from *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1.79):

Then God will refine, with his truth, all man's deeds,  
and will purify for himself the structure of man,  
ripping out all spirit of injustice from the innermost part of his flesh,  
and cleansing him with the spirit of holiness from every wicked deeds.

Even though there is a marked contrast between the human flesh and the two different spirits, the main opposition is between the spirit of deceit and the spirit of holiness, whereas the flesh is capable of being purified; cf. H.-J. Fabry, "רוּחַ rūah VII-VIII," *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (ed. H.-J. Fabry; H. Ringgren; Stuttgart, Berlin and Köln: Kohlhammer, 1990) 7. 419-425 (420), and already H. Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament* 1. 179. On the character and origins of the dualism expressed in the doctrine of the two spirits cf. J. Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library," 275-335 (290-295); on the interpretation of this passage see generally A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination. Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995) 121-170. On the pre-Essene character of the text see also A. Lange / H. Lichtenberger,

3) In another passage, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12: 30f. (= 4: 29f. Sukenik), flesh is explicitly characterized as sinful:

What is flesh compared to this?  
 What creature of clay can do wonders?  
 He is in sin (בעוון) from his maternal womb  
 and in guilty iniquity (באשמה מעל) right to old age.<sup>35</sup>

This passage can also be classified as 'Niedrigkeitsdoxologie'. It refers to the preceding praise of God's wondrous counsel and his powerful acts.<sup>36</sup> In contrast with this, the human being, called "flesh" and "creature of clay," is not only weak and frail, but even blind to God's glory and basically sinful and guilty. אשמה and עוון are part of the life of a human from the beginning to the end. In view of the construction with ב, Jürgen Becker has suggested that the author considers human beings within a sphere of sinfulness. Dominated by that sphere, they do evil deeds, and this characterizes them as בשר:<sup>37</sup> "Human beings, as such, are sinful from their conception to their old age, and they stand under the judgment of the God who alone is righteous."<sup>38</sup> The passage is followed by a confession of salvation, introduced by the phrase וְאֵי יִדְעֵתִי כִי.<sup>39</sup> Here the author states that it is God alone who provides salvation and insight, "by the spirit which he created" for the human being (ברוח יצר אל לִי)<sup>40</sup>. Only his "spirit" can perfect the path of the sons of Adam.

The opposition between "flesh" and "spirit" expressed in this passage is chiefly formed by the contrast between human inability and God's saving power. Only by the "spirit" created by God can "flesh" grasp the power and glory of God, i.e., only by his predestination can a human being take part in salvation.<sup>41</sup> The praise of God's salvific

"Qumran," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (ed. G. Müller; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997) 28: 45-79 (56f.).

<sup>35</sup> ET according to *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1.169. (there 1. 29ff.).

<sup>36</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12: 29 (= 4: 28 Sukenik).

<sup>37</sup> Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 113.

<sup>38</sup> G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Qumranic Transformation of a Cosmological and Eschatological Tradition (1QH 4:29-40)," *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls Madrid 18-21 March, 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera & L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11.1; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 649-659 (654). Cf. *ibid.*: "This motif of universal judgment parallels 1 Enoch 1:7, 9."

<sup>39</sup> On the genre "Heilsbekenntnis" and its characteristics, see Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 26.

<sup>40</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12: 32 (= 4: 31 Sukenik).

<sup>41</sup> In this passage, רוח is an expression of God's predestination, as in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7: 34f. (= 15: 21f. Sukenik; see above) and 9: 10f. (= 1: 8f. Sukenik), cf. Kuhn, *Enderwartung*

acts is strengthened by the corresponding confession of human incapability.

1QH<sup>a</sup> 12: 30f. provides also the most explicit linkage between “flesh” and “sin” within the *Hodayot*. Here, בשר does not only express human weakness and frailty, but also a state of being characterized by inescapable sinfulness and basic opposition to the creator. And, in contrast with the passages mentioned above from the *War Rule*, the sinfulness of the “flesh” is not only related to the hostile nations or the “lot of Belial”, i.e. to people outside the pious community. The author himself and the members of the community praying the *Hodayot* confess that they are “flesh” and sinners – and as such they are called to have insight into God’s wondrous counsel and to participate in salvation.

As Jürgen Becker has observed,<sup>42</sup> this kind of negative usage of בשר can be found only in those passages of the *Hodayot* which are often called the Hymns of the Community, not in the individual Thanksgiving Hymns, the so-called Hymns of the Teacher. In the individual Hymns, בשר is used only three times, firmly within the biblical range of meaning, without any notion of sin or iniquity.<sup>43</sup> The use of the term as an expression of sin is confined to the communal hymns.<sup>44</sup> This observation might provide an additional argument for the validity of the distinction between “Lehrerlieder” and “Gemeindelieder,” developed in the early sixties by Gert Jeremias and Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn.<sup>45</sup>

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und gegenwärtiges Heil, 120-130. The notion of God’s predestination is also expressed in the following passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12: 39 [= 4: 38 Sukenik]): “For you created the just and the wicked...”

<sup>42</sup> Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 67.

<sup>43</sup> In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16: 32.34 (= 8: 31.33 Sukenik), בשר denotes the (weak) substance or power of the body (cf. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 67 n. 1), and in the expression מַחְסֵי בִשָּׂר in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15: 20 (= 7: 17 Sukenik) it also conveys the notion of weakness, but not the slightest allusion to sin. Cf. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 67: “So ist der Mensch hier also noch nicht radikal als Sünder verstanden, der nichts anderes kann, als sündigen, so wie es später in der essenischen Gemeinde am בִּשָּׂר-Begriff ... deutlich ausgesprochen ist.”

<sup>44</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12: 30ff. (= 4: 29ff. Sukenik) was originally seen as part of the individual hymn 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12: 6 - 13: 6 (= 4: 5 - 5: 4 Sukenik; cf. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 204ff.). Becker assumes more precisely that this passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12: 30b - 13: 6 [= 4: 29b - 5: 4 Sukenik]) is a later expansion of the individual hymn 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12: 6 - 30a (= 4: 5 - 29a Sukenik) by the community (cf. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 54f.). This view is also confirmed by Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 23 n. 3.

<sup>45</sup> On this distinction cf. generally G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (SUNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 168ff.; Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegen-*

c) *Semantic parallels in the final 'psalm' of 1QS*

A passage similar to the communal hymns can be found in 1QS, in the psalm-like composition 1QS 9: 26 - 11: 22 which is attached to the *Community Rule* in that collective manuscript.<sup>46</sup> Within the final passage of that composition, בשר is used three times in a sense corresponding to the usage in the *Hodayot*.

In 1QS 11: 7, the author says that he has been given knowledge which is hidden from the assembly of flesh (סוד בשר). In this phrase, בשר could refer to humanity as a whole, but the context suggests that the phrase "assembly of flesh" denotes the group of all people who do not belong to the "lot of the holy ones" (11: 7f.), i.e. to the community. Here, as in 1QM, בשר seems to be a mere characterization of those remaining outside the Essene community.

But only a few lines later, in 1QS 11: 9f., the confession of salvation is followed by a kind of 'Niedrigkeitsdoxologie' which is quite similar to those in the communal hymns of the *Hodayot*. Here, the author confesses:

However, I belong to evil humankind (ואני לאדם רשעה)  
to the assembly of unfaithful flesh (ולסוד בשר עול);  
my failings (עוונותי), my iniquities (פשעי), my sins (חטאתי)  
with the depravities of my heart (עם נעויות לבי)  
let me belong to the assembly of worms  
and of those who walk in darkness.<sup>47</sup>

*wärtiges Heil*, 21ff.; cf. the formal distinction within the *Hodayot* in G. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung der Loblieder von Qumran* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1960). The distinction is primarily based on arguments of content and language (cf. Jeremias, op. cit., 172ff.). More recently, it seems to be confirmed also by manuscript evidence. According to E. Schuller's reconstruction of the 4QH-manuscripts, the manuscript 4Q429 (4QH<sup>c</sup>) only contained individual hymns, 4Q427 (4QH<sup>b</sup>) only communal hymns, and 4Q432 (4QH<sup>f</sup>) was also a copy which concentrated on individual hymns (cf. E. Schuller, "The Cave 4 *Hôdâyôt* Manuscripts: A Preliminary Description," *Qumranstudien* (ed. H.-J. Fabry, A. Lange and H. Lichtenberger; Studien des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996) 87-100 (97f.). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> the individual hymns are arranged in the middle part of the scroll, whereas the framework is made up of communal hymns. This shows, that at least during the stage of the collection of the *Hodayot*, the community was well aware of the specific character of the individual hymns (cf. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, 31).

<sup>46</sup> On the description of 1QS, see A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 121ff.; id. / H. Lichtenberger, "Qumran," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, 28. 54-59. On the textual development of the materials cf. S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997). The problems of the composition cannot be dealt with here.

<sup>47</sup> Translation according to *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* 1.97-99 (modified at the beginning of l. 10).

In this passage, as in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12: 30f (= 4: 29f. Sukenik), the member of the community himself confesses sharing the lot of sinful humanity, because he is בשר. According to the preceding confession, he knows that he is predestined to participate in salvation, he also claims to have insight into God's wonders and into the "mystery of existence" (רז נהיה) 1QS 11: 3f.), even though he confesses that he belongs to the assembly of sinful flesh and shares the lot of evil humankind.<sup>48</sup>

A few lines later (1QS 11: 11f.) he confesses:

As for me, if I stumble,  
the mercies of God shall be my salvation always,  
and if I fall by the sin of the flesh (בעון בשר),  
in the justice of God which endures eternally, shall my judgment be.<sup>49</sup>

The rendering of the phrase בעון בשר is quite decisive. Many interpreters have tried to weaken the expression in order to keep it close to the biblical usage of בשר<sup>50</sup> and the majority of the English translations remain unclear.<sup>51</sup> As Jürgen Becker has stated, in the phrase בעון בשר the word בשר has the function of a *genetivus auctoris*: consequently, flesh is the cause of the evil deed and it is the power that provokes evil deeds.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> In the light of l. 9-10, the phrase כר בשר in l. 7 also receives strong negative overtones.

<sup>49</sup> Translation according to *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* 1.99 (modified in l. 12).

<sup>50</sup> Thus, e.g., Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumrantexte*, 86: "wenn ich fehle als schwacher Mensch"; Huppenbauer, "בשר 'Fleisch' in den Texten von Qumran," 299: "wenn ich in meiner Eigenschaft als Mensch zu Fall komme", or Meyer, "σάρξ C: Flesh in Judaism," *TDNT* 7. 110-119 (112): "sinfulness of the flesh". Brandenburg, *Fleisch und Geist*, 101, gives a paraphrase which is also far too weak: "straucheln durch das der Sünde widerstandslos ausgelieferte Fleisch."

<sup>51</sup> This holds true for the translation by F. García Martínez *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden: Brill, 1994) 18: "if I fall in the sin of the flesh" (= *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* 1.99); similarly the translation by J. H. Charlesworth ("when I stumble over fleshly iniquities") in J. H. Charlesworth and E. Qimron, "Rule of the Community (1QS)," *Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; The Dead Sea Scrolls 1; Tübingen: Mohr [Paul Siebeck] and Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994) 1-53 (49). The best translation of the passage is in G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.; London: Penguin, 1995) 88: "If I stagger because of the sin of flesh."

<sup>52</sup> Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 111f.: "Auf alle Fälle macht 11,12 ('wenn ich strauchle durch die Sünde meines Fleisches') deutlich, daß hier בשר die Ursache des Sündigens ist, die Macht, die zur Sünde verführt." Cf. also op. cit. 111f. n. 8: "Man fällt vom Heil ab durch die konkrete Sündentat, die die בשר bewirkt."

d) *Preliminary conclusions*

Summarizing these passages, we can confirm the view of some earlier authors: whereas the vast majority of the Qumran passages use בשר within the range of meanings given in the Hebrew Bible, there are some instances which go beyond this range. Here, flesh is deeply linked with sin and impurity and in some way opposed to the spirit of God that gives insight and knowledge. Moreover, flesh seems to represent an evil sphere or even power that causes human sin and causes the pious to stumble.

But in contrast to the usage in the *War Rule*, the *Hodayot* and the final psalm in 1QS do not just consider 'the others', the enemies of the community or the sinful nations, to be flesh. Most interestingly, the people praying the *Hodayot* themselves confess to participation in the fleshly nature of human beings. They are flesh and sinners, and as such they are elect to participate simultaneously in revelation and salvation.

In these passages, we have the closest parallels to the Pauline usage of flesh as a sphere or even power opposed to God and his Spirit. However, the suggestion that the apostle could have known and used the terms of the Qumran sect<sup>53</sup> has been far too bold to be accepted in the discussion. It is unlikely that Paul – even when he was a Pharisaic student of law<sup>54</sup> – had close contacts with Qumranites or

<sup>53</sup> See, e. g., S. Schulz, "Zur Rechtfertigung aus Gnaden in Qumran und bei Paulus," *ZTK* 56 (1959) 155-185 (184: "kein Zweifel ..., daß Paulus die theologischen Anschauungen dieser Sekte gekannt und aufgegriffen hat"), and Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 249f., who asserts an indirect Essene influence on the Pauline terminology of sin. Cf. also J. Murphy O'Connor, "Truth: Paul and Qumran," *Paul and Qumran* (ed. J. Murphy O'Connor; London: Chapman, 1968) 179-230 (179): "That there are traces of Essene influence in the Pauline corpus is now generally admitted." Recent scholarship has cautiously left open the question of the links between Qumranian and Pauline thought. Cf., e.g., the numerous articles by H.-W. Kuhn, "The Impact of the Qumran Scrolls on the Understanding of Paul," *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; Leiden: Brill and Jerusalem: Magnes and Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1992) 327-339; idem, "Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte für das Verständnis des Ersten Thessalonicherbriefes," *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, 339-353; idem, "Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte für das Verständnis des Galaterbriefes," *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. G. J. Brooke and F. García Martínez; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 169-222; idem, "A Legal Issue in 1 Corinthians 5 and in Qumran," *Legal Texts and Legal Issues*, 489-499.

<sup>54</sup> On the general trustworthiness of the note on Paul's studies in Jerusalem (Acts 22:3) see M. Hengel and R. Deines, *The Pre-Christian Paul* (London: SCM and Philadelphia: Trinity, 1991) 29-34 and 40ff.

other Essene groups.<sup>55</sup> So the question whether or not there is a historical or traditio-historical connection between the Qumranite and the Pauline usage of “flesh” has remained open and has caused many exegetes to explain the Pauline terms from Hellenistic parallels instead.

### 3. *New evidence for the negative use of בשר in the pre-Essene Sapiential tradition*

The publication of the hitherto unknown sapiential texts from cave 4<sup>56</sup> has opened up new perspectives on the semantic and religio-historical issues. These documents can help to understand the background of the use of בשר in the Qumran texts mentioned above. And, in my opinion, they confirm the view that the negative usage of σάρξ in Paul has its roots not in the theological developments of the Jewish diaspora, but in Palestinian Jewish sapiential traditions.

First of all we have to note that the new sapiential texts provide a great number of new instances for בשר. Of the 63 references in the

<sup>55</sup> Even if there were contacts with outsiders, Essenes were obliged to hide the specific knowledge of the community from them, cf. 1QS 9: 16f.; 10: 24f.; Josephus, *J. W.* II § 141. Therefore it is unlikely that the Pharisaic *talmid hakham* had the opportunity to read Qumran ‘sectarian’ texts.

<sup>56</sup> The scholarly breakthrough was the release of computerized reconstructions of the texts from transcriptions made in the fifties and preserved in a preliminary concordance: B. Z. Wacholder and M. G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls. The Hebraic and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four* (Fasc. 1-3; Washington D. C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991-1995), the sapiential texts are reconstructed in fasc. 2 (1992), 1-203. The ‘official’ edition of these documents is in the volumes 20 and 34 of the DJD-series: *Qumran Cave 4. XV: Sapiential Texts, Part I*, ed. by T. Elgvin, M. Kister, T. Lim, B. Nitzan, S. Pfann, E. Qimron, L. H. Schiffman, A. Steudel, in consultation with J. A. Fitzmyer, partially based on earlier transcriptions by J. T. Milik and J. Strugnell (DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997); *Qumran Cave 4 XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2: 4QInstruction (Mūsār l’ Mōwīn) 4Q415ff., With a Re-edition of 1Q26*, by J. Strugnell and D.J. Harrington S.J., and an Edition of 4Q423 by T. Elgvin. In Consultation with J.A. Fitzmyer S.J. (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon; 1999). On the character of the texts, cf. generally D. J. Harrington, “Wisdom at Qumran,” *The Community of the Renewed Covenant. The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. C. VanderKam; Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) 137-152; idem, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996); idem, “Ten Reasons Why the Qumran Wisdom Texts are Important,” *DSD* 4 (1997) 245-254; J. J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997) 112ff.



index volume of Wacholder's and Abegg's edition,<sup>57</sup> 22 are from additional manuscripts of the *Damascus Document*, the *Hodayot* or *Community Rule*. 21 of the 41 remaining references are found in sapiential texts,<sup>58</sup> 16 of them in different manuscripts of a single work which was originally called *Sapiential Work A*,<sup>59</sup> more recently *Mūsār l' Mēvîn*, i.e. "Instruction for the Knowledgeable," or – in short – "1Q/4QInstruction."<sup>60</sup> One further reference is from a manuscript of the *Book of Mysteries* (1Q/4QMyst)<sup>61</sup> which is closely related to 1Q/4QInstruction in contents and terminology.<sup>62</sup> The context of the four other references<sup>63</sup> remains unclear. I will, therefore, focus the discussion on the use of בשר in 1Q/4QInstruction.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>57</sup> B. Z. Wacholder and M. G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls. The Hebraic and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four. Fasc. 4: Concordance of Fascicles 1-3* (Washington D. C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1996) 95f.

<sup>58</sup> 4Q301; 4Q306; 4Q411; 4Q416-418; 4Q426; 4Q525.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche. Companion Volume* (ed. E. Tov and S. J. Pfann; Leiden: Brill, 1993) 43.

<sup>60</sup> In the official edition, the editors, J. Strugnell and D.J. Harrington, call the text *4QInstruction* or "*Mūsār l' Mēvîn*." Regrettably, the original Hebrew name of the text is not preserved.

<sup>61</sup> 4Q301 5 3. This passage might be quite important, because בשר seems to be used within a kind of 'Niedrigkeitsdoxologie' similar to the passages in the communal hymns of the *Hodayot* discussed above. The text reads ...]ה בשר כיא..., "what is flesh, that...?" The manuscript 4Q301 is one of three 4Q-manuscripts of the *Book of Mysteries* (4QMyst). The arguments for this view are given in Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 93 n. 2; idem, "Physiognomie oder Gotteslob? 4Q301 3," *DSD* 4 (1997) 282-296 (283); but cf. the differing view in L. H. Schiffman, "Mysteries," *Qumran Cave 4: XV. Sapiential Texts. Part I*, 31-123 (31.113f.) who considers 4Q301 as a different composition resembling the Enochic literature.

<sup>62</sup> On the thematic and terminological similarities between 1Q/4Q Mysteries and 1Q/4Q Instruction see A. Lange, "In Diskussion mit dem Tempel. Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kohelet und weisheitlichen Kreisen am Jerusalemer Tempel," *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom* (ed. A. Schoors; BETL 136; Leuven: Peeters, 1998) 113-159.

<sup>63</sup> 4Q306 1 4; 4Q411 1 11; 4Q426 4 4; 4Q525 8 5.

<sup>64</sup> In addition to the editions and introductions mentioned above, cf. the preliminary edition of the fragment 4Q417 2 in Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 45ff; idem, "In Diskussion mit dem Tempel," 127-134; idem, "Die Endgestalt des protomasoretischen Psalters und die Toraweisheit," *Der Psalter im Judentum und Christentum* (ed. E. Zenger; Freiburg: Herder, 1998) 101-136 (120-123); T. Elgvin, "Admonition Texts from Qumran Cave 4," *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site. Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M. O. Wise et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: Academy of Sciences, 1994) 179-196; idem, "The Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A," *RevQ* 16 (1993-95) 559-580; idem, "Wisdom, Revelation and Eschatology in an Early Essene Writing," *SBL Seminar Papers* 34 (1995) 440-463; idem, "Early Essene Eschatology: Judgment and Salvation according to Sapiential Work A," *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks; STDJ 20, Leiden: Brill, 1996) 126-165.

## a) 1Q/4QInstruction: Some introductory questions

In the present context, I cannot discuss the complicated questions concerning the origin and character of 1Q/4QInstruction. Instead, I will mention some important points:

The work is preserved in at least 6 manuscripts (1Q26; 4Q415-418.423),<sup>65</sup> which are all written "in the Herodian formal hand of the late first century BCE or early first century CE."<sup>66</sup> The number of copies and the relatively late date of copying show that the work was highly esteemed by the Qumranites. This is also confirmed by the fact that one of the copies was hidden in cave 1 among the most important documents of the community.<sup>67</sup> The terminology clearly shows that the work is a wisdom composition, and "the available evidence suggests that ... it was loosely structured at best."<sup>68</sup> But although we have substantial passages from 4Q416-418 with some textual overlaps, it is not yet possible to have certainty on the general outline of the work.<sup>69</sup> The preserved parts show that the composition

<sup>65</sup> It was supposed, that 4Q419 is also a copy of the same text (thus Harrington, "Wisdom at Qumran," 139); but cf. idem, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 73, where 4Q419 is treated separately. T. Elgvin has tried to demonstrate that the fragments of 4Q418 should be ascribed to three manuscripts. Two of them are copies of 4QInstruction, possibly written by the same hand (4Q418 and 4Q418a), whereas the third one (4Q418b) might be a manuscript of a different work (cf. Elgvin, "Admonition Texts," 180 n. 4; idem, "The Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A," 570-572; idem, *An Analysis of 4QInstruction* (in press).

<sup>66</sup> Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 40.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. H. Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus. Ein Sachbuch* (Freiburg/Basel/Wein: Herder, 1993) 89f.

<sup>68</sup> Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 118.

<sup>69</sup> A sound judgement on the outline of the work and on the stages of growth can only be reached by the material reconstruction of the different manuscripts (on the method, cf. H. Stegemann, "Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments," *Archaeology and History of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* [ed. L. H. Schiffman; JSPSup 8; Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1990] 189-220). Torleif Elgvin has published his attempt ("A Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A"), but independently B. Lucassen and A. Steudel came to quite different results, so that the publication of their reconstruction is to be awaited. As A. Steudel has informed me in a private communication, the earlier suggestion by D. J. Harrington has to be maintained that 4Q416 fr. 1 with its broad right margin was the beginning of that manuscript (cf. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 41). Lucassen and Steudel suggest that 4Q417 fr. 2 was also the beginning of the manuscript. If these observations are correct, the manuscripts 4Q416 and 4Q417 represent different stages of redaction: 4Q417, then, is a copy of an earlier version of the work, whereas 4Q416 represents a later stage of redaction which is also represented by 4Q418. Cf. Lange, "In Diskussion mit dem Tempel," 127f. and the article by B. Lucassen / A. Steudel (to be published in *RevQ*).

combines instruction on practical issues like poverty and finances, social and family relations, with theoretical, theological reflections. The sapiential admonitions are presented within a cosmological and – notably – eschatological framework.<sup>70</sup> 4QInstruction, therefore, provides evidence of an early merging of sapiential with eschatological or even apocalyptic thought.

It should be pointed out that there are no clear indications of 'sectarian' origin.<sup>71</sup> The terminology differs from that of the typical Qumran 'sectarian' documents. There are no hints linking it to a specific religious community, let alone a community separated from the Temple, and the admonitions are given for daily life. Therefore, like most of the other Sapiential texts from Qumran,<sup>72</sup> the work should be classified as a non-Sectarian, or non-Essene, or – more precisely – pre-Essene work.<sup>73</sup> As A. Lange has shown from the treatment of cultic issues, the document seems to have originated in sapiential circles which were connected with and interested in the Temple.<sup>74</sup>

The suggested dates of composition vary from the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century<sup>75</sup> to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>76</sup> The most plausible sugges-

<sup>70</sup> Cf. also Elgvin, "Wisdom, Revelation and Eschatology in an Early Essene Writing," idem, "Early Essene Eschatology: Judgment and Salvation according to Sapiential Work A." On the eschatological dualism of the work, see also J. Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library," 275-335 (298f.).

<sup>71</sup> Thus Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 48f.; Harrington, "Wisdom at Qumran," 148; idem, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 41 and 85. T. Elgvin also states that "our composition predates the *yahad* as an established community" ("Early Essene Eschatology," 133). It is, therefore, somewhat bewildering that Elgvin nevertheless characterizes the work as "a wider representative of the Essene movement, not of the *ya-ad*" (loc. cit.).

<sup>72</sup> Thus already W. L. Lipscomb and J. A. Sanders, "Wisdom at Qumran," *Israelite Wisdom. Theological and Literary Essays in Honor of Samuel Terrien* (ed. J. G. Gammie et al.; New York: Scholars Press, 1978) 277-285 (278): "There are no true wisdom texts among the scrolls of undisputed Essene authorship.," cf. also Stegemann, *Die Essener*, 143. See also the introductions to the Sapiential documents published in DJD 20. A possible exception could be the document 4Q420-421 (4QWays of Righteousness), on this document cf. T. Elgvin, "Wisdom in the *Yahad*. 4QWays of Righteousness," *RevQ* 17 (1996) 205-232 (205f.).

<sup>73</sup> This is valid although there may be different redactional stages (cf. note 69 above). Even in the later version there are no clear traces of 'sectarian' redaction or authorship.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Lange, "In Diskussion mit dem Tempel," 131; idem, "Die Endgestalt des protomasoretischen Psalters," 122.

<sup>75</sup> Stegemann, *Die Essener*, 143.

<sup>76</sup> Elgvin, "Early Essene Eschatology," 133.

tion is a date at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> or in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, i.e. roughly contemporary with Ben Sira.<sup>77</sup> The composition is, then, cited in the *Hodayot*,<sup>78</sup> and the term רז נהיה which is characteristic of this work and of the *Book of Mysteries*<sup>79</sup> is used only in one passage from Qumran, in the final 'psalm' in the manuscript 1QS.<sup>80</sup> The documents which seem to take up some elements from the tradition of 1Q/4Q Instruction (or even 1Q/4QMysteries) are obviously those texts which also use the term בשר in a very negative way (see above). Is such a usage already discernable in the pre-Essene Sapiential work?

b) *The usage of בשר in 1Q/4QInstruction: An overview*

1) Some of the 16 passages mentioned in the index of Wacholder and Aebegg are too fragmentary to be interpreted or classified semantically. This is true for the following 6 instances:

- 4Q418 19 4: Only an uncertain בשרכה is legible.
- 4Q418 103 i 9: The reading בשר is certain, but without any context.
- 4Q417 3 4: Here we have the reading [בשר עם תענית] ("flesh with fasting"), but the context remains totally unclear.
- 4Q417 1 (formerly 2) ii 14: The term נבונה בשר "understanding of the flesh" is used in a series of prohibitions, but the context remains uncertain.<sup>81</sup>
- 4Q418 101 ii 5: בשר is used in a context which probably deals with matters of property: The line reads בשר לוא ימעל בבשרו. The first instance of "flesh" could be the end of the foregoing phrase, which is lost. Then it goes on: "You shall not commit embezzlement in/his flesh". But the precise meaning of "flesh" in this sentence remains unclear, too.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 47; idem, "In Diskussion mit dem Tempel," 129f.; idem, "Die Endgestalt des protomasoretischen Psalters," 122. For the *terminus post quem*, Lange proposes linguistic arguments using, e. g., the Persian loan-word רז and other words and constructions which occur only late; the *terminus ante quem* is given by the citation in the *Hodayot* which are composed within the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE.

<sup>78</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 18: 29f. (= 10: 27f. Sukenik) cites 4Q418 55 10, and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9: 28f. (= 1: 26f. Sukenik) alludes to 4Q417 2 i 8; cf. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 46.

<sup>79</sup> In the preserved fragments of 1Q/4QInstruction, it is used more than 20 times, in the preserved fragments of 1Q/4QMysteries it is documented 4 times.

<sup>80</sup> 1QS 11: 3.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 54, who interprets בשר נבונה "ohne daß er Einsichten des Fleisches gebot."

2) In 7 other passages בשר is obviously used within the biblical range of meanings:

- 4Q416 2 iv 4: לבשר אחד is a quotation of Gen 2:24.
- 4Q416 2 iii 21 (= 4Q418 10 6): In this passage, the addressee is told about his wife as the עזר בשרכה, "the help of your flesh". The phrase seems to combine Gen 2:18 עזר כנגדו and Gen 2:23 בשר מבשרי.
- 4Q418 103 ii 9 reads [הונכה עם בשרכה] "your property with your flesh". The property of a person is taken together with his "flesh". Here, בשר might be used to denote the physical life of the person. The context is a halakha on mixed things. In any case, the usage of "flesh" remains fully within the biblical range of meanings.
- In a passage which is preserved three times (4Q416 2 ii 2f.; 4Q417 2 [formerly 1] 1 ii 4 and 4Q418 8 1)<sup>82</sup> the expression "if he closes his hand, the spirit withdraws from all flesh" takes up terms from Deut. 15:7 "you shall not close your hand") and Job 34:14 "if he were to ... recall his life-giving spirit, all that lives would perish ..." <sup>83</sup> As in biblical usage, the phrase כל בשר denotes creation or humanity as a whole.

3) But there are three passages which go beyond the range of meanings in Biblical Hebrew. They show that already in the pre-Essene Sapiiential document "flesh" is closely associated with sin, upheaval and impurity. Most interestingly, all these passages use the term רוח בשר "spirit of flesh" which is also attested to in the *Hodayot*.<sup>84</sup> In two of the passages, the term is used for a single being, so that the expression כל רוח בשר can be formed. But in one passage, it even denotes a collective spiritual entity, i.e. sinful humanity as a whole. The three passages deserve to be commented on in more detail.

c) *The negative usage of בשר in 1Q/4QInstruction*

1) The first passage where בשר has the notion of "sinful flesh" is 4Q418 fr. 81. In this passage, the addressee is admonished to keep himself separate from all abomination, since God has separated him from all "spirit of flesh":

He has separated you from all spirit of the flesh; and you, keep separate from all that he hates and keep yourself apart from all abomination of the soul ...<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Cf. also 4Q419 8 ii 7.

<sup>83</sup> Translation according to the *New English Bible*.

<sup>84</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5: 30 (= 13: 13 Sukenik) and 4: 37 (= 17: 25 Sukenik).

<sup>85</sup> 4Q418 81 1-2, translation according to Garcia Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 391, but "keep yourself apart" instead of "keep yourselves apart" for the Imp. Sg. הברל.

In this passage, כול רוח בשר is paralleled by “all that he [= God] hates,” so the “all spirit of flesh” is a sphere or entity opposed to God and his will. The context is predestinarian: God has assigned a portion to every being, and he has placed the addressee, probably the student of Wisdom,<sup>86</sup> in an outstanding position, to “rule over his treasure.”<sup>87</sup> He is, therefore, called to sanctify himself and to keep away from the abominations that characterize the “spirit of flesh.”

2) In 4Q416 fr. 1 which was probably located at the very beginning of this manuscript,<sup>88</sup> we can find an announcement of the eschatological judgement. In 4Q416 1 10-13 we read:

In the heavens he will judge every work of wickedness, but all sons of the truth he will favour [...] its end (scil. of iniquity?). And all those who wallow in it (= iniquity?) will tremble and shout, for ... , the waters and the abysses will tremble and every spirit of flesh will be destroyed (יחזקרו כול רוח בשר), but the sons of the heavens [...] his judgment, and all injustice will end ...

In spite of the textual lacunae, the antithetic structure is obvious. Two groups of beings face an opposite eschatological fate. The first group is characterized by wickedness, iniquity and injustice, and its members will face judgement; they will tremble with fear, and suffer final destruction. The other group is characterized by truth, and its members will be favoured by God. The members of the first group wallow in something (most probably iniquity), and are named by the collective designation כול רוח בשר. The other group seems to comprise the sons of heaven and the sons of the truth, i.e. the angels together with the just human beings. The statement is quite clear: when God will enact his eschatological judgement and put an end to all kinds of

<sup>86</sup> There is also the possibility that the addressee is Israel as a whole, but if the document was read and studied by individuals in a wisdom circle or school, they could simply consider themselves to be addressed.

<sup>87</sup> 4Q418 81 9. The interpretation is uncertain. God's treasure could be wisdom, so that the person with insight is a ruler over God's treasure. But it could also be the Tora.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 41, and above, n. 69. Elgvin (“Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology,” 456-459; idem, “Early Essene Eschatology,” 146-164) interprets the fragment according to his extensive conjectures based on the alleged textual overlaps with fragments from 4Q418. But if 4Q416 1 is the beginning of this manuscript, his reconstruction cannot be maintained. Therefore, the fragment is interpreted on the basis of the transcription by Wacholder / Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls 2*, 54.

injustice, every spirit of flesh will be destroyed.<sup>89</sup> The group of (human) beings who may be called "spirit of flesh" is clearly opposed to the "sons of the truth" and the "sons of the heavens". This group is characterized by wickedness and injustice, and will face eschatological destruction.

The use of *בשר* in 4Q416 1 13 is clearly negative and the context shows that *רוח בשר* is basically linked with iniquity and sin. Obviously not all human beings are characterized as *בשר*. Apart from *כול רוח בשר* there are other human beings called 'sons of the truth' who will not be destroyed, but favoured in the final judgement. As in 4Q418 81 1f., *בשר* in 4Q416 1 13 characterizes *sinful* humanity, not humanity as a whole, and the author and readers of the instruction seem to consider themselves separate from those 'fleshly spirits'. The anthropological teaching of 1Q/4QInstruction is characterized by a kind of cosmic and eschatological dualism which is similar to the type of dualism in the doctrine of the two spirits in 1QS 3-4.<sup>90</sup>

3) The cosmic background of the dualism in the 1Q/4QInstruction is even more obvious in 4Q417 fr. 1. This fragment might be the beginning of the earlier version of 1Q/4QInstruction<sup>91</sup> thus representing a kind of epistemological introduction to the work. The insightful (*מבין*) is admonished to study the *רוז נהיה*, the "mystery of being" (or better: "mystery that is to come")<sup>92</sup> in order to discern truth and iniquity, wisdom and folly (4Q417 1 i 6f. par. 4Q418 43 4). A few lines later, there is mention of a heavenly book:

Engraved is the ordinance, and ordained is all the punishment. For engraved is that which is ordained by God against all the iniquities of the children of Seth. And written in his presence is the book of memo-

<sup>89</sup> The verbal form *יחשדערו* is probably a hitpael of *ערר* which is used in Jer 51:58 to denote the destruction of the city walls of Babylon. Therefore, it seems to be an expression for eschatological destruction. Cf. Lange, "In Diskussion mit dem Tempel," 143 n. 101.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library," 275-335 (298f.); Cf. also D. J. Harrington, "Two Early Jewish Approaches to Wisdom: Sirach and Qumran Sapiential Work A," *JSP* 16 (1997) 25-38 (35): "The world view of Sapiential Work A seems midway between Ben Sira's timid doctrine of the pairs and the fully fleshed out dualistic schema of 1QS 3-4."

<sup>91</sup> See above, n. 69; cf. Lange, "In Diskussion mit dem Tempel," 127f.

<sup>92</sup> On the interpretation of this term, cf. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 57f.; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 121-125, and, most recently, T. Elgvin, "The Mystery to Come. Early Essene Theology of Revelation," *Qumran Between the Old and the New Testament* (eds. F.H. Cryer and T. L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 113-50.

rial of those who keep his word. And the vision of Hago is the book of memorial. And he gave it as an inheritance to Enosh (אֵנוֹשׁ) together with the people of the spirit (עַם רוּחַ). For according to the pattern of the holy ones is his fashioning. But no more has meditation been given to the spirit of flesh (רוּחַ בִּשְׂרָר), for it knew not the difference between good and evil according to the judgment of its spirit (4Q417 1 i 15-18).<sup>93</sup>

The book of remembrance<sup>94</sup> mentioned here is probably the Book of Hago which is known from some other Qumran texts.<sup>95</sup> Its contents might be an extract of Heavenly tablets, comprising the ordinances of God, but also the coming judgment, i.e. the order of being. This book of heavenly knowledge is to be studied by the addressees of 1Q/4QInstruction. And the present passage gives a mythological explanation, why it can be studied, or – even more – why the insightful can gain heavenly insight.

The book, it is said, was given to אֵנוֹשׁ. This word does not only denote humankind. Here, after the mention of the sons of Seth and their iniquities (l. 15), it seems to denote – as a proper name – Enosh, the son of Seth who is mentioned in Gen 4:26; 5:6, 9-11; 1 Chron 1:1 and Sir 49:16, and who was, according to *Jub.* 4:12, the first human being to invoke the name of the Lord.<sup>96</sup> The passage seems to refer to a mythological tradition of the fall of angels during the time of the sons of Seth, which presented Enosh and the עַם רוּחַ, the “people of the spirit”, as the only pious of their time.<sup>97</sup> So this primeval father and the עַם רוּחַ, i.e. the obedient angels, gained the heavenly memorial as inheritance, but it was not given to the רוּחַ בִּשְׂרָר, because it was not able to understand the difference between good and evil (l. 17f.).

This passage on the רוּחַ בִּשְׂרָר is also clearly characterized by an ethical and eschatological dualism. The “spirit of flesh”, i. e. sinful

<sup>93</sup> Translation from Harrington, *Wisdom at Qumran*, 53 with minor alterations according to Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 53.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Mal 3:16.

<sup>95</sup> 1QSa 1:6f.; CD 10:6; 14:6-8.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 87f. On the post-Biblical interpretation of Enosh, see also S. D. Fraade, *Enosh and his Generation. Pre-Israelite Hero and History in Postbiblical Interpretation* (SBLMS 30; Chico, Ca.: Scholars Press, 1984), and P. Schäfer, “Der Götzendienst des Enosch,” *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums* (AGJU 15; Leiden: Brill, 1978) 134-152. Whereas Rabbinic traditions interpret Enosh as a representative of his idolatrous contemporaries, all non-Rabbinic traditions interpret Gen 4:26 as a positive statement on the individual. It is this line of interpretation to which 4Q417 1 i 16 belongs.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 88.



humanity, is characterized by opposition to God and the inability to discern between good and evil. As regards ethical behaviour and – even more importantly – the possibility of gaining heavenly wisdom, it is opposed to Enosh and the obedient angels. The addressee of 1Q/4QInstruction, who is admonished to study the “mystery that is to come,”<sup>98</sup> can understand himself as an heir of the primeval father Enosh to whom the book of heavenly knowledge was given as an inheritance. The addressee is given an explanation as to why he is honoured with the gain of the heavenly wisdom, which is not revealed to sinful humanity.

d) *Preliminary conclusions*

1) There are, of course, numerous passages in the 1Q/4QInstruction in which בשר is used within the Biblical range of meanings. In the Hebrew Bible, בשר may denote the frailty of the creature, but there is no clear connection with inobedience or sin.<sup>99</sup>

2) The three passages mentioned above clearly go beyond the biblical usage and use בשר – or more precisely רוח בשר – as a term to denote a *sinful* human being or *sinful* humanity. In these passages, “flesh” (בשר) is clearly characterized by its opposition to God and its inability to discern between good and evil. The elect and wise have to be aware that they are separated from the “spirit of flesh”, and all “spirit of flesh” will be destroyed in the eschatological judgement, when iniquity will finally cease.

3) If the distinction between two redactional stages of 1Q/4QInstruction is correct,<sup>100</sup> the negative usage of בשר is found in both versions.

4) Since 1Q/4QInstruction is a composition that predates the *yahad*, the passages mentioned above give evidence that the negative usage

<sup>98</sup> 4Q417 1 i 6 (par. 4Q418 43 4).

<sup>99</sup> This holds true even for the two passages, where בשר and רוח occur in contextual opposition, Isa 31:3 and Gen 6:3. In Isa 31:3 בשר denotes the weakness of the Egyptian horses compared with the saving power of God, and in Gen 6:3 it characterizes the frailty of the human being, who cannot last without God's life-giving breath. The passages mentioned by N. Bratsiotis, “בשר,” 863f., also express human weakness in contrast with God's power (Jer 17:5; Ps 56:5; 2 Chron 32:8), human frailty (Ps 78:39) or the human point of view compared with the divine one (Job 10:4). Cf. also H. D. Preuß, *Theologie des Alten Testaments. Band 2: Israels Weg mit JHWH* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1992) 117 and n. 73.

<sup>100</sup> See above, n. 69.

of בשר was not a Qumran sectarian development. It rather originates in pre-Essene sapiential circles which were probably in close connection with the Jerusalem Temple.

#### 4. *The reception of the negative usage of בשר inside and outside Essenism*

In the pre-Essene sapiential tradition the terminology is not yet fixed. The combined term רוח בשר is used next to the simple term בשר<sup>101</sup> and apart from the contextual opposition of עם רוח and רוח בשר in 4Q417 1 i 15ff. there is no clear opposition between “flesh” and “spirit”. However, there is a clear link between “flesh” and sin or iniquity.

##### a) *The reception in the texts of the yahad*

The pre-Essene sapiential tradition, then, had an impact on the ‘sectarian writings’ of the Essenes. 1Q/4QInstruction is cited in the communal hymns of the *Hodayot*,<sup>102</sup> and the term רז נהיה which is so characteristic for 1Q/4QInstruction and 1Q/4QMysteries is taken up once in the final ‘psalm’ in IQS 11: 3. Moreover, the literary genre ‘Niedrigkeitsdoxologie’ – a further development of the Biblical ‘Gerichtsdoxologie’<sup>103</sup> – can be found in the pre-Essene sapiential tradition<sup>104</sup> and after that, quite frequently, in the *Hodayot* and also in IQS 11.<sup>105</sup>

Given the impact of the pre-Essene Sapiential tradition on the texts of the *yahad*, especially the communal hymns of the *Hodayot* and the final ‘psalm’ in IQS, we can assume that this is also the tradition-historical line on which the negative usage of the term בשר was passed on to the Essene community.

In the Essene texts, the pre-Essene terminology was adopted and further developed. In the *Hodayot* and in IQS 11, we find again the

<sup>101</sup> Cf. also in 1Q/4QMysteries 4Q301 5 3: ...]ה בשר כיא... (what is flesh that...?).

<sup>102</sup> See above, n. 78; cf. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 46.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 27; Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, 73, see also above, n. 24.

<sup>104</sup> Such a ‘Niedrigkeitsdoxologie’ seems to be the text of 4Q301 5 3. This is also the first evidence for the use of בשר within such a ‘Niedrigkeitsdoxologie. A kind of ‘Gerichtsdoxologie’ can be seen in 4Q417 2 i 15-17: “Who will be just in his judgement, and without release...?” (מי יצדק במשפטי ובלי שליחה); cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15: 31 (= VII 28 Sukenik).

<sup>105</sup> IQS 11: 9ff.

term רוח בשר,<sup>106</sup> and from the background of the usage in 1Q/4QInstruction we can now see that the term is not quite as neutral as was often supposed,<sup>107</sup> but was used also with negative connotations. As in the pre-Essene Sapiential tradition, "flesh" is now linked with the notion of both human inability to grasp God's revelation and also human iniquity and sinfulness. In one passage it seems to be viewed even as a misleading power.

The most important difference between the pre-Essene sapiential tradition (and also the *War Rule*) and the Essene texts, such as the *Hodayot* and the final psalm in 1QS, is that in these documents בשר denotes not just people outside the community of the pious or the sinful nations facing final destruction. Indeed the members of the *yahad* praying the *Hodayot* are aware now that they are בשר themselves and share the sinful flesh. They are not merely separated from the רוח בשר (4Q418 81 lf.), but they are sinners themselves, and as such they are elect to serve God, to know his will and to keep his commandments. This view is a peculiarity of the Essene documents which is paralleled later in some respect by the Pauline view.<sup>108</sup>

The new evidence from the pre-Essene Sapiential documents shows that the negative usage of בשר as a term for human sinfulness does not originate in the Qumran sectarian group or the Essene circles but in sapiential circles of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. The religio-historical background of the Essene usage of בשר is the ethical and cosmic-eschatological dualism which was formed within these pre-Essene sapiential circles. Their views were adopted and further developed by members of the Essene community, who also read and esteemed the pre-Essene sapiential texts.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>106</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4: 37 (= 17: 25 Sukenik) und 5: 30 (= 13: 13 Sukenik).

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Sekki, *The Meaning of ruah at Qumran*, 104, who refers to this view as a *communis opinio*.

<sup>108</sup> There are, however, major differences depending on the different views of the Tora and its position (see below and, more extensively, in my article: "Die paulinische Antithese von 'Fleisch' und 'Geist' und die palästinisch-jüdische Weisheits-tradition," *ZNW* 90 [1999] 45-77). The Lutheran formula *simul iustus simul peccator*, however, corresponds better to the view in the *Hodayot* and in 1QS 11 than to the Pauline view in Rom 7:7-25a, cf. already H. Braun, "Römer 7,7-25 und das Selbstverständnis des Qumran-Frommen," *Gesammelte Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* (3rd. ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1971) 100-119 (112).

<sup>109</sup> There is also evidence for the suggestion that the 'Doctrine of the Two Spirits' 1QS 3: 13 - 4: 26 originates in the same pre-Essene Sapiential circles; cf. J. Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought," 295ff.; see also Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 127f.

b) *The reception outside the Essene movement*

It is, however, highly probable that the ideas of the pre-Essene sapiential tradition were not just adopted by the Essenes. We should rather assume that these texts, like Sirach, *Jubilees* or the Enochic traditions were read and discussed in wider circles, most probably in Jerusalem, in the context of the *Hakhamim* surrounding the Temple.

A trace of these traditions may be seen in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* which generally seem to be a quite important line of transmission of dualistic thought. They attest not only to the idea of the "Two Ways" (*T. Ash.* 1:3-5), which can be found in the fragmentary Sapiential document on the Two Ways (4Q473 1 3),<sup>110</sup> as well as to the idea of the 'two spirits' of truth and deceit (*T. Jud.* 20:1ff.) resembling the pre-Essene 'Doctrine of the Two Spirits' (1QS 3: 13 - 4: 26), but also to the notion of the sinful flesh, as shown in *T. Jud.* 19:4:

The prince of error blinded me, and I was ignorant – as a human being, as flesh, corrupt in sins – (ὥς σὰρξ ἐν ἀμαρτίαις φθαρεῖς).<sup>111</sup>

Another passage in *T. Zeb.* 9:7f. reads:

He does not bring a charge and wickedness against the sons of men, since they are flesh and err in their wicked deeds.<sup>112</sup>

Contrary to earlier assumptions, these passages are not influenced by the Essenes, because all peculiarities of community terminology are lacking.<sup>113</sup> Nor do these passages show any clear traces of Christian

<sup>110</sup> See the edition by T. Elgvin, "473. 4QThe Two Ways," *Qumran Cave 4 XVII. Parabiblical Texts Part 3* (G. Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 289ff.

<sup>111</sup> Translation according to H. C. Kee, "Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983) 1. 800. However, Kee's rendering "as flesh, in my corrupt sins", is incorrect.

<sup>112</sup> Kee, op. cit. 807, translates according to another textual tradition: "they are flesh and the spirits of deceit lead them astray in all their actions." But cf. J. Becker, *Die Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen* (JSHRZ 3,1; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1974) 90, where the shorter reading is chosen.

<sup>113</sup> This theory was defended by M. Philonenko, *Les Interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches et les Manuscrits de Qumrân* (Cahiers de la Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuse 35; Paris, 1960); O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament unter Einschluß der Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen sowie der apokryphen- und pseudepigraphenartigen Qumrânschriften* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1976) 861f.; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les Ecrits esséniens découverts près de la mer Morte* (4<sup>e</sup> éd.; Paris: Payot, 1980) 310-318; A. Dupont-Sommer, M. Philonenko, *Ecrits intertestamentaires* (Paris: Pleiade, 1982) LXXV-LXXVI. Cf., against this assumption, J. Becker, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen* (AGJU 8; Leiden: Brill, 1970)

reworking or glossing. There is nothing in them that could not be explained against the background of Early Jewish thought. Even the observation that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in their present form certainly were collected and reshaped in Christian circles<sup>114</sup> should not lead to the conclusion that they are not basically Jewish.<sup>115</sup> The evidence mentioned above suggests that they attest to a wider influence of the Sapiential traditions of Palestinian Judaism represented in 1Q/4QInstruction, 1Q/4QMysteries and also the "Doctrine of the Two Spirits".

Another piece of evidence for the wider influence of the pre-Essene view of sinful flesh is in the *Life of Adam and Eve* 25:3. Here, Eve promises:

Lord, Lord, save me and I will never again turn to the sin of the flesh (καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐπιστρέψω εἰς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῆς σαρκός).<sup>116</sup>

Even if the textual history of the Adam literature is quite complicated and the precise age of this passage must remain uncertain, the promise of Eve seems not to be dependent on Christian ideas or even on the Pauline view of sin. Rather it shows that the idea of sinful flesh was present in wider circles of Early Judaism and was not confined to the Essenes or the Qumran sectarian group. It could be translated into Greek terms as well. But even in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* which represent a Diaspora setting, the idea is not shaped by the Hellenistic view of flesh as a material substance of minor

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149-152; idem, *Die Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen*, 26f.; Kee, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, *OTP* 1. 775-828.

<sup>114</sup> This is conceded also by Becker, *Die Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen*, 23. The view that the origin of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is generally Christian was developed by M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Study of Their Text, Composition, and Origin* (Assen: van Gorcum, 1953) 117-128. Since then, de Jonge has modified his position several times, cf. especially "Christian Influence in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs," *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Text and Interpretation* (SVTP 3; Leiden: Brill, 1975); idem "The Main Issues in the Study of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *NTS* 26 (1980) 508-524.

<sup>115</sup> On introductory issues, see generally Becker, *Die Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen*, 23-27; A.-M. Denis, *Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes Grecs d'Ancien Testament* (SVTP 1; Leiden: Brill, 1970) 49ff; A. Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments de Douze Patriarches Vol. 2: Composition de l'ouvrage, textes et traductions* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1982) 214ff., and the balanced discussion in K.-W. Niebuhr, *Gesetz und Paränese. Katechismusartige Weisungsreihen in der frühjüdischen Literatur* (WUNT 2,28; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987) 73-86.

<sup>116</sup> Translation according to M. D. Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," *OTP* 2. 249-295 (283) who hints at close parallels in *b. Mid.* 31b and *Gen. Rab.* 20:7.

value<sup>117</sup> but by the Palestinian Jewish dualism as documented in the pre-Essene and Essene documents from the Qumran library.

### 5. *The Sapiential traditions and the Pauline usage of σάρξ*

Returning to the issue of the religio-historical background of the Pauline usage of σάρξ, especially in the characteristic antithesis of σάρξ and πνεῦμα, I can only comment on some of the most important issues.<sup>118</sup>

1) An immediate literary influence of the Palestinian wisdom texts on the Pauline epistles cannot be proved. The problem is, however, a methodological one. Paul obviously adopts sapiential traditions. But it is hard to prove that he used traditions which are not documented in the Biblical wisdom literature or, perhaps in the Wisdom of Solomon, but which are peculiar to the tradition of 1Q/4QInstruction or 1Q/4QMysteries.

2) In the pre-Essene Sapiential traditions and the Essene texts there are the most interesting parallels to the Pauline notion of flesh as sinful and disobedient. Taken together, these traditions offer a much closer correlation to the Pauline views than all the parallels from Hellenistic Judaism.

3) The Sapiential texts discussed above are not Qumran 'sectarian' texts. So they cannot be pushed aside, therefore, as products of an esoteric circle to which non-members could not get access. Rather, these texts originate in sapiential circles surrounding the Jerusalem Temple, and their ideas were discussed and further developed not only by the Essenes but also among the other groups of contemporary Judaism, especially the *Hakhamim* in Jerusalem. There, in connection with the Temple, the transmission of Wisdom had an institutional framework, and it is likely that the early Pharisaic Sages who were also called חכמים<sup>119</sup> knew and discussed these ideas as well. Their transmission is also documented in Greek language by the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and, perhaps, by the *Life of Adam and Eve*.

4) It is, therefore, quite probable that Paul, when he was a pharisaic

<sup>117</sup> See above the passage on Philo.

<sup>118</sup> For a more detailed discussion, cf. my article: "Die paulinische Antithese von 'Fleisch' und 'Geist' und die palästinisch-jüdische Weisheitstradition."

<sup>119</sup> Cf. R. Meyer, "Φαρισαίος," *TDNT* 9. 11-36 (20-22).

student in Jerusalem,<sup>120</sup> also came across sapiential traditions like the great *Instruction* (= 1Q/4QInstruction) or the *Book of Mysteries* (= 1Q/4QMysteries). In any case, an acquaintance with the traditions represented by these Sapiential documents is more probable than a knowledge of Essene 'sectarian' documents such as the *Hodayot* or the *Rule of the Community*.<sup>121</sup>

5) Whatever the means were by which Paul came across these traditions, semantically his view of σάρξ as a power hostile to God that rules and misleads human beings, cannot be derived from Hellenistic ontology of the earthly and the spiritual sphere. It is much closer to the type of dualism of the Palestinian Jewish sapiential tradition, represented in works such as 1Q/4QInstruction or 1Q/4QMysteries and developed, then, in the Essene texts. Only in this tradition is flesh linked directly with sin and iniquity and viewed as a ruling and misleading power in a framework of predestinational thought. These are exactly the elements in which the Pauline usage of σάρξ goes beyond the biblical usage of בשר.

6) Against the background of these parallels, we can assume that the apostle knew about the idea of sinful flesh from his Jewish background. This idea is not Christian, but was shaped in advance by traditions of contemporary Judaism which can be determined now since the publication of the non-Essene sapiential documents from Qumran Cave 4.

<sup>120</sup> Scepticism against the information which is provided only by Luke (Acts 22:3; 26:4f.) seems not to be justified (cf. already G. Bornkamm, "Paulus," *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 5 [ed. G. Ebeling; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1961] 166-190 [168], and primarily Hengel/Deines, *The pre-Christian Paul*, 18ff., and R. Riesner, *Die Frühzeit des Apostels Paulus* [WUNT 71; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990] 6-26. Apart from the notes on his provenance from Tarsus and his studies in Jerusalem there is a close correspondence between the Pauline and the Lucan witness on Paul's religious origins. Hengel correctly states that before 70 CE Jerusalem "was the only proper place for strict Jews – and Paul came from a strict Jewish family and was himself one – to study the Torah" (*The Pre-Christian Paul*, 27).

<sup>121</sup> This is true, even if there is good evidence that the Essenes did not just live in Qumran, but in many places in Judaea (cf. Josephus, *J. W.* 2,124f.) and also in Jerusalem, cf. the evidence of the graves discovered recently: B. Zisu, "šdh 'qbrym hpxwrym' bbyr špp' – 'dwt 'rky'wlvwgyt lqhyt 'ysym?," *New Studies on Jerusalem. Proceedings of the Second Conference* (ed. A. Faust; Ramat Gan, 1996) 32-40, see generally R. Riesner, "Das Jerusalemer Essenerviertel und die Urgemeinde. Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* V 145; 11QMiqdasch 46,13-16; Apostelgeschichte 1-6 und die Archäologie," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (series 2, vol. 26,2; ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase; Berlin - New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995) 1775-1922 (1778ff.).

7) There is no fixed antithesis between “flesh” and “spirit” in early Jewish thought, neither in the Wisdom of Solomon nor in the works of Philo nor in Qumran. Some passages in the *Hodayot* and also the passage in 4Q417 1 I 15ff. attest to a contextual opposition between *בשר* and *רוח*, but it is not yet fixed semantically. However, if Paul knew about the negative usage of *בשר* or *σάρξ* from the Jewish tradition, he could, then, form such an opposition drawing on his own experience of the life-giving spirit in his vision near Damascus.

8) Paul’s use of these terms is deeply rooted in Jewish tradition, or more precisely in Palestinian Jewish tradition. The opposition of flesh against the spirit is not formed through an ontological distance between the created and the spiritual world but by the disobedience of humanity against God and his word. Human beings are flesh as a whole, not only in their material or sexual dimension, and this statement is not derogatory of their nature as created beings, but a verdict on their general direction of existence. Quite similarly, Paul sees the human being always as a whole. A human being is wholly flesh and dominated by sin, if it is not directed by the spirit (Rom 7).<sup>122</sup>

9) Of course, there are major differences between the Jewish traditions and Paul, mainly with respect to the position towards the law. Whereas in Qumran the pious are elect to obey the Tora even more accurately, for Paul the call for circumcision in the Galatian communities is an attempt to be justified still according to the flesh (Gal 3:3). The reason is given in Gal 5:19 where Paul states that those who are ‘in Christ’ have ‘crucified’ their flesh and, consequently died to the law, so that they are no longer ‘under the law’ (*ὑπὸ νόμου*). But even in these passages which seem to be so different from all kind of ‘mainstream Judaism’, Paul’s usage of *σάρξ* as a striving opposed to God’s will and to his salvific acts proves to be deeply rooted in the Palestinian Jewish tradition.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. E. Käsemann, “Zur paulinischen Anthropologie,” *Paulinische Perspektiven* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1969) 9-60 (50-52).



## ASPECTS OF WISDOM IN THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW IN LIGHT OF THE NEW QUMRAN EVIDENCE

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There are only three references to σοφία in the first book of the New Testament.<sup>1</sup> This fact alone fails to account for the significance of the figure of wisdom in that book. That passage usually regarded as the most significant wisdom statement in the work, Matt 11:25-30 does not even contain the term. Its importance as a central theme in the book has been the subject of much dispute. While Felix Christ and M. Jack Suggs, in very different ways, argued for its centrality to the composition,<sup>2</sup> a recent monograph on the subject by Celia Deutsch notes that the "Use of the Wisdom metaphor is not central to Matthew's thought".<sup>3</sup> Anthony Saldarini suggests that this author "leaves wisdom in the background to enrich and interpret his portrait of Jesus".<sup>4</sup> The meaning of wisdom in this composition has also been debated. While some saw it as Torah, others identified it with any of the varieties of hypostatization which were characteristic of the Hellenistic world, sometimes of a more mystical type. Others related it to some elements of Gnosticism. This discussion continues.

The purpose of this paper is to test the hypothesis that the development and use of wisdom in the Qumran scrolls can help us understand the meaning of its appearances in the Gospel of Matthew. This hypothesis is justified on the basis of the following three statements: (1) From the time of the discovery of those first scrolls in 1947, the

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<sup>1</sup> Matt 11:19, 12:42; 13:54.

<sup>2</sup> M.D. Johnson, "Reflections on a Wisdom Approach to Matthew's Christology," *CBQ* 36 (1974) 44-64; R. Pregeant, "The Wisdom Passages in Matthew's Story," *SBLSP* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 469-493; D.C. Allison, Jr., "Two Notes on a Key Text: Matthew 11:25-30," *JTS* 39 (1988) 477-485.

<sup>3</sup> C. Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom, Jesus, and the Sages: Metaphor and Social Context in Matthew's Gospel* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996) 1. See also C. Deutsch, "Wisdom in Matthew: Transformation of a Symbol," *NovT* 32 (1990) 13-47.

<sup>4</sup> A. J. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) 183-84.

presence of wisdom terminology in these compositions traced to the site of Qumran has been evident and they have been examined for their relevance to this particular problem; (2) access to and the publication of a number of sapiential texts and related compositions with wisdom themes in the last decade has altered our understanding of the significance and meaning of wisdom in the Qumran texts in substantial ways, and (3) significant changes or advances, depending upon your perspective, in the study of the Gospel of Matthew have permitted us to approach the question of its Jewish context in new ways. Thus the justification for the reexamination outlined in this preliminary paper.

### *Wisdom in the Qumran Texts*<sup>5</sup>

A survey of the wisdom literature available only after 1990 provides evidence of a tradition previously unrecognized in Qumran scholarship. The hints of the wisdom material available prior to this time were understandably viewed as aberrations and of limited significance. In 1965 in his publication of *Psalms Scroll* from Cave 11 (11Q5), James Sanders noted that "no work has been done, to my knowledge, on Wisdom thinking generally in Qumran literature."<sup>6</sup> It was his judgment that "the Sapiential is not a Qumran characteristic."<sup>7</sup> The literature now available suggests a new wisdom tradition which is not simply an imitation of biblical material nor is it an expansion of the sectarian use of wisdom vocabulary noted early in the history of the study of Qumran materials. The connections between many of these texts are evidence of another significant wisdom tradition in Second Temple Judaism, the study of which is only in its infancy.

<sup>5</sup> The argument and much of the material in this section has been developed at greater length in my article, "The Diverse Aspects of Wisdom in the Qumran Texts", *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998) 1.211-43.

<sup>6</sup> J.A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QP<sup>a</sup>)* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) 69, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Attributed to him in J.E. Worrell, "Concepts of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls", (Ph.D. diss., Claremont: Claremont Graduate School, 1968) 115. Note also W.L. Lipscomb with J.A. Sanders, "Wisdom at Qumran," *Israelite Wisdom: Theological and Literary Essays in Honor of Samuel Terrien* (eds. J.G. Gammie, W.A. Brueggemann, W.L. Humphreys and J.M. Ward; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978) 277-285, esp. p. 278.

Many of the features which characterize this unique tradition are immediately apparent in 4QInstruction (formerly *Sapiential Work A*), probably one of its earliest compositions with fragments of at least six extant copies (1Q26, 4Q415-418 and 4Q423), suggesting its popularity among the adherents attached to that site. Daniel Harrington, working on its official publication, proposes that it may "be associated with the foundational, pre-Qumranic phase of the movement in the early second century B.C.E."<sup>8</sup> Whether or not Fragment 1 of this composition is a remnant of its preface or introduction, it still constitutes evidence of the considerable presence of some important themes within the work, most notably its cosmic and eschatological framework.<sup>9</sup> The eschatological aspect is described in the lines: "In heaven he shall pronounce judgement upon the work of wickedness, but all his faithful children will be accepted with favor by Him...and every spirit of flesh will be laid utterly bare but the sons of Heaven shall rejoice in the day when it (i.e., wickedness) is judged. And all iniquity shall come to an end until the epoch of destruction will be finished."<sup>10</sup> The repetition of the cosmological theme demonstrates its importance: "For the God of knowledge is the foundation of truth, and by the *raz nihyeh* He has laid out its foundation, and its deeds He has prepared with [...] wisdom, and with all cunning He has fashioned it. And the domain of its deeds [...] He expounded for their understanding every deed so that he could walk in the inclination of

<sup>8</sup> D.J. Harrington, "Wisdom at Qumran," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) 137-152, see p. 151. The text has now been published in J. Strugnell et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4. XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2* (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999). Note the error in my article, "Diverse Aspects of Wisdom," 227, n. 74, where the editors inserted a note suggesting it was already available in DJD 20. For its significance note also T. Elgvin, "Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology in an early Essene Writing", *SBLSP* (1995) 440-463 and D.J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge, 1996) 40-41. A copy of the text is included in B.Z. Wacholder and M.G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four* (4 vols.; Washington: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991-1996) 2.44-154, 166-73. For a translation see F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (trans. W.G.E. Watson; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994) 383-93; M. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr. and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1996) 378-90 (there appear to be some extra mss. beyond this one composition in this collection).

<sup>9</sup> Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 41. The placement of this fragment at the beginning of the composition has been questioned by T. Elgvin, "The Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A," *RevQ* 16 (1995) 559-580, see 566, n. 20.

<sup>10</sup> Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 41.

his understanding. And He expounded for hu[mankind...], and in purity of understanding were made known the secrets of his plan together with how he should walk perfect[ly in all his wo]rks. These things investigate always, and gain understanding [about a]ll their outcomes. And then you will know the glory of His might together with His marvellous mysteries and His mighty acts."<sup>11</sup> The remainder of the extant contents of this document do not pull us into a further exposition of eschatological mysteries, but rather provide advice for daily living, an important topic in the biblical wisdom materials. At its heart the wisdom which undergirds this composition is that which was inherent in creation, thereby providing a particular cosmological context for it. Eschatology is only one of the subjects covered within this larger theme.

The 4Q *Mysteries* texts (1Q27, 4Q299 and 4Q300) share a number of similarities with 4QInstruction, including a comparable use of the noteworthy term *raz*, a discussion of which can be found below. In this text the purpose of wisdom is explained: "in order that they would know (the difference) between g[ood and evil, and between falsehood and truth, and that they might understand the mysteries of transgression...] all their wisdom."<sup>12</sup> Regrettably humankind has ignored this wisdom: "But [they] did not know [the *raz nihyeh*, and the former things they did not consider. And they did not know what shall befall] them. And they did not save their lives from the *raz ni[h]yeh*." This is followed by a description of God's plan for the end of time and the signs of that era, including those pointing to its impending arrival. This interest in eschatology is more extensive than in 4QInstruction. But it is still made clear that this wisdom was rooted in the order of creation. The problem is that this divine wisdom is sealed and only available to the righteous, the only portion of humankind which God permits to see and understand it. While the book of *Mysteries* continues to consider extensive moral advice as wisdom, it is not as universally available.<sup>13</sup> The interest in eschatology

<sup>11</sup> 4Q417 2 i 8-9; cited according to Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 53, but leaving *raz nihyeh* untranslated.

<sup>12</sup> 4Q300 (Mysteries<sup>b</sup>) 3 2-3=1Q27 (Mysteries) 1 i 2-3; this and the following quote (4Q300 3 3-4) cited according to L. Schiffman, "300. 4QMysteries<sup>b</sup>," in *Qumran Cave 4, XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (eds. T. Elgvin et al.; DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) 105 (99-112), but leaving *raz nihyeh* untranslated.

<sup>13</sup> L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia/Jerusalem: Jewish Publication Society, 1994) 207-10.

and the selective nature of its availability are themes which are more prominent in this text than in 4QInstruction.

An important connection between wisdom and Qumran sectarianism is found in 4Q420/421 (*Ways of Righteousness<sup>a,b</sup>*).<sup>14</sup> The fragments of this possibly composite work suggest three sections, some of which may be based on different sources. The first section deals with the organization of the *yahad*, including the injunction that "[he shall bring all] his [wi]sdom and knowledge and understanding and good things [into the Community (*yahad*) of God]."<sup>15</sup> While *yahad* is reconstructed on the basis of parallels with 1QS (1Q *Rule of the Community*)1:11-12; 3:2 and CD (*Damascus Document*)13:11, the linguistic and conceptual parallels support the reconstruction. The presence of the term *serek* in the next line supports the hypothesis concerning the nature of the sectarian material. It is noteworthy that the fragments of the next column of the same copy contain a reference to the obligation of reproof, a subject of considerable interest to the authors of the materials identified as sectarian.<sup>16</sup> Also of significance is the presence of the term *maskyl* in the lines preceding and following this reference.<sup>17</sup> While the term is not unique to Qumran it certainly is a significant title in the sectarian texts.<sup>18</sup> For example, in 4Q510-511

<sup>14</sup> T. Elgvin, "4QWays of Righteousness," in *Qumran Cave 4, XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (T. Elgvin et al.; DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) 173-202. See also T. Elgvin, "Wisdom in the *Yahad*: 4QWays of Righteousness," *RevQ* 17 (1996) 205-232. The text also is available in Wacholder and Abegg, *Preliminary Edition*, 2.159-65.

<sup>15</sup> 4Q421 1a i 2-3 (DJD 20.185-87).

<sup>16</sup> 4Q421 1a ii-b 11. A summary of recent works on the subject includes the following: L.H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983) 73-109; J.L. Kugel, "On Hidden Hatred and Open Reproach: Early Exegesis of Leviticus 19:17," *HTR* 80 (1987) 43-61; J.M. Baumgarten, "The Cave 4 Versions of the Qumran Penal Code," *JJS* 43 (1992) 268-76; E. Eshel, "4Q477: The Rebukes By The Overseer," *JJS* 45 (1994) 111-22; C. Hempel, "Who Rebukes in 4Q477?" *RevQ* 16 (1995) 655-656; B. 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 International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995, published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (eds. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997) 149-65; C. Hempel, "The Penal Code Reconsidered," *Legal Texts and Legal Issues*, 337-48; J. Kampen, "Communal Discipline in the Social World of the Matthean Community," in *Common Life in the Early Church: Essays Honoring Graydon F. Snyder* (ed. J.V. Hills; Harrisburg: Trinity, 1998) 158-74, esp. 159-67.

<sup>17</sup> 4Q421 1a ii-b 10,12.

<sup>18</sup> C.A. Newsom, "The Sage in the Literature of Qumran: The Functions of the Maskil," in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (eds. J.G. Gammie and L.G.

(*Songs of the Sage*<sup>a,b</sup>) this figure is the recipient of the divine gift of knowledge who has the further ability to resist the power of the spirits of the angels of destruction. We see in the treatment of this figure in the Qumran texts evidence of the growth and development of this sectarian movement. The second section contains a series of wisdom sayings about the righteous man, often in the form of proverbs. In this section the righteous man is exhorted to "bear the yoke of wisdom (*ol ḥakmah*)."<sup>19</sup> The third section deals with the purity of the temple and its procedures. While fragmentary this document provides a significant linkage between the explicitly "sectarian" texts from Qumran and those compositions which most resemble the sapiential biblical texts in form and content.

A recognized wisdom text with important implications for New Testament studies is 4Q525 (*Beatitudes*).<sup>20</sup> The macarisms in 4Q525 consider the attainment of *ḥokmah* to be the source of blessing. The wisdom discussed in these lines is to be practiced since the person who has attained it "walks in the law of the Most High". Wisdom is equated with Torah. In fragment 14 ii 18 the *mehyn* ("the one who understands") is exhorted "to listen to me", i.e., wisdom. As in fragments 2 and 4 where the third person singular feminine suffix could designate either *ḥokmah* or torah the personal pronoun here seems to equate the two, as happens in Sirach. Evidence of the more developed dualism characteristic of literature from Qumran and other apocalyptic works is apparent in fragment 15 with its references to "eternal fire", the "venom of serpents", "darkness", "flames of death" and "flaming brimstone", apparently with regard to those who "do not attain the paths of life". Mastemah receives mention in fragment 19.

Perdue; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 373-82, esp. p. 374; Kampen, "Diverse Aspects of Wisdom," 238-39.

<sup>19</sup> 4Q421 1 ii 9-10; Elgvin, "Wisdom in the *Yahad*", 212-13.

<sup>20</sup> É. Puech, "4QBéatitudes," *Qumrân Grotte 4.XVIII: Textes hébreux (4Q521-4Q528, 4Q576-4Q579)* (DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) 115-78. See also É. Puech, "Un hymne essénien en partie retrouvé et les Béatitudes: IQH V 12-VI 18 (=col. XIII-XIV 7) et 4Q Béat.," *RevQ* 13 (1988) 59-88; G.J. Brooke, "The Wisdom of Matthew's Beatitudes (4QBeat and Mt. 5:3-12)," *Scripture Bulletin* 19, no.2 (Summer, 1989) 35-41; É. Puech, "4Q525 et les péripetiques des Béatitudes en Ben Sira et Matthieu," *RB* 98 (1991) 80-106; B. Viviano, "Eight Beatitudes at Qumran and in Matthew: A New Publication from Cave Four," *SEA* 58 (1993) 71-84. The text can also be found in Wacholder and Abegg, *Preliminary Edition*, 2.185-203. Translations can be found in García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 395-98; Wise, Abegg and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 423-26.

The wisdom instructions in 4Q424 (*Sapiential Text*) concern the treatment of various types of persons; particularly itemizing which persons should be avoided and the reasons particular to each.<sup>21</sup> Many of these instructions concern legal and business relationships. Issues of a moral nature appear in fragment 3 of this text. The word *hokmah* does appear three times in this fragment, the term considered more characteristic of biblical wisdom. Also present in the last line of the preserved text is the term *beney ṣedeq* ("sons of righteousness"), which has sometimes been considered indicative of the Qumran sectarians or a group within that movement. These indications point to this same body of literature which will have been viewed with particular favor by the Qumran community, but which could not be considered a sectarian composition, even if it is demonstrated to be clearly post-biblical.

The foregoing summary of the significant features of a few of the major texts demonstrates the possibilities and the difficulties involved in the study of the wisdom texts from Qumran. They represent enough continuity with previously known evidence of Second Temple wisdom materials that they can be considered to belong to that group of texts. They also yield evidence of wisdom traditions, previously unknown to modern scholars, which were developed in the "sectarian" literature, an area of study which bears further development. Most importantly it provides a context for understanding some of the terminology in those early texts from Cave 1 that caught the attention of the first generation of Qumran scholars.

In his initial articles already Millar Burrows wrote that 'Knowledge' is one of the prominent words of DCD and it is used primarily with reference to the divine law."<sup>22</sup> An early attempt to analyze the concept of knowledge (דעת) in the newly-discovered scrolls was that of W. D. Davies.<sup>23</sup> In this study by Davies we find the kind of results which characterized much of the work on this subject during that first decade. He initially classified all the passages in which the term דעת or one of its cognates appears under one of six headings: intelli-

<sup>21</sup> For the text see Wacholder and Abegg, *Preliminary Edition*, 2.174-76. For a translation see García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 393-94; Wise, Abegg and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 393-94.

<sup>22</sup> M. Burrows, "The Discipline Manual of the Judaean Covenanters," *OTS* 8 (1950) 156-192, see 168.

<sup>23</sup> W.D. Davies, "'Knowledge' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Matthew 11:25-30," *HTR* 46 (1953) 113-39.

gent discernment, associated with the Law, where there is an expressed or implied secret knowledge, where it is concerned with the interpretation of events or has an eschatological significance, where knowledge of an intimate or personal kind is suggested, and where knowledge is mediated. After surveying the results of this analysis he concluded the following: "Although there are passages which suggest that the sect was possibly, and even probably, concerned with cosmological speculations such as were native to the *Ma'aseh Bereshit*, ...the *DSS* is mainly concerned with the interpretation of the works of God in history, and especially with events conceived as belonging to the period of the End, that is, with the 'mysteries' of the prophecies of the Old Testament."<sup>24</sup> Eschatology and ethics were to dominate the perceptions of wisdom during the first two decades of the study of these documents.

The associated aspects of wisdom which received a good deal of attention in those early studies were the subjects of dualism and the related issue of determinism. A 1978 summary of work on "Wisdom at Qumran" by W. Loundes Lipscomb with James A. Sanders suggested that: "The object of wisdom at Qumran was the revealed mysteries of God's predestined plan of salvation, knowledge of sectarian doctrine, for example, as it is elaborated in 1QS 3:13-4:26....The focal thought of the Essene community was apocalyptic, not sapiential."<sup>25</sup> This insight, of course, must not let us overlook the manner in which terms such as *בניה*, *דעת* and *שכל* dominate the texts from Cave 1 which we term sectarian. For example this crucial section of 1QS begins: *למשכיל להבין יללמד* (For the wise one or Master, to instruct and to teach...). What he teaches comes *מאל הדעת* (from the God of Knowledge). The knowledge which the inductee needs to understand concerns the true nature of the cosmos, the world and the individual, all of which are explained on the basis of a dualistic structure.

We now have a much better explanation for the preponderance of terms concerning knowledge and wisdom which are distributed freely throughout those scrolls. We furthermore find in both 1QS and

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 133-34.

<sup>25</sup> W.L. Lipscomb with J.A. Sanders, "Wisdom at Qumran," in *Israelite Wisdom: Theological and Literary Essays in Honor of Samuel Terrien* (Eds., J.G. Gammie et. al., New York: Union Theological Seminary [distributed by Scholars Press, 1978] 277-85, see 278.



IQH, works admittedly dominated by dualism and eschatology, an interest in creation, in the times and in the celestial bodies. In fact their dualism and eschatology are rooted in creation and the cosmos. But now speculation has ended. Wisdom has been placed in the service of the sect. What does this have to do with the Gospel of Matthew?

### *Wisdom in Matthew*

I regard the gospel of Matthew as a text which originated within a Jewish community. The followers of Jesus comprised one sectarian group within that community which also included other schismatic bodies who had their own view of what Jewish life should be like and wherein its future lay.<sup>26</sup> I have argued elsewhere that adherents of that Judaism represented in the sectarian compositions attributed to Qumran were also to be found in that community and that we find evidence of their viewpoints within that gospel.<sup>27</sup> My examination of the use of *sophia* needs to be understood within the context of this other work.

The most significant section of the work to refer to Jesus as wisdom is in Matthew 11.<sup>28</sup> Jesus is first of all identified with wisdom in v. 19: "the Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say, 'Look a glutton and a drunkard, a friend of tax collectors and sinners!' Yet wisdom is vindicated by her deeds." Wisdom here is clearly

<sup>26</sup> J.A. Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) 72-161; A.F. Segal, "Matthew's Jewish Voice," *Social History of the Matthean Community: Cross-disciplinary Approaches* (ed. D.L. Balch; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 3-37; G.M. Stanton, *A Gospel for A New People: Studies in Matthew* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1992) 85-145; A.J. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) 11-26, 84-123.

<sup>27</sup> J. Kampen, "The Sectarian Form of the Antitheses within the Social World of the Matthean Community," *DSD* 1 (1994) 338-63, esp. 357-63.

<sup>28</sup> While this is broadly assumed and may even appear self-evident, Matt 23:34-36 and 23:37-39 are considered equally significant by F. Gench, *Wisdom in the Christology of Matthew* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1997) 24. The relationship of wisdom and apocalyptic is stressed in the study of Matthew 23-24 by F. W. Burnett, even though he does note a particular intersection of themes concerning Jesus and wisdom in Matt 11:25-30 (*The Testament of Jesus-Sophia: A Redaction-Critical Study of the Eschatological Discourse in Matthew* [Lanham: University Press of America, 1981] 377). J.P. Meier does not doubt that Jesus speaks as the "personified Wisdom of God" in Matt 23:34 (*Matthew* [NTM 3; Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1980] 273).

identified with Jesus the man who performed these deeds.<sup>29</sup> In this case Jesus is not portrayed as an exponent of or envoy for wisdom but is rather wisdom herself.<sup>30</sup> It is Jesus-wisdom which is then rejected in the following texts where we find the woes upon Bethsaida and Chorazin.

The allusion of course is back to the beginning of the chapter where in response to the question of the disciples of John the Baptist, "Are you the one who is to come, or are we to wait for another?" the author has Jesus reply with a list of items primarily from the book of Isaiah listing occurrences at that future time when God will intervene on behalf of the righteous and which this author has applied to Jesus. Of significance in this case is the use of the term, ἔργων (deeds). The parallel text in Luke 7:35 refers to πάντων τῶν τέκνων at this point: "yet wisdom is justified by all her children." In this case the author wants to establish that it is the deeds which justify the identification of Jesus with wisdom and which provide the basis for the claim made by the author of this gospel later in the chapter. The emphasis on deeds makes the connection to the messianic era and establishes Jesus as the authoritative representative of God ("son of God") who will preside over the period of God's reign. While the connection of Jesus with wisdom is clearly established, the author also provides a very particular definition for the connection, not simply an identification of Jesus with the wisdom tradition.

The utilization of the figure of Lady Wisdom follows immediately hereafter at the end of Chapter 11,<sup>31</sup> a section which has frequently played a role in Christian diatribes against Jews: "Come to me, all you that are weary and are carrying heavy burdens, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me, for I am gentle and humble in heart, and you will find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light." As evidence of the use of wisdom imagery in this passage the parallels with Sira 51:23-27 frequently have been noted.<sup>32</sup> The image of the yoke is common in

<sup>29</sup> Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 49-54.

<sup>30</sup> Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 2.

<sup>31</sup> Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 54-60.

<sup>32</sup> D. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13* (WBC 33a; Dallas: Word, 1993) 321, rejects the argument that this is based on the Moses typology proposed by D. C. Allison, Jr., "Two Notes on a Key Text: Matthew 11:25-30," *JTS* 39 (1988) 477-85; and adopted in the commentary co-authored with W. D. Davies, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (3 vols; ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988-1997) vol. (1991) 272-93. Note the argument of Robert Gundry: "At most, therefore,

rabbinic literature, with a statement of Rabbi Nechuniah ben Hakanah in *m. Abot* 3:5 an important reference point: "Whoever accepts עול תורה the 'ol *malkut* (yoke of the kingdom) and the 'ol *derek erez* (yoke of daily life) shall be removed from him." The rejection of 'ol *Torah* similarly means that these other yokes will be laid upon him. While conceptually in many ways the two passages are rather similar, the identification of Jesus with the yoke differentiates the two passages.

Interestingly, we now have in 4Q421 1a ii-b 10 (*Ways of Righteousness*), the text already mentioned above, a reference to 'ol *ḥakmah*.<sup>33</sup> Since I have argued elsewhere that the terms *ṣedeq* and *ṣedaqah* are used in a particular way in the sectarian compositions from Qumran to designate the viewpoints of the sect, I would depart from Elgvin's interpretation that this column comes from a pre-sectarian wisdom source and suggest that it is a statement on sectarian wisdom.<sup>34</sup> In 4Q421 this man who is knowledgeable and has understanding will receive admonition and "walk in the ways of God to do righteousness." Wisdom imagery abounds throughout this section, but it is to be differentiated by the fact that Jesus is its personification. How could such a peculiar notion develop?

I would argue that this comes from two primary trends. We of course have ample evidence of the hypostatization of wisdom in Jewish literature. This is already suggested in Proverbs 1-9, especially chapter 8, where wisdom is present at creation. This is developed in Ben Sira and leads to the great declaration in chapter 24 that wisdom is the Torah. The Wisdom of Solomon also declares that Wisdom is a divine being, present at creation, as does *1 En.* 42. Note also *Baruch* 3:9-4:4. Within the Qumran texts we find the vivid personification of Dame Folly in 4Q184 (*Wiles of the Wicked Woman*) and the apparent description of Lady Wisdom in 4Q185 (*Sapiential Work*) 2, even though she is not named in the fragments. Just the evidence of personification is not adequate to explain the development within Matthew.

More significant for our purposes is the growth in the sectarian identification of wisdom. Within the development sketched above we see the manner in which a sectarian movement could adapt and co-

the passage in Sirach exercised an indirect and vague influence on Matthew" (*Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982] 220.)

<sup>33</sup> T. Elgvin, "421. 4QWays of Righteousness," (DJD 20) 188.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 189-90. See J. Kampen, "'Righteousness' in Matthew and the Legal Texts from Qumran," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues*: 461-88, esp., 462-77.

opt wisdom imagery which had been influential in its development to the point that it becomes totally identified with the beliefs and way of life advocated by those sectarians. It is this type of use of wisdom imagery which the author of the book of Matthew utilizes in the identification of Jesus with wisdom. It is this history which explains the wisdom greater than Solomon in 12:42 and the wisdom which astounds the people in the synagogue of his hometown in 13:54. In a book like Matthew we are not simply dealing with a biography of Jesus. We are dealing with the beliefs and way of life which the followers of Jesus advocated within the Jewish community of which they were a part. In other words, Jesus is the Torah for the community of his followers as well as the hermeneutical principle for its interpretation. This is the more fundamental ideology which undergirds this group of followers.

How, then, is it possible for one passage in Matthew to describe Jesus as incarnate wisdom and other sections to portray him as an envoy of wisdom? This is because the relationship of Jesus to wisdom is not the primary question of the author or the original readers. The issue for them was rather the nature of their relationship to Judaism. In the posing of an answer to that question it does appear that those studies which argue that Jesus as son of god is the more significant category for this text than the identification with wisdom are important.<sup>35</sup> However even the argument that Jesus is son of God is part of the structure of an argument to help the author and readers determine their relationship to the remainder of the Jewish community. In this case it is quite possible that Jesus is regarded as incarnate wisdom in Matt 11:19 and as an envoy of wisdom in other texts. The basic argument is that the true wisdom of God is being rejected by the rest of Israel because of its refusal to accept Jesus as the true representative of the divine. The extent to which Jesus encompasses incarnation or authoritative representative is not of major significance to the author and its readers. More significant is the impact of this argument for the nature of the sectarian identity of these followers of Jesus within the context of the Judaism of their day. It is the Judaism which is based in Jesus Christ which is the hope for its survival in the wake of the competing loyalties and external pressures which it faces. God has shown the way for the Judaism of the future through Jesus Christ. This is its only hope for survival.

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<sup>35</sup> Note the summary conclusion of Gench, *Wisdom*, 209.

Of significance for the immediate understanding of this section is the Book of *Enoch*. Celia Deutsch and others have proposed that the identification of the Son of Man with wisdom in *1 En.* 37-72, the Epistles of Enoch, lies behind this section.<sup>36</sup> In these Epistles the Son of Man is pre-existent, both hidden and revealed, he is a wisdom figure given the spirit of wisdom, understanding and might. He is also the revealed of God's wisdom, the source of the "secrets of wisdom" and apocalyptic judge. Significant for our passage is the withdrawal of wisdom as well in *1 En.* 42:1-2. Lady Wisdom here goes forth from the heavens to take her dwelling among humankind but, finding no habitation, she returns to the heavens.<sup>37</sup> A biblical basis for this withdrawal is noted in Prov 1:28-31. Then in *1 En.* 42:3 iniquity seeks a home among humankind and finds it. Lady Wisdom cannot dwell with people because she cannot find a home, thereby permitting the deployment of evil in the world. The calls for repentance on the part of the Son of Man, rejected by the citizens of Chorazin and Bethsaida, give a place for evil in the world, even though in this case vengeance is reserved for the day of judgment.

Is then the use of this wisdom imagery in Matthew 11 a direct response to the adherents of an ideology based on literature we know from the Qumran library? It appears rather that both Matthew and the Epistles of Enoch are utilizing and developing, each in their own manner, a tradition of wisdom literature witnessed in the Qumran literature discussed above. While I have elsewhere argued that we find evidence for the hypothesis that the book of Matthew includes arguments which respond to persons who held viewpoints known to us from the Qumran literature, I do not think that this is one of those instances. The references are not specific enough and the imagery is scattered across too many types of literature to argue for such an identification. I do however think that the Qumran scrolls help us to understand why the author of the book could present such a peculiar argument. That evidence does permit us to see the manner in which a Jewish sectarian movement could adopt wisdom language and imagery to make its case. In the same way they help us understand how and why an early proto-Christian author could have developed the peculiar argument that Jesus is identified with wisdom.

<sup>36</sup> C. Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom and the Easy Yoke: Wisdom, Torah and Discipleship in Matthew 11.25-30* (JSNTSup 18; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987) 104-105. We must remember that the proposal of J.T. Milik that this is a Christian composition has not received much scholarly support.

<sup>37</sup> *1 En.* 42:1-2; Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 103.

# THE WISDOM PASSAGE IN 1 CORINTHIANS 2:6-16 BETWEEN QUMRAN AND PROTO-GNOSTICISM

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There is no other passage in the authentic and non-authentic letters of Paul that speaks so often of σοφία and σοφός as the first three chapters of 1 Corinthians. In 1 Corinthians 1-3 σοφία (“wisdom”) is found 16 times; in the rest of the authentic letters only three times.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, σοφός (“wise”) occurs ten times in 1 Cor 1-3, in the rest of the authentic letters five times.<sup>2</sup> Prior to the writing of 1 Corinthians, we do not find σοφία or σοφός in any of Paul’s letters we know.<sup>3</sup>

Paul uses σοφία and σοφός in negative and positive ways: He speaks in 1 Cor 1-3 negatively of ἡ σοφία τοῦ κόσμου (“the wisdom of the world”, 1:20; 3:19; cf. 2:6 “the wisdom of this age ...”), of σοφία ἀνθρώπων (“human wisdom”, 2:5) and ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία, with the same meaning (2:13), or of σοφοὶ κατὰ σάρκα (“wise persons by human standard”, 1:26). Speaking positively, Paul says σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ (1:21) or θεοῦ σοφία (“wisdom of God”, 1:24; 2:7), σοφία ἀπὸ θεοῦ (“wisdom from God”, 1:30), σοφία οὐ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου οὐδὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου (“not a wisdom of this age or of the rulers of this age”, 2:6). In the negative connotation σοφία is “wisdom of the Greek” (1:22), which fits well with the rhetorical structure Paul gives his wisdom rejection of σοφία (see below): after others, James Dunn emphasized this aspect of σοφία in 1 Cor 1-3.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The authentic Pauline letters according to their probable origin (without taking into account any reconstruction hypotheses): 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Philippians, Philemon, Romans. I am very grateful to Almut Köster for proofreading the English manuscript and for the translation of some sections into English.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Corinthians 4 is closely connected with ch. 1-3, though the wisdom terminology is almost missing (exception μορφοὶ διὰ Χριστόν in v. 10).

<sup>3</sup> σοφία also occurs in 1 Cor 12:8, but then only in later letters (2 Cor 1:12; Rom 11:33); σοφός, outside of 1 Cor 6:5, only 4 times in Romans. It is therefore not likely that Paul himself introduced the keyword σοφία to Corinth.

<sup>4</sup> James D.G. Dunn, *1 Corinthians* (NTG; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995) 41-44.

Paul speaks in 1 Cor 1-3 of “eloquent wisdom” (1:17), of a “debater” (1:20) and of “lofty words” (2:1). How does ἡ σοφία τοῦ κόσμου, mentioned twice, and the “wisdom of this age” fit into this rhetorical character of wisdom?

For the positive connotation, it is clear from reading the Pauline text that wisdom belongs to the vocabulary of Jewish texts that combine wisdom traditions and apocalypticism. A very good example for this is now 4QInstruction (formerly 4Q*Sapiential Work A*), that is 4Q415-418 and 423, to which 1Q26 also belongs.<sup>5</sup> I could as well refer among other texts of Early Judaism to the book of Daniel which speaks of God’s wisdom and revelation of mystery, like the prayer of Daniel in 2:19-23. In 1 Cor 2:7 Paul uses this same tradition, when he says θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην (“God’s wisdom, hidden in a mystery”). But the interpretation of 1 Cor 1-3 cannot be reduced to a simple opposition: negative Greek rhetoric against positively seen Jewish apocalyptic Wisdom.

I will refer here only to the most difficult passage in 1 Cor 1-4, that is 2:6-16:<sup>6</sup>

## I

<sup>6</sup>Σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις,  
σοφίαν δὲ οὐ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου  
οὐδὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τῶν καταργουμένων·  
<sup>7</sup>ἀλλὰ λαλοῦμεν θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην,  
ἣν προώρισεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν,  
<sup>8</sup>ἣν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἔγνωκεν·  
εἰ γὰρ ἔγνωσαν,  
οὐκ ἂν τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύρωσαν.  
<sup>9</sup>ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται·  
ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσεν  
καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη,  
ἃ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.  
<sup>10</sup>ἡμῖν δὲ ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος·  
τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα πάντα ἐραυνᾷ,  
καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ.

<sup>5</sup> The text is now available in J. Strugnell et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4. XXIV, Sapiential Texts, Part 2* (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999). Cf. below n. 36.

<sup>6</sup> The Greek text (without the line divisions) according to Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (27th ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993).

## Π

<sup>11</sup>τίς γὰρ οἶδεν ἀνθρώπων τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ;  
οὕτως καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδεὶς ἔγνωκεν εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ.

<sup>12</sup>ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου ἐλάβομεν  
ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ,  
ἵνα εἰδῶμεν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χαρισθέντα ἡμῖν·

<sup>13</sup>ἂ καὶ λαλοῦμεν οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις  
ἀλλ' ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος,  
πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες.

<sup>14</sup>ψυχικὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ θεοῦ·  
μωρία γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστὶν καὶ οὐ δύναται γνῶναι,  
ὅτι πνευματικῶς ἀνακρίνεται.

<sup>15</sup>ὁ δὲ πνευματικὸς ἀνακρίνει [τὰ] πάντα,  
αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀνακρίνεται.

<sup>16</sup>τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου, ὃς συμβιβάσει αὐτόν;  
ἡμεῖς δὲ νοῦν Χριστοῦ ἔχομεν.

## I

<sup>6</sup>We do speak wisdom among the mature,  
though not a wisdom of this age  
nor of the rulers of this age, who are doomed to perish.

<sup>7</sup>But we speak God's wisdom, hidden in a mystery,  
which God decreed before the ages for our glory,

<sup>8</sup>which none of the rulers of this age did know.

If they had known,  
they would not have crucified the Lord of glory;  
<sup>9</sup>but as it is written:

*"What no eye has seen and no ear has heard  
and entered not into the heart of man,  
what God has prepared for those who love him"*  
(*Apocryphon of Elisha*, sec. Origen).

<sup>10</sup>To us God has revealed (it) through the spirit;  
for the spirit searches everything,  
even the depths of God.

## Π

<sup>11</sup>For what human being knows what is human,  
except the human spirit that is within him?  
So also no one has known what is God's, except the spirit of God.

<sup>12</sup>Now we have received not the spirit of the world,  
but the spirit that is from God,  
so that we know what God has graciously given to us.



<sup>13</sup>We speak of these things not in words taught by human wisdom, but in words taught by the spirit, bringing together spiritual things with what is spiritual.

<sup>14</sup>A psychic person does not receive what belongs to the spirit of God, for it is foolishness to him and he cannot understand it, because it is judged according to the spirit.

<sup>15</sup>A person governed by the spirit judges everything; but he himself is judged by nobody.

<sup>16</sup>For "who has known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him?" (Isa 40:13 LXX).

We have the mind of Christ.

The text has a certain rhetorical structure.<sup>7</sup> It can be divided into two parts with five sections each and three lines in each section (only the final section has characteristically one additional line). The keyword of part I is σοφία; the keyword of part II is πνεῦμα, understood as human spirit, God's spirit and Christ's spirit. In reconstructing the composition of the passage, vv. 9 and 10 should not be separated, as it is often done. This is clear (apart from the structure given above) when it is recognized that the goods of salvation (v. 9) and their revelation (v. 10a) belong together in one thought and that v. 11 starts anew.

Two levels of language and thought, which are negatively referred to, and three levels of language and thought, positively referred to, can be found in this Pauline text. The two negative levels are (here I agree with James Dunn<sup>8</sup>) Greek rhetoric and a wisdom Paul calls "wisdom of this (bad) age" (2:6). The three positive levels are the following:

First, Paul uses the language of his opponents which seems to have a relationship to later Gnosticism.

Secondly, the Pauline passage has many parallels in Jewish apocalyptic Wisdom texts, as I have already mentioned.

<sup>7</sup> To my knowledge, I am the first to suggest this structure. Semiticizing poetical devices and rhetorical devices should not be confused, but we should not discount the possibility that Paul's rhetorical style was occasionally influenced by semitic verse (cf. below the two Qumran citations from 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 1QS), or by semiticizing poetry (e.g., the Psalms of the Septuaginta). A completely different structure can be found, e.g., in 1 Cor 5:3-5, where one can distinguish between a basic sentence and interruptions; see Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, "A Legal Issue in 1 Corinthians 5 and in Qumran," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge, 1995* (STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 489-99, esp. p. 492.

<sup>8</sup> *1 Corinthians*, 41.

Thirdly, there are two aspects in the Pauline text that should be especially compared with Qumranian theology.

The first positive aspect of the third level does not have a specifically Qumranian origin. The second positive aspect is concerned with an awareness of present eschatology which appears to be very similar in Paul and at the end of 1QS.

But first let me put forward some arguments for Paul's relationship in 1 Cor 2:6-16 to the vocabulary of later Gnosticism. Many scholars are today very sceptical about this view which was popular in the decades after World War II.<sup>9</sup> They are partly right. Therefore I do not speak of the "Gnosticism" of Paul's opponents – in this following the "Proposal" of the Messina Colloquium on the origins of Gnosticism of 1966<sup>10</sup> – but I call their religious view more carefully "gnostisierend" or "proto-Gnosticism". Of course, many details of the relationship of 1 Corinthians 2 to an alleged proto-Gnosticism cannot be discussed in this short paper. I will concentrate on the dualistic opposition πνευματικός – ψυχικός. It must be acknowledged that in the period until the third century CE, for which I checked the Greek texts, the opposition πνευματικός – ψυχικός appears, as far as I can see, only in religious texts when the context is Gnosticism (apart from 1 Cor 2:14-15, 15:44, 46 and receptions of this Pauline letter in early Christian literature and a few later Christian writings, especially of Origen), such as writings concerning opponents, e.g., *Adversus haereses* of Irenaeus (in these texts other characteristic terms are also found which are parallel to 1 Corinthians 2, like "aeon"). The connection of the opposition πνευματικός – ψυχικός with the Hellenistic-Jewish exegesis of Gen 2:7 (here πνοή, later understood as πνεῦμα, and ψυχή) in the writings of Gnosticism can only be mentioned here (cf. the quotation of the Septuagint in 1 Cor 15:45). The Thesaurus Linguae Graecae project on disk has opened new possibilities for research on this opposition.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Despite some criticism of Walter Schmithals' famous dissertation under Rudolf Bultmann (1954), which was first published as a book in 1956 (*Die Gnosis in Korinth: Eine Untersuchung zu den Korintherbriefen* [3d ed.; FRLANT 66; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969]; English translation, *Gnosticism in Corinth* [Nashville: Abingdon, 1971]).

<sup>10</sup> *The Origins of Gnosticism: Colloquium of Messina 13-18 April 1966* (ed. Ugo Bianchi; Stud. Hist. Rel. 12; Leiden: Brill, 1970) XXVI-XXIX.

<sup>11</sup> *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: CD ROM Version D* (University of California Irvine, 1992) and the printed companion volume of Luci Berkowitz and Karl A. Squitier, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: Canon of Greek Authors and Works* (with technical assistance

Occurrences of the Pauline opposition πνευματικός – ψυχικός in religious writings can only be found in Irenaeus (in *Adversus haereses*), in Clement of Alexandria (especially in the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, a representative of Valentinian Gnosticism), in Hippolytus, the author of the *Refutatio omnium haeresium* (only in his interpretation of Genesis [frg. 3, concerning Gen 2:7] and with reference to 1 Corinthians 2 in the interpretation of the Proverbia [frg. 7]) and in Origen (in *Contra Celsum*, also in fragments of commentaries in 1 Corinthians and in some other texts).

In non-religious writings the opposition is rarely found: In the second century CE we find it in the writings of the astrologist Vettius Valens (*Anthologiarum*, ed. Kroll, p. 1) and the physician Galenus (*De differentia pulsuum*, ed. Kühn, vol. 8, 713) and at the end of the third century CE in the work of Aristeides Quintilianus on music (2,18, ed. Winnington/Ingram). The oldest literary record anywhere is therefore 1 Corinthians.

Let us consider Irenaeus as the earliest witness of the above-mentioned early Church Fathers. Here the opposition πνευματικός – ψυχικός is found particularly in his description of Ptolemaeus (according to the parallel description in Epiphanius, *Panarion* 31.10.5) from the School of the Valentinians (*Adv. haer.* 1.1.1-8.6, ed. Rousseau/Doutreleau). Irenaeus speaks out here, too, against a ψευδώνυμος γνώσις (a “falsely-called knowledge”),<sup>12</sup> as it is formulated in the original title of his writing. A good example is a passage from 1.6.1-2, where οἱ πνευματικοὶ ἄνθρωποι are opposed to οἱ ψυχικοὶ ἄνθρωποι (cf. 1 Cor 2:14-15 ψυχικός δὲ ἄνθρωπος ... ὁ δὲ πνευματικός; 3:1 ὑμῖν ὡς πνευματικοῖς). Besides the pneumatic and the psychic elements, Irenaeus also mentions a third one: the material. In this connection, he also says that those who are pneumatic have τὴν τελείαν γνώσιν (cf. 1 Cor 2:6 Σοφίαν ... ἐν τοῖς τελείοις) and were initiated into the μυστήρια (cf. 1 Cor 2:7 ἐν

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from William A. Johnson; 3d ed.; New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) with Addenda and Corrigenda on hard copy or on the TLG Web Site. See especially on the TLG Web Site the authors and texts which are, like the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, still missing (“Authors to be included in CD ROM E”). Therefore I consulted also, e.g., Albert-Marie Denis, *Concordance Grecque des Pseudépigraphes d’Ancien Testament* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Univ. Cath. de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, 1987 (distribution: Peeters, Leuven and Brill, Leiden); even ψυχικός alone is not found here. Cf. the older monographs of Martin Winter, *Pneumatiker und Psychiker in Korinth: Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund von 1. Kor. 2,6-3,4* (MarbTS 12; Marburg: Elwert, 1975); Birger Albert Pearson, *The Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology in 1 Corinthians: A Study in the Theology of the Corinthian Opponents of Paul and Its Relation to Gnosticism* (SBLDS 12; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1973).

<sup>12</sup> This term occurs already in 1 Tim 6:20.

μυστηρίῳ). In 1.6.4 we also find people who are called πνευματικοί and τέλειοι being equated with one another (cf. the additional mention of τέλειοι in 1 Cor 2:6); and in 1.5.6. we find, in addition to the πνευματικός ἄνθρωπος, the σαρκικόν (see also 1.6.3; cf. 1 Cor 3:1-3). Of course reference is also made to Paul: among the 18 occurrences of Σοφία/σοφία, the passage we are dealing with here, 1 Cor 2:6, is also mentioned (1.8.4).

These findings can be confirmed by referring to the original texts from Nag Hammadi, where the opposition *pneumatikos* – *psychikos* (and *sarkikos*) also occur frequently, as a glance at the Nag Hammadi Register of F. Siegert (s.v. *pneumatikos*) confirms.<sup>13</sup> The opposition πνευματικός (τέλειος) – ψυχικός (σαρκικός) in 1 Corinthians, which means for Paul not even two totally different classes of human beings, can doubtlessly not be the primary source for these oppositions in gnostic texts.

In the beginning of the Nag Hammadi text *The Hypostasis of the Archons* (Codex II/4), which originated perhaps as late as the third century, we find some further vocabulary of the Pauline text. Like Paul, the text uses the opposition of the plural of *psychikos* and *pneumatikos* (87.17-18; see also 90.15, 17), speaks of “archons” (87.23; 88.19; etc.) and “aeon” (87.11; cf. 1 Cor 2:6, 8 οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου) and also of the “lack of acquaintance” of those “that possessed only a soul” and “were naked of the spiritual element” (90.15-17; cf. 1 Cor 2:6-7, 14).<sup>14</sup>

I will mention only one further text of Nag Hammadi in which the vocabulary is so close to our Pauline text that one can hardly ignore it. This is Nag Hammadi text VI/4 *The Concept of our Great Power* in 40.24-42.22 (did the writing originate before the fourth century?). In this passage we find not only the word *psychikos*, but also “the archons” and “this aeon” (Paul says in v. 6, as already quoted, τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου) and that, in connection with Jesus’ death, the archons “did not know” what was going on (Paul writes in v. 8, which seems to be a fragmentlike sentence referring to a greater context of a salvation story of the opponents, that in the context of Jesus’ crucifixion none of the archons knew the Lord).<sup>15</sup>

Summary: Outside of 1 Corinthians (including its later receptions), a context of Gnosticism and a few later Christian writings I know of no explicit occurrence of the opposition ψυχικός – πνευματικός in

<sup>13</sup> Folker Siegert, *Nag-Hammadi-Register* (WUNT 26; Tübingen: Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1982) 291.

<sup>14</sup> Translation by Bentley Layton, in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (ed. James M. Robinson; 3d ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1988) 162-69.

<sup>15</sup> Does Paul understand the perishing of “the rulers of this age” as the elimination of the *earthly* rulers? Cf. 1 Cor 15:24. τέλειοι can be found in texts of Gnosticism (cf. Siegert, *Register*, 311) and, e. g., in Philo (cf. Winter, *Pneumatiker*, 96-157) and as מַלְאָכִים in the Qumran texts (e. g., IQS 3:3).

any religious writing in the period of interest; not even Philo or any other writer of Hellenistic Judaism makes use of this opposition; although Philo has the dualism of *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα*, which is even missing in the sapiential literature.<sup>16</sup> Besides the use of *γνώσις* this opposition in 1 Corinthians 2 is combined with other vocabulary which is also found in the context of Gnosticism. As long as this is true and we read a typical element of later Gnosticism like *ἦδη* in 4:8,<sup>17</sup> the relationship to later Gnosticism is not an unnecessary hypothesis.<sup>18</sup> Paul alone is doubtlessly not the starting point, but rather people like the Pauline opponents in 1 Corinthians (though they are certainly not yet “Gnostics” in the later sense, e.g., of a direct or indirect hostility against a creator). It is not probable that the opponents of Paul in 1 Corinthians and later Gnosticism are independent of each other from the point of view of tradition history, but it is even less probable, indeed impossible, that later Gnosticism developed its vocabulary concerning the discussed terms from 1 Corinthians.

My point regarding Paul is that he nevertheless accuses his opponents of too much human rhetoric and “sets the *sophia* of the cross against the *sophia* of rhetoric.”<sup>19</sup> But he tries to win over the community by using some terminology of his opponents, which unlike the rhetorical elements seems to be gnosticizing.<sup>20</sup> In addition Paul is mixing both the rhetorical and gnosticizing elements with a Jewish apocalyptic Wisdom conception, thus splitting the *σοφία* of his opponents into a Greek rhetorical wisdom, a wisdom of the world (corresponding to gnostic thinking) and of this bad age (corresponding to apocalyptic thinking) and a wisdom of God. By taking over some of the terminology of his opponents, which seems to go into the direction of later Gnosticism, Paul believes to overcome their theology.

Having given my interpretation of this Pauline text which is very complex in terms of history-of-religions research, I now want to enter

<sup>16</sup> Hermann von Lips, *Weisheitliche Traditionen im Neuen Testament* (WMANT 64; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990) 340.

<sup>17</sup> For *ἦδη* in 4:8 (realized eschatology!) see 2 Tim 2:18.

<sup>18</sup> Thus correcting the currently popular view, e.g., of James D. G. Dunn, who believes that “Gnosticism is an unnecessary hypothesis to explain the features and tensions of the Corinthian church as reflected in 1 Corinthians 1-3” (*1 Corinthians*, 38).

<sup>19</sup> In this I agree with Dunn (*1 Corinthians*, 42).

<sup>20</sup> Proof for this is also the impression that Paul distinguishes between Christians (!) who are *τέλειοι* and who are not (2:6); similarly 3:1-3.

the special realm of the Qumran texts.<sup>21</sup> As I have already indicated, I will consider only two aspects. First, I will discuss a text in the Hodayot, which seems to me to be the closest parallel to what Paul wants to say in the passage in 1 Corinthians. In Paul's text and in the Qumran text in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20 (Suk. 12:11-13) four elements are found in combination:

wisdom  
spirit of God  
mystery  
revelation.

Paul speaks in v. 7 of θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην ("God's wisdom, hidden in a mystery"). He says in v. 10: ἡμῖν δὲ ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ("this is what God has revealed to us through the spirit") and in v. 12 ἡμεῖς ... ἐλάβομεν ... τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ("we have received ... the spirit that is from God").

The Qumran text belongs to the community songs<sup>22</sup> of the Hodayot:

1QH<sup>a</sup> 20 (Suk. 12:4-13)  
// 4Q427 (4QH<sup>a</sup>) 8 ii 10-18 (formerly 3 ii 5-13)

למשכיל הודות ותפלה<sup>4</sup>  
להתנפל והתחנן  
תמיד מקץ לקץ  
עם מב(ה)א אור<sup>5</sup> לממשל[תו]  
...  
...  
בפנות ערב

<sup>21</sup> The citations from the Qumran texts are based, in the final analysis, on the photographs of the manuscripts. See especially (besides the 1QH<sup>a</sup> photos in the Sukenik edition of *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* of 1954 or 1955, the 1QS photos in various editions and the DJD editions) Emanuel Tov ed., with the collaboration of Stephen J. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert* (Leiden: IDC/Brill, 1993) + *Companion Volume to the Dead Sea Scrolls Microfiche Edition* (2d rev. ed.; Leiden: Brill/IDC, 1995) + Stephen A. Reed/Marilyn J. Lundberg, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert: Inventory List of Photographs* (Leiden: Brill/IDC, 1993).

<sup>22</sup> See Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) 21-33.

ואני משכיל ידעתיכה אלי  
 ברוח<sup>12</sup> אשר נתתה בי  
 ונאמנה שמעתי לסוד פלאכה  
 ברוח קודשכה  
 [פ]תחתה לתוכי דעת<sup>13</sup>  
 ברוז שכלכה  
 ומעין גבורת[כה] ...

“By the Instructor: praises and prayer,  
 to bow down and implore compassion,  
 always from period to period:

When the light comes <sup>5</sup>to [its] domini[on]

...

...

When the evening is coming ...

And I, an Instructor, have known You, my God,  
 through the spirit <sup>12</sup>which You gave in me;  
 faithfully I have listened to Your wonderful secret  
 through Your holy spirit.

<sup>13</sup>You have [op]ened within me knowledge  
 in the mystery of Your insight,  
 and a source of [Your] strength ...

The lost beginning of the psalm can now be found in the fragment 4Q427 8 in col. ii (formerly 3 ii 5).<sup>23</sup> This fragment undoubtedly contains the same song, as about ten lines correspond to each other. We can also be quite certain that 4Q427 contains the beginning of the song, although there is no vacat between the end of the preceding line and the beginning of the new line with the words למשכיל הודוה והפלה (“By the instructor: praises and prayer ...”). The construction למשכיל and a sign at the right margin of 1QH<sup>a</sup> speak for a new psalm. The discovery of the beginning of this song is very important for an understanding of the lines in question. ואני משכיל in Sukenik’s l. 11 can be understood as referring to the technical term משכיל or only as having a general sense as in “And I, a wise man.” ואני למשכיל and למשכיל, seen together (!), indicate that the ל in למשכיל has the same meaning as לדוד מזמור in the Biblical psalm 24:1, where we are quite sure of the meaning, and in many similar cases. Carol Newson trans-

<sup>23</sup> See photo PAM 41.787 (sic) = *Microfiche Edition*, no. 34. [The new number is that assigned by Eileen Schuller, “4QHodayot,” in *Qumran Cave 4. XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts. Part 2* (eds. E. Chazon, et al; DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000) 77-123.]

lated the occurrences of למשכיל at the heading of each of the individual "Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice" with "by the instructor."<sup>24</sup> In the light of the evidence cited above, this seems reasonable.

While Paul speaks of every believer who has wisdom by the spirit of God (vv. 10 and 12), the Qumran text seems to refer only to the משכיל.<sup>25</sup> But this is not entirely true: while the wording וְאֵנִי ... יִדְעֵתִי (it says in our psalm יִדְעֵתִיכֶם ... וְאֵנִי) always seems to belong to songs of the משכיל, that is, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 (Suk. 13:18-19) and in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21 (Suk. frg. 3, 14),<sup>26</sup> there is a clear case in another community song in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6 (Suk. 14:8-22) which is not a psalm of the משכיל, but where the author also combines wisdom with the gift of God's spirit:<sup>27</sup>

And I know from Your understanding,  
<sup>13</sup>that in Your good will towards men [You in]creased  
 [his portion] of Your Holy Spirit,  
 and thus You have drawn me near to Your understanding.<sup>28</sup>

The combination of wisdom and the spirit of God appears in the Hebrew Bible up to the book of Daniel (see especially Gen 41:38-39 of Joseph; Exod 31:3 of the skilled artisan Bezaleel<sup>29</sup>; Isa 11:2 of the messianic king; Job 32:17-19 of Elihu; Dan 5:14 of Daniel), in other Early Jewish literature (e.g., Wis 9:17 in a prayer of Solomo; Sir 39:6 of the scribe; *Jos. As* 4:7 of Joseph)<sup>30</sup> and in the Qumran texts outside the Hodayot (especially 4QDibHam: 4Q504 4:5 parallel 4Q506 131+132:10-11).

<sup>24</sup> *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) esp. p. 95-96; cf. also on p. 3-4 her discussion of למשכיל in the Qumran texts.

<sup>25</sup> As v. 12b makes clear (and vv. 1-5 and 4:1 do not contradict), Paul does not refer here only to the apostles and prophets; thus Markus N. A. Bockmuehl, who holds this limitation to be probable (*Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* [WUNT, 2d ser. 36; Tübingen: Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1990] 164-65).

<sup>26</sup> Concerning למשכיל at the beginning of the community song in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 (Suk. 13), see the position of Suk. frg. 15a in the reconstruction of the psalm by Émile Puech ("Un hymne essénien en partie retrouvé et les Béatitudes: 1QH V 12 – VI 18 [= col. XIII-XIV 7] et 4QBéat.," *RevQ* 13, No. 49-52 [1988] 59-88, esp. p. 63, 69 [Line 12]): מְחַמֵּר לִמְּכִיל (Suk. frg. 15a, 1 [photo IAA 190406 = *Microfiche Edition*, no. 128]). 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21 (Suk. frg. 3) may belong to the same psalm as our text whose beginning (ll. 4-5, 11-13) is quoted above (cf. É. Puech, "Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes [1QH]," *JJS* 39 [1988] 38-55, esp. pp. 52-53).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 130-36.

<sup>28</sup> See the reconstruction of the text by Puech, "Quelques aspects," 53.

<sup>29</sup> See also Ex 35:31.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. P. van Imschoot, "Sagesse et esprit dans l'Ancien Testament," *RB* 47 (1938) 23-49.





IQS 11:5-9  
// 4Q258 4QS<sup>d</sup> frg. 6<sup>37</sup>

אור בלבבי מרוי פלאו  
בהווא עולם<sup>6</sup> הביטה עיני  
תושיה אשר נסתרה מאנוש  
דעה ומומת ערמה מבני אדם  
מקור צדקה ומקוה<sup>7</sup> נבורה  
עם מעין כבוד מסוד בשר  
לאשר בחר אל  
נתנם לאוחות עולם  
וינחילם בנרל<sup>8</sup> קדושים  
ועם בני שמים חבר  
סודם לעצת יחד  
וסוד מבנית קודש  
למשעת עולם עם כול<sup>9</sup> קיץ נהיה

A light is in my heart from His marvellous mysteries;  
on that which is eternal<sup>6</sup> my eye has gazed:  
on wisdom that has been hidden from men,  
on knowledge and wise prudence (hidden) from humanity,  
on a fountain of righteousness and a storehouse<sup>7</sup> of power,  
together with a spring of glory (hidden) from the assembly of flesh.  
To those whom God has chosen  
He has given them (sc. these goods) as an everlasting possession  
and thus caused them to inherit the lot<sup>8</sup> of the holy ones;  
and with the sons of heaven he has joined  
their assembly to be a common council  
and a foundation of a holy building,  
to be an eternal plantation throughout all<sup>9</sup> time to come.

Advancing what has been said already we find in the poetical unit of IQS 11: 2-9 the word “hidden” in l. 6 (as in Paul’s text in 1 Cor 2: 7 ἀποκεκραμμένος,<sup>38</sup> “the depth” further down in l. 19 (corresponding to Paul’s τὰ βάθη in v. 10,<sup>39</sup> the noun “perfection” in l. 2 (Paul uses τέλειος in v. 6) and divine glory in l. 7 (Paul speaks of δόξα in

<sup>37</sup> Earlier fragment 5. Photo: PAM 43.246 = *Microfiche Edition*, no. 68. “The correlation of the small frg. 6 with IQS XI 7 is fairly certain” (Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts* [DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998] 127). Only three letters are clearly visible in l. 7, and also the 7 is very probable (cf. for the combination of the two letters לם frg. 5 i 1; the transcription in DJD has: ]לם בני[).

<sup>38</sup> See also Dan 2:47 (Theodotion).

<sup>39</sup> See also, e.g., 1 En. 63:3; 2 Apoc. Bar. 14:8; T. Job 37:8 (other numbering 6 or 7).

v. 8). In both texts there is also a description of the eschatological goods of salvation. For this Paul seems to use in v. 9 a text from a lost apocalyptic book and equates the goods of salvation with σοφία (this is the reason Paul does not use an object for ἀπεκάλυψεν in v. 10!). The Qumran text describes the goods of salvation as חוכמה (wisdom), דעה (knowledge), מזמת ערמה (wise prudence), צדקה (righteousness), גבורה (power), and כבוד (glory). The decisive parallel is this: Paul and Qumran state that the members of the community have already received the goods of salvation.:<sup>40</sup> Thus, revelation is here more than divine information; the present gift of σοφία includes already the goods of future salvation.<sup>41</sup> Paul says: ἵνα εἰδῶμεν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χαρισθέντα ἡμῖν (“so that we know what God has *graciously given* to us”) 1 Cor 2: 12 and in the Qumran text is found לאשר בחר אל נחם לאוחוזת עולם (“To those whom God has chosen He *has given them* [sc. these goods of salvation] as an everlasting possession”) IQS 11: 7. This observation does not imply a dependency of Paul’s writing on the Qumran community, but the parallels between the two are indeed remarkable.

As far as the next Pauline chapter, 1 Cor 3, is concerned let me remind you that, as far as we know, only the Qumran community and Christians like Paul understood their community as temple combined with the idea of the community as God’s plantation (in Paul it is found in 1 Cor 3 and in the Qumran texts, e.g., in IQS 8).<sup>42</sup>

Let me summarize my arguments: 1 Cor 2:6-16 reflects a complex and diverse situation from a history-of-religions perspective. While on the one hand rejecting the rhetorical wisdom of the Greeks (“Ἕλληνες σοφίαν ζητοῦσιν 1:22) and applying himself a rhetorical structure, Paul uses the gnosticizing terminology of his opponents in order to overcome them and to win them over for the “wisdom of God”, as he understands it. In doing this Paul is particularly dependent on a sapiential apocalyptic theology, as it is known from contemporary Jewish texts, especially of Palestine and, not least, from the Qumran library. In his eschatological statement about the present, he comes very close to the ideas expressed in the song at the end of the *Community Rule*, but this cannot be attributed (despite 1 Corinthians 3) to an unequivocal dependence on Qumran theology.

<sup>40</sup> Bockmuehl misunderstands Paul as referring to future blessings (*Revelation*, 165-66)

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 173-75.

<sup>42</sup> 1 Cor 3:9,16-17; IQS 8:5-6 and in other places.

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