Society of Biblical Literature
Qumran Section Meetings

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AT FIFTY

Edited by
Robert A. Kugler and Eileen M. Schuller

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EARLY JUDAISM AND ITS LITERATURE

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List of Abbreviations

The citations of biblical, rabbinic, pseudepigraphic and apocryphal texts employ SBL abbreviations. See *JBL* 117 (1998) 560-66 for a complete list.

ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AbrN	*Abr-Nahrain*
AnBib	Analecta biblica
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
APOT	R. H. Charles (ed.), *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BZAW	Beihefte zur *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly—Monograph Series
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad novum testamentum
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
ErIsr	*Eretz Israel*
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IOQS	International Organization for Qumran Studies
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JSJSup	Supplements to the *Journal for the Study of Judaism*

JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament—Supplemental Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	JSP Supplement Series
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RelSRev	*Religious Studies Review*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLRBS	SBL Resources for Biblical Studies
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
ScrB	*Scripture Bulletin*
ScrHier	Scripta hierosolymitana
SJLA	*Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity*
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SPB	Studia postbiblica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StudHell	Studia Hellenistica
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
TD	*Theology Digest*
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*
Tru	*Theologische Rundschau*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Preface

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Measured against the two millennia they spent in caves untouched, the half century of study devoted to the Dead Sea Scrolls is barely more than a drop in time's bucket. Yet in the fifty years since the scrolls' discovery, and especially in the decade since their full release, it might seem to some observers that scholars have more than made up for the delay in getting to study them. Literally and figuratively the scrolls have been poked, prodded, and examined to ascertain their significance for understanding the people who preserved them, the text of the Hebrew Bible, and the history and thought of early Jews and Christians. Although that immense effort has not achieved the consensuses for which many surely hoped, it has produced an impressive amount of scholarship of generally high quality. And it *has* led to new insights on the text of the Hebrew Bible, better comprehension of the diversity and richness of early Judaism, and deeper appreciation of the inseparable connection between the early Christian movement and its literature and the Judaisms of the period. The past half century of Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship has produced its own story as well, a story of the "interplay of data, agendas and methodology." And large parts of both stories—that of fifty years of scholarly conversation and that of the conversation itself—have come to be only because of the meticulous labors of others who had the patience to till the seemingly sterile soil of fragmentary, ill-preserved texts, making from them some coherence of order and meaning. These are the elements of fifty years of Dead Sea Scrolls research.

These are also the elements of this collection of essays which originated in the proceedings of the Qumran Section of the Society of Biblical Literature at the 1997 Annual Meeting in San Francisco, California. To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the scrolls, three special sessions took place: (1) a plenary evening session for the general membership of the AAR/SBL to give a broad review of the past

fifty years: the history of the discovery, the process of publication and an overview of the contribution of the scrolls to the study of Hebrew Bible, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity; (2) a full-morning session devoted to exploring the scholarship on the scrolls over the past fifty years, with a focus on methodology and geographical variations; and (3) a more specialized session to mark the recent publication of the Cave 4 manuscripts of the *Damascus Document*, with discussion of the DJD volume per se and of selected passages and themes from this important work. With some slight modifications, papers from all three sessions have been combined into this volume.

We begin in the Prologue with a history of scrolls research by George J. Brooke and Lawrence H. Schiffman. The account, adapted from Schiffman's book *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*,[1] is accompanied by the photographs. Some of these are from the Allegro collection that only recently became available to the public. Following is Emanuel Tov's useful report on the publication of the scrolls in the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series. Especially helpful to readers is the appendix to his contribution in which he lists in order the DJD volumes published to date.

Part One of this collection of essays turns then to an assessment of where we have come to in understanding the scrolls and their bearing on the study of the Hebrew Bible, early Judaism and the New Testament. Eugene Ulrich provides a succinct summary of the scrolls' impact on the major views regarding the textual history of the Hebrew Bible. He goes further, though, to offer an accessible statement of his own emerging ideas on the topic. Over the past years Ulrich has observed that at Qumran we find existing comfortably side by side "variant literary editions" of the same biblical books. He suggests in this essay that that phenomenon has serious implications for our estimate of the duration of the Hebrew Bible's period of textual fluidity, and for how we understand the literary—not just textual—development of the biblical books. Ulrich's views are sure to provoke ever more debate in the years to come.

In the second essay in Part One Devorah Dimant measures the impact of the scrolls on the study of early Judaism. After noting the delayed effect of the scrolls on this particular area of research—attributable to a variety of reasons, some of which relate to the disposition of the scholars studying the scrolls (a topic addressed at more

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[1] See Lawrence Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their True Meaning for Judaism and Christianity* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1994) 3-19.

length by Nickelsburg and his respondents below)—Dimant surveys the contribution of biblical and nonbiblical scrolls to our comprehension of the Judaism at the turn of the era. Notably she eschews the practice of "name calling" (are the people of the scrolls Essenes? Sadducees?), and lets the texts speak for themselves as witnesses to the thought of the people associated with them and of other Jews of the era. What emerges is a helpful survey of the thought patterns expressed in the scrolls and of their ability to add detail to emerging portraits of early Judaism.

Part One closes with George J. Brooke's survey of the history of research in the scrolls as it relates to the study of the New Testament. In a clever use of the archaeological periods assigned to the Qumran site, Brooke takes the reader on a lucid and equally detailed tour of the ups and downs in the history of relating the scrolls to the New Testament and the rise of early Christianity. He notes especially the way in which scholars have vacillated between closely associating the Christian movement with the Qumran covenanters and severing all connections between the two. He also makes an implicit plea for a more sensible view, one that acknowledges the fact that since the scrolls and the New Testament shared, at least in part, common geographical and intellectual worlds of origin, they should be considered mutually illuminating.

Part Two examines the intellectual history of scrolls research. George W. E. Nickelsburg took on the landmine-laden task of surveying this topic. His willingness to tempt fate is all the more to be admired since we proposed to him a panel of distinguished respondents. As the reader will see, Nickelsburg met the challenge, cutting a path between the perils of saying too much or too little, between the dangers of speaking too strongly or too mildly. The title of his essay, "Currents in Qumran Scholarship: The Interplay of Data, Agendas, and Methodology," nicely summarizes his take on the topic. He shows that while some rightly claim that agendas have driven the study of the scrolls in one direction or another, the nature of the data (as well as its availability) and the methodologies brought to bear on the data have had equal—if not in many instances more—influence on the shape of the field. His essay also attests to the value of the variety of agendas, data, and methods.

Respondents to Nickelsburg at the Annual Meeting were John J. Collins, James H. Charlesworth, Carol A. Newsom, Emanuel Tov, and Julio Trebolle Barrera. (Subsequent to the meeting Florentino García Martínez assisted Julio Trebolle Barrera in completing his contribution to

the volume.) Collins, Charlesworth, and Newsom were charged with making general responses to Nickelsburg's paper, while Tov and Trebolle Barrera were asked to address the Israeli and European contexts specifically. We leave it to the reader to appreciate the particulars of each response. In general, however, there are several things to note about the responses. First, they clearly reflect the distance we have come in our thinking about the scrolls. For instance, while Nickelsburg and his respondents appreciate the connection made by early scholars between the scrolls and the Essenes, nearly all the respondents manage to allude to the growing agnosticism on that topic. Second, to a person they express a refreshing acknowledgment of Nickelsburg's claim that all of the research done over the past fifty years has been driven at least in some way by the agendas—or, perhaps more mildly stated, interests—of the researchers. Third, they almost all betray something of the latter truth in their own responses, and acknowledge that as well. Finally, it is worth stating that Tov and Trebolle Barrera and García Martínez have rendered a special service in examining the history of scholarship on the scrolls in their own regional contexts. Nickelsburg's "A Response to the Respondents," composed after the meeting and in light of his respondents' written comments, serves as a fitting conclusion to this part of the book.

Part Three assesses the publication of the official edition of the Qumran *Damascus Document* manuscripts and provides two examples of close analysis and interpretation of that document. We open with Joseph Baumgarten's comments, as always the model of succinctness, in "The Damascus Document Reconsidered." Then follow Philip Davies' critical discussion of several general and specific matters related to publication of the *Damascus Document* manuscripts in DJD XVIII, Menahem Kister's examination of CD 16:4-6 and related texts, and John Kampen's treatment of the significance of the temple in the *Damascus Document* manuscripts. While once again it is best to leave it to the reader to gain the full impression of the essays by reading them herself, a general comment on each may be made in advance. Among other things, Davies' essay, a model of lively and provocative critique, provides a well-stated version of one of the most common criticisms aimed at the *editiones principes*. He argues that DJD XVIII, like other DJD volumes, goes beyond the presentation, general arrangement, transcription, and translation of fragments, to provide too much of the editor's own speculation in the form of interpretive comments and reconstructed text. Davies worries that this trend in the DJD volumes may

leave the reader with the wrong impression about what actually does remain of the document, and what may be made of it. Meanwhile, Kister's essay provides a quintessential example of the sort of detailed textual analysis that serves as the foundation for more synthetic studies of the scrolls. And Kampen's contribution provides a sober example of just such a synthetic approach, tracing the temple theme found throughout the manuscripts of the *Damascus Document*. Baumgarten's response to the three papers, with an especially cogent reply to Davies' critique, closes Part Three.

The collection of essays concludes with Lawrence and Marlene Schiffman's delightfully entertaining look toward the future of scrolls research, "And It Shall Comes to Pass in the End of Days: An Agenda for the Future." The reader should not be deceived by the clever device the Schiffmans use to make predictions about what is around the corner in this field of study; for all of its tongue-in-cheek tone, this article will likely prove to be a remarkably prescient piece of prognosticating.

It is our hope that these essays prove helpful to readers trying to make sense of where the study of the scrolls has been, where it is, and where it might be going in the future. For whatever success is achieved in that respect, hearty thanks are due to the authors who have contributed to this volume. Thanks are also due to John Reeves, editor of the Society of Biblical Literature's Early Judaism and Its Literature Series, for making possible publication of the essays.

PROLOGUE

The Past: On the History of Dead Sea Scrolls Research

George J. Brooke
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The analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls cannot be separated from the saga of their discovery, the successful and abortive attempts to publish them, and the political developments of the Middle East. Several accounts of discovery of scrolls in the region of Jericho exist from Antiquity and the Middle Ages, but in modern times, the earliest scroll materials to be discovered were the two partial medieval manuscripts of the *Zadokite Fragments*, also called the *Damascus Document*. These manuscripts came to the attention of Solomon Schechter in 1896 in the Cairo genizah, a storehouse for old books and documents in the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Fustat, Old Cairo. Manuscripts of the very same text were later to be found in the Qumran collection.

The story of the discovery of the first hoard of Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran by a Bedouin shepherd in what is now termed Cave 1 has been rehearsed often. Despite the momentous nature of the occasion, this story actually pertains to only the first seven scrolls. This discovery was followed by many more, which eventually brought in fragments of some 850 scrolls from Qumran, not to mention the other Judean Desert sites at which scrolls were found by Bedouin or archaeologists. The entire controversy over unreleased documents was related to the finds of Cave 4, finds made sometime later.

In the winter of 1947 (or perhaps fall, 1946), a Bedouin shepherd Mohammed edh-Dhib, from the Ta'amireh tribe, entered what is now known as Cave 1 and found seven almost complete scrolls encased in protective pottery jars. He brought them in the spring of 1947 to an antiquities dealer in Bethlehem named Khalil Eskander Shahin. Kando, as he was known, soon became the agent for the Bedouin as they continued to recover scrolls from the Judean Desert.

In July of 1947, Kando sold four of the scrolls to the Syrian Metropolitan Athanasius Yeshue Samuel of St. Mark's Syrian Orthodox Church in Jerusalem. At the same time, someone, most probably Kando,

offered two scrolls for sale to the Jerusalem archaeologist Eleazar L. Sukenik. Sukenik, the father of Yigael Yadin, immediately recognized the probable antiquity of the texts from the script. He succeeded in buying these two scrolls as well as several fragments on behalf of the Hebrew University and the Jewish Agency. On December 22, Sukenik acquired another scroll from the same source.

He had, then, acquired three of the seven scrolls found by the Bedouin in Cave 1: a manuscript of the biblical book of Isaiah; the *Thanksgiving Scroll*, a collection of sectarian hymns; and the *War Scroll*. The initial identification of the scrolls by Sukenik took place between the November 1947 vote of the United Nations in favor of the Partition Plan for Palestine and the Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948.

In late January of 1948, Sukenik was shown the other four scrolls by a Mr. Kiraz, an associate of the Metropolitan. On February 6, Sukenik returned the scrolls to Mr. Kiraz, indicating his desire to purchase them for the soon-to-be-declared State of Israel. However, he had trouble in organizing the purchase, and the intervening political changes made it impossible for him to continue the negotiations.

In late February of 1948, the Metropolitan's assistant took three of the same scrolls to the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) in East Jerusalem (now known as the Albright Institute) to get the opinion of William F. Albright. In the absence of the director, Millar Burrows, the material found its way to a young post-doctoral fellow, John C. Trever, an expert at photography, who concluded that they appeared ancient. With the Metropolitan's permission and aided by William H. Brownlee, he skillfully photographed the three scrolls in black and white and color.

By the time archaeologists began to investigate the location from which the scrolls had come, the Jordanian Arab legion had occupied the area of Qumran. Future Qumran manuscript purchases and archaeological excavation would be in the hands of officials of the Jordanian Antiquities Department.

Locating Cave 1 for archaeological study was a difficult task, especially in light of the reticence of the Bedouin, who expected to find additional treasures nearby. The cave was found by a detachment of British and Jordanian troops after a seventy-two hour, meter-by-meter search of the cliffs. In February 1949, G. Lancaster Harding, Director of the Jordanian Antiquities Department, and Roland de Vaux of the

École Biblique, the French biblical and archaeological school in Jerusalem, undertook the excavation of Cave 1.

In the spring of 1950, ASOR published photographs and transcriptions of two of the scrolls in the possession of the Metropolitan: Isaiah[a], which preserved virtually the entire biblical book of Isaiah, and *Pesher Habakkuk*. A year later they published the *Rule of the Community*.

In the aftermath of the excavation of Cave 1, it was natural to turn to the excavation of Khirbet Qumran. Accordingly, from November 24 through December 12, 1951, de Vaux and Harding conducted the first "season" of excavations there. It yielded coins and pottery which confirmed the connection between the caves from which the scrolls had come and the adjoining site, and established the dating of the scrolls.

By this time the Bedouin realized the value of these fragments and put tremendous efforts into locating additional caves. The biggest treasure came to light in the first part of September 1952 when the Bedouin discovered Caves 4 and 6 at Qumran. Cave 4, when the materials were pieced together, would yield fragments of some 550 manuscripts.

In 1952, the volume of manuscript finds and excavated artifacts convinced the Jordanian authorities to organize their analysis and publication. Harding appointed de Vaux to the post of editor-in-chief, and the work was thereafter subsidized by the Palestine Archaeological Museum (PAM), now the Rockefeller Museum. In 1954, John D. Rockefeller agreed to fund the project for six years, providing the expenses of the scholars in Jerusalem, secretarial staff, photography, and preservation. Large sums were also provided for the purchase of material by the PAM. The materials were supposed to be stored and restored in the PAM, and to be published by the Oxford University Press in the series Discoveries in the Judaean Desert.

Virtually all the photography was done by Najib Anton Albina, mainly during the years 1954 to 1960. Originally the photographer for the PAM, he devoted himself almost exclusively to the production of photographic plates, including infrared images of the Judean Desert texts. In many cases, these photographs are the best documentation we have for the texts, some of which have since deteriorated or lost letters around the edges during various stages of storage, research and preservation.

The conditions in the PAM could be described at best as primitive. Scholars never had enough room to work, and there were no assistants provided. Worst of all, there was no attention to issues of

conservation and preservation. Scotch tape or the gummed edges of postage stamp sheets were used to attach fragments as they were being assembled. Sunlight was allowed to stream into the room and to bathe the ancient manuscripts, leading to further decay. Coffee cups and cigarettes were not an uncommon sight.

De Vaux limited the initial assignments for publication to his colleagues at the École Biblique, P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and M. Baillet. They were responsible for archaeological reports, the sorting of the jigsaw puzzle of Cave 4 fragments, transcription, and publication of the texts. By spring of 1953, a group of scholars called the International Team was formed of representatives of various archaeological schools and missions then active in Jordanian East Jerusalem.

The first to become involved in this new team was Frank Moore Cross, Jr. Eventually to become Professor at Harvard, Cross was assigned responsibility for the publication of most of the biblical scrolls. Cross's most important contribution to Qumran studies was his palaeographic analysis of the history of the scripts, published in 1958. This analysis made possible the dating of fragments so that, when the more precise methods of carbon-14 dating were later applied, Cross's dates were more or less confirmed.

By fall of that year, Milik and Cross were working together in the "scrollery" (as the room in which the scroll fragments were being sorted was called) on the Cave 4 material. Milik had a large lot of fragments assigned to him, including tefillin (phylacteries), mezuzot, targums (Aramaic Bible translations), pseudo-historical texts, rule books, benedictions, calendrical materials, apocrypha and pseudepigrapha. Although Milik went on to publish more than any of the other scholars, it is clear that he was assigned more material than one scholar could handle.

By November 1953, it was apparent that the Jordanian government lacked the necessary funds to keep this important historical treasure from falling into the hands of private collectors. Accordingly, it was decided to invite foreign academic institutions to purchase fragments. Between 1954 and 1959, manuscripts were purchased by McGill University of Montreal, the Vatican, the Universities of Manchester and Heidelberg, McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago, All Souls Church in New York, and Oxford University.

By the time 1953 drew to a close, the scholars working in the PAM had identified some seventy manuscripts from among the Cave 4

collection. Nevertheless, additional manuscripts continued to come in as archaeological excavations proceeded.

For some years, the Syrian Metropolitan had been trying to sell the four large manuscripts in his possession with little success. He had even exhibited them at the Library of Congress in an attempt to attract buyers. Then he placed an advertisement in the *Wall Street Journal* of June 1, 1954 suggesting that the scrolls "would be an ideal gift to an educational or religious institution."

The advertisement was brought to the attention of Yigael Yadin, then on a lecture tour of the United States. Harry Orlinsky of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in New York inspected the manuscripts under an assumed name and authenticated them. On July 1, 1954, they came into the possession of the State of Israel. Soon after, the cost of these scrolls, a sum of $250,000, was donated by Samuel Gottesman of New York.

At about the same time, John Strugnell of Jesus College, Oxford, joined the scrollery. Besides Milik, he was most consistent in his scrollery work in the 1950s. His assignment was a large lot of Pentateuchal paraphrases, pseudo-prophetic texts, hymns, and liturgical and sapiential (wisdom) texts. He eventually turned many of these over for publication to his students at Harvard, where he taught for many years, since he managed to publish very few of them himself. Strugnell was eventually to rise to the position of editor-in-chief, and it was during his tenure that the pressure for full release of all the scrolls came to a head.

By 1955, Sukenik's edition of a scroll of Isaiah (Isaiah^{b}), the *Thanksgiving Scroll*, and the *War Scroll* were published posthumously. This meant that by 1955, all the scrolls in the possession of the Israelis had been published except the *Genesis Apocryphon* which, owing to its state of preservation, was not successfully unrolled until 1956.

In the winter and spring of 1955, excavations revealed four additional caves which had collapsed, Caves 7-10, yielding small numbers of texts. January 1956 brought the discovery of Cave 11 by the Bedouin. The Jordanians sold the rights to publication to various institutions as a means of financing the purchase of these new materials. The main purchasers were ASOR (through the generosity of the Bechtel family) and the Royal Academy of the Netherlands. Among the ASOR lot was the *Psalms Scroll* which was published by J. A. Sanders in 1965. The Dutch purchased the *Job Targum* and a number of other extremely important manuscripts. The largest of the Cave 11 scrolls, the *Temple Scroll*, was only acquired by Yadin for Israel in 1967.

De Vaux and his colleagues undertook a preliminary investigation at Ein Feshka near the Dead Sea in 1956. This site was eventually explained as an offshoot and industrial zone for the inhabitants of Qumran, and it was officially excavated in 1958. On June 1, 1956 the contents of the *Copper Scroll*, a list of buried treasures supposedly hidden in the Judean Wilderness, were made known to the public after the scroll had been sawed apart and deciphered in Manchester.

Once again the politics of the Middle East and the Arab-Israeli conflict interfered in Dead Sea Scrolls research. As a direct result of Egypt's nationalization of the Suez canal and of Arab raids into Israel, Israel, Britain and France attacked Egypt in the 1956 Sinai Campaign. The military confrontation led to the dispersal of the International Team. The scrolls were temporarily removed to Amman for safekeeping for the duration of the hostilities.

The five legible columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the last of the Israeli scroll acquisitions to be published, appeared in the edition of Yigael Yadin and Nahman Avigad in the fall of 1956. Thus, Israeli scholars had completed their obligation to publish the scrolls in their possession.

Research on the scrolls was now sufficiently advanced so that in July of 1957 Joseph Fitzmyer began to compile a concordance on index cards. He was succeeded by Raymond Brown and Willard G. Oxtoby. This concordance was eventually used by Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin G. Abegg to produce the multi-volume computer-reconstructed text, the first volume of which effectively broke the monopoly of the International Team in 1991.

In July of 1958 the last of the Cave 4 texts were purchased from Kando. This brought to a close an important stage in the history of Qumran research. These fragments, however, would wait years before seeing the light of day, and, indeed, are only now finally being published.

Throughout this period, Israeli archaeologists had watched with great interest as Bedouin continuously unearthed scrolls in the Jordanian-controlled part of the Judean Desert. In March 1955 the first season of an archaeological survey was carried out at Masada, the Herodian desert fortress further south on the shore of the Dead Sea. Masada had been the last stand of the rebels in the Jewish revolt against Rome in 66-73 C.E. Some of the same texts found at Qumran were also found at Masada.

In the spring of 1960, the appearance of John M. Allegro's edition of the *Copper Scroll* caused great friction in the International Team. Allegro had gained access to the scroll as a member of the International Team and had suggested to Harding that it be sent to Manchester to be opened. The *Copper Scroll* was assigned to Milik for publication, and he, indeed, published a preliminary edition in *Revue biblique* in 1959. Allegro's book was the first major rival edition of a text to be published by a team member, and he was never forgiven for this, perhaps especially because of his view that the treasure was real. In the early 1960s Allegro conducted two expeditions to try to find the treasures mentioned in the scroll. None was ever found, but the quest continues even to the present day.

In June 1960, funding by the Rockefeller family came to an end. The members of the International Team scattered to their various universities. By this time the work of sorting the entire collection had been basically completed, and almost all the texts had been transcribed in preliminary fashion. Had publication ensued quickly, the International Team would have emerged as heroes for their expert and speedy work. But the various delays which took place after they left Jerusalem, coupled with the denial of access to other scholars, eventually led to the controversy of recent years.

When the International Team disbanded, 511 manuscripts of Cave 4 had been identified, arranged on 620 museum plates, with 25 plates of material still unidentified. The final series of photographs was also completed then.

As early as 1955, the Israeli government planned to build a permanent home for the scrolls and to put them on display. With the help of the Gottesman family, who had purchased the four scrolls in 1954, the Shrine of the Book of the Israel Museum was completed and dedicated in 1965 to house those four scrolls amongst more recent purchases. The Shrine of the Book in western Jerusalem remains one of the most distinctive landmarks of the city today and its position opposite the Knesset illustrates the power of the symbolism provided by the first scrolls coming to light just as the State of Israel was being born.

In November of 1966, the Jordanian government nationalized the Palestine Archaeological Museum. This step became significant when Israel conquered East Jerusalem in the 1967 Six-Day War, for the Israel Department of Antiquities would come to control this important collection of unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls in the renamed Rockefeller Museum. A few scrolls which had been on exhibit at Amman during the

war, as well as several of the fragmentary Cave 1 manuscripts, still remain in Jordan along with the *Copper Scroll*, recently conserved by French scientists.

During the Six-Day War, Yadin acquired the *Temple Scroll* from Kando. This was the end of a story that had begun in 1960. A certain Reverend Joseph Uhrig showed Yadin a small sample of a scroll in return for a deposit of $10,000, but the deal never materialized. By 1967 Yadin was apparently aware that the scroll was in Kando's hands. In the early days of the war, he sent intelligence officers to Kando's house in Bethlehem where they seized the scroll, thereby saving it from rotting under Kando's floorboards. Later, Kando was compensated with a payment of $108,000.

The physical location of the scrolls and the politics of the Middle East affected the publication process as well. One result of these factors was the exclusion of Jews, and certainly of Israelis, from de Vaux's editorial team in the 1950s through the mid-80s.

So why were the scrolls kept secret for so long? The answers are in reality prosaic. Those who were supposed to publish them failed for a variety of reasons. Funding was insufficient. Some lost interest, some died, and some were stricken with alcoholism. Some lacked sufficient linguistic skills to get the job done in a reasonable amount of time. Some believed that only they could do the job correctly, and that they and the students they chose had rights to the material in perpetuity.

The Israeli conquest of East Jerusalem would set off a chain of events which ultimately led to the release of the entire corpus and to a wider understanding of the nature of the ancient library. But this was a delayed reaction lasting well into the 1990s.

Immediately after the war, Israeli officials agreed to let the existing team continue their work, expecting that it would soon be completed. In retrospect, the allotments of texts to each editor were simply too large for publication within a reasonable time.

Yadin's revelation of the *Temple Scroll*, first in a series of public lectures and then in his edition of 1977, capped a process already observable earlier of seeing Qumran materials in a Jewish context. Now a scroll entirely of Jewish law, the same size as the book of Isaiah, was on the reader's table. Furthermore, Yadin had identified the authors of the *Temple Scroll* with the Qumran sectarians. Therefore, his new scroll led to full recognition of the halakhic character of that group, that is, its grounding in Jewish law.

In September 1971, Pierre Benoit succeeded de Vaux as editor-in-chief of the International Team and the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series. Although several publications did appear, much of the work, especially on the Cave 4 texts, was not really proceeding at all.

These problems were already clear in September 1984 when Benoit retired and the Israeli Department of Antiquities confirmed John Strugnell of Harvard as editor-in-chief of scrolls publication. Strugnell expanded the team to include some twenty members amongst whom were a number of Israelis—Devorah Dimant, Elisha Qimron and Emanuel Tov. He also furnished a timetable to the Israeli Department of Antiquities (which in the meantime had become the Israel Antiquities Authority), but the deadlines he specified there were not kept and could not be enforced.

The revelation of a few lines of the *Halakhic Letter* (4QMMT) by Qimron at the 1984 International Conference on Biblical Archaeology naturally greatly stimulated curiosity as to what other such "bombshells" might still lay hidden in the unpublished corpus of Qumran texts. Scarcely a year later, at the New York University Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Morton Smith delivered an impassioned plea for the immediate publication of photographs of the entire corpus. Hershel Shanks, editor of the *Biblical Archaeology Review (BAR)*, took up the struggle in his popular magazine. He editorialized extensively on this problem and began his campaign in earnest to "liberate" the scrolls.

Now the call for release and publication of all the documents grew louder, surfacing regularly at scholarly conferences and in the press. Amir Drori, Director of the Israel Antiquities Authority was beginning to feel pressure for change. However, the "monopoly" was soon to be broken by the efforts of scholars themselves. The clamor for open access was greatly increased when Robert Eisenman and Philip Davies formally requested to read the unpublished *Zadokite Fragments* in the Rockefeller Museum and were rebuffed by Strugnell. The exchange of letters was published in *BAR*.

In 1990 Stephen A. Reed of the Ancient Biblical Manuscripts Center in Claremont, California came to Jerusalem to prepare the first complete catalog of scrolls materials and negatives, making use of an earlier private catalog of Qimron's. Reed's catalog clarified the extent of the still unpublished material and focused attention on its proper conservation and restoration.

The official editorial team, while significantly widened by 1990 to include some thirty scholars, Jewish and non-Jewish of many nationali-

ties, still was holding exclusive access to texts and producing text editions much too slowly for use by other researchers. Many disenfranchised scholars proposed that access be granted to any and all on the basis of research or university affiliation. Shanks stressed this point in his journal and proposed that photographs of the texts be distributed.

Then in November 1990, Strugnell's health deteriorated, and after unfortunate remarks in an interview in the Israeli newspaper, *Haaretz*, the Israel Antiquities Authority stepped in to appoint Emanuel Tov of the Hebrew University in his stead as editor-in-chief of the International Team and head of the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (DJD) series. Émile Puech of the École Biblique, Eugene Ulrich of the University of Notre Dame and Tov were designated general editors by the members of the team. The International Team was expanded by them to some fifty-five editors.

This new team had barely gotten to work when events overtook them. Tov had been on leave in the Netherlands, and only a few days after his return in September 1991, the newspapers carried the reports of the computer-aided reconstruction of the still-hidden texts by Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin Abegg of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. This edition was produced from the privately-distributed concordance prepared by the original editorial team in a limited edition of about thirty copies. The Wacholder-Abegg reconstruction was published by the Biblical Archaeology Society with a preface by *BAR* editor Shanks. The date of release of the reconstructed edition was chosen to precede a *Nova* television documentary which had been in the works for over a year. Only a few weeks later, on September 22, the Huntington Library in San Marino, California announced that it would release its full set of photographic negatives of the scrolls.

On October 15, 1991, the *Nova* documentary, "Secrets of the Dead Sea Scrolls," appeared on nationwide television in the U.S. It detailed the controversies surrounding delayed publication for an audience of over 13 million. The *Nova* special demonstrated the role of the media in the release of the scrolls by making people aware of the controversy and stimulating further press reports.

It had to be expected that in a world growing increasingly democratic, the concept of freedom of information would triumph over all other considerations, even legitimate scientific concerns. Beginning in 1990 new technological advances and aids to scholarship have been produced which not only opened up the scrolls to all scholars but have allowed better readings of the manuscripts. In that year carbon-14 tests

of a selection of manuscripts were run, and these generally supported the palaeographic and archaeological dating which had been previously proposed. Several editions of photographs were released of varying degrees of usefulness. The microfilms of the Huntington Library, while they struck a blow for the "liberation" of the scrolls, were not of sufficient quality for serious research. At about the same time, copies of photographs of the unpublished fragments were reaching Robert Eisenman, chairman of the Department of Religious Studies at California State University at Long Beach, from an undisclosed source. Eisenman was a natural conduit for such photographs because of the outspoken position he had taken demanding the release of the scrolls. Together with James Robinson of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity at Claremont, he organized these for publication in a two-volume set, eventually preceded by a foreword by Hershel Shanks discussing the publication controversy and relating his role in it.

These publications led the Israel Antiquities Authority to reformulate its own policies on access to photographs of the scrolls. In October of 1991 it allowed open access to all photos, but asked scholars to refrain from publishing editions of texts assigned to others for editing. Open access to all photographs available in Jerusalem, Claremont, and Oxford is now the norm.

Along with the photographs, Shanks published a transcription of the *Halakhic Letter*, then being prepared for publication by Qimron and Strugnell. Qimron sued Shanks in Israeli court for copyright violation of his reconstruction of the text and won. At this writing, however, the case is being appealed by Shanks before the Supreme Court of Israel.

With the release of the Huntington microfilms and the Eisenman-Robinson-Shanks facsimiles, it was clear that high quality, properly indexed photographs of the entire Judean Desert corpus would have to be issued. The Dutch publishing house E. J. Brill, with the cooperation of the Israel Antiquities Authority, issued a set of positive microfiches in 1993. This project, of high quality, is the most complete set of photos ever issued and has recently been supplemented with the Allegro collection of 1600 images and a CD ROM edition. Today, anyone who can read Second Temple Hebrew and Aramaic texts in their original scripts can study the entire corpus. Finally, this important part of humanity's heritage is available to all.

Now with the opening of the entire corpus to scholars, the speed of publication has progressed, and it is predicted that all the texts will be published in official editions by the turn of the century or very shortly

thereafter. More texts have been published in the last ten years than in the preceding forty! The greatest benefit of open access is that it is now possible to gain an accurate sense of the nature and significance of the entire collection. A new era of intense, in-depth research is just beginning.

The Publication of the Texts from the Judean Desert Past, Present, and Future

Emanuel Tov
Hebrew University

Fifty years of Dead Sea Scrolls implies fifty years of publications of these scrolls. Obviously, research is based on publications, and I will now devote some attention to the work of publication. We have seen many preliminary as well as final publications of texts. These final publications have been published in twenty-four volumes of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, and in recent years also in three volumes edited by J. Charlesworth.[1] My main focus is on the DJD series.

The international team, entrusted since 1953 with the task of publishing the scrolls found in the Judaean Desert, created a series entitled Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (of Jordan) in which these texts are being published. The editor-in-chief of the international team has served at the same time as the general editor of this series, that is R. de Vaux (vols. I-V), P. Benoit (vols. VI-VII), J. Strugnell (vol. VIII), and E. Tov (vol. IX onwards). Throughout, the series has been named Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, with a short interlude (1962-1968) during which vols. III-V were named Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan. The series is published by Oxford University Press (OUP) in large format.

Most fragments and artifacts found in the Judaean Desert by archaeologists or purchased from Bedouin between the years 1947 and 1956 are scheduled to be published in the DJD series, as well as the archaeological background of the sites. These volumes thus cover texts and artifacts that were found within the boundaries of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan during those years, with the exception of material from Naḥal Ḥever in Israel that was taken to Jordan and incorrectly labeled as "Seiyal."

The scholars involved in the publication of the texts in the earliest DJD volumes were solely the members of the international team which

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[1] J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations* (3 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck/Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994, 1995, 1997).

convened in Jerusalem, Jordan, not long after the discovery of the texts and whose activities were centered in the Rockefeller Museum and the École Biblique.

It was the intention of the original team that the DJD series should contain the official publication of the texts in conjunction with a commentary, but not in all cases was this the *editio princeps*. Some texts were published preliminarily elsewhere, and in other cases, complete text editions were published in separate volumes.[2] The large texts from Cave 1 have been published long ago in separate volumes, and are not scheduled to be republished in the DJD series, with the exception of the Isaiah scrolls, to be included in DJD XXXVIII.

By the fall of 1998, all of the texts from Qumran Caves 1-3, 5-11; many, probably most, of the texts from Cave 4; all of the texts from Wadi Murabbaʿat; most of the texts from Naḥal Ḥever;[3] and one of the Wadi Daliyeh volumes have been published in twenty-four DJD volumes.[4]

As often occurs in the publication of a series, the volumes are not released sequentially, but rather according to their readiness for publication. Thus the first volume of material from Cave 4 (vol. V) covered 4Q158-4Q186, although many may have expected to see the publication of 4Q1ff. (biblical texts) first (see the foreword of R. de Vaux to vol. V). In 1991, a general timetable was established, expanding the complete series to thirty-eight volumes, and grouping the material, for the most part, on the basis of literary genre.

The basic format of the series, as determined in vol. I, contains the following components:

(1) a general introduction

(2) a transcription of the text(s)

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[2] A. Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri from Hirbet el-Mird* (Bibliothèque du Muséon 52; Louvain 1963); J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976); D. N. Freedman and K. A. Mathews, *The Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll (11QpaleoLev)* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1985); Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Hebrew; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977); ET, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983). Some texts are to be re-edited in DJD: J. van der Ploeg and A. van der Woude, *Le targum de Job de la grotte XI de Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1985); E. M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran—A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSS 28; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1986).

[3] The texts which have been found by Israeli excavators in Naḥal Ḥever and on Masada are published by the Israel Exploration Society.

[4] See Appendix for a full listing.

(3) a translation of the nonbiblical fragments or sections
(4) short notes on the readings
(5) a commentary
(6) a concordance or index of all the words occurring in the non-biblical texts
(7) plates and figures.[5]

In these text editions the presentation of the text (transcription) is often the most important element. For many nonbiblical texts which were previously unknown and for which there are no parallel texts, the identification and presumed sequence of the fragments is very uncertain.[6] Following their publication, several texts were identified differently. The best-known example is probably that of the Greek fragments from Cave 7, 7Q3-18, published as "fragments non identifiés," but tentatively identified by J. O'Callaghan and C. P. Thiede as reflecting segments of the New Testament and identified by others as the LXX and Enoch.[7] In some instances the nomenclature is rather complex, but we have consistently followed the policy that the name given to a document by the scholar who publishes the text in the DJD series remains the official name.

The general philosophy behind the DJD editions is to provide scholars with a workable edition of the text, which, though presenting the best possible edition according to its editor, may be improved upon by subsequent generations of scholars. However, to date, very few updated editions have appeared. An exception is vol. V by Allegro, for which several alternative text editions have been published, and which is also scheduled to appear in a revised form in DJD.

The first DJD volume introduced a system of presenting the fragments which attempts to represent precisely in the transcription all the elements visible on the fragments. Although there are necessarily

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[5] The infra-red photographs presented in DJD are generally of high quality, and from 1996 onwards these plates are better than the glossy prints presented to OUP.

[6] Cf. DJD I, 43-5.

[7] J. O'Callaghan, *Los papiros griegos de la cueva 7 de Qumrân* (Biblioteca de autores christianos 353; Madrid: Editorial Catolica, 1974); C. P. Thiede, *Die älteste Evangelien-Handschrift? Das Markus-Fragment von Qumran und die Anfänge der schriftlichen Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments* (Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1986); ET, *The Earliest Gospel Manuscript? The Qumran Fragment 7Q5 and Its Significance for New Testament Studies* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1992). For a general discussion, see the articles in *Christen und christliches in Qumran?* (ed. B. Mayer; Eichstätter Studien 32; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1992).

different conceptions of the certainty of the preserved parts of letters, the system is basically used consistently. At the same time, differences exist between scholars regarding the amount of reconstruction they allow themselves for the segments which have not been preserved.

Most volumes are published in English, while a smaller number (vols. I, II, III, VI, VII) have been published in French. Vols. XXV and XXX are also to be published in that language.

By far the greatest number of volumes is devoted to Qumran Cave 4 for which no less than twenty-six volumes have appeared or are scheduled to appear. Within these volumes the material is further subdivided according to a binary division of biblical and nonbiblical texts, when the appellation "biblical" refers to the Hebrew Bible and Apocrypha.

DJD volumes of nonbiblical texts are subdivided into literary genres, with the nonbiblical texts from Cave 4 in vols. XIIIff. reflecting single literary genres. The original intention of the international team was for each published volume to contain the texts allotted to individual scholars, which in themselves often reflected different literary genres. However, with the reorganization of the team in 1990, a different procedure was instituted for the Cave 4 material, resulting in the publication of the texts in the first place according to their literary character and not according to the allotments to the members of the original team. Thus, in the new arrangement, volumes are co-authored by several scholars, such as the volumes containing the so-called "parabiblical texts" (vols. XIII, XIX, XXII). Similar volumes contain sapiential texts (XX, XXXIV), poetical and liturgical texts (XI, XXIX) and halakhic texts (XXXV).

While most volumes contain publications of texts, several also publish archaeological data on the caves in which the scrolls or artifacts were found, on the artifacts themselves, and on the archaeological missions (vols. I, II, III, VI, VIII, IX). No further archaeological descriptions are planned.

Vols. I-VIII contain single-word indexes of the Hebrew, Aramaic (vols. I, II), Greek (vols. II, III, XIII, IX), Latin (vol. II), and Arabic (vol. II) words of the nonbiblical texts or sections as well as signs (vol. VII). Using a different system, vols. Xff. contain full keyword-in-context concordances of all the words in the nonbiblical texts.

A feature which has been developed fully in recent volumes is that of indicating parallel texts. It was used for the first time in the edition of *2QJérusalem nouvelle* ar (vol. III, p. 85), and this system is

used in the editions of 4QMMT (vol. X). It has also been used in publication of the various copies of the *Damascus Document* (vol. XVIII), and of the *Serekh ha-Yaḥad* from Cave 4 (vol. XXVI), in both cases also involving the longer parallel texts, namely the medieval CD and *Serekh ha-Yaḥad* text from Cave 1. Internal parallels on a less extensive scale are also indicated for other texts, such as the *Hodayot.*

With the involvement of the Israel Antiquities Authority and the enthusiasm and support of Amir Drori, Director of the IAA, the publication enterprise was reorganized in 1990–1991. The team was expanded from an initial number of eight scholars in the 1950s to twenty at the time of John Strugnell, and to sixty in the last few years. This measure was meant to ensure the speedy publication of the scrolls.

The scholars who publish the scrolls are more or less equally spread among three regions: North America, Israel, and Europe. As a result of the reorganization, sixteen volumes have been published in the past seven years, four of them in June of 1997, compared with eight volumes published before our time, over the course of forty years.

After these volumes, another fourteen volumes are scheduled for publication in the coming years, including two volumes that had not been planned originally, namely the revision of vol. V, and vol. XXXVIII containing the Isaiah texts from Cave 1.

During the course of the publishing enterprise, extensive inventorizing became necessary. We made a full inventory of all the Qumran compositions, photographs and fragments, and published our results in 1993 and 1995 in a companion volume accompanying the microfiche edition.[8]

The camera-ready manuscripts of the volumes are prepared in Jerusalem for the nonbiblical volumes (except for vol. XI which was prepared in Notre Dame) and in Notre Dame for the biblical volumes. The preparation of these camera-ready manuscripts is made possible by generous annual contributions by the Oxford Centre for Hebrew Studies, by the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation, and by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the latter contributing to the University of Notre Dame.

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[8] E. Tov with the collaboration of S. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche—A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert*, with a *Companion Volume* (2nd rev. ed.; Leiden: Brill/IDC, 1995 [1993]).

Appendix

D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955) xi + 163 pp. + xxxvii plates.

P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabbaʿat* (DJD II; Oxford: Clarendon, 1961) xv + 314 pp. + 107 plates.

M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân* (DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962) xiii + 315 pp. + lxxi plates.

J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^a)* (DJDJ IV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) xi + 97 pp. + xvii plates.

J. M. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4.I (4Q158-4Q186)* (DJDJ V; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968) 111 pp. + xxxi plates.

R. de Vaux and J. T. Milik, *Qumrân grotte 4.II: I. Archéologie, II. Tefillin, Mezuzot et Targums (4Q128–4Q157)* (DJD VI; Oxford: Clarendon, 1977) xi + 91 pp. + xxviii plates.

M. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD VII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982) xiv + 339 pp. + lxxx plates.

E. Tov with the collaboration of R. A. Kraft, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr)* (DJD VIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990) x + 169 pp. + xx plates.

P. W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J. E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (DJD IX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1992) xiii + 250 pp. + xlvii plates.

E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) xiv + 235 pp. + viii plates.

E. Eshel and others, in consultation with J. VanderKam and M. Brady, *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XI; Oxford : Clarendon, 1998) ix + 473 pp. + xxxii plates.

E. Ulrich and F. M. Cross (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers* (DJD XII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) xv + 272 pp. + xlix plates.

H. Attridge and others, in consultation with J. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) x + 470 pp. + xliii plates.

E. Ulrich and F. M. Cross (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (DJD XIV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995) xv + 183 pp. + xxxvii plates.

E. Ulrich and others, *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets* (DJD XV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) xv + 325 pp. + lxiv plates.

J. M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) xix + 236 pp. + xlii plates.

M. Broshi and others, in consultation with J. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4.XIV, Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995) xi + 267 pp. + xxix plates.

T. Elgvin and others, in consultation with J. A. Fitzmyer, S.J., *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (DJD XX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) xi + 246 pp. + xviii plates.

G. Brooke and others, in consultation with J. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD XXII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) xi + 352 pp. + xxix plates.

F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-30* (DJD XXIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) xiii + 487 pp. + concordances + liv plates.

M. J. W. Leith, *Wadi Daliyeh Seal Impressions* (DJD XXIV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) xxv + 249 pp. + xxiv plates.

E. Puech, *Qumran Cave 4.XVIII: Textes Hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (DJD XXV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) xii + 229 pp. + xii plates.

P. Alexander and G. Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4.XIV. 4QSerekh ha-Yaḥad and Two Related Texts* (DJD XXVI; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

H. M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Other Sites, with an Appendix Containing Alleged Qumran Texts (The Seiyâl Collection II)* (DJD XXVII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) xxvii + 381 pp. + 33 figures and lxi plates.

Vol. 1 (1955) has been reprinted (1964), and vols. VIII (1990) and IX (1992) have appeared in corrected editions (both 1995).

PART ONE: THE SCROLLS, THE BIBLE AND EARLY JUDAISM

The Scrolls and the Study of the Hebrew Bible

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The more than two hundred biblical manuscripts discovered in the Judaean Desert fifty years ago have revolutionized our understanding of the Bible and the text of the Scriptures in antiquity. Others might not be quite so sanguine as I am on this point. Some seem to think that the scrolls are interesting and exciting, but more as a curiosity or historical exhibit that does not really require that we update the categories we use in thinking about the Bible. Quite to the contrary, I propose that the biblical scrolls are of central importance for the way we think about the Bible, and that they require us to update our way of thinking about it both historically and theologically.

Variant literary editions of the biblical text

The first and most obvious learning that the biblical scrolls taught us was that there were variant forms of the text for many books of the Bible in the last two centuries BCE and the first century CE. At the outset it should be stated explicitly that a large number of manuscripts display impressive agreement with particular books of what emerged in the Middle Ages to be called the Masoretic Text (see, for example, 1QIsa^{b}). So we can be assured that our present biblical text is a copy, preserved with amazingly accurate fidelity, of an ancient collection of "biblical texts" from the period when the Temple still stood (although, as I will mention later, labeling these texts "proto-MT" may not be the best way to describe them). Nevertheless, even at early stages of research it was seen that 1QIsa^{a}, 4QSam^{a}, 4QpaleoExod^{m}, and 4QJer^{b} all exhibit surprising patterns of variants from the traditional Masoretic *textus receptus*. As the variations began to be analyzed in greater detail, important differences in the categories of variants became increasingly clear. 4QpaleoExod^{m} and 4QJer^{b} clearly showed what came to be called "variant literary editions" of the books of Exodus and Jeremiah.[1] For the

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[1] For 4QpaleoExod^{m}, see J. E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExod^{m} and the Samaritan Tradition* (HSS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), and the *editio princeps* in P. W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J. E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (DJD IX; Oxford:

dramatic 4QSam[a] I still have not formed a conclusion as to whether it represents an *intentional* variant literary edition or simply shows that the MT of Samuel is a somewhat mangled text.[2] The Great Isaiah Scroll throughout exhibits orthographic and morphological forms different from what we are used to in the MT (although I would judge that it is basically the same edition of the Book of Isaiah as that witnessed by the MT).[3] As the series of biblical manuscripts continued to be edited and published, many of the books revealed variant literary editions, so that now we can study variant editions of Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, (perhaps Judges), Jeremiah, Daniel, Psalms (discussed later in this paper), and perhaps the full Pentateuch as well as the Song of Songs. 4QNum[b] provides a Jewish, revised and expanded edition of Numbers which the Samaritans happened to use and retain for their text of Numbers.[4] 4QJosh[a] shows a more original order of the building of the first altar in the newly entered land.[5] 4QJudg[a] is an earlier form of Judges that does not have a Deuteronomistic theological passage long considered to be a secondary addition by Wellhausen and others.[6] 4QSam[a] preserves a full paragraph, also attested by Josephus, that is missing from all biblical texts for two thousand years.[7] The texts relating to the figure of Daniel

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Clarendon, 1992). For 4QJer[b], see E. Tov, "The Jeremiah Scrolls From Cave 4," *RevQ* 14 (1989-90) 189-206; idem, "Three Fragments of Jeremiah from Qumran Cave 4," *RevQ* 15 (1991-92) 531-41; for the *editio princeps*, see E. Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets* (DJD XV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) 171-76.

[2] See E. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSS 19; Missoula, MT; Scholars Press, 1978).

[3] See the forthcoming DJD XXXVIII.

[4] See N. Jastram, "The Text of 4QNum[b]," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress; Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21 March, 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 1.77-98; and E. Ulrich and F. M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers* (DJD XII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 209-67.

[5] E. Ulrich, "4QJoshua[a] and Joshua's First Altar in the Promised Land," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the IOQS, Paris 1992*) (ed. G. J. Brooke with F. García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 89-104, and E. Ulrich and F. M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (DJD XIV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995) 143-52.

[6] J. Trebolle Barrera, "Light from 4QJudg[a] and 4QKgs[a] on the Text of Judges and Kings," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 315-24, and DJD XIV, 161-64.

[7] F. M. Cross, "The Ammonite Oppression of the Tribes of Gad and Reuben: Missing Verses from 1 Samuel 11 Found in 4QSamuel[a]," *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures* (ed. H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983) 148-58; Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel*, 166-70.

provide what might be called a growing "Daniel library" comprised of 4QPrNab, the varying texts of the biblical book found in Caves 1, 4, and 6, and 4Qpseudo-Daniel[a-c].[8] As for the Song of Songs, Emanuel Tov's preliminary publication of 4QCant[a-c] suggests the possibly "abbreviated" nature of that book at Qumran, wherein distinct literary units found in the Masoretic form of the work are missing. For example, in 4QCant[a] unbroken text moves from Song of Songs 4:7 to 6:11 and in 4QCant[b] 4:3 is followed by 4:8.[9] Although Tov treats these as excisions of existing text and concludes that the manuscripts are post-biblical abbreviations of the biblical book, it is just as likely that they are variant literary editions of the developing Song of Songs. The missing material may have appeared at other locations in the fragmentarily-preserved manuscripts, a fact that would not be surprising since the Masoretic form's poetic units lack any coherent organization prohibiting transposition of particular passages. It is also possible that the "missing" passages were absent in these manuscripts altogether. The first case would parallel the "rearranged" Masoretic Book of Jeremiah; the second case would parallel the longer vs. shorter forms of Daniel.

So while the scrolls do demonstrate the accuracy of one line of transmission, they also demonstrate at the same time the creative pluriformity which characterized the process of the development and transmission of the Bible as well as the fact that *only one form* of the text has come down to us in the Masoretic Text. Thus, the accumulated variant literary editions teach us that the text of what we now call our Bible was certainly still in a period of pluriformity and probably still in a period of organic growth during the period of the Qumran community.

The compositional stage of the biblical text

Literary critics have been demonstrating for centuries now that virtually all the books of the Bible are the products of a long series of contributors whom we can call—depending on the activity of each—authors, tradents, editors, and scribes. When did that period of composition end? One reading of the evidence is that the pluriformity seen so wide-spread in the biblical manuscripts is an indication that the period of

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[8] For the biblical manuscripts, see the forthcoming DJD XVI. 4QPrNab, edited by J. Collins, and 4Qpseudo-Daniel[a-c], edited by J. Collins and P. Flint, appear in G. Brooke et al. in consultation with J. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD XXII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 83-164. For another possible Daniel text, see É. Puech, "Apocryphe de Daniel," in DJD XXII, 165-84.

[9] "Three Manuscripts (Abbreviated Texts?) of Canticles from Qumran Cave 4," *JJS* 46 (1995) 88-111.

evolutionary growth—the production of revised literary editions—was still in progress at the time of the First Jewish Revolt (66–74 CE). The view has been proposed that the multiplicity of text-types at Qumran reflects the confusion caused by the introduction of the several text-types from different localities, especially Babylon.[10] This is possible, but I rather think that all the evidence we can find—the Chronicler, the editors of the Book of Psalms, the Samaritans, the authors of Qumran community documents, Philo, the New Testament authors, Josephus—uniformly points to a comfortable pluriformity in the text of the Scriptures for most of Judaism right up to the end of the first century CE, and possibly up to the Second Revolt (132–135 CE). There is no indication of a desire to "fix" *the* text, especially not a widespread desire or need to do so. Additional evidence now emerges in light of the community texts from Cave 4—the manuscripts of the *Rule of the Community* and the *Damascus Document*. In an interesting parallel to the biblical scrolls, three different editions of the *Rule of the Community* now can be catalogued, apparently parallel to the biblical manuscripts in that earlier editions of the *Rule* continued to be copied even after a secondary, expanded edition was available. And these variant editions apparently existed side-by-side and were used by the community.[11]

What, then, eventually put a halt to the developing, organic stage of the composition of the books of the Scriptures? It was surely a combination of events. One factor was that there were serious threats to the very life of the nation and the religion by the Roman victories in 70 and 135. Another factor was the serious challenge to some fundamental beliefs by the claims of those Jews who followed Jesus. And a third factor was the emerging need for a fixed text, as the religion changed from being centered around the Temple to being centered around the Torah and the Prophets, and as the halakhic debates between quarreling parties became more text-based.

A still unclear combination of some or all of these factors brought about what Shemaryahu Talmon has begun to call "the great divide" between the period of pluriformity and the period of uniformity of the Hebrew text. Whatever name one gives that moment, it seems that until

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[10] See F. M. Cross's article in the forthcoming *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Dead Sea Scrolls Jubilee Symposium Held at Princeton University, November 1997*, vol. 1 (ed. J. Charlesworth; North Richland, TX: Bibal Press, 1998).

[11] See S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

these factors conspired together to bring about greater homogeneity, the production of new variant literary editions persisted.

The Scriptures of general Judaism

Thus, in my view the biblical manuscripts found in the Judaean Desert represent the Scriptures of general Judaism in the late Second Temple period. They show us what the Scriptures looked like in the last few centuries BCE and the first century CE. The biblical manuscripts were *found* at Qumran, but they certainly were not *composed* there, and it is also likely that many were not *copied* there but were brought to the center from Jerusalem and other parts of the country when the members came to join the community. On the one hand, it is quite probable that a biblical manuscript such as 4QSam^{c} was copied at Qumran, because it is copied by the same (mediocre) scribe who copied the Cave 1 *Serek ha-yaḥad* (1QS) and *Testimonia*—both community compositions. On the other hand, such a situation is rare; there are so many scribes in evidence in the scripts of the 800 manuscripts, compared to the estimated number of inhabitants centered around the community building, that many of the manuscripts must be presumed to have been copied elsewhere.[12] (This is an additional reason for my argument, given below, that we should not view the exuberant orthography which graces some manuscripts as a product of a specifically "Qumran scribal practice.")

Thus, the biblical manuscripts found at Qumran are representatives of the books which the wide spectrum of first-century Jews would have called "the Law and the Prophets"—including the High Priest and the Sadducees, the Rabbis, Jesus and those Jews who preached and eventually composed the New Testament, the well-intentioned folk at Qumran, and yet others. The scrolls are not the "vulgar" or aberrant texts which an isolated "sect" alone used, in contrast to an approved "proto-MT" housed safely in the Temple in Jerusalem. The scrolls *found* at Qumran are the sacred texts of Second Temple Judaism in general.

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[12] Also, analysis of the Palaeo-Hebrew MSS, some of which are so early that they *must* precede the establishment of the community center, shows that there is no discernible difference between works copied at Qumran and works copied in other parts of the country and brought to Qumran. See E. Ulrich, "The Palaeo-Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 4," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989–1990* (ed. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 103–29.

Proper model(s) for sketching the history of the biblical text

While so far I have focused on variant *literary* editions, compositional history, and canonical issues, it is clear that the foregoing observations also have considerable impact on how we think about the history of the biblical text. Thanks especially to the scrolls we now have a great deal more data for charting the history of the biblical text than we did fifty years ago. From our present vantage point, I think the template used to sketch the primary lines of the history of the biblical text should be that of the developing literary editions of the individual books of the Scriptures. This means developing beyond the three dominant approaches to the problem.

(1) W. F. Albright initiated the paradigm of different local texts as the primary explanation for the most meaningful variants in the biblical text, and Frank Moore Cross fleshed out that theory both with creative intuition (which launched a search that might otherwise not have happened) and with an impressive amount of specific examples.[13] (2) Shemaryahu Talmon added the socio-religious aspect of *Gruppentexte* (or texts specific to separate religious communities) which explained why the Jews, Samaritans, and Christians emerged with only three textual forms of the Bible out of the plethora of forms that were generally circulating in the first century CE.[14] (3) Emanuel Tov first denied that there were many text-types at all (which was too reductionist) and then refined his ideas, helpfully and correctly pointing out that the Qumran texts have "taught us no longer to posit MT at the center of our textual thinking";[15] but he still talks of "proto-MT," "proto-LXX," and "non-aligned texts."

All three explanations offer good points, but all three also meet problems in the face of the Qumran evidence. First, with regard to local texts, the single Qumran locality exhibits multiple textual forms side-by-

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[13] W. F. Albright, "New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible," *BASOR* 140 (1955) 27-33; F. M. Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert," *HTR* 57 (1964) 281-99 [repr. *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. M. Cross and Sh. Talmon; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975) 177-95]; idem, "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, 306-20.

[14] Sh. Talmon, "The Old Testament Text," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible. 1. From the Beginnings to Jerome* (ed. P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) 159-99 [repr. in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, 1-41].

[15] E. Tov, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judaean Desert: Their Contribution to Textual Criticism," *JJS* 39 (1988) 7.

side over several centuries; and the "Egyptian" (= LXX-related) 4QJer$^{b, d}$ were circulating in Palestine a century after the LXX was translated. Second, with regard to *Gruppentexte*, Talmon's insights are both valid and helpful. But *why* specifically did the Rabbis end up with the MT collection, the Samaritans with the expanded text, and the Christians with the LXX collection? Is there anything *group-specific* in any of them? Third, there clearly are identifiable text-types at Qumran, though "proto-MT," "proto-LXX," and "non-aligned texts" are not the best categories for classification.

Perhaps we should rethink the use of such terms, since 𝔐 and 𝔊 are not "texts" or "text-types" or "recensions," and thus are not consistent standards by which other manuscripts of individual books are to be measured for proper "alignment." They are both *collections*, mixed collections of differing types of texts for the different books, shorter and longer, earlier and later. They are not the proper categories for looking at and evaluating the biblical texts. This terminology and these categories are modern, after-the-fact categories. The scroll texts from antiquity ought to be analyzed, categorized, and assessed on their own terms. In my view the succession of new literary editions of the individual books is a more useful pattern for charting the main lines of the history, with the smaller lines then drawn by individual textual variants, by agreements, and especially by disagreements.

Illustrating variant literary editions: 11QPs^a and 4QRP

11QPs^a. In 1965 James Sanders published another form of the Psalter that stood alongside the form transmitted to us through the MT, though most—myself included—denied that it was a true Psalter and considered it a secondary, post-biblical, "liturgical" composition.[16] The rationale for the denial was that it contained "non-canonical compositions," that it had an "unorthodox" order to the Psalms that were "canonical," that it displayed "liturgical" indicators, and that the MT psalter of 150 psalms was already established before it appeared. But none of the reasons proffered for denying scriptural status to 11QPs^a hold as valid any longer. With regard to the "non-canonical compositions," we find that three of those "non-canonical" compositions are found in other forms of the Psalter (Greek or Syriac, which were translated from current Hebrew psalms); and though we may not all subscribe now to the same canon, we cannot deny that those Psalms were origi-

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

nally Hebrew Psalms and that they were held sufficiently sacred that certain communities in antiquity accepted them as part of their Book of Psalms. It must be remembered that in both Judaism and Christianity, it is the book, not the textual form of a book, that is "canonical." With regard to the "unorthodox" order of some Psalms, it must be recognized that there is no inherent or even discernible order in the Masoretic form of the Psalter. We must remember that the numbering system of the Psalter is late. The Psalter originated and grew as a hymnbook, and multiple sequences were possible, brought about by a variety of literary, liturgical, chronological, and practical factors that mostly escape us. Regarding the Book of Jeremiah as a parallel, we do not disqualify the MT Jeremiah as non-canonical because it displays an "unorthodox" order in comparison with the earlier form found in 4QJer^{b} and the Septuagint. With regard to the charge that 11QPs^{a} is a (merely) "liturgical scroll," the Psalter itself always was and is, of course, a liturgical work (though it was also used as a wisdom text). So now that we can understand the nature of the biblical text in antiquity—prior to the later stage characterized by a single, uniform default text—we can recognize what the evidence shows us: 11QPs^{a} is a Scriptural Psalter in a variant literary edition in contrast to the one we have been familiar with since the second century.[17]

4QRP. 4Q364-367 have been published in DJD XIII with the title, "Reworked Pentateuch."[18] In the words of the editors, the "text presented here probably contained the complete Pentateuch, reworked by the author of 4QRP. . . . This composition contained a running text of the Pentateuch interspersed with exegetical additions and omissions. The greater part of the preserved fragments follows the biblical text closely, but many small . . . elements are added, while other elements are omitted, or, in other cases, their sequence altered."[19] The question needs closer analysis, but as I initially see it, all of the additions are typically biblical; they are the types of changes one sees in Deuteronomy vs. Exodus. Insofar as my previous remarks are correct, one should recognize that small additions, omissions, and rearrangements are characteristic of the biblical text throughout its history (up to the second century), and

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[17] For a recently published study of the Psalms scrolls, see P. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

[18] E. Tov and S. White, "Reworked Pentateuch," in H. Attridge et al. in consultation with J. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 187-351. Another manuscript, 4Q158 (see DJD V), should also be classified as a copy of this work.

[19] Ibid., 187, 191.

that these are *hallmarks* of the biblical text, not disqualifiers.[20] Thus, I propose that we may have discovered at Qumran yet another variant literary edition of the Pentateuch, parallel to the traditional MT, and parallel to that other Jewish variant literary edition of the Pentateuch that was at home in Second Temple Judaism and was used as the basis for the Samaritan Pentateuch. In fact, many of the disagreements in 4Q364-367 from what we have grown accustomed to seeing as "The Pentateuch" (viz., the familiar MT) agree with the Samaritan, or more precisely, agree with that other ancient Jewish edition of the Pentateuch which was also taken up by the Samaritans.[21] I must stress that this is still a provisional conclusion on my part—I need to do more, others need to analyze the evidence more, and I am glad to see that Sidnie White Crawford is continuing to work on the problem.[22]

A closing word on "Qumran scribal practice"

Especially because it continues to turn up in Qumran studies I must say that I think the concept and term "Qumran scribal practice" is misleading.[23] The issue has raised important questions, but the answers still elude us. Widespread coins, inscriptions, nonbiblical texts, and—significantly—the MT itself betray the characteristics indicated as "Qumran scribal practice."[24] On the one hand, the burgeoning orthography was probably characteristic of Palestine in general, not restricted to Qumran; on the other, *Rule of the Community* manuscripts (4QS$^{b, d}$),

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[20] The nuance, however, should be noted: "While the exegetical character of 4QRP is easily recognized . . . , there are various borderline cases on which no clear opinion can be voiced as to whether the difference between 4QRP and the other textual witnesses [of the Bible] is exegetical [i.e., parabiblical] or textual" [i.e., biblical] (ibid., 192).

[21] "Summarizing the textual status of 4Q364, one notes its close agreement with 𝔐 in two major details which hitherto have been considered characteristic of 𝔐. . . . At the same time, 4Q364 does not disagree with 𝔐 in any major details" (ibid., 193). "The textual affiliations of 4Q365 are less clear," but the "summary of the relation between 4Q365 and 𝔐 is thus very similar to that between 4Q364 and 𝔐" (194).

[22] See S. W. Crawford, "The Rewritten Bible at Qumran: A Look at Three Texts," forthcoming in the Frank Moore Cross *Festschrift* in *Israel Exploration Journal*.

[23] Tov, *Textual Cricitism*, 107-9.

[24] See E. Ulrich, "Multiple Literary Editions: Reflections toward a Theory of the History of the Biblical Text," in *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) 78-105, esp. 94.

which can quite plausibly be presumed to have been copied at Qumran (and copied *after* 1QS), are not written in the "Qumran scribal practice." Again, it is important to remember that the texts we have were *found* at Qumran, while most were not *composed* there and many were not *copied* there.

Directions for the future

As we look to the future, there are plenty of questions to keep ourselves and the next generation fascinated for the next fifty years.

1. *Variant literary editions*—I would suggest that we take this category seriously and find out more about the forms of the text in antiquity. We may do this by studying the biblical manuscripts, the Septuagint, Josephus, and other sources. It is a fascinating and fertile topic.

2. *"Palestinian scribal practice"*—I think we should study the data which have been so carefully assembled by Emanuel Tov, but also additional data. Inscriptions, literary and non-literary texts, coins, etc., need to be studied to understand the orthography, morphology, language, and scribal practices. Then we may see how the texts from Qumran fit into this general picture of Jews and non-Jews in the Second Temple period.

3. *The history of the biblical text*—a. Is there any way to determine how any specific locality dealt with and worked on its texts of the Scriptures? *Did* different texts develop in different localities with specific features due to specific localities? If so, why? Can one determine whether (as it appears at Qumran) a single community was comfortable with variant forms of the biblical text (much as we might have on our shelf and use for scholarly and personal purposes the NRSV, the NAB, the JPS translation, etc.)? Again, it certainly appears that pluriformity was acceptable at Qumran, in the New Testament, and to Josephus.

b. Did the various parties or communities within Judaism *change* their scriptural texts in light of their specific communal beliefs? To my knowledge, we have virtually *no* evidence that any group did so—with the single exception of the two small changes made by the Samaritans.

c. Will the hypothesis of the "development of successive literary editions of individual books" prove to be an illuminating factor for understanding the history of the biblical text?

4. *Authoritative scripture*—And finally, can we get a sufficiently closely-focused view of the scriptural texts in antiquity to understand the *criteria* for "authoritative scripture" in the eyes of the various compo-

nents of Judaism in antiquity, so that we can accurately categorize the spectrum of "biblical" and "parabiblical" and "biblically-related" texts they produced?

The Scrolls and the Study of Early Judaism

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The subject "The Scrolls and Early Judaism" is a relative newcomer on the scene of Qumran studies. A perusal of surveys which appeared in the first decade of research shows that none included a section under such a heading. In contrast, all of them contained a chapter on "the Scrolls and Christianity."[1] To a large extent this is true even of surveys just published. Most of what they have to say on the scrolls and Judaism is found in specific sections, rather than under one major heading related to Judaism, a feature which betrays the extent to which recent surveys are still indebted to older research.[2] This omission accurately reflects the tendency of the early research to emphasize the affinities observed between the scrolls and the New Testament rather than their links with contemporary Judaism, a tendency so eloquently described by Lawrence Schiffman's recent survey.[3]

That is not to say that the Jewish character of the scrolls was not recognized. In fact, the majority of the scientific work produced in the early decades of research was fully cognizant of it, and in some respects attempted to place the scrolls within contemporary Judaism.[4] This is particularly true of the work done on the textual character of the

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[1] J. M. Allegro, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Pelican, 1956); J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (SBT 26; London: SCM, 1959); F. M. Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1958). M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking, 1955) includes a chapter entitled "Contributions to the Study of Judaism and Christianity," but it actually discusses early Christianity.

[2] G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran In Perspective* (London: Collins, 1977); F. García Martínez and J. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); J. C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994).

[3] L. H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994).

[4] Thus Schiffman's assertion (*Reclaiming the Scrolls*, 16) that some scholars "Christianized" the scrolls gives undue importance to a few, uncharacteristic exceptions.

biblical scrolls, on the relationship between Qumranic Bible exegesis and Jewish exegesis, on the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha discovered at Qumran, and on the Hebrew language and orthography in the Scrolls.[5] Nevertheless, many students of the scrolls were swayed by the prevalent picture of the Qumranic group as a solitary and ascetic community, leading a secluded life in an isolated site, in intense expectation of the imminent dawn of the apocalyptic era. Partly based on the polemics of the *Pesher Habakkuk* and the *Damascus Document*, this picture draws the Qumran community as a group existing at the fringes of Judaism in open antagonism to the political rulers and the official priesthood of Jerusalem. Such a picture suggested to scholars a closer affinity to nascent Christianity rather than to contemporary Judaism. The Qumranic stringent practice of biblical law had no real place in such a picture.

But not only personal interpretations were responsible for such tendentious descriptions. The slow pace of publication contributed much to it. Major halakhic texts from Cave 4, including copies of the *Damascus Document* as well as the *Temple Scroll* from Cave 11, remained unpublished and unknown for many years after their initial discovery. The only substantial halakhic text from Qumran known at the time, namely the halakhic section in the *Damascus Document* 10-12, had already been discussed by several eminent talmudic scholars forty years before the discovery of the scrolls. Their verdict was that the sect which authored it was either Sadducean (Schechter) or Pharisaic

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[5] On the biblical text, see Cross, *The Ancient Library*. On biblical exegesis, see G. Vermes, *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), and W. H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (SBLMS 24; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979). One of the first scholars to review the scrolls and Judaism was G. Vermes, "The Impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on Jewish Studies During the Last Twenty–Five Years," *JJS* 26 (1975) 1-14; reprinted in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Theory and Practice* (ed. W. S. Green; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978) 201-214. On the Hebrew language see E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIs^a)* (STDJ 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974); E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1986).

(Ginzberg),[6] none of which fitted into the theory of the Essene character of the community, espoused by the scholars of the scrolls.[7]

The change in perspective began to take place with the publication of the *Temple Scroll* by Yadin at the closing of the seventies.[8] For the first time a Qumran document was published which was entirely devoted to reworking and reinterpreting long sections of biblical law, without any obvious reference to the specific Qumranic community. Yadin took it to be sectarian in particular in view of its festival calendar, based on the solar calendar typical of the community. However, since this calendar is known from other non-Qumranic texts, such as the *Book of Enoch*, this connection is unconvincing. To this day the nature and provenance of the *Temple Scroll* remain an open question.[9] It was only with the publication of halakhic texts from Cave 4, which started to come to light at the beginning of the 1990s, that the Sadducean character of the Qumranic jurisprudence became evident, and the crucial place of the biblical law in the life of the community became apparent. This realisation had considerable impact on the understanding of the history of the community and its central place within Judaism.

But the shift in the appreciation of the Qumran library which is now taking place has not resulted from the publication of halakhic texts alone. Another factor played a crucial role in bringing this about. This was the opening of the entire Qumran library for scholarly study. It has

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[6] S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries, Vol. I: Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910) esp. xxv-xxvi; L. Ginzberg, *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte* (New York: L. Ginzberg, 1922); see also a posthumous English enlarged edition, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1976) esp. 407-8.

[7] It is interesting to note that the early studies by J. Baumgarten and L. Schiffman on the halakhic sections of the *Damascus Document* did not have a real impact on the general picture of the Qumranic community. The first studies of Baumgarten are collected in *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: Brill, 1977); Schiffman's first publication was *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; Leiden: Brill, 1975).

[8] Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983). The Hebrew edition of the text with the monumental commentary preceded this English edition by six years.

[9] For Yadin's position see his edition *The Temple Scroll*, 1.117-31, 398-99. For an early criticism of this position see B. A. Levine, "The Temple Scroll: Aspects of Its Historical Provenance and Literary Character," *BASOR* 232 (1978) 5-23. The most thorough critique was offered by H. Stegemann, "The Institutions of Israel in the *Temple Scroll*," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 156-85.

permitted the publication of a complete inventory of some 850 manuscripts which compose the Qumran collection. This inventory makes clear that a third of the manuscripts housed at Qumran do not evince its particular beliefs nor use its specific terminology. Therefore such manuscripts were not part of the literature of the community proper, although they were read and studied, and partly copied at Qumran.[10] By contrast, these non-sectarian writings have much in common with the more general Jewish literature of the time. Thus the earlier tendency of Qumranic research to emphasize the unique and dissenting in the scrolls is now being replaced by the emphasis on the common ground they share with contemporary Judaism, a shift which is already reflected by a few of the recent surveys.[11]

More time is needed to achieve a more balanced appreciation of the Qumran library. Its Jewish character and links to Second Temple Judaism are well recognized today.[12] What is, however, novel and recent is the realization that the Essenic-Qumranic community belonged to a central movement in contemporary Judaism, and probably played a major role in its cultural, religious, and political life. Moreover, it is already recognized that this group must have had recourse to ancient traditions and texts, many of which were not of its own making. The intricate fabric of ideas and literary world revealed by the Qumran library suggests a multifaceted and nuanced culture and religious

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[10] See my classification in "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness* (ed. D. Dimant and L. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 23-58.

[11] Typically represented by Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Scrolls*. Some recent encyclopaedia articles devote space to the theme of "the Scrolls and Judaism;" e.g., J. J. Collins, "Qumran" and A. Lange and H. Lichtenberger, "Qumran," *TRE* 28 (1997) 73-74 (out of a 40-page survey!). See also the recent survey of H. Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus* (Freiburg: Herder, 1993); ET, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist and Jesus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans/Leiden: Brill, 1998) where an effort is made to understand the Qumran community against its Jewish environment.

[12] Isolated attempts to identify the scrolls as Christian always rested on a dubious literary and theological analysis, typified by the recent publications of R. Eisenman. See, for instance, the Introduction to R. H. Eisenman and M. O. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Rockport, MA: Element, 1992) 1-16. All such attempts are discredited by the recent more advanced carbon-14 tests which dated most of the Qumran manuscripts to two or one centuries before the birth of Christianity. See G. Bonani et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *'Atiqot* 20 (1991) 27-32; J. A. Timothy et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judaean Desert," *'Atiqot* 28 (1996) 85-91.

worldview in Second Temple Judaism, rather than the rigid, monolithic picture conveyed by the early research.

In order to better appreciate the diversity of sources at Qumran and their respective contributions to the study of Judaism we must take into account the specific types of documents which constitute the library. Basically they are three. A quarter of the library consists of biblical manuscripts. Another quarter consists of works explicitly connected to the Qumran community, using its distinctive terminology, style and ideology. The third section of the library consists of non-sectarian works, mainly various apocryphal, pseudepigraphic and apocalyptic works, which do not use any of the features distinctive of the community's literature.[13]

Biblical Texts

One of the most striking changes brought about by the Qumranic discovery is an entirely new understanding of the process by which the text of the Hebrew Bible took shape. Nearly two hundred biblical manuscripts were found at Qumran. They represent all the books of the Hebrew Bible except for Esther and Nehemiah, an omission which may be accidental.[14] The plethora of variants displayed by the Qumranic biblical manuscripts reflects a stage in which the biblical text had not yet received its final shape.[15] For some books, such as Samuel and Jere-

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[13] The remaining manuscripts are too fragmentary for classification. See my list in "The Qumran Manuscripts." In this list I estimate the biblical manuscripts to represent a third of the library. The number appearing here is adapted to the data as it is presented in the latest version of the list of manuscripts compiled by the Publication Project of the Dead Sea Scrolls. I would like to thank my colleague E. Tov for placing this updated version at my disposal.

[14] This is the opinion of Tov for the Book of Esther. Cf. E. Tov, "L'importance des textes du Désert de Juda pour l'histoire du texte de la Bible Hébraïque. Une nouvelle synthèse," in *Qoumrân et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (ed. E.-M. Laperrousaz; Paris: Cerf, 1997) 215-52, especially 228, n. 44. Some scholars suggest that Esther is absent from Qumran for theological reasons. This is, for instance, the opinion of Sh. Talmon, who assembled lexical data to show that the Book of Esther was in fact known to authors of Qumranic documents and therefore must have been intentionally dropped from the collection; see Sh. Talmon, "Was the Book of Esther Known at Qumran?" *DSD* 2 (1995) 249-67.

[15] At the initial phase of the research on this subject, F. M. Cross advanced the theory of three local types of texts, the Babylonian-Masoretic type, the Alexandrian-Septuagint type, and the Palestinian-Samaritan type. See his article "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. M. Cross and Sh. Talmon; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press,

miah, even several editions were in use at Qumran and probably also outside it.[16] A detailed discussion of these issues lies beyond the scope of the present survey.[17] Nevertheless, since the Bible played a crucial role in the life and literature of the Qumran community, some comment is called for.

Characteristic of the Qumran biblical texts is the fact that, for all the fluidity of text and form, they enjoyed an authoritative status. This is particularly true of the Torah, the Prophets, and the Davidic Psalms. Such an authority is reflected by the legal exegesis embedded in the *Damascus Document,*[18] as well as by the interpretation of the prophetic texts and psalms in the pesharim. Clearly at that pre-canonical stage the authoritative status did not imply a fixed text, or even, in some cases, a fixed edition. How does an unfixed text function as authoritative, and what are the consequences of such a situation for textual transmission and Bible exegesis? Even less clear is the status of other biblical books included in the canonical Writings. What was the status at Qumran of books such as Job and Proverbs, or Ezra and Chronicles? Unclear as

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1975) 306-320. Later Tov argued that no types of texts can be established in the mass of variants attested in the biblical texts from Qumran. See his article "A Modern Textual Outlook Based on the Qumran Scrolls," *HUCA* 53 (1982) 11-27. His most recent formulation is published in "L'importance des textes." A view closer to that of Cross is expressed by E. Ulrich, "The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures at Qumran," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) 77-93.

[16] E. Ulrich, "Multiple Literary Editions: Reflections towards a Theory of the History of the Biblical Text," in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 78-105.

[17] See the synthesis of Sh. Talmon, "The Old Testament Text," *Cambridge History of the Bible* (ed. P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) 159-99. For later surveys see the publications of Tov and Ulrich in notes 14 and 15 above. For an updated survey on these questions the reader is referred to the essay by Ulrich in the present volume.

[18] Cf. CD 11:17-18 (citing Lev 23:38); CD 16:6-9 (citing Deut 23:42). See my discussion in "The Hebrew Bible in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Torah Quotations in the Damascus Covenant," in *"Shaʿarei Talmon": Studies in the Bible, Qumran and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane and E. Tov; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 113*-122* (Hebrew). An interesting problem is presented by a citation attributed to Moses, namely to the Torah, not found in the biblical corpus known to us. This citation occurs in one of the 4Q copies of CD (4Q270 7 i 16-18). See J. M. Baumgarten, "A 'Scriptural' Citation in 4Q Fragments of the Damascus Document," *JJS* 43 (1992) 95-8.

well is the status of other texts found at Qumran that excerpt and abbreviate biblical texts.[19]

Another type of problem is involved in non-biblical works, especially those closely reworking the biblical text. Some of these works, such as the *Reworked Pentateuch* (cf. below), are so close to the actual Pentateuch that it is dificult to make a distinction between the two. In the absence of a clear-cut closed canon of scriptures, the dividing line between proper "scriptures" and "apocryphal" works is uncertain. Nor is it clear what status such non-sectarian works would have enjoyed at Qumran.

The budding study of the biblical scrolls is yet incapable of answering such questions. However, it may already be observed that the remarkable freedom *vis-à-vis* the biblical text furnished the context in which specific types of Bible interpretation were elaborated and put into practice at Qumran, and undoubtedly outside it. The reworked Bible texts are particularly intriguing. They are characterised by interference with the biblical text through omissions, additions, change of order, and replacement of words. In some cases, such as the *Reworked Pentateuch* (4Q364-367),[20] long sections produce a straightforward biblical text, and the reworking appears to consist of a thin, superimposed layer. For Tov the interference with the biblical text makes these independent works rather than proper biblical texts.[21] Yet the need to make a distinction between "proper" Bible texts and "Rewritten Bible" betrays the difficulty in it. To complicate matters further, to some extent the process of amplifying and interfering with the biblical text is present already in the biblical textual tradition itself,[22] mainly in the proto-Samaritan group.[23] At the same time other texts, such as *Pseudo-Ezekiel* (4Q385-388, 391), involve reworking of the Bible in a more substantial way, and

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[19] E. Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts from Qumran," *RevQ* 16 (1993-95) 581-600, with detailed lists of such manuscripts.

[20] Published by E. Tov and S. White in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part I* (DJD XIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 187-351.

[21] Tov, "Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts," 583.

[22] See the pioneering article by Sh. Talmon, "The Textual Study of the Biblical Text," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, 321-400.

[23] E. Tov, "A New Understanding of the Samaritan Pentateuch in the Wake of the Discovery of the Qumran Scrolls," in *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Société d'études samaritaines* (ed. A. Tal and M. Florentin; Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1991) 293-303.

the exegetical amplifications are numerous. Such major alterations clearly define these documents as non-biblical works.[24]

In fact, the technique of "rewritting the Bible" was used in a wide range of writings. Beside close reworkings of the biblical text such as the *Temple Scroll*, *Jubilees*, and the *Reworked Pentateuch*, there were other writings modelled on the Bible in a looser way, such as *Pseudo-Ezekiel* and the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah*. (4Q385-387-389). Even apocalyptic visions, such as those of *1 Enoch*, the *Testament of Levi* and *Pseudo-Daniel*, depended on biblical motifs and forms, and often closely reworked specific passsages from the Bible. Each of these reworkings and remodellings displays its own exegetical framework. Thus the Qumran manuscripts offer a whole gamut of evidence ranging from small textual variants to major reworking and loose modelling. It seems that in the phase mirrored by the Qumran documents not only was the canon not fixed, but also the dividing lines between textual corrections, textual amplifications, and full-fledged reworking or exegesis was still not fixed.

Bible Interpretation

Until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls early Jewish interpretation of the Bible was viewed as something which developed from late biblical books straight into rabbinic midrash. Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, early Bible translations and Hellenistic authors were disparate pieces which rarely fit into the puzzle. The discovery of the Qumran library not only produced a mass of new evidence, but also made it clear that all the segments of early Jewish literature are part of one and the same fabric, interconnected in numerous ways, and therefore must be studied in conjunction with one another.

One of the major novelties in the Qumranic material is the prominence of precisely the documents which rework the Bible. Before the discovery of the scrolls this technique was known from very few examples: *Jubilees,* the *Biblical Antiquities,* and the early sections of the *Jewish Antiquities* by Josephus. Not surprisingly these were considered marginal works. The Qumran library itself provided a magnificent new example of this genre, the *Temple Scroll*. But recently many more examples emerged from Cave 4, although they are very fragmentary.

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[24] For this reason I consider inaccurate Tov's attempt to include *Pseudo-Ezekiel* as well as the Cave 4 *Apocryphon of Jeremiah* in the same category as the *Reworked Pentateuch*. See "L'importance de textes," 223.

There are now extant texts rewriting sections from all parts of the Hebrew Bible: Pentateuch, Former and Latter Prophets, Psalms and Wisdom.[25] It seems that during Second Temple times there existed a considerable body of Hebrew literature which reworked the Bible. Yet none of these texts displays any sectarian element. Obviously this type of literature was not authored by the Qumranites but probably taken over from other, non-sectarian sources. It remains to be explained why the Qumranites had such a keen interest in reworked Bible texts.

The Qumran community seems to have appropriated this technique and developed it further for its own purposes. A most intriguing illustration is provided by the *Commentary on Genesis* (4Q252).[26] It offers a unique combination of rewritten Bible and something which approaches a lemmatic commentary. Thus, it rewrites the Flood story so as to incorporate in it notices of the weekly days of each stage of the Flood. These notices correspond to the solar 364-day calendar espoused by the Qumran community. In other cases attempts are made to solve exegetical problems arising from the plain sense of the biblical text.[27] For instance, why was it Canaan who was cursed for his father's sin, or what was the precise age of Abraham when he left Ur? Significantly, both the exegetical problems and their solutions often agree with exegetical issues and solutions raised by the Aramaic Targums and rab-

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[25] For the Pentateuch see 1Q19 and 1Q19bis (*Book of Noah*) published by J. T. Milik in *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955) 84-86, 152; 4Q375-376 (*Apocryphon of Moses*) published by J. Strugnell in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995) 109-136. For the Former Prophets, see for instance, 6Q9 (*Apocryphon of Samuel-Kings*), in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân* (DJD III; Oxford: Calrendon, 1962) 119-23, and 4Q378-379 (*Apocryphon of Joshua*), in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD XXII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 241-88. For Latter Prophets, see 4Q385-389 (*Pseudo-Ezekiel*), partly published by J. Strugnell and D. Dimant, "4QSecond Ezekiel (4Q385)," *RevQ* 13 (1988) 45-58; D. Dimant and J. Strugnell, "The Merkabah Vision in 'Second Ezekiel' (4Q385 4)," *RevQ* 14 (1989-90) 19-49. For the Psalms, see the collection edited by E. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphical Collection* (HSS 28; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1986), and the apocryphal psalms contained in 11QPs^a, edited by J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^a)* (DJD IV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965).

[26] See the edition of G. J. Brooke in DJD XXII, 185-207.

[27] G. J. Brooke, "The Genre of 4Q252: From Poetry to Pesher," *DSD* 1 (1994) 160-79.

binic midrash, a clear indication of their common tradition.[28] Most of 4Q252 has nothing sectarian about it. Were it not for one specifically sectarian messianic interpretation of the Blessing of Jacob, or the reworking of the Flood story according to the solar calendar, we would have classified 4Q252 as non-sectarian.

The form of Bible exegesis most distinctive of the Qumranic community is attested by the Qumranic pesharim. First to be discovered, and best preserved, the fullest specimen of the pesharim is the *Pesher Habakkuk* from Cave 1 (1QpHab).[29] It consists in reading the prophecy of Habakkuk as forecasting the community's own historical setting. Prophecies of other prophets were subjected to the same procedure: Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, and Zephaniah,[30] as well as prophecies of earlier inspiration, such as the blessings of Jacob (Gen 49:10) in 4Q252; the blessings of Balaam (Num 24) in the *Damascus Document*,[31] and the prophecy of Nathan (2 Sam 7:10-14) in *4QFlorilegium*. [32] The Davidic Psalms were also considered prophetic.[33] To bridge the gap between the literal sense of the prophecies and the desired sectarian meaning, an array of exegetical methods was employed.[34] Some of these methods are similar to those used by the rabbis, for instance, connecting two different biblical verses through the occur-

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[28] M. J. Bernstein, "4Q252: Method and Context, Genre and Sources," *JQR* 85 (1994) 61-79; "4Q252: From Re-Written Bible to Biblical Commentary [4QpGen^a]," *JJS* 45 (1994) 1-27.

[29] For this pesher exegesis, see O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (WUNT 6; Tübingen: Mohr, 1960); Brownlee, *The Midrash-Pesher of Habakkuk.*

[30] M. P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretation of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979).

[31] Gen 49:10 is interpreted of the Messiah by the *Commentary on Genesis* (4Q252 6:1-5); see Brooke's edition of 4Q252 in DJD XXII, 205. Num 24:17 is interpreted of the Messiah by CD 7:22. In messianic context this verse is cited by *Testimonia* (4Q175) 12-13, and alluded to by 1QSb 5:27. See most recently J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star* (New York: Doubleday, 1995) 49-73.

[32] In *Florilegium* (4Q174) 1-2 1-13; Exod 15:17-18, Amos 9:11, Pss 1:1, 2:1, Isa 8:11 are also interpreted in this text. See G. J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup 19; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985).

[33] Pss 37, 45, 60 are expounded according to the pesher method in 4Q171, and Pss 127, 129, 118(?) are interpreted in 4Q173. David's psalms are considered by 11QPs^a 27:11 to have been composed under prophetic inspiration.

[34] See my survey in "Pesharim, Qumran," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D.N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992) 5.244-51.

rence of the same word in both.[35] Yet other methods used by the pesharim, such as symbolism and allegory, are analoguous to the methods of Jewish apocalypses and Ancient Near Eastern interpretation of dreams.[36] Although very different from the Hellenistic allegory, the pesharim nevertheless provide some of the earliest examples of Jewish allegorical interpretations of the Bible.[37] This kind of allegorization was contemporary with the *Letter of Aristeas,* and at least a century earlier than Philo, a fact which merits further study.

The nature of biblical prophecy as divine revelation and its enigmatic character prompted the Qumranites to claim divine authority also for their own interpretations. This they did by asserting that the key to unraveling the mysteries of prophecy was divinely revealed to the community's leader, the Teacher of Righteousness (1QpHab 2:7-9; 7:3-5). Such an assertion need not imply the notion that only the Teacher was privy to the true meaning of the divine oracles, a meaning concealed from the prophets themselves. This is at least how the statement in *Pesher Habakkuk* is often understood. Rather, it points to the character of the biblical prophecy as a progressive revelation, just as, according to the Qumranites, was the revelation of the Torah laws (1QS 8:12-16; 9:12-20).[38]

Beyond its theological import, the attribution of the pesharim to the Teacher of Righteousness reflects the fact that they were not a late product in the history of the community, but originated at its initial phase. This is also confirmed by the fact that small pesher-units appear in the earliest writings of the community, the *Rule of the Community* (e.g. 9:19-20) and the *Damascus Document* (e.g. 3:21-4:4; 6:3-11).

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[35] Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*. B. Nitzan has included a perceptive discussion on the interpretative method of the pesharim in her edition *Pesher Habakkuk: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea (1QpHab)* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1986 [Hebrew]) 29-80.

[36] M. Fishbane, "The Qumran Pesher and Traits of Ancient Hermeneutics," *World Congress of Jewish Studies* 6 (1977) 97-114; idem, "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. J. Mulder; CRINT 2.1; Assen: Van Gorcum/Philadelphia: Fortress, 1990) 339-77.

[37] For instance, 1QpHab 10:6 interprets the biblical word קריה ("a city") in Hab 2:12 as עדה ("a community"). A pesher on Isaiah (4Q164 1 1-2) equates the sapphires mentioned in Isa 54:11 with priests who founded the Community.

[38] This is also the view underlying the pesher on the Well (Num 21:18) in CD 6:2-11. Cf. J. M. Baumgarten, "La loi religieuse de la communauté de Qoumrân," *Annales* 51 (1996) 1005-1024, esp. 1018-1021.

Moreover, from the earliest sectarian texts, the pesher appears as a well-developed exegetical technique with fixed formulae and structure. In fact, the pesher method is attested in an early non-Qumranic document such as the Book of Daniel (chap. 9). It therefore must have been appropriated by the community from earlier traditions outside Qumran.

According to the *Rule of the Community* and the *Damascus Document* the community also possessed a detailed exegesis of the Torah (1QS 8:13-16; CD 4:4-10). In all probability this type of exegesis served as the basis for Qumranic understanding and practice of the biblical religious law. Units with this type of exegesis use straightforward, literal interpretation, very different from the approach adopted by the pesharim. In many cases both the argumentation and the exegesis are reminiscent of the procedures used by the rabbis as the basis for their halakhic rulings.[39] This fact has become apparent from two sets of evidence: Cave 4 copies of the *Damascus Document* which contain abundant legal material not included in the Geniza copies of this writing,[40] as well as additional halakhic texts from the same cave;[41] and the document known as *Miqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah* (4QMMT).

The attitude of the Qumran community to mainstream Judaism was, however, openly critical. Previously known in general terms (1QS 5:10-13; CD 1-2:1; 2:11-12; 4-5), this attitude is now set forth in detail in 4QMMT. Written in the form of a letter from the members of the community to their opponents and their leader, this document lists controversial issues between the community and its opponents. The issues in question are chiefly related to purity and priestly status. Several of these controversies are identical with the ones between the Sadducees and the Pharisees, as recorded by the Mishnah. However, 4QMMT takes the Sadducean position, whereas the Mishnah adopts the Pharisaic one.[42] Thus it has become clear that the Qumranic legal traditions were

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[39] Especially illuminating in this respect is the lexical study of E. Qimron, in E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 83-102.

[40] The Cave 4 copies are edited by J. M. Baumgarten on the basis of transcriptions by J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

[41] See the list of halakhic texts provided by Baumgarten, "La loi religieuse," 1024-1025.

[42] Thus, for instance, the status of a flow of liquid poured from a pure receptacle into an impure one was disputed. The Sadducees thought that the flow becomes impure, whereas the Pharisees denied it. 4QMMT adheres to the position of the

partly identical with, or close to, those of the Sadducean school of halakha, a conclusion supported by other Qumranic texts.[43]

The legal system which emerges from the halakhic fragments at Qumran is on the whole more stringent than that of the Pharisees,[44] and bears witness to an ongoing debate within Judaism of the period on various halakhic issues. Jurisprudence, then, furnishes another domain where the general Jewish inheritence provided the meaningful context to the Qumranic system. Nevertheless, the affinity of the Qumranite practice to that of the Sadducean school does not necessarily mean that the Qumran community was Sadducean,[45] since the similarity between the Qumran group and the Essene community described by Philo (*Quod Omn.* 75-91; *Hypothetica* 11.1-18) and Josephus (*JW* 2.8.2-13 §119-161; *Ant.* 18.1.5 §18-22) retains full validity.[46] What we should and can learn from the affinity between Essenes and Sadducees is that early Judaism tolerated different approaches to the same issues. Different, even rival, social and ideological groups could have adopted the same approach to the religious law and preserved their ideological and social distinctions at the same time.[47] In any case, the Essenes of the classical documents must have been a wider, and much more nuanced movement than is evidenced by what Philo and Josephus said about them.

Daily prayers and liturgy for festivals practiced at Qumran provide another example of the use made by the community of traditional Jewish forms. The daily blessings for morning and evening, preserved

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Sadducees (cf. *m Yad.* 4 and 4Q394 8 iv 6-8 [4QMMT B 56-58]). Another issue concerned the ritual of purification. The Pharisees maintained that an impure person was purified immediately after taking a ritual bath. The Sadducees and 4QMMT maintained that the purification took effect only at the end of that day, after the setting of the sun (cf. *m. Para* 3:7 and 4Q394 3-7 i 16-19 [4QMMT B 13-16]).

[43] J.M. Baumgarten, "The Pharisaic-Sadducean Controversies about Purity and the Qumran Texts," *JJS* 31 (1980)157-70; idem, "Sadducean Elements in Qumran Law," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant*, 27-36; Y. Sussman, "The History of the Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls—Preliminary Talmudic Observations on *Miqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah* (4QMMT)," *Tarbiz* 59 (1990) 11-76 (Hebrew).

[44] Sussman, "The History of the Halakha"; Baumgarten, "La loi religieuse."

[45] As argued by Sussman, "The History of the Halakha," and L. H. Schiffman, "The Sadducean Origins of the Dead Sea Scrolls Sect," *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. H. Shanks; New York: Random, 1992) 41; *Reclaiming the Scrolls*, 87-89.

[46] J. Baumgarten has recently pointed out ("Sadducean Elements") additional similarities between the scrolls and the Essenes emerging from new Cave 4 texts.

[47] See my argument in "Signification et importance des manuscrits de la Mer Morte: L'état actuel des études qoumraniens," *Annales* 51 (1996) 992-7.

in 4Q503, as well as the prayers for the annual festivals, arranged in 1Q34 and 4Q507-509, are almost without sectarian flavor.[48] They are mostly modelled on biblical prayers and often show a marked similarity to tannaitic prayers. At Qumran these prayers had already fixed times and forms. Whether this was a practice which developed in the Qumran community because of its rejection of the temple cult, or whether such practice reflected a more general trend in Second Temple Judaism remains to be investigated. In any case, fixed daily and festival prayers were already in existence well before the destruction of the Second Temple, at least at Qumran.

While daily and festival liturgies are marked by biblical and general Jewish piety with very little sectarian elements, liturgies intended for specific ceremonies celebrated by the community abound with its distinctive ideas and language. Such are, among others, the angelic prayers contained in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q400-407),[49] and the communal liturgy preserved in the so-called *Berakhot* (4Q286-290)[50]. How these two types of prayer relate to each other, how each functions and what are the origins of each are questions for further study.

Biblical interpretation, jurisprudence and prayer place the Qumran library well within the context of contemporary Judaism, and open many new perspectives on Second Temple Jewish religious life. The picture of a monolithic, juridical Judaism gives way to a more variegated and nuanced reality. Yet comparing Qumran with what we know of Judaism of the period outside the community also brings to the foreground that which is distinctive of and unique to the Qumranic phenomenon. Those peculiarities are apparent chiefly in the apocalyptic and the properly sectarian texts. They involve a different mixture of novel elements with traditional Jewish material.

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[48] The text is published by M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482-4Q520)* (DJD VII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982) 105-36. For discussion see B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 49-69.

[49] See the edition of C. Newsom, *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XI; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) 173-402; see also the earlier discussion in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1985). For a general discussion see Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 273-318.

[50] See the edition of B. Nitzan, DJD XI, 1-74; also "4QBerakhot (4Q286-290): A Preliminary Report," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies* (ed. G. J. Brooke with F. García Martínez; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 53-72; "4QBerakhot[a-e] (4Q286-290): A Covenantal Ceremony in the Light of Related Texts," *RevQ* 16 (1993-95) 487-506.

The intense apocalyptic expectation which permeates many of the community's writings was noticed and brought into focus from the very first discoveries. The Cave 1 manuscripts provided excellent illustrations for such a concern. All the major sectarian works discovered in Cave 1 display eschatological facets: the *Rule of the Community* (1QS), the *Hodayot* (1QH), the *War Rule* (1QM), and the *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab). Therefore, for instance, the *Pesher Habakkuk* attests to the long wait for the final eschaton experienced by the Qumranites (1QpHab 8:5-14); the *Rule of the Community* and the *Hodayot* depict the upheavals characteristic of the final eschaton (1QS 4:18-22; 1QH 3:24-36), and the *War Rule* lays down the rules of the final battle of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness. But with all their intense expectation for the imminent dawn of redemption, the Qumranites do not seem to have authored actual apocalypses which foretell the approaching eschaton. Most of the apocalypses found at Qumran, and there are quite a number of them, are written in Aramaic, a language never used by the sectarian writings. Apocalypses such as the *Book of Enoch* (4Q201-202; 4Q204-209),[51] the Aramaic *Document of Levi* (4Q213-214),[52] and the *New Jerusalem* (1Q32; 2Q24; 4Q554-555; 5Q15; 11Q18)[53], or works of the Danielic cycle such as *Pseudo-Daniel* (4Q243-245) and the *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242)[54] contain forecasts for the final eschaton or for an eschatological future.[55] These non-sectarian apocalypses obviously had a far-reaching impact on the

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[51] The Aramaic fragments of Enoch found at Qumran are published by J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976).

[52] M. E. Stone and J. C. Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document" in DJD XXII, 1-72.

[53] Cf. J. T. Milik, in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*, 184-93; F. García Martínez, "The Last Surviving Columns of 11QNJ," in *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A. S. van der Woude on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (ed. F. García Martínez, A. Hilhorst and C. J. Labuschagne; VTSup 49; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 178-92. For the time being the fullest collection of fragments from this work is offered by K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984) 213-22; *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer–Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994) 95-104.

[54] *Pseudo-Daniel is* now published by J. J. Collins and P. Flint in DJD XXII, 95-164 and the *Prayer of Nabonidus* is now published by J. J. Collins, ibid., 83-93. In the same volume Émile Puech publishes a fragment of another Aramaic apocalypse, which he names an *Apocryphe de Daniel* (4Q246; DJD XXII, 165-84). However, Daniel is mentioned nowhere.

[55] All these Aramaic works are partly published in the collections of Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte* and *Ergänzungband*.

community, and the number of such Aramaic texts preserved in the library attests to the keen interest shown by the Qumranites in such works. It is therefore remarkable that a number of precisely these non-Qumranic Aramaic apocalypses were transmitted to us in other, non-Qumranic channels, namely, via Christian scribes. The *Book of Enoch* and the *Book of Jubilees* were preserved by the Ethiopic Church, and the *Testament of Levi* through Greek transmission. Their presence in the Qumran library shows, however, that they are vestiges of an extensive Jewish Aramaic, and one may add Hebrew literature, in part assimilated by early Christian literature. The prominence of the Aramaic texts in this respect, and their special configuration within the Qumran library, require a reevaluation of the nature and origins of the Jewish apocalyptic literature and its impact on the Qumran community as well as on early Christians. Not only do the earliest Jewish apocalyptic texts, such as sections of the *Book of Enoch*, predate the Book of Daniel, but they also seem to have a clear Babylonian-Iranian background. This is shown by their Aramaic language, their dualistic tinge, and their predilection for periodization of history.[56] One may also add that a series of works set against the background of the court of an oriental monarch also point in this direction.[57]

Interestingly, a Babylonian background is now suggested even to the 364-day solar calendar adopted at Qumran, and espoused also by *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*.[58] Moreover, the same Babylonian astronomical speculations lie at the background of other Qumranic texts, Aramaic and non-Aramaic: the Hebrew physiognomic astrology in 4Q186, the selenodromion of 4Q318 and the six-year cycle of the priestly courses in 4Q321.[59] It clearly shows that even the calendrical lists from Qumran

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[56] See my discussion in "Apocalyptic Texts at Qumran" in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant*, 175-91.

[57] Among Aramaic court-tales found at Qumran are copies of the *Book of Tobit* (4Q196-199); see J. Fitzmyer in DJD XIX, 1-76; *Pseudo-Daniel*, the *Prayer of Nabonidus*, and the *Four Trees* (4Q552-553); see Beyer, *Ergänzungband*, 108-9.

[58] Especially in connection with MUL.APIN texts recently published. Cf. W. Horowitz, "The 360 and 364 Day Year in Ancient Mesopotamia," *JANES* 24 (1996) 35-44; M. Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube: Untersuchung zum astronomischen Henochbuch* (WMANT 68; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1994) 155-272.

[59] For 4Q318 see J. C. Greenfield and M. Sokoloff, "An Astronomical Text from Qumran (4Q318) and Reflections on Some Zodiacal Names," *RevQ* 16 (1993-95) 507-25.

with their jubilees and chronologies may have, at least in part, a more general background in wider and more ancient Jewish traditions.

If apocalypticism in itself was not the innovation of the Qumranites, their far-reaching dualism and predestination, as well as their communal discipline, were. At least they are unique within the context of Second Temple Judaism as far as our present evidence goes. What was the special interest represented by these teachings for the community? Perhaps the answer lies in the self-image of the Qumranites as custodians of the true and ancient wisdom, transmitted from the first generations to the patriarchs, to be revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai. Considering themselves as holders of the true key to this ancient wisdom, the Qumran covenanters must have been keen to read and preserve precisely Aramaic or Hebrew apocalyptic texts which tell how the old wisdom was transmitted, and what was its true but hidden meaning.

The Scrolls and the Study of the New Testament[1]

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How can one summarize briefly fifty years or more of scholarship on the Qumran scrolls and the study of the New Testament?[2] I propose to use the periodization of the Qumran site which has been offered to us by Père Roland de Vaux and with which most biblical scholars should have some familiarity.[3] Like most matters to do with the Qumran scrolls this historical schematization is itself currently under review and so, no doubt, some aspects of the use of it in this summary will also be subject to revision by others.

I. Pre-Qumran

To begin with there is the pre-Qumran Israelite period. For the discussion of the Scrolls and the New Testament two features of the pre-1947, pre-Qumran period are worth highlighting. Firstly, the classical sources on the Essenes were sometimes discussed in relation to Jesus and the early church communities. The most well-known conclu-

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[1] I am grateful to the British Academy for the financial support which enabled me to attend the 1997 Annual SBL Meeting in San Francisco where this paper was delivered.

[2] The bibliography is vast. Some few items will be referred to during the course of this brief survey. More complete details can be found in the standard bibliographies: W. S. LaSor, *Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls 1948-1957* (Fuller Theological Seminary Bibliographical Series 2; Pasadena, CA: Fuller Theological Seminary, 1958) esp. 82-89; C. Burchard, *Bibliographie zu den Handschriften vom Toten Meer* (BZAW 76; Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1957); C. Burchard, *Bibliographie zu den Handschriften vom Toten Meer II* (BZAW 89; Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1965); B. Jongeling, *A Classified Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1958-1969* (STDJ 7; Leiden: Brill, 1971) esp. 111-29; F. García Martínez and D. W. Parry, *A Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1970-95* (STDJ 19; Leiden: Brill, 1996) see the index. Also useful is J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* (SBLRBS 20; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1990) 168-79.

[3] First published in book form in R. de Vaux, *L'archéologie et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (Schweich Lectures; London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1961) 1-39.

sion in this regard has been E. Renan's dictum that Christianity was an Essenism which had largely succeeded;[4] few would agree with this nowadays. Of the three obvious possibilities, that the Essenes and the New Testament have nothing to do with each other, that the New Testament shows that the early Christians were Essenes in some form, and that whilst distinct it is nevertheless possible that some Essenes became members of some early Christian communities, it is the last which is most commonly recognized as closest to the truth in light of the scrolls.[5]

Secondly, there was the publication of the *Damascus Document* or *Zadokite Work*.[6] In addition to a general comment on the relationship between the pseudepigrapha whose ideology seemed to lie behind the *Damascus Document* and the sectarian character of early Christianity,[7] S. Schechter made ten specific references to the New Testament, amongst which are a reference to Matthew with regard to what Schechter understood as the ruling against polygamy in CD 4:21,[8] references to 1 Cor 11:25 and Heb 8:8 with regard to the new covenant in CD 6:19, references to John 13:34, 15:12 and Rom 12:10 with regard to the use of Lev 19:18 in CD 6:21, and the mention of Abraham as friend of God in CD 3:2 and Jas 2:23.[9] R. H. Charles, in his version of the same text,[10] offered an overall opinion of what happened to the Sons of Zadok:

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[4] E. Renan, *Histoire du peuple d'Isräel* (Paris: Calman, 1891) 5.70. Amongst others, this view was endorsed by A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1961) 13, 368-78.

[5] Note the representative comment of J. H. Charlesworth, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Gospel according to John," in *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D. Moody Smith* (ed. R. A. Culpepper and C. C. Black; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996) 89: "It seems widely, and wisely, acknowledged that some Essenes became Christians."

[6] First published in 1910 and reissued as S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries: Volume I: Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (with a prolegomenon by J. A. Fitzmyer; New York: Ktav, 1970).

[7] *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, 61 (= xxix).

[8] Schechter referred to Matt 21:3, but this is an error for Matt 19:3-9, especially 19:4 where Gen 1:27 is used as in CD 4:21. The parallel in Mark 10:1-12 should also be considered.

[9] On Abraham as friend of God, see now also 4Q252 2:8. Schechter's other comparisons with the New Testament were CD 7:3 (Rom 12:19); CD 5:19 (2 Tim 3:8); CD 2:16 (2 Pet 2:14).

[10] R. H. Charles, "The Fragments of a Zadokite Work," *APOT* 2.785-834.

The later history of the Sons of Zadok is buried in all but impenetrable gloom. It is, however, not at all improbable that many of their members joined the Christian Church. For their appreciation of the Prophets—unparalleled in legalistic Judaism; their insistent preaching on the need of repentance; their constant proclamation of God's readiness to forgive the repentant; their expectation of a Messiah (and just at his period) and of a future life—all these beliefs and hopes prepared them to accept Christianity, and accordingly it is not unreasonable to conclude that they formed part of the 'great company of the *priests* that became obedient to the faith' (Acts 6:7).[11]

Charles extended Schechter's list of suggestive parallels somewhat. Intriguingly, however, despite Schechter's hints, he did not mention any New Testament parallel for the new covenant of CD 6:19, though he did suggest that the *mebaqqer* was the same kind of official as the *episkopos* of the early churches.[12] Other scholars also wrote on the *Damascus Document* and early Christianity in the pre-Qumran period.[13]

II. Period Ia

Period Ia at Qumran is that of small beginnings. For the purposes of this study these small beginnings in juxtaposing the scrolls emerging from the Qumran caves with the New Testament run from the earliest publications in 1948 up to about 1952 or a little beyond. The majority of the early articles on the scrolls and the New Testament or Christian origins were written in French or German. Though one should beware of national stereotypes in scholarship, we may suspect that those in French resulted chiefly from the proximity of French scholars to unfolding events in the Qumran region and that those in German reflect an interest of some German New Testament scholarship in a somewhat positivist view of the historical circumstances of first century Palestine. This concern is still apparent in Germany with regard to the scrolls, though not really as part of mainstream German New Testament scholarship.[14]

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[11] *APOT* 2.786.

[12] *APOT* 2.824.

[13] See the bibliography by J. A. Fitzmyer in S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, 25-34.

[14] See, e.g., R. Riesner, "Essener und Urkirche in Jerusalem," in *Christen und Christliches in Qumran?* (ed. B. Mayer; Regensburg: Pustet, 1992) 139-55; C. P. Thiede, *The Earliest Gospel Manuscript? The Qumran Fragment 7Q5 and Its Significance for New Testament Studies* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1992); C. P. Thiede, *Rekindling the Word: In Search of Gospel Truth* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995) 158-204. This attitude is reflected in the way in which M. Bai-

This period's articles were the product of the excitement of the increasingly justified realization that the scrolls were genuinely two thousand years old or more and of noticing that in places there were some significant parallels with the New Testament writings. K. G. Kuhn's short article "Zur Bedeutung der neuen palästinischen Handschriftenfunde für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft," published in early 1950, is a good example of the genre.[15] He discussed briefly at the outset the likely date of the manuscripts from Cave 1: he sides with those who have identified the scrolls with the *Damascus Document* and related pseudepigrapha. Then he offered a detailed analysis of 1QS 1:11-13 in a pointed form.[16] In his comments on the text he drew attention to some verbal parallels in the New Testament, and commented more generally on what 1QS seems to be saying about the organization of the church according to Acts and the kind of offering which Ananias and Sapphira should have made. There was no attempt to argue that members of the community reflected in 1QS had joined the early Christian church, though the possibility was admitted; rather 1QS 1:11-13 was used solely to illuminate the meaning of a few details in the New Testament narrative.

III. Period Ib

Period Ib saw the rapid expansion of activity. With regard to the study of the scrolls and the New Testament it seems to me that this period lasted for about twenty-five years, from the early 1950s until the publication in 1976 of G. Vermes' essay "The Impact of the Dead Sea

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gent and R. Leigh, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Deception* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1991) was entitled in its German edition *Verschlußsache Jesus: Die Qumranrollen und die Wahrheit über das frühe Christentum* (Munich: Drömer Knaur, 1991); and the same happened with R. H. Eisenman and M. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Rockport, MA: Element Books, 1992) which in German became *Jesus und die Urchristen: Die Qumran-Rollen entschlüsselt* (Munich: Bertelsmann, 1993).

[15] K. G. Kuhn, "Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung der in Palästina neu gefundenen hebräischen Handschriften: 9. Zur Bedeutung der neuen palästinischen Handschriftenfunde für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft," *TLZ* 75 (1950) cols. 81-86.

[16] The concern to encourage New Testament scholars to engage with the scrolls in Hebrew by presenting them in a pointed form is praiseworthy. The same can be noted of the German parallel edition of scrolls by the New Testament scholar E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch* (Munich: Kösel Verlag, 1964, rev. ed.1971).

Scrolls on the Study of the New Testament,"[17] and in 1977 of E.P. Sanders' *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*.[18] As with the pre-Qumran view on the relationship between the Essenes and the early Christians, so this period of scholarly endeavor has three options in it with regard to the scrolls from Qumran and the New Testament writings, each of which is an attempt to deal with the problem which S. Sandmel so eloquently labelled parallelomania.[19] The first option was to say that the scrolls are the background to the life and thought of the early churches, or even more strongly, to say that John the Baptist[20] and Jesus both had Essene connections.[21] For some scholars this option was played as if the scrolls prefigured nearly all the key items in the New Testament, from John's priestly relations to Jesus' crucifixion. The second option, sometimes a doctrinal over-reaction to the first by those concerned to preserve the uniqueness of the New Testament message[22] and especially of Jesus and

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[17] G. Vermes, "The Impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on the Study of the New Testament," *JJS* 27 (1976) 107-16; reprinted in G. Vermes, *Jesus and the World of Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1983) 115-25, 182. The summary review by J. A. Fitzmyer can also be cited as indicating the end of this period of research, since, apart from Fitzmyer's own writings, it refers to nothing published after 1976: J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament after Thirty Years," *TD* 29 (1981) 351-67.

[18] E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1977).

[19] S. Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81 (1962) 1-13; see also S. Sandmel, "Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism and Christianity: the Question of a Comfortable Theory," *HUCA* 50 (1979)137-48.

[20] The literature on John the Baptist and Qumran is extensive; see the items mentioned by L. F. Badia, *The Qumran Baptism and John the Baptist's Baptism* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1980) 78-87, and R. L. Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet: A Socio-Historical Study* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991) 213, n. 137; for a recent balanced survey see J. E. Taylor, *The Immerser: John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997) 15-48.

[21] Linking Jesus directly with the Essenes or the Qumran community is much more problematic. See the balanced summary assessments of H. Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus: Ein Sachbuch* (Spektrum 4249; Freiburg: Herder, 1993) 314-52; ET, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist and Jesus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans/Brill, 1998) 228-57; J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Early Christianity," *TD* 42 (1995) 305-307. Both Stegemann and Fitzmyer write against some of the more bizarre theories of recent years such as those put forward by B. Thiering, *Jesus and the Riddle of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Unlocking the Secrets of His Life Story* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1992).

the divine revelation located in him, was to suggest that there was really very little relationship between the scrolls and what was now visible in the New Testament.[23]

The third option was an emerging consensus view that there was some kind of relationship between the sectarian scrolls and the early Christian writings, but that this did not involve the simple equation of the two.[24] This third option is worth describing further because it is in the process of being revived. There are four major elements to it.[25] The first is that, with the possible exception of John the Baptist, the principal time where the scrolls assist in understanding the New Testament is in the post-70 period. The second is that it is predominantly in matters of community organization (e.g., a group of 12;[26] *mebaqqer* = *episkopos*) and practice (e.g., community of goods) that suitable parallels can be found. The third is that there is some shared world view between the scrolls and the New Testament, especially in relation to the temple,[27] some aspects of eschatology, notably messianism, and various other

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[22] E.g., in general H. H. Rowley concluded that "to suppose that the Scrolls can give us any evidence of the nature of early Christianity is fantastic" (*The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* [London: SPCK, 1957] 30). And with regard to John the Baptist, Rowley concluded that "in all that is most characteristic of John's baptism complete independence of both proselyte baptism and Essene baptism is to be recognized" ("The Baptism of John and the Qumran Sect," in *New Testament Essays* [ed. A. J. B. Higgins; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959] 228).

[23] See, e.g., G. Graystone, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Originality of Christ* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1956).

[24] This option is exemplified in the writings of F. F. Bruce, as in his study "Qumran and the New Testament," *Faith and Thought* 90 (1958) 92-102.

[25] These are described by Vermes, "The Impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on the Study of the New Testament."

[26] 1QS 8:1. There are several noteworthy variations on the number twelve, notably in 11QT^{a} 57:11-13 and 4QpIsa^{d}. On the latter see amongst others D. Flusser, "Qumran und die Zwölf," in *Initiation* (ed. C. J. Bleeker; Studies in the History of Religions 10; Leiden: Brill, 1965) 134-46; reprinted in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988) 173-85; J. M. Baumgarten, "The Duodecimal Courts of Qumran, Revelation, and the Sanhedrin," *JBL* 95 (1976) 59-78; reprinted in J. M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: Brill, 1977) 145-71.

[27] See the oft-cited study of B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* (SNTSMS 1; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

concepts.[28] The fourth is that the scrolls triggered a widespread appreciation for the varieties of early church communities, just as they widened the parameters of the description of the Judaism which was developing contemporaneously.

The hallmark of this period of study is the surprising absence of books that represent the consensus view. No overall synthesis on the scrolls and the New Testament was written, nor has yet been written, but several key studies took center stage. Amongst these one can be invidious and single out a few that remain significant and are sometimes cited: D. Flusser's manifold suggestive notes from 1953 onwards,[29] cautious studies by F. F. Bruce from 1956,[30] R. E. Brown's study on Qumran and the Fourth Gospel and Johannine Epistles,[31] J. Daniélou's small book on early Christianity,[32] M. Black's study of the scrolls, the classical sources, and Christian origins,[33] J. A. Fitzmyer's work on the quotation formulae in the scrolls and the New Testament,[34] H. Braun's compendium of parallels,[35] the monographs of the Heidelberg school in the series Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments each written with a view to providing information for the Jewish setting of the New Testament,[36] all coming to a fruitful climax in E. P. Sanders' insightful

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[28] See, e.g., F. C. Fensham, "'Camp' in the New Testament and Milḥamah," *RevQ* 4 (1963-64) 557-62.

[29] See now, Flusser, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity*, where many of the most significant studies are brought together and reprinted.

[30] F. F. Bruce, "Qumrân and Early Christianity," *NTS* 2 (1955-56) 176-90.

[31] R. E. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," *CBQ* 17 (1955) 403-19, 559-74; reprinted in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; New York: Harper, 1957) 183-207, and in R. E. Brown, *New Testament Essays* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1967) 102-31.

[32] J. Daniélou, *Les manuscrits de la Mer Morte et les origines du Christianisme* (Paris: Editions de l'Orange, 1957); ET, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Primitive Christianity* (New York: New American Library, 1958).

[33] M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins: Studies in the Jewish Background of the New Testament* (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1961).

[34] J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," *NTS* 7 (1960-61) 297-333; reprinted in J. A. Fitzmyer, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971) 3-58, and most recently in J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Semitic Background of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997) 3-58.

[35] H. Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament* I-II (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1966).

[36] H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht,

appreciation of the role of genre in describing the Qumran sectarian world view such that salvation by grace and by rigorous obedience could be seen as two sides of the same coin.[37]

IV. Abandonment

Then the site was abandoned. We may debate for the 1980s about the precise duration of the period of abandonment or even whether there really was complete abandonment, but New Testament studies and research on the Qumran scrolls seem to have gone their separate ways. For New Testament studies the 1980s see a shift away from purely historical readings of the early church documents towards the use of all manner of other techniques and critical approaches. One wonders whether part of the lack of interest in the scrolls was engendered by the way in which the continuing failure to publish the manuscripts was considered an inhibiting factor: why should scholars risk their reputations on specifying some kind of relationship between the scrolls and the New Testament, if they might be refuted by new material which a handful of scholars already knew about?

More significantly, it is possible to construe the relative silence amongst New Testament scholars concerning the scrolls as the result in part of the publication of the *Temple Scroll* in 1977.[38] Its publication first in Modern Hebrew may have added to New Testament scholarly inhibitions. Certainly the publication of the *Temple Scroll* led to many scrolls scholars reorienting themselves away from questions narrowly defined in terms of historical or ideological trajectories, towards a complete reconsideration of the transmission and application of the Law in the Second Temple period. The consensus, and in relation to the New Testament, largely Christian reading of the scrolls no longer seemed so self-evident. The *Temple Scroll* has shown clearly that the disputes which were at the heart of what distinguished one group from another

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1966); P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* (SUNT 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969); G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (SUNT 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971); and latterly H. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde* (SUNT 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980).

[37] Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* , 233-328.

[38] Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University, Shrine of the Book, 1977 [Hebrew]); the English version did not become available until 1983.

in the two hundred years before the destruction of the temple in 70 CE were halakhic in kind rather than doctrinal. The subsequent publication of other legal texts found at Qumran, especially the six copies of 4QMMT,[39] has further increased the gap between many New Testament scholars and the scrolls from Qumran. More and more it is becoming apparent that to appreciate the scrolls properly scholars must have some secure knowledge of Jewish legal traditions in the late Second Temple period. Few New Testament scholars are trained in these matters nowadays, and so it could be that some scholars will remain permanently shy of coming to terms with the significance of the complete corpus of Qumran scrolls for the better understanding of the New Testament.

V. Period II

Period II saw the reoccupation of the site. For scholarship on the significance of the scrolls for the study of the New Testament this began shortly before the general release of all the unpublished scrolls in 1991 with the publication of a few small fragments, notably a part of 4Q525, the wisdom text with beatitudes.[40] However, since the open access policy of the Israeli authorities in 1991, and especially since the availability of the microfiche edition of all the photographs of the Dead Sea Scrolls,[41] there has been a new spate of activity in their research at least part of which has involved reconsideration of the relationship between the scrolls and the New Testament writings.

Several intriguing developments have taken place. Firstly, it has become obvious that the consensus view of Period Ib was largely on the right track,[42] though its views are now in need of adjustment, espe-

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[39] E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

[40] É. Puech, "Un Hymne essénien en partie retrouvé et les Béatitudes: 1QH V 12-VI 18 (= col. XIII-XIV 7) et 4QBéat," *RevQ* 13 (1988) 59-88; cf. G. J. Brooke, "The Wisdom of Matthew's Beatitudes (4QBéat and Mt. 5:3-12)," *ScrB* 19 (1988-89) 35-41; J. A. Fitzmyer, "A Palestinian Collection of Beatitudes," in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. F. Van Segbroeck, C. M. Tuckett, G. Van Belle, J. Verheyden; BETL 100; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1992) 1.509-15.

[41] E. Tov with the collaboration of S. J. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert* (Leiden: Brill/IDC, 1993).

[42] As is helpfully summarized by J. C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994) 159-85.

cially with regard to legal traditions. Some scholars have been well-intentioned in reviving the study of the scrolls and the New Testament along lines not that dissimilar from the mainstream approaches of Periods Ia and Ib. For example, J. H. Charlesworth has seen to the republication of three significant volumes of essays from Period Ib, *The Scrolls and the New Testament*,[43] *Paul and Qumran*,[44] and *John and Qumran*.[45] H.-W. Kuhn's Munich project continues to work on Pauline parallels.[46] These acts have stressed the continuity of scholarly opinion between Period Ib and Period II, but there is some considerable evidence that this is not an adequate approach in itself.

So two other matters have emerged alongside this restatement of continuity. Firstly, one feature of the consensus view of Period Ib was that the scrolls were chiefly helpful in providing an anterior or contemporary Jewish framework for the organization and beliefs of the second or especially the third generation of early church members. It was largely in the period after 70 CE that the influence of the scrolls on various early church writings could be seen: not in Mark, but perhaps in Matthew with its use of fulfillment quotations or the Fourth Gospel with its dualism; not in Paul, but perhaps in Ephesians with its mysteries or in Hebrews with Melchizedek.[47] But the influence, both direct and indirect

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[43] K. Stendahl, *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (New York: Harper, 1957; London: SCM Press, 1958; republished New York: Crossroad, 1992).

[44] J. Murphy-O'Connor, ed., *Paul and Qumran* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1968); republished as J. Murphy-O'Connor and J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Crossroad, 1990).

[45] *John and Qumran* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1972); republished as *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Crossroad, 1990).

[46] See H.-W. Kuhn, "Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte für das Verständnis des Ersten Thessalonicherbriefes: Vorstellung des Münchener Projekts Qumran und das Neue Testament," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 1.339-53; "The Impact of the Qumran Scrolls on the Understanding of Paul," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 327-39; "Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte für das Verständnis des Galaterbriefes aus dem Münchener Projekt: Qumran und das Neue Testament," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. G.J. Brooke with F. García Martínez; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 169-221.

[47] See Charlesworth, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Gospel according to John," 89, where he considers the most obvious parallels between the Dead Sea

of the compositions found in the scrolls and these later New Testament writings is being reconsidered. Despite some protestations, preliminary results indicate that the influence is far less dominant than might have been supposed. For the Fourth Gospel, for example, there is little in its concern with light and darkness that cannot be derived from scripture itself or from standard contemporary Jewish meditations on the scriptures;[48] even the phrase "sons of light" is no more characteristic of the Gospel and its community than it is for Paul (or even Luke).[49] Or again, as Franco Manzi has recently shown,[50] the portrayal of Melchizedek in Hebrews may have been influenced by currents in Jewish angelology which are also visible in the scrolls, but overall the differences in the form and function of the two portrayals of the same figure are far greater than the similarities. It has even been suggested that the closer a New Testament passage and a Qumran scroll seem to be, the more likely is it that both merely share a feature of Palestinian Judaism common at the time.[51] The scrolls have helped us to see the Jewishness of much of the New Testament at all levels, but they have not provided the source material scholars so often seek.[52]

Scrolls and the New Testament to lie in the Pauline school, the Matthean school, and the Johannine school.

[48] See, e.g., R. Bauckham, "Qumran and the Fourth Gospel: Is There a Connection?" in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Roehampton Institute London Papers 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 267-79.

[49] "Sons of light" or "children of light" occurs only four times in the New Testament: Luke 16:8; John 12:36; Eph 5:8; 1 Thess 5:5.

[50] F. Manzi, *Melchisedek e l'angelologia nell'Epistola agli Ebrei e a Qumran* (AnBib 136; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1997).

[51] G. J. Brooke, "Shared Intertextual Interpretations in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 May, 1996* (ed. M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 35-57.

[52] See the helpful summary statement by H. Lichtenberger, "Qumran," *TRE* 28 (1997) 75; "Lebensordnungen des frühen Christentums wie Gütergemeinschaft, Gemeinschaftsmahl, Gemeindeordnung und -zucht weisen zwar Parallelen auf, sind jedoch unterschiedlich begründet."

Secondly, with the possible exception of the phrase *maʿaśe hatorah* in 4QMMT,[53] it is striking that many of the so-called parallels with the New Testament which have become available since 1991 have involved the Jesus tradition. All these so-called parallels with the Jesus tradition come predominantly from non-sectarian texts and so say little or nothing about Jesus' relationship with Qumranians or Essenes.[54] Rather they show us something of the broader religious and cultural context of Judaism in Palestine in the late Second Temple period. The recently available scrolls have offered a set of beatitudes (4Q525) whose form and content, and possibly even purpose, look somewhat like those particularly of Matthew, especially in what they share in concluding with an extensive blessing concerning persecution.[55] 4Q521, the so-called messianic apocalypse, describes either God or his eschatological agent as the one who "will heal the wounded, will make the dead live, will proclaim good news to the meek" for which the parallels in Lk/Q 7:22 are so striking that J. J. Collins has concluded that "it is quite possible that the author of the Sayings source knew 4Q521; at the least he drew on a common tradition."[56] Jesus cries formally to Abba in

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[53] On the significance of this phrase for the study of the New Testament see most recently J. D. G. Dunn, "4QMMT and Galatians," *NTS* 43 (1997) 147-53, and the literature cited there.

[54] The discerning of the relationship between Jesus and the Essenes is still the driving force behind worthwhile works such as *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1992). For example, in his own contribution to the book Charlesworth concludes: "I am convinced that Jesus was closer to the non-Qumran Essenes than to the strict and withdrawn Essenes living in the desert of Judea" (p. 40).

[55] In addition to the studies in n. 39 see also É. Puech, "4Q525 et les péricopes des Béatitudes in Ben Sira et Matthieu," *RB* 98 (1991) 80-106; H.-J. Fabry, "Der Makarismus: Mehr als nur eine weisheitliche Lehrform: Gedanken zu dem neuedierten Text 4Q525," in *Alttestamentlicher Glaube und Biblische Theologie: Festschrift für Horst Dietrich Preuß zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. J. Hausmann and H.-J. Zobel; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1992); É. Puech, "The Collection of Beatitudes in Hebrew and in Greek (4Q525 1-4 and Mt 5, 3-12)," in *Early Christianity in Context: Monuments and Documents* (ed. F. Manns and E. Alliata; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1993) 353-68.

[56] J. J. Collins, "The Works of the Messiah," *DSD* 1 (1994) 107; see also the discussions of this parallel by J. D. Tabor and M. O. Wise, "4Q521 'On Resurrection' and the Synoptic Gospel Tradition: A Preliminary Study," *JSP* 10 (1994) 149-62; C. M. Tuckett, "Scripture and Q," in *The Scriptures in the Gospels* (ed. C. M. Tuckett; BETL 131; Leuven: University Press and Peeters, 1997) 3-26; F. Nierynck, "Q 6,20b-21 and Isaiah 61," in *The Scriptures in the Gospels*, 27-64.

prayer; 4Q372 has Joseph address God, "my father and my God."[57] The small principal fragment of 4Q500 has recently been reconsidered to suggest that the parable of the vineyard is based on a Palestinian combination of scriptural passages concerning who may be heirs to the temple and its environs.[58] All these examples are from non-sectarian compositions; we can conclude this brief list by referring to a sectarian example. The concluding penal code of the *Damascus Document* (4QD^{e} 7 i 13-14) mentions fathers and mothers as having particular official status in the movement; the multiple attestation of the Synoptics is that Jesus reworked these traditional family labels too (Mark 3:31-35; Matt 12:46-50; Luke 8:19-21). Other examples from both non-sectarian and sectarian compositions could also be cited.

On other matters the jury is still out. It has not yet been determined whether 4Q246's "Son of God" and "Son of the Most High" should be read as referring to a positive human figure or as somebody else. It is also difficult to assess what role, if any, Luke 1:32-35 should play in the debate.[59] It has not yet been decided precisely where Jesus stood politically and whether his few violent sayings align him with the kind of messiah to be found in 4Q285 fragment 5 who will kill his enemy.[60] It may never be settled whether the so-called *Prayer of Nabonidus* is restored correctly when it reflects divine rather than human agency in the healing of the king which is linked with the remission of sin; and it is difficult to decide how the New Testament evidence concerning how Jesus' practice was understood should be included in determining the most suitable reading.[61]

Overall the Jewishness of Jesus is now always accepted as the starting point for understanding him, and the discoveries of the Qumran

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[57] E. M. Schuller, "4Q372 1: A Text about Joseph," *RevQ* 14 (1989-90) 349-76.

[58] G. J. Brooke, "4Q500 1 and the Use of Scripture in the Parable of the Vineyard," *DSD* 2 (1995) 268-94; C. A. Evans, "Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran Cave 4," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. A. Evans and P. W. Flint; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature 1; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997) 97-99.

[59] On 4Q246 see especially J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995) 154-72.

[60] See Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 58-60.

[61] See J. J. Collins, "242. 4QPrayer of Nabonidus ar," *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. J. C. VanderKam; DJD XXII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 83-93.

scrolls can take responsibility for that in some measure. Qumran was neither his cradle nor his apparent grave,[62] but as much as later rabbinic texts, the non-sectarian scrolls illuminate the kinds of Judaism he was part of and distinctively renewed.[63]

VI. Period III

Period III at Qumran was of intermittent times of occupation. The future may well contain only the sporadic interaction of New Testament scholars with the Qumran scrolls. After all, when will the Jesus seminar or the SBL Q section make it a requirement that members must have advanced postdoctoral qualifications in Qumran Aramaic before they are allowed to vote on the meaning or authenticity of a logion?[64] Or when will there ever be more than a few New Testament scholars who feel comfortable both in a class reading unpointed Hebrew fragments and in a group working on Greek or Latin sources? Despite these likely problems, it can be hoped that three matters will feature in this sporadic future interaction between New Testament scholars and the scrolls.

Firstly, scrolls scholars are just beginning to appreciate the full range of exegetical traditions which are preserved in all manner of scrolls, within biblical manuscripts, within the pseudo-biblical and parabiblical materials, the rewritten Bible materials, and in all manner of other free standing compositions, wisdom texts, testaments, narratives, apocalypses, exhortations, hymns and prayers. There will soon be a place for a considered study of the many exegetical traditions which are shared between the scrolls' authors and traditors and the New Testament writers. Here we shall not look for literary dependence, but for intertextual sensitivity as the better understanding of one text illuminates another.[65]

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[62] Despite the ongoing but partially arbitrary arguments of B. Thiering, "Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Question of Method," *The Journal of Higher Criticism* 3 (1996) 215-36.

[63] It is surprising how little reference there is to the scrolls in G. Vermes, *The Religion of Jesus the Jew* (London: SCM, 1993).

[64] And not just Qumran Aramaic, since the corpus is relatively small: see G. Vermes, "Jewish Literature and New Testament Exegesis: Reflections on Methodology," *JJS* 33 (1982) 361-76; reprinted in Vermes, *Jesus and the World of Judaism*, 74-88.

[65] Indications of a way forward in this respect can be seen in some of my own studies: "The Temple Scroll and the New Testament," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll (Manchester, December 1987)* (ed. G. J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press,

Secondly, several biblical scholars have variously applied the social sciences to books of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament and the New Testament. Those who have worked with the New Testament from such perspectives seem to have produced more of specific value and insight than their Old Testament counterparts, perhaps because the New Testament literature can generally be more closely dated and provided with a suitable social and historical setting more readily than can the parts of the Hebrew Bible. But the 850 or more manuscripts from the eleven caves at Qumran, almost certainly to be taken together with the site itself, provide an unbelievable opportunity for the good social scientist or social historian.[66] Here are the deposits of a single community in its various forms, remains of which are expressed in their own terms. Unless the last members to leave the community took with them all the copies of Esther, and 1 and 2 Maccabees,[67] distorting the picture for all time, there is much room for the New Testament social scientists to assist Qumranologists in the reading of the fragments from a jargon-free social scientific point of view. Such might be very illuminating in both directions: how should the material on fathers and mothers in the *Damascus Document* be understood with regard to the social history of the groups it purports to reflect, and how might such material improve our understanding of the saying in the Synoptics concerning who is a mother or brother?

Thirdly, the breadth of material in the Scrolls concerning the Law and its right practice in the communities of those compositions will force a reassessment of the place of the Law in the concerns of the New Testament authors.[68] Indeed, despite several shelves of recent

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1989) 181-99; "Ezekiel in Some Qumran and New Testament Texts," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, 1.317-37; "Luke-Acts and the Qumran Scrolls: the Case of MMT," in *Luke's Literary Achievement: Collected Essays* (ed. C. M. Tuckett; JSNTSup 116; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995) 72-90; "4Q252 et le Nouveau Testament," in *Le déchirement: Juifs et chrétiens au premier siècle* (ed. D. Marguerat; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1996) 221-42.

[66] This approach has long been advocated by Sh. Talmon; see the preface to his collected essays, *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989) 7-9. Other examples are beginning to appear, e.g., G. N. Stanton, "Matthew's Gospel and the Damascus Document in Sociological Perspective," in *A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1992) 85-107.

[67] And even nearly all the New Testament books from Cave 7!

[68] Something of the dynamic of the place of the Torah is already clearly articulated by H. Stegemann, "Some Aspects of Eschatology in Texts from the Qumran

studies on Paul and the Law, the debate is really only just beginning. What is generally becoming apparent is that both the several forms of Qumran Judaism and the various forms of community belief and practice in the early churches are both exemplars of religious movements concerned with grace and law. By studying how the Law was handled and interpreted in the scrolls from Qumran one can begin to appreciate how it was viewed as a gracious gift from God and by considering the *Hodayot* one can sense that it was clearly recognized that a relationship with God was not possible without an adequate covenantal framework.

VII. Period IV?

And is there a Period IV? Apart from the occasional shepherd or traveller, the site was left alone until the archaeologists occupied the site just over 1800 years later. Maybe in the distant future scholarly observers will look back and ask why it was that in the second half of the 20th century so many New Testament members of the Society of Biblical Literature either had suffered from that strange compulsion to take a course on the Qumran scrolls as part of their graduate requirements or had contracted an even weirder malady, "chapter two-itis;" that is, after a standard introductory chapter, they had succumbed to the writing of a compulsory chapter two in their dissertations on the background to their particular topic in Qumran and its scrolls. Those who look back from our future may also note that nearly every New Testament scholar seemed to recover from both maladies and left the scrolls behind as child's play; some few of us, however, have remained permanently afflicted, doggedly determined to show that the scrolls are of major significance for the better understanding of the New Testament and that sometimes the New Testament may help in the better understanding of some aspects of the scrolls.

Community and in the Teachings of Jesus," in *Biblical Archaeology Today: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, American Schools of Oriental Research, 1985) 408-26.

Part Two: The Intellectual History of Scrolls Research—An Overview with Responses

Currents in Qumran Scholarship: The Interplay of Data, Agendas, and Methodology

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Introduction

Fiftieth anniversaries are usually occasions for celebration. They also provide opportunity for retrospection and reflection. This is especially so in the case of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Rarely, if ever, has a discovery bearing on humanistic learning spawned such concentrated, sustained, and diverse scholarly activity with such significant and wide-ranging implications. For this reason, this focused body of scholarship offers us a special opportunity to reflect on the ways in which our guild conducts its business. Obviously, the scholarship has been driven by the data. But what vectors have affected the *direction* of this scholarship? How have our questions—and our answers—been informed by broader aspects of "the state of the discipline" and by agendas and methodologies and the complex social settings of the academy and the scholars that populate it?[1] Finally, what more generally might this incredibly rich period of scholarship teach us about the way we function as a scholarly community?

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[1] For a bibliography of bibliographies on the scrolls, see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* (SBLRBS 20; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1990) 97-98. To this should be added F. García Martínez and D. W. Parry, *A Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1970-95* (STDJ 19; Leiden: Brill, 1996). Fitzmyer's volume is itself a valuable bibliographic tool. For a major survey of Qumran scholarship, see J. Murphy-O'Connor, "The Judean Desert," in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; Philadelphia: Fortress/Atlanta: Scholars, 1986) 119-56. For a recent and perceptive summary, see E. Schuller, "Going on Fifty: Reflections on the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Canadian Society of Biblical Studies Bulletin & Abstracts 1995/96* 55 (1996) 20-45. The one study of which I am aware that deals with the social setting of Qumran scholarship is L. H. Schiffman, "State of Research: Confessionalism and the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Forum of the World Union of Jewish Studies* 31 (1991) 3-14.

In taking up these complicated questions, I concede from the beginning that in forty minutes I must paint with broad strokes, make only a few probes, isolate only a few tendencies, mention only some names, and, alas, pose a lot of unanswered questions. I am confident, however, that our respondents will, each from her or his own perspective, uncover other things of equal or greater significance. Moreover, to every generalization that I make, they will find exceptions. There is another problem—the temptation to be a Monday morning quarterback. Biblical scholarship has moved a long way since the first discussions of the Scrolls appeared in 1948, and it is easy, by hindsight—or from the peak of Olympus or Sinai—to be judgmental about how things were done in the past fifty years. It seems more productive if reflection on the past makes us better scholars in the future.

The Data as a Driving Force in the Study of the Scrolls

Before beginning our vector analysis, it is important to note that Qumran scholarship has inevitably been driven by the nature of the finds and the data they contained—much of which was new and, therefore, sparked an astonishing explosion of knowledge about antiquity and enhanced the methods by which we study the past. In addition, we should recognize and celebrate the fact that the first decade and a half of Qumran scholarship produced a great deal of intelligent and even brilliant work on the scrolls and their context, and we should acknowledge that this pioneering work was foundational for what followed and that it will continue to inform future studies.

So, what was the nature of the finds, which determined the direction and methods of inquiry? The scrolls provided a large cache of (mainly) Hebrew and Aramaic manuscripts and manuscript fragments from antiquity, found in the Holy Land, in an identifiable archeological context, near a substantial set of unexcavated ruins.

From the very beginning paleography was critical. Were these manuscripts ancient, were they medieval, or were they frauds? Although the systematic study of Hebrew scripts was in its infancy, the intuition of Trever and the experience of Sukenik and Albright quickly recognized the antiquity of the scrolls and established their dates within narrow limits.[2] In addition, the mass of written material made it possible

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[2] See Trever's account, John C. Trever, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Personal Account* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977) 22-28, 54-55. He was a quick study; see idem, "A Paleographic Study of the Jerusalem Scrolls," *BASOR* 113 (1949) 6-23; W.

to develop and refine the paleographical analysis of Jewish scripts. And even before this analysis was crystallized and codified by Birbaum, Avigad, Milik, and Cross,[3] paleographical sensitivity provided a practical tool for sorting the thousands of Cave 4 scroll fragments. So paleographical analysis was a function of the nature of the data. However, its methods did not go uncontested and were embroiled in controversy, as in part they still are in the minds of some.[4]

Before the discovery of the scrolls, the corpus of Hebrew and Aramaic texts from Greco-Roman period was very small, and was limited mainly to non-literary material. The five non-biblical scrolls from cave 1 massively increased the amount of Hebrew and Aramaic literary material and spawned a plethora of philological studies that enlightened the history of the development of these languages—their lexicography, orthography, grammar and syntax.[5] The documents from the other caves of the Judean wilderness made further contributions. Moreover, the texts also generated discussions of genre, which have become increasingly sophisticated and complex.[6]

F. Albright, *BASOR* 110 (1948) 2-3. See the diary entries by E. L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1955) 17.

[3] See Frank Moore Cross, Jr., "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. G. Ernest Wright; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961) 133-202 and the bibliography in nn. 20-24. A discussion of scripts is a regular feature in the volumes of the DJD.

[4] For an early exchange, see the articles by E. R. Lacheman, W. F. Albright, M. Burrows, and S. Zeitlin in *JQR* 40 (1949) 15-78. Numerous other entries are cataloged in W. S. LaSor, *Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls: 1948-1957 = Fuller Library Bulletin* 31 (1958) (Pasadena: The Library, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1958) 40-48. More recently see R. Eisenman, *Maccabees, Zadokites, Christians, and Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1983) 28-31; and the sweeping dismissal by Eisenman and M. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Shaftesbury: Element, 1992) 12-13. See also N. Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* (New York: Scribner, 1995) 249-72.

[5] See LaSor, *Bibliography*, 65-68; B. Jongeling, *A Classified Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah: 1958-69* (STDJ 7; Leiden: Brill, 1971) 11-21.

[6] For a good example of a Qumran scroll precipitating a query about genre, see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1* (BibOr 18A rev. ed.; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1971) 6-14. For a summary of subsequent discussion, see D. J. Harrington, "Palestinian Adaptions of Biblical Narratives and Prophecies: I. The Bible Rewritten (Narratives)," in *Early Judaism*, 242-43. Generic definition of these texts continues to be complicated by the publication of the "Reworked Pentateuch"; see E. Tov and S. White, "Reworked Pentateuch," *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. Harold Attridge et al.; DJD XIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 187-351. The Qumran *Hodayot* are another example of the scrolls precipitating an ongoing discussion of genre.

Roughly a third of identified Qumran manuscripts preserve biblical texts.[7] Thus from the very start, textual criticism of the Bible occupied a central position in scrolls studies, as it continues to do. However, the variety of texts and "text types" have reshaped the theories and methods of biblical textual criticism, and that discussion is still very much in progress.[8] Although text-critical studies were a natural function of the data, this area of study also had a social context. Almost from the beginning, both Jewish and Christian scholars emphasized that the Isaiah scroll(s) supported the authenticity of the received text.[9] Aspects of that picture changed as more biblical manuscripts were published.[10] I leave it to others to ask to what degree any of the ongoing text-critical scholarship on the biblical scrolls is affected by expressed or implied concerns about the authenticity and authority of the Masoretic Text.

The physical condition of the scrolls was another issue. Scholars who had been trained in historical and philological disciplines—scholarship on texts at a distance, if you will—had to learn how to touch respectfully the fragile fragments of leather and papyrus. The art and

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[7] See L. H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Doubleday, 1994) 34-5.

[8] The literature is voluminous. For a collection of early papers, see *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. M. Cross and Sh. Talmon; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975). In addition see especially the entries under Emanuel Tov, Julio Trebolle Barrera, and Eugene Ulrich in García Martínez and Parry, *Bibliography*. For the Cave 4 biblical texts thus far published in definitive form, see DJD IX, XII, XIV-XV.

[9] On the closeness of 1QIsa[a] to the MT, see M. Burrows, "Variant Readings in the Isaiah Manuscript," *BASOR* 111 (Oct. 1948) 16; M. Burrows with the assistance of J. C. Trever and W. H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery. Volume 1: The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary; Volume 2, Fascicle 2: Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950, 1951) 13. On 1QIsa[b], see Sukenik, *Scrolls*, 30. Although I have not seen any explicit apologetic remarks about the text in the literature I have read, the early press coverage repeatedly emphasized the antiquity of the biblical scrolls. See also the comment ascribed to Sukenik in *London Times* Aug. 13, 1949, p. 4. 1QIsa[b] "corresponded with the Massoretic text in every detail and provided invaluable evidence of the fidelity of the text now in use . . . it was sufficient to guarantee the veracity of other parts of the Bible." (Quotation marks are my own to indicate the text of the *London Times* and are not in the newspaper to indicate an exact quotation of Sukenik.)

[10] Emanuel Tov, "The Jeremiah Scrolls from Cave 4," *RevQ* 14 (1989-90) 189-206; idem, "The Composition of 1 Samuel 16-18 in the Light of the Septuagint Version," in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (ed. J. H. Tigay; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985) 97-130.

science of unrolling scrolls developed,[11] and H. Wright Baker found it necessary to jury-rig his famous copper-cutting saw.[12] In connection with this we should note the high quality of photographic reproduction achieved by John Trever, Najib Albina, and Helena Bieberkraut before the development of some of the materials, equipment, and technology we now take for granted.[13]

The nature of the finds quickly brought the archeologists into the picture—two and a half years before systematic excavations began at Khirbet Qumran.[14] The material finds in the caves and at Khirbet Qumran enhanced and enriched the study of the scrolls. Both pottery typology and radio-carbon dating of fabrics played a role.[15] Moreover, the corpus of pottery found at Khirbet Qumran, in the caves around Qumran, and in the other caves of the Judean wilderness and its environs contributed to an increasingly refined analysis of pottery from this period.[16]

Finally, all of the aforementioned data and methods led scholars to pose the historical questions. What was the provenance of the scrolls? Who wrote them? Who preserved them? The answers to these ques-

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[11] See, especially, N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon* (Jerusalem: Magnes and Heikhal Ha-sefer, 1956) 12-14.

[12] See H. Wright Baker, "Notes on the Opening of the Copper Scrolls from Qumrân," in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân* (ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux; DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962) 203-210 and plates 43-44.

[13] See John C. Trever, "The First Photographs of Qumrân Cave I Scrolls," in *Scrolls from Qumrân Cave I: The Great Isaiah Scroll, the Order of the Community, the Pesher Habakkuk* (ed. Frank Moore Cross et al.; Jerusalem: The Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and the Shrine of the Book, 1972) 7-12; F. M. Cross, "On the History of the Photography," J. Strugnell, "On the History of the Photographing of the Discoveries in the Judean Desert for the International Group of Editors," and Magen Broshi, "The Negative Archives of the Shrine of the Book," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: Companion Volume* (ed. E. Tov; Leiden: Brill, 1993) 121-36. For an example of the use of new technologies, see M. Morgenstern, E. Qimron and D. Sivan (with an appendix by G. Bearman and S. Spiro), "The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon," *AbrN* 33 (1995) 53-4.

[14] Cave 1 was excavated February 15-March 5, 1949. The first season of excavations at Khirbet Qumran was November 24-December 12, 1951.

[15] D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955) 8-38.

[16] The first systematic study of Palestinian pottery in the Hellenistic and Roman periods was P. W. Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology: 200 B.C. - A.D. 70* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1961), which incorporated the evidence from Qumran. The finds in the other other caves of the Judean desert and the Wadi ed-Daliyeh swelled the corpus and expanded it to include the Second Revolt period.

tions consumed much of the scholarly ink that was spilled over the scrolls. These historical studies were, again, inevitable. The scrolls had been found in the land holy to Jews and Christians. Potentially, they could answer many questions about the history of Judaism in the supposedly silent age of the so-called intertestamental period, and they derived from the time and place that constituted the cradle of Christianity.

The corpus of literature on the scrolls multiplied geometrically from year to year during the first decade and a half after their discovery. Among this literature three types are noteworthy. First, lest the flap and furor over accessibility to the Cave 4 material overshadow what *was* accomplished, we should remember that all seven of the Cave 1 scrolls and all the fragments from that cave were fully published, with plates, within nine years of their acquisition by the scholarly world.[17] Secondly, fragments of a good number of the Cave 4 manuscripts appeared in preliminary editions during the first decade and a half.[18] Thus, to emphasize what should be obvious, the thousands of articles and books published in the two decades after 1948 presupposed the publication of a substantial amount of Qumran scroll material, as well as the preliminary archeological excavation reports.[19] Thirdly, this period saw the publication of a number of synthetic works. While much in these books needs to be revised and nuanced, and some of it is simply wrong, placed in their historical context, the monographs of Vermes, Milik, Cross, and Dupont-Sommer were remarkable analyses and syntheses of a rapidly developing field of study.[20] Other substantial volumes of individual texts, such as Licht's commentaries on the *Hodayot* and the *Serek ha-Yaḥad* and Yadin's commentary on the *War Scroll* should also

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[17] *The Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*; Sukenik, *Scrolls*; DJD I; Avigad and Yadin, *Apocryphon* .

[18] See Fitzmyer, *Scrolls*, 31-61.

[19] See the entries (sub de Vaux) in LaSor, *Bibliography*, 43-4; Jongeling, *Classified Bibliography*, 76, as well as R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls: the Schweich Lectures 1959* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973). Additional archeological material on the Qumran caves appeared in DJD I, 2-40; DJD 3, 3-41; DJD 6, 3-27.

[20] G. Vermes, *Discovery in the Judean Desert: The Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Meaning* (New York: Desclee, 1956) translation and expansion of 1953 French edition; J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (London: SCM, 1959) translation and revision of 1957 French edition; F. M. Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1958; rev. edition, 1961); A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (Cleveland: World, 1961) translation of 1959 French edition.

be mentioned.[21] Finally, I note Edmund Wilson's 1955 New Yorker article-become-book, which, I believe, set a benchmark for informed, balanced journalistic coverage of the complexities of the subject matter with which we engage ourselves.[22] Wilson has had few imitators, and to ask "why" would itself provide an enlightening study in the history and sociology of the media.

The Social and Intellectual Settings of Scrolls Scholarship

If scholarship on the scrolls was driven, first of all, by the data, it was affected by many factors extraneous to the texts and material evidence.

Scrolls Scholarship in Relation to the Study of Christian Origins and Early Judaism

1. Early Christianity and the New Testament

One of most striking aspects of the history of scrolls scholarship is the intense interest in, and heavy emphasis on Christian origins. Almost from the beginning, scholars focused on the many ways in which these texts illuminated aspects of the New Testament and the rise of Christianity. This interest and focus have continued unabatedly since 1950. Indeed, they have been so prevalent that Schiffman has appealed to Jewish scholars to join him in "Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls."[23]

The New Testament connection was to be expected. Earliest Christianity was a Jewish messianic sect with a high eschatology. Once the general parallels were perceived, they would inevitably be pursued by any competent historian interested in the period. However, the issue is probably much more complex. And again, it is possible here only to

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[21] J. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea, Text, Introduction, Commentary and Glossary* (Jerusaelm: Bialik Institute, 1957 [Hebrew]); idem, *The Rule Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea, 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSb, Text, Introduction and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965 [Hebrew]); Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1955 [Hebrew]; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

[22] E. Wilson, "A Reporter at Large: The Scrolls from the Dead Sea," *The New Yorker* 31 (May 14, 1955) 45-121; idem., *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955); idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls 1947-1969* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), a revised and expanded version of the 1955 book.

[23] The point is first made by him in "Confessionalism"; it is reiterated in the title of his book *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, in which see especially pp. xvii-xxvii.

raise questions and make suggestions. Was this fascination with the scrolls also a commentary on the state of New Testament studies? Scholarship thrives and progresses through new data and new methods. Had New Testament scholarship spent itself? Had it mined the rich veins? Was it thirsting for new data? There may well have been another agenda at work. Were scholars within the Christian community of faith struggling against the history-of-religions school with its emphasis on the Hellenistic, "pagan" context of Christianity? Were they seeking, through the literature of this Jewish community, to pull the early church back into its Israelite orbit?[24] And, finally, after Auschwitz, Christian scholars were beginning to reassess previous paradigms that saw Christianity and Judaism as religious foils to one another.[25] The Scrolls provided many data and parallels that made the connections and transition between Judaism and early Christianity much more understandable and documentable.

In his 1991 article on "Confessionalism and the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls," Schiffman identifies what he perceives to be two opposing tendencies in Christian scholarship on the Scrolls.[26] He argues that liberal Christians have tended to see the Qumran community as a prototype for Christianity, while conservative Christians have tended to emphasize the differences between this Jewish sect and the early church.

The issue is more complex than Schiffman allows in both of its aspects. One of the first scholars—perhaps *the* first—to draw detailed parallels between the Qumranites/Essenes and the early church was

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[24] This is suggested without documentation by Schiffman, "Confessionalism," 3. One should also consult the literature that deals with Jewish and Hellenistic influences on the New Testament. On the literature, see A. J. Malherbe, "Greco-Roman Religion and Philosophy and the New Testament," in *The New Testament and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. E. J. Epp and G. W. MacRae; Philadelphia: Fortress/Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989) 3-26; A. J. Saldarini, "Judaism and the New Testament," ibid., 27-54; J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Qumran and the New Testament," ibid., 55-71. For an application to the New Testament of perceived differences between Hebrew and Greek thought, see T. Boman, "Hebraic and Greek Thought-Forms in the New Testament," in *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation: Essays in Honor of Otto A. Piper* (ed. W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962) 1-22; and the classic work by O. Cullman, "Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Body," in *Immortality and Resurrection* (ed. K. Stendahl; New York: Macmillan, 1965) 9-53.

[25] See the comments by G. Baum in C. Klein, *Anti-Judaism in Christian Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978) ix-xi. See also Wilson, *Scrolls*, 103-7.

[26] Schiffman, "Confessionalism," 6-8.

André Dupont-Sommer, who interpreted the texts from *outside* the Christian community.[27] From his earliest little book, published in 1950, to his 1959 translation and analysis of the Scrolls, Dupont-Sommer writes as an historian of religions, seeking to elucidate the possible connections between the two religious groups. Wrong-headed and unfounded as some of his ideas may have been—notably his thesis that the Teacher of Righteousness was put to death and was expected to return in glory—his writing does not seem to evince an attempt to undercut the claims of Christianity. Indeed, in his later book, he carefully lays out not only the similarities but also the differences between the two movements.[28] Thus, as the first systematic expositor of the Qumran/Essene connection, he writes as a historian rather than a polemicist.[29] Nonetheless, Schiffman rightly observes that many Christian scholars—whom he dubs "liberals"—followed in Dupont-Sommer's footsteps. Indeed one of the most interesting items in Dupont-Sommer's book is a footnote that seems to express fascination with Krister Stendahl, "a Christian," whose discussion of the Scrolls and the New Testament plays down the newness of Christianity in its Jewish context.[30] We should also nuance the other side of Schiffman's observation—that conservative Christians have tended to differentiate between Qumranites and Christians. A study of the monographs by Bruce, LaSor, and Black, and the Romans commentary by Käsemann indicates a whole spectum of comparative analysis.[31]

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[27] A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952) translation of 1950 French edition; idem, *The Jewish Sect of Qumrân and the Essenes* (London: Vallentine, Mitchell & Co., 1954) translation of 1953 French edition; idem, *Essene Writings*. On Dupont-Sommer's lack of religious affiliation, see Wilson, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 101.

[28] Ibid., 368-78.

[29] Dupont-Sommer's relative neutrality is the more obvious in comparison to the strong statements by J. M. Allegro, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Myth* (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1984). However, appraisals of Allegro's earlier views on the relationship between Qumran and Jesus and the early church need to be nuanced. Although the press played up his radicality (see *Time* April 2, 1956, 71; October 1, 1956, 50-56), the two editions of his popular book, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1956; rev. ed., 1964), while pressing the parallels between Qumran and early Christianity, are not openly polemical; see pp. 134-64 and 150-76 in the respective editions.

[30] Dupont-Sommer, Essene Writings, 373-74, n. 1.

[31] F. F. Bruce, *Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1956); W. S. LaSor, *The Amazing Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Faith* (Chicago: Moody, 1957), idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans,1972); M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins: Studies*

These questions and qualifications aside, Schiffman makes an important point that needs detailed and nuanced investigation. Christian agendas and an interest in the New Testament and Christian origins are evident throughout the history of Qumran scholarship. A good number of monographs on the Scrolls include chapters on the New Testament, and many others cite parallel passages from the New Testament, either to enlighten the Qumran texts or to be enlightened by them. Many articles employ the Qumran material to solve problems in New Testament interpretation or the history of early Christianity.[32] At the same time, I believe that Schiffman overstates his case when he refers to the whole first generation of Christian Scrolls scholarship as "a Christianized interpretation of the scrolls."[33] The monographs of Vermes, Milik, Cross, and Dupont-Sommer taught us a great deal about the political and religious history of Israel in the centuries around the turn of the era, and the same can be said about many articles. Nonetheless, it would be useful to test Schiffman's thesis, sorting through influential studies in both the early and later literature with a view toward identifying Christian biases and the use of terminology with Christian overtones that obscure the Jewish resonances inherent in, and essential to the texts. Such a study, however, should take note of the confessional and institutional orientation of the respective scholars. Not all persons writing on the relationship of the Scrolls and early Christianity have been Christian, and not all Christians writing on the Scrolls seek to relate them to the New Testament. Moreover, one's perspective and interests may well be affected by one's context—whether this be a religious studies department in a college or university or the theologically oriented environment of a seminary or divinity school—or their European equivalents.

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in the Jewish Background of the New Testament (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1961); E. Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980) 201. While Käsemann would be classified as a liberal by most standards, his use of the scrolls reflects a strong Lutheran theological conservatism, oriented toward a dichotomy of Law and Gospel.

[32] See, e.g., the articles in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; New York: Harper, 1957); *John and Qumran* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; London: Chapman, 1972). Many other examples can be found in LaSor, *Bibliography*, 84-89; and Jongeling, *Classified Bibliography*, 111-29. For a summary of the discussion, see Murphy-O'Connor, "Qumran and the New Testament."

[33] Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, xxiii.

2. Jewish Scholars and the History of Judaism

But what of Schiffman's claim that Jewish scholars need to reclaim the Scrolls? I grant his point: Jewish scholars could have done and should do much more on the Scrolls. But this must not obscure another, very important factor in the history of Scrolls scholarship.

Prior to the Qumran discoveries, Jewish scholars of antiquity tended to focus on the Bible and its "canonical" interpretation in the rabbinic literature, while leap-frogging over the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. There are obvious exceptions to this.[34] Nonetheless, before 1948, the history of Judaism from Alexander to Hadrian was, for the most part, left in the hands of Christian scholars, and the study of the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha were almost exclusively their domain.[35]

The scrolls changed this dramatically. They were a corpus of Hebrew and Aramaic texts, discovered in what was once Judea, at time of the birth of the State of Israel. Their character as Jewish religious texts was enhanced by the fact that they were written not in Greek, Ethiopic, Slavonic, or Armenian, but in the biblical and rabbinic languages in which Jewish scholars were completely at home. These factors were complemented, in turn, by the Scrolls' discovery in the Holy Land, precisely at the moment that Jewish nationalism was peaking. As Sukenik would assert, they were part of the "Jewish heritage,"[36] which at this moment could hardly be compartmentalized from an awareness of contemporary events.[37] How these factors worked out in Jewish and especially Israeli scrolls scholarship would require a thorough study of the whole literature and especially the first decade and a half of Hebrew language scholarship. In any case, perhaps more than Schiffman allows, the bibliographies document a plethora of studies by Jewish scholars, focused on linguistic, religious, and historical issues, as well as a vocalized text and commentaries on some of the individual texts.[38]

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[34] For example, Elias Bickerman, Ralph Marcus, and Victor Tcherikover.

[35] I found this to be particularly the case in a literature search for my commentary on *1 Enoch*, though I also found some exceptions.

[36] See Trever, *Scrolls*, 125.

[37] See the quotation attributed in Sukenik in the *New York Times*, February 15, 1949, p. 28, relating to his acquisition of the *War Scroll*, "I was thrilled with it . . . . Because there outside the modern sons of Ammon from Transjordan were fighting against the people of Israel."

[38] See A. H. Habermann, *Megilloth Midbar Yehudah: The Scrolls from the Judean Desert* (Tel Aviv: Machbaroth Lesifruth, 1959 [Hebrew]) and the commentaries cited above in n. 21.

More important, in the large picture, is the fact that Jewish scholarship did not restrict itself to the Hebrew and Aramaic Scrolls. It began to embrace the whole history and literature of the period. Documentation of this can be found in the bibliographies, under the names of Shaye Cohen, Devorah Dimant, David Flusser, Jonas Greenfield, Ross Kraemer, Jacob Licht, David Satran, Michael Stone, and Emanuel Tov, to name just a few. In one fell swoop, the history and religion of Judaism from 350 BCE to 150 CE—which had been principally the domain of Christian scholars—was populated by Jewish scholars who brought with them a new view of the Hebrew Bible and a depth of empathic knowledge about rabbinic Judaism that, by and large, had been missing among the Christian surveyors of the field. The discipline has never been the same—not only because of the great influx of new data, but because of the identity and social world of those who have been interpreting them. This development is one of the major contributions that the discovery of the scrolls has made to the study of the history of Judaism.

A final aspect of Schiffman's argument relates to this matter. Although Torah is central to Jewish religion, relatively little has been written about Torah at Qumran. The exception to this is the large number of studies on the Qumran calendar; however, some of these have been informed by a Christian interest in the dating of the gospel passion narratives. The principal reason for this paucity of studies on Qumran law is simple enough. Much of the legal material in the Scrolls is contained in the Cave 4 fragments that were unavailable to Jewish scholars until a few years ago. None of the scholars to whom these texts were entrusted were halakhists, which is not surprising, since few non-Jewish scholars are halakhists.

But again we need to be careful. The *Rule of the Community* had been in the public domain since 1951, and already in 1948 Sukenik suggested that the *Damascus Document* was related to the first Scrolls—a fact that was confirmed in the 1950s.[39] To what extent the legal and procedural material in 1QS and the legal material in CD was mined by Jewish scholars—when it well might have been—I have not investigated.[40] Nonetheless, as Schiffman has asserted, much of the Qumran

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[39] See Milik, *Ten Years*, 38-39.

[40] For studies on the legal material in CD, however, see F. García Martínez, "Damascus Document: A Bibliography of Studies 1970-1989," *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (ed. M. Broshi; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 1992) 68-71.

legal material, including the Cave 4 fragments of CD, was unavailable to Jewish halakhists—though Schiffman and Baumgarten, in particular, deserve mention for their detailed work on what was available.[41]

What may we conclude from all this? Qumran scholarship—pursued by Jewish scholars who had access to only part of the legal material, and by non-Jewish scholars who had no real competence in the larger body of legal material that *was* available to *them*--was something of a lop-sided affair. To take up our metaphor, the trajectory was affected by vectors that can be identified in the sociology and the political context of the scholarship.

Clearly all this has begun to change. Schiffman's introduction looks at the corpus wholistically, and his discussion of "living like a Jew" comprises not only law, but other forms of ritual piety.[42] The book, moreover, is symptomatic of changing currents. Yadin's publication of the *Temple Scroll* (1983) has spawned a whole spate of studies.[43] The publication of MMT by Qimron and Strugnell (1994) and the Cave 4 fragments of the *Damascus Document* by Baumgarten (1996) are events of equal importance.[44] Work on Jewish prayers is appearing.[45] As the corpus is studied in its entirety—and in relation to other Jewish texts of the apocrypha and pesudepigrapha and the rabbinic corpus—we shall arrive at a more balanced, empathic view of Second Temple Judaism as a whole and a better understanding of the ongoing history of Judaism.

Perspectives, Theories, and Methods

1. The Essene Hypothesis

One of the continuing threads in Qumran scholarship has been the hypothesis that the authors of the sectarian scrolls were Essenes. This was suggested already in the first press release from the American

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[41] See the entries under their names in García Martínez and Parry, *Bibliography*.

[42] Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 245-312.

[43] Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983) translation of 1977 Hebrew edition. For the mass of literature, see García Martínez and Parry, *Bibliography*, 526-27.

[44] E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); J. M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

[45] See, e.g., the entries under E. G. Chazon and B. Nitzan in García Martínez and Parry, *Bibliography*.

Schools of Oriental Research,[46] and reflected conversations among Burrows, Trever, and Brownlee about 1QS and the Habakkuk pesher.[47] Sukenik had posited the same notion some time shortly after he had seen 1QS in November, 1947.[48] Subsequently, the hypothesis was systematically expounded by Dupont-Sommer, Vermes, Milik, and Cross.[49] By the late 1950s, the Essene hypothesis was accepted truth among most scholars, although there were always a few who questioned or opposed the hypothesis.[50] The hypothesis was supported primarily by three assertions: (1) the Scrolls were the property and, to some extent, the product of the people who lived at the Khirbet Qumran in the centuries around the turn of the era; (2) these ruins are the best candidate for the location of the Essene community above En Gedi mentioned by Pliny; (3) the life, law, and beliefs of the Essenes described by Philo, Josephus, and Hippolytus fit well with the Scroll material, especially 1QS.[51] These assertions were built on the application of an impressive range of data and methods: paleography, radio-carbon dating, archeology, geography, and the study of literary attestations in Jewish and non-Jewish literature.

The principal challenge to the Essene hypothesis came, however, in spite of this broad-based support, and it came precisely because of some of the socially constructed factors mentioned in the previous section. Analysis of the legal materials, which had been ignored, by and large, during the first 35 years of Qumran research, indicated parallels with halakhah that is associated with the Sadducees in other texts.[52]

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[46] *The London Times* , April 12, 1948, p. 4.

[47] Trever, *Dead Sea Scrolls,* 76. Interestingly, Trever states (ibid., 25) that on the first day he saw the Scrolls (Feb. 18, 1948), an Essene identification was suggested by Ibrahim, the brother of Butrus Sowmy, the Syrian librarian. Ibrahim was a customs official at the Allenby Bridge and had studied the history of the area and "had learned about the Essenes who lived in that region."

[48] See E. L. Sukenik, *Megillot Genuzot mi-Tokh Genizah Qedumah she-Nimtse'ah be-Midbar Yehudah, Seqirah Rishonah* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1948 [Hebrew]) 16, cited in Schiffman, "Confessionalism," 7, n. 21. See also Sukenik, *Scrolls*, 29.

[49] Vermes, *Discovery*, 35-61; Milik, *Ten Years*, 44-98; Cross, *Ancient Library* (1958) 37-79. See especially Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, 21-67.

[50] See the summary of the discussion by Murphy-O'Connor, "Judean Desert," 124-25. See most recently J. C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994) 70-98. On the Essenes, see J. J. Collins, "Essenes," *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D. N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992) 2.619-26.

[51] See especially Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, 42-61.

[52] Y. Sussman, "The History of the Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls," DJD X, 192-96.

Thus, the Qumranites' Essene credentials began to be challenged. But, here too, the selection of data affects the conclusions. Striking parallels remain between the Qumran texts and the aforementioned literary descriptions of the Essenes. The dust has not settled yet, but both Schiffman and Sussman allow that we must find a complex historical explanation that considers all the data.[53]

2. Intellectual History—A Focus on Theology

Before the Qumran discoveries, one of the noteworthy aspects of the study of Judaism in the Greco-Roman period was the scholarly emphasis on the *theological ideas* contained in the texts of the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha. By and large, these extrapolations were made without reference to the literary character of the texts, which were seen as repositories of ideas.[54] In large part, this procedure reflected the interests and agendas of its Christian practitioners. The nineteenth- and twentieth-century authors of most of the great handbooks on Judaism described Judaism of the Greco-Roman period as the background for early Christianity and found in that background both a matrix and a foil for early Christian religious beliefs.[55] Although the writings of the history of religions school constitute an exception to this approach, the theological orientation of the approach continued to influence much of the early writing on Qumran, which focused on its messianology; eschatology; belief in the afterlife; anthropology; and, frequently, the parallels with, and differences from early Christian theology.[56]

3. Social Scientific Methods

The emphasis on history of ideas, i.e., theology, began to be challenged with the substantial importation of social scientific methods into the study of biblical texts, which can be traced to the early 1970s.[57] Its social matrix was, in part, the development of university departments of religious studies and thus the opportunity for interdisciplinary discus-

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[53] Ibid., 196-200; Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 156-57.

[54] See, especially, the introductions in R. H. Charles, *APOT*, vols. 1-2. Even when these authors discuss the provenance of a text (Pharisee, Sadducee, Essene, Zealot), the point of reference tends to be religious beliefs.

[55] Klein, *Anti-Judaism*, 1-66.

[56] For an example of this approach, see H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1963).

[57] See J. Z. Smith, "The Social Description of Early Christianity," *RelSRev* 1 (1975) 19-25. See also the use of Mannheim by P. D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975).

sion and collaboration. Social scientific methodology made a quick appearance in Qumran studies in Isenberg's 1974 article on millennialism.[58] Yet despite the development and refinement of these methods in the study of the canonical scriptures, and despite the material evidence from Khirbet Qumran and the scrolls, many references to purity, law, ritual, and community organization and institutions, Qumran scholarship continues to be dominated by the methods and approaches that typified biblical studies prior to the 1970s.

A great deal of material remains to be mined and many questions remain to be asked through the use of social scientific methods. How do we understand the dynamics of purity regulations and how do we place them in their "theological" contexts? How do we relate what we know of the community's organization to its self-understanding as the eschatological Israel? What was the concrete setting that permitted the variety of biblical texts and their many forms of exposition? What might we learn about the community's social psychology or its psychosociology? What was it like to be a Qumranite living in the isolation of the Judean wilderness? Some of these questions are being addressed by people like Carol Newsom,[59] Jean Duhaime,[60] Albert Baumgarten,[61] and, in brief, in Schiffman's handbook, with its attention, e.g., to the place of women and "living as a Jew."[62] But there is much more to do if the minds and hands can be found to do it. As things stand, the practitioners of the social scientific methods primarily occupy themselves with the canonical texts.

The Institutional Settings of Qumran Scholarship

This brings me to my last point. For all the scholarship on Qumran, the study of early Judaism continues to be a step-child of the Academy and something of a victim of its priorities. The canon still sets the scholarly agenda—for Christians, Jews, and others—even in institu-

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[58] S. R. Isenberg, "Millenarism in Greco-Roman Palestine," *Religion* 4 (1974) 26-46.

[59] C. A. Newsom, "The Case of the Blinking I: Discourse of the Self at Qumran," *Semeia* 57 (1992) 13-23; idem, "Knowing as Doing: The Social Symbolics of Knowledge at Qumran," *Semeia* 59 (1992) 139-53; "Disciplinary Power in the *Serek ha-Yaḥad*: Rewards and Punishments from a Foucauldian Perspective," 1997 SBL Annual Meeting.

[60] J. Duhaime, "Relative Deprivation in New Religious Movements and the Qumran Community," *RevQ* 16 (1993-95) 265-76.

[61] A. I. Baumgarten, "The Rule of the Martian as Applied to Qumran," *IOS* 12 (1992) 121-42.

[62] Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 245-312.

tions without religious affiliation or identity.[63] Scholars continue to generate fine-tuned analyses of texts that have been mined for their meaning for millennia. And yet the Jewish writings composed between Alexander and Hadrian provide a mass of material with which to flesh out the ongoing history of the Israelite tradition as it divided into its rabbinic, Samaritan, and Christian branches.[64] On the *non-Jewish* side, scholars of the Hebrew Bible can profitably work the Persian period into the Hellenistic, and New Testament scholars should be looking for the continuities, as well as the discontinuities between Judaism of the Greco-Roman period and early Christianity. Much will be gained as *Jewish* scholars interpret this period as the historical bridge between the Bible and the Mishnah. The scrolls and the literature contemporary with them offer the challenge that more of us lay down the theological yardsticks and drop the clubs of *Sachkritik*. With our many methods and intellectual gifts, with our diversity of viewpoints and our collective power as an academy and a guild, we can bring more balance to the study of the biblical traditions and their contexts. Both the problem and the solution are intertwined with the social settings in which we carry out our scholarly work.

What Have We Learned?

Finally, I would like to abstract from the history of Qumran scholarship to some *general* observations about how the guild conducts its business and how this is affected by the humanness of its members. I do not intend to pass judgment or walk some sort of moral and intellectual high ground. These are simply suggestions that derive from reflection on a remarkably fruitful and also notably flawed period of humanistic scholarship. Response to them—if they are worthy of such—must be a professional and collegial activity. So what have we learned—in the most general sense?

Testing the Paradigms

The momentum with which the Essene hypothesis swept the field of Qumran scholarship was perhaps unprecedented. Recent challenges to the hypothesis are based, first, on data that were not considered for

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[63] Although such priorities are not as evident in non-religiously affiliated institutions, one will often find, e.g., a proliferation of courses on Bible, as opposed to non-canonical texts.

[64] Comparatively speaking, there is probably more primary source material relevant to the Jewish texts of the Greco-Roman period than to the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament.

socially defined reasons. But secondly, these challenges take seriously aspects of the *published* material that simply didn't fit the paradigm, as Thomas Kuhn would put it.[65] We haven't always continued to test our hypotheses, as we should have.

Ancient History: the Practice of Generalization from Afar Amidst a Paucity of Data

The pervasiveness of the Essene hypothesis also reflects our tendency, and our need, to generalize about antiquity from afar and on the basis of too little information. We are learning that what we thought were Sadducean and Essene are not mutually exclusive and that we must employ terms like Hasidim and Essenes with great caution and with an awareness that naming the thing doesn't mean we understand it fully.[66] It is difficult enough to understand and adequately describe the theological, intellectual, and cultural aspects of Protestant denominationalism, or Jewish diversity, or New Age religion—with which we have some firsthand familiarity. Yet we have tossed off diachronic and synchronic schemata about Jewish social and religious parties in the Greco-Roman period, or trajectories in early Christianity, on the basis of sparse data fraught with interpretive problems. We might ask ourselves: what social, religious, and institutional factors push us to want to know more than we can know?

Excessive Optimism about the Certainty and Extent of Our Knowledge

The serendipity of the Qumran finds has some symbolic value. A rock tossed by a bedouin shepherd not only shatters a pot, it topples massive and intellectually intimidating constructions of Jewish and Christian antiquity built over the course of two centuries. The existence of the scrolls remind us that once we did not know they existed and we thought and wrote and taught according. But we *still* see darkly through a glass, and our scholarly rhetoric and deportment should reflect this disturbing epistemological fact of life.

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[65] T. S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962; 3rd ed., 1996).

[66] On the problem of the Hasidim and their possible relationship to the Essenes and some of the literature on this, see G. W. E. Nickelsburg, in "Social Aspects of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypticism," *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979* (ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1983) 641-43, 647-48.

Of course, like Socrates, we know that we don't know. But do we act and teach in this mode, or do we present our hypotheses with more than a tinge of positivism, and do we put forth our generalizations as representations of the real thing, rather than as models (to use a term employed by natural scientists)? It might be an interesting historical exercise to reflect on the degree to which the philosophical and theological heritage of biblical scholarship, with its propensity for tidy schematization and systematization, has influenced our historiography.

Then there is the methodological issue. The importation of social scientific methods into a biblical field that was dominated by philology, historical criticism, and the history of ideas has demonstrated how oversimplified our representations of ancient human reality were. We envisioned the ancients as walking bags of ideas—whose priorities and principal occupation were somehow akin to the sixty-hour week of twentieth-century university professors. Of course, I am stereotyping our profession. As humans, we live and move and have our being in concrete and social settings. Yet much of our writing of history has been blind to the complex social humanity of the ancients we have sought to study.

The Need for Collaboration, Openness, and Trust

It is not my role to play Monday morning quarterback with respect to the history of the publication of the Scrolls. But I think we have learned two things. First, in the academy —as elsewhere—secrecy breeds suspicion, worst-case scenarios, and hostility. Secondly, from every perspective—the amount of data, methodology, and the development of hypotheses—we have seen a knowledge explosion with few if any parallels in the history of humanistic scholarship. Collaboration and collegiality—which are common fare in the natural and social sciences—are the only appropriate response to this state of affairs, and they need to be the model for the future of *our* discipline. This will require mutual trust and respect and the reining in of everyone's scholarly egos. Obviously, this relates to the psychology of knowledge and its proliferation. An adjustment will also have to be made in our social setting in the Academy. Publication and the rights and privileges thereunto appertaining relate to the institutional issue of tenure and promotion.

The Academy and Its Publics

Finally, the academy cannot afford to separate itself from the publics that support it. As an academic guild, we have not built salutary relationships to these publics. To begin with, and perhaps most basi-

cally, the academy is often marked by a kind of elitism and snobbery that distinguishes qualitatively between research (especially) and classroom teaching on the one hand, and so-called public service on the other. Often we indulge narcisistically in our games, unaware and uncaring of those who watch us whether we know it or not. The present threats to the National Endowment for the Humanities are the result of complex social and political developments, but the stance, emphases, and interests of the Academy and its citizens have not helped the situation.

In 1994 Schiffman and VanderKam published two excellent books on the Scrolls, each in its own way very accessible to the public. These are the exceptions. By and large we have turned the public transmission of our knowledge over to hacks and sensationalists,[67] and we have allowed the publication industry to determine what is important and how it can probably be said. In addition, we have not nurtured productive relationships with the media that have been radically transformed by the advent of television and the computer. It is time to reclaim responsibility for the public dissemination of our knowledge. There are all too few religion reporters in the secular press, and among them not many Edmund Wilsons and John Darts—persons engaged with the subject matter and willing to be informed and educated in its complexities.[68] We must take the time to engage with our publics by cultivating relationships with the media, by being willing ourselves to write accessibly for the public, and by guiding some of our students toward careers outside the academy. We need to work with our institutional homes to convince administrators of the importance of these issues. How about granting a senior scholar a sabbatical to write a responsible book for public consumption?

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[67] I qualify this statement by acknowledging the important role played by the *Biblical Archaeology Review*. Despite this publication's controversial part in the "war for the scrolls," it has succeeded remarkably in bringing the findings of critical scholarship to the public by inviting the scholars themselves to write in an accessible way. A good example is the collection of articles edited by Hershel Shanks, *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Random House, 1992). It nicely supplements the books of Schiffman and VanderKam—though, in my view, the two articles about John Strugnell would have better been left unreprinted.

[68] For an excellent treatment of a scholarly subject by a journalist, see J. Dart, *The Laughing Savior: The Discovery and Signficance of the Nag Hammadi Gnostic Library* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1976).

Conclusion

In conclusion and in short, the history of Qumran scholarship is a story of brilliance and folly, of surprises and ironies. It mirrors developments in the field of biblical studies in general, and it evidences an incredible burst of its own scholarly energy. It epitomizes the best in the intellectual side of our humanity, but it has also been marked and marred by the subjective, non-intellectual aspects of our humanity. To the extent that we reflect on these dimensions of the scholarship, we stand to learn much about antiquity, but also about ourselves as the historically-bound students and interpreters of the past.

Scrolls Scholarship as Intellectual History

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Scholarship on the Dead Sea Scrolls in the last fifty years is by and large an extension of biblical scholarship. Nearly all the leading figures have been trained as biblical scholars, and most earn their living by teaching the biblical texts in universities and seminaries. Scrolls scholarship, then, is a sub-discipline in a field whose own social location is often ambiguous. Despite the fact that millions of people profess to regard the Bible as the Word of God, biblical scholarship only rarely captures the public imagination. When it does, it is usually because of some potential scandal, or a clash between the findings of scholarship and popular belief, as in the case of the Jesus Seminar. This has also been the case with the Dead Sea Scrolls. The main controversies in the media have been ignited by sweeping claims that the scrolls somehow undermine Christianity, or that there has been a conspiracy to keep potentially explosive material from the public. Most scholars find it difficult to take claims of this sort seriously. But we should not be surprised that Edmund Wilson has had no successors in the field of serious journalism on the scrolls. In the eyes of the media and popular culture, it is a corner of a marginal field, despite its undeniable historical importance for Judaism and Christianity.

Biblical scholarship in the modern era has been dominated by historical criticism, which aspires to understand texts in their historical settings in as objective a manner as possible.[1] George Nickelsburg's observation, that scholarship on the scrolls is driven by the data, reflects the self-understanding of historical critics. In this postmodern era, many people look on such a self-understanding as naive. We are all driven by our prejudices and special interests, and objectivity is an illusion. But awareness of prejudice and special interests is not peculiar to the postmodern period. One might argue, in fact, that historical criticism arose as an attempt to transcend confessionalism, and so to mitigate at least

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[1] The best account of the underlying philosophy of historical criticism remains Van A. Harvey, *The Historian and the Believer* (New York: Macmillan, 1969).

the overt role of prejudice in historical reconstruction. Fundamental to historical criticism has been the demand for warrants for whatever claims one makes. The critic is not supposed to be constrained by the beliefs of church or synagogue, but should be able to support his or her arguments by appeal to the texts. As a result, biblical scholarship has become an ecumenical meeting ground, where Jews, Christians and atheists can argue their cases by appeal to commonly accepted criteria. Prejudices are not necessarily eliminated, but they are subject to exposure and critique. Strict objectivity may not be attainable, but the give and take of scholarly discussion provides an adequate mechanism for separating the probable from the merely possible or simply eccentric.

It is now universally conceded that Jewish scholarship was underrepresented in the formative years of scrolls scholarship. Nonetheless, scrolls scholarship has always been ecumenical to a significant degree. The consensus that developed on the Essene origin of the scrolls was proposed by an agnostic, Dupont-Sommer, and won broad support from Jews and Christians, although Jewish scholars have been particularly prominent among the skeptics. Much has been made of the role of Catholics in the original editorial team, and especially of the role of de Vaux in identifying the site as a quasi-monastic settlement. No doubt, de Vaux's experience of monastic life had some heuristic value in his interpretation of the site of Qumran. But monastic features are already clear in the ancient accounts of the Essenes. The analogy with later Christian monasteries was inevitable once the Essene identification was made.[2]

It was the achievement of the first generation of scrolls scholars to work out a comprehensive theory of the scrolls, and their relationship to mainline (rabbinic) Judaism and Christianity. The consensus that emerged at that time was that the scrolls represented sectarian Judaism, which was the seedbed of Christianity, but of only limited interest to mainline Judaism. This conclusion could be maintained more easily when only a fraction of the scrolls were available than was later the case, although in retrospect, it is easy to see that the halachic focus of texts like the *Damascus Document* was undervalued. No doubt this phase of interpretation was heavily influenced by the quite natural desire of Christian scholars to relate the scrolls to Christianity. So we frequently read in the literature of the 1950s of the sacred meal of the Es-

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[2] For a defense of de Vaux's work on Qumran see Ferdinand Rohrhirsch, *Wissenschaftstheorie und Qumran* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996).

senes and of their baptismal practices, both of which are now regarded as highly dubious. In the 1950s, biblical scholarship was much more theologically oriented than it is today, for better or worse. Even scholars who were not themselves theologians were often influenced by theological trends. W. F. Albright's famous *From the Stone Age to Christianity* has a distinct evolutionary ring, that coincided nicely with the kind of "history of salvation" theology preached by his student G. E. Wright. Frank Cross, pupil of Albright and colleague of Wright, could hardly avoid some overtones of this theology when he concluded his classic lectures on the scrolls with a chapter on the Essenes and the Primitive Church.[3] But none of these scholars was a supersessionist. On the contrary, they all wanted to affirm Judaism as the matrix from which Christianity grew, and therefore as a kindred, closely related religion. Ironically, it was the agnostics, such as Dupont-Sommer, Allegro and Wilson, who were most inclined to exaggerate the correspondences between the scrolls and early Christianity, on the assumption that Christianity could thereby be discredited. The great majority of Christian scrolls scholars saw the relationship in positive terms. The main theological bias in this scholarship is that Jewish origins somehow authenticate Christianity, in contrast to the pagan, Hellenistic influences posited by German New Testament scholars such as Bultmann. In this respect it is noteworthy that German scholarship had little influence on the formative phase of the study of the scrolls. The German member of the editorial team, Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, had very little impact, and he was scarcely representative of German biblical scholarship in any case. The Anglo-American, especially Albrightian strand of scholarship viewed Judaism positively, even if it lacked appreciation for the halachic traditions that orthodox Jews would regard as definitive. But in contrast to German New Testament scholarship, it had little interest in the wider Hellenistic world, and this lack eventually has its effect in the course of scholarship on the scrolls.

I suggest then, that the first generation of scrolls scholarship was primarily an honest attempt to do justice to the data, although it perceived those data in relation to Christian interests and some distortion was inevitable. One test of a scholarly method is how it incorporates new data and new points of view. In the case of the scrolls, this chal-

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[3] F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961; new edition, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995).

lenge arose in the 1980s after the publication of the *Temple Scroll* and the disclosure of the contents of 4QMMT, and the increasing involvement of Jewish scholars in the enterprise. It now became apparent that the Judaism of the scrolls was much closer to that of "mainline" rabbinic Judaism than had previously been thought.[4] At the same time, there was a growing realization that not all the literature found at Qumran was strictly sectarian, in the sense of being produced by an isolated community at Qumran. Not all scholars have adjusted their thinking on these issues as quickly as we might wish, but at this point it seems fair to say that a new consensus has emerged. The scrolls can no longer be viewed as an offshoot of Judaism on a path that leads to Christianity. Rather they reflect a stage in the history of Judaism with manifold links both to Christianity and to rabbinic Judaism. On the whole, it seems to me that historical criticism has worked well in absorbing the insights of rabbinically trained scholars and in recognizing that established conclusions need to be opened for reconsideration.

Some scholars, however, would like to see a far more sweeping revisionism in scrolls scholarship, especially as regards the Essene hypothesis, which has provided the dominant context of interpretation hitherto. Historical criticism works much like Thomas Kuhn's structure of scientific revolutions. We formulate a hypothesis to explain the data. Then we try to fit the data into the hypothesis. We then find that we have some loose ends, and data that do not fit. The question arises whether a different hypothesis might prove more adequate. By now, many loose ends have been identified in the Essene hypothesis, notably in the matter of celibacy. Several new hypotheses have been put forward to explain the Qumran site. As yet, however, none of the new hypotheses has commanded anything close to the same support as the long-established Essene identification. No doubt, scholars are reluctant to abandon old positions, but so they should be. The novelty of a position is no guarantee of its truth. Dissident scholars like Norman Golb play an important role in the process of scholarship, by forcing us to reexamine the bases of our positions, and making sure that hypotheses do not harden into dogmas. But it is also the responsibility of scholarship to cross-examine the critics, and scrutinize the new hypotheses. In my opinion, the guild of Qumran scholarship has acquitted itself well on this issue in recent years. There has been no censorship of new proposals,

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[4] See especially L. H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994).

but neither has there been any rush to embrace new proposals prematurely.

The allegations of Norman Golb that Qumran scholarship is run by an exclusive cabal,[5] have, I think, been thoroughly discredited by the sheer number of participants in Qumran conferences in recent years. We do, however, suffer from a different kind of failing, which ought to be addressed in the coming years. For all its current vitality, Qumran scholarship remains rather provincial. Our frame of reference is closely bounded by the biblical tradition and rabbinic Judaism. There has been very little scholarship to relate the scrolls to the broader Mediterranean world, or to the history and sociology of religion. In recent years there has been a profusion of new methods and criticisms in biblical studies, that have as yet had little impact in studies of the scrolls.[6]

Several reasons can be suggested for this shortcoming. First, the energies of scholars in the fifties, and again in the nineties, have been absorbed by the task of transcribing and editing the scrolls. There was a long lull in this activity in the sixties and seventies. The new initiatives in scholarship in that period, however, were primarily redaction critical: attempts to trace a process of development within the scrolls, rather than to relate them to a wider context. This scholarship reflected the trends of the time in biblical studies. This was the era of form criticism and redaction criticism. One of the advantages brought about by the nearly complete publication of the scrolls is that we now often have multiple editions of particular texts, and so attempts to trace a process of development are not as dependent on conjecture as was formerly the case. Another factor that has led to provincialism has been the temperament required for close epigraphic and philological work. In the original team of scholars, Milik, Strugnell and Skehan were all brilliant at deciphering the minutiae of the texts, but only Frank Cross had the flair for wide-ranging historical reconstruction. Since the scrolls are written in Hebrew and Aramaic, scrolls scholars have been Semitists rather than Hellenists, and consequently have often been reluctant to look for analogies in the contemporary Hellenistic world. All of these factors are quite understandable, but they result in a situation that should be of concern. As scholarship on the scrolls begins its next fifty years, it is time to look

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[5] See his book, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* (New York: MacMillan, 1995).

[6] A notable recent exception is A. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (JSJSup 55; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

outward, and to build more bridges not only to biblical and rabbinic scholarship but also to the broader study of religion.

Currents in Qumran Research

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What winds are blowing across the brow of the helmsmen in charge of the good ship that is plying through the waters of Qumran Research? How are the Scylla and Charybdis to be avoided today and tomorrow, so that the ship will not flounder as it has too often in the past?

As I think about the currents blowing today in Qumran Research I have focused on ten that I deem to be the main ones. I am pleased to observe that George Nickelsburg has also noted most of these.

First, the acquisition, study, and publishing of the Dead Sea Scrolls has been embroiled from the beginning with *international politics*. None of the scrolls were found in Israel which was established by UN action in May 1948. The first cave was found in Palestine during the Mandate. The other ten caves were found in Palestine when it was occupied by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Because of the tensions between Yadin, an Israelite, and Kando, an Arab, during and shortly after the "Six-day War" invaluable scrolls and fragments simply disappeared. I heard of scrolls and saw fragments when I was Thayer Fellow in the ASOR in 1968 and 1969. Moreover, the aftershocks of the horrible and unthinkable Holocaust raised emotions that did not mix well with scholars living in east Jerusalem who were ministering to Arab Christians who had suffered the 1948 war and then the Six-day War.

Second, there is confusion regarding the monetary *value* of a scroll or fragment. This has been the case from the beginning, when the first cave was found in late 1946. Then the leather was judged to be foul-smelling and virtually worthless. The value was not seen in the USA in the late 1940s, otherwise Duke University or Johns Hopkins University would have not merely displayed the four scrolls owned by His Eminence Archbishop Samuel. They may have purchased them if they had realized their worth. But, then there would be the problem of who had the legal rights to the scrolls. By contrast a representative of the Israel Museum now suggests that the large *Isaiah Scroll* is worth over 25 million dollars. Such unrealistic estimates hinder the acquisition of other scrolls and fragments. Is it not sufficient—and more astute—to

claim that for scholars and those interested in Early Judaism and the origins of Christianity the Dead Sea Scrolls are simply invaluable?

Third, a significant current is the *search for additional scrolls* and fragments. A drama-documentary on this subject was recently produced by *BBC 1*, and was also aired on *The Learning Channel* thanks to Time/Warner. In the last 20 months I have seen the opening column to the *Genesis Apocryphon*, a significant fragment from lQSb, 1Q72 (= lQDan^{b}), and Qumran menorah bullae. These are in the possession of the distinguished bibliophile Martin Schoyen. I have examined a large fragment from the *Temple Scroll*, and another fragment in the home of a lawyer in Jerusalem. I have held and studied all the fragments that were in the possession of His Eminence Mar Athanasius Yeshue Samuel when he died. Some of these are introduced, edited, and translated in volume 4A of the Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. All of these will appear in Mar Samuel's autobiography I am preparing for BIBAL Press.

Fourth, from the beginning and continuing to the present to a lesser degree there is a misperception of what is involved in *piecing together tiny fragments*. The task is enourmous. For example, some pieces were incorrectly joined. Such is the case with some of the Samuel fragments. While DNA evidence will help to discern if two pieces are related, and while S. Pfann is introducing his scientific skills to see, through a microscope, if the hairs on the back side of two fragments pieced together actually come from the same animal and the same section of it, the task remains enormous. Scholars are trying to piece together approximately 600 documents, for which we often have insufficient evidence to discern what belongs where, and in some cases over 90% of the original is lost. The task is tantamount to rearranging 600 jigsaw puzzles of which almost all the pieces are lost, and those that remain are jumbled together and brought to scholars by Bedouin who do not number caves. The pieces are often separated by feet—there seldom is a neat match as with the Schoyen fragment of 1QSb and the lawyer's fragment of the Temple Scroll. Sometimes the task is impossible.

Fifth, there is the perennial problem of *funding*. The public's cry for translations should be matched with their demand for funding. Too much of my own time is spent trying to fund the critical editions of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Princeton Project. E. Tov also is forced to spend too much time cultivating donors and raising funds. It is difficult raising funds because some foundations do not fund anything related to religious issues and the Dead Sea Scrolls have been judged too contro-

versial by too many. That is the result of the sensationalists who have confused the masses. There is not one chair dedicated to Dead Sea Scrolls research, as far as I know, yet scrolls scholars are also professors with demanding schedules and inquisitive students. It is unfair to castigate some Qumran experts when they were not sufficiently funded, and had to find ways to cover expenses to travel to Israel to work on fragments.

Sixth, the Dead Sea Scrolls bring out *emotions* in persons otherwise not very emotional. This is obviously a two-edged sword. On the one hand, it is rewarding to see students, colleagues, and audiences excited about one's own area of research. On the other hand, some journalists and self-proclaimed scholars tarnish lectures on the scrolls with misplaced enthusiasm and sometimes absurd reconstructions of pre-70 Judaism.

Seventh, there is still the lingering charge of *monopoly*. The echoing criticism against ownership needs to be tempered. The first-generation experts were not claiming ownership of fragments; they only claimed the right to own the results of their decades of work spent piecing together fragments (some of which may still be incorrectly united or associated). That is, a photograph of a fragment is not a photograph of a fragment; it almost always is a photograph of fragments pieced together after years of intensive work. And fragments are not simply fragments; some consist of hundreds of fragments. Fragment 4Q506 constitutes 182 pieces, and there are the remains of a scroll that preserved some non-Masoretic Psalms, and these fragments must be aligned with Fragments 4Q504 and 4Q505 which represent the same document. Fragment 4Q503 has 225 pieces; it is entitled *Daily Prayers*. Fragment 4Q509 has 313 pieces; it is called *Prayers for Festivals* and all of these pieces must be related to 4Q507 and 4Q508, which represent the same document. So, as you can imagine the task is not simply sitting down and reading a legible document. The alleged cartel was misjudged, and I stated that on *Good Morning America* and on CNN, although my hosts were not pleased at the evaporation of a scandal.

Eighth, the Dead Sea Scrolls are *sensational*. I think that word is rightly applied to the Dead Sea Scrolls. They have clearly revolutionized our understanding of Second Temple Judaism, as all of us know so well and as is articulated clearly by such luminaries as Talmon, Flusser, Schwartz, Mendels, Qimron, Broshi, Dimant, Tov, Stone, Yardeni, and Weinfeld—to mention only our Israeli colleagues. The Dead Sea Scrolls

have also shifted the paradigm for perceiving the origins of Christianity. Again we know that so clearly thanks to Albright, Stendahl, Brown, VanderKam, Collins, Nickelsburg, Fitzmyer, Yarbro Collins, Schuller, Newsom, White Crawford, Evans, Harrington, Kee, Kraft, Tabor, Strugnell, James Sanders, and Ed Sanders—to name only some of the North American experts.

We now have about 600 documents that were composed by Jews not only at Qumran but in many villages and cities of Ancient Palestine. That is an enormous amount of material, especially when some Old Testament specialists have concentrated on only 39 writings, and many New Testament experts have tended to work on only 27 documents. To note that many of the 600 are sometimes extensive and complex and in a form of Hebrew or Aramaic unfamiliar to some biblical scholars certainly complicates the task. Suffice it to say, we are now clear that Early Judaism was not cut off from other cultures as the opening of *Pirke Aboth* suggested to some before 1947. It was richly impregnated by fertile ideas from Parthia, Arabia, Egypt, Rome, Greece, and Syria. Also for decades the Palestinian Jesus Movement was a sect with Judaism; only later was it somewhat distinct and labeled "Christianity."

Ninth, the winds that are blowing in Qumran Research come not only from biblical theology, archaeology, iconography, historiography, anthropology, and sociology. They come from *outside the humanities* as well. Three examples must now suffice. First, Professor S. Woodward of BYU has been examining the DNA of the skins on which the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek is written. He has shown that the *Temple Scroll* is from goats. And he has demonstrated that a problem arises with the *Hodayot*. The DNA does not match any known animal. The evidence of human DNA on the *Temple Scroll*, and on other scrolls, is because humans have held and worked on the scrolls. It is not because human skin served as scrolls. Second, AMS C-14 has been used to carbon date Ashkar-Gilson Manuscript No. 2. A manuscript of Exodus which I dated to the seventh century CE has been dated to that same period by a double blind study performed at Oxford and at Arizona. The same process has been used to date the Dead Sea Scrolls. It proves that the paleographical dating was within expected limits. Thus, paleography must not be ignored, as some scholars have been doing; it is not just an art, but is now verified by science. Third, many of the scrolls contain writings that are not visible to the naked eye. Scientists from Xerox and the Rochester Institute of Technology have been working with the editorial team at Princeton Theological Seminary, and thanks to the work

of Keith Knox, Robert Johnston, and Roger Easton over 18 letters not seen for 2000 years are now visible on column 17 of the *Temple Scroll*. I was able to show that they had been transferred from column 16, before it cracked off and disappeared obviously.

Finally, the Dead Sea Scrolls provide foundations for constructing *bridges of understanding* among Jews and Christians. The elegant edition of the *Rule of the Community* published by the American Interfaith Institute and the World Alliance of Jewish and Christian Organizations and distributed by Continuum is a beacon for future fruitful and appreciative dialogues. Already what was once amazing is now common coin. Scholars, whether Christian or Jewish, have been seen sharing notes, discussing possibilities, and enjoying each other's work in Jubilee Symposia in Jerusalem, Princeton, the Napa Valley, and here.

With these personal reflections on the winds of Qumran Research we can turn to Nickelsburg's presentation. First, areas in need of refinement, as they are found in his paper.

First, I am curious as to why he three times refers to "1948". The Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered in Cave 1 in perhaps November of 1946 and seen by Sukenik in late November 1947 which is when Yadin first heard of them.

Second, he wisely points out the importance of paleography. We may now add that AMS C-14 proves its scientific value. This has been published by M. Broshi in collaboration with others.

Third, Nickelsburg claims that "Earliest Christianity was a Jewish messianic sect with a high eschatology." This sounds fine and Jesus' earliest followers were definitely a "sect," according to sociological analysis of Bryan Wilson; but these followers must not be called "earliest Christianity" or Christians. They did not constitute a "church" either. These are anachronisms before 70 CE. It is best to refer to Jesus' sect as the Palestinian Jesus Movement (PJM), as I have tried to demonstrate books *Jesus' Jewishness* and other publications. His followers were united, if at all, primarily by him. The PJM began in ancient Palestine, and it became a powerful movement.

Fourth, it might be helpful for Nickelsburg to have moved beyond Schiffman's clearly popular book. Much can be gleaned from the recent publications by such luminaries as Talmon, Weinfeld, Stegemann, Berger, Betz and Riesner, Duhaime, García Martínez, and the pioneering works collected in the last few years in volumes by Ulrich and VanderKam, Barrera and Montaner, Parry and Ricks, Dimant and Rap-

paport, Kampen and Bernstein, Dimant and Schiffman, Fabry, Lange, and Lichtenberger, Evans and Flint, Shanks, as well as Wise, Golb, Collins, and Pardee. These volume are full of insights and discoveries that can enrich Nickelsburg's survey.

Fifth, Nickelsburg claims that "Jewish scholars could have done and should do much more on the scrolls." If he means by this that Jewish scholars of antiquity are still too dependent on the Mishnah and other rabbinic writings, then this judgment makes sense. But I am not clear what he means, especially since he notes the publications by Sukenik, Yadin, Dimant, Weinfeld, Licht, Dan, Ofer, Greenfeld, Gruenwald, Stone, Talmon, Kutscher, Schwartz, Flusser, Qimron, Broshi, Mendels, Yardeni, Roitman, and Tov, to mention only the leading Israeli experts.

Sixth, one might qualify the claim that "the practitioners of the social scientific methods are primarily occupied with the canonical texts." This judgment certainly does not fit the work of Talmon and others.

Seventh, the judgment that we "have turned the public transmission of our knowledge over to hacks and sensationalists" is far too true. However, BIBAL Press is now publishing monographs addressed to the public that will sell for less than ten dollars. Distinguished scholars are now writing popular works that are engagingly written and focused. Among the authors are Vermes, Talmon, Pokorný, Levison, Donfried, Alexander, Arav, Broshi, Strange, Evans, and J.A. Sanders.

It is time to praise Nickelsburg for a courageous paper that has many superb features.

First, it avoids myopic concerns. It is a well constructed assessment. Second, Nickelsburg is correct to say that we are all living during an "incredibly rich period of scholarship." Along with others, I consider it a thrill to be working at this time. If only God would give me more hours in a day, more days in a week, and a ton of more energy. Third, Nickelsburg rightly judges that we need each other. None of us can "get it all right." Fourth, amidst the attacks too often made against the Qumran experts who were members of the first team of editors, it is good to hear Nickelsburg's sound judgment. The first two decades of Qumranology (to coin a word which we need to describe our field) was highlighted by "brilliant work on the scrolls and their context." I agree with him that "we should acknowledge that this pioneering work was foundational for what followed." As Stendahl states in the reissue of his

The Scrolls and the New Testament, they did get it right from the first publications.

Fifth, Nickelsburg's assessment of Dupont-Sommer is on target. It is good to hear it stated that he was not writing as a Christian or a polemicist. He did work from "outside the Christian community," and he did write as a historian.

Sixth, most scholars support, *mutatis mutandis*, the Essene identification of the Qumran Community. It is good to have this judgment affirmed, with the caveat that some nuances are required. I would add that Josephus was not describing the Qumran Community. It is conceivable, even perhaps probable, that Josephus was writing about the Essene Community in the southwest section of first-century Jerusalem, if there was one there. Archaeological excavations have begun in this location with sonar sounding. Those involved include S. Bishop, J. Tabor, B. Pixner, myself, and the director, James Strange. Also, we must distinguish between what someone says about a group or sect (i.e. 1 Maccabees and Josephus) and what they say about themselves (i.e. 4QMMT, 1QS, and 4QS manuscripts). When these allowances are made it is practically certain to me that the Qumranites were the strict, most conservative branch of the Essenes.

Seventh, Nickelsburg indicates how important sociology and anthropology are for Qumranology. I agree with him that the history of ideas must be supplemented by insights and sensitivities obtained by sociologists and anthropologists. I trust these reflections add to the ongoing discussion and indicate that I take Nickelsburg's work seriously.

A Response to George Nickelsburg's "Currents in Qumran Scholarship: The Interplay of Data, Agendas, and Methodology"

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The task assigned to George Nickelsburg, to map the intellectual landscape of Qumran studies over the past fifty years, is an immensely daunting one. He has, however, met the challenge and provided us with an immensely helpful perspective on the questions, interests, and conundrums that have shaped this field of study in its formative years. By way of response perhaps the most useful thing that I can do is simply to add a bit more local detail to certain parts of the map that he has sketched in his presentation.

There are two of these "loci" on the map that I would like to examine more closely. First is an issue related to the question of the identity of scholars who set the research trajectory for Qumran studies. Rather than focusing on confessional identity, however, I want to look at the disciplinary identity of scholars and the way the configuration of disciplinary fields has affected the nature of the questions investigated in Qumran studies. Second is the issue Nickelsburg has identified as the intellectual parochialism of Qumran studies.

Nickelsburg has aptly noted what he calls the "intense interest in, and heavy emphasis on Christian origins" as setting a significant part of the research agenda for Qumran studies and has helpfully reviewed and nuanced Larry Schiffman's observations about the effect of the Christian confessional identity of many scholars in this process. There is, however, a related issue of importance, namely, the peculiar place of Qumran studies betwixt and between the disciplinary centers of biblical studies. For obvious reasons biblical studies has traditionally been divided into its two main branches on the basis of canon: New Testament on the one hand and Old Testament or Hebrew Bible on the other. Although I have not done a statistical survey, it could easily be documented that a significant number, perhaps even a majority of Qumran scholars in some countries, have come from the discipline of New Testament rather than Old Testament or Hebrew Bible. If one sets aside

those Hebrew Bible scholars whose interest is specifically in text critical matters, then the large number of New Testament scholars in Qumran studies is even more striking.

While I do not intend to minimize the important contributions of Hebrew Bible scholars to the framing of Qumran studies, the point I do wish to make is that in significant ways Qumran studies were often seen as not clearly belonging to the field of Old Testament or Hebrew Bible, despite the fact that, linguistically, Hebrew Bible scholars were usually well equipped to work on the scrolls. Anecdotally, when I took a position in Hebrew Bible at Emory University and was planning my courses, I was perplexed that I found no course listing for Qumran or the Dead Sea Scrolls. It was only when I thought to look in the New Testament section of the catalogue that I found the appropriate listings.

This ambiguous status of Qumran studies vis-à-vis the field of Hebrew Bible is not difficult to understand if one recalls the shape of research agendas in biblical studies from the 1950s through the 1970s. In those days there was a dominant disciplinary bias toward issues of origin. If one wanted to get at the meaning, the essence of a phenomenon, one traced it to its origins. The face of Hebrew Bible studies was consequently turned toward the past. The early dating of "source" documents and poetic fragments was characteristic of this scholarly desire for and privileging of origins. Consequently, comparative work set the Hebrew Bible in conversation with second millennium BCE texts more readily than second century BCE texts. In my own Ph.D. training at Harvard University in the late 1970s, Akkadian and Ugaritic were required. A familiarity with Qumran texts (except for text critical purposes) was deemed optional, even peripheral to Hebrew Bible studies per se. Given the orientation of the discipline, we were more inclined to see the search for Ugaritic stylistic features in the Psalms as "belonging" to Hebrew Bible studies than the tracing of Psalmic diction in the *Hodayot*.

Now, in the late 1990s the intellectual landscape is beginning to look rather different. Although there are certainly some excesses, the momentum in academic circles is toward much later dating of the composition of Hebrew Bible texts, which are increasingly argued to date from the Persian period, or even the Hellenistic period. Suddenly, the distance between Hebrew scriptures and Ugarit looks much greater than that between Hebrew scriptures and Qumran.

Even more significant than the current penchant for the late dating of texts is the change in the nature of the questions being asked. No longer is the issue of "origins" seen as the only question worth asking.

The fashionable topics these days (not just in biblical studies but more broadly in the humanities) have to do with what happens to a text once it has escaped the confines of its original horizon of meaning. Meaning, we increasingly recognize, inheres not only in the "origins" or in the original communicative intent but also in the career of the text: its reception, the way it is read, reread, subjected to "strong misreading," negotiated and transformed into something else. From this intellectual perspective the Qumran texts can become an integral part of Hebrew Bible studies in a way that was simply not conceivable in the earlier decades of studies.

There were certain early studies that explored some of these questions (e.g., Geza Vermes' work on the phenomenon of the "rewritten Bible"),[1] but it is Michael Fishbane's work on inner biblical exegesis[2] and his exploration of scripture at Qumran[3] that has provided the clearest articulation of theory and method for such work. The recent work of James Kugel,[4] although not extensively concerned with Qumran texts per se, is part of this shift in the construction of what it means to do Hebrew Bible studies.

Another way of talking about this reorientation is to note the rise in the last twenty years or so of the category "Second Temple Period." There is more to this shift in nomenclature than simply the attempt to find a "politically correct" substitution for "Intertestamental Period." The new terminology itself confounds the attempt to organize the discipline around established canons. Significantly, by eschewing terminology that orients itself to established canons, this reconfiguration of the field draws attention precisely to the complex issues of the emergence of canon. This reconceptualization of the field carries certain implications for Qumran studies. In the past Qumran studies was accustomed to finding itself at one end or the other of a field of study: at the far end of Hebrew Bible or at the near end of New Testament. When the field is construed as Second Temple Studies, however, Qumran ends up in the

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[1] *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* (SPB 4; Leiden: Brill, 1961).

[2] *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

[3] "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. J. Mulder; CRINT 2.1; Philadelphia/Assen: Fortress/Van Gorcum, 1988).

[4] *In Potiphar's House: The Interpretive Life of Biblical Texts* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1990); *The Bible as It Was* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

middle. This relocation may sound trivial, but the different structure of the conversation that results from this reorientation should draw attention to different aspects of the Qumran data than has been the case in the past. In particular, New Testament interest in the scrolls has focused on the sectarian documents with their eschatological theology and sectarian communal practices. Where the frame of reference is "Second Temple Judaism," however, the non-sectarian documents may be of more interest than in a New Testament oriented research agenda. For example, issues of canon formation have already been enlivened by debates about the nature and intent of the Temple Scroll. Such texts as the "Expanded Pentateuch" or "Reworked Pentateuch" should add to the controversy, as one can already see in the lively discussion between Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White Crawford on the one hand[5] and Julio Trebolle Barrera and Florentino García Martínez on the other.[6]

To sum up this part of my remarks, I think we tell only part of the story of the construction and reconstruction of Qumran studies when we look at the confessional identities of the scholars of the first few decades. It is also important to take account of the dominant assumptions of the discipline of biblical studies and how those have been changing. My prediction is that Hebrew Bible scholars, and especially scholars who prefer to construe the subject area in terms of "Second Temple Studies" will increasingly perceive Qumran material as integral to their field of study. Thus compared with the early decades in which issues arising from the research agenda of New Testament studies often dominated Qumran studies, the questions to be asked and the data to be dealt with will be configured differently.

The other part of Nickelsburg's remarks to which I wish to respond is his observation about the intellectual parochialism of Qumran studies. Given that biblical studies in general is deemed to be intellectually parochial by those in other branches of religious studies (we are, if you have not heard it, referred to as "Bible nerds"), it is distressing to realize that we in Qumran studies are considered nerdy even by those who are themselves nerds. One quite appropriate response would be to mount a rousing defense of our nerditude. Qumran studies has, of ne-

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[5] E. Tov, "The Textual Status of 4Q*364-367* (4QPP)," and S. White Crawford, "4Q*364* & *365*: A Preliminary Report," *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March, 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 1:43-82 and 217-228.

[6] F. García Martínez and J. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) 103-4; 123-130.

cessity, been preoccupied during its first decades with the various forms of technical philological study that must be the bedrock of any further work. And Nickelsburg rightly celebrates these achievements in his survey. But with the completion of the publication of the texts themselves, this stage of Qumran studies, in which philology has dominated, is drawing to a close.

What types of inquiry should now be developed to complement the philological and historical-critical scholarship which has laid the foundations of Qumran studies? Nickelsburg observes that an emerging intellectual pluralism has increasingly characterized biblical studies but has as yet had little impact on Qumran studies. In particular, he refers to social scientific criticism as a possible methodology for posing new questions to the Qumran data. I would, however, raise some cautions about that approach. The less than helpful debate that has erupted among New Testament scholars concerning the superiority of social history or specifically social scientific work is one that I hope can be avoided in Qumran studies. Perhaps such a debate is inevitable, and we will have to contest the merits of grids, groups, and models vs. the merits of more hermeneutical approaches. If so, I declare myself on the side of social history and its more hermeneutical approach. Nevertheless, I suspect that the nature of our materials may make such social historical work less productive than in the field of New Testament. In addition to the problem of dating our materials, we lack the kind of incidental reference that one finds, for instance, in the Pauline letters, the sort of detail that allowed Wayne Meeks to create a rich picture of early Christianity in *The First Urban Christians*.[7] Even if it proves difficult to do much that is rigorously socio-historical with Qumran materials, one may still be able to enlarge the sense of the function of the texts through closer attention to rhetoric, since rhetoric is located at the intersection between language and the social.

However one decides the issue of the methodological usefulness of social history, social scientific method, or "none of the above," the broader question Nickelsburg puts before us is an extremely important one, and one that admits of a plurality of responses. If I may recast it, I think he is asking us with whom we could be in conversation. The questions that we have been asking (historical questions, ideational questions) are not invalid or unimportant. But how do we engage others from different disciplines to share what we find interesting about Qum-

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[7] *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

ran texts as well as to have our own interests transformed? Where is the common ground?

I find it most helpful to think of some fairly specific conversations I might have with colleagues as a way of stretching my own conception of what I do with Qumran. This issue arose in a quite concrete way when an undergraduate English honors student whom I had previously not known decided that she wanted to do her thesis on the poetry of Qumran. In the end it was not a terribly successful project, but I was struck by the questions the English professor put to her at the oral examination. He was intrigued by the fragmentary nature of Qumran texts and led her through an analysis of Ezra Pound's "fragment" poem "Spring–too long–Gangula" as a way of asking her about the aesthetics of the fragmentary. That certainly was not a question that would ever have occurred to me. Although I doubt that we will become connoisseurs of lacunae in our discipline, the English professor's radically different set of assumptions about what might be interesting in such a text made me think that some very interesting conversations might arise, for example, out of a comparative study of religious confessional poetry, including the *Hodayot*, across many cultures and ages. We have tended to consider comparative studies too narrowly, thinking primarily in terms of comparisons in which direct relationships of influence and dependence can be traced. But there are disciplined ways in which comparative study can be undertaken that transcend just those relationships, as recent theoreticians of comparative literature have argued.[8]

To consider a case closer to our own discipline, one of my faculty colleagues in ethics is particularly concerned with the ethics of community. Surely what we know about Qumran has a place in such a conversation. A large literature already exists in other disciplines on the ways in which shared and contested meanings both shape and disrupt community. I would assume that what scholars as diverse as Michael Walzer[9] and Alasdair MacIntyre[10] have to say might help us discuss in more adequate terms the nature of the creation of meaning and community within the *Yaḥad* and its relation to the wider Jewish community. And I do not think it is beyond belief that what we know of the way

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[8] For the legitimacy and possibility of such cross cultural comparative work see Claudio Guillén, *The Challenge of Comparative Literature* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1993).

[9] *Thick and Thin: Moral Argument at Home and Abroad* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994).

[10] *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988).

community is constructed at Qumran might also be of interest to that more theoretical discussion.

Our task, I think, in bringing Qumran studies "in from the cold" is to find a way to articulate more accessibly our sense of the moral imagination that we find in the texts. What, in their terms, did it mean to live and to live well? What were the images by means of which they articulated that vision of the good life? How are the very rhythms of speech and dense intertextual webs of allusion a part of that moral imagination? Why did the genres they chose seem suited aesthetically and substantively for communicating their sense of the good? How could we translate not just their words but their moral sensibility in such a way that it could engage a modern culture so different in its assumptions and values? Whenever I'm stuck with such ponderings I ask myself what I call the "Martha Nussbaum" question. I find her work on Greek tragedy and philosophy in *The Fragility of Goodness*[11] to be a model of how one can pursue such issues and engage ancient texts in extended moral conversation. To be sure Qumran texts, even when not fragmentary, are not likely to have the substance of Greek tragedy, but the model of the inquiry is much the same with any text. And so I find it helpful to try to imagine what questions a Martha Nussbaum might put to the *Serek ha-Yaḥad* or to the *Hodayot* or the *Shirot 'Olat-ha-Shabbat*. In posing such questions and in posing them with a kind of intentional naiveté, we may discover that they lead us into an encounter with a moral imagination at once disturbingly other and yet compellingly familiar.

In conclusion, George Nickelsburg has given us an excellent account of Qumran studies in its first fifty years, allowing us to gauge the significant accomplishments, to be chastened by the shortcomings, and to begin to recognize the yet unexploited possibilities for research. Although nothing can equal the heady sense of discovery that accompanied the first stage of work on these extraordinary documents, now that publication of the texts is reaching its conclusion, the next fifty years of scholarship should see Qumran studies develop into their true maturity.

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[11] *The Fragility of Goodness: Luck and Ethics in Greek Tragedy and Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Israeli Scholarship on the Texts from the Judean Desert

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The organizers of this meeting have asked me to focus on Israeli scholarship in my response to the paper by Prof. Nickelsburg. I find this a difficult task. In doing so, I would like to take Prof. Nickelsburg's remarks on the reaction in Israel to the find of the scrolls as my point of departure. Nickelsburg says: "These factors were complemented, in turn, by the Scrolls' discovery in the Holy Land, precisely at the moment that Jewish nationalism was peaking. As Sukenik would assert, they were part of the 'Jewish heritage,' which at this moment could hardly be compartmentalized from an awareness of contemporary events." Sukenik's statement, as reported by Trever,[1] is correct, in my view. As religious Jewish texts the scrolls *are* part of the Jewish heritage. A different question is whether this view distorted the scholarly treatment of the scrolls, especially during the first decade. I note, for example, a statement by Yadin in the preface to his book *The Message of the Scrolls*: "I cannot avoid the feeling that there is something symbolic in the discovery of the scrolls and their acquisition at the moment of the creation of the State of Israel . . . . These facts may have influenced my approach to the scrolls."[2] At the same time, to the best of my knowledge, Yadin's emotional preface to his book did not distort his objectivity or that of other Israeli scholars. In general, Israeli scholarship did not have an ax to grind, it seems to me.

On the whole, Israeli scholarship is sober. It is difficult to characterize Israeli scholarship on the texts from the Judean Desert, just as one can hardly characterize the scholarship of scholars living in England, Germany, or France. I think that Israeli scholars are more text oriented than other groups of scholars. They have produced several text commentaries, linguistic, textual, and paleographical studies, as well as studies on the history of ideas, the interrelation of texts, and the history of the Qumran community. Some have overall theories, but on the whole these theories are probably less speculative than those of other

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[1] J. C. Trever, *The Dead Sea Scrolls—A Personal Account* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977) 125.

[2] (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957) 14.

scholars. Until some fifteen years ago, Israeli scholars were totally banned from the publication enterprise of any of the texts from the Judean Desert, except for the Qumran texts bought by the State of Israel and texts unearthed by Israeli archeologists, in the latter case the documents from Masada and many of the documents from Naḥal Ḥever and Ṣeʾelim. All these texts have been published or are presently being published by Israeli scholars. The texts from Masada and Naḥal Ḥever are now in press. The banning of Israelis from the publication enterprise did not thwart scholarship on the scrolls in Israel, but some scholars were left with a feeling of deep frustration. Presently, however, a large contingent of Israelis participate in the international team publishing the documents from the Judean Desert.

One of the claims to fame of Israeli scholarship is the role played by Professor Eliezer Lipa Sukenik and his son Yigael Yadin. Sukenik, who was probably the first to recognize the ancient character and importance of the scrolls, also wrote some pioneering studies. At a speed that can probably be considered amazing, he published a "First Survey" of the known scrolls in September 1948, certainly a great achievement in the pre-computer era, during the siege of Jerusalem in the War of Independence. The first publication[3] contained a comparison of these scrolls with the script of the Nash Papyrus and the Uziahu inscription, and it further presented selections from the scrolls from Cave 1. The "Second Survey" published in 1950 improved on the first one. The facsimile edition of the photographs of the major texts from Cave 1 from 1954 contains a still-improved version of that survey, with more transcriptions of texts and more introductory analyses.[4] These books are now collectors' items. Especially valuable are the photographs, which include the only published photographs to date of 1QIsa^{b}, 1QMilḥamah and 1QHodayot. Neither the plates are superb, nor the transcriptions, but they are usable and did not prevent scholarship on these texts from flourishing.

It was Sukenik who first called these scrolls *megillot genuzot*, a term which is commonly used until today in Israel. For many persons this is the official name of the scrolls, referring to scrolls which were placed in a *genizah* because they came into disuse. Sukenik suggested

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[3] מגלות גנוזות מתוך גניזה קדומה שנמצא במדבר יהודה סקירה רשונה (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1948).

[4] E. L. Sukenik, אוצר המגילות גנוזות שבידי האוניברשיטה העברית (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and the Hebrew University, 1954); ET, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University and Magnes, 1955).

this term in 1948, which he defended with such arguments as the fact that some scrolls such as 1QIsa[b] were torn, and that the condition of 1QIsa[a] was handled so much that the last sheet needed re-inking.[5] However, scholars have long ago abandoned this term and together with it the understanding that the caves were ancient *genizot*, but in the perception of the Israeli public this term lingers on, even if the implications of this nomenclature are not clearly understood by the general public.

Beyond these editions, Israeli scholars produced several commentaries which always went together with text editions: Licht on the *Community Rule* and the *Thanksgiving Scroll*,[6] Yadin on the *War Scroll*,[7] including thorough analyses of the arms, banners, and battle array described in the scroll, Avigad and Yadin on the *Genesis Apocryphon*,[8] Yadin on the *tefillin*,[9] and in more recent years Nitzan on the *Pesher Habakkuk*,[10] Qimron and Strugnell on 4QMMT,[11] Qimron on the *Temple Scroll*,[12] Tov on 8ḤevXIIgr,[13] Yardeni and Cotton on the Naḥal Ḥever and Ṣeʾelim texts,[14] and Talmon on the Masada texts.[15] Above all we should mention the edition of the *Temple Scroll* by Y. Yadin,[16] probably the most elegant *editio princeps*. The introduction and

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[5] מגלות גנוזות, 20–21.

[6] J. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957 [Hebrew]); *The Rule Scroll* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965 [Hebrew]).

[7] Y. Yadin, מגילת מלחמת בני אור ובני חשך (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1955); ET, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

[8] N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1956).

[9] Y. Yadin, *Tefillin from Qumran (X Q Phyl 1–4)* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Shrine of the Book, 1969) = *ErIsr* 9 (1969) 60–85.

[10] B. Nitzan, *Pesher Habakkuk, A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea (1QpHab)* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1986 [Hebrew]).

[11] E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Maʿaśe ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

[12] E. Qimron, *The Temple Scroll, A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions* (Beer Sheva: Ben Gurion University/Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1996).

[13] *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr) (The Seiyâl Collection I)* (DJD VIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

[14] H. M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Other Sites, with an Appendix Containing Alleged Qumran Texts (The Seiyâl Collection II)* (DJD XXVII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997).

[15] Sh. Talmon published all the written Masada material in a long series of articles which are to be combined into a single volume.

[16] Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, vols. 1–3 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977 [Hebrew]); ET, *The Temple Scroll*, vols. 1–3 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration

commentary are more detailed than any of the DJD editions. Several of the mentioned editions were published in Hebrew, and therefore are less known outside Israel. A significant Hebrew edition which has been rather influential is the popular edition of the scrolls by Haberman.[17] This edition contains the major texts from Cave 1 in a very handy format without any commentary or apparatus. The texts were vocalized (as in the later edition by Lohse[18]), and a concordance was added, which provided partial help for many years until the more complete concordances were published.

The Hebrew language scholarship between 1948 and 1964 was recorded in a bibliography by Yizhar.[19] Later scholarship is covered by the more recent bibliographies.

The first linguistic studies of the special Qumran orthography were those of Yalon and Goshen-Gottstein.[20] So far the most thorough linguistic analysis of any Qumran scroll is the study by Kutscher of 1QIsa^a, which appeared first in Hebrew and then in English.[21] In this monumental work Kutscher not only provided an exhaustive analysis of the individual features of the Isaiah scroll, but he also discussed the linguistic background of each feature, and he further described the background of the idiosyncrasies of the scroll as a whole. This exemplary study is of great help in the analysis of other scrolls as well. Continuing this line of investigation, Qimron described the background of all the Qumran scrolls, although he actually limited himself to the scrolls displaying the special Qumran orthography and morphology, focusing not only on these areas, but also on syntax and vocabulary.[22]

Society, 1983).

[17] A. M. Haberman, *Megilloth Midbar Y^{e}hudah—The Scrolls from the Judean Desert* (Tel Aviv: Machbarot Lesifruth, 1959 [Hebrew]).

[18] E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran Hebräisch und Deutsch* (München: Kösel, 1969).

[19] M. Yizhar, *Bibliography of Hebrew Publications on the Dead Sea Scrolls 1948–1964* (HTS XXIII; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; 1967).

[20] H. Yalon, *Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls—Philological Essays (1949–1952)* (Jerusalem: Shrine of the Book, 1967 [Hebrew]) 11–28; M. H. Goshen-Gottstein *Text and Language in Bible and Qumran* (Jerusalem/Tel Aviv: Orient Publishing, 1960). See also the more recent study of S. Morag "Qumran Hebrew—Some Typological Observations," *VT* 38 (1988) 148–164.

[21] E. Y. Kutscher *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Complete Isaiah Scroll* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1959 [Hebrew]); ET, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a)* (STDJ 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974).

[22] E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1986).

The study of palaeography had its beginnings with the studies by Avigad[23] and Naveh[24] in Israel, and by Cross in the USA. Further significant work, especially on the Aramaic cursive script, was performed by Ada Yardeni.[25]

Also significant is the work of Flusser, Talmon, and Dimant, each in his or her own area of expertise. While both Flusser and Talmon explored the nature of the Qumran community and its ideas, Flusser also studied the relation of the writings of that community to early Christianity,[26] and Talmon described the idiosyncratic calendar of the Qumran covenanters.[27] Dimant's summarizing reviews of the Qumran literature as a whole are widely quoted.[28]

This brief survey is probably valid in its own right, and it also supplements the analysis by Prof. Nickelsburg.

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[23] N. Avigad, "The Palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; ScrHier 4; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958, 1965[2]) 56–87.

[24] Summarized in the later study by J. Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet—An Introduction to West Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1982, 1987[2]). See further, "The Development of the Aramaic Script," in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, V,1 (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of the Sciences and Humanities, 1970) 1–69; idem, "Hebrew Texts in the Aramaic Script in the Persian Period?" *BASOR* 203 (1971) 27–32; idem, *On Sherd and Papyrus—Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from the Second Temple, Mishnaic and Talmudic Periods* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1992 [Hebrew]).

[25] Summarized in A. Yardeni, *The Book of Hebrew Script* (Jerusalem: Carta, 1991 [Hebrew]).

[26] See the collected writings of D. Flusser, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988).

[27] The collection of essays by Sh. Talmon, *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes/Brill: Leiden 1989) combines many of Talmon's significant analyses of themes in the Qumran texts. Talmon is one of the scholars who consistently stressed that these writings were not by a sect, but by dissenters or nonconformists, and the members of this group should not be named Essenes, but the Community of the New Covenant, which Talmon called either the *yaḥad* or the Qumran covenanters.

[28] D. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *A Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness. Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989–1990* (ed. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 23–58.

Qumran Scholarship: A European Perspective

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First of all, we would like to make clear our admiration for Prof. Nickelsburg's effort to present us with a general vision of Qumran research from its beginnings to the present day. A synthesis of this type must inevitably be reductive and Nickelsburg is the first to acknowledge this. His decision to concentrate on the first years of research and on the last and to focus his presentation on basic dichotomies: Christian agenda versus Jewish agenda, theology versus halakha, interest in the origins of Christianity versus recovery of the varieties of Judaisms present in the scrolls, etc., provides him with an elegant way of synthesizing one set of facts, but obliges him at the same time to leave aside many other factors which have influenced the growth of Qumran research through these fifty years.

A response to Nickelsburg's presentation would have to analyze in detail the bases of the central dichotomy which directs his exposition and to make clear up to what point the emphasis on theology versus halakha is in reality due to a "Christian agenda" or to an historical accident. The actual content of the seven major manuscripts from Cave 1, the best preserved and the first to be published, is among the most "theological" and less "halakhic" of the whole collection,[1] if these categories are applicable at all to the manuscripts, which obviously is a matter of dispute.

A response to his presentation would equally have to pay more attention to the main protagonists in the research, the editorial team at the outset and the present one, given that agendas (if they exist) are not found in the texts but in the persons. A thorough evaluation of the achievements of the international team assembled by R. de Vaux for the publication of the Cave 4 materials still needs to be written. Nickelsburg

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[1] With the exception of the legal parts of 1QS and some insolated elements of 1QM all other manuscripts are conspicuously lacking halakhic elements, and both in 1QS and in 1QM the "theological" elements are conspicuously prominent.

gives some attention to the American and the Israeli teams involved in the publication of Cave 1 materials, but the contributions of the Cave 4 editors and of other caves are implied more than asserted.

But as we say, this reductionism is inevitable, and Nickelsburg is the first to put us on our guard against it. So our contribution, rather than responding to Nickelsburg's paper, is in a sense an attempt to complete it, putting the stress on other elements, equally real, which have played a decisive part in the growth of Qumran research in these fifty years. To use his own metaphor, this contribution aims to indicate other "vectors" which have decisively influenced the direction taken by Qumran research in these fifty years and reflecting "the way our guild conducts it business."

We must first state that our contribution is intentionally limited. As the title indicates (and as was requested by the organizers of the meeting) its perspective is purely European, understanding Europe as a geographical entity rather than as a cultural entity. But even this term "European" is limited in a double sense:

1. The first limitation is geographical. Within postwar Europe, this contribution confines itself to examining the Qumran research carried out in four countries: *Germany*, *France*, *Britain* and *Holland*. Qumran research carried out in Spain and Italy on one hand or the research done in eastern European countries such as Russia and Poland[2] on the other will not form part of this presentation, nor will we deal with the research done in the Scandinavian countries. We have left out the research done in Spain and in Italy for reasons of space and because we have been directly involved. We have refrained from dealing with the research done in East Europe or in the Scandinavian countries because

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[2] The Eastern European research has given a new and different dimension to the study of the scrolls from the point of view of historic materialism in the work from Amousin or Starkova in Russia or by Tyloch in Poland. This research is now well documented specially for Poland, thanks to several bibliographical essays by Z. J. Kapera, "Selected Polish Subject Bibliography of the Dead Sea Discoveries," *Folia Orientalia* 23 (1985-86) 269-338; "A Review of East European Studies on the Temple Scroll," in *Temple Scroll Studies* (JSPSup 7; ed. G. J. Brooke; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989) 275-86; "The Present State of Polish Qumranology," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March 1991* (STDJ 11; ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 1.307-15. The research done on other East European countries is now documented: for Hungary, see I. Fröhlich, "Bibliographie des recherches hongroises sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte," *Folia Orientalia* 25 (1988) 79-83; for Russia, see Z. J. Kapera, "Revival of Russian Qumranology," *The Qumran Chronicle* 6 (1996) 147-166.

of our knowledge of this work is limited and second-hand, and because our ignorance both of Eastern European and of Scandinavian languages.[3]

2. A further limitation here imposed on the adjective "European" must be explained to avoid confusion: this presentation will leave out the research of the members of the first editorial team assembled by R. de Vaux who worked at the Palestinian Archaeological Museum and the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française in East Jerusalem. (We may call this team "primary," given that it provided both the material on which all subsequent research is based and the two great syntheses which continue to dominate the archaeological[4] and literary[5] aspects of the "secondary" study of the texts.) Although the research of most of the members of the first editorial team (de Vaux, Milik, Barthélemy, Starcky, Allegro, Strugnell, Hunzinger, and Baillet, for example) might justly be considered as "European" as to its background, presuppositions, methods and institutional framework (the research of Milik, Starcky and Baillet was carried out in a setting as typically French as the CNRS), this presentation will leave aside that body of work to concentrate on the research which we may term secondary, that which takes up the material provided by the editorial team. The exception is the case of Holland, where it is impossible to separate the two elements, as both van der Woude and van der Ploeg began with secondary work before starting with the primary editorial work on the material from Cave 11. Our paper, then, will present the "secondary" contributions to Qumran research of the four mentioned European countries. First, we will provide a general survey for each one of the countries (the data), then we will abstract from these data some significant, characteristically "European" elements (the conclusions).

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[3] We have no direct access to the original publications of very influential figures such as Arvid S. Kapelrud in Oslo, H. Ringgren in Stockholm, or E. Nielsen and B. Otzen in Copenhagen, not to mention others equally well known as B. Reicke or H. Kosmala who were very active during the first years of Qumran research. Although their work is partially available in English or German translations, this is not enough to give a general idea of the research done in these countries.

[4] R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (The Schweich Lectures; London: Oxford University Press for the British Academcy, 1973). These lectures were given in 1959, published in French in 1961, and reissued with revision in an English translation in 1973.

[5] J. T. Milik, *Dix ans découvertes dans le Désert de Juda* (Paris: Cerf, 1957), translated into English by J. Strugnell, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (SBT 26; London: SCM, 1959).

I. The data

In each one of these four countries in question we can distinguish various centers of secondary Qumran research with a characteristic profile, frequently with different methods and interests and consequently with distinct results.

1. Germany

Perhaps the first center of Qumran research in Germany which can be identified is Leipzig, with the work of Profs. H. Bardtke and C. Burchard. It is a fact that Qumran research in Leipzig practically came to an end on the death of these two researchers and has only recently been revived thanks to Prof. H. Seidel and his *Forschungsstelle Judentum*.[6] If this is mentioned first it is because characteristically one of the first results of the work at Leipzig was constituted by Burchard's Bibliographies of 1957 and 1965[7] and Bardke's *Literaturbericht* in the *Theologische Rundschau*[8] which show two of the characteristics of "European" research: an effort to produce the tools necessary for the study of the scrolls, and an intention to cover the totality of the manuscripts in the different collections, both the religious texts from Qumran itself and the profane texts from other places such as Murabbaʿat.

Undoubtedly the most important center of German Qumran research in the fifties and sixties was undoubtedly the *Qumranforschungsstelle* of Heidelberg University, under the energetic direction of Karl Georg Kuhn.[9] This Institute was continued by H. Stegemann, first in Marburg and then in Göttingen.[10] It had a profound influence on European research on the scrolls, since as well as the German researchers generally associated with it, a great number or re-

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[6] This institution, part of the Theological Faculty of Leipzig, is responsible for the publication of the *Mitteilungen und Beiträge*, in which the Qumran research done at the institution is published.

[7] C. Burchard, Bibliographie zu den Handschriften vom Toten Meer (BZAW 76; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1957); Bibliographie zu den Handschriften vom Toten Meer II: Nr. 1557-4459 (BZAW 89; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1965).

[8] See *TRu* 29 (1963) 261-92; 31 (1964) 281-315; 33 (1968) 97-119; 185-236; 37 (1972) 97-120; 38 (1973) 257-291; 39 (1974) 189-221; 40 (1975) 210-226.

[9] Founded in 1957 and active until 1973.

[10] H. Stegemann, "Die Qumranforsungsstelle Marburg und ihre Aufgabenstellung. Ein Bericht," in *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (BETL 46; ed. M. Delcor; Paris-Leuven: Duculot-Leuven University Press, 1978) 47-54. In his own words: "Die *Qumranforschungsstelle Marburg* setzt institutionell, personell und in ihrer Aufgabenbestellung die Arbeit jener *Qumranforschungsstelle Heidelberg* fort" (50).

searchers from other countries went through a formative period there and show in their publications the imprint of the *Qumranforschungsstelle*. To mention some of the best known non-German researchers who show the perceptible influence of Heidelberg: A. M. Denis (Belgium) did his work there on the *Damascus Document*;[11] M. Delcor (France) did his study on the *Hodayot*;[12] A. S. van der Woude did his work on messianic ideas;[13] J. Murphy-O'Connor (Ireland, although based in Jerusalem) did his studies on the evolution of the *Community Rule*.[14]

We have all used and continue to use the *Rückläufiges Hebräisches Wörterbuch* of 1958[15] and the *Konkordanz zu den Qumran Texten* of 1960,[16] edited by Kuhn, and the result of a collective work. These two books underline the express desire to provide above all the tools necessary for scientific study of the manuscripts, a line continued by Stegemann with his plan for a great *Dictionary of Qumran Hebrew*, a project that has not yet seen the light, in spite of the intensive work of the team in Marburg and in Göttingen,[17] and by K. Beyer of Heidelberg with the publication of his two volumes which include the edition of all the Aramaic texts, together with a *Grammar* and *Dictionary*.[18]

In addition to furnishing the tools, the work of the Heidelberg *Qumranforschungsstelle* is characterized by the publication of a large number of monographs on different aspects of the thought of Qumran, prepared as doctoral theses or as *Habilitationsschriften* by the members of the group in successive years and published in the 1970s and 1980s, often in the series *Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments*, edited by Kuhn. This crop of monographs is as impressive as the role-call of the

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[11] A. M. Denis, *Les thèmes de connaisance dans le Document de Damas* (StudHell 15; Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1967).

[12] M. Delcor, *Les hymnes de Qumran (Hodayot)* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1962).

[13] A. S. van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumrân* (Studia Semitica Nederlandica 3; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1957).

[14] J. Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté," *RB* 76 (1969) 528-49.

[15] K. G. Kuhn et al., *Rückläufiges hebräisches Wörterbuch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958).

[16] K. G. Kuhn et al., *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960).

[17] See the description of the project in Stegemann's article quoted in n. 10.

[18] K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984); *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994).

writers: H. Stegemann,[19] G. Jeremias,[20] J. Becker,[21] H. W. Khun,[22] R. Deichgräber,[23] P. von den Osten-Sacken,[24] G. Klinzing[25] and H. Lichtenberger,[26] to mention only the ones who worked directly under Kuhn.[27]

This brief survey of Qumran research in Germany would not be complete without the mention at least of other resources such as E. Lohse and J. Maier. *Die Texten aus Qumran. Hebräisch und Deutsch*, by the first,[28] has been the introductory book on the Qumran texts for many generations of European students and the three volumes by the second, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer*, recently published[29] are the culmination of a long career in Qumran research of the founder of the Martin

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[19] H. Stegemann, "Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde" (Bonn; privately published, 1971); his other Heidelberg dissertation, "Rekonstruktion der Hodayot: Ursprüngliche Gestalt und kritisch bearbeiteter Text der Hymnenrolle aus Höhle 1 von Qumran" (Heidelberg, 1963), as well as his *Habilitationsschrift*, "Κυριος ο Θεος und κυριος Ιησους. Aufkommen und Ausbreitung des religiösen Gebrauchs von Κυριος und seine Verwendung im Neuen Testament," have, to our knowledge, not yet been published, although some of the arguments of this latter work are to be found in H. Stegemann, "Religionsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu den Gottesbezeichnungen in den Qumrantexten," *Qumrân. Sa piété,* 195-217.

[20] G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (SUNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963).

[21] J. Becker, *Der Heil Gottes: Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament* (SUNT 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964).

[22] H. W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966).

[23] R. Deichgräber, *Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus in der frühen Christenheit: Untersuchungen zu Form, Sprache und Stil der frühchristlichen Hymnen* (SUNT 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967).

[24] P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* (SUNT 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969).

[25] G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (SUNT 7; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971).

[26] H. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde* (SUNT 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978).

[27] Other scholars, who also worked with Kuhn and later on with H. Stegemann, such as H. Pabst, N. Ilg and G. W. Nebe, have more recently published their investigations.

[28] E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran. Hebräisch und Deutsch* (München: Käsel-Verlag, 1964).

[29] J. Maier, Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer. Band I: Die Texte der Höhlen 1-3 und 5-11; Band II: Die Texte der Höhle 4; Band III: Einfürhung, Zeitrechnung, Register und Bibliographie (UTB für Wissenschaft; München: Reinhard, 1995-1996).

Buber Institute of the University of Cologne. Both works are admirable examples of the production of study tools. This tendency is equally evident in the three German centers where Qumran research is nowadays concentrated: in Göttingen under the direction of H. Stegemann, where A. Steudel is preparing a new complete edition in the tradition of Lohse, in Tübingen under the direction of H. Lichtenberger, where an edition is being prepared of all the biblical texts from the Judaean Desert, and in Bonn under the direction of J. Fabry, where a *Theologisches Wörterbuch* of Qumran texts is been prepared, parallel to that of the Old Testament.

2. France

In France it is easy to discern, if not two centers, two schools of secondary Qumranic research, both influenced by the strong French tradition of primary research. The first, alluded to by Nickelsburg in his paper, is that represented by A. Dupont-Sommer and his disciples such as M. Philonenko (in Strasbourg) and E. M. Laperrousaz (in Paris) and by his successor in Paris, A. Caquot. The second is that represented by J. Carmignac and his collaborators.

The first, which can be characterized as "a historical, synthetic and lay approach," is centered in the *College de France* and in the *École pratique des hautes études* at Paris. The second, which could be characterized as a "philological, analytical and catholic" approach, is centered in the *Institut Catholique*, also in Paris, where J. Carmignac, as well as Grelot and Cothenet taught.

Both schools have produced a notable number of valuable, detailed studies;[30] both have written influential syntheses, both have published good complete French translations of the Qumran texts, and both have engaged in sharp and generally courteous polemics. Independently of the value of the works of its members, each of these schools has made an important contribution to "European research."

It is due to the school of Dupont-Sommer that the Bible in the most prestigious French literary series, *La Bibliothèque de la Pléiade*,

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[30] Full bibliographies of the leaders of both "schools" are easily available. The main bibliography of A. Dupont-Sommer is in "Publications de Monsieur André Dupont-Sommer," in *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1971) 539-56; it is supplemented by the bibliographical section by Hélène Lozachmeur in "In memoriam" written by M. Sznycer, "André Dupont-Sommer (1900-1983)," *Journal Asiatique* 272 (1984) 1-13. The bibliography of J. Carmignac is in F. García Martínez, "Bibliographie de M. l'Abbé Jean Carmignac," in *Mémorial Jean Carmignac* (ed. F. García Martínez and É. Puech; Paris: Gabalda, 1988) 9-20.

is made up of three parts, *L'Ancien Testament*, *Le Nouveau Testament*, and *Les écrits intertestamentaires*. This third part, in order of publication,[31] includes a great number of the Qumran manuscripts together with the most characteristic writings of the Judaism of the Second Temple period. Independent of the title, which inevitably reflects the language of the time in which it was published, the publication of this Bible in three parts seems to us an important event. As M. Philonenko says in the *Avant-propos*, "Il ne relève ni de la Synagogue ni d'aucune Eglise. Dupont-Sommer aimait à en parler comme de la 'Bible de l'humaniste'." In itself this fact shows that Qumran research in France is not confined to the dichotomy to which Nickelsburg seems to reduce this fifty years of research.

Equally important for Qumran research seems to be the contribution of the other French school, even if of quite a different order. We refer to the *Revue de Qumran*, founded by J. Carmignac in 1958. Carmignac edited it for thirty years with exemplary dedication and constancy. For many years it was a one-man-show. With no other consideration but that of the scholarly quality of the contributions open to all European languages, welcoming all points of view, opening its pages equally to established researchers and to beginning scholars, Carmignac made it the ideal vehicle for advancing Qumran research.

3. Holland

In Holland too we can distinguish two centers of Qumran research: Groningen and Nijmegen. As we have indicated, it is impossible in this case to distinguish between primary and secondary research, since J. van der Ploeg at Nijmegen[32] and A. S. van der Woude at Groningen[33] began their work in what we call here "secondary" research, before concentrating on primary research, the publication of the material

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[31] *La Bible, Écrits intertestamentaires* (Édition publié sous la direction d'A. Dupont-Sommer et M. Philonenko; Paris: Gallimard, 1987). The Qumran texts are translated by A. Dupont-Sommer and A. Caquot.

[32] For a bibliography of the writings of J. P. M. van der Ploeg, see W. C. Delsman, "Verzeichnis der Schriften von J. P. M. van der Ploeg," in *Von Kanaan bis Kerala. Festschrift für Prof. Mag. Dr. J. P. M. van der Ploeg O.P.* (AOAT 211; ed. W. C. Delsman et al.; Kevelaer-Neukirchen: Butzon & Bercker-Neukirchener, 1982) 513-34.

[33] For a bibliography of the writings of A.S. van der Woude, see F. García Martínez, "A Bibliography of A. S. van der Woude," in *The Scriptures and the Scrolls. Studies in Honour of A. S. van der Woude on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (SVT 49; ed. F. García Martínez et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 228-68.

from Cave 11, discovered in 1956 and acquired by the KNAW in 1961 and 1962. Van der Ploeg began with a book of synthesis in 1957,[34] later translated into various languages, and with a detail study of 1QM in 1959;[35] van der Woude began with the already-quoted monograph, *Die messianische Vorstellungen* of 1957. Both centers and both researchers, in addition to their individual work and the supervision of theses and studies on the scrolls carried out by their disciples,[36] have made a decisive contribution to the building up of Qumran studies in Europe with a couple of initiatives which have turned out to be very successful.

Van der Woude founded the *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* (published by Brill at Leiden) and he created the *Qumran Instituut* in the University of Groningen. Van der Ploeg founded the series *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* (also published by Brill at Leiden). The *Journal for the Study of Judaism* not only provides (and has done so for twenty-eight years) a channel for scholarly research into Judaism of the Hellenistic and Roman period (a field hitherto non-existent), but by this very fact has made an enormous contribution to placing the study of the manuscripts in their proper perspective, not as a marginal sectarian phenomenon, but as part and parcel of the Jewish literature of the time. And the *STDJ* series has provided a useful function for publishing the best Qumran research whether individual or collective.

But what is most interesting about both initiatives is that, contrary to the German model strongly dependent on personal circumstances,[37] the Dutch model has provided for a stable academic base for research through the anchoring of these initiatives in a specific institute for Scrolls studies at the University of Groningen, assuring in this way the continuity and stability of the research over a long period of time.

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[34] J. P. M. van der Ploeg, *Vondsten in de woestijn van Juda* (Prisma Boeken; Utrecht: Spektrum, 1957).

[35] J. P. M. van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre* (STDJ 2; Leiden: Brill, 1959).

[36] The best known of these dissertations are O. J. R. Schwarz, "Der erste Teil der Damaskusschrift und das Alte Testament," directed by van der Ploeg, and E. W. Tuinstra, "Hermeneutische aspecten van de Targum van Job uit grot XI van Qumrân," directed by van der Woude.

[37] As exemplified by the transfers of the *Qumranforschungsstelle* from Heidelberg to Marburg to Göttingen, or the cessation of the publication of Qumran monographs in the SUNT series after the death of Kuhn.

Hence, for example, the *Qumran Bibliography* of B. Jongeling,[38] prepared in the Qumran Instituut and published in 1971, could be continued periodically in the *Revue de Qumrân* and in the bibliography of F. García Martínez and D. Parry.[39] Similarly, van der Ploeg's series (in which eight volumes had appeared between 1956 and 1975)[40] has continued uninterrupted since his retirement when its editorship was transferred to the Qumran Instituut of Groningen. Sixteen volumes have appeared since 1992.[41] Likewise, publication of the *JSJ* has continued uninterrupted since the retirement of van der Woude, and has even been enlarged with a series of *Supplements to the JSJ*, in which seven volumes have appeared in two years.

This institutional base allowed the Qumran Instituut to organize during the 1996 Congress in Groningen, the *International Organization for Qumranic Studies*, a professional association which provides the community of researchers triennial congresses at which they have the opportunity to exchange and present research in progress. This institutional anchoring of Qumran research in the wniversity world seems to us one of the most notable elements of the Dutch contribution, an anchoring which has even resulted in the creation of a professorial chair specifically dedicated to the study of the scrolls in the University of Groningen.

4. Britain

In Britain too we can distinguish two centers of Qumran research, Manchester and Oxford. The great figures of the fifties and sixties, F. F. Bruce and H. H. Rowley in Manchester and C. Roth and G. R. Driver in Oxford, represented two ways of studying the manuscripts, and it is not surprising that they arrived at very different conclusions as to the origin and dating of the scrolls. Rowley was the first to use the expression "the battle of the scrolls" to refer to the

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[38] B. Jongeling, A Classified Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1958-1969 (STDJ 7; Leiden: Brill, 1971).

[39] F. García Martínez - D. W. Parry, A Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1970-1995 (STDJ 19; Leiden: Brill, 1996).

[40] With essential commentaries on individual manuscripts 1QS (1), 1QM (2), 1QH (3) and 1QIsa^{a} (6).

[41] This includes collective works, such as the proceedings of the Haifa (10) and Madrid congresses (11), the Jerusalem conferences (16 and 20) and the proceedings of the meetings of the IOQS (15 and 23). It also includes individual monographs by García Martínez (9), B. Nitzan (12), A. Steudel (13), D. D. Swanson (14), P. W. Flint (16), A. Lange (18), S. Metzo (21) and E. D. Herbert (22).

controversy of the early years and, if proverbially English politeness stopped the river from running with blood, the wounds given and received in Britain in fifties and sixties were slow to heal and somewhat shaped the future.

Nowadays, with different protagonists, the centers are the same, even the "Dutch model" seems have taken root in British soil.

The Universities of Manchester and Sheffield have jointly created a Centre for the study of the manuscripts, prompted by G. J. Brooke and P. Davies (both with a long history of service to Qumran research and a long list of publications).[42] The Centre has organized in the last two years a series of activities around the anniversary of the opening of the *Copper Scroll* in Manchester, and has been very influential in the publishing field through the Sheffield Academic Press, of which Davies is one of the main figures.

And in Oxford G. Vermes[43] (with an even longer history of service and with many important contributions at all levels of Qumran research)[44] also created a Qumran Room in the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies in Yarnton Manor. This Center, which regularly publishes the results of its research in the "Qumran Corner" of the *Journal of Jewish Studies*, has been instrumental in acquiring funds that have expedited the publication of the official *DJD* series.

More important still: the Centre, as one of the official repositories of the photographic copies of the manuscripts, has digitalized all the manuscript photographs and has put them on an electronic base. This data base, edited by T. Lim[45] (at present in the University of Edinburgh) is the most recent of the European contributions to Qumran research.

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[42] See the entries under their names in García Martínez and Parry, *A Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah*, 50-54 (Brooke); 108-111 (Davies).

[43] For a bibliography of the writings of G. Vermes see "Bibliography of the Works of Geza Vermes 1949-1989," in *A Tribute to Geza Vermes. Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History* (JSOTSup 100; ed. P. R. Davies and R. T. White; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990) 383-88.

[44] His synthesis *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (London: Collins, 1977) has been very widely used as a first introduction to the Scrolls; his detailed introductions to the writings of the Qumran Community in the "new Schürer," *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (Volume III.1; revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Goodman; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1986) 38-469, are still indispensable, and he is the author of an established standard translation which has known four editions and has been recently re-issued as *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 1997).

[45] *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library. Volume I* (ed. T. Lim in consultation with P. Alexander; Oxford/Leiden: Oxford University Press/Brill, 1997).

Like the contributions of the other countries mentioned above, the most notable characteristic of the British contribution is found at the level of tools permitting further developments in research.

II. Conclusions

Independent of the value, permanent or temporary, of the contributions of each of the researchers in the four countries we have mentioned and of all those whose names we have had to omit, we believe there are two elements which stand out as characteristically "European": the build-up and institutionalization of this research on one hand, and on the other its implanting in the academic world in that they have given it a place of its own, thus guaranteeing its future development. The combined result of these two factors is the consolidation of Qumran research as a new academic discipline.

If one thing can be said to characterize research as rich and as varied as that carried out in Europe during these fifty years of study of the scrolls, we believe that it is precisely the emphasis on the gradual and progressive production of the tools necessary for a truly scientific study of the text.

It is certain that in Europe, as in America or Israel, there has been no lack of brilliant analysis of specific texts, of acute and enlightening philological study, of discussion of the theological problems contained in the texts, of brilliant (or misguided) synthesis, or of study of the scrolls for purely Christian motifs or from exclusively Jewish concerns. But when the whole thing is examined, what emerges most clearly are not the hidden agendas or the particular biases, but a constant and humble concern to create little by little the necessary equipment for arriving at a proper understanding of texts perceived as important for "European culture" which is by definition a Judeo-Christian culture. Combined with this was the effort to establish the study of the scrolls in the University world as the best guarantee of its independence.

In our opinion, what this survey (obviously rapid, incomplete and probably partial, being written by "Europeans") highlights is:

a) the production of tools for research, of bibliographies, concordances, dictionaries, translations, data-bases and monographs;

b) the creation of adequate vehicles for the communication of research findings: specialized periodicals and series of books dedicated exclusively to the study of the scrolls in all their aspects;

c) the creation of permanent structures within the University context in which the research can take place without the disturbance of

external influences, and of regular opportunities for interchange among professionals dedicated to its study;

d) the incorporation of the study of the Scrolls in the university curriculum as an important part of the Jewish literature of the Hellenistic and Roman periods parallel to the study of the Hebrew Bible and the Greek New Testament.[46]

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[46] It is a pleasant duty to thank Alisdair McKinnon for the translation of this paper.

A Response to the Respondents

George W. E. Nickelsburg
University of Iowa

I wish to thank my respondents for their generous comments and for the significant ways in which they have filled the lacunae in my own account. I hope that, taken together, my paper and their responses provide a useful first step toward the construction of a history of Qumran scholarship that helps to place the data in their generative contexts. I reiterate the observation that brackets my paper. Biblical scholarship in general can learn a great deal from the "what," "why," and "how well" of Qumran scholarship.

Florentino García Martínez and Julio Trebolle Barrera

First, I was delighted that my colleagues filled in a gap in my discussion through their detailed and cogent account of major aspects of European scrolls research. As they note, it would be useful to extend the perimeters to include Qumran scholarship that has developed in other parts of Europe and show how it was affected by the social and intellectual climates in those countries.

I was particularly struck by their emphasis on the development of university-connected research centers. Different from the United States (I acknowledge less familiarity with Canada), such centers are part of the institutional structure and culture of European universities. Additionally, biblical scholarship here has not been dominated by the school approach typical of the great European universities. The long-term exception in Qumran studies has been Harvard, where the tutelage of Frank Moore Cross and John Strugnell has produced an impressive array of important doctoral dissertations.

I had not thought of my approach as reductionist. My focus on Christian agenda versus Jewish agenda was but one window into the history of research. In this context, I re-emphasize the importance of closely scrutinizing influential Christian scholarship for possible prejudices. I do not think that the historical accident of discovering the intact Cave 1 scrolls totally explains the lack of interest in the halakha. As I noted, not all that much work was done on the halakhic part of the *Da-*

mascus Document, which early on was connected with the Qumran corpus. As to Dupont-Sommer, I did in fact, emphasize that he stood apart from the Jewish/Christian dichotomy as a historian of religions in (as my respondents put it) the humanistic tradition.

Emanuel Tov

I am especially grateful for Emanuel Tov's summary of Israeli scholarship. That the Israeli *Sitz im Leben* has not distorted scrolls scholarship in that country—Yadin's own moment of self-doubt not withstanding—is useful to know. To judge from Professor Tov's survey of this scholarship, this fact is doubtless related to the heavy emphasis on text and philology. My major point was that the moment and setting of the scroll's discovery affected and, indeed, effected substantial Israeli interest in them, which eventually resulted in considerable Jewish interest in broader aspects of Jewish history that had, by and large, been ignored by Jewish scholars. A specific example of one's setting affecting one's scholarship is surely the commentary of the *War Scroll* written by Yigael Yadin the soldier.

John J. Collins

Overall I agree with John Collins' comments, though I would clarify a few of my own remarks to which he responds and suggest the qualification of a couple of his comments.

Read in context, my observation that scrolls scholarship "is driven by the data" does not reflect the self-understanding of historical critics. The shape and setting of the evidence did, in fact, determine how things would proceed. My major emphasis on "vector analysis" would seem to be more "post-modern." The scholarship "was affected by many factors extraneous to the texts and material evidence."

When I said that Edmund Wilson has had no successors in the field of journalism, I was speaking of the quality of journalistic coverage. In my view, much of the contemporary coverage of the scrolls has been more interested in creating sensation than in seeking and interpreting significance. Wilson sought to understand the important issues and present both sides. I have not seen a great deal of that in contemporary media coverage of the scrolls.

In the same vein, I think that Collins wrongly places Dupont-Sommer, Allegro, and Wilson in the same category. Different from Allegro, Dupont-Sommer presented an extensive comparison of the

scrolls and early Christianity that took into account both similarities and differences, and Wilson was willing to hear out scholars whose relatively conservative positions were quite different from his won agnostic position.

Finally, I believe that the account of German scholarship by Florentino García Martínez and Julio Trebolle Barrera indicates more significant influence (especially from the Heidelberg group) on the first generation of scrolls scholarship and more interest in Jewish origins than Collins seems to allow.

Carol A. Newsom

I appreciate very much Carol Newsom's expansion and interaction with my ideas. I have no brief for the "superiority of social history or specifically social scientific work." However, where such methods have enlightened biblical scholarship, they should be brought to bear on Qumran studies. The combination of textual, material, and geographic data suggest to me that our methodological horizon might be profitably expanded in Qumran studies. On this issue I think we agree—however the expansion takes place. Additionally we agree that it is high time to look wholistically at Second Temple Judaism, rather than cutting off the apocrypha, pseudepigrapha, and scrolls from the canonical Hebrew Scriptures and comparing them disjunctively to the New Testament.

James H. Charlesworth

First, I refer to 1948 (as does Emanuel Tov), because that is when the discovery of the scrolls was made public and when published scholarly discourse began.

Second, Professor Charlesworth rightly notes the scientific methods that have supported the broad outlines of paleographic analysis. It is a good example of how methodological advances, in this case outside the humanities and social sciences, have contributed to humanistic scholarship. To this should be added new techniques of photographic reproduction and computer enhancement.[1]

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[1] See, e.g., B. Zuckerman, "Bringing the Dead Sea Scrolls Back to Life: A New Evaluation of Photographic and Electronic Imaging of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD 3* (1996) 178-207; G. Bearman and S. Spiro, "Imaging: Clarifying the Issues," *DSD 3* (1996) 321-28; B. Zuckerman and K. Zuckerman, "Photography of Manuscripts," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* (ed. Eric M. Meyers; New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) 4.336-47.

Third, I have no particular brief for the terms "earliest Christianity" or "early church," though I think the latter (perhaps not in the singular) is surely appropriate for those groups whom the Apostle Paul so designated. My point was to define what is generally called earliest Christianity as a *Jewish messianic* sect (italics added).

Fourth, I followed the flow of Schiffman's book because, even if I do not agree with all his judgements and emphases, I consider the book a good summary of the state of scholarship, popular in its packaging, but undergirded by a thorough knowledge of the field and making its own original contributions. My first footnote refers to the bibliographies that cite all the authors that Professor Charlesworth mentions, as well as many others.

Fifth, Professor Charlesworth misreads my point. Having granted Schiffman's generalization, I went on at length to qualify it. Jewish scholars (those cited and others) have done a great deal of work on the scrolls and brought their own special tools and foci to bear on the study of Second Temple Judaism.

Sixth, in my view, the work of "Talmon and others" notwithstanding, "the practitioners of the social scientific methods are *primarily* occupied with the canonical texts" (italics added).

PART THREE: ASSESSING THE CAVE 4 FRAGMENTS OF THE DAMASCUS DOCUMENT—REFLECTIONS ON DISCOVERIES IN THE JUDAEAN DESERT XVIII

The Damascus Document Reconsidered

Joseph M. Baumgarten
Baltimore Hebrew College

This gathering affords me a welcome opportunity to re-appraise the Cave 4 fragments of the *Damascus Document* (D) from the more detached vantage point afforded by time and distance. The most interesting additions to our knowledge of Qumran lore would seem to be concentrated toward the end of D, which is where this brief survey will begin.

1. The summation extant at the end of D identifies it as "the elaboration of the laws to be followed during the entire period of visitation . . . . Behold, it is all in accordance with the final interpretation of the Torah." H. Stegemann has suggested that *midraš ha-torah ha-ʾaḥaron* was the original title of D. However, this appellation occurs elsewhere in D, and I am reluctant to take it as "final" in the absolute sense. Rather, I assume that it is the latest interpretation in accordance with the progressive illumination of the Law which the Qumran community believed to be ongoing "from time to time" until the coming of the Messiah.

The coming of the Messiah would enable the community to grasp the full meaning of the Law and to receive pardon for their preceding shortcomings (CD VI 9-11; XIV 18-19). It is apparent from 1QSa and 4QMMT that the Law would not be abrogated in the latter days.

2. One of the sharpest expressions of Qumran determinism is found in the Qumran liturgy of the expulsion ceremony. It is addressed to the Creator of everything, who established all nations, but "made them (the gentiles) go astray in a trackless void," while he chose Israel to give them his statutes. The liturgy has some phraseology reminiscent of the *ʿAlenu* prayer, but the latter is followed in rabbinic usage by the hope for the end of paganism through the recognition of God's kingdom by all mankind.

3. Those suspended in accordance with the penal code are bidden to accept their judgment willingly, as one who sinned would bring his sin offering. Thus, suspension is viewed as tantamount to an atoning sacrifice.

The offenses listed in the penal code of D are very similar to those of the *Community Rule*, except for two offenses involving women: murmuring against the Mothers of the community, who apparently had an honored status, and improper marital relations with one's wife. The latter most likely refers to unnatural intercourse, as does the enigmatic allusion in 1QSa to the wife's duty to admonish her husband concerning the "laws of the Torah."

The penalties in D are two-fold, a suspension of variable duration and an unspecified penalty. The latter does not include reduction in one's food ration, which is mentioned in the *Community Rule* and in 4Q265.

4. The Cave 4 additions to the law code, which embrace both biblically based and organizational rules, are substantial. It is now evident that the "elaboration of the laws," *peruš ha-mišpatim*, was the central purpose of D, with the hortatory sections at the beginning and end serving to call for the renewal of the covenant to follow the true interpretation of the Torah.

5. The Torah is, of course, the basis of all subsequent Jewish law. "In it everything is specified" (CD XVI 2). However, D reflects an advanced stage of legal development which had gone far beyond the literal text in the direction of what later became rabbinic halakha. D with its negative view of the Seekers of Smooth Things (the Pharisees) displays a reformist tendency. Yet, with the Qumran concept of continuing revelation, it, too, embraces many legal traditions for which a literal basis in the Torah can hardly be found.

Reflections on DJD XVIII

Philip R. Davies
University of Sheffield

I encountered Joseph Baumgarten at my first Annual SBL Meeting, some twenty years ago, when I gave a paper to the Qumran Section. Despite many Qumran conferences in the meantime, I have never had the opportunity for a personal encounter until now, and it is a pleasure to be able to publicly discuss his edition of the Cave 4 fragments of the *Damascus Document* and to hear his response.

Since our first meeting, we have nevertheless had a crucial correspondence. This was shortly after Professor Baumgarten had been invited to take over from J. T. Milik the editing of the 4QD manuscripts. Having discovered this, I (together with Robert Eisenman) asked John Strugnell, then chief editor, if I might be permitted to see the fragments, in view of the stated policy that such access was not refused to *bona fide* scholars. I was referred, with rather characteristic shortness of temper, to Baltimore, and accordingly I wrote in October 1989. I was unsuccessful, though I was at least answered promptly and with courtesy. Baumgarten promised in this reply "not to be the cause of any further unreasonable delays, but to make the texts available as soon as possible to all who wish to study them."

Having made at the time the necessary point that free access was not in fact granted to unpublished material, it is now proper to concede that Professor Baumgarten fulfilled the commitment he made, and has been extremely prompt in sharing the fruits of his editorial work. As a result of many publications arising from his editorial work, most of us have been well prepared for the publication of DJD XVIII, making it easier to offer considered reflections upon it.

General Observations

As Emanuel Tov, in the *Foreword,* observes, this is only the second DJD volume containing halakhic material, the first having been DJD X (on 4QMMT). Of course, the Cairo manuscripts themselves, and in more recent times the *Temple Scroll*, laid the foundations for the study of halakhah at Qumran. Both, it must be noted, were published by Jewish scholars. Indeed, among early commentators on the "Zadokite

Fragments," apart from Schechter himself, were I. Lévi and G. Margoliouth, and a series of interesting and important Jewish studies culminated in the massive halakhic analysis of Louis Ginzberg.[1] The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls diverted this strand of research, both because of the lack of other halakhic material coming from the published Qumran texts and because of a relative diminution in Jewish scholarship on the scrolls. With the renewal of Jewish scholarship (due partly to access, and partly to the publication of substantial new halakhic material, commencing with the *Temple Scroll*) both continuity and discontinuity with the earlier scholarship is evident: on the one hand, Ginzberg's attribution of the halakhah of his "Unknown Jewish Sect" to the Pharisees has been decisively rejected, while Schechter's (and Margoliouth's and Lévi's) Sadducean identification has been revived.[2]

The publication we are now considering is thus indeed another important landmark in what Larry Schiffman calls "reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls for Judaism." Schiffman's thesis is that all forms of Judaism in the late Second Temple period, "with the exception of the extreme Hellenizers, demanded observance of the Torah's commandments. They differed only on certain theological issues and in the particular rulings of the Law and its interpretation."[3] Thus, for him, the Judaism of the Dead Sea Scrolls, in having at its heart an understanding of Torah, falls well within his definition of Second Temple Judaism, not outside or even on the fringes. This opinion is echoed by Baumgarten: "The interpretation of law (מדרש התורה) is now, much more than in the early stages of scroll research, recognized to have been a central concern of the Qumran community."[4]

I will consider the term "Qumran community" presently; at the moment I want only to agree that the interpretation of law is a central concern of the CD material and indeed of much of the Qumran collection. In submitting my agreement, however, I want to insist that this

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[1] For a brief account of this early research, see P. R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983) 5-14.

[2] The recent literature on the Sadducean identification of Qumran halakhah is quite extensive. As far as CD itself is concerned, the most detailed discussion is that of Y. Sussmann, in E. Qimron and J. Strugnell (eds.), in consultation with Y. Sussmann and with contributions by Y. Sussmann and A. Yardeni, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 179-200.

[3] L. H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994) xxv.

[4] DJD XVIII, 6.

concern with the law in the Qumran writings must not necessarily be taken as a pretext for adopting a rabbinic perspective on the Qumran writings as a whole, which would be as incorrect as the adoption of a Christian one. To see these texts exclusively through rabbinic or Christian eyes is probably to miss the main point about them: that they are prior to both.[5] Indeed, both Jewish and Christian approaches (and fortunately these are becoming less easy to distinguish) have to grapple with the interweaving of eschatological and messianic concerns with halakhic ones, not to mention other concerns as well (liturgical, wisdom), which inform us that neither rabbinic Judaism nor Christianity have in their systematic elaboration done justice to the wealth of religious perspectives that the scrolls exhibit.[6] Within the Qumran texts neither makes sense without the other. This observation is particularly relevant to the combination in most of the CD manuscripts of hortatory and halakhic material, as I shall presently suggest.

This is not the place to argue in detail about Second Temple Judaism. But it is hard to ignore the fact that the Qumran texts are our most important archive for late Second Temple Judaism and that discussion about them can hardly be detached from presuppositions about the nature of Judaism in the context of a violent internal conflict that generated, and then undermined, a spell of political independence, and with the loss of Temple and land produced two major religious systems. We are, then, not addressing the Qumran scrolls as curiosities of a fringe sect, but as a very important witness to the evolution of our Western religious tradition.

A second general observation concerns the nature of an *editio princeps*. What is the ideal for such an enterprise? My own answer is: an edition that offers the evidence fully, remains as neutral as possible on questions of interpretation, but notes the reasonable conclusions to be drawn. There is no reason why an *editio princeps* should lend itself to grand theories, because these need lengthy discussion, and such discussion belongs in a monograph. DJD XVIII, like some (but not all) of its predecessors, is introducing a set of theories and suppositions that

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[5] See my "Qumran and the Quest for the Historical Judaism," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures. Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Roehampton Institute London Papers 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 24-42.

[6] Indeed, while law is the subtext of so much of the New Testament, eschatology is the subtext of much of the rabbinic literature; the respective absence or rejection of each is deafening.

go beyond the evidence and are not properly argued for. In mitigation, it needs to be recognized that most *editiones principes* of the Dead Sea Scrolls enter into an already well-advanced discussion about the content and significance of their manuscripts. (This is, of course, partly what the original policy of restricted access to unpublished materials wished to avoid!) But I want to note some of the assumptions that this volume makes.

Baumgarten claims that the Cave 4 fragments show that in the *Damascus Document* the *Admonition* is merely an introduction to the *Laws*. This conclusion is based on the following: there are fragments of 689 lines in the eight 4QD manuscripts, of which, on Baumgarten's reckoning, 326 (47%) parallel the text of the Cairo manuscripts. Of this parallel material 44% (144 lines) is from the *Admonition* and 56% (182 lines) from the *Laws*. But if the legal material that is not paralleled in CD is added, "the proportion of laws in the 4Q texts is about two thirds [of the total]."[7]

There seems to be an implication here that the focus on the *Admonition* that has largely characterized previous research is mistaken. Baumgarten does note the suggestion of Stegemann[8] (though the author is not named) that the *Admonition* and the *Laws* are independent of each other. But I am not aware that any other scholar believed this. A related aspect of Baumgarten's argument seems to be the relevance of rabbinic materials to the study of Second Temple Judaism, on which he concludes his *Introduction*. No doubt that the *Damascus Document* can play a very important role in understanding the history of Jewish law in Second Temple Judaism, but there is a danger of emphasizing the "what" of halakhah and neglecting the "why." No one can deny the importance of the laws themselves in the CD manuscripts, but possession of the true law is also the central theme of the *Admonition,* which is also concerned to explain the ideological context in which this halakhah operates. The association of legal material with narrative and with hortatory discourse in Jewish literature is characteristic of the Jewish scriptures and the Talmud. It is not, then, necessary to insist that the *Laws* are more important than the *Admonition.* In fact, in some of the 4QD fragments they are more closely interwoven than in CD. I am not sure that Baumgarten intends to drive a wedge between the two kinds of

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[7] J. Baumgarten, in M. Broshi, *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992) 61.

[8] "Das Gesetzkorpus der 'Damaskusschrift (CD IX-XVI)'," *RevQ* 14 (1989-90) 409-34.

material,[9] but it seems to me that some of his comments may encourage such an approach.

A third general consideration pertains to the term (and the concept) "*The Damascus Document*." What exactly is meant by this? 4Q266 does preserve the beginning and end of its text, and so we can reconstruct the total shape of one CD edition, and yet it is one that both at the beginning and end differs from the Cairo edition. It is true that 4Q270 also preserves the end of its text, which is almost certainly the same as the ending of 4Q266. But 4Q270 2 ii contains what Baumgarten calls a "catalogue of transgressions," which is followed by the formula ועתה שמעו לי כל יודעי צדק, a phrase occurring at CD 1:1, though here it continues differently. The placing of this 4Q270 fragment may be uncertain, but it is not at the beginning of the text. Baumgarten wishes to place it there, but notes that on the evidence of the damage patterns, Stegemann would put the fragment in the middle. There is, then, enough uncertainty here to preclude the assumption that *each* 4QD manuscript represents a text of an identical edition. It is true that "the excerpts from the different manuscripts can be joined to yield a homogeneous composite text"[10] but that proves very little, given that no Cave 4 manuscript is extensively preserved. What are the criteria for "homogeneity"? In the case of 4Q270 2 Baumgarten's placement seems to me to be dictated by an *assumed* homogeneity. Two of the eight 4Q fragments do not have any parallels from the *Admonition*; possibly these originally *did* include such material, but we do not know that and cannot assume it. Assumptions about the homogeneity of CD manuscripts can easily affect editorial decisions about sequence and placement. Stegemann's technique of material reconstruction is an important corrective, but that has limited value in the case of poorly-preserved manuscripts.

We have met this problem before in the case of M. Baillet's edition of the *War Scroll* fragments in DJD VII. In this case also, a fairly full text (1QM) had already been published and provided the template on which the fragments were arranged. The editor was, if not obliged, then at least tempted, to imagine a document of which there existed a number of more or less well preserved "recensions." On this kind of conceptualizing, it becomes possible to conceive of the "original form"

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[9] In a more recent conference in Jerusalem (February 1998), Baumgarten has in fact publicly drawn attention to the association of exhortation and law in the Tanak.

[10] *The Damascus Document Reconsidered*, 62.

of the work. But was there a "War Scroll" before 1QM? Or is 1QM itself the product of a recension of materials that in themselves do not constitute a "War Scroll" but only texts relating to a final war? The danger in an *editio princeps* of prejudging that question, rather than explicitly raising it, should be avoided at all costs. Baumgarten comments as follows:

> It seems that along with the scrolls that were *copied at Qumran by professional scribes,* there were some private drafts (e.g. 4Q448, 4Q398, 4Q255) and other fragments in semi- cursive hands.[11]

Baumgarten's view seems to be that the Qumran manuscripts all came from Qumran, but that some were copied by professional scribes and some by private individuals. But, the huge variety of scribal hands throws the theory of a small scribbling sect into some doubt. Even if the settlement at Qumran contained a library of texts, the need for private drafts at Qumran is also surely much less than elsewhere. Since the CD material clearly suggests a community divided into several different settlements, the implications of such an organization should perhaps be followed in considering the origin of these particular fragments. We certainly do *not* know where these CD manuscripts were written, only where they were found. Again, I am not arguing that Baumgarten must be wrong, only that an *editio princeps* ought not to claim knowledge that is not knowledge.

A related problem, somewhat worse in DJD VII than here, is that editors restore texts on the basis of CD (e.g., 4Q266 2 ii 16-24), or on the text of other fragments (4Q270 7 ii), or sometimes, as in the case of 4Q266 1 a-b 1-6, on guesswork. This procedure can easily give the impression of a much greater degree of textual agreement than the evidence actually allows. I know that a great deal of work goes into such restorations, and of course appreciate that the parallels very often enable the editor to determine the placement of fragments. But I do wonder if, in a scholarly edition, the reader needs more than to be told of the parallel text that would fit with both the length of the line and the letter still visible. I certainly do not think that a conjectural restoration should be in the text. Of course, the use of square brackets alerts the user to what is editorial context rather than material content, but it is nevertheless annoying to have to read lines and lines of text in which two or three letters are actually present and the rest reconstruction.

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[11] DJD XVIII, 2.

From the biblical text we know that there is considerable textual fluidity, often very minor. We might reasonably assume the same in the case of non-biblical texts and indicate more clearly that major reconstructions mean simply "this is what might have been in the text." Baumgarten is following the editorial guidelines of DJD and I do not level any blame at him. But I intensively disapprove of this practice in an *editio princeps*.

How far, then, are we really able to speak of a (single) *Damascus Document* with a single recensional history? And how plausible is an alternative process, involving collections of laws, possibly rather limited, gathered at various times by various scribes onto single scrolls? I am not arguing here for one model over another, but recommending some conceptual flexibility here.

For how the larger texts of the Qumran manuscripts came together is extremely important, because it shapes our theories about the context. It is by now well-known, I suppose, that of the 800-900 original manuscripts to have been preserved at Qumran, only a handful (the number falls around twenty at the present count) are thought to have been written by the same scribe as another manuscript. This suggests that most of the manuscripts came from elsewhere. Variations in content and order between different fragments raise questions about the notion of an "original" document. What makes a *War Scroll* fragment a *War Scroll* fragment? In the case of CD the material may be much more homogeneous, but what about the case of 4Q265, which is known as 4QSD? To the history of which "document," the *Rule of the Community* or *Damascus Document*, does this manuscript belong? In talking about a definitive *War Scroll* or CD (or even *Rule of the Community*) are we in danger of misconstruing the real history of Qumran texts? Are all the 4QD fragments actually part of a *Damascus Document*? Or is 4Q272 a text about skin impurities? Did the *Rule of the Community* and the *Damascus Document* and the *War Scroll* originate as fully redacted documents? Or are we better talking about certain kinds of topics being collected into (increasingly larger?) compositions, and even then continuing to be edited? The internal evidence of the *Rule of the Community* and the *War Scroll* suggests such a history. It needs also to be considered in the case of D texts.

My fourth general reflection concerns the relationship of the *Rule of the Community* and the *Damascus Document*. I mentioned earlier a reference in DJD XVIII to the "Qumran Community." This nomenclature is becoming increasingly inappropriate, not because of the many

theories that dissociate Qumran from the scrolls, but because several communities are actually described in the Scrolls: that of the "Damascus" Covenant, the Congregation *('edah),* the *yaḥad*. I suppose that most people who use the term "Qumran Community" think immediately of the *yaḥad* of 1QS. But then it seems to me odd that anyone should claim that the centrality of laws in the *Damascus Document* proves that law interpretation was a central concern of the *yaḥad*. There are indeed passages from 1QS itself that speak of the study of law, and there is no doubt that adherence to it is a fundamental requirement. But 1QS (and even less, the Cave 4 fragments) are not concerned with the law as their major topic. One could, then, assert on the basis of the *Rule of the Community* texts that the Mosaic law, or its interpretation, were *not* central concerns for the "Qumran community." Why, then, make a contrary claim on the basis of D texts? Quite apart from the fact that individual texts are not *necessarily* written to express the primary concerns of their authors, the question of the relationship between the *Rule of the Community* and CD remains an important problem. To my mind, they describe definitely related communities, but clearly not identical ones. Surely the study of Qumran halakhah can make an important contribution to this question. But that requires at least some acknowledgment of the differences between CD and the *Rule of the Community* in matters of discipline, vocabulary and ideology.

I suppose the brunt of my general reflections is that I am, where *editiones principes* are concerned, a "minimalist." I want to be told what is there, and not what is not there. I want the data, and I am happy with strong implications, but where there exist a great number of unresolved questions about the origin, history and relationship to each other of the Qumran texts, it is especially important for authoritative editions to avoid too many assumptions that influence editorial decisions: and where this is unavoidable (as is sometimes the case), it would be helpful to see these assumptions spelt out and (at least minimally) defended.

Detailed Observations

I begin my detailed reflections with the question of restoration, exploring 4Q266 1 a-b 1, the very first line of text in the volume. Here Baumgarten has restored:

[פרוש המשפטים למשכיל לב]ני אור להנזר מדר[כי רשעה]

Is any reconstruction justified here, and if so, how far? We do have a probable *yod* and a possible *nun* in the restored לבני. But there is very little left of the rest of the line: only three certain letters and one probable letter. What remains has to be a guess.

The guess is based, however, not on a phrase from a CD manuscript but from 4QS^{d}. Perhaps this is why Baumgarten has chosen the typical *Rule of the Community* word משכיל rather than the more usual CD word מבקר? For while it is true that משכיל occurs in 4Q266 9 iii 15 (parallel with CD 13:22), this is the only occurrence of the word in the CD literature (and in both cases the context is missing!). מבקר is much more frequent, occurring eight times in 4Q266 alone. There is, in fact, no basis for supposing that in CD the משכיל designates the same role as in the *Rule of the Community*. In 4Q267 9 iv 3, where Baumgarten restores וזה סרך מבקר from the parallel passage in CD 18:7 he is being inconsistent, but, in my opinion, more plausible!

I think, therefore, that on internal evidence the restoration of line of 4Q266 must be incorrect. To be fair, Baumgarten does describe this as "tentative." What is wrong with a tentative suggestion? But suppose (hypothetically) that the *only* fully legible word in the line had been מבקר, or, indeed, משכיל. The entire line would have been reconstructed differently, and *no one would have suggested the word* אור—which is the only completely preserved word in the entire line. How confident can any of our guesses really be? But we do have אור, and the reading בני אור is not itself implausible. The syntagm גורל האו[ר is found in 4Q267 9 iv 9 and its parallel text in CD 13:12 has גורל הא[ור. It is unfortunate, even curious, that in both cases only the *aleph* of אור is visible. In fact, having looked at the plates of both I am not sure how certain this restoration is in either case. Moreover, the syntagm is always found elsewhere (as in 4Q266) *without the article.* The restoration גורל הא[ור may nevertheless be right in both cases, despite the fact that this syntagm occurs only once in CD and once in the 4D fragments. But this is still a reasonable conjecture—provided that its conjectural status remains clear.

But Baumgarten states:

> Aside from a ranking of a neophyte "according to his inheritance in the lot of light" (4Q267 9 iv 9) which confirms the correct reading in CD XIII 12 כפי נחלתו בגורל האור we now have the term בני אור in the opening line of CD

> (4Q266 1 i 1) followed by a reliably restored mention of the personified "spirit of iniquity."[12]

This is a rather misleading passage. *A restored* reading does not "confirm" anything, because a restored reading is not a piece of evidence, but an editorial guess. Yet in this passage the Hebrew words are represented without any square brackets, and this twice, for in both 4Q266 and CD the phrase is not completely preserved. If an editor is not scrupulous in distinguishing between what letters are there and what letters he has placed there, how perceptive will the reader be? I am also perplexed by the phrase "reliably restored." I am not sure what are the criteria for a "reliable restoration." Furthermore, I do not see that "spirit of iniquity" *is* actually personified. But many a reader will be content to take the editor's word, especially if he is an *editor princeps.* It is a heavy responsibility that such a person assumes, and lapses such as this are unfortunate!

I now turn to a matter on which Baumgarten is particularly expert, the interpretation of ancient Jewish law. He notes that at the foot of CD 14 there is a rule concerning lying about property, which recurs in lQS 6:24-25 with the additional penalty of a fine of a quarter rations. Baumgarten deduces that the food penalty was only applicable to men living in the *yaḥad,* but that the offense of deception over property might have applied "even to sectarians living in family units."[13] Yet the members of the Damascus community (the only ones that we *know* lived in families) apparently had their own property, while the members of the *yaḥad* did not. It therefore seems to me that we must be dealing with a different offense in each case. As Baumgarten notes, the Damascus covenant members had to contribute two days' wages a month to the poor, and so earned an income (from outside?[14]) and could lie about their income. Members of the *yaḥad* were not supposed to have any income at all, but donate their property (lQS 6:19-20). I ask, then, whether it is accurate to speak here of *"the* sectarian penal code" rather than to speak of the "D penal code." The assumption that there is essentially a single code shared by the CD and *Rule of the Community* communities (which he collapses into a single "Qumran community")

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[12] Ibid., 10.

[13] Ibid., 8.

[14] CD 12:9 forbids selling clean beasts and birds to non-Jews, nor grain nor wine nor slaves to them, implying that selling was a common means of earning income among the Damascus community.

has, in my opinion, caused Baumgarten to misunderstand different offenses as being the same offense.[15]

Then there is the question of mothers and sisters. According to 4Q270 7:13-14 a man may not have sex with his wife "contrary to the law." That seems straightforward enough and fits with CD 5, in which uncle-niece relations and sex during menstruation are contrary to the law, as is sexual intercourse in the "city of the sanctuary'' (CD 12:1-2). Both, in fact, are said to "defile the sanctuary" (a point that Baumgarten seems to miss entirely in expressing puzzlement about this aspect of the matter[16]). The passage in 4Q270 continues with a reference to murmuring "against the fathers" and then "against the mothers" within the congregation (עדה). But this single reference in CD hardly warrants the conclusion that there were women in the *yaḥad.* Baumgarten proposes that there was a "bifurcation in life styles, celibate and family oriented, within the Covenant community."[17] If by "Covenant community" he means the Damascus covenant community, I am sure he is right. Celibacy as the more usual lifestyle is probably implied in the wording of CD 7:6-7. A further distinction in the lifestyle of *CD communities* may be between life in "cities" and life in "camps." But the *Rule of the Community* materials do not employ any of this terminology or these categories and it is unwise and unnecessary to infer such important matters as the presence of women and sexual behavior in the *yaḥad* where there is simply no evidence whatsoever, other than a lack of any reference to women or intercourse at all.

Another matter I want to reflect on is Baumgarten's claim that according to the CD texts the law was not expected to be abrogated or definitively amended. The issue stems from a passage from Cairo ms B, 20:27-33:

> All those who hold fast to these *mišpatim*, in that they go out and come in according to the Torah, and listen to the voice of the teacher . . . and who learn from the former *mišpatim* by which the men of the *yaḥad* (reading for Hebrew יחיד) were judged, and who attend to the voice of the teacher of righteousness.

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[15] This is not to deny that there are connections between CD and the *Rule of the Community* in respect of disciplinary measures, especially if, as I have argued, the *Rule* is historically speaking an offshoot of CD and (as I have also argued) there are signs of *Rule* redaction in CD.

[16] DJD XVIII, 164.

[17] Ibid., 8.

The significance of this statement is that it adds to "former *mišpatim*" the authority of a teacher. This is, of course, consistent with the expectation in CD 6:11 that the law for the "period of wickedness" will apply until at the "end of days" one will arise who will "teach righteousness." It does seem to me an important aspect of Qumran halakhah that it is subject to the authority of an eschatological teacher, so that the verb used of former *mišpatim is* not "obey" (שמע) but "be instructed" (*hitp* יסר). There is now a distinction between rules and former rules, and the distinction is connected with a teacher. Here, at the risk of reclaiming the scrolls for Christianity, I suggest a cautious comparison with the Gospel of Matthew.

But here again Baumgarten is on the wrong trail, or so I believe. In his section on *Mutability and Immutability in Sectarian Law* he argues that "the earlier laws are not seen as superseded or abrogated by the later ones" and thinks instead of a "progressive unfolding" of law. He alludes to the phrase מדרש ה]תורה האחרון in 4Q266 5 i 17, which he has restored from frg. 11 lines 20-21.[18] But the context of this phrase is fragmentary, and the word *torah*, not *mišpatim*, is used. I am sure they are not precisely interchangeable in CD texts.

Surely, in any case, CD 12:22-13:1 clinches the matter. But not for Baumgarten. He says that "some might suppose this [passage] to mean that after the arrival of the messiah/messiahs, the rules would no longer hold because the Law would be abrogated. This however, is flatly contradicted by the *Messianic Rule*."[19] Here is a *non sequitur*! If we are going to rule out a particular interpretation of a Qumran text on the grounds that this would cause a conflict with another Qumran text we shall end up in complete confusion! Imagine arguing that CD cannot allow possession of property because 1QS denies it, while insisting that 1QS cannot deny personal property because CD allows it. The unstated and untested assumption that the Qumran corpus must be ideologically consistent will lead nowhere (it *has* been tried, and it *has* led nowhere). I accept that there may be a debate possible here, but Baumgarten's confidence, and perhaps his conclusions, seem to me inspired by a dogmatism about the unity of Qumran law rather than a sensitivity to the textual evidence.

The outcome of this conclusion is, as Baumgarten states, that, "the idea of a messianic end (קץ) for the Law in pre-Christian Judaism

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[18] Ibid., 16.
[19] Ibid., 16-17.

remains unsubstantiated,"[20] and again I wonder whether there is a slight reaction against Christianity here? I also wonder whether Baumgarten has a too unitary view of Judaism to match a too unitary view of the Scrolls. To me it seems that there *is* evidence that some Jews thought the status of the Law might be in some way altered when the messiah arrived and I find this is in the *Damascus Document*, in three passages.[21]

I shall conclude this section with a few other less important matters. Baumgarten discusses the distinction between exegetically-derived laws and "apodictic" laws.[22] But the distinction he makes is a form-critical one, and he notes that even apodictic laws seem to be derived from scriptural norms, so that a hidden exegetical process may be assumed. The hermeneutic behind the apodictic formulation is not hard to detect, for the *Admonition* (I am not going to let the *Admonition* fall into total neglect!) states that the Damascus community received a new covenant by direct revelation from God. However, in its arguments against opponents it clearly appeals to an agreed Mosaic Torah, and the conclusion follows that this moment of divine revelation is in fact a rationalization of an exegetical tradition. Just as the case of the possible fulfillment/abrogation of the law under the Messiah reminds one of the Gospel of Matthew, so here comparison with the Mishnah is appropriate, especially *ʾAbot*, which is again a rationalization of rabbinic exegesis (and sometimes rabbinic ruling) into divine revelation. It is understandable in the light of this analogy that some of the laws of the Damascus community should be expressed using scriptural formulae—just as the *Admonition* itself is a tissue of scriptural texts.

Can we conclude that this "Damascus community" attempted to apply the Torah in some detail *(peruš)* to a communal Jewish lifestyle? If so, that is a very important stage in the evolution of Judaism and obliges us to rethink the place of the Mishnah in that evolution. The Mishnah, of course, is a system for all Israel and for a land that is now left behind. But, as Baumgarten correctly insists, the rabbinic literature must not be excluded from any study of Qumran law, or anything

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[20] Ibid., 18.

[21] It is only fair to mention that in a subsequent discussion with Baumgarten, a possible compromise on this issue may have opened up. Baumgarten rejects the notion that the Law could have been thought to be abrogated, but he concedes that it might have been thought to undergo some change. For my part, I can only say that it was thought the Law would persist *at least in its present form* only until the arrival of the messianic teacher. There is, indeed, a place for overlap between our views.

[22] DJD XVIII, 11-12.

Qumranic. Like Christianity, the Mishnah has older roots and some of these roots are visible in the Dead Sea Scrolls. I find it significant that this attempt to live Mosaic law entailed the creation of a sectarian society, creating an Israel within an Israel and condemning the old Israel outside its boundaries to the same fate as Gentiles. That attitude, of course, may be contradicted by the *War Scroll,* but the *War Scroll* contradicts itself anyway. These similarities do not, however, obliterate important differences from the rabbinic vision, notably that the rabbis were not sectarian in either their lifestyle or their definition of Israel.

One final note of disagreement remains. In 4Q266 2 i 2-3 "a people that knows him not" says Baumgarten, means foreign nations.[23] But since they are experiencing the "period of wrath" they are in my opinion more probably the historical Israel outside the sect. The divine wrath was visited on *Israel,* initiated by the destruction and exile under Nebuchadnezzar; the nations were the agents, not the victims. That is the sense of the material that follows, which is parallel to CD 1. The attitude to nations in the so-called "expulsion liturgy" does not seem to me to characterize them as "sons of darkness" (as Baumgarten says) ready for annihilation. Again I see the temptation to read 4QD in the light of another Qumran text instead of paying attention to its own language.

Conclusions

Rather than thank the editor at the outset of a paper and then proceed to undermine that sentiment, I have deliberately chosen the opposite arrangement. I want to end on a positive rather than a negative note. If the purpose of an *editio princeps* is to present the evidence clearly and thoroughly, this task has been duly fulfilled, and for this not only is Professor Baumgarten himself to be congratulated, but also all those of whose expertise he has rightly availed himself: Jozef Milik, Stephen Pfann, Ada Yardeni, Elisha Qimron (author of 4QMMT), Danny Schwartz, Avraham Goldberg and of course Emanuel Tov. The current economic .wisdom that competition breeds prosperity and progress rarely applies to scholarship, however much our educational systems are becoming indistinguishable from business enterprises. It is collaboration, argument and dialogue that generate true knowledge and understanding. This DJD volume is the product of an immense amount of careful work, and Professor Baumgarten in particular has now made it possible for us to build our research on the solid basis of soundly edited texts. Whatever disagreements I have expressed about his views

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[23] Ibid., 10.

and about the limits of *editiones principes,* no one should be in any doubt that this volume is a landmark in the history of research into the Damascus community for which every scholar, now and in the future, should be very deeply grateful.

Demons, Theology and Abraham's Covenant (CD 16:4-6 and Related Texts)

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To Prof. Joseph Baumgarten

CD 16:4-6

וביום אשר יקים האיש על נפשו לשוב אל תורת משה יסור מלאך המשטמה
מאחריו אם יקים את דבריו על כן נימול אברהם ביום דעתו

[A] (1) And on the day when a man takes upon himself by oath to return to the law of Moses
(2) the angel Mastema will turn away from him
(3) if he fulfills his words.
[B] Therefore Abraham was circumcised on the day of his knowing.

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In this passage, the angel Mastema is described as possessing those outside the sect. He does not turn away from them unless they join the sect, taking an oath to observe the Law properly. If a member of the sect fails to "fulfill his word" in the future, it is likely that Mastema will return to him.

In CD 12:2-6 we read:

> Every man over whom spirits of Belial obtain dominion, so that he speaks apostasy (ודבר סרה), shall be judged in the same manner as the case of a medium (האוב והידעוני). But everyone who goes astray so as to profane (וכל אשר יתעה לחלל) the Sabbath and the holidays shall not be put to death, for it falls to men to guard him, and if he is healed from it, they shall guard him for a period of seven years, and afterwards he shall come into the assembly.

Ginzberg has suggested[1] to read the word יתעה as a causative form, in the *hifil*, and to render it as "leads astray" (by false halakhic teachings)

[1] L. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary, 1976) 74-5.

rather than "goes astray."[2] Those "speaking apostasy" and, in a different way, those "leading astray" or (alternatively) "going astray"[3] are considered possessed by "the spirits of Belial."[4] In the case of the latter, their error is considered a curable sickness.[5] Similarly, according to *Jub.* 1:20-21, "the spirits of Beliar have dominion over" Israel when it deviates from observing God's commandments as interpreted by the author of the book.

Such concepts may be best explained as emerging originally from a magical outlook combined with notions of religion and ethics. The dichotomy of good and benefit versus wickedness and malice, God versus other harmful powers subdued by Him, is at the core of magic. To this, one may compare the dichotomy set forth in Ps 91:1, 3, 5, 10: "O you who dwell in the shelter of the Most High and abide in the protection of Shaddai . . . . He will deliver you from the fowler's snare (and) from the destructive plague . . . . You will not fear the terror of night, nor the arrow that flies by day . . . . No evil shall befall you, no disease (נגע) will touch your tent . . . ."[6] The use of this psalm for magical purposes is attested both in the Dead Sea Scrolls[7] and in the Talmud.[8] A statement such as "if anyone flees to the Lord for refuge,

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[2] The opponents of the sect (probably the Pharisees) are compared in CD 5:17-19 to the Egyptian sorcerers "Jannes and his brother."

[3] For different proposals regarding the exact meaning of "going astray" in this passage, see E. Qimron, "Terminology for Intention Used in the Legal Texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Division A, Hebrew Section (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1990) 103-10; J. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document, 4Q266-273* (DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 182.

[4] The similarity between this passage and Resh Lakish's purely aggadic saying "no one sins [or: commits adultery] unless a spirit of insanity has entered into him" (*b. Soṭa* 3a), noted already by Ginzberg (above, n. 1), may be incidental, even if one prefers the reading of יתעה in the *qal*.

[5] Ginzberg's suggestion to read ירפא in the sense of ירפה ("to cease"), followed by Baumgarten, seems to me less likely.

[6] Cf. also the wording of Ps 121:5-8, which is rather close to a magic incantation (and indeed these verses have been cited in magical Jewish texts). It seems quite clear, however, that the context of these verses is religious rather than magical.

[7] J. van der Ploeg, "Le psaume XCI dans une recension de Qumran," *RB* 72 (1965) 210-217; cf. also idem, "Un petit rouleau des psaumes apocryphes [11QPsAp^{a}]," in *Tradition und Glaube: Festgabe für K. G. Kuhn* (ed. G. Jeremias et al.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971) 128-39. See also 4Q511 frg. 8 line 6.

[8] *b. Šebu.* 15b; *y. ʿErub.* 10:11.26d. Cf. also I. Ta-Shema, "Notes to 'Hymns from Qumran'," *Tarbiz* 55 (1985-86) 440 (Hebrew). For the use of Psalm 91 in Christian amulets, see H. Gitler, "Four Magical and Christian Amulets," *Liber Annuus* 40 (1990) 372.

the evil spirit (of deceit and evil) will quickly depart from him" (*T. Simeon* 3:5) presents the same basic idea. Evil spirits inflict physical diseases as well as mental distress and disturbances. Their very designation as "evil" spirits may be an indication of some ethical dimension of their existence. In a Jewish, Torah-oriented atmosphere, the deliverance from the "spiritual" dominion of demons (as well as other calamities)[9] by "dwelling in the shelter of the Most High" is quite naturally related to the observance of God's commandments. Already in Deut. 7:9-15 we read: "Know, therefore, that the Lord . . . keeps His covenant faithfully to the thousandth generation to those who love Him and keep His commandment (שמר הברית והחסד לאהביו ולשמרי מצותיו לאלף דור) . . . . And if you obey these rules and observe them carefully, the Lord your God will obtain faithfully for you the covenant (ושמר יהוה אלהיך לך את הברית ואת החסד) . . . . He will favor you and bless you . . . the Lord will ward off from you all sickness...." The concept that the observance of God's commandments affords His protection is attested in an amulet from the end of the First Temple period: "[keeps] His covenant to <those> who love <Him> and keep His [commandments]" ([. . . .]/שמרי לאה/ב חסד [ה]/[ו] הברית /[שמר]), a striking parallel in the sphere of magic (if the reading is correct!) to Deut 7:9 and, more important, to its context.[10] It is quite natural that in the Second Temple period, when the book of the Torah became the center of Jewish religious life, the faithful observance of the Torah and its correct understanding (which enables one to observe its rules) were considered protection from Belial: "Observe the Lord's commandments . . . and keep his Law, avoid wrath and hate lying, in order that the Lord may dwell among you and Beliar may flee[11] from you" (*T. Dan* 5:1).[12]

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[9] See below, n. 20.

[10] A. Yardeni, "Remarks on the Priestly Blessing on Two Ancient Amulets from Jerusalem," *VT* 41 (1991) 178 (plaque 1, lines 4-6).

[11] It is a common practice of exorcists to command evil spirits to flee; see R. Kotansky, "Greek Exorcistic Amulets," in *Ancient Greek Magic and Ritual Power* (ed. M. Meyer and P. Mirecki; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 243-77, especially 254, 257, 266. (I thank E. Eshel for drawing my attention to this article).

[12] See also the Hebrew text of *Jub*. 21:20 (J. C. VanderKam in consultation with others, *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* [DJD XIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994] 47). To the structure in the *Testament of Dan* compare *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan Version B* (ed. Schechter, 30): "Whenever the words of Torah enter and find the chambers of the heart empty (cf. *Avot* 3:4; *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* ch. 35 [ed. Schechter, 79-80 and Schechter's note, ibid., 80, n. 7]), they enter and dwell in [it] and the evil inclination has no power over them and no one can expel them from

The magical element, as well as the emphasis not only on observing but also on the correct understanding of the Torah (which became central in Judaism from the end of the biblical period),[13] is easily discernible in the genre of "apotropaic prayers," as they have been designated by Flusser.[14] To cite one of these prayers: "Grant me a spirit of faithfulness and knowledge . . . . Let not (any) satan have power over me nor an unclean spirit, neither let pain nor evil inclination take possession of my bones."[15] The lack of discrimination between the "spiritual" dominion of evil spirits (with the result of committing sins) and bodily disease in this passage is not surprising when considered against the background of demonology and magic, as noted above; the combination of the belief that illness is the result of sin and that it is caused by demons contributes to the equation of sin with demons.[16] In virtually all of the prayers of this type, "counsel," "knowledge," "understanding" and observance of the Torah are closely related to divine protection. In most of them, the expulsion of the "evil spirit" from human beings is linked with granting them knowledge (of the Torah) and "holy spirit."[17] As noted by Flusser, these two elements can be traced back to two distinct biblical patterns, which do not themselves have any "apotropaic" features, represented by Ps 119:133 ("Make my feet firm in your word [=Torah] and let no iniquity gain dominion over me") and Ps 51:12-14 ("Create in me a pure heart, O God, and put a new and right spirit within me . . . take not your holy spirit from me").[18]

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it" (cf. Ginzberg, *Unknown Sect*, 182). The demythologization of the ancient concept (found, for example, in the *Testament of Dan*) in *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* is evident.

[13] For the importance attached to the study of the Torah and its correct understanding in the late biblical period see A. Rofé, "The Devotion to Torah-Study at the End of the Biblical Period: Joshua 1:8; Psalms 1:2; Isaiah 59:21," in *The Bible in the Light of Its Interpreters* (ed. S. Japhet; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1994) 622-28 (Hebrew); Y. Amir, מקומו של מזמור קיט בתולדות דת ישראל, *Teʿudah* 2 (1982) 57-81.

[14] D. Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayers," *IEJ* 16 (1966) 194-205 (=*Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988] 214-25).

[15] 11QPs^{a} 19:14-16; cf. also 11QPs^{a} 24:8-12.

[16] Flusser, "Apotropaic Prayers," 205.

[17] Cf. also *T. Dan* 5:1 and *Jub.* 1:20-21 (see above). For the connection between God's spirit and the Torah, cf. Ps 51:12-15; Ezek 36:27. See also the interpretation suggested by Rofé for Isa 59:21 ("Torah-Study," 626-28).

[18] Flusser, "Apotropaic Prayers," 197, 203; see also n. 20. For discussion of a prayer with some similar features in Sirach 23:4-6, see M. Kister, "A Contribution to the Interpretation of Ben Sira," *Tarbiz* 59 (1989-90) 303-78, esp. 329-30 (Hebrew). The influence of Ps 51:12-14 on sectarian rites is discernible in 4Q393 (D. Falk,

In the "apotropaic" prayers, the religious dichotomy of these biblical passages (particularly of the latter) is cast together with the magical dichotomy mentioned above. A comparison of Levi's prayer, one of the finest examples of "apotropaic" prayers,[19] with rabbinic parallels reveals the subtle interplay between the concrete and the spiritual, between magical invocations and a sublimated religious system.[20] The spiritual dimension is played down, so it seems, in the Jewish magical texts of late antiquity, but there are some remnants of such concepts. For example, Aramaic amulets of the late Roman period mention the expulsion of evil spirits by the holy spirit.[21]

"4Q393: A Communal Confession," *JJS* 45 [1994] 183-207, esp. 187-90), and cf. also n. 17.

[19] For the Aramaic and Greek texts and discussion see M. E. Stone and J. C. Greenfield, "The Prayer of Levi," *JBL* 122 (1993) 247-66.

[20] Cf. Flusser's important analysis ("Apotropaic Prayers"); see further Stone and Greenfield, "Prayer of Levi," 262-63; M. Kister, "Studies in MMT" (Hebrew, forthcoming). Flusser, "Apotropaic Prayers," 204, speaks of a "gradual enlarging of the frame of apotropaic prayers" to include "other non-spiritual dangers: disease, pestilence, sword, famine . . . ." Taking into account Psalm 91, it seems to me questionable whether the inclusion of other calamities of "non-spiritual" character should be *necessarily* considered as secondary.

[21] "Driving out every male and female demon . . . by the name of the holy spirit" (בשמה דרוחא דקודשה; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993] 126); see especially a Greek-Aramaic amulet: אמר דוד בר ישי על שאול מלכה . . . ואוף אתי מנה רוח קדישה והות מבעתה לה רוחה בישתה (R. Kotansky, J. Naveh and S. Shaked, "Greek-Aramaic Silver Amulet," *Le Muséon* 105 [1992] 9, 11. 18a-19). The text may be corrupt (and does not lend itself to an accurate translation), but the antagonism between רוח קדישה ("holy spirit") and רוחה בישתה ("evil spirit") is evident in this amulet as it is in Levi's prayer (Stone and Greenfield, "Prayer of Levi," 256-259, 261). 11QPs^{a} 27:10; 11QPsAp^{a} 4:4 attribute to David songs against demons (van der Ploeg, "Psaumes apocryphes," 135); cf. J. Baumgarten, "The Qumran Songs against Demons," *Tarbiz* 55 (1985-86) 442-45 (Hebrew). The ancient tradition describing Solomon as subduing the evil spirits and ascribing to him the invention of magical practices (attested in Josephus, *Ant.* 8.2.5 §45-46) is not originally connected to the tradition alluding to David as a vanquisher of demons (as suggested by Baumgarten, "Qumran Songs," 444), but rather should be considered as inferred from two biblical verses: (1) 1 Kgs 5:18 ועתה הניח יהוה אלהי לי מסביב אין שטן ואין פגע רע (originally meaning "there is no adversary and no hostile encounter"). The words שטן and פגע רע were interpreted according to their late meaning ("Satan," "demon"/"affliction" respectively); cf. especially מכל שטן (אלהים) ומכל פגע (Naveh - Shaked, *Magic Spells*, 131-32), and the quotation of the biblical verse in a Genizah magical fragment (P. Schaefer and S. Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Genizah*, vol. 1 [Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1994] 222). Since 1 Kgs 5:17-19 is concerned with the building of the Temple, this is obviously the source for the legends according to which the Temple was built with the assistance of demons (e.g., *b. Giṭ.* 68ab; *T. Solomon* 2:5). (2) Solomon's wisdom described in 1 Kgs 5:9-14

In an atmosphere of heated disputes concerning the true interpretation of the Torah, and in a dualistic sect, obtaining understanding of the Torah could easily be understood as accepting a specific halakhic system (thus already *Jub*. 1:20-21),[22] and the magical-religious dichotomy, whose origins we have tried to elucidate above, could easily intermingle with sectarian "dualism,"[23] as represented in our passage, CD 16:4-6. Those who do not belong to the sect are considered to be possessed by evil spirits, while the sect is immune from them.[24] For instance, 1QM 14:9-10 reads, "You have expelled from us his [=Belial's] spirits of destruction . . . you have preserved the soul which you have redeemed".[25] We have seen that the evil spirits withdraw when one joins the sect.[26] This means that joining the sect is, in fact, an act of expulsion of evil spirits (not merely in a spiritual metaphorical sense), i.e., of exorcism.

The elaborate citation of the priestly blessing (Num 6:24-26) in the rite of joining the sect (1QS 2:2-4) may be due to the apotropaic significance[27] attributed to this passage as early as the end of the First Temple period as proved by the Ketef-Hinnom amulet;[28] in the Qumranic context, however, the passage is not merely apotropaic, but is in fact primarily of distinct *sectarian* nature.[29]

Moreover, in an annual meeting for the renewal of the covenant described in 4QBerakhot, a significant part is devoted to the

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included magic (Wis 7:20); cf. D. C. Duling, "The Eleazer Miracle and Solomon's Magical Wisdom in Flavius Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaicae* 8.42-49," *HTR* 78 (1985) 1-25, esp. 14-17.

[22] See Kister, "MMT" (forthcoming).

[23] The passages in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (see above) do not reflect, then, a distinct dualistic theology (contrast D. Flusser and S. Safrai, "Who Sanctified the Well-Beloved in (lit. from) the Womb," in *Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East Presented to S. E. Loewenstamm* (ed. Y. Avishur and J. Blau; Jerusalem: E. Rubinstein's Publishing House, 1978) 329-36, esp. 331-32 (Hebrew).

[24] Evil spirits may regain possession over a sinful member of the sect if he does not "fulfill his word." CD 12:2-6 may possibly be dealing with such a sinful member.

[25] Cf. also 1QH 3:37-4:3 and 1QH 6:26-28, 1QS 8:7-8.

[26] According to the *Book of Jubilees*, when Abraham is accepting the yoke of "the kingdom of God," admitting God's omnipotence and renouncing astrology, he asks God to save him "from the hands of evil spirits who rule over the thought of the heart of man" and to not let them lead him (and his seed) astray (12:20).

[27] Cf. B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 133, 145-71.

[28] A. Yardeni, "Priestly Blessing," 178.

[29] Cf. Flusser, "Apotropaic Prayers," 197.

renunciation of Belial (thus, "Cursed be Belial in his hostile scheme, and damned is he in his guilty authority, and cursed are all the spirits of his lot in their wicked scheme").[30] This renunciation is necessary for the expulsion of Belial and his spirits from the community.[31]

In another Qumran fragment, 4Q444, a curse (probably of Belial) is connected with motifs and expressions known to us from 4Q510-4Q511. The aim of 4Q510-4Q511 is "to frighten and terrify[32] all the spirits of angels of destruction and the bastard spirits . . . and those who strike unexpectedly to lead astray the spirit of wisdom and to desolate (*of evil*) their hearts and their [souls?] in the era of the rule of wickedness and in the period of the suffering of the Sons of Light in the periods of scourges of sins, not when utter destruction (of evil) will take place, but rather in the period of the suffering of sin." This is done by the *maskil*, who "declares the glory of His splendor."[33] Key phrases in this passage occur also in the *Hodayot*[34] in a sectarian religious

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[30] 4Q286 7 ii 1-12, esp. 2-3 (J. T. Milik, "Milkî-sedeq et Milkî-reša' dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens," *JJS* 23 (1972) 95-144; B. Nitzan, "4QBerakhot," in *A Light for Jacob: Studies in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of J. S. Licht* [ed. Y. Hoffman and F. H. Polak; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute & Tel Aviv University Press, 1997] 227-53 [Hebrew]).

[31] It should be noted that in a similar rite, described in 1QS, only the wicked people are cursed. The relation between the two ceremonies needs further study.

[32] For the fear of the demons in spells of exorcism see Kotansky, "Greek Exorcistic Amulets," 263.

[33] See 4Q510 1:4-8; M. Baillet, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân* (DJD VII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962) 216:

ואני משכיל משמיע הוד תפארתו לפחד ולבל[הל] כול
רוחי מלאכי חבל ורוחות ממזרים שדאים לילית אחים ו[ ] והפוגעים פתע
פתאום לתעות רוח בינה ולהשם לבבם ונ[פשו]תם בקץ ממשל[ת] רשעה ותעודות
תעניות בני א[ור] באשמת קצי <נגוע[י]> עוונות ולוא לכלת עולם [כי א]ם לקץ
תעניות פשע

[34] הפוגעים פתע פתאום, cf. 1QH 17:5, [פוגעות פתע פתאו[ם]; להשם לבב, cf. 1QH 7:3, השם לבבי ממחשבת רוע; cf. 1QH 18:20, השם [ל]בבי. Unlike the interpretations proposed by former commentators (see Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 240 n. 53), the expression in the *Hodayot* is a positive one, based on Isa 6:10 according to the text of 1QIsa[a] (השמ instead of השמן), see W. H. Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible. With Special Reference to the Book of Isaiah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964) 186. The expression להשם לבבם in 4Q510 should be interpreted as having the same meaning. Cf. also 4Q504 18 4 (Baillet, DJD VII, 165; for a composite text see E. Glicker Chazon, "A Liturgical Document from Qumran and Its Implications: Words of the Luminaries (4QDibHam)" [unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1992] 202 [Hebrew]), where ותשע (if the reading is correct) may be interpreted in the same positive sense: God gave the believers eyes to see and ears to listen and He sealed their eyes from iniquity ותשע [עינידמה]; cf. 1QH 7:3 (the reconstruction [ו]ותשע, suggested by Chazon, is grammatically impossible).

context concerning repentance and joining the sect. The title of 4Q510-511 is obviously concerned with repentance from misleading doctrines and praxis rather than with being possessed by demons in a narrow sense.

The first lines of the work describe its contents as praises and blessings of God of whose might all other powers are terrified (4Q510 1, 1-4), the title of the work possibly being "[Of the sage, Songs of] praises" תשבוחות [למשכיל שירי].[35] It should be noted that the term שיר תשבוחות ("a song of praises") occurs several times in amulets and magic bowls of late antiquity, sometimes followed by short phrases of praise for God as superior to the evil spirits, and sometimes just mentioning God's epithets,[36] but (apparently unlike 4Q510-4Q511) always directly attached to the concrete magical act. The term שיר תשבחות in the later magical material appears to be a remnant of an earlier, more elaborate concept reflected (and perhaps also further developed) in 4Q510.

Bilhah Nitzan has emphasized that there are no specific magical elements in these songs and "the magical function of the songs is quite undiscernible." She writes, "The interesting and surprising phenomenon is that these praise songs function as protectives, as if the author does not want to use real magic, but rather assumes that the praise of the Creator is... more effective than incantations and magic formulae."[37] We should note, however, that such a sectarian text perfectly suits the sort of exorcism performed on those joining the sect.[38] I would propose that

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[35] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 238, n. 47.

[36] "A song of praise (שיר תשבחות) to the King of the Worlds [or: of Ages], Yah Yah Yah Yahish of the Worlds, I-am-who-I-am, the King who speaks with distinct mystery to every bad and evil-doing spirit . . . " (J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1985] 50-51 and note there): "Say a song of praise (שיר תשבחות) to the honored king . . . and mighty, the god that created the spirits . . . Amen, Hallelujah" (R. Kotansky, J. Naveh and S. Shaked, "Greek-Aramaic Amulet," 9); "A song of praise (שיר תשבחות) to God, to the supreme God against all harm . . . ." (J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Magic Spells*, 85); "A song and praise (שיר ותשבחות) and . . . and might for the king of the kings of kings, may he be blessed" (ibid., 137).

[37] B. Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran לפחד ולבהל Evil Ghosts," *Tarbiz* 55 (1985) 41 (Hebrew); cf. also Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 238, 267.

[38] B. Nitzan, (Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 238) hypothesizes that 4Q510-511 "were intended to be recited at times of general danger of supernatural origin" such as "the four days of transition between the different seasons of the year," for which David composed four anti-demonic songs (11QPs^{a} 27:9-10). She admits, however, that these "songs of praise" are not "anti-demonic" in the plain sense. (The four days between the seasons were considered as times of danger in medieval Jewish literature; see I. Ta-Shema, "The Danger of Drinking Water during the *Tequfah*: The History of

this is the *Sitz im Leben* of 4Q510-4Q511. In such a context, one can easily account for the preference of theological issues (mainly related to the merit of the members of the sect, or of the *maskil*) to demonology.[39] This suggestion is strengthened by 4Q444. In this text we find phraseology similar to 4Q510-4Q511 (מירא אל, [מ]מזרים) as well as the curse (ארור probably to Belial), but it seems evident that this text is not concerned with exorcism in the simple, magical sense, but rather with the "knowledge which God has put in the heart," the bestowal of the holy spirit and "strengthening one by the Laws of God" as a weapon in the "war against the spirits of evil." In other words, this work refers to joining the sect and its *Sitz im Leben* might well have been the rites of joining the sect[40] (or, alternatively, expelling "evil spirits," i.e., religious heresies, from those who are already members in the sect).[41] This

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an Idea," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Folklore* 17 [1995] 21-32 [Hebrew]), who suggests some link between the medieval sources and the Enochic literature, overlooking the crucial evidence of 11QPs[a]).

[39] It would be too hazardous to comment on the theological context of several phrases in 4Q510-4Q511, which are preserved in such a fragmentary state. For instance, in what context is the verb חתם used in 4Q511 frg. 30 line 3 אתה אלי חתמתה בעד כולם ואין פותח ("You, my God, have sealed them all [=parts of the universe?] and no one may open"), and does the verb "seal" have magical overtones (i.e., to protect from evil spirits; cf. Shaked and Naveh, *Magic Spells*, 60, 115; F. Dölger, *Sphragis: Eine altchristliche Taufbezeichnung in ihre Beziehungen zur profanen und religiösen Kultur des Altertums* [Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 5/3-4; Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1911] 119-125)? What is the function of 4Q511 30 4-6? Was the sentence [ ] יוכל איש לתכן את רוח [ואיכה] related to the holy spirit bestowed on the members of the sect? These riddles and others remain unsolvable for the present.

[40] Perhaps it was recited in preparatory rites to joining the sect, of which we admittedly have no knowledge. The renunciation of Belial in both 4QBerakhot and 4Q444 seems most significant.

[41] 8Q5 1 (M. Baillet, DJD III, 161-62) has the same term, מירא. It reads (the restorations are mine):

] בשמכה [הג]בור אני מירא ומש[
]°ני האיש הזה אשר הוא מבני ה[אור
האיש] הזֹה ומה תשביתו אורו לה[ ]ל

]in Your [mi]ghty name I terrify and an[nounce?
]this man who is of the Sons of [Light
]this [man] and why do you extinguish his light . . . .

The *meyare*, the exorcist who frightens the demons, hopes to affect the evil spirits by the mighty name of God; cf. 4Q511 35 6-7: ואני מירא אל בקצי דורותי לרומם שם דבר[תי לפחד] בגבורתו כו[ל] רוחי ממזרים, "And I, who terrify (in the name of?) God in

would neatly explain the "spiritual" content of what purports to be exorcism.[42] This is not to say that such "sectarian exorcism" (particularly while joining the sect) was considered "spiritual" or "ethical;" the demons are real, and, according to the magical concept they dwell in the flesh and cause suffering to the body no less than to the soul.[43]

Indeed, we do have striking parallels to such a concept of conversion as exorcism, and later to rites of exorcism accompanying the rite of conversion, in Christianity. Paul maintains that being united through baptism with Jesus' death and resurrection means that there is no dominion to sin (Romans 6) and that the Christians are no longer "slaves to the elements of the world" (Col 2:20; Gal 4:3).[44] Pagans, before "believing"—i.e., converting to Christianity—are considered as early as the Epistle of Barnabas to be "a house of demons" (ch. 16). As Dölger puts it,[45] "since believing (*pisteusai*) is attested by Baptism, it

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the ages of my generation, to exalt [His] name I sp[oke, to terrify] by His power all the spirits of bastards, subduing them by His fear"; cf. also 4Q510 1). For other possible similarities compare 4Q511 2 i 5 נחלת אל[והי]ם ("G[od]'s heritage") to 8Q5 2 נח]לת יהוה[("YHWH's her[itage]"), and 4Q510 1 1-2 על כול גבורי כוח וממשל[תו] ("his power is above the powerful mighty") to 8Q5 2 4-6 מכול רבה למעלה כה ממשלת?] . . . וכול הרוחות לפניכה ע[("your [power?]) is above every . . . and all the spirits [. . .] before you"). Unlike the fragments preserved in 4Q510-511, in 8Q5 the *meyare* (exorcist) addresses the evil spirits and God in the second person, and refers to a specific human being ("this man"). He adjures the spirits not to extinguish the light of this person, hence the restoration "Sons of [Light]" (4Q510 1 7; 4Q511 2 i 4). It is, of course, impossible to decide whether the man is joining the "Sons of Light" or whether he is already one of them; it seems that "extinguishing the light" signifies religious error rather than being possessed by demons in the plain sense, precisely as is the case in 4Q510-4Q511. The situation and formulae of 8Q5 seem somewhat closer to those of magical spells than the praise songs of 4Q510-4Q511 (but this could well be due to the fragmentary state of the preserved material), although the problem seems to be "the light" of the elected, i.e., religious rather than purely magical.

[42] The magical component in this liturgy is milder than the Christian rites of baptismal exorcism, which emerged in the first centuries.

[43] Cf. 1QH 5:28; 17:25 and other passages, and the "apotropaic" prayers cited above.

[44] To the concept of the battle of the believers against the devil and his powers and baptism as their armor (Eph 6:10-19), compare 4Q444 11 2, 4; 4Q511 48-49, 51.

[45] F. J. Dölger, *Der Exorcismus* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 3/1-2; Paderborn: Ferdinand Schönigh, 1909) 5, 18. A thorough survey of exorcism rites related to Christian baptism is supplied by H. A. Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology and Drama* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University, 1985). The Christian sources cited below are dealt with by Dölger and Kelly.

seems that . . . Baptism is considered as having the character of exorcism"; it expels the demons from their habitations in human hearts. As noted by Dölger, statements to the same effect are also known to us from the *Acts of Paul* (second century)[46] the Pseudo-Clementines[47] and Tertullian[48] (regarding baptism of heathens). In the gnostic *Excerpta ex Theodoto* (second century), baptism is described as liberating from evil spirits and from the dominion of the world, including Fate (which governs through the stars and the planets, #69ff., #78), from the battle with bad angels and evil powers (#72) and from unclean spirits that possessed the non-christians before being baptized and attaining knowledge (in the gnostic sense).[49] This text also attests to exorcism rites accompanying baptism (#82). Moreover, the emphasis that unclean spirits may go down into the water and be "sealed" if the baptized person is impure (ritually or ethically, #83) should be understood as an attempt to give a new ethical significance to a pure magical interpretation of baptism by using magical conceptions.[50] This attempt seems to imply the existence of such a magical interpretation of baptism already in the early second century. A rite of exorcism accompanying baptism occurs in a problematically preserved text of the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus (third century): "And when the presbyter has taken hold of each one of those who will be baptized, let him command him to renounce saying: I renounce thee, Satan and all thy works. And when he has renounced all these, let him anoint with oil of exorcism,

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[46] *Acts of Paul* 25.

[47] *Recognitiones* IV, 17, " . . . but even the demons themselves, in proportion as they see faith grow in a man they depart from him . . . but from those who believe with full faith, they depart without any delay. For when a soul has come to the faith of God, it obtains the virtue of heavenly water, by which it extinguishes the demon like a spark." *Homiliae* IX, 19: " . . . washing . . . with the thrice-blessed invocation you shall . . . be able to drive away the spirits which lurk in you".

[48] Tertullian, *De Baptismo* 9, "The nations are set free from the world by means of water, to wit: and the devil, their old tyrant, they leave quite behind, overwhelmed, in the water."

[49] E.g., "From the moment when he comes up from baptism he is called a servant of God even by the unclean spirits, and they now tremble at him whom shortly before they obsessed. Until baptism . . . Fate is real, but after it the astrologers are no longer right. But it is not mere washing that is liberating, but the knowledge (gnosis) of what we were and what we have become . . . ." (R. P. Casey, *The Excerpta ex Theodoto of Clement of Alexandria* [London: Christophers, 1934] 86-9).

[50] Compare similar attempts in rabbinic Judaism concerning the efficiency of circumcision; see M. Kister, "Addenda to 'Marginal Notes to Ben Sira'," *Leshonenu* 53 (1989) 38 (Hebrew).

saying: Let all spirits remove far from thee."[51] As has been observed, the renunciation formula is rather similar to formulae in the Qumran writings, and—it should now be noted—especially to 4QBerakhot. The exorcism formula of the presbyter, "let all evil spirits remove from thee," is reminiscent of the wording in our text, CD 16:4-6. In Qumran, as well as in Christianity, it is the "Holy Spirit" which drives away the evil spirits, and there is a close relationship between the Holy Spirit and knowledge, as may be clearly inferred from 4Q444.[52] These two concepts already occur in the apotropaic prayer of Levi.[53] There could well be some genetic link between the Qumran writings and the Christian concepts and rites,[54] but this is difficult to prove. Be that as it may, the comparison of the fragmentary texts of Qumran and the vast Christian literature concerning "conversion exorcism" is illuminating for envisaging the former.[55]

II

Let us now turn to the second sentence of the CD passage: "Therefore Abraham was circumcised on the day of his knowing." It is rather difficult to see what this sentence on the circumcision of Abraham has to do with the preceding observation of the author. Schechter writes: "On the day of his knowing (it)—that is, the importance of this law [i.e., circumcision] and its inherent virtue consists in man's being saved from the power of Mastema and other demons. Cf. *Jub.* 15:26, 32."[56] Ginzberg emends the word נימול and reads ניצל, followed by Rabin (who suggested the post-biblical form ניצול); "Abraham was saved (from the snare of Mastema) . . . so soon as he came to know God and was firmly resolved to walk in His way."[57] Flusser and Safrai emphasize the ancient apotropaic character of

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[51] G. Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1904) 317; G. Dix, *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition* (reprinted with a prolegomenon and corrections by H. Chadwick; London: SPCK, 1968) 34; B. Botte, *La tradition apostolique de Saint Hippolyte*, (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Forschungen 39; Münster: Cerf, 1963) 46.

[52] Cf., e.g., 4Q444 1 i 1, 3. See also, Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 270.

[53] Cf. above, n. 20.

[54] Thus Flusser and Safrai, "Who Sanctified," 332.

[55] I am not aware of any other Jewish parallel to this concept of conversion (but see Appendix).

[56] S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries: Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910) lvi (and n. 5).

[57] L. Ginzberg, *Unknown Sect*, 95; Ch. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (2nd rev. ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958) 75.

circumcision as a background for this sentence (which they consider as "probably corrupt"); joining the sect, they maintain, is compared in our text to circumcision, including its apotropaic nature.[58] Baumgarten follows Schechter in connecting CD 16:6 with *Jub.* 16:25-32: "The transgressor [of circumcision] [is] vulnerable to Mastema . . . ."[59] After the publication of the Qumran material,[60] it is clear that the reading נימול is well established, and that the CD text is not corrupt.

Baumgarten points out that "the symbolic significance of circumcision (Deut 10:16 and Jer 4:4) is echoed in 1QS 5:5 ('to circumcise in the community the foreskin of evil inclination')," although he rightly emphasizes that "Qumran, unlike Paul, shared the general Jewish insistence on its actual performance."[61]

In 4Q434 (*Barkhi Nafshi*) the metaphor of circumcizing the heart is connected with knowledge and deliverance: "He has opened their eyes to see his ways and their ears to hear his teaching, and he has circumcised the foreskins of their heart, and has delivered them because of his grace."[62] In the same work we read: "[The heart of stone?] you have driven far ([גער[תה) from [me] and have set a pure heart in its place. Evil inclination you have driven fa[r from . . . and ho[ly spirit] you have put in my heart."[63] The verb גער used here has the connotation of driving away demons,[64] and it is therefore used in the context of protecting the members of the sect from evil spirits (1QM 14:10 [4Q491 8-10 i 7]: [מנו]מ גערתה בלו[ח] ורוחי, "You have expelled from us his [=Belial's] spirits of destruction"). The fusion of this concept and

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[58] Flusser and Safrai, "Who Sanctified," 329-336.

[59] J. Baumgarten's edition of CD in, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 2 (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr/Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995) 41, n. 133 (henceforth Baumgarten, *CD*).

[60] 4Q270 6 ii 17-19; 4Q271 4 ii 6-7. (DJD XVIII, 156, 178).

[61] See n. 59.

[62] 4Q434 1 i 3-4: ויפקח עיניהם לראות את דרכיו ואזנ[י]הם לשמוע למודו וימול עורלות לבם ויצילם למען חסדו. See D. R. Seely, "The 'Circumcised Heart' in 4Q434 *Barki Nafshi*," *RevQ* 17 (1996) 527-35.

[63] 4Q436 1 i 10: [לב האבן ג]ערתה ממני ותשם לב טהור תחתיו יצר רע גער[תה מן . . . . ורוח קוד]ש שמתה בלבבי. See Seely, "Circumcised Heart," 532-33.

[64] J. C. Greenfield, "The Genesis Apocryphon: Observations on Some Words and Phrases," in *Studies in Hebrew and Semitic Languages Dedicated to the Memory of Pro. E. Y. Kutscher* (ed. G. B. Sarfati et al.; Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan, 1980) xxxvii-xxxix; J. Naveh, "On Jewish Books of Magic Recipes in Antiquity," in *The Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman World: Studies in Memory of Menahem Stern* (ed. I. M. Gafni et al.; Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 1996) 459 (Hebrew). See also 1QH 4 6. As stated by Greenfield this connotation is not exclusive; cf. 1QH 9 11.

the idea of the purified, circumcised heart is attested by the usage of this verb. Moreover, these sentences are based on Ps 51:12-13, which we have seen above as a most important element of the apotropaic prayers. It should be noted, however, that the concept of the "spiritual circumcision" is relatively marginal in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and I am not aware of any explicit linkage drawn between the two concepts. While it seems unlikely, therefore, that the apotropaic effect applied to conversion stems from similar apotropaic notions concerning circumcision,[65] a secondary linkage between the two apotropaic rites cannot be ruled out, and may even be expected.

The CD passage, had it been interpreted as comparing Abraham's circumcision of the flesh with the sect's circumcision of the heart, would have been probably the most important predecessor to Paul's theology.[66] However, it seems to me more likely that such an analogy was not at all intended in our passage (CD 16:4-6). Rather, Abraham's circumcision is mentioned merely because of his prompt performance of God's commandment.[67] It would be an illustration of man's implementation of his share in *the covenant that he already has* with God (Abraham's covenant with God, analagous to the covenant of joining the sect, being the one described in Genesis 15 rather than the covenant of Genesis 17).[68] All the commentators assumed that the reference to Abraham's circumcision is analogous to entering the

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[65] Contrast Flusser and Safrai, "Who Sanctified," 329-32.

[66] Needless to say, the sect insisted on the performance of circumcision, but Paul's conclusion that the circumcision of the flesh should be abolished could potentially have been drawn from such a comparison.

[67] Baumgarten drew close to this line of interpretation. He writes " . . . [t]he transgressor . . . [is] vulnerable to Mastema rather than being under the protection of benign angels. Therefore, Abraham hastened to circumcise his household 'the very same day' so that God was made known to him through the covenant. Thus, it is essential for the penitent not merely to promise to return to the Law, but to carry out its commandments . . . ." (Baumgarten, *CD*, 41 n. 133). However, Baumgarten regards the covenant of Genesis 17 as analogous to joining the sect, and therefore stresses its apotropaic nature. It seems to me difficult and needless to reconcile the "apotropaic" interpretation with the one proposed in this paper.

[68] According to *Jub.* 14:10, 20, the covenant with Abraham, which is described in Genesis 15, was established on the 15th day of the third month. This covenant resumes the covenant with Noah (*Jub.* 14:20), which anticipates the covenant at Sinai (*Jub.* 6:11). According to *Jubilees* 15, the covenant of Genesis 17 took place *exactly one year later*, on the same date. According to 4QD the sect celebrated annually the renewal of the covenant in the third month (no day specified; cf. 4Q266 11:17 and Baumgarten's comment, DJD XVIII, 76, 78; cf. *Jub.* 6:17; 2 Chr 14:10-15).

covenant (i.e., #B ["therefore Abraham was circumcised on the day of his knowing] is analogous to #A1 + #A2 ["and on the day a man takes upon himself . . . the angel Mastema will turn away from him"]). According to the interpretation suggested here, however, Abraham's circumcision is analogous to the behavior expected of a member of the sect when a new commandment of God comes to his knowledge (i.e., #B ["Abraham was circumcised"] illustrates #A3 ["if he fulfills his words"]), and Abraham's circumcision has nothing to do with the deliverance from Mastema. "The day of his knowing" would be simply the day in which Abraham acquired the knowledge that circumcision is a commandment of God.[69] This emphasis is especially significant in a sect in which new laws of the Torah are being continuously "revealed" (CD 15:10, 13). The concept of gradual revelation is described in 1QS 1:8-9 in the following words: "To be joined to the council of God to walk perfectly before him according to all things which have been revealed at the times fixed for their revelation" (להיחד בעצת אל ולהתהלך לפניו תמים כול הנגלות למועדי תעודותם). The phrase "to walk perfectly before him" (ולהתהלך לפניו תמים) is borrowed from Gen 17:1. The commandment of circumcision in Genesis 17, and Gen 17:1 in particular, was interpreted by the sect as the model of observing newly revealed commandments, to which the new member has committed himself in the oath he took.[70] The fascinating theological inferences which would have been drawn from the text concerning the circumcision of heart in Qumran and in Christianity are undermined by such a minimalistic interpretation, according to which the author was not concerned here at all with the significance of circumcision as such.

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[69] Cf. יודיעהו and דעת in 4Q266 8 i 5-6 (=CD 15:13-15).

[70] Cf. CD 15:8-10, according to Qimron's reading, *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (ed. M. Broshi; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992) 39: יפקדוהו בשבועת הברית אשר כרת משה עם ישראל את דברו לש[וב] אל תורת משה בכל לב ו[ב]כ[ל] נפש אל הנמצא לעשות בכ[ל] קץ ק[ר]בו, "They shall muster him with the oath of the covenant which Moses made with Israel [to keep] his promise to return to the Torah of Moses with all (his) heart and [with a]ll (his) soul which is found to be done in the period in which he joins [the community]."

Appendix

The concept that astrologers are no longer right when they refer to people governed by God (or to righteous people)[71] is found in rabbinic sources, and is represented, for example, in the famous dictum אין מזל לישראל ("astrology does not apply to Jews").[72] Of special interest is a midrash according to which astrologers who failed to predict the fate of two men explained it by saying, "You are Jews, and words of astrologers are not right concerning you."[73] This and other passages to the same effect were elucidated by Lieberman, who writes:

> The Jews borrowed from them [the Gentiles] many superstitions entirely alien to the Jewish religion. The rabbis had to face the situation as it was . . . The power of astrology is not denied but it is confirmed to Gentiles only, having no influence on Israel. According to Tanhuma [*Shoftim* 10] this maxim was accepted even by the gentile astrologers... We possess independent evidence confirming the words of the rabbis. Bardesan maintains: 'And the Jews . . . nor does the star, which has authority in the Clime govern them by force'. The words of Bardesan are most literally the same as those reported by the rabbis in the name of the Gentile Astrologers . . . . The rabbis displayed the same intelligent attitude towards magic and charms as towards astrology. Magic is effective in the case of the ordinary man only, but not in that of the really righteous, whose merit is great (דנפישא זכותיה) . . . So TB [*Ḥullin* 7b].[74]

However, Bardaisan's argument is quite different from the statement of the rabbis. Bardaisan argues that not everything is governed by fate (i.e., astrology), and the case of the Jews serves for him as an empirical proof of the argument rather than an exception.[75] However, a striking parallel to the statement of the midrash, "you are Jews, and words of astrologers are not right concerning you," is to be found in the *Excerpta*

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[71] For the latter variation see the story concerning R. Aqiva's daughter in *b. Šabb*. 156b.

[72] *b. Šabb*. 156a.

[73] *Tanḥuma Shofetim* 10.

[74] S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Life and Manners of Jewish Palestine in the II-IV Centuries CE* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1942) 97-100, 113. "His merit is great" (דנפישא) is the explanation given by the Babylonian Talmud why R. Ḥanina, according to a story mentioned in the Talmud, is immune from magic. It should be noted that this concept should not be read into the story itself. See also above, n. 71.

[75] H. J. W. Drijvers, *The Book of the Laws of the Countries: Dialogue on the Fate of Bardaisan of Edessa* (Semitic Texts with Translation 3; Assen: van Gorcum, 1964) 56.

ex Theodoto cited above:[76] "Until baptism . . . Fate is real, but after it the astrologers are no longer right." Similar concepts, namely that conversion delivers one from bondage to fate, is attested also in pagan cults of late antiquity.[77]

The concept that magic has no power over the righteous is attested in Jewish, Christian and pagan literature. To the above-mentioned Talmudic passage in *b. Ḥul.* 7b one may compare *T. Joseph* 6:7:

> In order for you to know that the evil of the irreligious will not triumph over those who exercise self-control in their worship of God, I will take this [i.e., "food mixed with enchantments"] and eat it in your presence.

Similarly the pagan philosopher Celsus writes:

> A certain Dionysius, an Egyptian musician . . . told him that magical arts were effective with uneducated people and with men of depraved moral character, but that with people who had studied philosophy they were not able to have any effect, because they were careful to lead a healthy way of life.[78]

Origen confines the immunity from magic only to Christians:

> We know by experience that those who worship the supreme God through Jesus according to the way of Christianity, and live according to his Gospel . . . are not caught either by magic or demons. For in the truth "the angel of the Lord will deliver them" from all evil.[79]

According to other pagan schools "ascetic conduct and correct ritual will free the soul from the astrological bonds of Fate and defend it against the demonic powers."[80]

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[76] See n. 49 above. See E. E. Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1975) 809, n. 68.

[77] As summarized by P. Wendland in his article on this subject ("Hellenistic Ideas of Salvation in the Light of Ancient Anthropology," *The American Journal of Theology* 17 [1913] 345-51): "The individual seeks fellowship with a mighty god who is able to raise his protégés above . . . the region controlled by the powerful astral spirits" (ibid., 347).

[78] Origen, *Contra Celsum* 6:41; for further parallels from Plotinus, Philostratus and Porphyry, see the notes to Chadwick's translation (H. Chadwick, *Contra Celsum* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press] 356, n. 1).

[79] Origen, *Contra Celsum* 6:41.

[80] B. P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) xxv (concerning the Chaldaic Oracles), 60 (*Corpus Hermeticum* 16:15-16). Wendland, "Hellenistic Ideas,"

The statements in rabbinic literature, ostensibly an expression of Jewish exclusivity (*vis-à-vis* the Gentiles) and a continuation of disapproving attitudes towards astrology in the Bible,[81] can be regarded as a feature of the world of late antiquity, shared by Jews, Christians, Gnostics and Pagans.

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348. See also H. J. Hodges, "Gnostic Liberation from Astrological Determinism: Hipparchan 'Trepidation' and the Breaking of Fate," *Vigiliae Christianae* 51 (1997) 359-73.

[81] Cf. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, 97-9.

The Signficance of the Temple in the Manuscripts of the Damascus Document

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It was and still is commonplace among scholars of Second Temple Judaism and the biblical materials to refer to a "spiritualized" temple as a way of understanding the role of that institution in the literature from Qumran and, by implication, in the life of the sect. In his monograph on the subject, Bertil Gärtner presented a characteristic viewpoint:

> For the community did not consider itself to have broken with the temple and the cultus in all its forms; instead they transferred the whole complex of ideas from the Jerusalem temple to the community. This undoubtedly meant that some measure of "spiritualization" had taken place, since the idea of the temple was now linked with the community, and since the temple worship was now performed through the community's observance of the Law and through its own liturgy and cultus.[1]

Similar in outlook was the study by R. J. McKelvey. After summaries of the evidence concerning the new temple in Jewish literature and then the heavenly temple, he discussed Qumran in his chapter on the spiritual temple:

> The community by adhering to God's will as laid down in the law is itself a temple. It is called "true" in contradistinction to the temple of Jerusalem, which it displaces, because the latter has forfeited its right to be regarded as the representative of the revelation and truth of God. Since the new temple supersedes the old, it takes over its cultic function, and this in turn is spiritu-

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[1] B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* (SNTSMS 1; Cambridge: University Press, 1965) 18. When Gärtner sets out to define "spiritualization," he uses the term "transfer": "The use of the word 'spiritualization' must not be taken to mean that the 'temple' which was the community was thought of any less realistically than the Jerusalem temple, or that the community's life of obedience to the Law was considered to be any less real than the blood sacrifices. The word is used to indicate the transference of the concrete entity, the temple building, to a more 'spiritual' realm in the living community, and of the sacrifices to deeds in the life lived according to the Law."

> alized. The nature of the new cult is not mentioned in this text, but other texts make it clear that it is observance of the law.[2]

In the quotation above we find the three key words that have characterized the discussion of this subject: spiritualize, transfer and Jerusalem.[3] One of the problems pointed out by Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza with the use of the term 'spiritualization' is that it has its roots in the anti-cultic interpretation which distorted the meaning of the Hebrew Scriptures by contrasting cultic religion and personal-ethical piety.[4] There is no reason for now trying to place Qumran literature into that inadequate perspective. McKelvey noted that the term 'spiritual' is not being used here in its normal manner.[5] It is not being used here in opposition to what is bodily, material or earthly, the common definition of the term. In order to clarify what he meant by his use of the term Gärtner employed the term 'transfer' in his explanation of 'spiritualization,' a word also preferred by Fiorenza:

> The use of the word "spiritualization" must not be taken to mean that the "temple" which was the community was thought of any less realistically than the Jerusalem temple, or that the community's life of obedience to the Law was considered to be any less real than the blood sacrifices. The word is used to indicate the transference of the concrete entity, the temple building, to a more "spiritual" realm in the living community, and of the sacrifices to deeds in the life lived according to the Law.[6]

Whether this concept of "transference" is adequate to explain the use of temple imagery in various compositions from the Qumran documents is subject to question.

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[2] R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple: The Church in the New Testament* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969) 47. While this comment was based on his discussion of 1QS 5:5-6, he selected that text as representative of a view he attributed to the Qumran texts more generally. While in his work he has admitted the existence in Judaism prior to the Common Era of the hope for a new temple, he does not choose to discuss Qumran in that section. He, of course, did not have access to all the texts presently available. The same argument is to be found in P. R. Davies, "The Ideology of the Temple in the Damascus Document," *JJS* 33 (1982) 287-301, esp. 300-1.

[3] Note also the emphasis on the "law" in these works and elsewhere. Note the conclusion of this article.

[4] E. Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic Language in Qumran and the New Testament," *CBQ* 38 (1976) 159-77, esp. 160-61.

[5] McKelvey, *The New Temple*, 42, n. 1.

[6] Gärtner, *Temple and Community*, 18-19.

It is furthermore assumed that the structure which is spiritualized is the temple in Jerusalem.[7] It has been argued in Qumran scholarship that the cultic orientation attested in the writings of that community has its base in the relationship of the sectarians to the Jerusalem priesthood during the reign of the Hasmoneans, those priest-kings who ruled Judea from the time of the Maccabean revolt and the rededication of the temple in 164 BCE until the Roman conquest of Jerusalem under Pompey in 63 BCE.[8] The priesthood in Jerusalem is viewed as a defiled and corrupt body, first with Alcimus and Jason, and then with the Maccabean usurpers of the high priesthood. In summary, there has been an assumption that the internal life of the Qumran community was an attempt, at least for an interim period, to replace (or spiritualize) the defiled and corrupt institution in Jerusalem. The question is whether this is an adequate formulation to account for what we actually find in the texts from the Qumran corpus, using the *Damascus Document* as a test case.

Folios 1-8 of the Genizah version of the *Damascus Document* are polemical, directed against certain persons and concerned with issues that the author considers central for understanding the history and future development of the sect. After the three-fold historical survey with which the work begins, we find in the well-known pesher on Isa 24:17 a listing of the three nets of Belial in which Levi son of Jacob says that Israel is ensnared: פחד ופחת ופח עליך יושב הארץ ("fear and the pit and the snare are upon you who inhabit the land"). These three nets are interpreted as הזנות ("whoredom"), ההון ("wealth") and טמא המקדש ("defilement of the temple"). The meaning and significance of these three are developed in the following pages of the work.

A major concern expressed in the pages under discussion is זנות (whoredom).[9] The author's perspective on this error of Israel (see 2:16)

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[7] M. Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul* (SNTSMS 53; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) 49.

[8] The most common assumption is that certain priestly figures lost their power with the ascent of the Hasmoneans, whose high-priestly lineage was suspect anyway. Certain groups who had supported the Maccabean brothers during the revolt were less happy with them when they took power, resulting in a time of intense conflict within the Jewish people. It is out of this conflict that we get the rise of various Jewish sectarian groups. The Essenes are considered to be the most radical of these viewpoints with regard to the rejection of the validity of the temple.

[9] My development of this argument can be found in "The Matthean Divorce Texts Reexamined," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies* (ed. G. Brooke; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 149-67, esp. 152-54.

is found on folios 4 and 5, defined primarily as bigamy, incest and divorce.[10] In the midst of this discussion we find the interesting lines, "Also, they defile the sanctuary in that they do not make distinctions according to the Torah. They lie with a woman who sees the blood of her menstruation. A man takes the daughter of his brother or his sister (for a wife)."[11] Due to the nature of the second prohibition which extends the definition of incest beyond the biblical injunction in Lev 18:13, the author explains and emphasizes its connection to the biblical text.[12] In this case incest and the particular interpretation of the relevant prohibitions for the new covenant in the land of Damascus are considered to be issues concerning the defilement of the temple. A similar approach lending support to this interpretation can be found in the Temple Scroll.

In 11QT we find that special places are made in "every city" outside of the temple city for menstruants and others considered unclean.[13] When listing the categories of persons to be included in the designated areas east of the Temple City, menstruants are not even mentioned.[14] They, like women after childbirth, apparently had to observe the period of purification in one of the other cities of the land. The provision of special areas, then, for menstruants within the Temple city was deemed unnecessary.[15] Intercourse also defiled the temple; the participants were prohibited from entering the city of the sanctuary for three days.[16] These references in 11QT have another direct connection to the *Damascus Document* when we note the similar stringency in its latter portion, where intercourse is banned in the Temple City: "A man is not

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[10] R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1982) 91. Following G. Vermes in arguing that CD 4:12-5:14 prohibits polygamy but not divorce ("Sectarian Matrimonial Halakhah in the Damascus Rule," *JJS* 25 [1974] 197-202), W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, Jr. also make this claim for 11QT 57:17-19 (*The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, v. 1, ICC [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988] 528).

[11] CD 5:6-8.

[12] CD 5:8-11. Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem/Shrine of the Book, 1983) 371-72; B. Z. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983) 126.

[13] 11QT 48:14-17. It is interesting to note that the *Zadokite Document* does not here use the term נדה, used for the menstruant in 11QT 48:16, but does use the term in a more general sense of impurity in 2:1 and 3:17.

[14] 11QT 46:16-18. Cf. Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:304.

[15] Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:305-07.

[16] 11QT 45:11-12. This seems to be a continuation of the discussion of *niddat ṭemeʾatamah* in 45:10.

to lie with a woman in the city of the sanctuary so as to defile the city of the sanctuary בנדתם ("with their impurity")."[17] Within the *Damascus Document* this prohibition is even more extreme than the earlier legislation regarding intercourse with the menstruant.

The corresponding prohibition against the marriage of a niece has been extensively discussed and it has been noted that this is unique to the Qumran literature in Second Temple Judaism, also appearing in 11QT 66:15-17. Similar prohibitions are mentioned in later Samaritan, Karaite and Falasha writings.[18] As noted above the violation of this prohibition also is considered to be a defilement of the temple. Recall that these two prohibitions were preceded by the line: "Also they defile the sanctuary in that they do not make distinctions according to the Torah." Philip Davies is correct when he says that the composition of this section is somewhat disjointed and that the author seems to have pulled together material from different sources.[19] Davies is also correct, however, in stressing the importance of the work of the final author/redactor. When we attempt to study the text from the viewpoint of this redaction, we see that the author considers both the prohibition of intercourse with a menstruant and the marriage with a niece to be a defilement of the temple, as he does with regard to all matters which "do not make distinctions according to the Torah." The laws of *zenut*, so important to the author of this work, are considered to be one way in which the purity of the temple is maintained.

The second net in which Israel becomes ensnared is הון (wealth). In the next page or two, the *Damascus Document* does not say much about this matter. When we come to the provisions for the members of the covenant, apparently the new covenant in the land of Damascus, it is a different matter.[20] These adherents are "to pledge (להנזר) separation from the evil wealth which defiles (whether) in the vow, in the dedication or in the wealth of the temple."[21] In this case we again see in these first sentences concerning הון that they contain legislation regarding temple practices. In pages 1-8 of the *Damascus Document* "wealth" is discussed, not in connection with the sins of accumulation or the virtues of poverty, but with regard to the vows and oaths which a person

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[17] CD 12:1-2. Note the comments of Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:288.

[18] 11QT 66:16-17. Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:300.

[19] P. R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983) 116.

[20] CD 6:11, 19.

[21] CD 6:15-16.

makes concerning sacrifices and offerings. In a manner similar to the handling of זנות, the lack of observance of these prohibitions results in defilement. Since the prohibitions concern temple practices, the defilement with which the author is concerned in this case is also that of the temple. Other stipulations are brought into this category. They are not "to rob from the poor of his people, to make the widow their prey or to murder the orphan."[22] This also seems to constitute defilement of the temple. On the positive side "every man is to love his brother like himself, to strengthen the hand of the poor, the needy and the stranger, and to seek the well-being (שלום) of his brother."[23] The life demanded of the adherents of the new covenant in the land of Damascus finds its basis in the temple. Below we will have to explore how that is possible.

A lot of space is devoted to טמא המקדש ("defilement of the temple") in these next pages of the manuscript. As already discussed, in 5:6-7 we read that "They also defile the sanctuary in that they do not make distinctions in accordance with the Torah."[24] On the next page, in the section concerning the covenant we find in a much longer section that "they are to distinguish between the clean and the unclean, to make known the difference between the holy and the common, to keep the Sabbath day according to its requirements, the festivals and the fast day (Day of Atonement) . . . to raise the holy offerings according to their requirements."[25] CD 12:19-20 makes a similar case concerning the משפטים for settlement in the cities of Israel: "they are to distinguish between the clean and the unclean, to make known the difference between the holy and the common." Later, in 20:23 it is the בית פלג that is responsible for the defilement of the temple. The motivation which appears to undergird all of these texts is to protect the temple from defilement.

I have identified one of the basic passages which discusses the three snares in which Belial has entrapped Israel as that portion which provides some detail concerning the new covenant in the land of Damascus.[26] The formation of the covenant itself is described in that text

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[22] CD 6:16-17.

[23] CD 6:20-7:1.

[24] Note the significance of Torah in this case as in 11QT.

[25] CD 6:17-19.

[26] Note Davies' argument that the "new covenant in the land of Damascus" is a secondary expansion. He does not tell us at what stage this was added. Was this still during the Qumran era prior to the destruction of the Second Temple or was it by a Karaite copyist?

in relation to temple and sacrifice. It does so through the use of Mal 1:10: "And all who come into the covenant in order not to enter the sanctuary so as not to kindle his altar in vain."[27] The text goes on to identify these sectarians as the ones for whom the Lord is seeking in Mal 1:10 to shut the door of the temple.[28] Then the text continues: "if they will not be careful to do according to the specification of the Torah (כפרוש התורה)."[29] The question is, "How can the members of the sect shut the door of the temple? How can they not kindle the altar in vain? The answer is, "If they will do according to the specification of the Torah." The implications of this statement have already been discussed: the members of the covenant are to refrain from the defilement of the temple and its cult, including the abuse of material wealth which in this case includes the improper handling of vows and oaths dedicated to the temple.[30] The continuation of the discussion of the covenant in the parallel texts, 8:4-8 and 19:16-20, again lists whoredom and evil wealth as two of the ways in which those who walked in the ways of the traitors defiled themselves.[31] This continues to be a major concern in the sectarian legal stipulations outlined on pages 9-14 of this composition.[32]

Many students of the *Damascus Document* consider 1:1-4:12a to be one literary unit.[33] Unless we assume a very abrupt break at that point with a limited continuity between what precedes and what follows 4:12a,[34] it is necessary to interpret CD 4:14-19, the pesher on Isa 24:17, in the light of the earlier sectarian exegesis of Ezek 44:15 in CD 3:21-4:4 concerning the priest, the levites and the sons of Zadok.[35] From CD 4:4-12 we find a discussion of the eschatological expectations held by the writer and/or the sect and the mention of the reign of Belial which has been let loose on Israel. In either case, the subject addressed is the

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[27] CD 6:11-14.

[28] This again may be a composite text, as argued by Davies, but the final redactor clearly had a message in mind.

[29] Note Torah here also as in the previous note.

[30] The latter sentiment also finds expression in CD 16:13 where there is a prohibition against making a vow to the altar of anything acquired through force.

[31] The use of הון in CD 20:7 seems to be neutral and descriptive, rather than being directly related to the other uses of the term in these pages.

[32] CD 9:22, 10:18, 11:15, 12:7, 13:11.

[33] Wacholder, *Dawn of Qumran*, 105-10; Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 48-104.

[34] Davies, who begins a new unit at CD 4:12b, does not understand the text with that much discontinuity.

[35] Note Davies' discussion of the use of the Ezekiel text, *Damascus Covenant*, 90-6.

community and, most importantly, not the historical experience of Israel prior to the life of the community represented in this literature.[36] In that case, the pesher becomes primarily a commentary on Judaism at the time of the life of the new covenant and perhaps even on its history.[37] As has been recognized, for example, in attempts to interpret the two dates in folio 1 of this work, the Admonition discusses the history of the new covenant including experiences of unfaithfulness and perhaps even division, also mentioned in folios 8 and 20.

In light of such a setting, it becomes plausible to understand the three nets of Belial as problems in which the community itself has some experience. This is the only interpretation which permits us to make sense of CD 4:16-17 where we read, ויתנם פניהם לשלושת מיני הצדק ("and he presented them as three kinds of righteousness"). Such a strategy of subterfuge on the part of Belial, portraying the three snares in which Israel could be entrapped as righteousness, finds much more ready explanation when applied to the time of the life of the sect than when viewed against the backdrop of Israelite history prior to the formation of the group. These are issues with which the sect itself was concerned. Making these sins appear to be some kind of righteouness suggests a certain kind of subtlety of argument and appeal which finds its best explanation when applied to the history of the sect itself. We do have to remember how important the term צדק and its cognates were for defining the self-perception of the sect.[38] The question then arises, Why did the sect seize on these particular issues? How are they to be explained?

The usual explanation for the choice of the three nets of Belial has been to find examples within the priesthood of Second Temple Judaism to illustrate each of the cases. That methodology assumes, however, that these have a basis in the historical experience of Israel without specific examples finding mention in the texts we are discussing. Within the

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[36] Whether this community is the group that lived at Qumran is not the subject of this paper. That it is a sectarian perspective which has some basis in the concrete experience of a community is quite clear from the text.

[37] Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 92.

[38] J. M. Baumgarten, "The Heavenly Tribunal and the Personification of *Ṣedeq* in Jewish Apocalyptic," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.19.1 (ed. W. Haase; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1979) 219-39; J. Kampen, "'Righteousness in Matthew and the Legal Texts from Qumran," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 461-87, esp. 462-79.

pages of the *Damascus Document*, however, I think we find another explanation. This is found in a reexamination of the בית נאמן ("sure house") in 3:19. As has been noted, there is probably a connection between the "sure house" of CD 3:19 and the quotation from Ezekiel in the next line.[39] Shemaryahu Talmon has argued for the significance of the book of Ezekiel in understanding the Damascus composition, as attested by the use of the numerology from Ezek 4:4-6.[40] It has often been maintained that the statement in CD 3:19 is to be understood as a quotation of 1 Sam 2:35 where it relates to the lineage of Zadok, the high priest of David.[41] Since the Ezekiel quotation in the next line concerns the sons of Zadok, this is a reasonable hypothesis. In that case perhaps the statement should be understood in the future tense of the biblical citation: ויבן להם בית נאמן בישראל ("And he will build for them a sure house in Israel").[42] Rather than describing something that God has done for Israel in the past, the passage picks up the future tense of the biblical passage and says that this is something that God will do in the future. The exegesis of Ezek 44:15 in the next line then points to the sons of Zadok who will arise in the latter days to serve in this future sanctuary. The priests are the founders of the sect and the play on the word levite permits the inclusion of those who subsequently joined it.[43] The sons of Zadok are the elect of Israel, קריאי השם, who will arise in the latter days. The eschatological hope of the sect is for a new undefiled temple at the end of days in which the priests who remain faithful and perfect, in Ezekiel the בני צדוק, will serve.

Remember that in CD 1:3 "when they were unfaithful and forsook Him, He hid His face from Israel and from His sanctuary." In that column we read of a "plant root" and of a teacher of righteousness, but not of another temple. The new covenant in CD 6 is said to have its origin in the pledge utilizing Mal 1:10, "not to enter the sanctuary so as not

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[39] Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 90-1.

[40] Sh. Talmon, "The Community of the Renewed Covenant: Between Judaism and Christianity," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) 3-24, esp. 13.

[41] Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 90.

[42] This proposal was originally suggested to me by Ben Zion Wacholder. Note the use of ויהיו כונסים in 11QT 34:7 as a future for ויבן. This reference is not of much significance.

[43] Contra L. H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983) 31, who says they are the sect.

to kindle his altar in vain."[44] Frequently this is connected with that difficult statement of Josephus in *Ant.* 18.1.5 §19: "They send votive offerings to the temple, but perform their sacrifices employing a different ritual of purification." As is well-known, many scholars interpolate ουκ into that phrase, thus making it coincide with their understanding of the *Damascus Document*.[45] That is not the major concern expressed in the text. After stating that the members of the covenant are the persons addressed in Mal 1:10, the text goes on, in the explanation of the phrase, not to talk about the temple in Jerusalem but rather to talk about those ישמרו לעשות כפרוש התורה ("who are observant in doing according to the specification of the Torah"). This phrase, כפרוש התורה, also found in 4:8 with reference to the covenant, gives us the clue for the interpretation of Mal 1:10.[46] If my analysis is correct, they are talking about how things would be done in the temple of the messianic era.[47] What they covenant to do is to act like they would if the messianic temple were here. That is the major concern with regard to the defilement of the temple.

But there is one complication in my treatment of this section of CD. Elsewhere I have noted the central role of the laws of reproof within the *Damascus Document*.[48] I noted that the interpretation of Lev 19:15-18 begins in CD 6:20-7:3, in the midst of this section concerning the purity of the eschatological temple, and incorporates the concerns about זנות and טמא המקדש into the treatment of the laws of reproof. This interpretive tradition is then developed further in 9:2-10:3. It also appears in other Qumran texts, most significantly in 4Q477, the *Decrees of the Sect*, which constitutes the fragments of a listing of persons being reproved. The laws of reproof are also treated in 1QS 5:24-6:1 and in the 4QBerakhot fragments (4Q286-290). Since the laws of reproof are also related to the penal code, amply attested in the Cave 4 frag-

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[44] CD 6:11-14.

[45] See Feldman's notes in the Loeb edition.

[46] פרוש appears in 2:9,13, 4:4,6,8, 6:14,20, 13:6, 14:17.

[47] An important related argument can be found in A. Steudel, "The Houses of Prostration: CD XI, 21-XII, 1—Duplicates of the Temple," *RevQ* 16 (1993-95) 49-68, esp. 51-55, where she demonstrates that the "holy house" of CD 11:21-12:1 is neither the Jerusalem temple nor the community.

[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 Press International, forthcoming)

ments of the Damascus tradition,[49] we see their importance throughout this corpus, and I would argue the earliest manifestation of this legal traditon is found in CD 6:20-7:3. This suggests to me that there is some relationship between the estchatological בית נאמן envisaged in this composition and the new covenant in the land of Damascus. In fact the new covenant in the land of Damascus is the closest its adherents can get to the eschatological temple. The way of life legislated for these adherents with its concerns about purity and defilement as well as an exemplary communal system of support and counsel is what they anticipated for that future time when God would intervene, remove the control of history from human hands and provide a center for human existence by erecting a new sanctuary for God's presence.

This hypothesis finds substantiation in the Cave 4 compositions related to this document. Assuming that the order of the reconstruction of the fragments for at least 4QD^{a-h} (4Q266-273) correctly represents the original compositions, and with some minor qualifications I have no reason to doubt this,[50] the collection of legal materials not found in the Genizah version follows directly after CD 7-8 and some less well-attested evidence from folio 20. This material centers on the role of the priests and purity laws which are based on the temple. A good example would be the discussion of the purity laws concerning skin disease in 4Q266(D^{a}) 5, 4Q269(D^{d}) 7, 4Q272(D^{g}) 5 i-ii and 4Q273(D^{h}) 4 ii and based on Leviticus 13-15.[51] An apparent introduction to the priesthood and the laws is followed by a discussion of certain reasons for the disqualification of priests.[52] The central relationship of the priests to the law is evident in the concluding expulsion ceremony.[53] The regulations

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[49] J. M. Baumgarten, "The Cave 4 Versions of the Qumran Penal Code," *JJS* 43 (1992) 268-76; C. Hempel, "The Penal Code Reconsidered," in *Legal Texts*, 337-48.

[50] Note 4Q266 5 and 4Q 270 2, both of which are questioned by J. M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 48, 143.

[51] J. M. Baumgarten, "The 4Q Zadokite Fragments on Skin Disease," *JJS* 41 (1990) 153-65.

[52] 4Q266(D^{a}) 5 i-ii, 4Q267(D^{b}) 5 ii-iii, 4Q273(D^{h}) 1-4 i; J. M. Baumgarten, "The Disqualifications of Priests in 4Q Fragments of the 'Damascus Document,' a Specimen of the Recovery of pre-Rabbinic Halakha," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill/Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1992) 2.503-13.

[53] 4Q266(D^{a}) 11, 4Q270(D^{e}) 7 ii; J. M. Baumgarten, "A 'Scriptural' Citation in 4Q Fragments of the Damascus Document," *JJS* 43 (1992) 95-98.

concerning the menstruant and the woman after childbirth similarly parallel and intensify levitical legislation,[54] specifying that the impure mother who enters the sanctuary has committed a capital offense.[55] Note also the slaughter of the pregnant animal or intercourse with the pregnant woman in 4Q270(D^{g}) 2 ii 16.[56] Those purity laws not self-evidently related to the temple such as regulations concerning sexual relations are included among the topics introduced in folios 1-8 of the Genizah version, so they have already been discussed above. We find for example considerably more attention paid to the issue of זנות. Significant is the placement of this material in these other manuscripts precisely at the same juncture as we find them discussed in the Genizah version. Those concerns regarding defilement of the temple, laws with regard to fornication regulating sexual behavior and the purity aspects of that as well as the more extensive penal codes all provide evidence of the way of life and the expectations attendant a life centered in a more perfect eschatological temple.

We now return to a central issue identified in the works quoted in the introduction to this paper, the role of the "law." Note also Philip Davies:

> In brief, the ideology of the Temple in CD is that it is no longer the seat of the law. The Temple itself is not rejected, nor has it been defiled in some specific act. Indeed, it may be suggested that the Temple as such is really not an issue in CD at all, but merely one practical problem which is dealt with in terms of the overriding concern of CD V,12, the observance of the law.[57]

This paper demonstrates that the students of this text who propagate this view have misunderstood the relationship of law and temple within it. Law does not take precedence over temple, the place of God's presence. The problem is that Israel has not followed the correct law because it was rooted in the wrong temple. The real temple, the place where God really will dwell, is that future perfect temple yet to be con-

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[54] 4Q266(D^{a}) 6; 4Q272(D^{g}) 1 ii; J. M. Baumgarten, "Purification after Childbirth and the Sacred Garden in 4Q265 and Jubilees," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. G. J. Brooke; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 3-10.

[55] 4Q266(D^{a}) 6 ii 10.

[56] J. M. Baumgarten, "A Fragment on Fetal Life and Pregnancy in 4Q270," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* (ed. D. P. Wright, D. N. Freedman and A. Hurvitz; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995) 445-48.

[57] Davies, "Ideology of the Temple," 300-1.

structed. There is no reason, however, that the law which would be operative in that future entity and protect its perfect sanctity cannot be followed now and thereby God's presence cannot be experienced prior to its construction. The author(s) of this document are concerned about defilement and impurity with regard to that structure. The adherents of the new covenant in the land of Damascus have pledged to live the perfect life called for within the precincts and shadows of that temple which is to come. The expectation is that God would wish to dwell in the midst of those persons who observe the law in the manner expected in a structure which would be a fit dwelling for God's presence.

A Response to the Discussion of DJD XVIII

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It is gratifying to see that the SBL session devoted to the DJD edition of the Cave 4 fragments of the *Damascus Document* has served to evoke a spectrum of thought-provoking comments.

The contributions of John Kampen on the significance of the Temple and Menahem Kister's interpretation of CD 16:4-6 are independent illuminations of two important Qumran issues.

Philip Davies' reflections constitute a broad-based methodological critique of the edition, generously interspersed with appreciation of the work, based, I should add, on Milik's pioneer transcriptions and reconstructions. Although I generally find it more fruitful to struggle with the complexities of the Qumran texts themselves, rather than contemporary theories about them, I believe that Prof. Davies' substantial contributions to the literary analysis of the *Damascus Document* make it imperative to heed his reflections on the new evidence. I had occasion to respond to some of his questions orally, but now that they are formulated in writing and divided into general and detailed observations, I can conveniently follow their sequence. I prefer, however, to deal primarily with factual details from which general inferences can readily be drawn.

a. The "*tentatively proposed*" restoration of the first line of 4Q266 derives from the observation (pointed out to me by H. Stegemann) that some Qumran works have their designations specified both at the beginning and the end. The final summation והזה פרוש המשפטים suggests to me (Stegemann prefers מדרש התורה האחרון) that this may have been the designation for the instruction of the [ב]ני אור by the משכיל. Davies may be right in calling this a guess, though it is, hopefully, not an uninformed one. He errs in his assumption that משכיל, as opposed to מבקר, is limited in its usage to the *Rule of the Community*. It is found not only in 4Q266 9 iii 15 (parallel with CD13:22), but in 4Q266 5 i 17 (parallel with CD 12:21). In this case, as in others, some noted below, I do not subscribe to the rigid terminological dichotomies between Qumran organizational works presumed by some scholars.

The restoration of רוח עולה in the second line of 4Q266, which Davies bemoans as an unfortunate lapse, is supported not only by the

similarity to the wording about the ultimate destiny of עולה in 1QS 4:18-19, but by the feminine pronominal suffix in the 4Q266 sequel. The expression מעשיה "her works" should allow Davies see why I refer to the "spirit of iniquity" as personified.

b. The similarities in wording and substance between the penal codes of the 4Q versions of D and the *Community Rule*, despite a few differences in detail, are so salient that I find it amazing that anyone would question the legitimacy of comparing the penalty for "lying about property" in the two sources. The wording describing the offence is practically identical: איש אשר ישקר בהון (1QS 6:24-25), וא[ש]ר [יש]קר בממון (CD 14:20), but the penalty of reducing the food ration is only specified in 1QS. My hypothesis was that the food penalty may not have been applicable to men living in family units. Davies claims that the offenses must have been different, since the men of the *yaḥad* did not have any property of their own. This claim is worth considering, but it must be qualified by the fact that the men of the *yaḥad* were expected to make payment for damaging communal property (1QS 7:6-8). In any case, who can reasonably doubt[1] that the penalty codes of D and the *Community Rule* are intimately related?

As to the role of women in the community described in the 4QD texts, I did not conclude anything about their presence in the *yaḥad*, nor did I "express puzzlement" about the view that marital relations in Jerusalem defile the sanctuary. I do believe that the multiple references to women and marriage in the 4Q texts provide further evidence for the bifurcation of life-styles within the larger framework of sectarian ideology which I discussed some years ago. I think it is nevertheless legitimate to speak of a common core of religious perspectives which characterized the Covenant community. The latter term I used collectively to designate the genus which embraced the differing subspecies which may be identified within Qumran society.

c. My use of the heading "Mutability and Immutability in Sectarian Law" should have sufficed, so I thought, to indicate that eschatological changes in the understanding of law were well within the purview of the Covenant community. In a paper read at the 1996 Provo conference I also suggested that the notion of the Messiah having a role in the forgiveness of sins, which the gospels—and many modern Christian and Jewish scholars—portray as blasphemous in the eyes of the Pharisees, may already be adumbrated in the text of 4Q266 10 i 12-13

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[1] In a footnote, Prof. Davies grants "that there are connections between CD and the Rule of the Community in respect of disciplinary measures."

(parallel to CD 14:19). What I have so far not found substantiated in the hypernomistic Qumran literature is the idea of a messianic abrogation of the Law. If Prof. Davies thinks that this is due to a "reaction against Christianity" or a "too unitary view of Judaism" he should provide the textual evidence. CD 12:22-13:1 does not "clinch the matter" because its burden is to follow the unfolding laws of the community even in the "period of wickedness," and so much the more so—the inference is supported by CD 6:9-11, the *Messianic Rule*, and MMT—in the אחרית הימים, when the true interpretation of the Torah will become manifest.

d. I am delighted to find that Prof. Davies, unlike some contemporary Jewish and Christian scholars, is of the opinion that the rabbinic literature, which he regards as reflecting a non-sectarian viewpoint and definition of Israel, must not be excluded from the study of Qumran law. It was to advocate this position, that I perhaps departed occasionally from the neutral format of an *editio princeps*. As I confessed in the preface, I have been conditioned by my schooling to regard not only the flask but its contents.

To make further amends, I should like to apologize for leading anyone to think that my emphasis on the laws in the *Damascus Document* was intended to condemn its paraenetic elements to total neglect. At the Notre Dame symposium in 1993 I cautioned that the welcome corrective to the neglect of halakha in contemporary Scroll scholarship will hopefully not lead to belittling the significance of doctrinal matters in Second Temple religious history. Here is a convenient point to correct the allegation that I identified the "people that knows him not" (4Q266 2 i 2-3) with foreign nations, as a more careful reading of p.10 of my volume will verify.

Having said the above, I find that there is little that I need add in the form of general observations, except to thank Prof. Davies for his lively way of focusing attention on issues of substance.

I also wish to thank Professors Robert Kugler and Eileen Schuller for their indefatigable labors in organizing this session, and Professors Kampen and Kister for gracing it with the creative fruits of their research.

EPILOGUE

And It Shall Come to Pass in the End of Days: An Agenda for the Future

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Listen now, all you who know righteousness, and consider the works of God; for in the first Jubilee God brought forth His scrolls from the caves and handed them over to His people. From the God of Knowledge comes all that is and shall be. Before ever they existed, He established their whole design, and when, as ordained for them, they came into being, it was in accord with His glorious design. He delivered unto his people His holy scrolls, containing both the revealed and the hidden, and He adjured them to study their words for a third of all the nights of the year, revealing to them the hidden things in which all Israel had gone astray.

But through them the first members of the Covenant sinned and were shamed because they forsook the Covenant of God and walked in the stubbornness of their hearts, each of them doing his own will. The scrolls became an object of dispute. Then the wrath of God was kindled against their congregation for it is written: "And he shall not multiply scrolls to himself," for the revealed belongs to all the people of the congregation. And God punished them with discord and scandal, and did not inscribe them in the Book of Perfect Holiness, but all those members of the Covenant who breached the bounds of the Law, who moved the boundaries which He had set forth, He cut off from the midst of the camp.

And those who heeded the voice of the Teacher confessed before God and said, "Truly we have sinned, we and our students, by walking counter to the precepts of the Covenant, Thy judgments upon us are justice and truth." Then God, in his wonderful mysteries, forgave them their sin and pardoned their wickedness; and He built them a sure house in Israel the like of which has never existed from former times till now. Those who hold fast to it are destined to live forever.

In the first Jubilee God remembered the Covenant with the forefathers, and He raised from Aaron people of discernment and from Israel people of wisdom, and he caused them to publish their scrolls. God called them all princes because they sought to spread His word,

and their expertise was disputed by no one. And so was ended the age of wrath and indignation, and then came the end of the Jubilee when there was peace and satisfaction as scholars joined together to celebrate the coming together of the many camps.

And so began a time of great productivity as book after book issued forth, each with its interpretation of the true testimonies, each claiming the scrolls to be something else. As he spoke by the hand of Isaiah, son of Amoz, saying, "Terror and the pit and the snare are upon you, O inhabitant of the land." Interpreted, these are the three nets of Belial with which he catches Israel: the first is sensationalism, and the second is riches, and the third is false interpretation. Whoever escapes the first is caught in the second, and whoever saves himself from the second is caught in the third.

But now the Jubilee is drawing to a close. Let me tell you, my children, what will happen in the end of days when the Teacher of Righteousness and his disciples arise to spread the light of the scrolls to all the peoples of the earth and to all who love justice.

And it shall come to pass in the end of days, in the first seven-year week of the first Jubilee, that all who study the scrolls will join together once again to celebrate the completion of the publication of the scrolls in their full edition in the series Discoveries in the Judaean Desert. They will also celebrate the completion of the Oxford Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls. All scholars who study the law shall have access to photos of all the scrolls, and computers with improved images, and various laboratories will begin to contribute to the work of the teachers in interpreting the word. And in this week of the Jubilee, scholars shall rely more and more on computer databases which will allow easy searching of all biblical and non-biblical texts. Gone will be the concordances which were established by our predecessors of old.

And from the appointed time at the start of the second Jubilee, the scrolls will be preserved so that they crumble not, nor will their readings be further obscured. The Angel of Preservation shall follow them, and they will be preserved forever, as it is written: "He will show kindness to thousands of them, and to them that love them and watch over them, for a thousand generations."

In the beginning of the second Jubilee all reports of the excavations of the 1950s at Qumran shall be revealed to members of the New Covenant. And in that day all notes and records shall be made known by the examiner who is over the community. And all the remains of the excavations—pottery, coins, glass, and all small finds—shall be available

to all scholars. And together they shall see, together they shall be satisfied, and together they shall bless God in gratitude—for He will have made known to them all finds from the excavation.

And in the end of days a new excavation will be performed leading to a truly scientific study of the Qumran site. But you will know that the opportunities for new results are limited because of the extensive excavation which was performed there in the past. At that time all walls will be reexamined to check their structure and dating; areas of the site will be excavated which have not been studied, and the entire area will be fully explored to determine the relationship of the site to its surroundings. And it is written: "The mountains quake before Him and the hills heave and the earth is lifted up before Him. There is no end to the corpses." Its interpretation is: In that day you will develop a method of determining what is under the earth without having to excavate. At that time you will find out how many women and children are buried in the Qumran cemetery and the true nature of that large burial ground.

And it shall come to pass in the third week of the second Jubilee that computer technology will make it possible to join many fragments one to another. For computers will search the edges of the many fragments, joining shape to shape so as to reduce the number of fragments while at the same time increasing the size of some texts. And the Prince of Lights shall gradually overcome the evil angel Lacunael, so that better, often less speculative restorations shall be revealed to all the Sons of Dawn. In that day the study of DNA shall begin to yield important results, so that more texts can be associated with their brothers and sisters. In this third week, new editions will come forth correcting the first editions and making possible greater understanding of the text. So will God lighten your heart with life-saving wisdom and grant you eternal knowledge. He will raise His merciful face towards you for everlasting bliss.

It will come to pass at the end of days that another miracle will come forth for the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the second Jubilee the Teacher of Righteousness and his scholars will have mastered all the secrets of men and the languages of all their clans, and they will produce a dictionary of the Qumran languages, the holy tongues, for discernment and wisdom. This dictionary will show how much has been revealed to the Sons of Light of the speech of their forefathers, and shall make possible much better understanding of God's holy scrolls. And there shall be engraved on the Heavenly Tablets a storage device large enough to hold the entire corpus of the Judean scrolls and

to search them in haste. For during those years, the book will be closed for eternity. By the end of the third or fourth week, the dictionary will be completed, and it will surpass the book and make known the hidden things.

And in the second Jubilee the knowledge of the scrolls will spread throughout the earth. Numerous studies will be published dealing with the history of Judaism, the rise of Christianity, and the relevance of the scrolls to the history of Western civilization. And the Dead Sea Scrolls will no longer be considered the subject of study for a small sect of scholars but will give knowledge to scholars in all fields, as it is written, "And the earth shall be filled with knowledge of the scrolls as the waters cover the sea."

And by the end of the third week the Teacher of Righteousness and his disciples shall complete new commentaries on the scrolls. These commentaries will not be editions, concentrating on restoration and translation, but will be syntheses, placing the texts in wide historical and literary context. The People of the Covenant shall explain the meaning of these writings as documents of the encounter of God and humanity, teaching their secrets to the students of the wise. These commentaries will reveal the importance of the words of the ancient prophets so that many more readers will thirst for knowledge of the scrolls. As it is written, "O thirsty ones, go to water," and water is none other than the knowledge of the scrolls.

And in this age, starting with the second or third week of the Jubilee, the Sons of Light will turn more to monographic works on the scrolls, bringing together the evidence of various scrolls on important topics. These works will consider not only Qumran evidence, but will break the barriers between Qumran and the other literature of the period, especially apocrypha and pseudepigrapha. The faithful servants will now study all the books of revelation together, no longer following the false and artificial canons of Qumran scrolls, apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, but shall read all the books of the period and study them to reveal their hidden truths.

Listen my children, and I will uncover your eyes that you may see and understand what will happen to the scrolls. For in the second Jubilee not only will the scrolls from Qumran shed their light upon your history but they will be revealed in all their fullness—all the texts of the Judean Desert. For this is the time of which the Lord spoke when he said, "A star shall come forth out of Jacob and a scepter shall rise out of Israel." The Star is the Interpreter of the Law who shall come to Je-

rusalem and reveal all the words of the ancient teachers and scribes, and the Scepter is the Teacher of Righteousness, who, with his disciples, shall lead the scholars of the scrolls in wisdom, discernment, and understanding.

In that day you will learn of the history of the Samaritans, understanding it in the context of the difficult time of Persian domination of the Land of Israel. And all the texts of Wadi Daliyeh shall finally be revealed for all scholars. And there shall become known the history of the Aramaic language as well as legal usage and formulas of the time. And they shall be studied together with the papyri of Egypt in light of the later Jewish legal texts from the Judean Desert and Rabbinic literature.

And so also you will come to understand the importance of the Masada texts and their place in the history of Judaism. For with inscriptions, archaeological evidence, and other sources you will come to understand the apocalyptic nature of rebellion and widespread apocalyptic tendencies in Judaism in this period. For the officers spoke to those prepared for battle to strengthen their hearts, and they said: "Be brave and strong for the battle of God! For this is the time of the battle of God against the host of Belial, and of the judgment of all flesh." And when these texts are fully available, you will understand the extent of their diffusion among the Jews of this period, and the influence of these trends on the rise of Christianity and the later Jewish apocalyptic tradition.

And in that day there will be fully revealed also the texts of the days of the Second Revolt of the people of Judea against their Roman enemies. For in those days important letters and legal documents were hidden, and when they are fully revealed in the second Jubilee they will give great knowledge to the Teacher of Righteousness and the People of the Covenant. Together with Hellenistic legal sources and Rabbinic sources, the Sons of Light will fully come to understand the complex relationship of the native legal system of the Jewish people to the Hellenistic system adopted by their Roman overlords. This in turn will enable better understanding of the system of Roman provincial rule throughout the empire.

And in that day there shall come forth a new light from Khirbet Mird. Here were gathered Greek, Syriac, and Arabic papyri. The unpublished Greek texts shall come forth to the light of day and those who enter the Covenant shall again study these texts in the Assembly to understand the shift from Byzantine Christian rule to the early Arab period in the Negev Region. Finally, the relevance of these texts to biblical studies will be known to all.

And the second Jubilee will reveal a new understanding of the relationship of scrolls to the history of Christianity. For up to now you have collected parallels and there has arisen the thought that Jesus, or perhaps his teacher John the Baptist, was a member of the Qumran sect or even that Jesus had been killed at Qumran. In the second week of the second Jubilee, the voices of the followers of Mastema shall be silenced, and truth shall once again shine from the Sons of Light. At this time, the Men of Renown will finally come to understand the many differences between the teachings of Jesus and his followers and those of the people of the scrolls. No longer will simple associations be made, or claims of linear connection be maintained. Rather, the difficult and subtle interrelationships will be truly understood. No longer shall teachers seek parallels; rather they shall turn to context. For through context scrolls can be illumined, even those passages for which there are no parallels. In this way your picture of the great extent of the Jewishness of the first generation of Christianity will be clear as the return of morning when the shadows retire to their dwelling-place.

And as the exact interpretation of God's holy scrolls is discovered, it will be understood that far from representing the writings of an obscure sect, the scrolls reveal much about a rather large number of people in the Land of Israel. For the library of the people of perfect holiness reveals not only their own writings but those they guard for the holy remnant of Israel. Many of these same texts were read by their brothers at Masada. And so these texts will unlock the mysteries concerning not only the sectarians but also the totality of Judaism in its various manifestations in Second Temple times. When He will reveal to you the approaching mystery, His prophets will understand much of the history of later Rabbinic Judaism which arose from teachings of the Second Temple period. For God is the foundation of wisdom, pattern of knowledge, source of understanding, and treasure-house of intelligence.

And listen, all those who love truth and act according to the exact interpretation of the Law, to what will be the greatest prophecy of all. Within this Jubilee you will see a change in the media understanding of the scrolls. In the first Jubilee all the Sons of Light were abandoned for false prophets and led astray by the Sons of Darkness who spoke of the scrolls yet had not read them, and who knew not what they said. But in this Jubilee there shall arise people among television and newspaper reporters who shall seek to print the truth and not sensation, and they will listen to the Sons of Light and teach their words to the people so that the people shall arise and say, "Come let us go up to the Shrine of the

Book in Jerusalem where we may visit the scrolls and learn of their meaning."

And now, listen and understand these matters. Distance yourselves from evil and from the counsels of Belial and his false teachings about the scrolls. For all those who hold fast to the precepts, studying the scrolls and teaching their meaning, going and coming in accordance with the Law, will rejoice in the end of days and celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Verily shall you rejoice when you discover that our teachings have been true, and it will be reckoned for you as righteousness, wisdom and perfect holiness, if you perform what is right and good before Him, for your own benefit and that of all Israel.

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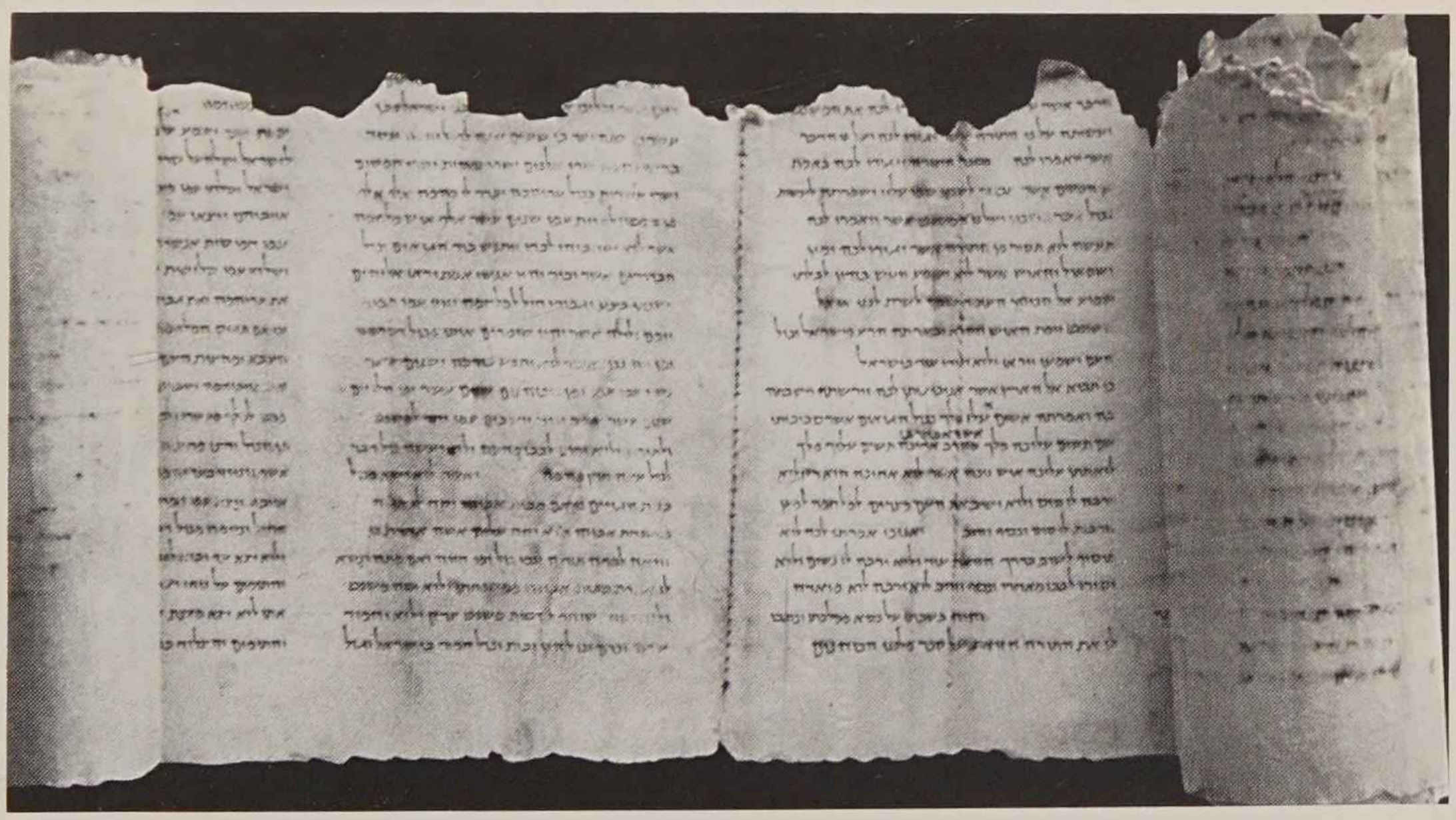
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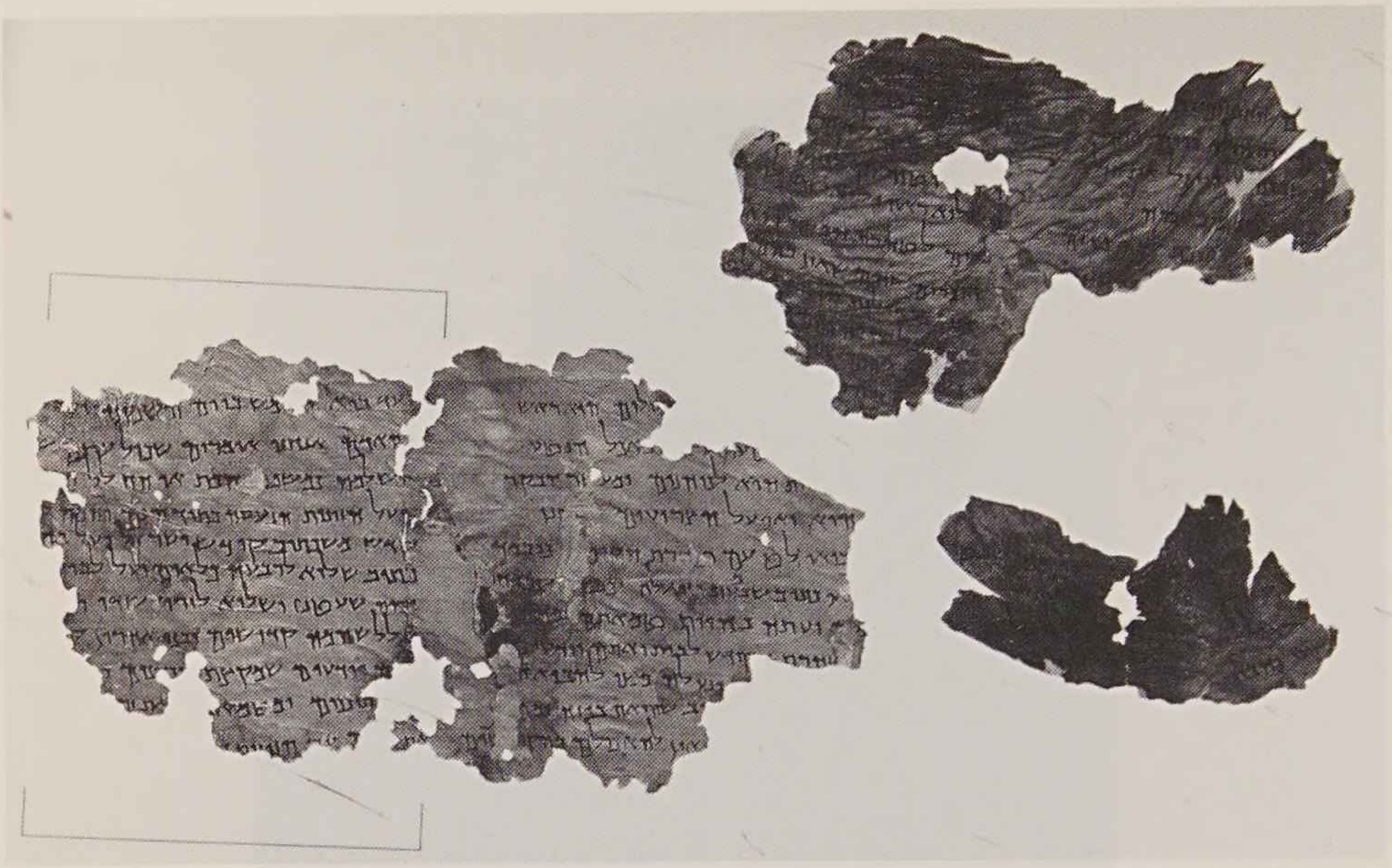
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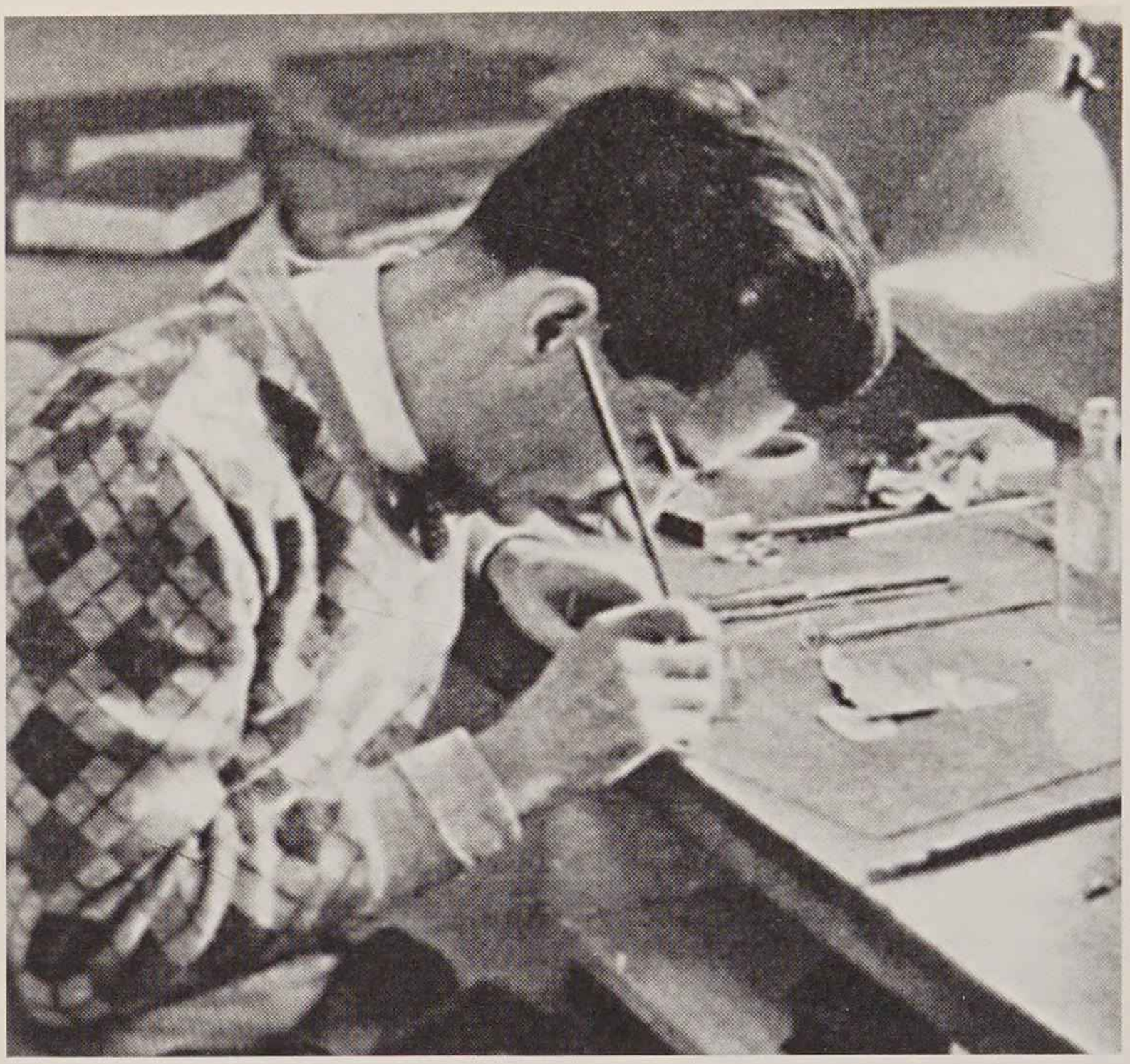
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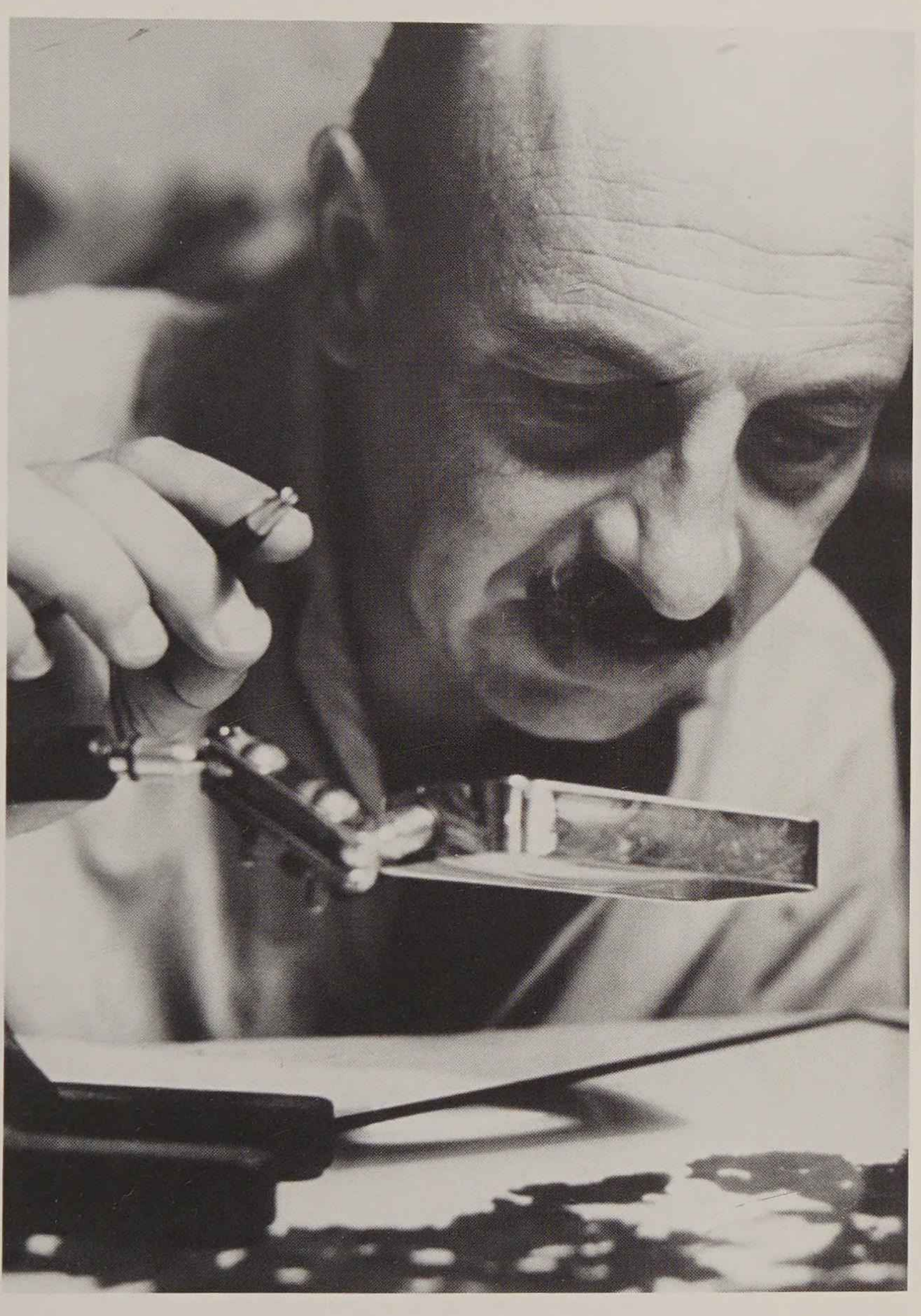
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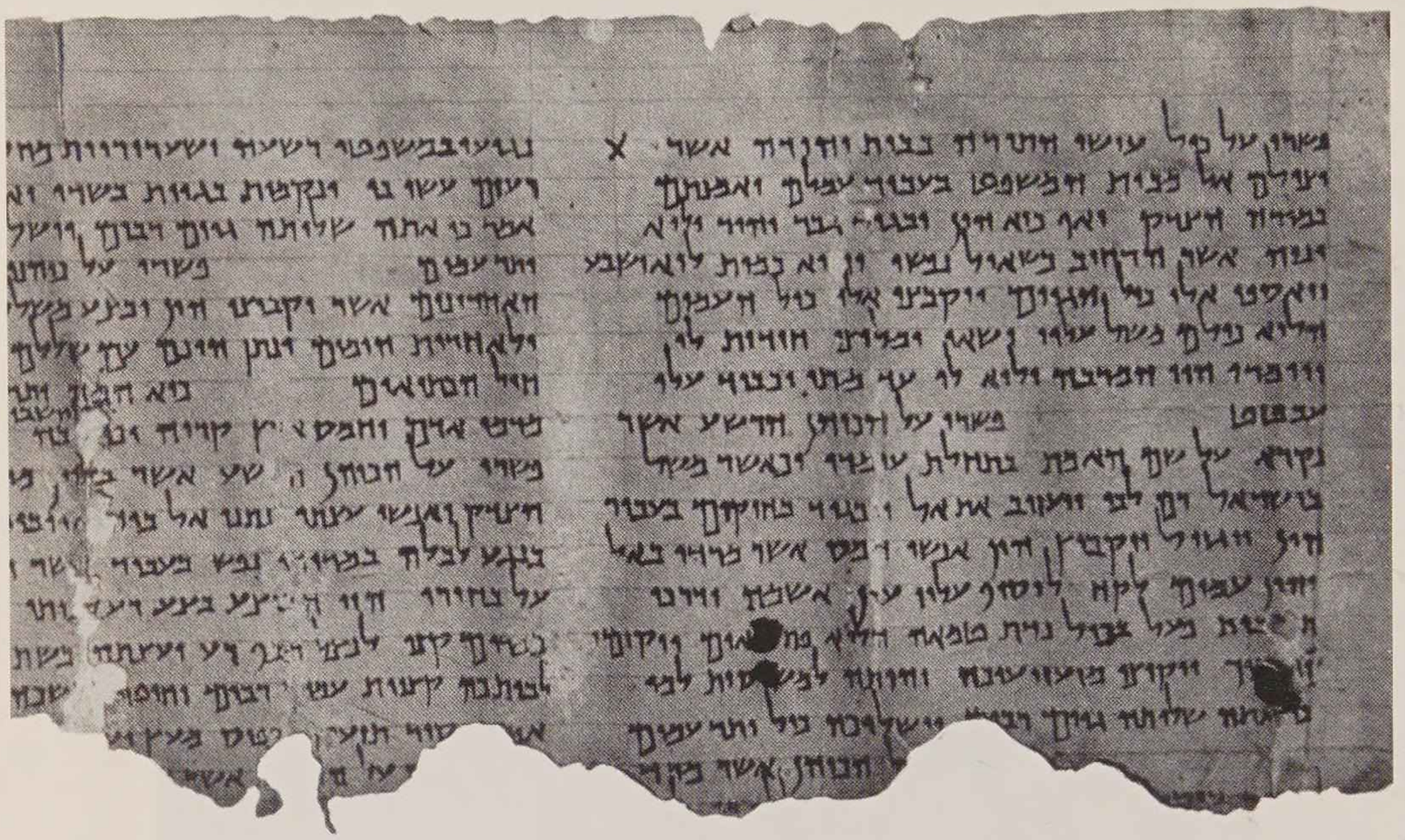


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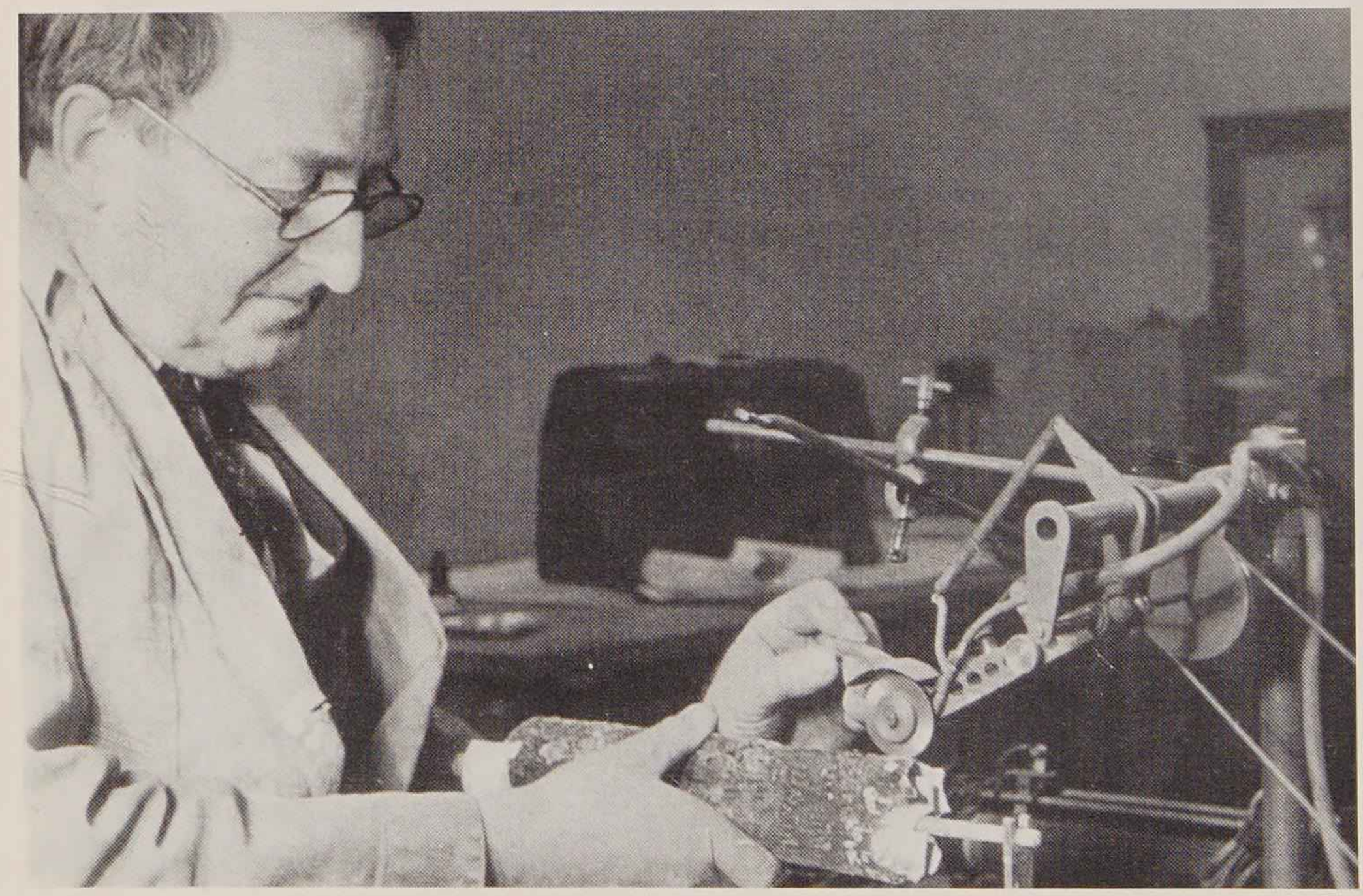


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