

The Secret of Time

*Reconfiguring Wisdom
in the Dead Sea Scrolls*

ARJEN F. BAKKER

BRILL

The Secret of Time

Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

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By

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Voor Erna en Richard, mijn ouders



El tiempo es alegría

Time is joy

PABLO NERUDA, Oda al pasado



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Preface

For over two decades the vast majority of the fragmentary materials from Qumran Cave 4 have been available to the public, and thus we are now beginning to see the contours of a changed landscape. Ancient Judaism and the Hebrew Bible are transformed before our eyes with the new information we currently possess. This book contributes to the rethinking of the Dead Sea Scrolls as an essential and integral part of Judaism in the Greco-Roman period. This requires a reconsideration of the normative model of sectarianism that has been projected onto the scrolls and fragments. Soon after the discoveries, the extraordinary finds of the Dead Sea Scrolls were assigned to the margins of ancient society by their association with a separatist community that had withdrawn to the desert. Notwithstanding the bitter polemic that some fragments exhibit, and the profound tensions in late Second Temple society that our ancient sources reveal, we can now see a picture that involves a more diverse network of communities and a richer variety of texts that continue to transform our understanding of the emergence of the biblical corpus.

My thinking on the Dead Sea Scrolls has been deeply shaped by the tradition of Groningen, where I currently teach and do research. This book started as a doctoral dissertation under supervision of Eibert Tigchelaar at KU Leuven. I am very fortunate to have been taught by a great scholar with a vast and extremely detailed knowledge, who is a sharp and critical reader with a curious and open mind. I am deeply grateful for his patience, generosity, and support. His work in deconstructing and reconstructing the basic terms of Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship, from manuscript to categorization, has been foundational for my own research. Another significant teacher in the Groningen tradition is Florentino García Martínez, who introduced me to the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and has continued to be a source of inspiration and support across the years. Mladen Popović has created a vibrant and welcoming environment at the Groningen Qumran Institute and has set new standards for innovative and fundamental research. I am grateful for his collegiality, support, guidance, mentorship, and conversation.

Generous financial support of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls has enabled me to do research at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem under the guidance of Menahem Kister. His advice, generosity, and friendship have been crucial to my research and to my development as a scholar. His honesty, erudition, and command of the sources continue to be an example and an inspiration. I want to express my gratitude to him and to the many other incredible scholars and fellow students from whom and with whom

I was fortunate to learn so much during my time in Jerusalem and afterwards. As a Postdoc at the University of Haifa, I had the good fortune of working with Jonathan Ben-Dov, who has been a wonderful teacher and mentor. His work on ancient astronomy and calendar has been most important for my own thinking on concepts of time. I am grateful for his support and hospitality.

Hindy Najman is an incredible scholar, teacher and mentor who has taught me to see many new possibilities and pathways forward in the fields of Hebrew Bible and ancient Judaism, and in the academy more generally. Her scholarly brilliance and originality have inspired a generation of young scholars and no doubt will continue to do so for many decades to come. I have been fortunate to work closely with her at Oriel College and the Centre for the Study of the Bible, and I have benefitted tremendously from her mentorship and guidance. Her thinking on soul-formation, linguistic border crossing, reading practices and the vitality of scripture has been formative for my work. In 2017 and 2018 we presented several versions of a co-authored paper on heavenly and earthly time that has had a deep impact on my understanding of time in ancient Judaism and has shaped chapter 5 of this book. At the University of Oxford, I have profoundly enjoyed the many and endless conversations with senior scholars, peers, and students. I am grateful for all that I have learned and for the friendships that were forged.

It is not possible to list all the people who have contributed to this book with advice, feedback, and encouragement. Among my senior colleagues and teachers, I want to thank Wout van Bekkum, George Brooke, Esther Chazon, Sarit Kattan-Gribetz, James Kugel, Noam Mizrahi, Judith Newman, Carol Newsom, Ishay Rosen-Zvi, Francis Schmidt, Michael Segal, Shaul Shaked שׂר, Michael Stone, Loren Stuckenbruck, and Pierre Van Hecke. Among my peers and friends, I want to thank Hallel Baitner, Federico Favi, Yael Fisch, Asaf Gayer, Barry Hartog, Daniel Schumann, and Olivia Stewart Lester. I also want to thank the students at Oxford and Groningen whom I have had the privilege to teach and learn from in the past years and who have contributed in significant ways to my thinking and scholarship.

It is a great honour to publish my first book in the STDJ series and I want to thank George Brooke, the editor, for his critical and supportive feedback. His careful reading and encouragement have been most significant. Chapters one and five are new, while chapters two through four are revised chapters of my doctoral dissertation. These chapters have greatly benefitted from the critical reading and feedback by the members of my PhD committee, Charlotte Hempel, Annette Steudel, and Pierre Van Hecke. I want to thank them for their diligence and generosity. I also want to thank the anonymous readers

of STDJ for their comments and suggestions. Mirjam van Willigen and Sarah Wisialowski have provided crucial editing support, and Mirjam van Willigen has also helped preparing the indices. I thank them both for their careful work and look forward to their future contributions to the field. I also want to express my gratitude to the typesetter and to Brill for their incredible work and support, especially Suzanne Mekking, Dirk Bakker, and Marjolein van Zuylen.

This book has been published Open Access thanks to the financial support of the Open Access Book Fund of the University of Groningen. I am grateful for their generous contribution and hope this book will be of benefit to many readers.

Finally, I want to thank my family and friends for their patience and support throughout the years in which I have worked on this book. Their presence in my life has made the completion of this work possible and joyful. Most of all I want to thank my parents for their continuous support and their wisdom. This book is dedicated to them.

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
DCH	<i>Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> . Edited by D. J. A. Clines. 9 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 1993–2004.
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DSSSE	Garcia Martínez, Florentino, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition</i> . 2 vols. Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000.
EDSS	<i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> . Edited by L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam. 2 vols. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000.
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
HALOT	<i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999.
HAWTTM	<i>Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zu den Texten vom Toten Meer einschließlich der Manuskripte aus der Kairoer Geniza</i> . Edited by R. G. Kratz, A. Steudel, and I. Kottsieper. 2 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017–
HeBAI	<i>Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
JAJ	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
JAJSup	Journal of Ancient Judaism—Supplements
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
Jouïon-Mur	Jouïon, P. <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> . Translated and Revised by T. Muraoka. 2 vols. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1991.
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Supplement to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JTC	<i>Journal for Theology and the Church</i>

<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
OTS	Old Testament Studies
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SBM	Stuttgarter biblische Monographien
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
<i>ThWAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> . Edited by G. J. Botterwerk and H. Ringren. 9 vols. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1970–2000.
<i>ThWQ</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten</i> . Edited by H.-J. Fabry and U. Dahmen. 3 vols. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2011–2016.
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZAC</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum/Journal of Ancient Christianity</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

Beyond the Limits of Wisdom

The purpose of this book is to offer a fresh perspective on the topic of wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The large collection of scrolls and fragments was discovered in the 1940s and 1950s in caves near Qumran by the western shore of the Dead Sea.¹ The scrolls were produced in the last two centuries before the Common Era and the first century of the Common Era. They offer first-hand information on Jewish texts and collections from the period of the Second Temple. Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, our knowledge of Hebrew texts from antiquity was almost entirely based on manuscripts from the Middle Ages. Both the texts and the collections of which they were part had been impacted by processes of selection that took place in light of the concerns of communities that lived many centuries after the early stages of composition. The Dead Sea Scrolls, on the other hand, offer us an opportunity to get glimpses of the earlier development of these texts and corpora.

This book explores ways in which the scrolls and fragments can help us understand how traditions of wisdom were being reshaped in the Hellenistic and early Roman period. Several texts from the Hebrew Bible emphasize the limits of wisdom.² Biblical scholars have argued that wisdom literature presents human beings as limited when it comes to accessing the treasures of knowledge that are inscribed in the organization of the cosmos and society.³

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- 1 For a concise account of the discoveries and further bibliography, see Hans Debel, “Discoveries,” in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. G. J. Brooke and C. Hempel (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 7–16. For overviews of the entire corpus, see Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, ed. J. J. Collins and D. C. Harlow (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 163–80; and Mladen Popović, “The Manuscript Collections: An Overview,” in Brooke and Hempel, *T&T Clark Companion*, 37–50. For detailed lists of manuscripts and official editions, see Emanuel Tov, *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series*, DJD 39 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002).
 - 2 Isaiah 40:12–14; Jeremiah 9:22–23; Proverbs 1:7; 3:7; 9:10; 12:15; 26:5, 12, 16; Job 28 and 38; Qohelet 1:12–18; 2:12–26; 6:8; 7:23–24; 8:16–17; 9:10, 11–12; 12:12. Compare: Ben Sira 3:21–24; 4 Ezra 4:1–25.
 - 3 Walther Zimmerli, “Ort und Grenze der Weisheit im Rahmen der alttestamentlichen Theologie,” in *Les sagesses du Proche-Orient ancien*, Université de Strasbourg—Centre de recherches d’histoire des religions (Paris: Presses universitaires de Paris, 1963); idem, “The Place and Limit of Wisdom in the Framework of the Old Testament Theology,” *SJT* 17 (1964): 146–68, reprinted in J. L. Crenshaw (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* (New York, NY: Ktav Publishing House, 1976); Gerhard von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (London: SCM Press, 1972),

The wise person lives according to the principles of cosmic and social order, but also knows that ultimately these are secrets that cannot be fully grasped. By contrast, the wisdom we encounter in the Dead Sea Scrolls develops this theme in a different direction. Many texts from Qumran express the desire to move beyond the limitations of human knowledge and human nature. In the Dead Sea Scrolls we witness how wisdom is being reconfigured by reaching beyond traditional limitations. These new configurations of wisdom and their expressions across a range of different texts invite us as scholars to reconsider the definitions and categories we have imposed on wisdom literature based on collections and notions of canonicity that were shaped in later periods.⁴

1 Rethinking Categories

In the context of the Dead Sea Scrolls, wisdom as a general category can refer to a broad range of texts, concepts, and practices that are associated with Hebrew terms such as *ḥokmā*, *bînā*, *śekel*, *da'at*, *mūsār* and *tôrā*, and which relate to knowledge, understanding, knowing how to explain the meaning of texts, knowing how to act in certain situations, knowing when and how to perform certain practices. In this broad sense practically all of the texts that were discovered at Qumran contain wisdom, whether they are categorized by scholars as legal, liturgical, narrative, commentary, rule texts, visions etc. By extension, all the scrolls from Qumran, excluding the documentary texts, could be considered as wisdom, and may have been considered as such by the ancient communities that owned them.⁵ On the other hand, when scholars speak about wisdom literature, they refer to a distinct group of texts with a number of specific characteristics. Some of the texts discovered at Qumran are

97–110; Bernd U. Schipper, “When Wisdom Is Not Enough! The Discourse on Wisdom and Torah and the Composition of the Book of Proverbs,” in *Wisdom and Torah: The Reception of ‘Torah’ in the Wisdom Literature of the Second Temple Period*, ed. B. U. Schipper and D. A. Teeter (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 55–79.

- 4 Menahem Kister, “Wisdom Literature and its Relation to Other Genres: From Ben Sira to Mysteries,” in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. J. J. Collins, G. E. Sterling and R. A. Clements, STDJ 51 (Leiden: Peeters, 2004), 13–47; Hindy Najman, “Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Period: Towards the Study of a Semantic Constellation,” in *Is There a Text in this Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, ed. A. Feldman, M. Cioatǎ and C. Hempel, STDJ 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 459–72; Arjen Bakker, “Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Early Jewish Interpretation,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Wisdom and the Bible*, ed. W. Kynes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 141–53.
- 5 Cf. Menahem Kister, “Wisdom Literature,” 17–19.

considered as belonging to this category and have been called “wisdom texts” or “sapiential texts.”

The category of wisdom literature derives from biblical studies and was based on a set of books in which the theme of wisdom is prominent.⁶ These books share formal features like terminology related to wisdom and knowledge and literary forms associated with pedagogy, such as proverbs and instructions. They are also characterized by a worldview in which notions of cosmic and social order play a central role. Important examples of this literature are the books of Proverbs, Job, and Qohelet, a selection of psalms, and the Book of Ben Sira. In the 19th and 20th centuries, texts were unearthed in Mesopotamia and Egypt that made use of similar literary forms and presented worldviews and concepts that corresponded to those found in biblical wisdom books. This led to the assumption that wisdom literature was part of an ancient, international tradition.

The editors of the Dead Sea Scrolls recognized similarities between these wisdom writings and a number of the newly discovered fragmentary texts from caves 1 and 4.⁷ This was reflected in the titles they gave to these texts.⁸ Some of these works were preserved with sizeable portions of text, in multiple

6 For general discussions, see: James L. Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction*, rev. and enl. ed. (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1998); Leo G. Perdue, *The Sword and the Stylus: An Introduction to Wisdom in the Age of Empires* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008); Will Kynes, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Wisdom and the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021). The usefulness of wisdom as a category of biblical literature is much debated recently: Stuart Weeks, “Is ‘Wisdom Literature’ a Useful Category?” In *Tracing Sapiential Traditions in Ancient Judaism*, ed. H. Najman, J.-S. Rey and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, JSJSup 174 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 3–23; Will Kynes, *An Obituary for “Wisdom Literature”: The Birth, Death, and Intertextual Reintegration of a Biblical Corpus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). In response to Kynes, both John Collins (“Wisdom as Genre and as Tradition in the Book of Sirach,” in *Sirach and Its Contexts*, ed. S. Adams, G. S. Goering and M. J. Goff, JSJSup 196 [Leiden: Brill, 2021], 15–32) and Matthew Goff (“The Pursuit of Wisdom at Qumran: Assessing the Classification ‘Wisdom Literature’ and Its Application to the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in Kynes, *Oxford Handbook of Wisdom*, 617–34) defend the usefulness of the category. On the question of genre in wisdom literature, see further below.

7 See e.g., John Strugnell, “Le travail d’édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân,” *RB* 63 (1956): 49–67 (64–65). For lists of Qumran texts that have subsequently been classified as wisdom, see: Armin Lange with Ulrike Mittmann-Richert, “Annotated List of the Texts from the Judean Desert Classified by Content and Genre,” in Tov, DJD 39:115–64 (140); Matthew J. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, VTSup 116 (Leiden: Brill, 2007); John Kampen, *Wisdom Literature* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2011).

8 For a critical discussion of name giving in Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship, see: Hindy Najman and Eibert Tigchelaar, “A Preparatory Study of Nomenclature and Text Designation in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *RevQ* 26 (2014): 305–25.

copies, and possibly in different versions. Other works that have been classified as “sapiential” survive in only a few small fragments and in a single copy. The better preserved among these fragmentary texts that have received most attention in scholarship are known as Instruction (1Q26; 4Q415; 4Q416; 4Q417; 4Q418; 4Q418a; 4Q418^b; 4Q423),⁹ Mysteries (1Q27; 4Q299; 4Q300; 4Q301),¹⁰ and Beatitudes (4Q525).¹¹ A number of psalms that were preserved in the large Psalms scroll (11Q5) but are not included in the Masoretic version of the Book of Psalms are often listed among the Qumran wisdom texts as well.¹² In addition, the book of Ben Sira, of which two small fragments were found at Qumran (2Q18), is frequently categorized among the sapiential texts discovered in the caves.¹³ Moreover, it has been argued that a section of the cave 1 Community

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- 9 John Strugnell, Daniel J. Harrington and Torleif Elgvin, *Qumran Cave 4. xxiv: Sapiential Texts, Part 2. 4QInstruction (MÛSĀR LĒ MĒVĪN): 4Q415ff*, DJD 34 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999); Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2013), 2.147–184. DJD 34 contains a re-edition of 1Q26, which had first been published by Milik. Cf. Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1*, DJD 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 101. The readings and reconstructions of the text were improved significantly by Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction*, STDJ 44 (Leiden: Brill, 2001). The composition was previously known as Sapiential Work A. The editors proposed the Hebrew title מוֹסֵר לְמַבֵּן and the English title 4QInstruction (suggested by Elgvin). Menahem Kister proposed the title חכמת רז נהיה (“Wisdom Literature at Qumran,” in *The Qumran Scrolls and their World*, ed. M. Kister [Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2009], 1:299–319 [Hebrew]), which is also used by Qimron and appears frequently in Israeli scholarship. The title most widely used in scholarship is 4QInstruction. However, the text is also attested in Cave 1. Therefore, I use the title “Instruction” in this book. The *Scripta Qumranica Electronica* project of the universities of Haifa, Göttingen and Tel Aviv will produce an online digital edition of Instruction under supervision of Jonathan Ben-Dov (see: www.qumranica.org).
- 10 Milik, DJD 1:102–7 (1Q26); Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Mysteries,” in Elgvin et al., *Qumran Cave 4. xv: Sapiential Texts, Part 1*, DJD 20 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 31–123 (4Q299–301); Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:129–45.
- 11 Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4. xviii: Textes Hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)*, DJD 25 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 115–178; Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:113–128. Qimron considers 4Q184 (known as “Wiles of the Wicked Woman”) as belonging to the same composition as 4Q525. See further: Eibert Tigchelaar, “Lady Folly and her House in Three Qumran Manuscripts: On the Relation between 4Q525, 5Q16, and 4Q184 1,” *RevQ* 23 (2008): 371–81.
- 12 Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 230–63. Cf. James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^a)*, DJD 4 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965).
- 13 Maurice Baillet, Józef T. Milik and Roland de Vaux, *Les ‘Petites Grottes’ de Qumran*, DJD 3 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 75–77. A manuscript containing a large portion of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira (with material from chapters 39–44) was discovered at Masada. Cf. Yigael Yadin, “The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada” (revised by Elisha Qimron), in *Masada VI: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965: Final Report*, ed. S. Talmon (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 151–231.

Rule that is known as the Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS 3:13–4:26) is a separate composition that was included in the Rule but was composed earlier and should be considered a sapiential text.¹⁴

One thing that is striking when considering the various lists of wisdom texts from Qumran is that wisdom books from the Hebrew Bible are usually not included, even though fragments of each of these works were preserved at Qumran.¹⁵ The exclusion of biblical wisdom texts from such lists is surprising because scholars are generally in agreement that the Bible as such did not yet exist and there was no closed canon in the Second Temple era.¹⁶ It has even

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- 14 Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran*, STDJ 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 121–70. See further below.
- 15 Exceptions are Daniel J. Harrington, *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge, 1996); and Armin Lange, “Wisdom Literature and Thought in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. J. J. Collins and T. H. Lim (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 455–78. The following manuscripts contain texts that are usually counted among the biblical wisdom texts: 2Q15 (Job); 4Q99 (Job); 4Q100 (Job); 4Q101 (Job); 4Q102 (Proverbs); 4Q103 (Proverbs); 4Q109 (Qohelet); 4Q110 (Qohelet); 11Q10 (Targum of Job).
- 16 The literature is extensive. See e.g., Adam S. van der Woude, “Pluriformity and Uniformity: Reflections on the Transmission of the Text of the Old Testament,” in J. Bremmer and F. García Martínez, *Sacred History and Sacred Texts in Early Judaism* (Kampen: Kok, 1992), 151–69; John J. Collins, “Before the Canon: Scriptures in Second Temple Judaism,” in *Old Testament Interpretation: Past, Present and Future: Essays in Honor of Gene M. Tucker*, ed. J. L. Mays, D. L. Petersen, and K. H. Richards (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1995), 225–41; Eugene Ulrich, “The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures at Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 17–33; Shem-aryahu Talmon, “The Crystallization of the ‘Canon of Hebrew Scriptures’ in the Light of the Biblical Scrolls from Qumran,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries*, ed. E. D. Herbert and E. Tov (London: British Library, 2002), 5–20; L. M. McDonald and J. A. Sanders, eds., *The Canon Debate: The Origins and Formation of the Bible* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002); James C. VanderKam, “Questions of Canon Viewed through the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in McDonald and Sanders, *The Canon Debate*, 91–109; George J. Brooke, “Between Authority and Canon: The Significance of Reworking the Bible for Understanding the Canonical Process,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran: Proceedings of a Joint Symposium*, ed. E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R. A. Clements, STDJ 58 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 85–104; Florentino García Martínez, “Rethinking the Bible: Sixty Years of Dead Sea Scrolls Research and Beyond,” in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. M. Popović, JSJSup 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 19–36; Hindy Najman, “The Vitality of Scripture Within and Beyond the ‘Canon,’” *JSJ* 43 (2012): 497–518; Konrad Schmid, “The Canon and the Cult: The Emergence of Book Religion in Ancient Israel and the Gradual Sublimation of the Temple Cult,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* (2012): 291–307; Timothy H. Lim, *The Formation of the Jewish Canon* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013); Eva Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). For a discussion of the concept of canon in Judaism in the medieval period, see Robert Brody, “Canon: An elusive concept,”

been argued that the whole notion of canonicity misrepresents the nature of textual collections in this period.¹⁷ Based on what we know of the authority of texts in these collections there is no reason to assign a different status to Qohelet and Ben Sira, nor for that matter to Instruction. It may be true that their form and content are distinctive, and they may have been composed in different circles. But that does not justify treating them as categorically different, because in the period under consideration the canonical category did not yet exist as it did in later ages. For example, the pluriformity of psalms collections across the Qumran manuscripts, the Septuagint versions, the Masoretic codices, and Syriac manuscripts, suggests that there was no definitive and canonical form of the book of Psalms when the scrolls were being written.¹⁸ There would be no point, therefore, in including non-canonical psalms from 11Q5 among the Qumran wisdom texts but excluding those that later became canonical, such as Psalm 119.¹⁹

The very fact of textual pluriformity conceals another reason for studying biblical and non-biblical texts in an integrative manner. Recent scholarship on textual criticism in biblical studies has challenged the notion of an *Urtext*.²⁰ Just as it was true that collections of psalms existed in various forms

in *Uncovering the Canon: Studies in Canonicity and Genizah*, ed. M. Ben-Sasson, R. Brody, A. Liebllich and D. Shalev (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2010), 11–23 (Hebrew).

17 Najman, “Vitality of Scripture.”

18 Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, STDJ 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Mroczek, *Literary Imagination*, 19–50.

19 There are 36 Psalms manuscripts according to Emanuel Tov’s list (DJD 39:173–4). Manuscripts 4Q89 and 4Q90 both preserve material from Psalm 119 alone and Sanders proposes (DJD 4:108, 114) that the scrolls may have contained only this text. Since Psalm 119 is often considered a wisdom psalm, these manuscripts might also be counted among the wisdom texts found at Qumran.

20 Shemaryahu Talmon, “The Old Testament Text,” in *The Cambridge History of the Bible: From the Beginnings to Jerome*, ed. P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 159–99 (164–66); idem, “The Transmission History of the Text of the Hebrew Bible in the Light of Biblical Manuscripts from Qumran and Other Sites in the Judean Desert,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery*, ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov and J. C. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 40–50 (45–47); Hindy Najman, “Configuring the Text in Biblical Studies,” in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, ed. E. F. Mason, JSJSup 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 13–22; George J. Brooke, “The Qumran Scrolls and the Demise of the Distinction between Higher and Lower Criticism,” in *Reading the Dead Sea Scrolls: Essays in Method* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2013), 1–17 (7–9; 13–14); Irene Peirano Garrison, “Source, Original, and Authenticity between Philology and Theology,” in *Classical Philology and Theology: Entanglement, Disavowal, and the Godlike Scholar*, ed. C. Conybeare and S. Goldhill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 87–109. Najman’s proposal to look at “traditionary processes” (“Configuring the Text,” 7–8), rather than trying to establish the

and were being reorganized and reworked by scribes, it is equally true that the book of Proverbs existed in different versions.²¹ There is no reason to assume that scribes would freely intervene in psalms ascribed to David but would feel inhibited to rework collections of Solomonic proverbs.²² In other words, in the Second Temple period, the Proverbs of Solomon are in progress and are being copied and reworked in different circles. There are good arguments for suggesting that Instruction existed in more than one version and was a composition in progress.²³ So if there are different versions of Instruction and different versions of Proverbs, and both are in flux and being reworked, should we necessarily consider them as separate traditions? If these texts, which have multiple formal similarities, are found in the same collections, is it not conceivable that the same people who copied and reworked one text, also copied and reworked the other? In other words, there might be shared layers between these texts, and it would be a mistake not to take this possibility into consideration.

The point I am making could be considered superfluous since many scholars acknowledge that in the Second Temple period there is no fixed canon and that the manuscripts attest to textual fluidity. It could be suggested that the distinction between biblical and non-biblical texts is only made for practical reasons, to facilitate orientation, and to accommodate the distinct traditions of scholarship that have focused on biblical and non-biblical texts respectively. But precisely the fact that these traditions of scholarship remain largely distinct is problematic. The biblical manuscripts discovered at Qumran are not only the earliest witnesses to textual traditions of the Hebrew Bible against which the value of later textual traditions such as the Masoretic Text, the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint might be measured. They also teach

Urtext or the earliest retrievable version, is elaborated further in her monograph *Reading Practices and the Vitality of Scripture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

- 21 Emanuel Tov, "Recensional Differences between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint of Proverbs," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins, Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins and T. H. Tobin (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 43–56; Jan de Waard, "4QProv and Textual Criticism," *Textus* 19 (1998): 87–96.
- 22 On David's prophetic status, see: James L. Kugel, "David the Prophet," in *Poetry and Prophecy: The Beginnings of a Literary Tradition*, ed. J. L. Kugel (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 45–55; Mroczek, *Literary Imagination*, 51–85.
- 23 On the possibility that 4Q417 preserved an alternative, shorter version of Instruction (first suggested by A. Steudel and B. Lucassen), see Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 156–7, 191–2. The many small differences between 4Q416 iii and 4Q418 9 + 9a + 9b + 9c also suggest progressive writing (e.g., 4Q416 iii 9 ישיבכה / 4Q418 9 8 יושיבוכה; 4Q416 iii 10 למכבדיכה / 4Q418 9 9 למכבדכה; 4Q416 iii 16 מצעדריכה / 4Q418 9 17 מצעדריכה).

us that we need to conceive in an entirely new way of the nature of textual traditions in the Second Temple period, and we have no data whatsoever on the status of these textual traditions before the Second Temple.²⁴

Another challenge lies in generic classification. When do we call a text a “wisdom text”? The first team of editors was confronted with thousands of fragments which they had to organize, classify and assign to distinct reconstructed manuscripts.²⁵ According to what principles did the editors classify the fragmentary manuscripts? The first obvious division was between previously unknown compositions, and between compositions that could be identified because they were known from later manuscript traditions, i.e., the biblical texts, those texts known as pseudepigrapha and apocrypha (e.g., Tobit, Jubilees, Enoch),²⁶ and texts that had been discovered in the Cairo Genizah half a century earlier (the Damascus Document and Aramaic Levi). But how could the editors classify the assembled fragmentary manuscripts of texts that were completely unknown prior to the discoveries? It made sense to categorize and name the unknown texts according to their literary form. In many cases the editors used literary genres that had been identified by form criticism of the Hebrew Bible as a frame of reference.²⁷

At this point, it is important to emphasize once again that the large majority of manuscripts is extremely fragmentary with sometimes only a few small fragments preserving a dozen of words in total remaining. How can we classify texts according to literary form if we can barely reconstruct the literary forms

24 García Martínez, “Rethinking the Bible”; Najman, “Vitality of Scripture”; Brooke, “Demise of the Distinction.”

25 On the work of assembling manuscripts, see Eibert Tigchelaar, “Constructing, Deconstructing and Reconstructing Fragmentary Manuscripts: Illustrated by a Study of 4Q184 (4QWiles of the Wicked Woman),” in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods*, ed. M. L. Grossman (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 26–47.

26 On the history and usage of the categories pseudepigrapha and apocrypha, see Annette Yoshiko Reed, “The Modern Invention of ‘Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,’” *JTS* (2009): 403–36; Loren Stuckenbruck, “Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,” in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, ed. J. J. Collins and D. C. Harlow (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 143–62; Eibert Tigchelaar, “Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the Scriptures,” in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the Scriptures*, ed. E. Tigchelaar, BETL 270 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 1–18. For a discussion of pseudepigraphy as literary device and a critique of its evaluation as forgery, see Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*, JSJSup 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1–40; Hindy Najman and Irene Peirano Garrison, “Pseudepigraphy as an Interpretive Construct,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Fifty Years of the Pseudepigrapha Section at SBL*, ed. M. Henze and L. I. Lied (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2019), 331–35.

27 Najman and Tigchelaar, “Preparatory Study of Nomenclature,” 314–15.

from the remaining manuscript evidence? A good example is the final blessing in Aramaic Levi in which wisdom is the main theme.²⁸ If only fragments pertaining to this blessing would have been preserved, and not the narrative framework, it is highly likely that this manuscript would have been classified as a sapiential text. Vice versa, 4Q185, which is known as 4QSapiential Work, is classified as a wisdom text, because in terms of vocabulary and literary form the preserved lines have much in common with wisdom writings.²⁹ But the text is also presented as a first-person discourse that is addressed to “my people ... who were saved from Egypt ...” (4Q185 1–2 i 13–15), and it is entirely possible that the preserved text is part of a speech that was set in a narrative framework, a speech by Moses or one of the prophets, for example.³⁰ If fragments of such a narrative framework would have been preserved, it is unlikely that 4Q185 would have been classified as a wisdom text. An additional complication is that although official editions have now been published for practically all of the reconstructed manuscripts, the work of reconstruction is ongoing, and scholars are still reassigning fragments to other manuscripts than the ones in which they had first been published.³¹ This means that because individual fragments are still moving between manuscripts, the overall character of a fragmentary text is not completely stable.

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- 28 Jonas C. Greenfield, Esther Eshel and Michael E. Stone, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 102–9; Eibert Tigchelaar, “Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls: She’s No Lady,” in *Répresentations et personification de la sagesse dans l’antiquité et au-delà*, ed. S. Anthonioz and C. Dogniez (Leuven: Peeters, 2021), 207–19 (216–17). Note that Henryk Drawnel calls the fragmentary Levi Document a “wisdom text”. Cf. Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document*, JSJSup 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).
- 29 John M. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4. I (4Q158–4Q186)*, DJD 5 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 85–87; Hermann Lichtenberger, “Der Weisheitstext 4Q185: eine neue Edition,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*, ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange and H. Lichtenberger, BETL 159 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 127–50; Mika S. Pajunen, “4QSapiential Admonitions B (4Q185): Unsolved Challenges of the Hebrew Text,” in *The Mermaid and the Partridge*, ed. G. J. Brooke and J. Høgenhaven, STDJ 96 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 191–220.
- 30 Compare the suggestion of Menahem Kister (“Wisdom Literature,” 28–29, n. 74) that 4QMysteries may have been framed as a wisdom dispute between Moses and Aaron and the Egyptian *ḥartummûm*.
- 31 See Eibert Tigchelaar, “Constructing, Deconstructing and Reconstructing Fragmentary Manuscripts”; idem, “On the Unidentified Fragments of DJD XXXIII and PAM 43.680: A New Manuscript of 4QNarrative and Poetic Composition, and Fragments of 4Q13, 4Q269, 4Q525 and 4QSb (?),” *RevQ* 21 (2004): 477–85; idem, “Two Damascus Document Fragments and Mistaken Identities: The Mingling of Some Qumran Cave 4 and Cave 6 Fragments,” *DSD* 28 (2021): 64–74; idem, “Reconsidering 4Q424 (4QLeviticus^b): Two Manuscripts and a New Fragment,” *VT* 71 (2021): 263–73.

But even if we were to have access to completely preserved manuscripts, generic classification would still form a challenge.³² First of all, the literary genres according to which ancient texts in Hebrew and Aramaic are being classified are inventions by scholars. There were no explicit literary norms according to which these compositions were formed, in contrast to certain Greek literary genres, which implies that in the context of ancient Jewish literature genre is merely an “idea.”³³ This does not mean that composers of ancient Hebrew and Aramaic texts were not adopting distinct literary patterns or emulating specific literary forms. But as far as we know there was no explicit discourse on literary genre, which means that when we establish criteria for distinguishing genre X or Y, we should remain aware that these are modern scholarly constructs. This is not invalid as a method of study. But we should be careful not to reify our categories and project them onto an ancient body of literature, as if these categories had an independent existence outside of our frame of analysis.³⁴ This also means that we should not treat genres as boxes in which we can deposit texts, but rather allow for texts to “participate” in multiple genres, and thereby to bend and reshape generic categories.³⁵

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- 32 For helpful discussions of genre and genre theory in the context of biblical studies, see: Carol A. Newsom, “Spying out the Land: A Report from Genology,” in *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. R. Troxel, K. Friebel and D. Magary (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 437–45; eadem, “Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre: A Case Study of the Hodayot,” *DSD* 17 (2010): 270–88; George J. Brooke “Genre Theory, Rewritten Bible and Peshet,” *DSD* 17 (2010): 361–86; and Hindy Najman, “The Idea of Biblical Genre: From Discourse to Constellation,” in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of her 65th Birthday*, ed. J. Penner, K. M. Penner and C. Wassen (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 307–21. A special issue of *DSD* in 2010 (17/3) was devoted to questions of genre in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls. On genre and genre theory in the study of Literature more generally, see: Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982); David Duff, ed., *Modern Genre Theory* (Harlow: Longman, 2000); John Frow, *Genre*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2015).
- 33 Najman, “Idea of Biblical Genre.”
- 34 Najman develops the concept of constellations (“Idea of Biblical Genre,” 316–17), invoking the work of Walter Benjamin and Max Weber, to bridge the gap between the perceived reality of ancient Jewish writings and the perspective of the reader. See further, Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future: An Analysis of 4 Ezra* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 20–23.
- 35 See Newsom’s discussion (“Spying out the Land,” 439) of Jacques Derrida’s reflections on genre. See also the helpful remarks of George Brooke on diachronic developments and generic instability in Brooke, “Genre Theory.” For a study of genre bending as a literary technique in the Gospel of John, see Harold W. Attridge, “Genre Bending in the Fourth Gospel,” *JBL* 121 (2002): 3–21.

We can use literary genre as a heuristic tool to compare forms and trace literary developments. But we cannot impose rigid boundaries, because with each new example, we need to reconsider the entire generic category.

I want to return now to wisdom. There has been an ongoing discussion on the definition of wisdom literature.³⁶ The writings that are classified as wisdom engage a range of literary genres, from proverbs, to riddles, to acrostic poems, to hymns, to pedagogical admonitions and instructions. Moreover, they span across different civilizations, epochs, and languages. The category of wisdom is a scholarly construct, and it is not a coincidence that scholars have not been able to reach agreement on what constitutes wisdom literature. This does not mean that the category has no heuristic value. Distinguishing a set of literary forms that are associated with wisdom can lead to helpful insights into the possible ways in which these are transformed and travel between periods and cultures.³⁷ But it would be a mistake to strictly delineate wisdom traditions and not to consider how these interact with literary forms that are associated with other traditions.³⁸ This would lead to a misconceived notion of the development and growth of literary traditions. Especially in the Second Temple period we encounter abundant amalgamation between literary forms

36 The definition of Crenshaw (*Old Testament Wisdom*, 11) is often cited and criticized for being too narrow in scope. The discovery of the scrolls has had an impact on discussions on the definition of wisdom, although within the study of biblical wisdom literature the Qumran texts often play a marginal role at best. See John J. Collins, "Wisdom Reconsidered, in Light of the Scrolls," *DSD* 4 (1997): 265–281; Matthew Goff, "Qumran Wisdom Literature and the Problem of Genre," *DSD* 17 (2010): 315–35; Benjamin G. Wright, "Wisdom Literature," in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters*, ed. M. Henze and R. A. Werline (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2020), 437–59. In recent years, a number of scholars have argued that wisdom literature is not a legitimate category and that it merely represents a scholarly construct that was based on a selection of biblical books and projected onto ancient Near Eastern literature. See: Mark Sneed, "Is the 'Wisdom Tradition' a Tradition?" *CBQ* 73 (2011): 50–71; Weeks, "Is 'Wisdom Literature' a Useful Category?"; Kynes, *Obituary for "Wisdom Literature."* For a critique of this development, see Collins, "Wisdom as Genre"; Goff, "Pursuit of Wisdom at Qumran."

37 See e.g., Miriam Lichtheim, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context: A Study of Demotic Instructions* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983).

38 This does not mean that the books of the Hebrew Bible provide the preferred context for studying wisdom, to the exclusion of other (non-Hebrew or non-biblical) texts and traditions. Will Kynes argues (*Obituary for "Wisdom Literature"*) that the anachronistic category of wisdom literature should be abandoned and that instead Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Job should be seen as a "Biblical Corpus" that is to be reintegrated into the canon of the Hebrew Bible through intertextual reading. However, as noted above, for the period in which the wisdom books were written, the category of the biblical is no less anachronistic than the category of wisdom.

associated with wisdom and other genres such as prophecy and liturgy, and we see the dispersion of sapiential terminology across a range of texts.³⁹ This implies that there is no distinct tradition of wisdom that is reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Regarding the Qumran texts that have been classified as “wisdom,” it was immediately recognized that these texts did not correspond to the classical forms of wisdom literature, but rather blended wisdom elements with features that are associated with other types of literature.⁴⁰ Many discussions on wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls focus on the question of how these texts relate to yet another ambiguous category of ancient literature: apocalyptic. Since the 1970s there has been significant debate on whether and how the notion of literary genre can be applied to the construct of apocalyptic.⁴¹ In many ways, the category of apocalyptic poses even greater methodological challenges than the category of wisdom.⁴² Nonetheless, scholars often speak of a mixture of wisdom and apocalyptic, especially in relation to the texts *Instruction*, *Mysteries*, and the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*.⁴³ The discussion on the blending

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- 39 Michael E. Stone, “Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature,” in *Selected Studies in Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 379–418 (390–91); Kister, “Wisdom Literature,” 19.
- 40 Collins, “Wisdom Reconsidered”; Kister, “Wisdom Literature.”
- 41 Klaus Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic* (Naperville: Allenson, 1972); Paul D. Hanson, “Apocalypse, Genre” and “Apocalypticism” in *Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible Supplementary Volume* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1976); Stone, “Lists of Revealed Things”; John J. Collins, “Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” *Semeia* 14 (1979): 1–20; Newsom, “Spying out the Land”; Hindy Najman, “The Inheritance of Prophecy in Apocalyptic,” in John J. Collins (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 36–48; Najman, *Losing the Temple*, 20–23; Collins, “The Genre of Apocalypse Reconsidered,” *ZAC* 20 (2016): 21–40.
- 42 Newsom, “Spying out the Land”; Najman, “Inheritance of Prophecy”; Judith H. Newman, “The Participatory Past: Resituating Eschatology in the Study of Apocalyptic,” *Early Christianity* 10 (2019): 1–20.
- 43 Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 301–6; Daniel J. Harrington, “Two Early Jewish Approaches to Wisdom: Sirach and Qumran Sapiential Work A,” *JSP* 16 (1997): 25–38; James K. Aitken, “Apocalyptic, Revelation and Early Jewish Wisdom Literature” in *New Heaven and New Earth: Prophecy and the Millennium*, ed. P. J. Harland and R. Hayward, *VTSup* 77 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 181–93; Torleif Elgvin, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Early Second Century BCE: The Evidence of 4QInstruction,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery*, ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov and J. C. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 226–47; Florentino García Martínez, “Wisdom at Qumran: Worldly or Heavenly?” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, ed. F. García Martínez, *BETL* 168 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 1–15; John J. Collins, “The Eschatologizing of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in Collins, Sterling and Clements, *Sapiential Perspectives*, 49–65; Matthew J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*, *STDJ* 50 (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*; Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, 12–15; Jean-Sébastien Rey, *4QInstruction: sagesse et eschatology*,

of wisdom and apocalyptic in Qumran texts has been influenced by the biblical scholar Gerhard von Rad, who argued several decades before the publication of the fragmentary wisdom texts that apocalyptic is an offshoot of wisdom literature.⁴⁴ Taking a closer look at the way in which von Rad understands wisdom and its relation to apocalyptic can be helpful for gaining some perspective in the discussions on Qumran wisdom texts.

According to von Rad, biblical wisdom is characterized by a deep concern for defining the limits of wisdom. In these writings we see the adoption of a new “secularized” worldview that grows out of a rational search for knowledge. The emergence of wisdom literature during the early monarchy could even be described as “a kind of enlightenment” that was inspired by the international wisdom movement.⁴⁵ Wisdom is acquired by empirical means, by observing the world, understanding social relations, and contemplating the order of nature. But at the same time, the wisdom of Israel emphasizes human limitations and teaches that the world is guided by divine rule into which humans have only very limited insight. Von Rad regards this dual perspective as a synthesis of the new “secularized” worldview, and the older notions of indigenous “religious” traditions.⁴⁶ The biblical sage perceives the regularity of social and natural phenomena and sees how every aspect of the world is measured and balanced according to predetermined patterns. But the sage also acknowledges that successfulness in life depends on divine sanction. The principles underlying the order of the world, the measurements of the cosmos, and the predetermined course of events, cannot ultimately be known. Human wisdom runs into its own limits when it tries to comprehend the details and hidden structures of cosmic order, which ultimately remain mysteries.⁴⁷

STDJ 81 (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Matthew Goff, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. J. J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 52–68 (55–56); Jonathan Ben-Dov, “Family Relations and the Economic-Metaphysical Message of *Instruction*,” *JSP* 30 (2020): 87–100 (89). Davis Hankins argues with respect to *Instruction* (“4QInstruction’s Mystery and Mastery of Wisdom,” *DSD* 23 [2016]: 183–205), that in terms of epistemology, it is difficult to make a strict distinction between wisdom and apocalyptic. In the past decades, the discussion on wisdom and apocalyptic has been stimulated enormously by the Wisdom and Apocalypticism program unit at SBL. See Lawrence M. Wills and Benjamin G. Wright, *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalyptic* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2005).

44 Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, trans. D. M. G. Stalker (New York, NY: Harper & Row Publishers, 1965), 2:301–8. See now George J. Brooke, “Gerhard von Rad and the Study of Wisdom in Texts from the Qumran Caves,” in *Gerhard von Rad and the Study of Wisdom Literature*, ed. T. J. Sandoval and B. U. Schipper (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2022), 347–76.

45 Gerhard von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, trans. J. D. Martin (London: SCM Press, 1993), 58–61.

46 Von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, 97–100.

47 Von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, 107–8. Cf. Job 5:9; 11:7–8; 25:2–3; 36:26; Isa 40:28.

The concept of the limits of wisdom is important for understanding the relation between wisdom and apocalyptic. Where wisdom pauses at the limits of what can be known by human beings, apocalyptic emphatically transcends these limits. Traditional wisdom is interested in understanding the order of the cosmos and the structure of social reality, but apocalyptic wants to understand the hidden rules and mysteries that govern the world. Wisdom books preserve the teaching that everything occurs at its proper time, but apocalyptic literature goes beyond the bare facts and presents revealed knowledge of the divine determination of the times, the schematisation of history, and especially the time of the end.⁴⁸ Von Rad argues that wisdom and apocalyptic basically share the same approach to understanding the world, but what distinguishes them is that wisdom literature is much more reserved concerning the human capacity of knowing, while apocalyptic sages surpass these boundaries and acquire insight into heavenly secrets and mysteries through divine revelation.⁴⁹

There seems to be much overlap between the areas of knowledge that interest apocalyptic sages and the prophets, but von Rad emphatically states that apocalyptic is a “child of wisdom” and is entirely unrelated to prophecy.⁵⁰ It might be true that the prophets are interested in revelations concerning the course of history and the future. However, von Rad claims that the ways in which apocalyptic and prophetic literature view history are fundamentally incompatible. The main reason for this strict distinction is that prophecy “is rooted in definite election traditions” and can never lead to the universalist view of history we encounter in apocalyptic.⁵¹ This universalist approach is intrinsically related to the idea that everything that happens has been predetermined from the very beginning of time. There is one universal map for the course of history, and the roles of all creatures have been determined and assigned at the outset. Even if certain nations or individuals are given a distinct task within this masterplan, the overall perspective looks at humanity as a whole rather than at a specific nation (which von Rad argues distinguishes prophecy). According to von Rad, not one detail of this divine blueprint can be altered. This again is an important distinction from prophecy, in von Rad’s reading. While the prophets teach that God’s anger can be averted if people repent and change their ways, the apocalyptic teachers emphasize that God

48 Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2:306–8; idem, *Wisdom in Israel*, 263–69, 282.

49 On the limits of human wisdom that are breached by revelatory experience and the forms of knowledge that are revealed in this context, see Stone, “Lists of Revealed Things.”

50 Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2:303–6; idem, *Wisdom in Israel*, 269–70.

51 Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2:303.

always already knows how humans will behave and also who is predetermined for destruction and who for salvation.⁵²

Von Rad's strict distinction between prophetic literature on the one hand, and between wisdom and apocalyptic on the other, has received much critique.⁵³ If it is true for Isaiah that elements of wisdom are interwoven with prophecy,⁵⁴ then all the more so for texts from the late Second Temple period, in which varieties of literature that participate in authoritative collections are being studied and emulated indiscriminately. Precisely the deeper and hidden understanding of these texts is associated with revelation.⁵⁵ There also appears to be a particular teleological dimension to von Rad's argument when he makes such strict distinctions between the prophets' particularist conception of history and the universal perspective of apocalyptic. According to von Rad, apocalyptic is a necessary final stage in the historical process that prepares for the fulfilment of the Old Testament in the coming of Jesus Christ.⁵⁶

The final section of von Rad's *Theology of the Old Testament* (Part three: "The Old Testament and the New") is entirely devoted to demonstrating how "... the way in which the Old Testament is absorbed in the New is the logical end of a process initiated by the Old Testament itself..."⁵⁷ Along these lines, von Rad argues that:

52 Von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, 270.

53 Peter von der Osten-Sacken, *Die Apokalyptik in ihrem Verhältnis zu Prophetie und Weisheit* (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1969); Klaus Koch, *Ratlos vor der Apokalyptik* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1970), 43–45; Frank Moore Cross, "New Directions in the Study of Apocalyptic," *JTC* 6 (1969): 157–65; Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things," 400–9; Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End: Zechariah, the Book of Watchers and Apocalyptic*, OTS 35 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 9–11; James VanderKam, "Mantic Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 4 (1997): 336–53 (336–38); John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 20–21; Kister, "Wisdom Literature," 19–20; Hindy Najman, "The Inheritance of Prophecy in Apocalyptic," in Collins, *Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, 36–57; Goff, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism," 58–60.

54 See e.g., Isa 28:23–29 (cf. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, 18, 140–41); Isa 40:12 (*ibid.*, 19); Isa 40:28 (*ibid.*, 108).

55 Menahem Kister, "Wisdom Literature," 21–22.

56 Von Rad's discussion of apocalyptic begins with the statement (*Old Testament Theology*, 2:301): "Even after prophecy had ceased Israel continued to look into the future and to speak of the eschatological events still to be realised." When explaining his view that the conceptions of history of prophecy and apocalyptic are incompatible, he emphasizes that (*ibid.*, 2:303): "... even the son of man does not come from Israel, but 'with the clouds of heaven.'"

57 Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2:321.

No special hermeneutic method is necessary to see the whole diversified movement of the Old Testament saving events, made up of God's promises and their temporary fulfilments, as pointing to their future fulfilment in Jesus Christ. This can be said quite categorically. The coming of Jesus Christ as a historical reality leaves the exegete no choice at all; he must interpret the Old Testament as pointing to Christ, whom he must understand in its light.⁵⁸

The radical distinction between prophecy and apocalyptic serves von Rad's supersessionist agenda and obfuscates the interwovenness of law, prophecy and wisdom that is apparent throughout the textual evidence.⁵⁹

The paradigm offered by von Rad has been influential for the ways in which scholars have approached the wisdom materials discovered at Qumran. Some have taken his views as a point of departure in studying the Qumran materials.⁶⁰ Others have rejected the theory that apocalyptic is unrelated to prophecy and is a pure descendent of the wisdom tradition.⁶¹ But in either case the wisdom-apocalyptic model has framed the discussions of the fragmentary Qumran wisdom texts and much attention has been paid to the supposedly apocalyptic features of these texts, such as revealed knowledge, the immanency of the eschaton, and the divine determination of the times. These discussions have resulted in pertinent insights. But there are also limitations. As argued above, the texts participate in multiple literary genres and foregrounding wisdom and apocalyptic at the expense of other types of literature creates a new pigeonhole, which obscures important aspects of these texts. In particular, the relation to liturgy, commentary and rewriting has insufficiently been studied and understood.

A second problem is that generic distinctions are frequently interpreted as reflecting sociological distinctions (and what is called "*Sitz im Leben*"). This bears on the discussion concerning the relationship between wisdom and Torah. Scholars have observed that the Mosaic Torah is not an explicit theme

58 Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2:374.

59 Compare also the following remark (von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2:357): "The Old Testament is a history book; it tells of God's history with Israel, with the nations, and with the world, from the creation of the world down to the last things, that is to say, down to the time when dominion over the world is given to the Son of Man (Dan 7:13f)."

60 Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 301–6. Cf. Brooke, "Gerhard von Rad," 360.

61 John J. Collins, "Wisdom, Apocalypticism and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Jedes Ding hat seine Zeit ... Studien zur Israelitischen und altorientalischen Weisheit. Diethelm Michel zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. A. A. Diesel et al. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996), 19–32; Goff, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism."

in many fragments of Instruction, for example, whereas we find some passages in Ben Sira and 4QBeatitudes that explicitly associate or even identify wisdom with Torah.⁶² On this basis, some have argued that the communities behind texts like Instruction had little concern for the Torah of Moses and had alternative sources of authority.⁶³ The supposed existence of sapiential groups disinterested in Mosaic Torah is based entirely on the assumed absence of references to the Torah in fragmentary texts. While such absence could also be explained on other grounds, such as literary form or thematic focus, the fact is that both implicit and explicit references to Torah and commandments are pervasive in Instruction.⁶⁴ There is no external evidence for the existence of

- 62 Elgin, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism," 237–38; John I. Kampen, "The Puzzle of Torah and the Qumran Wisdom Texts," in *HĀ-'ĪSH MŌSHE: Studies in Scriptural Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature in Honor of Moshe J. Bernstein*, ed. B. Y. Goldstein, M. Segal and G. J. Brooke, STDJ 122 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 190–209 (196); Benjamin Wold, *4QInstruction: Divisions and Hierarchies*, STDJ 123 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 146, 184. On wisdom and Torah in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see further: John J. Collins, "The Transformation of Wisdom in Second Temple Judaism," *JSJ* 43 (2012): 455–74; William A. Tooman, "Wisdom and Torah at Qumran: Evidence from the Sapiential Texts," in Schipper and Teeter, *Wisdom and Torah*, 203–32; D. Andrew Teeter, "Torah, Wisdom, and the Composition of Rewritten Scripture: Jubilees and 11QPs^a in Comparative Context," in Schipper and Teeter, *Wisdom and Torah*, 233–72; Elisa Uusimäki, *Turning Proverbs towards Torah: An Analysis of 4Q525* (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Kampen, "Tōrah and Wisdom in the Rule Texts from Qumran," in *Sacred Texts and Disparate Interpretations: Qumran Manuscripts Seventy Years Later*, ed. H. Drawnel, STDJ 133 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 316–40.
- 63 Elgin, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism," 237–38; Kampen, "Puzzle," 208; Wold, *4QInstruction*, 175.
- 64 Implicit references to the significance of the Torah and commandments in Instruction include: 4Q417 1 i 27 ע[נ]יכמה [ה] ואחרי [ה] לבבכמה [ה]; refers to Num 15:39; 4Q418 184 3 [ל]בלתי [שחוט אותו ואת]; refers to Dt 8:12; 4Q423 7 5–6 [בנו] ביום אחד כאשר צו[ה] ביד; refers to Lev 22:28; cf. Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:182). Explicit references to the Torah and commandments include: 4Q418 184 1 par 4Q423 11 2 כבוד אביכה ברישכה ואמכה; refers to Ex 20:12; Dt 5:15; 4Q416 2 iv 6–10 par 4Q418 10a–b 8–10; 4Q418a 18 4 וכל שבועת אסרה לנדר נד[בה] הפר על מוצא פיכה; refers to Num 30:2–17). On the importance of Torah and commandments in Instruction, see further: Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 57–60; George J. Brooke, "Biblical Interpretation in the Wisdom Texts from Qumran," in Hempel, Lange and Lichtenberger, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 201–220 (208–11); Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Halakhic Elements in the Sapiential Texts from Qumran," in Collins, Sterling and Clements, *Sapiential Perspectives*, 89–100; Menahem Kister, "Divorce, reproof, and other sayings in the Synoptic Gospels: Jesus traditions in the context of 'Qumranic' and other texts," in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity*, ed. R. A. Clements and D. R. Schwartz, STDJ 84 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 195–229 (203–8, 220–22); Rey, *4QInstruction*, 285, 292; Teeter, "Torah, Wisdom and Rewritten Scripture," 251–53; Meike Christian, *Zu Entstehung und Theologie von 1/4QInstruction und der 'Zwei-Geister-Lehre' (1QS III,13–1V,26): Geheimwissen, Erwählung*

non-Mosaic sapiential groups in ancient Judaism, and the evidence that we do have at our disposal points in the opposite direction: various kinds of literature (including legal texts) were being copied, studied and taught within the same communities.⁶⁵

The observation that the wisdom texts discovered at Qumran contain elements occurring in compositions categorized as apocalyptic is not mistaken. But rather than classifying such texts as “apocalyptic wisdom” and forging a new category, I want to propose that we first explore the many intimate connections and interactions with other types of literature from the period. In the Qumran texts, wisdom reaches beyond its limits. For a deeper appreciation of the rich literary and conceptual landscapes we encounter in the scrolls, we need to move beyond the limits we impose with the categories that we apply. This pertains to genre, this pertains to canonicity, but this also pertains to a third categorization that is highly influential for the ways in which scholars read the texts from Qumran.

2 The Sectarian Divide

Within scholarship on wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls the distinction between “sectarian” and “non-sectarian” texts plays a fundamental role. This categorization has even resulted in the formation of two opposite views on the nature of the Qumran wisdom texts. One group of scholars claims that these wisdom texts are non-sectarian, i.e., these texts were not composed by the community or sect that owned the scrolls but were merely preserved and copied by them. Another group of scholars holds that all or most of the wisdom texts were composed by this community or sect. This divergence of opinion has resulted in an impasse in scholarship that makes further discussion difficult. In what follows I will take a closer look at the reasons and criteria for classifying wisdom texts as either sectarian or non-sectarian and problematize this categorization. But first, I want to provide some context for the practice of categorizing Qumran texts as sectarian and non-sectarian.

During the first stages of research on the Dead Sea Scrolls, scholars adopted the convention of distinguishing between three categories: (1) biblical texts,

und Prädestination, STDJ 135 (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 133–37; Shlomi Efrati, “Law and Order: Priests, Commandments, and Cosmic Mysteries in the Qumran Composition Instruction,” *JAJ* 13 (2022): 314–343.

65 Kister, “Wisdom Literature,” 21–22. On reading culture and the interaction between practices of reading and writing reflected in scrolls, see Mladen Popović, “Reading, Writing and Memorializing Together: Reading Culture in Ancient Judaism and the Dead Sea Scrolls in a Mediterranean Context,” *DSD* 24 (2017): 447–70.

(2) apocryphal and pseudepigraphic texts, and (3) sectarian texts.⁶⁶ This categorization made sense as an *ad hoc* instrument to organize the voluminous corpus, but it has been noted that the three categories are of different kinds and partly overlap.⁶⁷ This can easily lead to confusion. The category of sectarian, for example, sometimes refers to authorship and sometimes to style or content.⁶⁸ The publication of the Temple Scroll in 1977 prompted a critical article by Baruch Levine who questioned the sectarian provenance of this text, arguing that the calendrical and legal issues set out in the scroll need not have originated within a sectarian context.⁶⁹ This stimulated the discussion on the question whether all of the texts previously classified as sectarian were necessarily to be attributed to the same community. Further debate was incited by the polemical contributions of Norman Golb, who emphatically rejected the hypothesis that the scrolls were left in the caves by a sectarian community living in the Judean desert.⁷⁰ Golb argued that the scrolls had instead been deposited in the Qumran caves by Jerusalemites who wanted to bring the treasures of the city into safety in the years 66–70 CE during the first Roman war.

Subsequent decades saw the emergence of an elaborate debate on the criteria for establishing whether a text from Qumran was composed by the community or not. Most scholars regarded the presence of features associated with the community as an indication of sectarian authorship. Among the characteristics that are considered to be sectarian are the following: adherence to a 364-day calendar, strong concerns for ritual purity, the dating of compositions after the supposed foundation of the community (around 150 BCE), literary genre (with rules and pesher considered typically sectarian genres).⁷¹

66 Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 3rd ed. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 36–46; Józef T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (London: SCM Press, 1959), 20–43; James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994), 29–70.

67 Eibert Tigchelaar, “Classifications of the Collection of Dead Sea Scrolls and the Case of *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C*,” *JSJ* 43 (2012): 519–50 (520).

68 Tigchelaar, “Classifications,” 521.

69 Baruch A. Levine, “The Temple Scroll: Aspects of its Historical Provenance and Literary Character,” *BASOR* 232 (1978): 5–23.

70 Norman Golb, “The Problem of Origin and Identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 124 (1980), 1–24.

71 Hermann Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 15–19; Carol Newsom, “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature from Qumran,” in *The Hebrew Bible and its Interpreters*, ed. W. H. Propp (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–87; Esther G. Chazon, “Is *Divrei Ha-Meo’orot* a Sectarian Prayer?” In *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport, *STDJ* 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 3–17; Devorah Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance,” in *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Collected Studies*, *FAT* 90 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 27–56;

Scribal practices associated with sectarian scribes have also been suggested as a criterion.⁷² But since the large Isaiah scroll also features the peculiar Qumran scribal practices, it is obvious that these features could only be relevant to the provenance of a copy not to the provenance of a composition. Other features such as the 364-day calendar and a strong concern for purity are not necessarily sectarian.⁷³ Moreover, the chronology of the archaeological site of Qumran has been revisited, and its occupation prior to 100 BCE has been challenged, which has implications for the date of the supposed foundation of the community.⁷⁴

For these reasons Devorah Dimant has argued that the criteria for classifying texts as sectarian should be based on formal features alone, namely on specific vocabulary that is only found in sectarian texts.⁷⁵ This procedure of course requires that we know which texts are sectarian in the first place. Dimant designates a core corpus from which such features might be deduced. There is an obvious problem of circularity here and the fragmentary status of most materials implies that we can never know whether the lost portions of those texts

Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 6–20; idem, “Kriterien essenischer Texte,” in *Qumran Kontroversen*, ed. J. Frey and H. Stegemann (Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2003), 56–69; Charlotte Hempel, “Kriterien zur Bestimmung ‘essenischer Verfasserschaft’ von Qumrantexten,” in Frey and Stegemann, *Qumran Kontroversen*, 71–85. For a review of discussions on criteria for sectarian texts, see Devorah Dimant, “The Vocabulary of the Qumran Sectarian Texts,” in *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation*, 57–100 (57–65).

72 Emanuel Tov, “The Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls at Qumran and the Origin of these Scrolls,” *Textus* 13 (1986): 31–57. For a detailed description of the features that Tov identifies with the Qumran scribal practice, see idem, *Scribal Practices Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 261–73, 77–278, 337–43.

73 On the lack of evidence for considering the 364-day calendar a sectarian institution, see Matthias Albani, “Zur Rekonstruktion eines verdrängten Konzepts: Der 364-Tage-Kalender in der gegenwärtigen Forschung,” in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, ed. M. Albani, J. Frey and A. Lange, TSAJ 65 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 79–125 (97); Sacha Stern, *Calendar and Community: A History of Jewish Calendar. 2nd Century BCE to 10th Century CE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 16–18; idem, “The ‘Sectarian’ Calendar of Qumran,” in *Sects and Sectarianism in Jewish History*, ed. S. Stern (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 39–62. Vered Noam challenges the widely held notion that halakhic purity rulings in the Dead Sea Scrolls are unusually stringent (“Stringency in Qumran: A Reassessment,” *JSJ* 40 [2009]: 342–55) and she argues that in many cases the rulings in the scrolls derive from a plain sense interpretation of scripture, whereas Tannaitic halakhah often represents revolutionary reinterpretations that are less stringent in purity rulings in a number of cases, although they are more stringent in some other cases.

74 Jodi Magness, “The Chronology of the Settlement at Qumran in the Herodian Period,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 58–65; eadem, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2021), 64–81.

75 Dimant, “Vocabulary,” 64.

contained a smaller or larger amount of terminology that we have designated as sectarian.

The discussion on classification has had a major impact on the study of wisdom literature from Qumran. This impact is exemplified in a striking way by John Strugnell who radically changed his own position on the classification of one of the most important wisdom texts. Strugnell was responsible for editing fragments from cave 4 that he assigned to 4Q415, 4Q416, 4Q417, 4Q418 (4Q418a, b) and 4Q423 and which he later gave the title 4QInstruction (or Musar le-Mevin). At the initial stages Strugnell assumed that this was a wisdom composition of the Qumran sect which contained moral teachings of the community.⁷⁶ However, when he published the official edition of the manuscripts of Instruction in 1999, he had completely altered his view and argued that because the text lacked sectarian features it should be considered a non-sectarian composition that was composed long before the sect had been founded.⁷⁷ This reversal of opinion is in line with the broader developments in scholarship since the late 1970s on which Strugnell himself reflected explicitly.⁷⁸ In the past decades, many scholars have given serious consideration to questions of classification. Nonetheless, there continues to be a thorough disagreement on the status of wisdom texts from Qumran.

Most authors follow Strugnell in viewing Instruction and other wisdom texts as representative of broader strands of Jewish thinking in the 3rd or 2nd century BCE. But a minority of leading scholars claims that most of these wisdom texts, including Instruction, were composed within the sectarian community that owned the scrolls. These different categorizations result in radically different interpretations of countless details in these texts. As a first step in bridging some of these contradicting readings, it will be helpful to take a closer look at the arguments that scholars introduce for classifying the Qumran wisdom texts as either sectarian or non-sectarian.

Many scholars argue that these texts are the products of wisdom teachers and schools that represent an ongoing sapiential tradition that was part of the “mainstream” intellectual world of Second Temple Judaism.⁷⁹ The perceived

76 Strugnell, “Travail d’édition,” 64–65.

77 Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, DJD 34:20–22.

78 John Strugnell, “Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. L. H. Schiffman (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 221–56 (221, 247–48).

79 Adam S. van der Woude, “Wisdom at Qumran,” in *Wisdom in Ancient Israel: Essays in Honour of J. A. Emerton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 244–56 (256); Daniel J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge, 1996), 84–86; Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 301–6; Lange, “Wisdom Literature”; Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, 23;

absence of sectarian features in the wisdom texts has led to the view that they had not been composed by the sectarian community but were merely copied and preserved as part of their library. The most important examples are: Mysteries; Beatitudes; 4Q184 (Wiles of the Wicked Woman); 4Q185 Sapiential text B; 4Q424; 4Q185; the Two Spirits Treatise (1QS 3:13–4:26); and Instruction, which in many ways is paradigmatic for the discussion of the broader collection of wisdom texts. The argumentation for viewing Instruction as a non-sectarian text is twofold. On the one hand Instruction would lack terminology relating to the organization and worldview of the community.⁸⁰ On the other hand, the social setting that is read into the text would be distinct from that of the Qumran community.

According to more traditional reconstructions, the community at Qumran lived a secluded life. The members shared possessions and obeyed strict disciplinary rules. They observed high standards of purity and were partly or completely celibate.⁸¹ In contrast to this model, the addressees of Instruction appear to be integrated in the larger society and interact with people who do not belong to their group.⁸² They have private possessions and financial dealings, even debts.⁸³ It is not clear from the fragments whether or not the addressees

George J. Brooke, "The Place of Wisdom in the Formation of the Movement behind the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Goochem in Mokum, Wisdom in Amsterdam*, ed. G. J. Brooke and P. Van Hecke, OTS 68 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 20–33 (23–25); Elisa Uusimäki, "Wisdom Texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls" in the *Wiley Blackwell Companion to Wisdom Literature*, ed. S. L. Adams and M. J. Goff (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2020), 122–38 (122).

- 80 Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 48–49; Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, DJD 34:22–31; Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 223–26; Benjamin G. Wold, *Women, Men and Angels: The Qumran Wisdom Document Musar leMevin and its Allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions*, WUNT 2.201 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 19–20; Samuel L. Adams, *Wisdom in Transition: Act and Consequence in Second Temple Instructions*, JSJSup 125 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 268–69; Rey, *4QInstruction*, 335; Wold, *4QInstruction*, 8–11, 198–201.
- 81 The question whether and to what extent members of the Qumran community would have been celibate is disputed. For an overview, see Eileen Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:117–144; Cecilia Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2005), 5–9; Maxine L. Grossman, "Women and Men in the Rule of the Congregation: A Feminist Critical Assessment," in Grossman, *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 229–45; Paul Heger, "Celibacy in Qumran: Hellenistic Fiction or Reality? Qumran's Attitude toward Sex," *RevQ* 26 (2013): 53–90.
- 82 Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, DJD 34:20; Eibert Tigchelaar, "The Addressees of 4QInstruction," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran*, ed. D. K. Falk, F. García Martínez and E. M. Schuller, STDJ 35 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 62–75 (74–75).
- 83 Catherine M. Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*, STDJ 40 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 163–209; Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 140–62; Benjamin G. Wright, "The Categories of Rich and Poor in the Qumran Sapiential

observe high standards of purity, but they are certainly not celibate.⁸⁴ In short, the lack of sectarian features and the distinct social setting of Instruction are taken as indications that the composition is non-sectarian.

Scholars making this argument generally do recognize the overlap in terminology with texts such as the Serek ha-Yaḥad and the Hodayot. They usually explain this overlap as influence of the sapiential texts on the sectarian texts: the sectarian composers had Instruction and other wisdom texts in their library and adopted terms and concepts from these texts. The fact that at least eight copies of Instruction were hidden in Caves 1 and 4 suggests that the composition was held in high esteem by the community or communities that owned the scrolls. This could support the argument that the Serek and the Hodayot were influenced by the teachings and phraseology of Instruction.⁸⁵ The problem with this line of reasoning, however, is that we have no evidence that the sapiential texts were actually composed prior to the sectarian ones. There are no internal clues for dating the wisdom texts and none of the manuscripts are dated earlier than the oldest manuscript of the Serek.⁸⁶ The argument for the chronological priority of the wisdom texts is circular. The only reason for dating these compositions earlier is the assumption that they had not been written by the sect and must therefore have been written before its

Literature,” in Collins, Sterling and Clements, *Sapiential Perspectives*, 101–23 (109–23); Kister, “Wisdom Literature at Qumran,” 1:313–316; Jean-Sébastien Rey, “Prêt et cautionnement dans 4QInstruction et dans Ben Sira,” in *L’identité à travers l’éthique. Nouvelles perspectives sur la formation des identités collectives dans le monde gréco-romain*, ed. K. Berthelot, R. Naiweld and D. Stökl Ben Ezra (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 149–67; Ben-Dov, “Family Relations”; Amit Gvaryahu, “Lending at Interest in Rabbinic Literature: Law, Homiletics, and Cultural Contacts” (PhD diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2019), 33–41.

- 84 Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, DJD 34:20; Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 49.
- 85 Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, DJD 34: 34; Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 226–27; idem, *4QInstruction*, 28; Adams, *Wisdom in Transition*, 244; Rey, *4QInstruction*, 28, 336.
- 86 Strugnell classifies 4Q416 and 4Q418 (DJD 34:76, 214–17) according to Frank Moore Cross’ typology as late Hasmonean/early Herodian hands, i.e., second half of the 1st century BCE. The earliest manuscript of the Serek was dated by Cross to the second half of the 2nd century BCE. See James H. Charlesworth, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (Tübingen and Louisville, KY: Mohr and John Knox, 1994), 57. Cross’ typology for the paleographical dating of ancient Hebrew manuscripts is currently being assessed by Mladen Popović with the aid of new carbon-14 dating samples and new AI technology that assists in handwriting recognition. For preliminary results, see: Maruf Dhali, Mladen Popović, Lambert Schomaker and Eibert Tigchelaar, “A Digital Palaeographic Approach towards Writer Identification in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Proceedings of the 6th International Conference on Pattern Recognition Applications and Methods—Volume 1: ICPRAM, 693–702, 2017, Porto, Portugal*, <https://doi.org/10.5220/0006249706930702>.

foundation. But first of all, we cannot exclude the possibility that the community (or communities) adopted contemporaneous compositions from the outside. More importantly, there are no arguments to support a relative dating of the wisdom texts vis-à-vis sectarian texts. There is in fact a significant degree of terminological overlap and there is no reason why this vocabulary could only be used to prove literary dependence in one direction and not in the other, or even shared provenance.

According to several scholars, Instruction is quoted in the Hodayot, which is used as an argument for dating Instruction in the late third or early second century BCE.⁸⁷ There are indeed some close correspondences including a verbatim parallel that may attest to a literary relation of some kind.⁸⁸ But none of these instances require literary dependence in one direction. From a literary-historical perspective, the parallels could just as well be explained by arguing that Instruction was based on the Hodayot, that they influenced each other, or that both texts were based on a common source.⁸⁹ In the end there is only one argument that could sustain the chronological priority of Instruction over against the Serek and the Hodayot: the argument that Instruction is a non-sectarian text that was adopted in the sectarian library. But this argument depends on creating a subdivision between two sets of terminology within the Serek and the Hodayot: one set of sectarian terminology, which is absent from the wisdom texts, and one set of non-sectarian terminology, which *is* present in the wisdom texts but is regarded as non-original within the sectarian texts. This subdivision is completely arbitrary, and we cannot exclude the possibility that precisely the terminology shared with the wisdom texts is originally sectarian terminology, if we are willing to use this category.

There are further problems with this line of reasoning. If scholars automatically assume that a text without sectarian features is non-sectarian, then they are, in the words of Carol Newsom, “conflating the categories of content/style and authorship.”⁹⁰ Newsom emphasizes that certain literary genres, such as prayers and liturgical texts, are generally composed in stereotypical language.

87 Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 46; idem, “Wisdom Literature,” 463; Rey, *4QInstruction*, 335; Matthew J. Goff, *4QInstruction* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2013), 28–29; Wold, *4QInstruction*, 5, 119–20, 200. Adams similarly dates Instruction in relation to the Hodayot (*Wisdom in Transition*, 244), but argues that the latter were not composed until the first century BCE, which in his view would imply a late 2nd century BCE date for Instruction.

88 4Q418 55 10 (דעתם יכבדו איש מרעהו) and 1QH^a 18:29–30 (ולפי דעתם יכבדו איש מרעהו).

89 Compare the parallel expression in 1QSa 1:17–18 (לפי שכלו עם תום דרכו וחזק מתנו למעמדו) and 1QSa 1:17–18 (לפי שכלו עם תום דרכו וחזק מתנו למעמדו). This passage indicates that similar phraseology was more widespread. Note its derivation from Prov 12:8 (לפי שכלו יהלל איש).

90 Newsom, “Sectually Explicit Literature,” 175.

There is no reason to assume that all psalms and prayers composed by members of the community would be markedly different from those composed by non-members.⁹¹ The same holds true for wisdom texts. If there is an established literary form that is represented by texts such as Proverbs and Ben Sira, it is entirely possible that a sectarian author would seek to emulate this form and would compose a sapiential text that has few sectarian features.

With regard to social setting, it is certainly true that the wisdom texts are not explicitly addressed to monastic-like communities living in the desert. But since the beginning of Qumran scholarship it has been recognized that the community behind the scrolls could have consisted of various branches.⁹² The editors of *Instruction* entertain the possibility that it was composed for an order of the Essenes that “married, owned property, and observed distinct legal practices.”⁹³ In recent years, a number of scholars have argued that the community behind the scrolls was a broader and more diversified movement.⁹⁴ There appears to be nothing in the implied social setting of wisdom texts like *Instruction* which a priori excludes them from being part of that movement. Thus, neither the supposed absence of sectarian features nor the social setting of wisdom texts indicates that they are necessarily non-sectarian.

The Two Spirits Treatise (TST) is a special case among the texts that are categorized as wisdom, because it is embedded in Serek ha-Yahad, which is *the* sectarian text par excellence. TST is often seen as an independent composition because it has a distinctive style and constitutes a separate literary unit within the Serek. In addition, this unit is certainly absent from the manuscript 4QS^d and may not have been included in other Serek manuscripts as well. From these facts Hartmut Stegemann inferred that the unit originates in a non-sectarian environment.⁹⁵ Armin Lange builds on Stegemann’s hypothesis and argues

91 Newsom, “‘Sexually Explicit’ Literature,” 175–76.

92 Cross, *Ancient Library*, 70–71.

93 Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, DJD 34:36; cf. 21.

94 John J. Collins, “Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. S. M. Paul et al., VTSup 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 97–111; idem, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010); Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule*, STDJ 77. (Leiden: Brill, 2009). See also the articles in the thematic issue “The Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” ed. S. Metso and H. Najman, *DSD* 16.3 (2009).

95 Hartmut Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus* (Freiburg: Herder, 1993), 154–56. In an earlier article Stegemann suggested the possibility that TST is a “non-sectarian” text but that further research was required to settle the issue. Cf. idem, “Zu Textbestand und Grundgedanken von 1QS III, 13–IV, 26,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 95–130.

that TST differs from sectarian texts in several respects.⁹⁶ He does not discern any distinctive sectarian terminology in TST and argues that the text uses designations for God and for the evil sphere that are not to be expected in sectarian texts. Moreover, he assumes that Torah observance does not play any role in TST and argues that the covenant only has eschatological significance. The view of Stegemann and Lange that TST is an independent non-sectarian text was accepted by a number of scholars.⁹⁷

The argument that TST is non-sectarian runs into similar difficulties encountered in the argument that Instruction is non-sectarian. The absence of sectarian terminology does not evince that the text is not of sectarian provenance. Moreover, the arguments that TST does not develop the theme of Torah observance and only refers to an eschatological covenant are imprecise. The themes of obedience to the covenant and observance of the commandments are in fact of great significance in TST. Although these themes remain mostly implicit, the text contains phraseology that unmistakably alludes to them.⁹⁸ John Collins argues that TST reinterprets existing covenant traditions within a dualistic and deterministic worldview.⁹⁹ The presence of the peculiar combination of dualism and determinism in other sectarian texts leads him to the conclusion that TST is likewise sectarian.

It is difficult to verify whether the ideas singled out by Collins are exclusively sectarian or whether they were shared in broader circles. However, the location of TST within the Serek, immediately following the ceremony of the covenant (1QS 1:1–3:12), does suggest a connection between the Serek's understanding of the covenant and the theories set forth in TST. This connection is corroborated by evident terminological links between the covenant ceremony and the

(127–28). In his monograph he claims (*Die Essener*, 154) without further argument that TST "... ist sicher vor-essenischer Herkunft und vom Babylonischen Judentum beeinflusst."

96 Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 127–28.

97 Jörg Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library: Reflections on Their Background and History," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues*, ed. J. M. Baumgarten, STDJ 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 275–335 (295–300); Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 194–95; idem, "These are the Names of the Spirits of ...": A Preliminary Edition of 4QCatalogue of Spirits (4Q230) and new manuscript evidence for the Two Spirits Treatise (4Q257 and 1Q29a)," *RevQ* 21 (2004): 529–47 (546); Loren Stuckenbruck, "The Interiorization of Dualism within the Human Being in Second Temple Judaism: The Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS 111:13–IV:26)," in *Light Against Darkness: Dualism in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and the Contemporary World*, ed. A. Lange, B. H. Reynolds III and R. Styers (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 145–68 (161).

98 See page 27 footnote 100 and see page 88.

99 John J. Collins, *Scriptures and Sectarianism: Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, WUNT 332 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 193.

Treatise.¹⁰⁰ The issue is further complicated by evidence from 1Q29a, 4QS^a and 4QS^c which suggests that the Treatise existed in different versions.¹⁰¹ The combination of the literary development of TST and terminological links with 1QS 1–3 poses a challenge to the position that TST as it occurs in 1QS 3:13–4:26 is a non-sectarian text. It is the 1QS version of TST that has numerous correspondences with Instruction. Thus, the argument that both TST and Instruction originate in similar non-sectarian circles does not have a solid basis.¹⁰²

Several scholars have pointed out that a large number of distinctive phrases and concepts that are typically associated with the community are found in the Qumran wisdom texts.¹⁰³ Menahem Kister, for example, argues that peculiar terminology and imagery related to measurement plays a central role in the sectarian conceptual world and also abounds in the wisdom texts from Qumran. Moreover, he observes striking parallels between Instruction (4Q418 77) and passages in the Serek that deal with the inspection of candidates

100 See the following six examples: (i) 1QS 1:10 (כגורלו בעצת אל) with 1QS 4:24 (כירשתו) כול פשעי אשמתם וחטאתם בממשלת בליעל ... נעונו פשענו) (בגורל עול); (ii) 1QS 1:23–25 (חטאנו הרשענו) with 1QS 3:22 (כול חטאתם ועוונתם ואשמתם ופשעי מעשיהם בממשלתו) (חטאנו הרשענו ברוח קדושה ...); (iii) 1QS 2:20 (לפי רוחותם) with 1QS 3:14 (לכול מיני רוחותם); (iv) 1QS 3:7–9 (... לטהרו ברוח קודש מכול) (יטהר מכול עוונותו ... יטהר בשרו להזות במי נדה (עלילות רשעה ויז עליו רוח אמת כמי נדה (לברית יחד עולמים) with 1QS 4:22 (לברית עולמים). Note also (v) the phrase בני אור in 1QS 1:9; 2:16 and in 1QS 3:13, 24, 25.

101 Tigchelaar, "These are the Names," 538–47. For discussions on the literary development of TST, see also Charlotte Hempel, "The Treatise on the Two Spirits and the Literary History of the Rule of the Community," in *Dualism in Qumran*, ed. Géza Xeravits (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 102–20; Albert L. A. Hogeterp, "The Eschatology of the Two Spirits Treatise Revisited," *RevQ* 23 (2007): 247–59.

102 Recently, Meike Christian argued ("The Literary Development of the 'Treatise of the Two Spirits' as Dependent on Instruction and the Hodayot," in *Law, Literature, and Society in Legal Texts from Qumran*, ed. J. Jokiranta and M. Zahn, STDJ 128 [Leiden: Brill, 2019], 153–84) that rather than being a pre-sectarian text that has influenced sectarian texts, TST is a composition written in the later stages of the rewriting of the Serek that was itself influenced by the Hodayot and Instruction. Cf. eadem, *Zu Entstehung und Theologie von 1/4QInstruction und der 'Zwei-Geister-Lehre'*.

103 Dimant, "Qumran Manuscripts," 45; eadem, "Vocabulary," 91–93; Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 2004), 425; Daryl F. Jefferies, *Wisdom at Qumran: A Form-Critical Analysis of the Admonitions in 4QInstruction* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2002), 59–70; Menahem Kister, "Physical and Metaphysical Measurements Ordained by God in the Literature of the Second Temple Period," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran*, ed. E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant and R. A. Clements, STDJ 58 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 153–76 (170–71); idem, "Divorce," 222; Émile Puech, "Les oeuvres de la Loi: Mariage et divorce à Qumrân et dans les lettres de Paul," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, ed. J.-S. Rey, STDJ 102 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 143–69 (153 n. 23); Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:146.

and members (1QS 5:20–25; 6:12–23).¹⁰⁴ Both texts describe the examination of the “spirit” (רוח) of individuals and use similar vocabulary in this context. In addition, Kister notes common ground in Instruction and the Serek with regard to the practice of reproving one’s fellow in “humility and merciful love” (ענוה ואהבת חסד). He also recognizes sectarian elements in other wisdom texts such as Mysteries and 4QBeatitudes.¹⁰⁵ The details which he introduces into the discussion are so pertinent and the correspondences between texts which he identifies are so compelling, that any argument for a separate provenance of these texts faces a major challenge: if these texts were indeed composed in distinct circles, then how can we explain that the fabric of these texts, the language and the thoughts they express, is so deeply interwoven?

Devorah Dimant argues that the “cumulative weight” of the correspondences with sectarian texts and the large number of sectarian phrases in Instruction and other wisdom texts from Qumran indicate that these are also sectarian.¹⁰⁶ The question that arises in response to this approach is to what extent the sectarian features of these texts are exclusively sectarian. The remaining fragments do not seem to contain terminology that is related to the community (e.g., עדה, יחד), its organizational structure (e.g., רבים, מבקר), or its history (e.g., מורה הצדק, הכוהן הרשע).¹⁰⁷ Rather, the terminology in Instruction that is classified as sectarian is situated in the domain of worldview. Its sectarian features consist mainly in phraseology that expresses dualistic thinking (e.g., אמת vs. עול/ה) or concepts of predestination (e.g., חוק חרות, נחלה).¹⁰⁸

The Qumran texts labelled sectarian share many aspects of their worldview with contemporaneous writings that are not classified as sectarian. Therefore, worldview itself cannot be considered as a marker of sectarian provenance. Of course, the sectarian features consist not only in concepts but in the specific phraseology that expresses a worldview. But even then, the terminology found in sectarian texts may not be restricted to these texts. For example, the pair “sons of light” and “sons of darkness” could be seen as characteristically sectarian terminology, but the same pair occurs in the Aramaic Visions of Amram,

104 Kister, “Physical and Metaphysical Measurements,” 170–71.

105 Kister, “Wisdom Literature”; idem, “Wisdom Literature at Qumran.”

106 Dimant, “Qumran Manuscripts,” 45; eadem, “Vocabulary,” 91–93.

107 Dimant, “Vocabulary,” 67–89.

108 Note, however, that Kister compares (“Divorce,” 220–21) שר הנק in 4Q417 2 i 2 with את נקשר אשר איננו נקשר in CD 13:9 (par 4QD^a 9 iii 9–10). Both passages deal with reproach. The term נקשר could be classified as a term relating to the community. But the fragmentary state of both the passages in Instruction and CD urges some caution.

which is often classified as a non-sectarian text.¹⁰⁹ Since only a small portion of the Jewish literature composed in Aramaic and Hebrew in the last centuries BCE has been preserved, it is difficult to judge which phrases *were* and which phrases *were not* unique to the sectarian texts. Thus, even if Instruction shares a significant amount of peculiar terminology with these texts, this does not necessarily mean that it is sectarian.

A second issue that needs to be considered is, once more, the probability that wisdom texts have adopted source material and underwent different stages of literary development. Charlotte Hempel points out that editorial additions often contain typical sectarian vocabulary.¹¹⁰ She interprets this phenomenon within the framework of a parent group, represented by the Damascus Document, and a daughter group, the *yahad*. In her view, the *yahad* inherited literary material from its “parent” that was edited by members of the *yahad* according to their own views, which they expressed in their characteristic terminology. Many texts contain traces of editing, and these layers can be formulated in typical sectarian vocabulary. This complicates the procedure of classification, since texts with clearly sectarian features may contain a smaller or larger portion of non-sectarian material.¹¹¹ With respect to the relationship between Instruction and the Serek this implies that part of their shared vocabulary may be due to a common (sectarian) background. In addition, early layers of one text may have influenced layers of the other, and both texts may have mutually influenced each other in their respective histories of development.

Scholars who argue that the Qumran wisdom texts are non-sectarian claim that these texts lack sectarian features, especially sectarian terminology. But the second group of scholars who argue that these texts *are* sectarian claim the opposite, namely that the presence of sectarian terminology is pervasive

109 4Q548 1 ii–2 11, 16. Cf. Devorah Dimant, “Sectarian and Nonsectarian Texts from Qumran: The Pertinence and Use of a Taxonomy,” in *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation*, 101–11 (103–4); Mladen Popović, “Anthropology, Pneumatology, and Demonology in Early Judaism: The *Two Spirits Treatise* (1QS III, 13–IV, 26) and Other Texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Dust of the Ground and Breath of Life (Gen 2:7): The Problem of a Dualistic Anthropology in Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten and G. H. van Kooten, TBN 20 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 58–98 (92–95).

110 Hempel, “Kriterien,” 82–83.

111 Dimant dismisses the argument that the classification of texts should account for their literary history (“Vocabulary,” 66), because she regards classification and literary analysis as independent methodological procedures. Yet, there is a clear difference between a text that was entirely composed by members of a certain community and an existing text in which members of this community add only a few sentences. Therefore, it may be asked whether a dichotomous model of categorization as suggested by Dimant can do justice to the diversity of the material.

in these texts. They concede that most of this terminology is not related to the organization of the community but expresses conceptual structures that belong to the teachings of this community. This is *precisely* the overlapping terminology which the first group of scholars had identified in both the wisdom texts and the sectarian texts, and which they had explained as pre-sectarian sapiential influence on the sectarian texts. This means the two groups of scholars use the same set of terminology to make opposite arguments. But neither can the wisdom texts be proven to be chronologically prior, nor can the sectarian character of the shared terminology be measured against external standards. There is nothing inherently sectarian about the terms and concepts and we cannot use normative models from later sources, whether they be rabbinic or early Christian, to assess to what extent certain ideas were marginal or mainstream in the Second Temple period. The discussion reaches an impasse here because the contextual and interpretive frameworks have become so distinct that scholars reading the fragments on either side of the “sectarian divide” are basically reading different texts.

At this point we should ask ourselves the question whether the categorizations we have developed for organizing the material are not blocking our access to the texts and forming an obstacle to academic discussion. In the case of generic categories scholars generally agree that these are not native concepts and that we should be careful not to use them as pigeonholes in which we deposit texts. But the risk that the sectarian/non-sectarian division causes us to straitjacket a rich variety of texts is even more serious, because we take these to be historical categories that correspond to an external reality that actually existed, namely the sectarian community that owned the scrolls. But first of all, the nature and organization of the groups or networks behind the manuscripts continue to be the focus of research and discussion, and there is nothing like a consensus in view. And second, the qualification sectarian is as much an anachronistic imposition as the concept of the biblical, which only gained meaning in a period, several centuries later, when there was a clear notion of what was *not* biblical.¹¹²

The dual binary categorizations of biblical/non-biblical and sectarian/non-sectarian are related to each other and can help us understand why the sectarian category is problematic.¹¹³ We find all kinds of writings among the

112 Najman, “Vitality of Scripture.”

113 Florentino García Martínez, “Beyond the Sectarian Divide: The ‘Voice of the Teacher’ as an Authority-Conferring Strategy in Some Qumran Texts,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*, ed. S. Metso, H. Najman and E. Schuller, STDJ 92 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 227–44; Tigchelaar, “Classification”; Najman, “Vitality of Scripture”. See also the critical discussion of sectarianism by Gwynned de Looijer, *The*

Dead Sea Scrolls which to a smaller or larger degree reflect the authority that is later attributed to biblical writings. But we do not find a category of writings that corresponds in any way to the texts that are considered *non-biblical* according to canonical notions of Judaism and Christianity in late antiquity.¹¹⁴ Similarly, although we have writings of deeply devoted pious groups that engaged in polemical debates with others and amongst themselves (i.e., the Dead Sea Scrolls), we have no contemporaneous sources in the original language that can unequivocally be classified as non-sectarian. As long as we cannot give content to the non-sectarian category, “sectarian” remains a hollow term. The organization of the communities behind the scrolls may have included features that sociologists associate with sectarianism.¹¹⁵ But to label *texts* as sectarian implies a value judgment that is anachronistic. The dichotomous categorization leads to an impasse in scholarly discussion as we create boxes that predetermine the way we read the texts. To move beyond this impasse, I want to follow Florentino García Martínez’s proposal to broaden the horizon, if only heuristically, and look “beyond the sectarian divide.”

In the chapters that follow, I will demonstrate that important concepts and practices of wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls are better understood once we lay aside the sectarian/non-sectarian dichotomy. First, I will discuss terms that designate the figure of the sage. The usage and avoidance of terms for the sage reveal a shift of interest from worldly wisdom to heavenly wisdom, which is hidden and can only be accessed upon initiation into a community of sages. This shift occurs across the sectarian and non-sectarian categories to which scholars have assigned the relevant texts. Next, I will look at practices of studying and the quest for wisdom that reaches beyond its very limits. I will discuss a series of passages that refer to the aspiration of staying awake at night to study while emulating heavenly beings that pursue knowledge continuously,

Qumran Paradigm: A Critical Evaluation of Some Foundational Hypotheses in the Construction of the Qumran Sect (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2015).

- 114 See David Brakke’s discussion of the formation of canonical discourse as interrelated with the contest over true and false doctrine and the competition between different groups in the context of early Christian diversity: “A New Fragment of Athanasius’s Thirty-Ninth *Festal Letter*: Heresy, Apocrypha, and the Canon,” *HTR* 103 (2010): 47–66; and see idem, “Scriptural Practices in Early Christianity: Towards a New History of the Christian Canon,” in *Invention, Rewriting, Usurpation: Discursive Fights over Religious Traditions in Antiquity*, ed. J. Ulrich, A.-C. Jacobsen and D. Brakke (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2012), 263–80; and idem, *The Gnostics: Myth, Ritual, and Diversity in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 1–28.
- 115 See Jutta Jokiranta, “Social Scientific Approaches to the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in Grossman, *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 246–63; eadem, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement*, STDJ 105 (Leiden: Brill 2012).

without interruption. This ideal is attested in texts from Qumran classified as either sectarian or non-sectarian, but it also occurs in the Greek text *Wisdom of Solomon*, which stands outside the boundaries of this categorization entirely. In the fourth chapter, I will explore the dynamics of revelation in which the human body is subjected to the interplay of good and evil, of light and darkness. The pursuit of higher knowledge involves the need to overcome human limitations and the false wisdom that humans generate. This can only be achieved by participating in higher forms of existence and insight.

In the fifth and final chapter, I will explore the enigmatic phrase *rāz nihyeh*, which I argue can be paraphrased as “the secret of time.” This phrase occurs in texts that cross the boundaries between the sectarian and non-sectarian categories, as they are constructed by many scholars. I will argue that *rāz nihyeh* signals a profound reflection on time as the organizing principle behind all of reality. Reconsidering categories makes it possible to open up new avenues for understanding concepts of time in the Dead Sea Scrolls and beyond. Time is at the centre of von Rad’s construction of the nexus between wisdom and apocalyptic. In his view the biblical sage marvels at the order of the cosmos and tries to understand the proper times, while the apocalyptic visionary has insight into the divine determination of the times, the schematization of history, and the time of the end. I will demonstrate that an intricate conception of time far surpasses these two categories of wisdom and apocalyptic and is expressed in a much broader variety of texts. In the construction of the sectarian category, time also plays a central role, since some of the most distinctive features of Qumran sectarianism are temporal: calendrical dispute, determinism or predestination, and eschatology. The secret of time, however, invites us to venture beyond these categorizations and explore a rich conceptual framework that is manifested across a wide range of texts, beyond generic categories, and beyond the sectarian divide.

Redefining the Sage

To get a better sense of the ways in which wisdom is conceived in the Dead Sea Scrolls, I will first turn to the terms that are used to describe the sage. Two terms are of particular relevance: *mēbîn* and *maškil*. Surprisingly, the term *ḥākām* that is so prominent in Proverbs, Job, Qohelet and Ben Sira, is used sparsely in the texts discovered at Qumran. This is remarkable since wisdom terminology in general is ubiquitous in the corpus. Why is this classical term for the sage neglected in the scrolls in favour of other terms such as *mēbîn* and *maškil*? In this chapter, I will argue that the usage, or avoidance, of terms for the sage in the scrolls teaches us that wisdom is conceived of primarily in terms of higher knowledge that surpasses the constraints of human nature. To be able to partake in such heavenly insights, the student of wisdom needs to be initiated into a community of sages that cultivate, guard, and teach this wisdom. Across texts that have been categorized as sectarian and non-sectarian, wisdom is cultivated collectively, and the pursuit of knowledge is institutionalized in a community of sages and students.

1 *mēbîn*

The term *mēbîn* can be translated as “understanding one” or “someone who understands.” The form *mēbîn* is a participle of the root *byn* in the *hiphil* stem, which can mean “understand,” “discern,” “observe,” or in the causative use “make someone understand.”¹ When the *hiphil* of *byn* is not used causatively, it is close in meaning to the *qal*.² Moreover, the imperfect forms of *hiphil* and *qal* are identical in most cases, which usually makes it difficult to discern which of the two stem formations applies. The participle of the *qal* is rare in the Hebrew Bible, occurring only in Jer 49:7, in the plural form *bānîm*.³ This plural participle has exactly the same form as the plural of the noun *bēn*, “son”, i.e., *bānîm*.

1 BDB, *sub voce*; HALOT, *sub voce*; DCH, *sub voce*.

2 Randall Garr (“The Semantics of בִּי” in the *qal* and *hiphil*,” VT 63 (2013): 536–45 [536]) argues that the *hiphil* “... expresses a higher level of agentivity as well as a higher, more complex, and more demanding mental activity.”

3 אבדה עצה מבנים נסרחה חכמתם, “Has counsel perished from the prudent? Has their wisdom vanished?” The LXX renders בנים with συνητοὶ (LXX Jer 30:1). Cf. Garr, “Semantics of בִּי”,” 539–40.

This identity in form occasionally led to interchange or even creative wordplay between the noun *bēn* and the verb *byn*.

Menahem Kister demonstrates that the sapiential text 4QBeatitudes (4Q525) adopts a well-known formula from the Book of Proverbs and rephrases it in a significant way.⁴ The formula “And now, sons, listen to me” (ועתה בנים שמעו לי) occurs three times in Proverbs (Prov 5:7; 7:24; 8:32).⁵ 4QBeatitudes reformulates the phrase as follows: “And now, understanding one, listen to me” (ועתה לי מבין שמעה לי).⁶ In another fragment, 4QBeatitudes uses exactly the same formula, but in the wording of Proverbs, with *bānîm*.⁷ It seems that the authors of 4QBeatitudes understood the word *bānîm* in the original exhortation as meaning “understanding ones” and felt free to exchange between *bānîm* and *mēbîn*.

The same procedure is apparent in other texts. The manuscript 4Q303, consisting of one fragment, preserves the phrase “... understanding ones, listen ...” (מבין שמעו).⁸ Although the context is broken, it is quite certain that 4Q303 contained a similar reformulation of Proverbs’ exhortation as the one we saw in Beatitudes. A third example might be found in the fragmentary text written in cryptic script Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn (4Q298).⁹ A series of exhortations to pay attention and increase virtues is initiated by the sentence: “And now lend your ears, ... and you who know, listen” (ועתה האזינו [וידעים] שמעו).¹⁰ The combination of the words “and now” (ועתה) and “listen” (שמעו) indicates that this sentence was constructed on the model of the exhortation

4 Menahem Kister, “Some Observations on Vocabulary and Style in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde, STDJ 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 137–65 (158).

5 Cf. Prov 4:1 (שמעו בנים); and 1:8 and 4:10 (בני שמע).

6 4Q525 14 ii 18.

7 4Q525 2 ii+3 12: שמעו בנים ועתה בנים. Cf. 4Q525 13 6; 31 1. See the reconstructions of Puech, DJD 25:142, 169.

8 4Q303 1. Tigchelaar points out (“Addressees of 4QInstruction,” 69) that the second line of the fragment reads השביתו instead of וישביתו, as proposed by Timothy Lim (T. Elgvin et al., *Qumran Cave 4. xv: Sapiential Texts, Part 1*, DJD 20 [Oxford: Clarendon, 1997], 151–53). This reading makes it very probable that the first line is to be understood as a vocative (מבין) and an imperative (שמעו) rather than a subject and a verb in perfect tense, as Lim suggests in his translation.

9 Kister and Pfann, DJD 20:1–30.

10 Kister and Pfann, DJD 20:25–27. The editors indicate that their reconstruction of חכמים in the lacuna is not certain. The term חכם is infrequent in the scrolls, despite the phrase שמעו חכמים in 1QH^a 9:36–37, which is rather exceptional. Given the usage of the formula from Proverbs and the parallelism with the plural participle ידעים, the forms בנים and מבין could be considered as possible reconstructions. Perhaps the lacuna would be rather wide for בנים, but מבין would seem to fit.

in Proverbs. We cannot be certain concerning the vocative in the lacuna, but the vocative in the second distich suggests that the original formula was likewise recast to address sages rather than sons.

The interchange between *bānîm* and *mēbînîm* as a form of address to students of wisdom may provide the background for the usage of *mēbîn* in wisdom texts from Qumran. John Strugnell suggested “Musar le-Mevin” as a possible title for Instruction because this composition consistently addresses its audience with the formula: “And you, understanding one” (ואתה מבין).¹¹ While both Proverbs and Ben Sira use the form *mēbîn* several times to refer to a wise person, they never use it as a form of address.¹² Instruction both calls the addressee “*mēbîn*” and uses the term to speak about the addressees in the third person. For example, fragment 4Q418 221, which is probably to be located near the beginning of the text, describes the purpose of the composition as: “to increase learning for the understanding ones (מבינים),” invoking the opening of Solomon’s book of Proverbs.¹³ From the outset, Instruction presents *mēbînîm* as the recipients of wisdom. Interestingly, the Hodayot use the term in the same way. In one of the hymns, the speaker claims that God has placed insight in his heart “in order to open a well of knowledge for all *mēbînîm*.”¹⁴ Thus, both Instruction and the Hodayot use the term *mēbîn* to describe recipients of sapiential teaching. This specific usage may have its origin in the reformulation of Proverbs’ exhortation discussed above: instead of addressing the education to “sons” (ועתה בנים שמעו לי), the Qumran texts direct their teaching to an “understanding one” (ועתה מבין שמעה לי).

This feature is remarkable and presents an innovation in wisdom discourse. A significant amount of material in Proverbs and Ben Sira is formulated as instruction to a son. These wisdom texts frequently introduce their teachings with the words “my son” (בני).¹⁵ Benjamin Wright points out that, especially

11 4Q416 4 3; 4Q417 1 i 1, 13–14, 18; 4Q418 81 15; 102 3; 122 ii + 126 ii 5, 15; 123 ii 5; 168 4; 176 3. Strugnell and Harrington (DJD 34:281, 291) reconstruct מבין בן ואתה in 4Q418 69 ii 15. See also Tigchelaar, “Addressees of 4QInstruction,” 65–69; and note the title of Tigchelaar’s monograph, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones*.

12 Cf. Prov 8:9; 17:10, 24; 28:2, 7, 11; Sir 4:11; 10:1; 36:24; 38:4; 42:21.

13 4Q418 221 3: ישמע חכם ויוסף לקח. Compare Proverbs 1:5 (ישמע חכם ויוסף לקח). Cf. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 188–92; idem, “Wisdom and Counter-Wisdom in 4QInstruction, Mysteries and 1 Enoch,” in *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. G. Boccaccini and J. J. Collins, JSJSup 121 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 177–93 (186–91).

14 1QH^a 10:20: לפתוח מקור דעת לכול מבינים.

15 Prov 1:8, 10, 15; 2:1; 3:1; 3:11, 21; 4:10, 20; 5:1, 20; 6:1, 3, 20; 7:1; 19:27; 23:15, 19, 26; 24:13; 27:11; Sir 3:8, 12, 17, 18 (Ms. C); 4:1, 20; 6:18, 32; 10:28, 29 (Ms. B); 11:8, 10, 20; 14:11; 31:12, 22; 37:27; 38:9, 16, 17; 40:28. LXX Proverbs translates בני as υἱέ, while the Greek of Ben Sira renders τέκνον (with υἱέ in 7:3 as the only exception).

in the case of Ben Sira, this pedagogical material should not be understood as having its origin in the household.¹⁶ Ben Sira calls his students “sons,” but he is not really their father, and they are not really his sons. He rather presents himself as a father to give more authority to his teachings.¹⁷ In contrast to Proverbs and Ben Sira, the wisdom texts found at Qumran rarely address their audience as “sons.” The fragments of Mysteries never use the noun *bēn* as a vocative. The fragments of Beatitudes once use the form *bānîm*, but as noted above, it is possible that this is a *double entendre* (“sons” and “understanding ones”).¹⁸ The poem Wiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184) never addresses a son, even though Proverbs’ admonitions concerning the “strange woman” on which 4Q184 is modelled repeatedly urge a son to beware of the lady’s seduction (Prov 5:1; 7:1, 27). Smaller Qumran fragments that have been classified as wisdom texts, 4Q298, 4Q412, 4Q420–421 and 4Q424, do not address their audience as “sons.”¹⁹ The only exception is 4Q185 which once directs its discourse to sons: “Listen to me, my sons” (שמעוני בני).²⁰ Instruction itself uses the noun *bēn* three times as a vocative. However, it modifies the noun with the adjectives *mēbîn* and *maškil*

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- 16 Benjamin G. Wright, “From Generation to Generation: The Sage as Father in Early Jewish Literature,” in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb*, ed. C. Hempel and J. M. Lieu, JSJSup 111. (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 309–32 (309–11). Wright builds his argument on Carol Newsom’s analysis of patriarchal discourse in Proverbs. Cf. Carol A. Newsom, “Women and the Discourse of Patriarchal Wisdom: A Study of Proverbs 1–9,” in *Gender and Difference in Ancient Israel*, ed. P. L. Day (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1989), 142–60.
- 17 Wright (“From Generation to Generation,” 317) refers to Sir 3:1 Εμοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκούσατε, τέκνα. But compare the emendation of Joseph Ziegler (*Sapientia Jesu filii Sirach*, SVTG 12,2 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981], 136): Ἐλεγμὸν πατρὸς ἀκούσατε, τέκνα. Cf. Ziegler, “Ursprüngliche Lesarten im griechischen Sirach,” in *Studies in the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations*, ed. S. Jellicoe (New York, NY: KTAV Publishing House, 1974), 470–94 (474–75).
- 18 Puech (DJD 25:123) does translate בנים in 4Q525 2 ii+3 12 as “sons.” But the formula ועתה לי מבין שמעה לי in 4Q525 14 ii 18 suggests that בנים can be read both as the plural of *bēn* and as a plural participle of *בִּי”ן*+*qal*. Puech (DJD 25:140) translates 4Q525 10 3 ה[ק]י שבו לי כול בני ה[ק] as “prêtez-moi attention, tous mes fils.” He argues that in a poetic context בני could hardly be translated as “sons of ...” But compare Gen 49:2 הקבצו ושמעו בני יעקב. In fact, in wisdom literature the admonition to sons to give attention is never accompanied by the qualifier “all” (כל). It does remind, however, of CD 1:1 ועתה שמעו כול יודעי צדק and CD 2:2 ועתה שמעו אלי כול באי ברית.
- 19 Steudel (DJD 20:164–65) reconstructs לי // [ועתה בני שמע] in 4Q412 1 5–6. The reconstruction of an admonition to pay attention is quite possible in the current context. But there is not enough context to discern to whom the admonition might be addressed. Note that in fragment 4 line 4 the teaching seems to be addressed to ידעים “those who know.”
- 20 4Q185 1–2 ii 3. Note, however, that the passage is addressed to Israel rather than to students of a wisdom teacher. Cf. 4Q185 1–2 i 13: ועתה שמעו נא עמי.

and thus addresses an “understanding son” and a “wise son.”²¹ Although the literary form of admonition to a son is not completely absent from the Qumran texts, it is far less prominent and seems to have made place for a different representation of the relationship between teacher and pupil.

The person who is addressed as *mēbîn* is someone who has obtained insight into hidden matters. The participle *mēbîn* has specific connotations regarding the content of what this person has come to understand. It is informative to observe how Instruction uses the *hiphil* of *byn* in other aspects.²² Although some passages may use the *hiphil* of *byn* in a rather general sense, most occurrences refer to understanding in a particular field of knowledge. In 4Q416 1, the infinitive of *byn* in the *hiphil* is used causatively: “to give the righteous discernment between good and evil” (להבין צדק בין טוב לרע).²³ Fragment 4Q418 221, which is probably to be located just below this passage, expresses the intention to “give understanding to all simpletons” (להבין כול פותיים).²⁴ The consecutive lines clarify that this understanding pertains to the knowledge of good and evil.²⁵ The discernment of good and evil is a central theme in Instruction and is closely related to the knowledge of mysteries.²⁶ These passages do not use the causative *hiphil* of *byn* in a general sense, but rather in reference to a particular kind of understanding. The same holds true for the non-causative usage of the verb in a fragmentary passage in the second person plural, which reads: “you

21 4Q417 1 i 18 (בן מבין), 25 (בן משכיל); 4Q418 69 ii 15 (בן [מבין]). On the reconstruction of 4Q418 69 ii 15, see Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, DJD 34:291.

22 On the usage of the root *byn* in the Dead Sea Scrolls more generally, see: Samuel Thomas and Francesco Zanella, “בין,” *ThWQ* 1:430–39. Cf. Steven Fraade, *From Tradition to Commentary: Torah and Its Interpretation in the Midrash Sifre to Deuteronomy* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991), 102–3, 248–49.

23 4Q416 1 i 15 (par 4Q418* 2, 2b 7). The reading follows Qimron (*Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:147) who suggests that צדק may either be read as deficient spelling for צדיק or as צדק. Cf. *ibid.*, 2:353. Strugnell and Harrington (DJD 34:81–82) read להבין instead of להבין and indicate that although *kaph* is not completely certain, it is preferable to *bet*. In their translation they read להבין “so that the righteous may distinguish,” but in their comments (*ibid.*, 87–88) they suggest that the sense of להבין could be “to establish a right measure between good and evil” (*hiphil*) or “for a right measure to be established” (*niphal*). They admit that this sense may have awkward implications. The reading of 4Q418* בין טוב לרע is much clearer and fits with the theme of discernment between good and evil which recurs several times in the composition (4Q417 1 i 8, 17–18; 4Q418 221 4–5; 4Q423 1–2 i 8; 5 6). Tigchelaar (*To Increase Learning*, 43) reads להבין but indicates that the reading of *kaph* is uncertain. Rey (*4QInstruction*, 229–30) prefers the reading להבין.

24 4Q418 221 2. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 188–92; *idem*, “Wisdom and Counter-Wisdom,” 186–91. Cf. Prov 1:4.

25 4Q418 221 5: ורע וטוב]1. Cf. Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:184.

26 See chapter 5.

shall understand the plan(s) of ...”²⁷ In 4Q417 1 i 11–12 the word “plan” (מחשבה) denotes God’s hidden plan for creation, as in the Two Spirits Treatise and other Qumran texts.²⁸ It is likely that the term is used in a similar way here and that the *hiphil* of *byn* refers to the understanding of God’s secret plan. In another passage, the addressee is told that if he studies the *rāz nihyeh*, he will understand (תבין) the “judgment of a person and the weight of ...”²⁹ Instruction uses the *hiphil* of *byn* repeatedly to denote the understanding of heavenly mysteries and it seems that the participle *mēbîn* has the same connotation.³⁰

The *mēbîn* has been initiated into secret knowledge through divine revelation and through human teaching. Repeatedly, the instructions that are presented to the *mēbîn* are motivated with the clause “as He uncovered your ear for the secret of time.”³¹ The subject of the verb is implicit and there has been discussion amongst scholars as to who uncovered the ear of the *mēbîn*.³² One fragment reveals that the communication of this knowledge has a divine origin: “... as God uncovered the ear of the *mēbînûm* for the secret of time.”³³ But

27 4Q418 46: מחשב[ו]ת. תבינו במחשב[ו]ת. Strugnell and Harrington (DJD 34:259) reconstruct מחשבות as a plural but it could be singular מחשבת (probably in construct state) just as well.

28 IQS 3:15, 16. Cf. Zanella, “חשב,” *ThWQ* 11:090–92.

29 4Q418 77 3: ואז תבין במשפט אנוש ומשקלן.

30 Compare the usage of the *qal* in 4Q418 148 ii 6: בינה לקמוניות שים לב “understand the things of old, give attention ...” Qimron (*Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:174) proposes to read בינה as an extended imperative instead of a noun (cf. Strugnell, Harrington and Elgin, DJD 34:374–76).

31 1Q26 1 4: וכאשר גלה אוזנכה ברז נהיה על הרוח. Cf. 4Q416 2 iii 18 *par* 4Q418 10 a+b 1; 4Q418 184 2; 190 2–3; 4Q423 5 1–2; 7 6–7.

32 One passage that has raised discussion is: וכאשר המשילמה בכה ויצו על הרוח כן עובדם, וכאשר גלה אוזנכה ברז נהיה כבדם כבדם, “And as he gave them authority over you and commanded (them) over the spirit, you must serve them. And as he uncovered (גלה) your ear through the secret of time, you must honour them” (4Q416 2 iii 17–18 *par* 4Q418 9+9a–c 18–10a–b 1). According to Strugnell and Harrington (DJD 34:113, 122) the verb in the last sentence should be emended to a plural (גלוי), since in their view the context implies that the parents are the ones who uncover the ear of the mevin. Yet, the preceding sentence has God as subject in both verbs (המשיל and ויצו) and it makes more sense to assume that God is the one uncovering the ear concerning the commandment to honour parents. The reading הרוח על ויצו follows Rey (*4QInstruction*, 92–93, 183–84) and Qimron (*Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:156). Strugnell and Harrington (DJD 34:110, 112, 122) read ויצר instead of ויצו but indicate that the latter is materially possible as well. Rey observes (*4QInstruction*, 189–90) that there is not enough space for a *resh* and that the verb יצר never occurs with the preposition על. By contrast, the combination על + צוה is frequently used with the sense of ‘to give an order to’ or ‘to encharge something to someone.’

33 4Q418 123 ii 4: אשר גלה אל אוזן מבינים ברז נהיה על קצו. There is a discrepancy between the editors’ translation and their comments to this sentence. The translation incorporates the preceding word קצו and reads: “His time, which He uncovered to the ear of the understanding ones about the mystery which is to come” (Strugnell, Harrington and Elgin,

although the revelation of mysteries is presented as a divine act, it is evident that human teachers play a role in the transmission of this hidden knowledge as well. The following passage makes this explicit: “from all your teachers (משכילכה) you must increase learning (הוסיף לקח).”³⁴ Note that this admonition uses the same words as 4Q418 fragment 221, which describes the ambition of Instruction as “to increase learning (להוסיף לקח) for the understanding ones.”³⁵ God has revealed mysteries to the *mēbîn*. But at the same time, the *mēbîn* has been educated by teachers who pass on their secret knowledge.

This does not necessarily mean that the *mēbîn* should be understood as a student in a school setting. The editors suggest that the speaker of the text is the instructor, and the addressee is the student.³⁶ However, the assumed instructor is not present in the remains of the text and other features of pedagogical literature such as the admonition to give heed to the words of the teacher are absent as well.³⁷ It may be questioned whether the composition

DJD 34:347). In the comments, Strugnell and Harrington argue (DJD 34:348) that **אל** is more likely the divine name than a preposition because the words **אלה** **און** repeatedly occur in Instruction as predicate and direct object (cf. 1Q26 1 4; 4Q416 2 iii 18 *par* 4Q418 10 a+b 1; 4Q418 184 2; 4Q423 5 1). Concerning **קצו**, their comment reads: “The relationship between **קצו אשר** and **גלה** is also not clear; one does not expect in **אשר** a second direct object with **גלה**; perhaps read **אשר** as ‘when’, thus eliminating such an additional direct object.” However, the translation does read **קצו** as an additional direct object. The argumentation provided in the comment is more compelling than the translation.

34 4Q418 81 17: **מיד כול משכילכה הוסיף לקח**. Compare the similar phraseology in Psalm 119: **מכל מלמדי השכלתי** (Ps 119:99).

35 4Q418 221 3: **ולהוסיף לקח למבינים**.

36 Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, DJD 34:19–20; Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 40. Contrary to the editors, Armin Lange (*Weisheit und Prädestination*, 56–57; idem, “Sages and Scribes in the Qumran Literature,” in *Scribes, Sages and Seers: The Sage in the Eastern Mediterranean World*, ed. L. G. Perdue [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008], 271–93 [276]) suggests that the term *mēbîn* implies the function of a teacher of wisdom. He argues that the *hiphil* should be understood causatively and that the text distinguishes between a *mēbîn* (the teacher) and a *bēn mēbîn* (his student). However, there are no indications in the text that the terms *mēbîn* and *bēn mēbîn* address different persons. Although it is probable that the audience of Instruction includes teachers, they are never exhorted to teach. The text focuses on the necessity of acquiring rather than transmitting knowledge. The *hiphil* form *mēbîn* does not seem to be used causatively in this context.

37 Tigchelaar, “Addressees of 4QInstruction,” 68–69. There is only one passage in which first person speech occurs, and here the figure of Wisdom is speaking. Cf. idem, “Wisdom and Counter-Wisdom,” 186–91. This reading is also accepted by Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:184. It has been argued that a fragment with the form *maskil* should be placed at the top of the first column of 4Q418 (fragment 238 1). Cf. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 183, 188–91; Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 17–18. However, from the remaining evidence it is impossible to reconstruct the context. Therefore, we cannot know whether Instruction was intended “for the/a maskil,” or whether the passage contains a different

should be situated in a school setting. It is more likely that Instruction adopts a number of literary features that are associated with an educational setting of some kind, but in their present context they are used as literary device.³⁸ The term *mēbîn* need not refer to a student in the traditional sense, i.e., as the pupil of a mentor. Rather, the term refers to someone who has acquired access to knowledge that is hidden for others. In Instruction, this person is continually admonished to increase in learning and acquire more wisdom and insight.

2 *maškîl*

A second term that is significant for understanding configurations of wisdom in the scrolls is *maškîl*.³⁹ In contrast to *mēbîn*, this term is never used as a form of address. In two poetical texts the person speaking identifies himself as “*maškîl*.”⁴⁰ Like *mēbîn*, the term *maškîl* seems to designate a persona or exemplary figure with which a community identifies. But while the status of *mēbîn* has already been achieved by the students of wisdom who are being instructed, the figure of the *maškîl* is an ideal towards which they aspire.⁴¹

sentence with the form *maškîl* (possibly used as adjective or predicate). Wold suggests (4QInstruction, 35–36, 70–83) that Instruction was intended for the *maškîl*. This is not impossible but given the lack of textual evidence it cannot be verified. Other options should be kept open.

- 38 Tigchelaar, “Addressees of 4QInstruction,” 69–70. Michael Knibb (“The Book of Enoch in the Light of the Qumran Wisdom Literature,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, ed. F. García Martínez, BETL 168 [Leuven: Peeters, 2003], 193–210 [196]) notes the same phenomenon in 1 Enoch.
- 39 CD 10:21; 13:22 (par 4QD^a 9 iii 22); 4QD^a 5 i 17; 1QS 3:13; 9:12 (par 4QS^e 3:7), 21 (par 4QS^d 8:5; 4QS^e 4:2); 4QS^b 9:1 (par 4QS^d 1:1); 1QS^b 1:1; 3:22; 5:20; 1QH^a 5:12; 7:21; 20:7 (par 4QH^a 8 ii 10, 17; 4QH^b 12 ii 3), 14 (par 4QH^a 8 ii 17); 25:34; 1QM 10:10; 4Q400 3 ii+5 8; 4Q401 1–2 1; 4Q403 1 i 30; ii 18; 4Q405 20 ii–22 6 (par 11Q17 8:9); 4Q406 1 4; 4Q418 81+81a 17; 238 1; 4Q418a 19 2; 4Q421 1a ii–b 12; 4Q433a 2 2; 4Q446 2 3; 4Q461 1 6; 4Q510 1 4; 4Q511 2 i 1.
- 40 1QH^a 20:14–15 and 4Q510 1 4–5. Recently, Carol Newsom has argued (“A Farewell to the Hodayot of the Community,” *DSD* 28 [2021]: 1–19) that all of the hymns in 1QH^a that scholars previously classified as “community hymns” (1QH^a 4–10 and 18–28) should be regarded as hymns intended for the *maškîl*.
- 41 Carol Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 169–74. On the ideal figure of the sage in ancient Judaism, see Hindy Najman, “How Should We Contextualize Pseudepigrapha? Imitation and Emulation in 4 Ezra,” in *Past Renewals: Interpretative Authority, Renewed Revelation and the Quest for Perfection in Jewish Antiquity*, JSJSup 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 235–42; and eadem, “Text and Figure in Ancient Jewish Paideia” in *Past Renewals*, 243–45. On the exemplary role of the *maškîl* in the context of liturgy, see Judith H. Newman, “Embodied Techniques: The Communal Formation of the Maskil’s Self,” *DSD* 22 (2015): 249–66;

In a variety of texts from Qumran the term *maskîl* appears in headings: hymns, rules and instructions are said to be “for the *maskîl*” or “for a *maskîl*” (למשכיל). The term is particularly prominent in the Rule of the Community, which introduces several sections with the formula: “for the/a *maskîl*.” One version of the Rule even opens with the words: “midrash for the/a *maskîl* concerning the men of the Torah.”⁴² The widespread presence of the term *maskîl* in the corpus indicates its significance, but at the same time complicates a clear description of its connotations.⁴³

The form *maskîl* is a participle of *škl+hiphil*. This verb has a rather wide semantic range.⁴⁴ It can mean “to prosper,” “to have insight,” and “to consider.” It can also be used causatively: “to give insight” or “to instruct.” While in classical Hebrew the root *škl* mostly refers to insight and success in practical affairs, in later texts it is often applied to intellectual understanding and erudition.⁴⁵ The participle can either denote someone who has insight, or someone who imparts insight to others. The term *maskîl* in the scrolls resonates with its usage in wisdom texts.⁴⁶ In Job, Proverbs and Ben Sira the participle of *škl+hiphil* is mostly used as an adjective to describe a person who is prudent and wise in everyday life (בן משכיל, עבד משכיל, אשה משכילת).⁴⁷ But in those texts the form *maskîl* never denotes someone who gives instruction. However, in the book of Daniel we do encounter a group of sages called *maskîlîm* who are said to instruct many among the people (cf. Dan 11:35; 12:3, 10).

eadem, *Before the Bible: The Liturgical Body and the Formation of Scriptures in Early Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 107–44; and see further below.

42 4QS^d 11 (par 4QS^b 91): מדרש למשכיל על אנשי התורה. Cf. Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4. XIX: Serekh Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts*, DJD 26 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 93, 95–96. Several scholars have suggested that the words למשכיל should be reconstructed in the damaged opening of 1QS. Cf. Charlotte Hempel, “The Qumran Sapiential Texts and the Rule Books,” in Hempel, Lange and Lichtenberger, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran, 277–95* (289); Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 102; Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:213.

43 For an overview, see Newsom “The Sage in the Literature of Qumran: The Functions of the *maskîl*,” in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. G. Gammie and L. G. Perdue (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 373–82; and Armin Lange, “Sages and Scribes in the Qumran Literature,” in *Scribes, Sages and Seers: The Sage in the Eastern Mediterranean World*, ed. L. G. Perdue (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 271–93 (277–78, 286–91).

44 BDB, *sub voce*; HALOT, *sub voce*; DCH, *sub voce*.

45 Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 36–7. Cf. Neh 8:8, 13; 9:20; Ps 119:99; Dan 9:22, 25.

46 Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 76.

47 Job 22:2; Prov 10:5, 19; 14:35; 15:24; 17:2; 19:14; Sir 7:19, 21; 10:23, 25; 25:8; 40:23; 47:12. Regarding Instruction, it seems that בן משכיל in 4Q417 1 i 25 and עבד משכיל in 4Q418 8c 15 (=21 2) are used in a similar way and are thus to be distinguished from כול משכילכה in 4Q418 81 17.

Scholars have noted that the usage of the term *maškîlîm* in Daniel 11 and 12 hints at an interpretation of Isa 52:13 and the surrounding passage, the so-called fourth song of the suffering servant (Isa 52:13–53:12).⁴⁸ The song opens with the sentence: “See, my servant shall prosper (ישכיל); he shall be exalted and lifted up and shall be very high.”⁴⁹ The verb *yaškîl* can be translated as “shall prosper” in the current context. But evidently readers in antiquity could have read the verb as “to be wise” or “to make wise,” as demonstrated by the Septuagint which renders *στυγήσει*. It is likely that Daniel applies the whole prophecy of the suffering servant to the wise teachers in the last chapters of the book. Daniel 12:3 reads: “The *maškîlîm* shall shine like the brightness of the sky, and those who make the many righteous, like the stars, forever and ever.”⁵⁰ The designation “those who make the many righteous” (מצדיקי הרבים) refers to the end of the servant’s song: “The righteous one, my servant, shall make many righteous (יצדיק ... לרבים).”⁵¹ Thus, both the verbs *yaškîl* and *yašdîq* are adapted by Daniel into plural participles, identifying the sages with the suffering servant. As the servant will suffer and eventually be glorified (Isa 53:10), so some of the *maškîlîm* will face martyrdom (Dan 11:33–35) but in the end they will rise from the dead and shine like the luminaries.⁵²

It seems clear that there is a relationship between *maškîlîm* in the Book of Daniel and the use of the term *maškîl* in the Dead Sea Scrolls. While some have suggested that the term *maškîl* was appropriated in the scrolls as the result of interpreting Daniel,⁵³ others have proposed a direct historical link between the *maškîlîm* described in Daniel and the teachers that occur in the scrolls.⁵⁴

48 Harold L. Ginsberg, “The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant,” *VT* 3 (1953): 400–4; John J. Collins, *Daniel*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993), 385.

49 Isa 52:13 הנה ישכיל עבדי ירום ונשא וגבה מאד.

50 והמשכילים יזהרו כזהר הרקיע ומצדיקי הרבים ככוכבים לעולם ועד.

51 Isa 53:11ב יצדיק צדיק עבדי לרבים. The translation given above is the NRSV. Other translations are possible, but Daniel certainly seems to reflect a reading of יצדיק in the sense of “making righteous.”

52 Ginsberg, “Oldest Interpretation,” 402–3; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 24–26. Cf. Collins, *Daniel*, 393–98.

53 Alfred Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel im Lichte der Texte vom Toten Meer*, SBM 12 (Stuttgart: KBW Verlag, 1971), 64. Cf. Collins, *Daniel*, 385; Matthias Henze, *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar: The Ancient Near Eastern Origins and Early History of Interpretation of Daniel 4*, JSJSup 61 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 232–33.

54 William H. Brownlee (*The Meaning of the Qumrân Scrolls for the Bible* [New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1964], 106) argues that the Qumranic use of *maškîl* was derived from the Hasidim, who in his view were responsible for the Book of Daniel: “The Qumrân literature stands so close to the Hasidic tradition, it is entirely probable that the Hasidic use of *maškîl* as a title for “teacher” was transmitted into its community life directly, quite apart from the influence of Daniel.” Lange takes an analogous position (*Weisheit und*

Charlotte Hempel demonstrates that there are no rigid boundaries between Danielic traditions and the scrolls.⁵⁵ She accepts the view that the author or redactor of the Book of Daniel is to be found in the circles of the *maskilim* who make sudden appearance in chapters eleven and twelve.⁵⁶ She then suggests that sages from the same circles may have left their marks in the earliest layers of the Rule of the Community.⁵⁷ Hempel identifies a number of striking similarities between the author or redactor of Daniel and the groups behind the scrolls.⁵⁸ Based on these close correspondences, not only can we assume there to be a connection between the teachers in Daniel 11–12 and the figure of the *maskil*, but the connection itself also implies that Daniel's identification of the *maskilim* with Isaiah's suffering servant has continued relevance for the characterization of the wise teacher in the Dead Sea Scrolls. As an ideal figure, the *maskil* bears the marks of Isaiah's prophecy.⁵⁹

Geza Vermes has argued that the *maskil* is to be identified with the overseer who is at the head of the community (האיש הפקיד or האיש המבקר על הרבים), mentioned in 1QS 6:11–12 and 14.⁶⁰ The main argument is that both the *maskil* and the overseer are said to be responsible for the inspection and instruction of candidate members. According to this theory, the *maskil* is an official who plays a central role in the organization of the community. But while it is true that the Laws for the/a *maskil* (1QS 9:12–21) present the teacher as a community leader, the Rules of the way for the/a *maskil* (1QS 9:21–25) are far more general and could apply to any person in the community.⁶¹ The same

Prädestination, 146), while postulating the existence of a “pre-Essene” tradition in which the term *maskil* was also applied to teachers.

- 55 Hempel, “*Maskil(im)* and *Rabbim*: From Daniel to Qumran,” in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb*, ed. C. Hempel and J. M. Lieu, JSJSup 111 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 133–56.
- 56 Hempel, “*Maskil(im)* and *Rabbim*,” 133. Cf. Collins, *Daniel*, 66, 386, 403.
- 57 Hempel, “*Maskil(im)* and *Rabbim*,” 150–56.
- 58 Hempel, “*Maskil(im)* and *Rabbim*,” 134–39.
- 59 Note that the Damascus Document applies the language of Daniel 11–12 (drawn from Isa 52–53) to the overseer of the camp: ישכיל את הרבים במעשי אל ויבינם בגבורות פלאו (CD 13:7–8).
- 60 Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962), 22–25. This position is also taken by Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 96, 118, 121, 142; Newsom, “Sage in the Literature of Qumran,” 375; and James VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994), 112.
- 61 Preben Wernberg-Møller (*Manual of Discipline*, STDJ 1 [Leiden: Brill, 1957], 66) argues that the whole section starting at 1QS 9:12 applies to the community as a whole and not only to the teacher. For this reason, he translates *maskil* as “wise man” (cf. *ibid.*, 25, 35). However, Hempel (“Qumran Sapiential Texts,” 291) rightly objects that 1QS 9:12–21 distinguishes between the *maskil* and the community members whom he instructs, inspects,

can be said for the final hymns in 1QS columns 10–11 and the Hodayot that are ascribed to a *maškil*.⁶² It is true that there are correspondences between the two figures with respect to the tasks of inspection and instruction of candidates. There is even an overlap in terminology: in both cases the verb “to approach” (קרב) is used to describe the admission of candidates.⁶³ But this does not imply that the overseer can be identified with the *maškil*.

One of the main problems is that the Serek hardly gives any information on the overseer. The first passage in which this figure occurs describes the meeting of the full members of the community (רבים), but it is not entirely clear which function the overseer (האיש המבקר על הרבים) fulfils in these meetings (1QS 6:11–12).⁶⁴ Moreover, the overseer seems to be absent in the 4QS^{b+d} manuscripts and it is possible that he was inserted in the text at a later stage.⁶⁵ The second passage is more elaborate on the role of the official (האיש הפקיד ברואש הרבים) and clarifies that he investigates new candidates and instructs them in the laws of the community (1QS 6:14–15). It is not certain that the officials mentioned in these two passages are identical, as they are described with different terms and occur in different contexts.⁶⁶

and admonishes. Nonetheless, Wernberg-Møller’s observation has some validity with respect to 1QS 9:21–25.

62 Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 167.

63 1QS 6:16, 19, 22 and 9:15.

64 The subdivision of the passage is disputed. Knibb (*Qumran Community*, 119) reads ובמושב הרבים אל ידבר איש כול דבר אשר לוא לחפץ הרבים וכיא האיש המבקר על הרבים as “In a session of the many no man shall say anything which is not approved by the many and, indeed, by the overseer of the many.” Jacob Licht (*The Rule Scroll: A Scroll From the Wilderness of Judaea* [Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965], 144) on the other hand, connects וכיא האיש המבקר על הרבים to the following sentence: וכיא הרבים וכול: וכיא הרבים על הרבים וכויא דבר לדבר לרבים etc. (“And the man who inspects the many, or any man who has something to say to the many etc.”).

65 Cf. Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:221. Alexander and Vermes (DJD 26:103) do not find enough space for וכיא האיש המבקר על הרבים in 4QS^d. In their comment to 4QS^b 9:6, they suggest (DJD 26:56) that this manuscript may have read האיש המבקר instead of the longer phrase. But even then, the amount of space seems to be insufficient.

66 Another official occurs in 1QS 6:19–20: האיש המבקר על מלאכת הרבים. This person is responsible for the community’s finances. Licht (*Rule Scroll*, 115) suggests that he is also in charge of the manual labour performed by the members of the community (therefore מלאכה). Hempel (“Community Structures in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Admission, Organization, Disciplinary Procedures,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam [Leiden: Brill, 1999], 2:67–92 [80–81]) assumes that וכיא הרבים and מלאכת הרבים refer to the same official. Knibb (*Qumran Community*, 122) comments that it is not clear whether the terms refer to the same official or not. In the Damascus Document the *mēbaqqēr* of the camp needs to be informed concerning all financial transactions of the members of

Since the information provided by the sources is so scanty, the terms themselves provide the most important clues for reconstructing the roles of these figures. The terms *pāqîd* and *mēbaqqēr* belong to the context of administration. In Biblical Hebrew *pāqîd* regularly describes a person who is appointed as overseer over a household, army, temple or other institution.⁶⁷ The term *mēbaqqēr* does not occur in Biblical Hebrew, but it is used in Rabbinic Hebrew to describe those who examine the sacrificial animals (מבקר מומין).⁶⁸ The form *mēbaqqēr* is a participle of *bqr+piel*, which has the meaning “to investigate,” “to inquire,” “to examine.”⁶⁹ In the Dead Sea Scrolls the term *mēbaqqēr* describes an official who inspects and oversees members of the community.⁷⁰ The word clearly has the connotation of an administrative functionary, just as the word *pāqîd*. The same cannot be said for the term *maskîl*, which primarily refers to someone who teaches and transmits knowledge.⁷¹

The Laws for a *maskîl* (1QS 9:12–21a) give a description of the tasks of a *maskîl* and repeatedly use the *hiphil* of *skl*: “He shall instruct them (להשכילם) in the mysteries of wonder and truth,”⁷² and “he shall instruct them (להשכילם) in everything that has been found to be done at this time.”⁷³ This choice of

his camp (CD 13:15–16). But there is no mention of his responsibility concerning communal possessions or (manual) labour.

67 BDB, *sub voce*; HALOT, *sub voce*; DCH, *sub voce*.

68 *Ketubot* 106 A. Cf. Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 115.

69 BDB, *sub voce*; HALOT, *sub voce*; DCH, *sub voce*.

70 Eyal Regev, “מבקר,” *ThWQ* 2:567. Chaim Rabin (*Zadokite Documents* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954], 65) points to a possible connection between עדרו in the rule for the overseer of the camp (CD 13:9) and Ezek 34:11–12 which compares God to a shepherd and uses the root *bqr* twice. Scholars have suggested possible connections between the *mēbaqqēr* in Qumran texts and the ἐπίσκοπος in Early Christian texts. For an overview of the scholarly debate, see Cesare Marcheselli-Casale, “Tracce del *mēbaqqēr* di Qumran nell’ episkopos del NT? Per uno «status questionis»,” *Ricerche Storico Bibliche* 9 (1997): 177–210. Licht (*Rule Scroll*, 116) stresses that both the roots *pqd* and *bqr* are repeatedly translated as ἐπίσκοπος or ἐπίσκοπή in LXX. It is interesting to note that NT texts also relate the office of ἐπίσκοπος to pastoral metaphors (Acts 20:28; 1 Pet 2:25).

71 In addition, it may be mentioned that the term *mēbaqqēr* is always preceded by either the definite article *he* or a preposition (in which the definite article may be implied). On the other hand, *maskîl* is never preceded by the definite article *he*. In most cases it is preceded by the preposition *lamed*, in which the article may be implied but this cannot be verified. However, each occurrence of *maskîl* without a preposition comes without the definite article. Cf. 1QH^a 20:4 (*par* 4Q427 8 ii 17); 4Q298 1–2 1; 4Q421 1a ii-b 12; 4Q510 1 4. This usage and non-usage of articles may indicate that the *mēbaqqēr* is a more clearly delineated office in the community (‘the examiner’) than the *maskîl* who has a more general character.

72 להשכילם ברזי פלא ואמת בתוך אנשי היחד (1QS 9:18–19).

73 להשכילם כול הנמצא לעשות בעת הזאת (1QS 9:20).

addition to instruction, the *maskil* is responsible for examining candidate members:

להבדיל ולשקול בני הצדק לפי רוחם ובבחירי העת להחזיק על פי רצונו כאשר צוה
ואיש כרוחו כן לעשות משפטו ואיש כבוד כפיו לקרבו ולפי שכלו להגישו

He shall separate and weigh the sons of righteousness⁷⁷ according to their spirit. And he shall keep firm hold of the chosen ones of the time (so that they will behave)⁷⁸ according to his will, as He commanded. And he shall judge each man according to his spirit. And He shall admit him according to the cleanness of his hands and cause him to approach according to his wisdom.

1QS 9:14–16 par 4QS^d 8:1; 4QS^e 3:10–13

The inspection of the spirit, wisdom and deeds of candidates is described in the passages on the admission procedure in 1QS columns 5 and 6.⁷⁹ The result of the examination is on the one hand the rejection or admission of candidates and on the other, the assignment to them of a rank (תכוון) within the community's hierarchy. These tasks might be considered administrative duties and the fact that they are ascribed to the *maskil* in 1QS 9 could be taken as an indication that this is an administrative functionary, like the *mēbaqqēr* in column 6. But upon closer look, the task of inspection is a direct result of the *maskil's* function as a teacher. The *maskil* is not supposed to share the mysteries with anybody outside the community.⁸⁰ This implies that the inspection of candidates is an essential part of his role as educator. The *maskil* examines the spirits of candidates to see whether their intellectual capacities and behaviour meet the required level. He tries to find suitable students to whom the teaching can be entrusted and who eventually can become teachers themselves.

Assessing and ranking students within the hierarchy of the community is also part of a *maskil's* educational responsibilities. The hierarchy regulates community life. Members of lower rank are required to obey members of

77 Compare the readings of 1QS 9:14 (בני הצדוק) and 4QS^e 3:10 (בני הצדק).

78 Cf. Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 195. Cf. 1QS 3:1; 5:1, 3.

79 1QS 5:20–25 par 4QS^d 2:1–4; 1QS 6:13–23 par 4QS^b 9:8–13.

80 אשר לוא להוכיח ולהתרובב עם אנשי השחת ולסתר את עצת התורה בתוכ אנשי העול. "He shall not argue or dispute with the men of the pit but shall hide the counsel of the Torah in the midst of the men of deceit." 1QS 9:16–17 par 4QS^d 8:1–2 par 4QS^e 3:13–15. Note that Isa 29:15 uses the expression לסתר עצה with the same (defective) spelling. Cf. Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 196.

higher rank.⁸¹ Communal sessions of study and discussion proceed according to the order of the hierarchy: each person gets to speak in his turn, the members of higher rank followed by those of lower rank.⁸² Each year the hierarchy is reestablished. Annually, members are inspected and promoted or demoted according to their intellectual level (לפי שכלו) and their behaviour (תום דרכו).⁸³ Carol Newsom observes that the hierarchy and its annual reassessment function as an instrument of discipline. In communal sessions the speech of members of higher rank provides a clear norm for lower ranking members.⁸⁴ But the hierarchical system does not only enforce discipline, it also stimulates intellectual achievement by setting the higher-ranking members as an example. They are more advanced in wisdom and the younger members learn from their knowledge. Moreover, the annual evaluation of the wisdom (שכל) of the students allows them to attain a higher position, which provides motivation to increase in learning.

In sum, the figure of the *maškil* is not an official and cannot be identified with the overseer, even though the *mēbaqqēr* has traits of the ideal teacher. What seem to be administrative tasks, such as the examination of candidate members and the annual assessment of students, are essential aspects of the responsibility of the teacher, who not only transmits knowledge but also forms a community that can continue the transmission of knowledge and formation of teachers into the future. Another dimension of the profile of the *maškil*, namely the role of liturgical performer, is likewise closely related to education.⁸⁵ In a series of recent publications, Judith Newman has demon-

81 1QS 5:23 (*par* 4QS^d 2:3; 1QS 6:2 *par* 4QS^d 2:6–7; 4QSⁱ 1 3).

82 1QS 6:4 (*par* 4QS^d 2:8; 4QS^g 2 3–4; 4QSⁱ 1 5); 1QS 6:8–13 (*par* 4QS^b 9:5–8; 4QS^d 3:1–3). Cf. Steven D. Fraade, “Interpretive Authority in the Study Community at Qumran,” *JJS* 44 (1993): 46–79 (53–58).

83 1QS 5:23–24 (*par* 4QS^d 2:3–4; 4QS^g 1 4–6). It is possible that the annual inspection was part of the annual ceremony of the covenant: In the ceremony members entered the covenant in the order of their rank (1QS 2:9–25). Both events are said to take place שנה בשנה (1QS 2:19; 5:24). A remaining difficulty is how to explain the statement that “No man shall move down from his position, or move up from his allotted place,” לוא ישפל (1QS 2:23). How does this statement relate to the annual reevaluation described in 1QS 5:23–24? On the one hand the community represents an eternal order, and on the other its hierarchy is reestablished annually. Cf. Loren Stuckenbruck, “Wisdom and Holiness at Qumran: Strategies for Dealing with Sin in the Community Rule,” in *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found? Wisdom in the Bible, the Church and the Contemporary World*, ed. S. C. Barton (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), 47–60.

84 Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 140, cf. 138–40, 143–48.

85 William Brownlee makes this point (*Meaning of the Qumrân Scrolls*, 104–7) and draws attention to 2 Chronicles 30:21–22 in which the priests and Levites praise God continuously for seven days accompanied by musical instruments. King Hezekiah then

strated how the embodied performance of the *maskil* and his humility in confession establish a tight and dynamic relationship between revealed knowledge and prayer, as the figure of the teacher comes to embody prophecy while reenacting Mosaic leadership.⁸⁶ On this continuum, the apotropaic impact of the *maskil*'s inspired songs of praise that ward off evil forces can be characterized as the pastoral care that is performed by an exemplary teacher.⁸⁷

3 *ḥākām*

After examining the two most prominent terms that describe the sage in the Dead Sea Scrolls, let us now turn to a third that is conspicuously absent. The words *ḥākām* and *ḥokmā* are the most universal and characteristic terms for the sage and for wisdom in the Hebrew Bible.⁸⁸ Because the root *ḥkm* occurs so frequently in Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes and Ben Sira, these books were designated by scholars as 'wisdom books.' But in the texts found at Qumran the situation is rather different. Although sapiential terminology abounds, the use of *ḥākām* and *ḥokmā* is limited in number and often restricted to particular collocations. This is even true for those texts that make extensive usage of

encourages the Levites "who taught the good knowledge of the Lord" (המשכילים שכל טוב) (ל'). Brownlee points to the usage of the term *maskil* in psalm headings indicating that the psalm in question has a didactic purpose ("that which teaches") and comments (ibid. 104–5): "Since both hymn and sermon were chanted originally, the musical context by no means eliminates the possibility that the Levites and priests 'taught the good knowledge of the Lord' in song. 'Knowledge of the Lord,' moreover, was taught by recounting His saving acts in history, and this was most frequently done in songs. The hymns of Miriam and Deborah, as well as many other psalms, illustrate this point."

86 Newman, "Speech and Spirit: Paul and the Maskil as Inspired Interpreters of Scripture," in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. J. Frey and J. R. Levison (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 241–64 (243–52); eadem, "Embodied Techniques," eadem, *Before the Bible*, 107–44.

87 On knowledge as a form of protection against evil spirits, see: Joseph L. Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510–511)," *DSD* 19 (2012): 1–27.

88 The form *ḥākām* can be used as an adjective or noun to describe someone who is wise or skillful (BDB, *sub voce*; HALOT, *sub voce*; DCH, *sub voce*). The noun *ḥokmā* is usually translated as "wisdom" (LXX σοφία). Some authors tend to understand *ḥokmā* in the sense of intelligence, while others emphasise that it refers primarily to a body of knowledge (For the former, see Roger N. Whybray, *The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament* [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974], 6–14; and for the latter, see: James L. Kugel, "Wisdom and the Anthological Temper," *Prooftexts* 17 [1997]: 9–32).

literary forms found in the biblical wisdom books.⁸⁹ The relative absence of *ḥākām* and *ḥokmā* in the scrolls is striking.⁹⁰ In what follows, I will argue that there is an underlying tendency in the scrolls to associate *ḥokmā* with practical and earthly wisdom that was considered lower than heavenly wisdom. In some cases, earthly wisdom even seems to have negative connotations.

The root *ḥkm* occurs only four times in the Rule of the Community, all in the form of *ḥokmā* and all in the Treatise of the Two Spirits. In the subsection describing the two ways of the spirits (1QS 4:2–14) the word *ḥokmā* occurs in a chain of synonyms: “insight, understanding and powerful wisdom” (שכל ובינה) (והחכמת גבורה).⁹¹ This phrase derives from Isaiah 11:2 and is used to describe the influence of the spirit of truth on human beings.⁹² The two following occurrences of *ḥokmā* refer to God’s wisdom (1QS 4:18) and the wisdom of the angels (1QS 4:22). In both cases the term is accompanied by qualifiers that distinguish heavenly wisdom from human wisdom. We find a similar tendency in the Hodayot: Although *ḥokmā* is more frequent in the hymns, it is used mainly for the wisdom of God and not for human wisdom. The hymnodist praises God because: “there is no measure for your wisdom” (לחכמתכה אין מדה);⁹³ “in the mystery of your wisdom you have reproached me” (ברו חכמתכה הוכחתה בי);⁹⁴ and “with your knowledgeable wisdom you have established their assignment” (בחכמת דעתכה הכינותה תעודתם).⁹⁵ An interesting exception is a passage that uses language from Psalm 107 and applies *ḥokmā* to earthly wisdom that is rendered meaningless: “... and her wise men, all of them are like sailors of the deep seas, for all their wisdom will be confused” (והחכמיהם למו כמלחים במצולות)

89 The only exception in this regard is 4Q525, which has three occurrences of *ḥākām* and four of *ḥokmā*.

90 James Worrell has suggested (“Concepts of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls” [PhD diss., The Claremont Graduate School, 1968]) that the Qumran community intentionally refrained from using the term because it had been appropriated by the Pharisees. However, there is no evidence that the term *ḥākāmīm* was associated with the Pharisees in particular. We also cannot be sure concerning the relationship between the Pharisees and the communities behind the various texts discovered at Qumran.

91 1QS 4:3.

92 Licht (*Rule Scroll*, 95) comments that Isa 11:2 (רוח חכמה ובינה רוח עצה וגבורה) and Job 12:13 (חכמה וגבורה) influenced the phraseology in this passage and provided גבורה with a meaning in the semantic field of wisdom. He also suggests that גבורה may be understood as חכמה וגבורה. On the style characteristics of constructing chains of synonyms and placing two synonyms in construct state, see Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 32.

93 1QH^a 17:17.

94 1QH^a 17:23.

95 1QH^a 9:21.

(כי תתבלע כול חכמתם).⁹⁶ It is striking that the Rule of the Community and the Hodayot, which abound with sapiential terminology, mainly use *hokmā* when it is clear that this is not the kind of wisdom that characterizes human sages.

In Instruction, the only occurrence of *hākām* is in the phrase *hakmē lēb*.⁹⁷ The expression *hākam lēb* can be used in the general sense of a ‘wise person’.⁹⁸ But it is also used to refer to a person who has artistic skills, for example in relation to Betsalel and the artists who were responsible for fabricating the priestly vestments, the tabernacle and its devices.⁹⁹ Five out of nine occurrences of *hokmā* in Instruction appear in the collocation *hokmat yādayim*.¹⁰⁰ Ben Sira uses the expression *hākam yādayim* (Sir 9:17), which is translated in the Septuagint with the word τεχνίτης “craftsman.”¹⁰¹ It is possible that for some of Instruction’s addressees craftsmanship functions as a means to generate income.¹⁰² One fragment reads: “Skill of hands He will increase for you [...] righteousness in your wages, because for your labour ...”¹⁰³ Another fragmentary passage tells the *mēbîn* that if God has granted him the “wisdom of hands,” he is to gather his food by means of this gift.¹⁰⁴ The expressions *hakmē lēb* and *hokmat yādayim* in Instruction could be alluding to the artistic skills of some of the addressees.¹⁰⁵ In any case, *hokmā* occurs mainly in specific collocations

96 1QH^a 11:15 par 4Q435 5:1–2. Cf. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957), 81. (Hebrew). Note that the phrase תתבלע כול חכמתם from Psalm 107:27 also appears in 4Q418b 1:4.

97 4Q418 81 20.

98 Job 9:4; 37:24; Prov 10:8; 11:29; 16:21; 23:15; Sir 45:26. Sir 50:23 (Ms B.) reads יתן לכם חכמת יוהויה בשלום ביניכם לבב. But the reading of LXX (δῶν ἡμῖν εὐφροσύνην καρδίας καὶ γενέσθαι εἰρήνην ἐν ἡμέραις ἡμῶν) seems preferable (i.e., לשמחה לבב).

99 Ex 28:3; 31:6; 35:10, 25; 36:1, 2, 8.

100 4Q418 81 15, 19; 102 3; 137 2; 139 2. Cf. Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, DJD 34:309, 311, 328, 366, 368. Applying new digital tools, Asaf Gayer demonstrates (“A New Reconstruction of the ‘Wisdom of the Hands’ Unit in 4QInstruction^d [4Q418],” *JSP* 30 [2020]: 60–73) that on the basis of material considerations these fragments are to be located in each other’s vicinity and belong to the same section of the composition.

101 Sir 9:17 (Ms. A): עמו חכם [ל] ומוש[ל] יושר ומוש[ל] יחשך ידים בחכמי ידים. LXX Sir 9:17: ἐν χειρὶ τεχνιτῶν ἔργον ἐπαινέσθησεται, καὶ ὁ ἡγούμενος λαοῦ σοφὸς ἐν λόγῳ αὐτοῦ. Rudolf Smend suggests (*Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* [Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1906], 88) that LXX inverts חכמי ידים and translates the latter twice: once as ἐν χειρὶ (בִּיד) and once as τεχνιτῶν (ידים).

102 Goff, *4QInstruction*, 259–61.

103 4Q418 137 2–3: צדק בשכרתכה כי לעבודתכה חכמת ידים יוסף לכה].

104 4Q418 81 15–16.

105 The juxtaposition of “wisdom of mind” and “wisdom of hands” is also found in the fragmentary text 4Q424. Strugnell and Harrington note significant correspondences in vocabulary (DJD 34:2) between Instruction and 4Q424, which causes them to consider the possibility that 4Q424 is actually a copy of the same composition. However, the absence of textual overlap and differences in style speak against the identification of 4Q424 as

and in relation to livelihood.¹⁰⁶ It is conspicuous that similarly to the Rule of the Community and the Hodayot, Instruction does not use the root *hkm* for the knowledge that the *mēbîn* pursues.

Instruction has reservations concerning human wisdom because human beings are fleshly creatures. The opening passage of Instruction states concerning humankind: “For he is a formation of flesh and he has the wisdom [of humankind.]”¹⁰⁷ This is meant pejoratively, as can be inferred from the following quotation: “Let not the thought of an evil mind seduce you [] ... let

a manuscript of Instruction. Cf. Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, 302. The passage in question reads (4Q424 3 6–7): “Do not send a man of unreceptive mind to devise designs, for the wisdom of his mind is hidden away, and he does not have authority over it. The skill of his hands he will not find” (ולוא ישמול ב[ה] חכמת ידיו לא ימצא איש שמן לב אל תשלח לכרות מחשבות כי נסתרה חכמת לבו). For the unique expression *לכרות מחשבות*, Sarah Tanzer offers the translation “to devise plots” (“4QInstruction-like Composition B,” in *Qumran Cave 4. xxvi: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1*, ed. S. J. Pfann, DJD 36 [Oxford: Clarendon, 2000], 333–46 [343]). Note that the verb *krh+qal* occurs in an intellectual context in 4Q418 55 3 (דרכיה נכרה בעמל) and 4Q525 5 12 (דרכיה יכרו ערומים), in the sense of ‘digging the paths of wisdom’ (cf. Prov 16:27; Job 40:30). Cf. Gershon Brin, “Studies in 4Q424, Fragment 3,” *VT* 46 (1996): 271–95. It is not clear how the expression “skill of hands” fits into this reading unless it is interpreted in a non-literal sense. An alternative would be to understand *מחשבות* in 4Q424 3 6 in the sense of “artistic designs” as in the expression *לחשוב מחשבות* “to devise artistic designs” (Ex 31:4; 35:32; 2 Chr 2:3; cf. Ex 35:35; 2 Chr 26:15) but it is less clear how such a reading could be combined with the verb *לכרות*. If the term “wisdom of hands” and the crafting of artistic designs is indeed used metaphorically in 4Q424 to refer to the design of conceptual structures, then this might have an impact for our understanding of “wisdom of hands” in Instruction.

- 106 This also seems to be the case in the construction *חכמת אוטו* (4Q416 2 ii 12 *par* 4Q418 8 13). The word *אוט* occurs only in Instruction and 4Q424 and remains enigmatic. But the context of 4Q416 2 ii suggests that the phrase *חכמת אוטו* refers to matters of livelihood, since it relates to the labour that the *mēbîn* has to do for a master or creditor. *DCH* renders *אוט* as “storehouse” (*sub voce*). Strugnell and Harrington comment (DJD 34:32) that this is “at best a guess” and suggest the meaning “secret” on the basis of 4Q424 1 6 (*בִּיד עֵצֶל אֵט אֵל תִּפְקֵד אֵט*). But in many cases “secret” does not seem to be a good translation. Elgvin (“An Analysis of 4QInstruction”) [PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997], 154, 213), Goff (*Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 152, n. 104) and Rey (*4QInstruction*, 33) suggest the translation “resources,” based on terminology in the immediate literary context of *אוט* (e.g., *מסחור*, *מחסור*; *טרף*). Tzvi Novick proposes a similar meaning (“The Meaning and Etymology of *אוט*,” *JBL* 127 [2008]: 339–43): “property, affairs.” Recently, Jonathan Ben-Dov suggested (“Lexical Notes on Musar Le-Mevin,” in *Hokhmat Sopher: Mélanges offerts au Professeur Émile Puech en l’honneur de son quatre-vingtième anniversaire*, ed. J.-S. Rey and M. Staszak [Leuven: Peeters, 2021], 3–16) that *אוט* means “measure,” or “measured share,” and proposed an etymology of the Akkadian word *ūtū* which denotes a “span, half-cubit.”
- 107 4Q417 1 15–16 (*par* 4Q418 217 1; 4Q418* 2, 2b 8): *בִּיא יֵצֵר בִּשְׂר הוּאָה וּמְבִינֹת אָדָם לֹ*. Reconstruction by Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:147 (cf. Prov 30:2).

not the understanding of flesh lead you astray."¹⁰⁸ These passages characterize human wisdom as inferior or even sinful. The context is damaged in both cases, which makes it more difficult to understand why human wisdom is considered to be counterproductive. But it is informative that both passages speak of "flesh" (בשר) as the element which renders human understanding problematic. Instruction associates the fleshly aspect of human existence with ignorance and subjection to evil forces.¹⁰⁹ Human wisdom suffers from the defects of fleshly existence and therefore is inferior to heavenly wisdom.

In Mysteries (1Q27, 4Q299–301) we find similar reservations or even a rejection of human wisdom.¹¹⁰ This highly fragmentary text presents two groups that are engaged in a dispute. One group is presented as possessing true wisdom and knowledge, whereas the opposing group possesses false wisdom that is sinful. The opponents are not simply reprimanded for their lack of knowledge, they are accused of cultivating the wrong kind of knowledge.¹¹¹ The root *hkm* occurs several times in Mysteries. However, it is mostly used negatively or pejoratively in relation to the false wisdom of the opponents, while other roots are used in relation to the wisdom of the true sages.¹¹² It seems that Mysteries associates the term *hokmâ* with counter-wisdom.

One fragment of Mysteries calls the opponents *hartummîm*, a term that is used in Genesis and Exodus for the Egyptian sages.¹¹³ They are blamed for not having acquired the proper knowledge: "for the seal of the vision is sealed from you, and you have not considered the eternal mysteries, and you have not come to understand wisdom (בינה) ... for you have not considered the root of wisdom

108 4Q417 1 ii 12, 14: אל תשגכ]ה ... נבונות בשר אל תשגכ]ה. Cf. Kister, "Wisdom Literature," 27–28.

109 Tigchelaar, "בִּשָּׂר," *ThWQ* 1:534–47 (546–47). Cf. page 83–90.

110 On the relationship between Instruction and Mysteries, see Schiffman, *DJD* 20:31; Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, *DJD* 34:34. Cf. Tigchelaar, "Your Wisdom and Your Folly: The Case of 4QMysteries," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, ed. F. García Martínez, *BETL* 168 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 69–88 (78–81); idem, "Wisdom and Counter-Wisdom," 179–86.

111 Tigchelaar, "Your Wisdom and Your Folly," 84–85; Kister, "Wisdom Literature," 25–28; Tigchelaar, "Wisdom and Counter-Wisdom," 181–84, 191–93.

112 Tigchelaar, "Your Wisdom and Your Folly," 84–5; idem, "Wisdom and Counter-Wisdom," 181, 183–84.

113 4Q300 1a ii–b (*par* 4Q299 3c). See Gen 41:8, 24; Ex 7:11, 22; 8:3, 14, 15; 9:11. Daniel uses the same term for Babylonian sages (Dan 1:20; 2:2, 10, 27; 4:4, 6; 5:11). Menahem Kister suggests ("Wisdom Literature," 28–29 n. 74.) that the whole wisdom contest with the *hartummîm* in Mysteries was attributed to biblical figures, perhaps Moses and Aaron.

(שורש חוכמה) and if you open the vision it will be kept secret from you.”¹¹⁴ The opponents do have some form of knowledge and apparently are interested in the same “vision” (חזון) as the speaker and his group. But unlike the latter, they cannot explain it correctly. The wisdom of the opponents is associated with “mysteries of transgression” (רזי פשע).¹¹⁵ These sinful mysteries are directly opposed to the “eternal mysteries” (רזי עד) with which the true sages occupy themselves.¹¹⁶ Repeatedly, Mysteries uses the word *ḥokmâ* to describe the wisdom of the opponents. The text speaks disparagingly of “all their wisdom” (כל חכמתמה).¹¹⁷ The *ḥarṭummîm* are called “teachers of transgression” (מלמדי פשע) and are told that there is no use in “all your wisdom” (כל חכמתכם).¹¹⁸ The knowledge of the opponents has no lasting value and is called “fading wisdom” (חכמה נכחדת), since it cannot save them from their eventual destruction.¹¹⁹

In other cases, *ḥokmâ* is applied to human wisdom in general. In a series of riddles on the nature of humanity, Mysteries asks: “Why should a human being [...] be called wise (חכם) and righteous? Because man has no [wisd]om and [humankind] no [righteousness.] And what is fading wisdom (חכמה נכחדת), if

114 4Q300 1a ii-b 2-4 *par* 4Q299 3c 1-2: לא כי לא הבטתם ובבינה לא: כי חתום מכם החזון וברזי עד לא הבטתם ובבינה לא: כי לא הבטתם בשורש חוכמה ואם תפתחו החזון תסתם מכם השכלתם. Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:141.

115 1Q27 1 i 2. Cf. 1QH^a 13:38 (*par* 4QH^c 3 10); 24:9.

116 Kister, “Wisdom Literature,” 27. Interestingly, the wisdom of both groups seems to be concerned with knowledge of the future. Mysteries seems to suggest that its audience has access to the secrets of astrology: 4Q299 3a ii+b 13: נינו לפינינו. “He opened the plan of the horoscopes for us.” Cf. Matthew Morgenstern, “The Meaning of מולדים in the Qumran Wisdom Texts,” *JJS* 51 (2000): 141-44; Tigchelaar, “Your Wisdom and Your Folly,” 87-88; Kister, “Wisdom Literature,” 28. Kister notes (*ibid.*): “Both the ‘counter-wisdom’ of the *ḥarṭummîm* and the ‘true-wisdom’ seem to share a mantic interest. This is reminiscent of the relationship indicated in Jubilees between Enoch’s wisdom and the wisdom of the Watchers, both of which deal with the ‘signs of the sky’ (Jub. 4:17, 8:3).” The mantic wisdom of the opponents is futile. The *ḥarṭummîm* do not know what will happen to them and are not able to save themselves from their future destruction. Kister notes (*ibid.*, 26) that the passage in Mysteries is based on Isa 47:10-14. Cf. Tigchelaar, “Wisdom and Counter-Wisdom,” 186, 191.

117 1Q27 1 i 3 (*par* 4Q300 3 3).

118 4Q300 1a ii-b 1, 4. Schiffman (DJD 20:101-2) reads a *pual* in פשע מלמדי: “skilled in transgression.”

119 4Q300 1a ii-b 4-5. Schiffman (DJD 20:42, 103, 107) translates חכמה נכחדת as “hidden wisdom.” Kister comments (“Wisdom Literature,” 27 n. 67) that this translation is linguistically possible, but since the context in 4Q299 3a ii + b 3-5 (*par* 4Q300 5 4-5) makes it clear that חכמה נכחדת relates to wicked wisdom (חכמת עורמת רוע), the translation “perishing wisdom” (as opposed to eternal wisdom) makes more sense.

Wisdom that is hidden from humankind,
 knowledge and insightful meditation (hidden) from the sons of man,
 fount of justice and well of strength and spring of glory (hidden) from the
 assembly of the flesh.

1QS 11:6–7

This heavenly wisdom has only been given to those whom God has chosen and who, because of this knowledge, share in the lot of the angels.¹²⁵ By consequence, any human wisdom is inferior to this revealed knowledge of divine origin. The hymn closes with the statement that humankind, who was moulded out of dust, has no answer to God's deep mysteries.¹²⁶ The Rule poses, much like Instruction, that human wisdom is of little significance because they are fleshly creatures. The hymnodist exclaims: "And as for me, I am a wicked human, an essence of unjust flesh."¹²⁷ The negative connotation of human wisdom throughout these texts may explain the relative absence of the root *ḥkm* in texts discovered at Qumran. There seems to be a tendency to associate *ḥokmâ* with an inferior or even dangerous form of wisdom. Although the term is occasionally used in more positive contexts, many compositions give preference to other words to describe wisdom and the wise.

4 Conclusion

The terms that are used or avoided in the Dead Sea Scrolls to describe the sage indicate that wisdom is reconceived in terms of heavenly knowledge that surpasses the boundaries of human capability. The usage of *mēbîn* as a form of address derives from sapiential discourse in which a father addresses his son (בני). But the consonants of the word *bēn* have been reinterpreted as a participle of the *qal* of *byn* that was rephrased in the *hiphil* as *mēbîn*. Rather than admonition from a father to a son, Instruction is presented as teaching to a student who has been initiated into the secrets of heavenly knowledge. The ear of the *mēbîn* has been uncovered for the mystery. The *mēbînûm* are recipients of wisdom and are only referred to in the second and third person, but never in the first person. By contrast, the *maškil* is referred to in the third person and is self-referential in the first person (אני משכיל). But we never encounter second person address to a *maškil*. The *maškil* is not spoken to but is rather someone

125 1QS 11:7–9.

126 1QS 11:21–22 (*par* 4QS^j 1 8–10).

127 1QS 11:9, ואני לאדם רשעה ולסוד בשר עול.

who speaks. The voice of the *maškîl* is the voice of a teacher who has access to revealed knowledge and speaks, or sings, with prophetic authority.¹²⁸ While both *maškîl* and *mēbîn* are associated with this higher knowledge, the classical term for the sage, *ḥākām*, is associated with human wisdom, and for this reason is used sparsely in the scrolls, which aspire to wisdom that transcends the limitations of human nature. The shift towards this aspiration is tangible among the sages in the book of Daniel, the *maškîlîm*, and the sectarian/non-sectarian categorization does not offer a helpful tool for describing its emergence.

128 On “the voice of the teacher,” cf. García Martínez, “Beyond the Sectarian Divide,” 230–35 and passim.

Continuous Study

The ambition to reach insights that lie beyond the realm of human wisdom results in a distinctive approach to practices of study. The pursuit of higher knowledge requires procedures that push beyond the limits of mortal human beings. Various texts from Qumran display an interest in the wisdom of heavenly beings. Because angels and spirits do not have the same physical limitations as humans, they are able to cultivate wisdom without interruption. Instruction admonishes the addressees to do the same:

יומם ולילה הגה ברז נהיה ודורש תמיד
ואז תדע אמת ועול חכמה ואולת ת]

Day and night meditate on the secret of time and study¹ continually.
And then you will know truth and iniquity, wisdom and folly ...

4Q417 i i 6–7 par 4Q418 43–45 i 4–5

The *mēbîn* is told to study the *rāz nihyeh* both day and night. This mystery encompasses cosmic secrets and the hidden structures of time. I will delve into this enigmatic concept in more detail in chapter 5, but first I want to explore the ways in which wisdom texts describe the pursuit of higher knowledge among humans and among angels. The aspiration to comprehend heavenly mysteries requires efforts that surpass conventional learning and pedagogy. To study the *rāz nihyeh* the sages need to leave behind human constraints and emulate angelic models. The texts from Qumran develop an ideal of continuous study in conversation with authoritative texts which they interpret and rephrase. One passage has been of particular influence in formulating this ideal.

1 By Day and by Night

The book of Joshua opens with the appointment of the successor of Moses who is charged with crossing the Jordan river and leading the people in taking

¹ Strugnell points out (DJD 34:157) that the context requires an imperative (דרוש) and that דורש may be due to an accidental metathesis.

possession of the promised land. Joshua is told that in order to succeed he needs to observe the Torah of Moses and he is given the following command:

לא ימוש ספר התורה הזה מפיד והגית בו יומם ולילה למען תשמר לעשות ככל
הכתוב בו כי אז תצליח את דרכך ואז תשכיל

This book of the law shall not depart out of your mouth; you shall meditate on it day and night, so that you may be careful to act in accordance with all that is written in it. For then you shall make your way prosperous, and then you shall be successful.

JOSH 1:8

Joshua is told to be occupied constantly with the book of the law given by Moses.² He has to: “meditate on it day and night” (והגית בו יומם ולילה). The verb *hgh+qal* can mean “to utter,” “to groan,” or “to moan,” and is sometimes used to describe the cooing of pigeons.³ It is used in the sense of “to speak,” mostly with “mouth,” “lips” or “tongue” as the subject (e.g., Isa 59:3; Ps 37:30; Job 27:4). But in combination with the word *lēb* it rather means: “to muse” or “meditate” (Isa 33:18; Prov 15:28; 24:2; cf. Ps 19:15; 49:4). Joshua has to read the book and meditate on its meaning both day and night. Joshua is told that he will be successful (תשכיל) if he observes the entire Torah and meditates on it day and night (1:7–8). As noted, the *hiphil* of *škl* can both be translated as “to prosper/to be successful” and as “to be wise/to have insight.” Interestingly, the Septuagint of Joshua renders *škl+hiphil* in both verses with the verb *συνήμι*, “to understand/to have understanding.”⁴ Here the Greek translation clearly interprets

2 The expression “this book of the law” (ספר התורה הזה) occurs several times in the last chapters of Deuteronomy (28:61; 29:20; 30:10; 31:24–26). It seems that Josh 1:8 refers to the same written document, which may be identified with the book of Deuteronomy or an early version of it. Hartmut N. Rösel, *Joshua* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 35.

3 BDB, *sub voce*; DCH, *sub voce*; Armin Lange, “הגה,” *ThWQ* 1:741–45. Cf. Isa 38:14; 59:11. For a discussion of semantic and syntactical aspects of the two verbs הגה and חיש, see Friedhelm Hartenstein, “May my Musings Please Him’ (Psalm 104:34): On the Transformation of Inner Self-Awareness in Wisdom Psalms,” *DSD* 28 (2021): 299–340 (301–6).

4 LXX-Joshua 1:7–8, ἵσχυε οὖν καὶ ἀνδρίζου φυλάσσεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν καθότι ἐνετείλατό σοι Μωυσῆς ὁ παῖς μου, καὶ οὐκ ἐκκλίσεις ἀπ’ αὐτῶν εἰς δεξιὰ οὐδὲ εἰς ἀριστερά, ἵνα συνῆς ἐν πᾶσιν, οἷς ἐὰν πράσσης. καὶ οὐκ ἀποστήσεται ἡ βίβλος τοῦ νόμου τούτου ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου, καὶ μελετήσεις ἐν αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, ἵνα συνῆς ποιεῖν πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα· τότε εὐοδωθήσῃ καὶ εὐδώσεις τὰς ὁδοὺς σου καὶ τότε συνήσεις (Rahlfs-Hanhart). NETS: “Be strong, therefore, and manly, to observe and act as Moyses my servant commanded you, and you shall not turn aside from them to the right or to the left so that you may be perceptive [Bible d’Alexandrie: “pour avoir l’intelligence”] in everything you do. And the book of this law shall not depart out of your mouth, and you shall meditate on it day and night so that you may understand [Bible d’Alexandrie: “afin

God's promise to Joshua in an intellectual sense: if he studies and observes the law, he will obtain understanding.

The book of Ben Sira contains a passage that is reminiscent of the admonition in Joshua. In a poem on the pursuit of wisdom Ben Sira considers the importance of embracing discipline and accepting its yoke (Sir 6:18–37).⁵ The poem ends as follows:

ובמצותו והגה תמיד	והתבוננת ביראת עליון
ואשר איותה יחכמך	הוא יבין לבך

Consider the fear of the Most High, and meditate on his commandments⁶ continually.

And He will give understanding to your mind, and according to your desire He will make you wise.

SIR 6:37

There is discussion among commentators whether the reading “the fear of the Most High” (יראת עליון) in Ms. A is original or whether it should be replaced by “the Torah of the Most High” (תורת עליון).⁷ Although the former is somewhat

d'avoir intelligence] how to do all that is written. Then you shall prosper and make your ways prosperous, and then *you shall be perceptive* [Bible d'Alexandrie: “tu auras l'intelligence”].” Note that even the verb תשמר is translated as στυγῆς. Here, Rahlfs-Hanhart prefers the version of the Alexandrinus (στυγῆς) over the Vaticanus (εἰδῆς). See also: Deut 29:8, ושמרתם את דברי הברית הזאת ועשיתם אתם למען תשכילו את כל אשר תעשון. “Observe the words of this covenant and perform them, in order that you may succeed in everything that you do.” The Septuagint of Deuteronomy translates: “so that you may understand all that you will do” (ἵνα συνῆτε πάντα, ὅσα ποιήσετε). Cf. Cécile Dogniez and Marguerite Harl, *La Bible d'Alexandrie 5: Le Deutéronome* (Paris: Cerf, 1992), 44–48, 299; Jacqueline Moatti-Fine, *La Bible d'Alexandrie 6: Jésus (Josué)* (Paris: Cerf, 1996), 46, 95–96. Throughout the Septuagint the verb השכיל is consistently translated in the noetic sense, even when the sense of “to prosper” seems to fit the context better (e.g., 1 Sam 8:5, 14, 15). However, there is one exception. In Prov 17:8 ישכיל is translated as εὐσδομήσεται (MT: יפנה ישר יפנה ישכיל; LXX: οὐδ' ἂν ἐπιστρέψῃ, εὐσδομήσεται). This indicates that the original sense “to prosper” was still known to at least some of the LXX translators.

5 Cf. Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, AB 39 (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1987), 190–96; Moshe Zvi Segal, *The Complete Book of Ben Sira* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1958), 39–43 (Hebrew).

6 The LXX reads מצותו as the object of הגה: ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ μελέτα. It is possible that the reading of Ms. A is based on dittography or that a second *waw* in מצותו was attached to הגה.

7 Segal (*Ben Sira*, 42) maintains יראת עליון. Skehan and Di Lella (*Ben Sira*, 192) emend תורת עליון. LXX: διανοσοῦ ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασιν κυρίου καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ μελέτα διὰ παντός αὐτὸς δσθηριεῖ τῆν καρδίαν σου, καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῆς σοφίας δσθησεται σοι. Smend (*Jesus Sirach*, 61–62) emphasises the difficulty of the case. The combination יראת עליון is unique, whereas

awkward, it makes sense in the present context as a parallel to “his commandments” (מצותו). Ben Sira repeatedly associates the fear of God with keeping his commandments (19:20; 23:27; cf. Qoh 12:13). But in line with Proverbs, the book also describes the fear of God as “the beginning of wisdom” (ἀρχὴ σοφίας) and even as the “fulness of wisdom” (πληγσμὸν σοφίας).⁸ It is notable that elsewhere the sage proclaims: “Happy is the man who meditates on wisdom” (אשרי אנושׁ בהכמה יהגה).⁹ The close association or even identification between wisdom, the fear of God and the commandments is a central theme in Ben Sira.¹⁰ For the wise scribe, there is no strict distinction between meditating on wisdom and on Torah.

It is significant that Ben Sira’s exhortation to study continuously alludes to Joshua: “meditate on his commandments continually” (ובמצותו והגה תמיד). Although Ben Sira exchanges the words “day and night” (יומם ולילה) for “continually” (תמיד), the context of studying the commandments incessantly and the usage of the verb “meditate” (הגה) indicate a reference to Joshua 1:8.¹¹ Ben Sira tells his students that if they study the commandments continually, God

the expressions יהוה יראת and אלהים יראת are frequent in Ben Sira, and so is עליון. Moreover, the combination of התבונן and יראה is unique. But Greek προστάγματα (in the plural) is not a common translation for תורה and αὐριος does not render עליון. In other locations the grandson simply translates תורה עליון as νόμος θεοῦ ὑψίστου (41:8), νόμος ὑψίστου (42:2), or ὁ νόμος τοῦ ὑψίστου (49:4). Therefore, one would not expect תורה עליון in the Vorlage. In addition, the Syriac renders “the fear of God.” Since neither LXX nor the Syriac render עליון, perhaps this form should be corrected. The translation of יראה as προστάγματα is awkward but compare Prov 14:27. The latter is not necessarily a misreading for תורה. Cf. David-Marc D’Hamonville, *La Bible d’Alexandrie: Les Proverbes* (Paris: Cerf, 2000), 244–45.

8 Sir 1:14, 16; cf. 1:11–30.

9 Sir 14:20. Johannes Marböck argues (“Zur frühen Wirkungsgeschichte von Ps 1,” in *Freude an der Weisung des Herrn: Beiträge zur Theologie der Psalmen: Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag von Heinrich Gross*, ed. E. Haag and F. Hossfeld [Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1986], 207–22 [211–17]) that 14:20 is a quotation of Ps 1:2 and that the entire passage of Sir 14:20–15:10 can be considered as an exegesis of Psalm 1. This is rather speculative. The correspondences between Ps 1 and Sir 14:20 that Marböck lists are very general. The beatitude occurs quite frequently in Ben Sira and its combination with יהגה may be coincidental.

10 Cf. Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 75–80; 140–47; Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul*, WUNT 2.16 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985), 8–92; Kister, “Wisdom Literature,” 13–16. For a recent discussion (including substantial bibliography), see Wright, “Torah and Sapiential Pedagogy.” Note also that Sir 6:30 מוסרתיה תכלת פתיל appears to allude to Num 15:38, thus associating the “bonds of wisdom” with the purple cord of the *tsitsit* that reminds of the commandments. Cf. Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 194.

11 Similarly, David Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 210.

will make them wise (והוא יבין לבד ואשר איותה יחכמד).¹² This may be an interpretation of God's promise to Joshua: if Joshua meditates on the Torah day and night, he will be successful (תשכיל). As was noted above, the Septuagint of Joshua interprets this promise in an intellectual sense: "you will have understanding" (στυήσεις). It is not unlikely that Ben Sira understands the verb *hiskil* similarly. Just as LXX-Deuteronomy (29:8) and LXX-Joshua (1:7–8), Ben Sira holds that observing and studying the commandments will lead to wisdom. The opening chapter teaches: "If you desire wisdom, keep the commandments, and the Lord will bestow her on you."¹³ The quotation from Joshua in Sir 6:37 suggests that the notion of wisdom through Torah observance was partly based on God's promise in Deut 29:8 and Josh 1:7–8.

A well-known passage in Psalm 1 likewise uses the phrase from Joshua 1.¹⁴ Beginning with a beatitude for those who distance themselves from evil paths and bad company, the Psalm praises the righteous: "But his delight is in the Torah of the Lord, and on his Torah he meditates day and night" (כי אם בתורת יהוה יהיה חפצו ובתורתו יהגה יומם ולילה). This appears to be a late psalm that may have been composed for the single purpose of introducing the entire compilation of Psalms.¹⁵ While Josh 1:8 assigns the duty of continually reading in the Torah to the leader of the nation (cf. Deut 17:18–19), Psalm 1 recommends this occupation to any person who aspires to be among the righteous.¹⁶ Moreover, it advocates a widened scope of study: the "Torah of the Lord" (תורת יהוה) may involve a wider collection of writings that includes the Pentateuch and prophetic books (including the Psalms of David), and perhaps other teachings as well.¹⁷

12 The Greek αὐτὸς στηρίξει τὴν καρδίαν σου seems to be based on the reading יבין. Cf. Segal, *Ben Sira*, 43. The reading יבין in Ms. A is supported by the parallelism with יחכמם.

13 Sir 1:26 ἐπιθυμήσας σοφίαν διατήρησον ἐντολάς, καὶ κύριος χορηγήσει σοι αὐτήν. Translation by Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 141. Note that the desire for wisdom occurs both in 1:26 (ἐπιθυμήσας σοφίαν) and in 6:37 (ἄσχετος ἰσχυρὸς—ἢ ἐπιθυμία τῆς σοφίας δοθήσεται σοι).

14 Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Die Psalmen 1: Psalm 1–50* (Würzburg: Echter, 1993), 45–49; Reinhard G. Kratz, "Die Tora Davids: Psalm 1 und die doxologische Fünfteilung des Psalters," *ZTK* 93 (1996): 1–34 (6–7); Armin Lange, "Endgestalt des protomasoretischen Psalters und die Toraweisheit," in *Der Psalter in Judentum und Christentum*, ed. E. Zenger (Freiburg: Herder, 1998), 101–36 (11).

15 Kratz, "Tora Davids," 3.

16 Alexander Rofé, "The Piety of the Torah-Disciples at the Winding-Up of the Hebrew Bible: Josh 1:8; Ps 1:2; Isa 59:21," in *Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition: Festschrift für Johann Maier zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Merklein, K. Müller and G. Stemberger (Frankfurt am Main: Hain, 1993), 78–85 (81).

17 Kratz, "Tora Davids," 5–7. Kratz suggests that the concept of Torah in Psalm 1 includes both the Pentateuch and the prophets because of the quotations from Josh 1:8 and Jer 17:5–8 in verses 2–3. Cf. Hartenstein, "May my Musings," 305–306. On the book of Psalms as prophecy, see Kugel, "David the Prophet."

The fragmentary text 4Q525 introduces a series of beatitudes that expand on the ideal of continuous meditation on the Torah.¹⁸ The last beatitude opens with the words: “Happy is the man who attains wisdom and walks in the Torah of the Most High” (אשרי אדם הסיג חכמה ויתהלך בתורת עליון).¹⁹ The series of short clauses that follow describe their attitude and behaviour, emphasizing that they stay faithful despite suffering. One of the descriptions reads: “For he continually meditates on her, and in his distress he speaks about her.”²⁰ The passage may evoke Josh 1:8 or Ps 1:2, or both, but it is striking that instead of the words “day and night” (יומם ולילה) it uses the word “continually” (תמיד), just as Ben Sira 6:37. The passage builds on the interpretive tradition growing from Josh 1:8, but it has a distinctive emphasis: the wise person meditates on wisdom and Torah even under bad circumstances.

Other texts from the scrolls elaborate on Josh 1:8 and take the continuous and uninterrupted pursuit of knowledge quite seriously. A striking example is found in the Serek, which integrates the requirement of continuous study into the daily life of the community:

אל ימש במקום אשר יהיו שם העשרה איש דורש בתורה יומם ולילה תמיד על יפות
איש לרעהו
והרבים ישקודו ביחד את שלישיית כול לילות השנה לקרוא בספר ולדרוש משפט
ולברך ביחד

In the place where there are ten men let there not be lacking a man who studies the law day and night, continually, one man being replaced by another. And the many shall watch together for a third of all the nights of the year to read the book, to study the law, and to bless in unison.²¹

1QS 6:6–8 par 4QS^d 2:10²²

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- 18 4Q525 2 ii+3 1–10. Cf. Puech, DJD 25:122–28. For a recent study of 4Q525, see: Uusimäki, *Turning Proverbs Towards Torah*.
- 19 4Q525 2 ii+3 3–4. Kister (“Wisdom Literature in Qumran,” 316) suggests that the words עליון בתורת ויתהלך בתורה may be a later insertion, since they disturb the parallelism in the sequence of beatitudes.
- 20 4Q525 2 ii+3 6: כי בה יהגה תמיד ובצרתו ישוחח] בה.
- 21 For the translation of ביחד as “in unison,” see Moshe Weinfeld, “The Heavenly Praise in Unison,” in *Normative and Sectarian Judaism in the Second Temple Period* (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 45–52.
- 22 The 4QS^d version of this passage is significantly shorter. Alexander and Vermes (DJD 26:99–100) reconstruct 4QS^d 2:10 as follows: ותהיה ישיבתו ואל ימש איש דורש בתורה. They admit that the restoration is conjectural.

The preceding passage provides rules for gatherings of ten or more community members.²³ It lays down that in every place where ten members are gathered there has to be among them at least one person who is a member of the priestly tribe. It further prescribes that communal sessions and meals are to be performed according to the hierarchical order. The requirement that in a group of ten there always has to be one person studying the Torah is clearly modelled on Josh 1:8. Apart from demanding the same activity (Torah study), it uses the same negated verb (לֹא יְמוּשׁ/אֵל יִמֵּשׁ) and specifies that this activity has to take place “day and night” (יוֹמָם וּלְיָלֵיָהּ). But how does the Serek interpret Joshua’s assignment?

God tells Moses’ successor that when he crosses the Jordan river to take possession of the land, the book of the Torah “is not to depart” (לֹא יִמוּשׁ) from his mouth. The Serek applies this rule as follows: in a group of ten persons “there shall not be lacking” (אֵל יִמֵּשׁ) a person who is studying (דּוֹרֵשׁ) the Torah at all times.²⁴ Obviously, the task of studying day and night cannot be fulfilled by

23 Cf. 1QS 6:3–8 (par 4QS^d 2:7–10; 4QS^g 2a–c 2–5; 4QSⁱ 4–5). Cf. Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 138–40; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 115–17; Hempel, “Interpretative Authority in the Community Rule Tradition,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 59–80 (61–68).

24 In Classical Biblical Hebrew the verb דָּרַשׁ is used in the context of seeking out God and inquiring of him, as for instance in a prophetic context. Only in Late Biblical Hebrew is the verb used in relation to written documents that contain God’s law and commandments. Cf. Avi Hurvitz, *A Concise Lexicon of Late Biblical Hebrew: Linguistic Innovations in the Writings of the Second Temple Period*, VTSup 160 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 98–100, 161–64. Cf. BDB, *sub voce*; DCH, *sub voce*. Johann Maier (“Early Jewish Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Literature,” in *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, ed. M. Sæbø [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996], 1.1:108–29, esp. 113–20; idem, “דָּרַשׁ,” *ThWQ* 1:725–37) vehemently argues against the translation of דָּרַשׁ as “to study” or “to interpret.” He suggests that דָּרַשׁ+תּוֹרָה rather refers to jurisdiction and can be translated as “to proclaim the law.” He regards 1QS 6:6–8 as a “decisive passage” and claims (“Early Jewish Biblical Interpretation,” 115): “The meaning of *dôreš* is here unequivocally ‘advising,’ ‘instructing,’ ‘enacting,’ and certainly not ‘interpreting’ or ‘studying,’ and this is also true for other references of that kind.” However, he fails to recognize the entire reference to Josh 1:8. If דָּרַשׁ is an interpretation of הִגִּיה, then it does suggest an intellectual activity such as studying. In addition, Maier ignores the correspondence between 1QS 6:6 and 1QS 8:11–12 in which the אִישׁ הַדּוֹרֵשׁ is a person by whom are found (נִמְצָא) secrets (נִסְתָּר) of the Torah. The fact that he ‘finds’ suggests that he ‘searches’ and is thus involved in study and interpretation. Finally, his interpretation of the passage leans heavily on his translation of עַל יְפוּת as (ibid.): “bezüglich des guten (Verhaltens).” The translation is problematic (see the following footnote). Compare the critical comments of Hempel, “Interpretative Authority,” 62–63. Maier rightly criticizes the approach that interprets דָּרַשׁ and מְדַרְשׁ as technical terms in line with rabbinic literature without paying sufficient attention to the different contexts in which these words are used in Qumran texts. However, his own approach is equally anachronistic, since his interpretation of דָּרַשׁ is entirely based on its usage in Classical Biblical Hebrew without allowing the possibility

a single person. The text seems to suggest that this is to be achieved by taking turns (חליפות איש לרעהו).²⁵ Each member is assigned a shift at the end of which he is replaced by a fellow. In addition to the continuous relay of Torah study, the full members jointly keep watch (וישקודו) for a third part of each night.²⁶ The nightly watch is devoted to the recitation of scripture, legal study

of a semantic shift (as described by Hurvitz). See the apposite methodological remarks by George J. Brooke, "Peshet and Midrash in Qumran Literature: Issues for Lexicography," *RevQ* 24 (2009): 79–95. Paul Mandel argues (*The Origins of Midrash: From Teaching to Text*, JSJSup 180 [Leiden: Brill, 2017]) that in the Second Temple Period and in early Tannaitic sources the words דרש and מדרש do not denote interpretation and study but rather instruction and teaching. Perhaps it is not possible, or necessary, to make such a strict distinction between study and teaching and between interpretation and instruction. In any case, several passages in Instruction (not considered by Mandel) clearly use דרש in the sense of studying and pursuing knowledge (4Q417 1 i 6; 4Q416 2 iii 13, 14) and can hardly be interpreted in the sense of teaching and instruction.

- 25 The manuscript reads על יפות. Some scholars have suggested that this is the original reading and that the sense would be: there will not be lacking a man studying the Torah concerning the proper conduct (על יפות) between a man and his neighbour. Cf. Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 81; Fraade, "Interpretive Authority," 56; Maier, "Early Jewish Biblical Interpretation," 114–15. But the word יפות does not seem to fit this sense very well. In such a case one would expect a term like צדק or אמת. Interestingly, the adjective יפה is rare in Qumran Hebrew (6x over against 43x in BH) and as far as can be judged from the fragmentary passages it occurs only in relation to appearance (מראה and תואר) and never in relation to conduct. Others have suggested that the text is jumbled. Gutturals are exchanged more often in 1QS. A scribe of an earlier manuscript may have exchanged *chet* with *ayin* which could have caused a later scribe (perhaps the one of 1QS) to separate על from יפות. Cf. Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 47, 140; Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:220. On the weakening and interchange of gutturals in Qumran Hebrew, see Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1986), 25–26; Eric D. Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew: An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2014), 71–114; and Qimron, *A Grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2018), 99–109. For חליפות in the sense of "shifts," cf. 1 Kgs 5:28. Compare also Job 10:17; 14:14. In the War Scroll חליפה is used for a reserve of troops (1QM 16:12 [par 4Q491 ii 10]; 4Q491 1–3 12).
- 26 This seems to be the sense of the phrase כול לילות השנה. Another explanation would be a third of all the nights of the year. But this is almost impossible physiologically. Shemaryahu Talmon ("The 'Manual of Benedictions' of the Sect of the Judean Desert," *RevQ* 8 [1960]: 475–500 [481–84]) induces from the regular moments of prayer described in 1QS 10:1–8 that both the day and night were divided into three watches (in contrast to the fourfold division of the Romans). This division corresponds to the opinion of Rabbi Nathan that later became authoritative in Judaism. Talmon suggests that the nightly watch described in the Serek took place during the second watch of the night. However, Wernberg-Møller argues (*Manual of Discipline*, 104) that it took place during the third watch and that the members got up every day at two o'clock in the morning. Aharon Shemesh, finally, maintains ("The History of the Creation of Measurements: Between Qumran and the Mishnah," in *Rabbinic Perspectives: Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea*

and praise. It is not unthinkable that these three activities are considered as different aspects of one occupation: to ‘meditate’ (הגה) on the Torah.²⁷

The Damascus Document contains a passage that is closely related to the Serek’s rules for gatherings of ten men. It is situated at the beginning of a section that deals with the organization of the camps (מחנות):

ובמקום עשרה אל ימש איש כהן מבוני בספר ההגי

And in a place of ten let there not be lacking a man who is a priest who understands the book of meditation.

CD 13:2

Although the exact nature of the relationship between this passage and the Serek parallel is disputed, it is clear that there is a literary connection.²⁸ The following terms occur in both passages: “place” (מקום), “ten” (עשרה) and “let there not be lacking” (אל ימש). Moreover, the Serek passage on gatherings of ten opens with the following sentence: “In every place where there are ten men

Scrolls, ed. S. D. Fraade, A. Shemesh and R. A. Clements, STDJ 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 147–73 [170]) that 1QS 6:7–8 refers to the first watch of the night. His argument is that Josh 1:8 (והגית בו יומם ולילה) is interpreted in Jewish tradition in relation to the reading of Shema in the evening and morning. In the evening Shema can be recited until the end of the first watch of the night and hence 1QS 6:7–8 should also refer to the first watch. The parallel is intriguing and it is possible that there is a relationship between the rabbinic traditions Shemesh adduces and 1QS 6:7–8 (especially with respect to the interpretation of Josh 1:8). But this cannot be taken as evidence concerning the time of the vigil described in 1QS 6:7–8. Cf. Jeremy Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer in the Second Temple Period*, STDJ 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 193–95.

27 Cf. George J. Brooke, “Reading, Searching and Blessing: A Functional Approach to Scriptural Interpretation in the יחד,” in *The Temple in Text and Tradition: A Festschrift in Honour of Robert Hayward*, ed. R. T. McLay (London: T&T Clark, 2015), 140–56.

28 Édouard Cothenet argues (“Le Document de Damas,” in *Les textes de Qumran*, ed. J. Carmignac (Paris: Éditions Letouzey et Ané, 1963), 2:131–204 [199]) that here the Damascus Document is dependent on the Serek. Hempel (*The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition and Redaction*, STDJ 29 [Leiden: Brill, 1998], 111) argues to the contrary that either the Serek is dependent on the Damascus Document or (more likely according to Hempel) both texts draw on an earlier source. She regards the material on groups of ten in the Serek as “remnants of pre-Qumranic community legislation.” The discussion concerning the relationship between the Serek and the Damascus Document gained new impetus by the contributions of Reinhard G. Kratz (“Der Penal Code und das Verhältnis von Serekh ha-Yachad [S] und Damaskusschrift [D],” *RevQ* 25 [2011]: 199–227) and Annette Steudel (“The Damascus Document [D] as a rewriting of the Community Rule [S],” *RevQ* 25 [2012]: 605–20) who argue that D is dependent on S, especially on its kernel 1QS 5–7.

from the council of the community, let there not be lacking among them a man who is a priest (אל ימש מאתם איש כוהן):²⁹ The terminological overlap can be explained as dependance from one text on the other or as mutual influence between the two texts. In any case, it is clear that the Damascus Document just like the Serek draws from Josh 1:8. Apart from the negated verb (אל ימש) the text refers to “the book of meditation” (ספר ההגיה). This phrase refers directly to the passage in Joshua, who is told to “meditate” (והגית) on the “book of the law” (ספר התורה).³⁰

Interpretations of Joshua 1:8 have contributed to the ideal of continuous study that we encounter in various texts. One of the most striking occurrences of this motif is in Instruction: “Day and night meditate on the secret of time and study continually” (יומם ולילה הגה ברו נהיה ודרוש תמיד).³¹ It is notable that the passages in Instruction and the Serek have several correspondences. As noted, both Ben Sira and 4Q525 replace “day and night” (יומם ולילה) with “continually” (תמיד). But the Serek and Instruction each use the two expressions cumulatively (יומם ולילה ... תמיד). Moreover, they both introduce the verb *dāraš*.³² This striking combination of terminological overlap may indicate a connection between the texts. Also, in terms of content the two passages approach each other. In Instruction the continuous pursuit of knowledge is directed to the *rāz nihyeh*, while in the Serek continuous study aims at uncovering the “hidden things” (נסתרות) of the Torah.³³ The Serek and Instruction both address

29 1QS 6:3–4 (par 4QS^b 2:7–8; 4QS^s 2a–c 2–3; 4QSⁱ 4–5): ובכול מקום אשר יהיה שם עשרה: אנושים מעצת היחד אל ימש מאתם איש כוהן כוהן. Note that 4QS^b reads כוהן instead of איש כוהן. It is probable that 4QS^s read כוהן as well, considering the amount of space. Cf. Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:102, 177.

30 The phrase ספר ההגיה seems to refer to the Law of Moses (see also CD 10:6, 14:7–8 and 1QSa 1:7). Jonathan Ben-Dov suggests (“The Book of HGY and Ancient Reading Practices,” in Feldman, Cioatǎ and Hempel, *Is There a Text*, 423–37) that the phrase is associated with pedagogy and that it indicates “... a method of reading and study rather than a specific book” (437). While I consent that we cannot determine exactly which writings are and which writings are not included in ספר ההגיה, the passages in the Damascus Document do not obviously refer to pedagogical methods, while the passage on the education of children in the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa 1:7) makes perfect sense when ספר ההגיה is understood as the Law of Moses in which the children are educated along with the laws of the covenant (חוקי הברית). The Torah could be identified here with the books of the Pentateuch as well as with other books that are associated with Mosaic authority, such as Jubilees or the Temple Scroll. On Mosaic attribution, see Najman, *Seconding Sinai*.

31 4Q417 1 i 6 par 4Q418 43–45 i 4.

32 Cf. Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, DJD 34:157.

33 1QS 8:16–16 (par 4QS^d 6:7–8). Cf. Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 132; Aharon Shemesh and Cana Werman, “Hidden Things and Their Revelation,” *RevQ* 18 (1998): 409–27; Shani Tzoref, “The ‘Hidden’ and the ‘Revealed’: Esotericism, Election, and Culpability in Qumran and Related Literature,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at 60*, ed. L. H. Schiffman and S. Tzoref, STDJ 89

communities that aspire to obtain higher knowledge by studying the hidden meaning of texts. This aspiration leads to a renewed understanding and relevance of the passage in Joshua: in order to gather insight into heavenly mysteries, the students of wisdom need to study continuously, by day and by night.

2 Keeping Watch

The requirement of continuous study implies that students of wisdom need to adopt a rigorous lifestyle and abstain from sleep. Two passages in Instruction develop the theme of pushing beyond one's limits in order to approach heavenly knowledge. There is a special connection between these passages in fragments 4Q418 55 and 69.³⁴ They have numerous correspondences in style, vocabulary and content and differ in several respects from other fragments of Instruction.

In Tigchelaar's reconstruction of the sheets of 4Q418 fragment 55 is part of the second sheet while fragment 69 is part of the third sheet.³⁵ Both fragments display a bottom margin. Since fragment 69 has two columns, there is minimally one column that separates 55 from 69 ii. The similarity in style and subject matter suggests that the passages were not too distant from each other, although it is possible that they were separated by more than one column. Fragments 4Q418 55 and 69 may be part of a longer section with a distinctive style that was dedicated to specific themes and stretched over minimally three subsequent columns.³⁶ Moreover, 4Q418 46, 47 and 54 may be located close to fragment 55 on material grounds and share some of the specific stylistic and

(Leiden: Brill, 2010), 299–324; Valérie Triplet-Hitoto, *Mystères et connaissances cachées à Qumran: Dt 29:28 à la lumière des manuscrits de la mer Morte* (Paris: Cerf, 2011); eadem, "The Hidden Things and the Revealed Things: The Qumranic Interpretation of Dt 29:29," *Henoch* 34 (2012): 289–312.

34 For an analysis of the characteristic features of 4Q418 55 and 69 ii, see Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 208–24; idem, "Your Wisdom," 78–81.

35 Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 170–71.

36 The composition Instruction appears to consist of a number of sections that have a distinct style and content. See for instance the cosmological and eschatological introduction (4Q416 1), the long section with instructions relating to every day life issues (4Q417 2 and 4Q416 2), and the fragments that deal with agriculture and trade, possibly in a metaphorical way (e.g., 4Q418 81 15–20; 87; 88; 97; 102a+b; 103 ii; 107; 126 ii; 127; 137; 172; 173; 181; 185a+b; 243; 4Q423 1; 2; 3; 5). It is thus possible that fragments 4Q418 46; 47; 54; 55; and 69 ii also derive from a single section that was distinguished in style and content from other sections in Instruction.

terminological features of fragments 55 and 69 ii.³⁷ Recently, new joins have been suggested that situate 4Q418 47, 57, 211 and 217 in the same column as fragment 55.³⁸ It is probable that this larger section was located after the opening sections (4Q416 1 and 4Q417 1) and before the long section with instructions related to every day issues (4Q417 2 and 4Q416 2).³⁹

The two fragments are characterized by second person plural discourse, while the body of Instruction is formulated in the second person singular and the opening sections are in the third person. In addition, the passages contain first person plural speech that is attributed to certain persons. A remarkable characteristic is the high frequency of rhetorical questions introduced by interrogative particles (מה, איכה, הלוא, ה-). Apart from the speaker four different (groups of) persons appear in the passages: the in-group (נוחלי אמת etc.) is described in the third person, addressed in the second person and, allegedly speaks of itself in the first person plural; an opposing group (אוילי לב etc.) is likewise described in the third, addressed in the second and speaks in the first person; God is described in the third person singular; and finally, the angels are described in the third person plural and speak in the first person plural.

The second line of fragment 55 has a long *vacat*. This indicates that line 3 begins a new passage. The right margin is missing. But apart from that the passage is relatively well preserved:

[למה]בעמל נברה דרכיה
 נרגיעה [] ושקד יהיה בלבבנו [] ובטוח בכול דרכינו
 [] דעה ולא שחרו בינ[ה ובאמת לו]א בחרו
 הלוא אל דעות [] על אמת להכין כול [ב]ינה
 הוא פלג לנוחלי אמת []

37 Cf. Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, DJD 36:211–12, Plates xv–xvi; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 162, 170–71. Note the following features. Frg. 46: second person plural verb תבינו; rhetorical question introduced by interrogative particle ה; the verb יגיע. Frg. 47: rhetorical question introduced by interrogative particle ה; the verb יעצל; the phrase כי יעצל (compare 4Q418 55 11). Frg. 54: rhetorical question introduced by איכה; first person plural verb נרגיעה. The editors (DJD 36:261–62) discuss the possibility of a joint between 46 and 47 but conclude that this cannot be taken for certain.

38 Asaf Gayer, “New Readings and Joins in the Wisdom Composition Instruction,” *Meghillot* 15 (2021): 21–44. The placement of 4Q418 47 to the bottom-right of 55 had already been proposed by Qimron (*Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:150). Gayer shows (“New Readings,” 34–36) on the basis of stylistic and material considerations (including damage patterns) that 4Q418 211 and 217 can be placed to the top-right of fragment 55 and that 57 can be placed to the bottom-right of 55. See further below, page 77 footnote 69.

39 Cf. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 162, 166, 170. Similarly: Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:150–51.

[] שקד בא[מת מ]עש[ה] הלוא שלום והשקט []
 הלוא יד[עתם אם לוא שמעתמה כיא מלאכי קודש לו בשמים
 [] אמת וירדפו אחר כול שורשי בינה וישקדו על []
 [לפ]י דעתם יכבדו איש מרעהו ולפי שכלו ירבה הדרו
 [] הכאנוש הם כי יעצל ובן אדם כי ידמה הלוא
 [] עד והם אחזות עולם ינחלו

[Why] should we dig her ways with toil?⁴⁰

Let us rest [] and vigilance⁴¹ will be in our hearts [] and trustfulness
 in all our ways.

[] knowledge and they have not searched for wis[dom, and truth⁴²
 they have n]ot chosen.

Does not the God of knowledge [] on truth in order to establish all
 [wi]sdom

He distributed to those who inherit truth []

[] vigilance in tru[th⁴³ de]ed[]. Is there not peace and tranquility [?]

[Do you not k]now? Have you not heard, that the holy angels to him in
 heaven []

[] truth and they chase after all the roots of understanding. And they
 keep watch over []

[accor]ding to their knowledge they are honourable, one more than the
 other. And according to his wisdom his glory is great.

40 Qimron (*Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:150) inserts למה in the lacuna preceding דרכיה למה. This makes sense in view of the accusation two lines below that “they have not searched for wisdom” (ליא שחרו בינה).

41 The form שקד in 4Q418 55 4, 7 seems to be a noun. Cf. Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, DJD 34:268–69; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 209. The nominal form of שק”ד is not attested in BH and MH, but according to some it should be reconstructed in Sir 34:1 [LXX 31:1] (Ms. B: <שקד> עשיר; LXX: Ἀγρυπνία πλούτου) and 42:9 (Ms. B: מטמנת שקר; Mas: מטמון ש; LXX: ἀπόχρηφος ἀγρυπνία). Cf. Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 378, 380, 477, 479; DCH, *sub voce*. Edouard Lipiński argues (“שקד,” *ThWAT* 8:445–49 [447]) that both are verbal forms. Note that in the current passage the root שק”ד is paralleled by the root בט”ח. The same occurs in 4Q416 2 ii 14: ומדבהכה ואל תשקוד ממדבהכה. It seems that in both passages the meaning of שקד draws near to בטח. Cf. Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:150, 155. For a different reading of 4Q416 2 ii 14, see Noam Mizrahi, “The Linguistic History of מדהבה: From Textual Corruption to Lexical Innovation,” *RevQ* 26 (2013): 93–116 (107–8). The exact sense of the noun שקד in 4Q418 55 4 and 7 is difficult to grasp.

42 Reconstruction Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:150. Strugnell and Harrington reconstruct (DJD 34:268): וברצון אל.

43 Reconstruction Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:150.

Are they like man? For he is slow. And (like) humankind? For he comes to a standstill. Is not ...?

[] forever. What they inherit is an eternal possession.

4Q418 55 3–12⁴⁴

Although the passage is damaged, it is possible to make a subdivision into three parts. The first part describes a counter-group that does not want to toil in searching for wisdom and nevertheless believes that their lives are safe and secure.⁴⁵ The middle part seems to state that only those who inherit truth are really at peace. Some important clues are missing, and it is not entirely clear what the God of knowledge establishes and divides. The third part describes the angels: they chase after the roots of knowledge and keep watch, apparently to search for wisdom. Angels differ in glory according to their knowledge. They are compared to human beings. Unlike the latter they do not move slowly and do not cease from their activities. Their inheritance is eternal.⁴⁶

The angels are introduced as an example. They represent truth and are continually in search of wisdom. The group of people who do not want to tire themselves in studying, on the other hand, are a counter example. Their

44 Reconstruction based on Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:150.

45 Strugnell and Harrington propose (DJD 34:13, 267, 269) that the subject changes to another group in the lacuna of 4Q418 55 5. They suggest the reconstruction **וְאוֹיְלֵי לֵב לְוִיָּא** and **בִּינָה** [דרשו] in the lacuna. But there is not enough space for this phrase, nor for any other phrase that contains a shift in subject, which would require at least a plural noun describing the group, the negation **לֹא** and a verb. The amount of space available suggests that the subject of the third person plural verbs in line 5 is the same group that speaks in the first person plural in lines 3–4. Qimron's reconstruction (*Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:150) is more plausible: **וְהֵם מֵאִסּוֹ עֵצִי דְעָה**. Tigchelaar argues (*To Increase Learning*, 90) that the *tav* after the lacuna has been deleted, not damaged.

46 Strugnell and Harrington suggest (DJD 34:13, 267, 271–72) that 4Q418 9–10 do not describe angels but human beings. But at the end of line 8 the angels are introduced (**מִלְאֲכֵי קוֹדֵשׁ לֹא**) and line 11 again has the angels as subject (**הַבְּאֲנוּשׁ הֵם**). This means that the editors' reading requires a shift in subject in the lacunae of both line 9 and 11. This hypothesis rests on several assumptions that cannot be tested and moreover create an illogical text. The most important reason for the supposed shifts in subject is the editors' assumption that **לְפִי דְעָתָם** (יכבדו איש מרעהו) relates to human action. The parallel phrase in 1QH^a 18:29–30 (**לְפִי דְעָתָם**) indeed refers to human beings, but this does not exclude the possibility that in the current passage angels differ in honour according to their knowledge. It is significant that 4Q418 69 ii 14 attributes **כְּבוֹד וְרִיב הַדָּר** to the angels (cf. **יִרְבֵּה הַדָּרוֹ**). The notion that angels differ in honour may be expressed in 1QH^a 20:25–27 (if **יִדְעִיכָה** refers to or at least includes angels). For the usage of **אִישׁ** in relation to inanimate objects, see 1 Kgs 7:30, 36 and Isa 40:26 (in relation to the stars: **אִישׁ לֹא נִעְדָּר**). For the position that the angels are the subject of **בִּינָה כּוֹל שׁוֹרְשֵׁי בִינָה**, see Kister, "Wisdom Literature," 30; Goff, *4QInstruction*, 218–19.

unwillingness to search for wisdom is accompanied by their rejection of truth. Apparently, they consider themselves already wise and therefore safe and secure. Although there is at least one column in between fragment 55 and 69 ii, it seems likely that the same motif is continued in the latter. The “foolish of heart” (אוילי לב) are addressed and a riddle is posed to them (4Q418 69 ii 4–5). One of the questions asked is: “What is tranquility for someone who does not exist” (מה השקט ללוא היה).⁴⁷ The riddle apparently picks up on the theme of peace and tranquility in fragment 55. It is as though the foolish do not really exist because their presence is only temporary. They will be destroyed in an eschatological event that entails cosmic upheaval. Then, “those who search for truth” (דורשי אמת) will judge and annihilate the “foolish of heart” and the “sons of injustice” (בני עולה).⁴⁸ In the present context the eschatological judgment is adduced to underline the necessity of the endless pursuit of wisdom. The angels who tirelessly and swiftly chase after the roots of understanding have eternal life, but the foolish who refuse to study will disappear forever.

The following passage continues this discourse. It is neatly delimited by a vacat at the beginning and end:

ואתם בחירי אמת ורודפי [דעת] [משח]רי בינה ו[שוקד]ים] על כול דעה
איכה תאמרו יגענו בבינה ושקדנו לרדוף דעת
[] [בכול מו]עד] ולא עיף בכול שני עולם
הלוא באמת ישעשע לעד ודעה[לנצח]תשרתנו

47 4Q418 69 ii 5. On this riddle, see Kister, “Divorce,” 198–99. Lange suggests (“Wisdom Literature,” 465) that in this passage the word השקט “is a Hebrew representation of the Greek word ἀταραξία” and that Instruction polemicizes against “third-century-BCE Jews who were attracted to Epicurean thought.” Note, however, that the term השקט is used positively in relation to the בחירי אמת in 4Q418 55 7 (cf. Isa 32:17), which makes the hypothesis that השקט represents ἀταραξία in the context of a polemic with Epicurean notions less likely.

48 4Q418 69 ii 4–9 (par 4Q417 6 1–5). A parallel in the Hodayot suggests that דורשי אמת refers to the righteous who judge the wicked in the eschatological era. Cf. 1QH^a 14:32–33: ואז תחיש חרב אל בקץ משפט וכול בני אמתו יעורו להכרית רשעה וכול בני אשמה לא יהיו דורשי אמת יעורו למשפטכ[ם וזאז] ישמדו. Compare: 4Q418 69 ii: יעוד וידרוך גבור קשתו ודורשי אמת יעורו למשפטכ[ם וזאז] ישמדו. כול אוילי לב ובני עולה לוא ימעאו עוד כי דרכתני לי יהודה קשת מלאתי אפרים, ועוררתי בניך ציון על בניך יון ושמתיד כחרב גבור. From this it may be inferred that the phrases בני אמת and דורשי אמת in 1QH^a and Instruction refer to the righteous Israelites. Elgvin (*Analysis of 4QInstruction*, 115–16) and Émile Puech (“Apports des textes apocalyptiques et sapientiels de Qumrân à l’eschatologie du Judaïsme ancien,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, ed. F. García Martínez, BETL 168 [Leuven: Peeters, 2003], 133–70 [142–44]; idem, “Les fragments eschatologiques de 4QInstruction,” *RevQ* 22 (2005): 89–119 [100–2]) argue that the verb יעורו refers to a resurrection of the dead. This interpretation is rejected by Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 211.

וב[ני] שמים אשר חיים עולם נחלתם האמור יאמרו יגענו בפעולות אמת ויעפ[נו]
 בכול קצים
 הלוא באור עולם יתהלכו [כ]בוד ורוב הדר אתם
 [] [ברקיעי] [סוד אילים כול] []

And you, chosen ones of truth, and chasers of [knowledge⁴⁹] diligent seekers[of understanding and] those who keep watch over all knowledge.

How can you say, ‘we weary ourselves in wisdom and we stay awake to chase knowledge’?

[] on every mo[ment⁵⁰] and He does not become tired in all years of eternity.

Does He not delight in truth forever and (does not) knowledge [eternally] serve him?

And the sons of heaven, whose lot is eternal life,⁵¹ do they really say: ‘We weary ourselves in truthful deeds and we become tired throughout all ages’?

Do they not walk in eternal light? Glory and great splendour is with them.

[] in the firmaments of[] in the council of the divine ones⁵² every[].

4Q418 69 ii 10–15

A few words are missing but the structure of the passage can be grasped without much difficulty. The first part addresses the chosen ones and poses a rhetorical question concerning their toil in seeking for wisdom. The second part contrasts human beings with God who never becomes tired but eternally delights in truth and is served by knowledge.⁵³ The third part again introduces the angels: they have eternal life and never become weary. It is notable that the same qualifications that are applied to the angels in fragment 55 are applied here to the chosen ones: they chase after knowledge (יִרְדְּפוּ אַחַר כּוֹל שׁוֹרְשֵׁי) and keep watch (יִשְׁקְדוּ—שׁוֹקְדִים) and (בִּינָה—רוֹדְפֵי דַעַת). This reinforces the exemplary role of the angels: the chosen ones are incited to identify with the heavenly beings. In fact, both God and the angels are introduced as examples for

49 Compare 4Q418 69 ii 11 and the usage of the term רוֹדְפֵי דַעַת in 4Q299 8 7 and 4Q424 3 2.

50 Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:151.

51 Strugnell and Harrington suggest (DJD 34:290) emendation of חַי עוֹלָם to חַיִּים עוֹלָם.

52 סוֹד אֵילִים refers to the council of the angels. Cf. Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, DJD 34:283, 291.

53 Cf. *ibid.*, 283, 289. Note that בְּאֵמַת יִשְׁעָשַׁע לְעַד may be based on Prov 8:30 in which Wisdom claims that she is the “delight” (שְׁעֵשִׁיעַ) of God. For the notion that wisdom serves God (דְּעָה לְנִצְחַת תְּשָׂרְתֵנוּ), see CD 2:4, עֲרַמָּה וּדְעַת הֵם יִשְׂרָתוּהוּ.

human beings who aspire to attain insight. The passage emphasizes that the toil of the chosen ones in pursuing knowledge is not impressive. Their efforts are contrasted with God and the angels who have eternal life and never grow weary in their activities.

The high frequency of the root *šqd* in 4Q418 55 and 69 ii is striking.⁵⁴ The root occurs ten times in Instruction, which is much more frequent than in any other known Hebrew text from antiquity. Five occurrences are in fragments 55 and 69 ii. The basic sense of the verb *šāqad* is “to keep watch,” “to be vigilant” or “to wake.”⁵⁵ In 4Q418 69 ii 10–11 the verb is supplemented by the preposition *ʿal* in the expression “those who watch over all knowledge” (שוקדים על כול דעה). In the Hebrew Bible *šāqad* occurs repeatedly in combination with *ʿal* in the sense of “to watch over” or “guard” somebody or something (Jer 1:12; 5:6; 31:28; 44:27; Job 21:32; Spr 8:34).⁵⁶ But how should one “watch over” something immaterial like knowledge? It seems that the expression is based on Prov 8:34, “Happy is the one who listens to me, watching daily at my gates (לשקד על דלתתי), keeping watch beside the doorposts of my entrance.”⁵⁷ Against this background it appears that the expression “to watch over knowledge” can be interpreted as “to approach ...” or “to pursue wisdom.” In addition, the expression may have the connotation of abstaining from sleep and staying awake in order to study. This is suggested by the usage of the same verb in the phrase “we stay awake to chase knowledge” (שקדנו לרדוף דעת).⁵⁸

Might these passages refer to practices of nocturnal study? They do not explicitly state that the studious toil of the chosen ones takes place at night. But as I showed in the previous section, there is a close verbal correspondence between the admonition in Instruction to “meditate on the secret of time day and night and study continually” (יומם ולילה הגה ברוז נהיה ודרוש תמיד), and the rule in the Serek that in a place of ten there should not be lacking “a man studying the Torah day and night continually” (איש דורש בתורה יומם ולילה תמיד).⁵⁹ Both sentences are based on Josh 1:8. This may suggest that the phrase “we stayed awake to chase knowledge” (שקדנו לרדוף דעת) refers to a similar practice as prescribed in the Serek: “The many shall watch together for a third of all

54 Cf. Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, DJD 34:25, 268–69; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 219.

55 Cf. BDB, *sub voce*; DCH, *sub voce*; Lipiński, “שקד,” 445–49.

56 DCH, *sub voce*; Lipiński, “שקד,” 447. Lipiński notes (*ibid.*) that וישקד יהוה על הרעה in Dan 9:14 corresponds to שקד עליהם לרעה in Jer 44:27 and is thus used differently from the other occurrences of על שקד.

57 אשרי אדם שמע לי לשקד על דלתתי יום יום לשמור מזוזת פתחי.

58 This phrase is immediately followed by the statement that God does not become tired (לא עיף), which confirms the sense of “being awake” in the previous phrase.

59 4Q417 1 i 6; 1QS 6:6–7.

the nights of the year to read the book, to study the law, and to give praise in unison” (והרבים ישקודו ביחד את שלישיית כול לילות השנה לקרוא בספר ולדרוש משפט) (ולברך ביחד).⁶⁰

We cannot be certain about the exact relation between the two texts and the communities they address, but it is clear that they refer to similar ideals and practices in the pursuit of wisdom. Moreover, the notion that one should abstain from sleep in order to study is attested in other texts as well. A striking parallel for nocturnal study in the Serek and Instruction is found in the Greek text *Wisdom of Solomon*: “One who rises early to seek her (i.e., wisdom) will not grow weary (ὁ κοιπιάσει), for he will find her sitting at his gate. To fix one’s thought on her is perfect understanding, and one who is sleepless (ὁ ἀγρυπνήσας) on her account will soon be free from care.”⁶¹ These verses from *Wisdom of Solomon* have several correspondences in *Instruction*: studying before dawn and being sleepless (תתקדנו לרדוף דעת); not becoming weary (לא עייף); and being free from worries because of wisdom (שקד; בטוח; שלום; השקט).⁶² Keeping watch and abstaining from sleep are

60 IQS 6:7–8. It may be noted that the verb יגע is used in the Rabbinic tradition for the labour in studying Torah. This may affirm the assumption that יגענו בבניה in *Instruction* also refers to Torah study, which only strengthens the connection with IQS 6:6–8. Cf. Eibert Tigchelaar, “יגע,” *ThWQ* 2:52–54 (53). Jeremy Penner highlights the practice of nocturnal prayer (*Patterns of Daily Prayer*, 165–208) and places this practice against the background of physiologically determined sleeping patterns and nocturnal activity in premodern societies (166–71). He discusses various passages in the scrolls that may allude to nocturnal prayer.

61 Wis 6:14–15 ὁ ὀρθρῖσας πρὸς αὐτήν οὐ κοιπιάσει· παρέδρον γὰρ εὐρήσει τῶν πυλῶν αὐτοῦ. τὸ γὰρ ἐνθυμηθῆναι περὶ αὐτῆς φρονήσεως τελειότης, καὶ ὁ ἀγρυπνήσας δι’ αὐτήν ταχέως ἀμέριμνος ἔσται. Cf. David Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, AB 43 (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1979), 151–52, 154. *Wisdom of Solomon* was probably written in Egypt, possibly in Alexandria. Scholars have variously dated the work between the late third century BCE and the mid first century CE. Winston argues (*ibid.*, 20–25) that the beginning of Roman rule in Egypt (30 BCE) marks the terminus post quem. He considers the reign of Caligula (37–41 CE) as the most likely setting for the composition of the work. Randall D. Chesnutt responds (“Solomon, Wisdom of,” in *Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, ed. J. J. Collins and D. C. Harlow [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010], 1242–44 [1243]) that such a precise dating is problematic. He prefers a broad dating in the early Roman period (somewhere between 30 BCE and 40 CE).

62 Note also that the phrase “for he will find her sitting at his gate” (παρέδρον γὰρ εὐρήσει τῶν πυλῶν αὐτοῦ) is similar to Prov 8:34. Cf. Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 154. Concerning possible connections between the *Wisdom of Solomon* and Qumran texts (especially *Instruction*), see John J. Collins, “The Mysteries of God: Creation and Eschatology in 4QInstruction and the *Wisdom of Solomon*,” in Garcia Martínez, *Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, 287–305; and Émile Puech, “The Book of Wisdom and the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Overview,” in *The Book of Wisdom in Modern Research: Studies on Tradition, Redaction, and Theology*, ed. A. Passaro and G. Bellia (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 117–41.

required in order to approach knowledge that is otherwise out of the reach of humans. The students of wisdom have to venture beyond their physical limitations and seek new models of intelligence that transcend humanity.

3 Celestial Beings

Fragments 4Q418 55 and 69 ii emphasize the contrast between angels and human beings. Unlike the latter the angels do not become faint or weary: they continually perform their tasks. As such, they provide the chosen ones with an example to emulate. In order to understand the ideal state of being as represented by the angels, it is important to realize that the angels are associated with the movements of the heavenly bodies.

Hindy Najman has placed the phenomenon of the emulation of ideal figures in ancient Judaism against the background of the quest for perfection in the Hellenistic world.⁶³ She demonstrates how historical characters as Abraham, Moses or Ezra acquire exemplary status and provide models for identification in new contexts that generate new discourses that are attributed retrospectively to these founding figures.⁶⁴ Part of her discussion focuses on Philo of Alexandria who presents the patriarchs as embodiments of the Law of Nature, which in his eyes corresponds to the law of Moses.⁶⁵ As living exemplars of the law of nature these ideal figures at once provide pedagogical models for those pursuing perfection and authorize the Jewish law within a Hellenistic philosophical context.⁶⁶ For Philo the emulation of exemplary figures is a central element in the formation of an individual's character (*paideia*). Najman's work is significant for understanding the role of exemplary figures in Instruction. Some form of aspiration to perfection is certainly involved here. But rather than humans, Instruction introduces celestial examples.

The exemplary function of the angels derives especially from their capability of tireless and constant activity. The language that Instruction utilizes to describe this feature has cosmological connotations. Angels and human beings

63 Hindy Najman, "The Quest for Perfection in Ancient Judaism," in *Past Renewals*, 219–34; eadem, "How Should we Contextualize?"

64 See Najman, *Seconding Sinai*.

65 Cf. Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, 70–107; eadem, "The Law of Nature and the Authority of Mosaic Law," in *Past Renewals*, 87–106; eadem, "A Written Copy of the Law of Nature: An Unthinkable Paradox?" in *Past Renewals*, 107–118. For further bibliography on this topic, see *ibid.*, 107 n. 1 and n. 2.

66 Najman, "Quest for Perfection," 222–8; eadem, "Text and Figure," 243–56. Cf. eadem, *Seconding Sinai*, 82–99.

are contrasted as follows: “Are they like man? For he is slow. And (like) human-kind? For he comes to a standstill” (הכאנוש הם כי יעצל ובן אדם כי ידמה).⁶⁷ It is striking that the same terminology is applied to the heavenly bodies elsewhere. The opening of Instruction, fragmentarily preserved in 4Q416 1, describes the orderly course of creation and gives special attention to the luminaries: “... stars of light (כוכבי אור). And to mete out the task of ... they run (ירוצו) at fixed times, from season to season ... without standing still (אינן להדמות).”⁶⁸ The stars run in their orbits according to their appointed times and never cease from their courses. It is significant that the verb “standing still” (להדמות) is here connected to the stars (probably in negation), while in 4Q418 55 it is connected to angels (in contrast to human beings). Thus, according to Instruction both angels and stars are fast and never “stand still.” The same argument is found in fragment 47: “ruling in their dominions (בממשלותם) ... their work (עבודתם). Is he slow? (היעצל) For ... they walk from time to time.”⁶⁹ Fragment 47 seems to refer to the movements of luminaries and asks whether they are slow, a question posed in fragment 55 in relation to the angels.⁷⁰

James Kugel suggests that the notion that angels perform their duties tirelessly derives precisely from their identification with the “host of heaven” (צבא השמים), i.e., the stars.⁷¹ This identification can be found for instance in the book of Job: “When the morning stars sang together and all the sons of

67 4Q418 55 11.

68 4Q416 1 i 1-3 (par 4Q418 229 1-3): כוכבי אור ולתכן חפצי [] ירוצו מעת עד עת מועד במועד: [ואין] להדמות. For the reconstruction עת עד עת, cf. Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:147 (based on Ezek 4:10-11). For the reconstruction of אין להדמות, cf. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 175, 178. Tigchelaar suggests (ibid., 178) that להדמות is a *niphāl*, *hiphīl* or *hitpaēl* of דמה 11 and has a similar meaning as דמם+qal in Josh 10:12-13 where the sun and moon come to a standstill.

69 4Q418 47 1-3: [מוש]לים בממשלותם [ע]בודתם היעצל כי [ע]ה יתהלכו מעת ל[עת]. For a comparable usage of the terms ממשלה and עבודה, cf. 1QH^a 9:12-15; and perhaps 4Q299 10 9-10. The usage of the term ממשלה in relation to luminaries may derive from Gen 1:16, ויעש אלהים את שני המארות הגדלים את המאור הגדל לממשלת היום ואת המאור הקטן ויעש אלהים את שני המארות הגדלים את המאור הגדל לממשלת הלילה ואת הכוכבים. Qimron and Gayer situate this passage in the same column as fragment 55 (page 69 footnote 38). This placement is certainly a possibility but there is no direct join and since the section of fragments 55 and 69 spans at least three columns and discusses related themes in 55 and 69 ii (which are separated by at least one column), it is also possible that the fragment was situated elsewhere in this larger section of which much material was lost.

70 Note also the statement in 4Q418 122 ii + 126 ii 4: לא ישבות אחד מכול צבאם. Although the context is lost, it is likely that the sentence refers to the incessant movements of the “heavenly hosts.”

71 James L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible As It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 76-77.

God shouted for joy” (Job 38:7).⁷² Because heavenly bodies are continually in motion, the angels are characterized as tireless. An interesting example of the tirelessness of angels and luminaries is found in Ben Sira:

Ἐν κτίσει κυρίου τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ ποιήσεως αὐτῶν διέστειλεν
μερίδας αὐτῶν.
ἐκόσμησεν εἰς αἰῶνα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν εἰς γενεὰς αὐτῶν·
οὔτε ἐπείνασαν οὔτε ἐκοπίασαν καὶ οὐκ ἐξέλιπον ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν.

When God created his works in the beginning and, as he made them,
assigned their portion,
He ordered for all time their activities, and their dominions for all
generations.

They were not to hunger, nor grow weary, nor ever desist from their works.

Sir 16:26–27⁷³

The passage has some interesting parallels with the material from Instruction. Ben Sira speaks of “the works” (τὰ ἔργα, cf. עבודתם) and “the dominions” (τὰς ἀρχὰς, cf. ממשלותם) of the luminaries.⁷⁴ They do not become tired and never cease their courses but perform their tasks in perpetuity. But there is even a more significant connection: Ben Sira’s statement that the angels do not become hungry or weary appears to be a reference to Isaiah.⁷⁵

Isaiah 40:26 states that the heavenly bodies were established by God: “Lift up your eyes on high and see: Who created these? He who brings out their host and numbers them, calling them all by name; because he is great in strength,

72 בָּרַן יְחַד כּוֹכְבֵי בָקָר וּיְרִיעוּ כָּל בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים. On this theme, see further: Michael Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 25–26, 173–84; Moshe Weinfeld, “The Angelic Song over the Luminaries in the Qumran Texts,” in *Normative and Sectarian Judaism*, 90–111 (104–8); Jonathan Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context*, STDJ 78 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 25–31; Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer*, 165–208.

73 Only the first part of 16:26 has been preserved in Hebrew (Ms. A): כְּבֵרָא אֵל מַעֲשֵׂיו מֵרֵאשִׁית עַל חַיִּיהֶם. The translation is based on Skehan and Di Lella (*Ben Sira*, 276), with some modifications. Cf. Kugel, *Traditions*, 76.

74 Note that LXX-Gen 1:16 renders מַמְשֵׁלָה as ἀρχή.

75 Arjen Bakker, “Sages and Saints: Continuous Study and Transformation in Musar le-Mevin and Serek ha-Yahad,” in *Tracing Sapiential Traditions in Ancient Judaism*, JSJSup 174, ed. H. Najman, J.-S. Rey and E. J. C. Tigchelaar (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 106–118 (110–13). On the elaboration of this interpretive theme in the Parables of Enoch, see Arjen Bakker, “The Praise of the Luminaries in the Similitudes of Enoch and its Parallels in the Qumran Scrolls,” *Meghillot* 13 (2017): 171–84.

mighty in power, not one is missing.”⁷⁶ This verse apparently was of interest to Ben Sira because of its description of the creation of the luminaries. But his quotation is taken from one of the following verses:

הלוֹא ידַעַת אִם לֹא שִׁמַּעַת
 אֱלֹהֵי עוֹלָם יְהוָה בּוֹרֵא קִצּוֹת הָאָרֶץ
 לֹא יִיעָף וְלֹא יִיגַע אִין חִקֵּר לְתַבּוּנָתוֹ

Have you not known? Have you not heard?
 The Lord is the everlasting God, the Creator of the ends of the earth.
 He does not faint or grow weary; his understanding is unsearchable.

Isa 40:28

In the following verses Isaiah proclaims that the strength of young men cannot be compared to God who never becomes tired. Ben Sira reads these verses in relation to the description of the creation of the heavenly host (Isa 40:26), for he states that the stars “were not to hunger, nor grow weary” (οὐτε ἐπεινάσσαν οὐτε ἐκοπίασσαν). This is an adapted quotation of Isa 40:28. It is possible that the original Hebrew of Ben Sira read: “They do not become faint, nor grow weary” (לֹא יַעֲפוּ וְלֹא יִגְעוּ). The Greek verb *πεινάω* means “to be hungry.” In the Septuagint it repeatedly renders the roots *yḥ* and *ḥp* in contexts of people becoming weak because of a lack of food or water.⁷⁷ It is notable that the Septuagint of Isa 40:28 translates the phrase “he does not faint or grow weary” (לֹא יִיעָף וְלֹא יִיגַע) as “he will not hunger nor grow weary” (οὐ πεινάσει οὐδὲ ἐκοπίσει). The unique combination of negated verbs clearly demonstrates that Ben Sira refers to Isa 40:28.⁷⁸ Just like God, the angels and heavenly bodies do not become tired.

Exactly the same verse in Isaiah is invoked in Instruction (4Q418 55 8): “Do you not know? Have you not heard?” (הלוֹא ידַעַתֶּם עִם לֹא שִׁמַּעַתֶּם).⁷⁹ Instead of continuing the sentence with God as subject, as in Isaiah, Instruction proceeds by describing the “holy angels” (מַלְאֲכֵי קוֹדֶשׁ): they are not slow and do not

76 Isa 40:26 מְרוֹם עֵינֵיכֶם וְרֹא מִי בְרָא אֱלֹהֵי הַמּוֹצִיא בַמַּסְפֵּר צְבָאִים לְכֹלֵם בְּשֵׁם יִקְרָא מֵרֵב מֵרֵב מוֹנֵה מַסְפֵּר לְכוֹכְבֵיִם לְכֹלֵם שְׁמוֹת יִקְרָא Ps 147:4–5 אֹנִים וְאִמִּין כַּח אִישׁ לֹא נַעֲדָר גְּדוֹל אֲדוֹנֵינוּ וְרֵב כַּח לְתַבּוּנָתוֹ אִין מַסְפֵּר. On the theme of counting and naming the stars, cf. Stone, “Lists of Revealed Things,” 391–96.

77 Cf. Dt 25:18; Jgs 8:4 LXX-b, 5 LXX-a; Isa 5:27; 28:12; 40:28, 29, 30, 31, 44:12. On the relationship between יַעֲף and יִיעָף, see Edward Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* (1 Q Isa a), STDJ 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 243–44. See further G. F. Hasel, “יַעֲף,” *ThWAT* 3 (1977): 710–18 (715); Mizrahi, “Linguistic History of מְדַבֵּה,” 102–3.

78 The combination of יַעֲף and יִיגַע is found in Jer 51:58 and Hab 2:13. יַעֲף and יִיגַע are juxtaposed in Dt 25:18. But Isa 40:28–31 is the only place where the two verbs are negated.

79 Cf. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 209, 220.

stand still. Column 2 of Fragment 69 picks up on Isa 40:28 and offers a striking reading. First, it states that God does not become tired (לא עיף) throughout eternity, which is in line with Isaiah. Next, the fragment applies the same principle to the angels. Instruction asks ironically: “Do they really say: ‘We weary ourselves in truthful deeds and we become tired throughout all ages?’” (האמור יאמרו יגענו בפעולות אמת ויעפנו בכול קצים). The answer is of course: no, angels do not become tired or grow weary. It is remarkable that Instruction quotes the same Isaiah passage as Ben Sira and just like the latter, attributes divine tirelessness to angels, who are associated with the movements of the luminaries.⁸⁰ There can be little doubt that the references to Isaiah in these two wisdom texts are connected. Instruction elaborates on existing notions of tireless heavenly beings but develops them in a specific direction.

The composition presents angels and human beings as counterparts. The angels and chosen ones perform similar actions, but the angels do so in the most perfect way. The angels perform “deeds of truth” (פעולות אמת), which is also expected from the chosen ones. The angels pursue knowledge (ירדפו אחר), just like the chosen ones (כול דעה), just like the chosen ones (כול שורשי בינה). But the focus of the angels is on the sources of knowledge, “the roots of understanding” (שורשי בינה). They are fast while humanity is slow. Moreover, angels never grow weary in their pursuit of wisdom, while human beings grow tired and hungry. Without rest or food, humans cannot continue their labour. This means that every human quest for wisdom by necessity involves interruptions in which knowledge and insights are lost. Finally, each human being faces the most radical interruption: death. The angelic capacity for continuous activity, on the other hand, is not even restricted by a limited span of life. The portion that is granted to them lasts forever (אחוזת עולם ינחלו) and they themselves have eternal life (חיים עולם נחלתם). Hence, their capacity of gathering wisdom is unlimited and this might be the reason why “they walk in eternal light” (באור עולם יתהלכו).

The exemplary status of the angels consists in their continuous activity of pursuing wisdom, which corresponds to the perpetual motions of the heavenly bodies. The chosen ones are supposed to emulate the angelic beings in their

80 It may be suggested that the term בני שמים in 4Q418 69 ii 12–13 has the specific connotation of heavenly bodies. The same may be true for בני השמים in 4Q416 1 12 (*par* 4Q418 2c), since the phrase צבא השמים in the same column (4Q416 1 7) refers to the luminaries as well. Note that in the Hebrew Bible the expression צבא השמים repeatedly refers specifically to the sun, moon and stars (e.g., Deut 4:19; 17:3; 2 Kgs 23:5; Isa 34:4). García Martínez convincingly argues (“Marginalia on 4QInstruction,” *DSD* 13 [2006]: 29–37) that בני (ה)שמים in Instruction (as in other texts) refers to heavenly beings and not to humans or angelomorphic humans, as suggested by some.

quest for knowledge. This is evidently a form of striving for perfection. But how can humankind ever achieve this ideal? How should one emulate stars? The chosen ones claim: “We toiled in wisdom and we stayed awake to chase knowledge” (יגענו בבינה ושקנדו לרדוף דעת). But this is not enough. God and the angels are continually awake and forever active. No less is required from human sages. It may be recalled that fragment 55 rebukes the foolish for their refusal to toil for wisdom. Instead, they prefer to rest and feel safe and secure. But their feeling of security is illusory: they will be destroyed in the eschatological judgment. Those who inherit truth, by contrast, do acquire peace and tranquility (שלום והשקט). The underlying notion may be that the pursuit of wisdom grants a person tranquility. Thus, paradoxically, despite his active search for knowledge the sage does not become tired.⁸¹

In her work on exemplarity and pseudepigraphical attribution Hindy Najman highlights the difference between imitation and emulation.⁸² In her definition the aim of imitation is to become like the exemplar in some determinate aspect, whereas the aim of emulation is to become identical to the exemplar. Hence, in the case of emulation the ideal figure is not merely a model to be copied, but a model with which the emulator identifies. In Instruction the heavenly bodies provide models of identification which are personified as angels. The aim of the chosen ones is to become identical to these angels. But how is this possible? By their natural constitution human beings will become hungry, tired and eventually will lose their strength and die. So how could they ever emulate heavenly beings? It may be suggested that on the one hand the tireless angel represents an ideal, a final purpose that cannot be realized but has to be approximated by continuous efforts.⁸³ By comparing themselves to the angels, the sages are motivated to continue their search for wisdom endlessly and never to feel satisfied with their knowledge. On the other hand, Instruction seems to suppose that some kind of rupture takes place, an event

81 A similar notion may be found in 1 En 82:3 in connection with the heavenly wisdom that Enoch passes on to Methuselah: “They who understand it will not sleep, and they will incline their ears to learn this wisdom, and it will be better for those who eat (it) than good food.” Cf. George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2001), 333.

82 Najman, “How Should We Contextualize,” 240.

83 Compare Najman’s description (“Quest for Perfection,” 220) of unattainable perfection (based on Pierre Hadot): “... the ongoing formation of the soul in an ever-increasing approximation which can never reach its goal but which nevertheless constitutes moral progress.” Cf. Pierre Hadot, *Exercices spirituels et philosophie antique* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1987); idem, *Qu’est-ce que la philosophie antique?* (Paris: Gallimard, 1995).

that breeches the gap between humanity's limitations and the demands of heavenly wisdom.

4 Conclusion

The reconfiguration of wisdom that we witness in the Dead Sea Scrolls involves a sharp distinction between earthly knowledge and heavenly knowledge. The texts express an aspiration to move beyond the limits of wisdom, and we see this tendency in works from both the sectarian and non-sectarian categories, as these have been constructed in scholarship. The emphasis on heavenly knowledge leads to a new reading of Joshua 1:8, viz. the study of Torah and wisdom has to be performed continually, by day and by night. This requirement obviously clashes with the physical needs of humans, who are dependent on food, drink and sleep. But according to Instruction and Wisdom of Solomon, those who pursue knowledge continually do not become tired or weary. They emulate otherworldly beings who are not restricted by the same physical needs as humans. The continuous activity of the angels who walk in eternal light and toil in knowledge tirelessly is associated with the perpetual movements of the heavenly bodies. Emulation of this angelic model is dependent on a gift of knowledge that surpasses anything humans could achieve.

The Dynamics of Revelation

In order to become wise, the sage has to study and pursue knowledge continually, just like the angels. Humans have the potential to achieve knowledge, because God has created them in the likeness of the holy ones.¹ But at the same time, human beings are fleshly creatures that are inclined towards evil and have a limited capacity for understanding. They can even produce false wisdom that directly opposes the knowledge of divine revelation. So how can the human potential for insight into heavenly mysteries ever be realized? The chasm between human wisdom and heavenly wisdom cannot be overcome by intensive study alone. There also needs to be a transformation of the human self that prepares for the mediation of heavenly knowledge to human beings. Here spirits, or angels, play an important role. Revelation is a dynamic process, conditioned by human limitations and the influence of both evil spirits and holy angels, a dynamic interplay between light and darkness.

1 The Body and Evil Forces

The conclusion to the final hymns of the Serek somehow comes as a surprise. The last hymn describes the enlightenment of the poet and how he has perceived heavenly secrets (1QS 11:3–6). It is even claimed that the chosen ones, to whom the poet evidently belongs, share in the lot of the angels and form a community together with heavenly beings (1QS 11:7–9). After this exalted language the final blessing in 11:15–22 is an anticlimax. It ends with the statement that no one but God can comprehend the secrets of heaven and that man is in fact not able to understand anything:

אין אחר זולתכה להשיב על עצתכה ולהשכיל בכול מחשבת קודשכה
 ולהביט בעומק רזיכה ולהתבונן בכול נפלאותיכה עם כוח גבורתכה
 ומי יכול להכיל את כבודכה
 מה אף הואה בן האדם במעשי פלאכה
 וילוד אשה מה ישב לפניכה
 והואה מעפר מגבלו ולחם רמה מדורו

¹ See 4Q417 1 i 16–18 *par* 4Q418 43, 44, 45 i 13–14 and the discussion by Hindy Najman, “*Imitatio Dei* and the Formation of the Subject in Ancient Judaism,” *JBL* 140 (2021): 309–23 (318–22).

והואה מצירוק חמר קורץ ולעפר תשוקתו
מה ישיב חמר ויוצר יד לעצת מה יבין

Beyond you there is no-one who can respond to your counsel, and understand your entire holy design,
and perceive the depth of your mysteries and fathom all your marvels or the strength of your might.

Who can comprehend your glory?

What, indeed, is the son of man, among all your marvelous deeds?

What shall one born of woman respond² to you?

He is kneaded from dust, and the food of worms shall his dwelling be.

He is spat saliva,³ moulded clay, and for dust is his longing.

What will clay reply? And one shaped by hand, what counsel will he be able to understand?⁴

1QS 11:18–22 *par* 4QSⁱ 6–10

The passage opposes God's unfathomable greatness to the insignificance of humankind. The same literary form is frequent in the Hodayot and has been dubbed *Niedrichkeitsdoxologie*.⁵ In this *Gattung* the glorification of God's endless powers is contrasted with the utter devaluation of human existence. This contrast is expressed in a shorter or longer series of rhetorical questions and statements.⁶ Apart from general expressions for humankind (אדם, בן אדם, אנוש)

2 1QS 11:21 reads: **מה ישיב**. Dots were inserted above and below the line in between the *he* and *yod*. This was probably done to indicate separation between the two words. Cf. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 198–99.

3 Cf. *DSSSE*, 1.99. On the form **מצירוק**, see Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 237; DJD 25:205–6; Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, 82–83 n. 33; Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:91. According to Menahem Kister (“Body and Sin: Romans and Colossians in Light of Qumranic and Rabbinic Texts,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, ed. J.-S. Rey, STDJ 102 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 171–207 [192 n. 82]) the word is unintelligible.

4 4QSⁱ 10, **מה יבין**, לעצת מה יבין. 1QS 11:22, **ולעצת מה יבין**. Alexander and Vermes note (DJD 26:206) that the reading of 4QSⁱ is superior, because it “gives a neat and well-balanced chiasmus.”

5 Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchung zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran*, SUNT 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 27–29. Cf. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, 73–94, 181–84. Newsom (*Self as Symbolic Space*, 220) characterizes the self-loathing in the Hodayot as “the masochistic sublime.”

6 Those rhetorical questions are often introduced by the interrogative particles **מי**, **איכה** and **מה** and are frequently preceded by the phrase **ואני** that functions as *casus pendens*. Cf. Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 28–29. Another typical form is the expression: **מה אף הוא בן אדם\בשר\שב אל עפרו**. These expressions are based on the proverbial question: **מה אנוש**, “What is man?” (Ps 8:5; cf. 144:3; Job 7:17; 15:14). Cf. Tigchelaar, “**בְּשָׂר**,” 544. On the conceptual function of the **מה אנוש** question in the Hodayot and other texts, see Hindy Najman, “Conceptualizing

a set of peculiar expressions is used, part of which has been developed especially for this literary form. The term “one born of a woman” (ילוד אשה) is known from Job (14:1; 15:14; 25:4). But terms such as “creature of clay” (יצר החמר), “creature of dust” (יצר עפר) and “one kneaded with water” (מגבל במים) are distinctive to the Hodayot.⁷ These terms are in part based on creation accounts, which is also the case for “one who returns to his dust” (שב אל עפרו).⁸ Such phrases emphasize the nothingness and mortality of human beings as creatures of flesh. Other expressions stress the impurity and sinfulness of humankind: “structure of sin” (מבנה החטאה), “source of impurity” (מקור הנדה) and “furnace of iniquity” (כור העוון).⁹

If we look more closely, it appears that the inferiority of humankind is related to ignorance. The blessing that concludes the Serek, quoted above, explicitly connects the lowliness of humans with their inability to comprehend heavenly secrets and the judgments of God. This emphasis on the absence of knowledge and insight among human creatures is a fundamental aspect of the so called *Niedrichkeitsdoxologie*, both in the Serek and in the Hodayot. A few examples suffice: “What indeed is the fleshly spirit (רוח בשר) to understand all these things and to have insight into your great and marvelous secret;”¹⁰ “What indeed is flesh (בשר) to have insight in all these things;”¹¹ “furnace of iniquity and structure of sin, erring spirit and perverted without understanding (בלא בינה).”¹² The Hodayot repeatedly claim that humanity is, or is dominated by, a “perverted spirit” (רוח נעוה).¹³ As a consequence, all human knowledge is flawed and humankind cannot achieve true wisdom. The final hymn of the Serek expresses this notion very clearly when it describes the heavenly knowledge that was revealed to the poet: “Wisdom that is hidden from humankind

Wilderness: Poetic Processes and Reading Practices in the Hodayot and the Apostrophe to Zion,” in *Papers from the Sixteenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

7 For a discussion of these terms, see Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, 77–84; and the recent, thorough analysis of the terminology and its background by Carol A. Newsom, “Deriving Negative Anthropology through Exegetical Activity: The Hodayot as Case Study,” in Feldman, Cioatǎ and Hempel, *Is There a Text*, 259–74; eadem, *The Spirit within Me: Self and Agency in Ancient Israel and Second Temple Judaism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2021), 147–58.

8 Gen 3:19; Ps 104:29; Job 10:9; 34:15; Qoh 3:20; 12:7. Cf. 1QH^a 6:40; 18:14; 20:3; 22:8, 30; 23:29.

9 Cf. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, 84–86.

10 1QH^a 5:30–31: רוח בשר להבין בכול אלה ולהשכיל בסוד פלאכה הגדול.

11 1QH^a 7:34: מה אף הוא בשר כי ישכיל באלה.

12 1QH^a 9:24–25: כור העוון ומבנה החטאה רוח התועה ונעוה בלא בינה. Compare also: 1QH^a 21:30–31; 18:3–9; 21:4–10.

13 1QH^a 5:32; 8:18; 11:22; 19:15.

(נסתרה מאנוש), knowledge and insightful meditation (hidden) from the sons of man, fount of justice and well of strength and spring of glory (hidden) from the essence of flesh (מסוד בשר).¹⁴

The reason why heavenly wisdom is concealed from human beings is their wickedness, which is related to their bodily existence. Immediately after the description of the sage's enlightenment and participation in an angelic community, the hymn continues:

ואני לאדם רשעה ולסוד בשר עול עוונותי פשעי חטאתי עם נעוות לבבי לסוד רמה
והולכי חושך

And as for me, I am a wicked man, an essence of unjust flesh. My iniquities,
my transgressions, my sins, and the perversions of my mind belong to
the essence of a worm¹⁵ and those who walk in darkness.

1QS 11:9–10

The term “flesh” (בשר) takes a central role in the negative descriptions of humankind. The word refers to the body and can be used more generally as a term for humanity or, broader, for all living beings.¹⁶ The Serek associates the body with sinfulness.¹⁷ But what is the reason for this negative appreciation of the body? The main reason seems to be that the physical is the sphere that is influenced or even dominated by evil forces. Various texts found at Qumran show an interest in demonology and in ways to ward off evil spirits.¹⁸ Most

14 1QS 11:6–7: תושיה אשר נסתרה מאנוש דעה ומזמת ערמה מבני אדם מקור צדקה ומקוה: גבורה עם מעין כבוד מסוד בשר.

15 The term סוד may either be interpreted as “assembly” (e.g., *DSSSE*, 1:99) or as “foundation,” “essence.” Cf. Menahem Kister, “Some Observations,” 163–64. Since סוד בשר is likely to be translated as “essence of flesh,” it makes sense to understand סוד רמה as “essence of a worm.” In other words, the essence of man is no more exalted than a worm. The comparison of man to a worm is found in Job 25:6, אף כי אנוש רמה ובן אדם תולעה, and perhaps the Serek alludes to the state of human beings after death when they are eaten by worms. Cf. Wernberg-Møller, *Manual*, 152; Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 231.

16 BDB, *sub voce*; DCH, *sub voce*; Tigchelaar, “בִּשָׂר.” For an overview of discussions on the body in anthropological models in the Hebrew Bible, see Newsom, *Spirit within Me*, 5–8.

17 Cf. 1QS 11:2, אם אכשול בעוון בשר.

18 Cf. Philip S. Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:331–53; Menahem Kister, “Demons, Theology and Abraham’s Covenant (CD 16:4–6 and Related Texts),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty*, ed. R. A. Kugler and E. M. Schuller (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1999), 173–76; Esther Eshel, “Demons and Exorcism,” in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, ed. J. J. Collins and D. C. Harlow (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 531–33; Eibert Tigchelaar, “Evil Spirits in the Dead

“strengthen his loins” (חזק מותנ[יו]) in order to resist the evil spirits to which he as a human being is subjected: “... their dominion over my bodily members, for I am a fleshly spirit” (ממשלתם בתכמי כי רוח בשר עבדך).²³ For the hymnodist there is an intrinsic connection between the human body and domination by evil forces.

According to TST the main purpose of evil spirits is to lead people astray from the right path: “It is through the angel of darkness that all the sons of righteousness go astray (תעות), and all their sins, their iniquities, their guilt, and their deeds of transgression are under his dominion (בממשלתו) ... and all the spirits of his lot make the sons of light stumble.”²⁴ The vocabulary that TST uses is based on the communal confession that is part of the ceremony of the covenant. The Serek describes this confession as follows: “The Levites recount the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their guilty transgressions, and their sins during the reign of Belial (בליעל). And all those who are entering into the covenant confess after them and say: ‘We have committed iniquity and transgressed, we have sinned and acted wickedly (נעיינו פשענו חטאנו) (הרשענו), we and our fathers before us.’”²⁵ TST uses a similar chain of synonyms expressing guilt: “all their sins, their iniquities, their guilt, and their deeds of transgression” (כול חטאתם ועוונותם ואשמתם ופשעי מעשיהם).²⁶ Moreover, both passages underline that the sins of the righteous were committed under the “dominion” (ממשלת) of Belial respectively the angel of darkness. The fact that TST is located directly after the description of the ceremony of the covenant implies that the correspondence in terminology is not accidental. Rather, TST’s statement that the sins of the righteous are committed under the dominion of Belial provides a theoretical explanation for the transgressions to which the members confess during the ceremony. By consequence, the sins that are caused by the evil spirits in TST include transgression of the commandments and unfaithfulness to the covenant.

The Serek claims that a person can be freed from the dominion of sin by joining the community.²⁷ The correct interpretation of the Torah has been

23 1QH^a 4:37. Cf. Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:63.

24 1QS 3:21–24.

25 1QS 1:22–25 (*par* 4QS^b 2:6). A different version of the same confession is found in the Damascus Document (CD 20: 27–30). Cf. Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 226–30. He argues (*ibid.*) that the formulation of this confession is based on existing communal confessions such as those attested in 1 Kgs 8:4; Ps 106:6; Dan 9:5; Jer 14:20. Cf. Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 67–68.

26 Cf. 1QS 11:9 where the poet confesses his sinfulness in similar wording: עוונותי פשעי חטאתי עם נעוות לבבי.

27 On the notion that the covenant protects against evil spirits, see Kister, “Demons, Theology and Abraham’s Covenant.”

given to the community alone. Hence, the only way in which a person can correctly observe the commandments is through obedience to the authority of its leadership.²⁸ If a member does not follow the counsel of the community, he will by necessity disobey the Law of God: “Let no man walk according to the will of his mind so as to go astray (לתעות) after his heart and his eyes and the thought of his mind!”²⁹ It seems that this warning does not only refer to obstinate behaviour in general, but also more specifically to following alternative interpretations of the Torah. The passage combines terminology drawn from Dt 29:18 (לִבְּרִירֹת לֵב)³⁰ and Num 15:39 (לֹא תִתְּרוּ אַחֲרַי לְבַבְכֶם וְאַחֲרַי עֵינֵיכֶם) (אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם זֹנִים אַחֲרֵיהֶם). The same combination occurs in various forms in the Serek and other Qumran texts.³¹ The verses from Deuteronomy and Numbers are invoked in the context of a polemic concerning the proper interpretation of the Torah. The biblical quotations reinforce the accusation that alternative interpretations of the Torah are not in accordance with the will of God, but only with the will of human beings. The expression “will of his mind” (שְׂרִירוֹת לֵב) and its paraphrase “the thought of his mind” (מַחֲשַׁבַת יִצְרוֹ) insinuate that legal rulings other than those of the community have not been revealed by God but are merely inventions of the human mind.³²

28 Cf. 1QS 5:2–3.

29 1QS 5:4–5; יצרו ועינהו ומחשבת יצרו 4QS^b 9:4–5 (par 4QS^d 1:4) has a shorter reading: לתעות לבו בשרירות לבו לתעות. Cf. 1QS 9:10, מכול עצת התורה לוא יצאו ללכת בכול שרירות לבם.

30 The word שְׂרִירוֹת is often rendered as “stubbornness,” based on Aramaic שַׁר, “to be firm, hard.” Cf. BDB, *sub voce*; DCH, *sub voce*; Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 78; DSSSE, 1:71. However, Qimron comments (“The Biblical Lexicon in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 2 [1995]: 295–329 [325]) that most ancient translations do not render שְׂרִירוֹת as “stubbornness,” but rather as “will” or “thought” (LXX, e.g., ἀρεστός; θέλημα; ἐπιθυμία; Targum Onqelos, הרהור). He draws attention (*ibid.*) to the parallelism of שְׂרִירוֹת and מחשבות in Jer 18:12. Qimron further stresses (*ibid.*, 326) the perfect correspondence between the phrases לב אשמה in 1QS 1:6 and יצר אשמה in CD 2:16. He concludes that the words מחשבה and שְׂרִירוֹת are synonyms and translates שְׂרִירוֹת as “will.” Cf. Menahem Kister, “Body and Purification from Evil: Prayer Formulas and Concepts in Second Temple Literature and Their Relationship to Later Rabbinic Literature,” in *Meghillot* 8/9 (2010): 243–84 (251).

31 1QS 1:6; ולוא לתור במחשבות יצר; ולוא ללכת עוד בשרירות לב אשמה ועיני זנות; ויבחרו ברצונם ויתורו אחרי שרירות לבם לעשות איש את רצונו; אשמה ועיני זנות; 1QH^a 12:16; ועם שרירות לבם יתורו. Compare: 1QS 3:3; 7:19, 24; 9:10; 1QpHab 5:7; 4Q435 2 i 2–4 (par 4Q436 1 ii 1–2). See the overview of Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 293. Note that Targum Onqelos inserts הרהור (the Aramaic equivalent of the term שְׂרִירוֹת) in its translation of Num 15:39: ובתר חיוז עיניכוז. Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 60.

32 Note that the terms יצר and לב are used as synonyms as well and that both refer to the faculty with which a person wills, thinks and plots (the “mind” or “heart”). In the Qumran texts the phrases שְׂרִירוֹת לבו and מחשבת יצרו seem to have a negative connotation. Compare

To conclude, the language of self-humiliation in the Hodayot and in the final hymns of the Serek is partly motivated by the conviction that human beings are not capable of attaining knowledge of heavenly secrets. This incapability is related to the influence of evil forces. The functioning of the human mind is distorted by its inclination towards evil thoughts. At the same time, the final hymn of the Serek claims that the sage has been enlightened and shares in the knowledge of the angels. There appears to be a direct connection between the rejection of human wisdom on the one hand, and the claim to have achieved heavenly insight on the other. The stronger the experience of divine illumination, the more insignificant human achievements appear. But this dynamic obviously has a rhetorical twist as well: the more human wisdom is disdained, and the human condition despised, the more authoritative the revelations will be of those who claim to have been enlightened and elevated from their debased state.

2 The Fleshly Spirit

As noted in chapter 2, Instruction displays a similar disdain for human wisdom. Just like the Serek and the Hodayot, the fragments of Instruction relate the incapability of human beings to acquire knowledge to bodily existence (בשר). The term that Instruction uses to express the imperfection and ignorance of humanity is “fleshly spirit” (רוח בשר). The human mind is not able to produce any valuable insights. Rather, it brings forth “fleshly understanding” (וביונת בשר) that opposes true heavenly knowledge.

The phrase “fleshly spirit” (רוח בשר) occurs both in the Hodayot and in Instruction.³³ Jean-Sébastien Rey suggests that the connotation of the term is markedly different in the two compositions: whereas in the Hodayot “fleshly

the expressions “the will of a guilty mind” (שרירות לב אשמה) in 1QS 1:6 and “the thoughts of a guilty mind” (מחשבות יצר אשמה) in CD 2:16. Cf. Kister, “Body and Purification from Evil,” 251–52. However, these expressions do not seem to refer to the concept of a personified “evil inclination” (יצר הרע) as it is known from rabbinic literature. On possible connections between terminology in the scrolls and the rabbinic *yetser*, see Eibert Tigchelaar, “The Evil Inclination in the Dead Sea Scrolls, with a Re-edition of 4Q468i (4QSectorian Text?),” in *Empsychoi Logoi—Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, ed. A. Houtman, A. De Jong and M. Misset-van de Weg (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 347–57; Kister, “Body and Purification from Evil”; Ishay Rosen-Zvi, *Demonic Desires: Yetzer Hara and the Problem of Evil in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 44–64.

33 1QH^a 4:37; 5:15, 30; 4Q416 1 12 (*par* 4Q418 2a 2); 4Q417 1 i 17; 4Q418 81 2.

spirit” is a general term denoting humankind in its frailty, Instruction uses the phrase to describe a negative category of human beings that is opposed to God.³⁴ This distinction is questionable. Rey correctly observes that “fleshly spirit” is a general term for humankind in the Hodayot. This can be deduced from its occurrence in the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* in 1QH^a 5:30–33; “fleshly spirit” is paralleled by other terms emphasizing the lowliness of humankind (מגבל מים; מבנה עפר; מלוד אשה) and introduced by the phrase “What indeed is ...” (מה אף הוא), which throughout the Hodayot is followed by a term denoting humanity.³⁵ In 1QH^a 5:15 the term appears in a damaged context. But it seems likely that “fleshly spirit” corresponds to “humankind” (אנוש) in the preceding line.³⁶ In the Hodayot the term “fleshly spirit” is associated with iniquity (1QH^a 4:37) and with the incapacity to understand divine secrets (1QH^a 5:30). I want to argue that the expression has similar connotations in Instruction.

The beginning of Instruction, preserved in 4Q416 1, describes an eschatological scene in which God “... will judge in heaven over the work of evil and all his true sons (בני אמתו) will be favourably accepted before him [] its end. They will fear and cry out, all those who defiled themselves through it (כל אשר התגללו בה).”³⁷ The expressions “his true sons” and “those who defiled themselves” apparently refer to two opposite categories of human beings: the righteous and the wicked. The eschatological judgment entails cosmic upheaval and even “the seas and depths fear.” Next, it is stated that “every

34 Rey, *4QInstruction*, 299–303. Jörg Frey suggest (“The Notion of ‘Flesh’ in 4QInstruction and the Background of Pauline Usage,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran*, ed. Falk, García Martínez and Schuller, 197–226 [221]) that the term has more or less the same connotation in both compositions, but that they use it differently. The Hodayot consider the elect to be “fleshly spirit” and sinners themselves, while Instruction does not regard the elect as belonging to the “fleshly spirit.” Cf. idem, “Flesh and Spirit in the Palestinian Jewish Sapiential Tradition and in the Qumran Texts,” in Hempel, Lange and Lichtenberger, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 367–404 (395–96, 400). Wold (*4QInstruction*, 142–45) agrees with Rey that רוח בשר has different connotations in Instruction and in the Hodayot and he argues that Instruction holds that human beings were originally created with spirit and received revelation and that therefore the text “... does not share with the hymns such a profoundly negative anthropology” (ibid., 144). As I argue in the following pages, I think the two texts use the term similarly.

35 Reconstruction by Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:64. Cf. 1QH^a 7:34 (מה אף הוא בשר); 18:5 (מה אפהו אדם); 18:14 (מה אף הוא שב לעפרו); 20:34 (מה אף הוא אל עפרו). Cf. 1QS 11:20 (מה אף הוא בן האדם).

36 Qimron reconstructs (*Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:64): ם רוח בשר בד. Note the phrase אנוש להבין in 1QH^a 5:14.

37 4Q416 1 10–11.

fleshly spirit will cry out and the sons of heaven ..." (ויתערערו כל רוח בשר ובני) (שמים).³⁸ It is not quite clear how the category "fleshly spirit" relates to the categories of the righteous and the wicked. But it is not necessary to identify the fleshly spirit with the wicked. The phrase is preceded by descriptions of natural elements (תהומות; מיים; ארץ; שמים) and followed by the phrase "sons of heaven" (בני שמים). This implies that the categories in this list are of a different nature than the ethical categories in the previous lines. In the context of this list, it is more likely that "fleshly spirit" refers to a category of creatures living on the earth (as opposed to the "sons of heaven"), perhaps specifically human beings.

The term also occurs in the difficult passage 4Q417 1 i 13–18.³⁹ Here "a vision of meditation" (חזון ההגוי) is given as an inheritance to humankind (אנוש), because it was created "according to the pattern of the holy ones" (כתבנית קדושים).⁴⁰ The passage continues:

ועוד לא נתן הגוי⁴¹ לרוח בשר
כי לא ידע בין טוב לרע כמשפט רוחו

38 4Q416 1 12 (*par* 4Q418* 2, 2b 4; 4Q418 2a, 209, 218, 208, 2c, 212, 217, 224 4). The form ויתערערו is difficult. The *hithpael* of ערר occurs only here and in Jer 51:58. In Jeremiah the subject of the verb are the walls of Babylon that are "stripped" or "demolished." This is perhaps not impossible in the present context, but it is unclear how it is to be imagined in relation to human beings. Moreover, manuscripts 4Q418* and 4Q418 attest to different readings. Tigchelaar suggests (*To Increase Learning*, 176, 180) an original reading ויתרועעו (*hithpolel* of רוע): "to shout" or "cry out." This reading could be recognized in the damaged text of 4Q418* (ויתר) and would have been changed to ויתערערו in 4Q416 and to וירעו in 4Q418 (ויר). Note that the verb וירועו occurs in the previous line.

39 For a comprehensive overview of scholarship until 2009, see Tigchelaar, "Spiritual People,' 'Fleshly Spirit,' and 'Vision of Meditation': Reflections on 4QInstruction and 1 Corinthians," in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*, ed. F. García Martínez, STDJ 85 (Leiden Brill, 2009), 103–18. For more recent contributions, see Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, 94–95, 98–101; Wold, "The Universality of Creation in 4QInstruction," *RevQ* 26 (2013): 211–26; Goff, *4QInstruction*, 138–39, 155–68; Bakker, "Sages and Saints," 114–118; Newsom, *Spirit within Me*, 132–37.

40 Hindy Najman ("Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Period," 464–68) analyses תבנית in 4Q417 1 i 17 as a semantic constellation on a trajectory from Exodus to Philo.

41 Most commentators read הגוי. Qimron argues (*Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:148) that the form הגוי does not fit here or in other places in the scrolls. He suggests instead: הגוי. But in terms of transcription הגוי is slightly preferable. The fourth letter could be either *waw* or *yod*, but the third letter appears to be *waw*. Puech ("Apports des textes," 147 n. 10), Rey (*4QInstruction*, 279–80) and Wold ("Universality of Creation," 215) reconstruct ההזון. But the reading of the second letter as *chet* rather than *gimel* is doubtful. See especially photographs B-283866 (Najib Anton Albina) and B-370823 (Shai Halevi). Cf. The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library (<http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il>).

But He had not yet given meditation to the fleshly spirit, because he did not know how to distinguish between good and evil according to the judgment of his spirit.

4Q417 1 i 17–18 *par* 4Q418 43, 44, 45 i 13–14

Instead of “He had not yet given” (עוד לא נתן), many scholars render “no more did He give” (נתן+*qal*) or “no more was given” (נתן+*niphal*).⁴² The implication of this reading is that heavenly wisdom is given to “humankind” (אנוש), but not to the “fleshly spirit” (רוח בשר). Hence, the expression “fleshly spirit” is understood as denoting a negative category of human beings that stands in opposition to “humankind.”⁴³ However, the translation of עוד לא נתן as “no more did He give” is questionable from a syntactical perspective. The adverb עוד can express continuation, addition or repetition.⁴⁴ Together with a negated verb it can express that something is no longer the case, but then it is virtually always placed after the verb (e.g., לא נתן עוד). There are two cases in the Hebrew Bible in which עוד precedes a negated verb in imperfect tense (Isa 47:8; Job 24:20; cf. 4Q300 1a ii-b 5). But there is only one instance in Biblical Hebrew in which the

- 42 Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, DJD 34:155, 166; Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 53; Frey, “Notion of Flesh,” 218; “Flesh and Spirit,” 393; Crispin Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 114; Cana Werman, “What is the Book of Hagu,” in Collins, Sterling and Clements, *Sapiential Perspectives*, 125–40 (137); Goff, *4QInstruction*, 139. Note that a number of translations do not render the adverb עוד at all: Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 53 (“Doch die Erklärung wurde nicht ... gegeben”); Rey, *4QInstruction*, 281 (“Mais il n’a pas donné”); Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, 95 (“Yet he did not give”).
- 43 Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 86–87; John J. Collins, “In the Likeness of the Holy Ones: The Creation of Humankind in a Wisdom Text from Qumran,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich, STDJ 30 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 609–18 (615–18); idem, “Mysteries of God,” 301–3; idem, *Scriptures and Sectarianism: Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, WUNT 332 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 173; Frey, “Notion of Flesh,” 217–19; idem, “Flesh and Spirit,” 392–94; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 115; Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 94–98; idem, *4QInstruction*, 165–8; Rey, *4QInstruction*, 301–3; Wold, “Universality of Creation,” 217–20, 224–26. Collins and Goff understand the opposite categories of רוח בשר and אנוש in terms of a double creation of humankind. Rey and Wold, on the other hand, argue that רוח בשר is not a separate creation but a category of human beings who refrain from their responsibility of pursuing wisdom. Goff (“Genesis 1–3 and Conceptions of Humankind in 4QInstruction, Philo and Paul,” in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality*, ed. C. A. Evans and H. D. Zacharias (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 14–25 [121–25]) and Tigchelaar (“Spiritual People,” 116–17) draws comparisons between the categories in 4Q417 1 i 13–18 and Pauline distinctions between different human types in 1 Corinthians.
- 44 *DCH*, *sub voce*; Bruce K. Waltke and M. O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 656–59.

adverb עוד precedes a negated verb in perfect tense, as in the present passage. The construction occurs in 2 Chr 20:33 and is clearly to be translated as “still not” or “not yet.”⁴⁵ 4Q417 1 i 17 has exactly the same syntactical structure: temporal adverb (עוד) followed by a negated verb in perfect tense (לא נתון). Therefore, it is preferable to translate the clause as “still He had not given” or “He had not yet given.”⁴⁶ This implies that “humankind” (אנוש) and the “fleshly spirit” (רוח בשר) are paralleled: God apportions heavenly knowledge to humankind (ינחילה לאנוש), but God had not yet given it at the moment of creation.⁴⁷

The third passage in Instruction in which the expression occurs reads: “He (i.e., God) has separated you from every fleshly spirit” (הבדילכה מכול רוח בשר).⁴⁸ Goff infers from this statement that the addressee himself does not belong to the fleshly spirit.⁴⁹ But, as Tigchelaar observes, the passage alludes to the election of the priesthood (Num 18:20). The fact that a certain tribe is “set apart” (לדל+hiphil) for the priesthood (cf. Num 8:14; 16:9) does not mean that they are no longer members of the people of Israel.⁵⁰ Hence, in the current context the separation of the sage from the “fleshly spirit” does not imply that the sage no longer belongs to the category of humanity (אנוש). To summarize: all three occurrences of the phrase “fleshly spirit” (רוח בשר) in Instruction can be explained as a general designation for humankind. From the contexts in which the term is used, it appears to have the connotations of transgression and ignorance. Thus, there is no apparent distinction between the usage of the term in Instruction and in the Hodayot.

45 עוד העם לא הכינו לבבם לאלהי אבותיהם, “The people had not yet set their hearts upon the God of their ancestors.” The translation as “not yet” is also confirmed by the parallel in 1 Kgs 22:44, אך הבמות לא סרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות.

46 Cf. Puech (“Apports des textes, 138”): “mais n’a pas encore été donnée” (reading a *niphal* perfect). Adams translates (*Wisdom in Transition*, 257): “has still not been given.” He criticizes (ibid., 258) Wold’s translation “but no more” and comments: “The more likely sense of לא ועוד and the one that accords with the thrust of the unit is to read the phrase as “still” (or “not yet”), which conveys a continual withholding of insight from the ‘fleshly spirit,’ a resolute denial by God that began at creation.” However, the negated adverb “still not” or “not yet” may also imply that at some point it will happen.

47 The three verbs in perfect tense (יצר, נתן, ידע) can be understood as an aside that refers to the time of creation: כתבנית קדושים יצרו ועוד לא נתן הגוי לרוח בשר כי לא ידע בין טוב לרע כמשפט רוחו, “Because He had fashioned him according to the structure of the holy ones. But (when he fashioned him,) He had not yet given meditation to the fleshly spirit, because he did not know how to distinguish between good and evil according to the judgment of his spirit.”

48 4Q418 81 1–2.

49 Goff, *4QInstruction*, 245–46.

50 Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 187.

What is the background of the term “fleshly spirit”? First of all, a very similar expression in Instruction deserves attention. An admonition emphasizing man’s complete dependence on divine providence states: “And if He closes his hand, the spirit of all flesh will be gathered” (וּאִם יִקְפּוּץ יָדוֹ וְנִאֲסַפָּה רוּחַ כּוֹל בֶּשֶׂר).⁵¹ It seems that there is a relationship between the expressions “fleshly spirit” (רוּחַ בֶּשֶׂר) and “spirit of all flesh” (רוּחַ כּוֹל בֶּשֶׂר).⁵² In the latter, “spirit” refers to the breath of life which is inside the living body. A close parallel is found in Job: “In his hand is the life of every living thing (נִפְשׁ כָּל חַי) and the breath of every human being (רוּחַ כָּל בֶּשֶׂר אִישׁ).”⁵³ These expressions may allude to the creation story in which God blows the “breath of life” (נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים) into man’s nose (Gen 2:7). The passage in Genesis does not mention flesh but rather “dust” (עֶפֶר) as the material out of which man was formed. However, as Carol Newsom observes, it is apparent that the creation account in Genesis 2–3 was interpreted in the light of passages such as Gen 6:3, “Then the Lord said: ‘my spirit (רוּחִי) shall not abide in man forever, for he is flesh (בֶּשֶׂר).’”⁵⁴ The expression “fleshly spirit” seems to refer to the composite nature of human beings, consisting of flesh and spirit. The so called *Niedrichkeitsdoxologien* in the Hodayot gave rise to a series of distinctive expressions based on the creation story and emphasizing the lowly nature of humankind (e.g., יִצֵר עֶפֶר, יִצֵר מִיָּם, מִגִּבְלֵי מַיִם, הַחֲמֵר). Since the phrase “fleshly spirit” occurs three times in this *Gattung* (1QH^a 4:37; 5:15, 30), it is not unlikely that the expression was coined in this literary context.

The “fleshly spirit” not only lacks knowledge, but it also actually produces false wisdom itself. This is described in a fragmentary passage: “... without his commanding. Let not the understanding of flesh lead you astray” (בְּלֹא זֹוּהָ לֵבְיָם לֹא תִשְׁגַּחֵךְ).⁵⁵ The context, although badly damaged, provides some clues that may explain what the phrase “understanding of flesh” refers to. The *mēbîn* is told:

51 4Q416 2 ii 2–3 (par 4Q417 2 ii 4). Cf. Psalm 104:27–30.

52 Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 188.

53 Job 12:10.

54 Carol A. Newsom, “Models of the Moral Self: Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Judaism,” *JBL* 131 (2012): 5–25 (22). Compare the phrase כָּל בֶּשֶׂר אֲשֶׁר בּוֹ רוּחַ חַיִּים in Gen 6:17 and 7:15. Note especially בְּאִפְיֵי רוּחַ חַיִּים in Gen 7:22, which combines the phrase רוּחַ חַיִּים with the phrase נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים and בְּאִפְיֵי from Gen 2:7 (נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים). Compare also לְכָל בֶּשֶׂר in Num 27:16.

55 4Q417 1 ii 14. Cf. Kister, “Wisdom Literature,” 27–28. The form נְבוֹנָה occurs in the singular in 4Q511 2 i 7. It is not found elsewhere. Cf. Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, DJD 34:172.

ברך שמו []
 בשמחתה ה[לל אל]
 גדולים רחמי א[ל]
 הלל אל ועל כול נגע בר[ך שמו]
 ברצונו היו והואה מבין ב[]

bless his name []
 in your joy prais[e God]
 great is the mercy of Go[d]
 praise God and upon every plague bless [his name]
 according to his will they came to pass and He understands every []

4Q417 1 ii 6–10⁵⁶

The sage has to bless God both in times of happiness and in times of misery. Everything that happens is according to the will of God, including human suffering. The passage has a striking parallel in the Serek's rules for the *maskil*: "And he will accept all the words of his mouth and he will not desire anything that He has not commanded (בכול אשר לוא צוה). He will always look out for the judgment of God. And in suffering and in distress he will bless his creator."⁵⁷ Even when he suffers, the *maskil* praises the Creator because he knows that everything that happens is according to the will and the judgment of God.⁵⁸ The passages in the Serek and Instruction describe the same theme and partly use the same wording (note especially בכול אשר לוא צוה and בלוא צוה). The phrase "understanding of flesh" apparently refers to false wisdom that does not understand reality from the perspective of the divine will, but rather from the perspective of the human will. The "understanding of flesh" (נבונות בשר) will lead human beings astray, because it reflects human interests rather than divine laws.

It is striking that Instruction and the Serek connect similar terminology to the concept of false wisdom. Two lines before the premonition against "fleshly understanding" the *mēbîn* is told: "Let not the thought of an evil mind deceive you" (אל תפתכה מחשבת יצר רע).⁵⁹ The phrase "thought of his mind" (מחשבת) occurs in the Serek as a parallel to "will of his mind" (שרירות לבו) and in combination with Num 15:39. The same verse from Numbers is quoted literally

56 Transcription and reconstruction based on Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:149.

57 1QS 9:25–26: [אל תפתכה מחשבת יצר רע] ובכול אמרי פיהו ירצה ולוא יתאוה בכול אשר לוא צוה למשפט אל יצפה תמיד [ברעה ובצו]קה יברך עושי. Reconstruction by Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:226.

58 Note the repetition of this theme in the hymns that follow: 1QS 10:15–17.

59 4Q417 1 ii 12.

in Instruction: “You shall not follow after your mind and after your eyes” (לוא תתרו אחרי לבבכמה ואחרי עיניכמה).⁶⁰ The quotation appears at the end of 4Q417 1 i and seems to belong to the same literary unit as the phrases “fleshly understanding” and “thought of an evil mind” (4Q417 1 ii 12, 14). Thus, the same combination of terms occurs in both Instruction and the Serek.⁶¹ The texts use the same rhetoric: on the one hand, human beings are considered unable to acquire knowledge: human wisdom is false and deceptive. On the other hand, the sage claims to have obtained unique revelations of heavenly wisdom that surpass human knowledge and human concerns.

3 Heavenly Light

The capacity of human beings to acquire knowledge is restricted by their fleshly existence. However, several texts suggest that through rituals of confession and atonement human beings can be purified from the transgressions that result from their lower nature.⁶² Only after such purification is the sage ready to participate in heavenly knowledge and angelic praise, which signal realities that transcend bodily existence and lie beyond human experience.

The final hymn of the Serek contains a poem that describes the gift of angelic wisdom to the righteous (1QS 11:3–9). The poem can be subdivided in two sections: a highly structured strophe that describes the revelation of divine knowledge (11:3–6) and a more loosely structured strophe which emphasizes that this knowledge is hidden from humankind, and that those to whom it has been given acquire angelic status and form a community with heavenly beings (11:6–9). The first strophe reports on an experience of heavenly realities that is associated with light:

<p>ממקור דעתו פתח אורי והויא עולם משען ימיני מפני כול לוא יודעזע</p>	<p>ובנפלאותיו הביטה עיני בסלע עוז דרך פעמי</p>	<p>ואורת לבבי ברז נהיה</p>
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60 4Q417 1 i 27.

61 Note further תמים in 4Q417 1 ii 5. Compare: 1QS 1:6–8, ולוא ללכת עוד בשרירות לב, ולהתהלך תמים בכל דרכיו ולא לתור, אשמה ועיני זנות ... ולהתהלך לפניו תמים במשחבות יצר אשמה ועיני זנות. Note also the correspondence between the verb תעה in 1QS 5:4 and שגה in 4Q417 1 ii 14.

62 See Kister, “Body and Purification from Evil”; idem, “Body and Sin”; Newman, *Before the Bible*, 121–27; Newsom, *Spirit within Me*, 81–115; Najman, “Conceptualizing Wilderness”; eadem, *Reading Practices*.

כי אמת אל היאה סלע פעמי וגבורתו משענת ימיני
 וממקור צדקתו משפטי אור בלבבי מרזי פלאו בהויא עולם הביטה עיני

- (a.) From the source of his knowledge he has opened my light, and my eye observed his wonders, and the light of my mind the secret of time.
 (b.) And what exists eternally is the support of my right hand. The path of my footsteps is on firm rock.
 (c.) It will not be shaken by anything.
 (bb.) For the truth of God is the rock of my steps. And his might is the support of my right hand.
 (aa.) And from the source of his righteousness is my judgment. The light in my mind is from his wonderful mysteries. My eye has observed what exists eternally.

1QS 11:3–6

The poem has a complicated structure and displays multiple levels of symmetry.⁶³ Jacob Licht points out that the clause “It will not be shaken by anything” (מפני כול לא יודעזע) stands at the very centre of the poem.⁶⁴ The phrase “be shaken” (יודעזע) occurs in several passages in the Serek and the Hodayot (1QS 8:8; 11:4; 1QH^a 14:30; 15:20).⁶⁵ These passages elaborate on the metaphor of a “sure foundation” and allude to Isa 28:16. The verse in Isaiah reads: “Behold, I myself have laid in Zion for a foundation a stone, a massive stone, a cornerstone valuable for a sure foundation. One who trusts will not shake (לא יחיש).”⁶⁶

63 My analysis of the poetic structure builds on Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 227. Basically, the strophe can be subdivided as follows: a tristich (a.); a distich (b.); a monostich (c.); a distich (bb.); a tristich (aa.). The first line consists of three stichoi, the second of two, the third of one et cetera. The tristich a. corresponds to aa., since they both open with the words “from the source” (ממקור) followed by the wonders that the hymnodist perceives and the light in his mind. The second and third stich of a. and aa. form a chiasmus (בנפלאותיו הביטה עיני עיני—אורת לבבי ברז נהיה—אור בלבבי מרזי פלאו—בהויא עולם הביטה עיני הויא עולם משען ימיני—בסלע עוז דרך פעמי—אמת אל היאה סלע—פעמי—גבורתו משענת ימיני משענת and משען ימיני; הויא עולם; רז נהיה and רזי פלאו and מקור צדקה and מקור דעת) (סלע פעמי and סלע עוז דרך פעמי; ימיני).

64 Ibid. The manuscript reads: לוא יוד עזרע. The parallel in 1QS 8:8 (יודעזעו) justifies the emendation.

65 For an analysis of these passages, see Kister, “Some Observations,” 159–65.

66 Isa 28:16 יחיש לא המאמין מוסד מוסד יקרת פנת יקרת מוסד מוסד המאמין לא יחיש. Translation by Willem A. M. Beuken, *Isaiah II* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 12, cf. 14–16. For a detailed discussion of the problematic word בחן, cf. Hans Wildberger, *Jesaja*, vol. 3 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), 166–67. Although Isaiah uses a different verb (יחיש), the allusion 1QS is clear. The Targum to Isa 28:16 uses the same verb as the Qumran texts

The sure foundation on which the sage stands is related to the heavenly vision and the revelation of knowledge in this strophe of the poem. The following strophe picks up on the same theme when it describes the community of angels and men as a “foundation of a holy structure” (סוד מבנית קודש).⁶⁷

God “has opened” the light of the poet.⁶⁸ This is described in terms of inner light: the “light of my mind” (אורת לבבי) or the “light in my mind” (אור בלבבי). The light proceeds from God’s knowledge in which the sage is made to share. Other passages in the Serek likewise describe the gift of knowledge as illumination. The reformulation of the priestly blessing reads: “May he enlighten your mind with life-giving insight” (יאר לבכה בשכל חיים).⁶⁹ Likewise, TST states that the function of the spirit of truth is to “enlighten the heart of man” (להאיר בלבב איש).⁷⁰ The inner light described in the final hymn is related to a perception of eternal beings that takes place in the mind of the sage. The gift of this knowledge elevates the recipients to the level of the angels with whom they jointly give praise. The second strophe continues:

תושיה אשר נסתרה מאנוש דעת ומזמת ערמה מבני אדם
מקור צדקה ומקוה גבורה עם מעין כבוד מסוד בשר
לאשר בחר אל נתנם לאוחזת עולם וינחילים בגורל קדושים ועם בני שמים חבר סודם
לעצת יחד וסוד מבנית קודש למטעת עולם עם כול קץ נהיה

Wisdom that is hidden from humankind, knowledge and insightful meditation (hidden) from the sons of man, fount of justice and well of strength and spring of glory (hidden) from the essence of flesh.

To those whom God has chosen, he gave them as an eternal possession, and he made them share in the lot of the Holy Ones. And with the sons of heaven he united their assembly for a joint council and the foundation of a holy structure, for an eternal planting throughout all ages to come.

1QS 11:6–9

(“יזדעזעו”). Moreover, 1QS 8:8 (*par* 4QS^d 6:2; 4QS^e 2:16) unmistakably quotes Isa 28:16 and places the two verbs side by side (בל יזדעזעו יסודותיהי ובל יחישו ממקומם), as if to explain one with the other. Cf. Kister, “Some Observations,” 161–62.

67 1QS 11:8.

68 Compare 1QH^a 8:14 (מקור אור פתחתה) and 17:26 (בכבודכה הופיע אורי). Note that according to Qimron (*Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:67, 106) fragment 12 of 1QH^a is not to be situated in column 8. For the usage of the verb פתח in relation to light, note also the striking formulation: ביום הרביעי פתחתה מאור גדול (4Q440 1 1).

69 1QS 2:3. Cf. Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 68; Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, STDJ 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 145–71.

70 1QS 4:2.

The knowledge of which the poem speaks is not accessible to humanity. Immediately following this passage, the poet admits that he is himself a “wicked man, an essence of unjust flesh” (ואני לאדם רשעה ולסוד בשר עול).⁷¹ So how is it possible that such insights have been revealed to him? John Collins proposes that the hymn reflects the ideal of personal transformation: the sage has been elevated from the base level of ordinary human beings and has acquired angelic status.⁷² But despite the experience of elevation, the recipient of revelation is still human. The sage is still capable of transgression and evil deeds. But he expects that when he stumbles “because of the iniquity of flesh” (בעון בשר), then God will judge him with mercy (1QS 11:12–13). He expects to be cleansed from evil: “Through his justice he will purify me from the impurity of humankind and from the sin of human beings” (ובצדקתו יטהרני מנדת) (אנוש והטאת בני אדם).⁷³ In this sense, the transformation is only provisional and dependent on perpetual processes of repentance and purification.⁷⁴ But it already allows the sage to participate in the experience of heavenly wisdom that is the share of the angels.

The revelation is described in terms of knowledge (תושיה; דעת ומזמת ערמה), but also as a heavenly source (מקור צדקה ומקוה גבורה עם מעין כבוד). These have been given for an eternal possession to the chosen ones whom, because of this gift, share in the “lot of the holy ones” (גורל קדושים). The fellowship of their community with the “sons of heaven” (בני שמים) refers to liturgical communion with the angels. The Hodayot repeatedly describe the experience of being elevated to great heights and participating in the heavenly praise of the holy ones.⁷⁵ The terminology used in this context is similar to that of the final hymn of the Serek in which praise is characterized as knowledge and the

71 1QS 11:9.

72 John J. Collins, “The Nature and Aims of the Sect Known from the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. A. Hilhorst, É. Puech and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, JSJSup 122 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 31–52 (48–50); idem, *Scriptures and Sectarianism*, 204–8.

73 1QS 11:14–15 par 4Q51 2.

74 Kister, “Body and Purification from Evil”, 177–81; Newsom, *Spirit within Me*, 85–96; Najman, “Conceptualizing Wilderness.”

75 On this theme, see Esther G. Chazon, “Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. E. G. Chazon, STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 35–47; eadem, “Liturgical Communion with the Angels at Qumran,” in Falk, García Martínez and Schuller, *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts*, 3–17; Weinfeld, “Heavenly Praise”; Björn Frennesson, “In a Common Rejoicing”: *Liturgical Communion with Angels in Qumran* (Uppsala: S. Academiae Ubsaliensis, 1999); Michael R. Jost, *Engelgemeinschaft im irdischen Gottesdienst: Studien zu Texten aus Qumran und dem Neuen Testament*, WUNT 2.505 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019).

position among the angels is called a “lot” (גורל). Compare for example: “And you have cast for man an eternal lot (גורל עולם) with the spirits of knowledge (רוחות דעת), in order to praise your name in joint singing (ביחד רנה).”⁷⁶

The heavenly wisdom that is given to the chosen ones for an eternal possession is directly related to angelic prayer.⁷⁷ Significantly, the Hodayot assume that human beings cannot join the ranks of the angels if they have not been purified from transgressions. The poet gives thanks to God for being cleansed: “For the sake of your glory you have purified humankind from transgression (טהרתה אנוש מפשע), so that they may sanctify themselves for you from all impure abominations (להתקדש לכה מכול תועבות נדה) and from unfaithful guilt, so that they may be united with your true children and in a lot with your holy ones (בגורל עם קדושיכה).”⁷⁸ The Hodayot claim that the righteous have been purified and merit heavenly knowledge, but at the same time they acknowledge that this purification is not definitive and that the chosen ones are still capable of evil. This contradiction partly explains the remarkable tension between self-loathing and exultation that characterizes the Hodayot.⁷⁹

The Serek describes the revelation of heavenly mysteries in terms of illumination. The mind of the sage has been enlightened through divine knowledge. In Instruction, the *mēbîn* is constantly admonished to examine the *rāz nihyeh*. Although the revelation of this mystery is described with an aural metaphor, “He has uncovered your ear” (גלה אוזנכה), Instruction also seems to associate heavenly knowledge with light. The following quotation is significant:

הלוא באור עולם יתהלכו [] כבוד ורוב הדר אתם [] ברקיעי [] סוד אלים

Do they not walk in eternal light? [] glory and great splendour is with them [] in the firmaments of [] the council of the gods ...

4Q418 69 ii 14–15

The passage describes the “sons of heaven” (בני שמים) who have eternal life and never become tired of their activities. They are said to “walk in eternal light” and to be accompanied by “glory and great splendour.” The passage is connected to 4Q418 55 8–12 in which the “holy angels” (מלאכי קודש) are said

76 1QH^a 11:23–24: ותפל לאיש גורל עולם עם רוחות דעת להלל שמכה ביחד רנה. Cf. 1QH^a 14:16; 19:14–15.

77 Cf. Philip S. Alexander, *The Mystical Texts* (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 106–7.

78 1QH^a 19:13–14: ולמען כבודכה טהרתה אנוש מפשע להתקדש לכה מכול תועבות נדה ואשמת נדה ומגורל עם קדושיכה מעל להיחד עם בני אמתך ובגורל עם קדושיכה. Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:88. Cf. 1QH^a 8:30; 9:22–23; 15:32–34.

79 Cf. Newsom, *Spirit within Me*, 143–69; Najman, “Conceptualizing Wilderness.”

to “chase after all the roots of understanding” (וירדפו אחר כול שורשי בינה). The angels differ from one another with regard to knowledge:

לפי דעתם יכבדו איש מרעהו ולפי שכלו ירבה הדרו

According to their knowledge they are glorious, one more than the other.
And according to his wisdom his splendour is great.

4Q418 55 10

The level of knowledge of each angel determines to what extent they “are glorious” (יכבדו) and in what measure their “splendour is great” (ירבה הדרו). This implies that the phrase “glory and great splendour” (כבוד ורוב הדר) in 4Q418 69 ii is likewise associated with knowledge. The statement that the sons of heaven “walk in eternal light” (באור עולם יתהלכו) seems to express the notion that the angels are truly knowledgeable.

In the present context the nouns *kāvôd* and *hādār* may have the connotation of light, and the statement that one angel is more glorious and splendid than the other may allude to the fact that the luminaries differ in their radiance. First, it must be noted that the combination of the words *kāvôd*, *hādār* and *’ôr ’ôlām* is not incidental. TST announces that those who walk in the spirit of truth will be rewarded a “crown of glory with a garment of splendour in eternal light” (כליל כבוד עם מדת הדר באור עולמים).⁸⁰ Likewise, the Hodayot in a broken context contain the phrase “in your glorious splendour for eternal light” (בהדר כבודכה לאור עולם).⁸¹ Thus, the association of *kāvôd* and *hādār* with heavenly light is more widespread. The notion that one heavenly being is more honourable or glorious than the other (יכבדו מרעהו) has an interesting parallel in the Similitudes of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71). In a vision, Enoch learns astronomical secrets, which include the following: “And I saw the storehouses of the sun and the moon, from which they emerge and to which they return, and their glorious return, and how the one is more praiseworthy than the other, and their splendid course.”⁸² The sun is more praiseworthy than the moon, apparently because the sun gives more light.⁸³ Similarly, the statement

80 IQS 4:7–8.

81 IQH^a 20:18.

82 1 En 41:5. Translation by George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2004), 56. Cf. Bakker, “Praise of the Luminaries.”

83 This idea is stated even more clearly in 1 Corinthians. In this letter Paul responds to the question with what kind of body the dead will be resurrected (1 Cor 15:35). In this context he makes a distinction between “heavenly bodies” (σώματα ἐπουράνια) and “earthly bodies” (σώματα ἐπίγεια) and poses that the two categories have a different kind of

“according to their knowledge they are glorious, one more than the other” (לפי דעתם יכבדו איש מרעהו) in Instruction may signify that the angels who are continually chasing after wisdom and are associated with the movements of the luminaries differ in their radiance. This implies a direct connection between knowledge and light.

How should the knowledge of the angels be imagined? It may be recalled that Instruction contrasts human wisdom and heavenly wisdom. Whereas the “understanding of flesh” regards the world from a human perspective, the mysteries of God reflect a celestial perspective that oversees creation and history in its entirety. This fundamental distinction may suggest that heavenly knowledge cannot be compared to anything that human beings normally regard as wisdom or knowledge. It may reflect an entirely different dimension. Instruction possibly shares the notion expressed in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice that angelic knowledge and angelic prayer are identical.⁸⁴ Scholars have drawn attention to the remarkable fact that although the Sabbath Songs constantly invoke the angels to praise God and describe their celestial worship, the hymns do not cite the words by which the angels give praise.⁸⁵ One

“glory” (δόξα). Indeed, even the heavenly bodies are distinguished in their glory: ἄλλη δόξα ἡλίου, καὶ ἄλλη δόξα σελήνης, καὶ ἄλλη δόξα ἀστέρων· ἀστὴρ γὰρ ἀστὴρος διαφέρει ἐν δόξῃ. (1 Cor 15:41). The term “glory” (δόξα) refers here to light. Cf. Hans Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 335. Paul states that the sun and the moon differ in glory, just like the Book of Parables. But he adds that the stars also differ in glory: some stars give more light and are more visible than others. Note the striking comparison drawn by Kister (“‘First Adam’ and ‘Second Adam’ in 1 Cor 15:45–49 in the Light of Midrashic Exegesis and Hebrew Usage,” in *The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature*, ed. R. Bieringer et al., JSJSup 122 [Leiden: Brill, 2007], 351–65 [359 n. 26]) between the passage in 1 Cor 15 and Sifre Deut 47. Sifre Deut refers to the eschatological transformation of the righteous into luminaries and gives the following comment: “As the light of every star is different from the light of the other stars, so are the righteous” (translation by Kister, *ibid.*).

- 84 See in particular 4Q403 1 i 36–37 *par* 4Q404 4 205; 4Q405 4–5 5. This passage describes the chanting (רנות) and meditation (הגיה) of the angels who are called “eternal chanters” (מרנני עד), “those who meditate on knowledge” (הוגי דעת) and “spirits of understanding” (רוחי בין). Cf. Judith H. Newman, “Priestly Prophets at Qumran: Summoning Sinai through the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*,” in *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. G. J. Brooke, H. Najman and L. T. Stuckenbruck, TBN 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 29–72 (50–61). For a thorough textual and literary analysis of this passage, see Noam Mizrahi, “The *Cycle of Summons*: A Hymn from the Seventh Song of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q403 1 i 31–40),” *DSD* 22 (2015): 43–67. Note also the parallelism of הודות and דעת in 4Q403 1 i 39. Compare the remarks of Alexander (*Mystical Texts*, 106–7) who draws attention to the intellectual terminology that is used to describe mystical experience in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and other Qumran texts.
- 85 Chazon, “Human and Angelic Prayer,” 41–42; Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, 113–14.

possible reason is that the angels do not pray in a language that is similar to human language. This may be deduced from the following passage that contrasts human and angelic praise: “What is the offering of our tongues of dust among the knowledge of the deities” (מה תרומת לשון עפרנו בדעת אלים).⁸⁶ The passage not only claims that earthly praise is inferior, it also implies that the knowledge by which the angels bless the Creator is not uttered in a form that resembles human prayer. Perhaps angelic prayer can be compared to the radiance of luminaries.⁸⁷ After all, their dwelling is in the heavens, and heavenly light is of a different nature than earthly light, since the “sevenfold light” (אור שבעתים), or the “pure-light” (אורתום), that shines in heaven surpasses the distinction between light and darkness, which govern day and night on earth and mark the progression of time.⁸⁸

4 Conclusion

The dynamics of revelation correspond to the duality of human existence: on the one hand humans are created like heavenly beings, but on the other, they are fleshly beings, susceptible to evil influences and with a limited capacity for knowledge. This situation explains the tension between human wisdom and heavenly knowledge. Whereas the former cannot transcend the particular interests of human beings, the latter perceives history from an external vantage point and *sub specie aeternitatis*. The higher knowledge to which the sage aspires does not have the shape of human discourse but consists in the knowledge of angels and is identical with their prayer and their song, and perhaps their light. To attain such insights, humans need to overcome their physical limitations and meditate on the Torah and its hidden meaning continually. This involves a process of transformation and the ability to participate in heavenly choirs. Angelic prayer is related to the separation of light and darkness, as we learn from the Hymn to the Creator: “Separating light from deep darkness, he prepared dawn with the knowledge of his mind” (שחר הכין בדעת לבו), which

86 Carol Newsom, “*Shirot ‘Olat Hashabbat*,” in *Qumran Cave 4. VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1*, ed. E. Eshel et al., DJD 11 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 173–401 (187–88).

87 See e.g., Ps 19:2–3: השמים מספרים כבוד אל ומעשי ידיו מגיד הרקיע יום ליום יביע אמר ולילה: המשכילים יזהירו כזהר (ללילה יחווה דעת אין אמר ואין דברים בלי נשמע קולם (הרקיע); 1 En 104:2.

88 See the incisive and illuminating discussion of fragment 4Q392 1 and the concept of heavenly light and אורתום, by Menahem Kister, “4Q392 1 and the Conception of Light in Qumran ‘Dualism,’” *Meghillot* 3 (2005): 125–42.

is answered by the joyful song of the angels and the morning stars.⁸⁹ The tension between light and darkness creates an opportunity for humans to grasp this divine knowledge and to consider the *rāz nihyeh*, the secret of time.

89 11Q5 26:11–12. Cf. Job 38:7.

Rāz Nihyeh

The sage aspires to participate in heavenly knowledge and angelic song. This leads to an understanding of the contrast of light and darkness, their alternation, and the anticipation of a new dawn. Thus, the enlightenment of the sage's mind results in a renewed awareness and comprehension of time. The phrase *rāz nihyeh* draws together a variety of teachings into a single concept. In this final chapter, I will reflect on the climax of sapiential thinking in the Dead Sea Scrolls which consists of a meditation on light, on time, and on the differentiation of good and evil in the course of history. The goal of wisdom is to understand the deep structures behind the sequence of light and darkness, both on a cosmic and historical level, and also to grasp the abstract, underlying principles. This conglomerate of reflections and insights is held together by the central concept of *rāz nihyeh*, which can be paraphrased as “the secret of time.”

1 Turning to the Past

In trying to explain this enigmatic concept, scholars have noted that *rāz nihyeh* pertains to things that are to come, events that will happen in the future.¹ This is indeed an important aspect and wisdom in the scrolls is closely tied to expectations for the future. But we would miss the distinctive character of the pursuit of heavenly knowledge if we did not acknowledge that it is simultaneously oriented in the opposite direction: wisdom is about understanding the past.² But why and how is the past significant for wisdom? Many texts from Qumran emphasize the fundamental importance of discernment between good and evil.³ Instruction even regards this as a precondition for meditation on heavenly knowledge.⁴ But one can only gain understanding of good and evil by looking at the past, by trying to understand the motivations and consequences of past deeds, as well as their context or underlying temporal structure.

1 Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 48–49; Collins, “Wisdom Reconsidered,” 272–73; Kister, “Wisdom Literature,” 31–32; Goff, *4QInstruction*, 14.

2 Cf. Kister, “Wisdom Literature,” 32–34.

3 1QS 4:26; 4Q300 3 2; 4Q417 1 i 8; 4Q417 1 i 18 *par* 4Q418 43, 44, 45 i 13–14; 4Q418 2+2a–c 7; 4Q422 1 10; 4Q423 1–2 i 7.

4 4Q417 1 i 17–18 *par* 4Q418 43, 44, 45 i 13–14.

Nowhere is this retrospective orientation of wisdom articulated more clearly than in chapter 9 of the book of Daniel. The chapter places Daniel in the first year of the reign of the fictitious king Darius, son of Ahashuerus, and appears to situate the narrative after the fall of Babylon, but before the rebuilding of the Temple (i.e., in the late 6th century BCE).⁵ Daniel studies the scrolls (בינתי בספרים) and tries to understand Jeremiah's prophecy concerning the number of years that the desolation of Jerusalem will last. He begins to offer a prayer of supplication in mourning, and he confesses the transgressions of his own generation and of his ancestors. Daniel reviews history and recounts how despite the warnings of the prophets his people did not turn from their evil deeds and their rebellion. His prayer draws insights from the books that reveal "the curse and the oath that is written in the law of Moses" (האלה והשבעה אשר) (כתובה בתורת משה)⁶ and "this entire calamity" (כל הרעה הזאת)⁷ over which God kept watch and brought it upon his people (וישקד יהוה על הרעה ויביאה עלינו).⁸ Daniel mourns and confesses and beseeches God to withdraw his anger from Jerusalem. Then, at a specific liturgical moment, the time of the evening sacrifice (בעת מנחה ערב),⁹ the angel Gabriel appears to him. Daniel's efforts in studying the books and his prayers of confession are rewarded with the gift of wisdom and insight (עתה יצאתי להשכילך בינה).¹⁰

The wisdom that the angel transmits to Daniel consists of insight into time and its hidden structures. Gabriel explains that the seventy years of desolation that were assigned according to Jeremiah were in fact seventy weeks of years (i.e., $7 \times 70 = 490$ years).¹¹ According to the underlying temporal structure, calculated on the basis of the number seven, the angel then offers Daniel insight

5 Attempts to identify "Darius son of Ahasuerus, of Median descent" (Dan 9:1), who is probably the same as "Darius the Mede" (Dan 6:1; 10:1), with an historical figure attested in other sources have been unsuccessful. Cf. Collins, *Daniel*, 348. Carol Newsom suggests (Carol A. Newsom with Brennan W. Breed, *Daniel: A Commentary* [Louisville, KY: Westminster John Know Press, 2014], 191–92, 289) that the narrative of Daniel 6 originally circulated as an independent story that was told about the Persian king Darius the Great (522–486 BCE), son of Hytaspes, but that he was turned into a Median king because of the prophetic traditions that the Medes would overthrow Babylon and the four kingdoms scheme of Daniel 2 (Babylon, Media, Persia, Greece). Cf. Michael Segal, *Dreams, Riddles and Visions: Textual, Contextual, and Intertextual Approaches to the Book of Daniel* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), 159–62.

6 Dan 9:11.

7 Dan 9:13. Cf. Jer 16:10; 19:15; 32:23; 32:42; 35:17; 36:31; 44:2.

8 Dan 9:14; cf. Jer 1:12, 44:27.

9 Dan 9:21.

10 Dan 9:22. On confessional prayers and the role of Jeremianic traditions in Daniel and Baruch, see Newman, *Before the Bible*, 53–74.

11 Dan 9:24.

into future events.¹² These include the calamities of the second century BCE that coincide with the time in which the text was composed, but Daniel's prophecy extends further into the future and predicts the downfall of the foreign aggressor. Daniel's quest for wisdom begins with his efforts to comprehend the history of his people. He turns to the past and tries to understand what went wrong. Why was the temple destroyed? Why did his ancestors break the covenant and transgress the divine laws given by the prophets, and why did they not give heed to their warnings? Daniel tries to discern between good and evil in the history of Israel and meditates on his forefathers' deeds and their consequences. But the knowledge that is revealed to him pertains to the deep structures of time, the turning points of history and the time of the end.

The book of Daniel is written centuries after the time in which the story of Daniel is situated and yet prophesies concerning the period of its composition in the second century. As Hindy Najman demonstrates, pseudepigraphy is a literary technique that allows for a dynamic play with temporality, moving forward and backward, which she describes as the collapsing of time.¹³ Thus, 4 Ezra is composed after the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans but transports itself back in time to the Babylonian exile. The imagined past serves as a guide towards an alternatively construed future and a renewed present (a "reboot").¹⁴ In this construction, pseudepigraphy is employed as a literary technique to write history anew, from a situation of destruction and despair towards a future that is made possible in the light of renewed and radical hope.¹⁵ The books of Daniel and 4 Ezra employ figures from the history of Israel that are situated several centuries before the composition of these works. But other works transport themselves further back in time and are attributed to Moses, or the patriarchs, or even in the very remote past, before the great

12 Collins, Daniel, 352–58; Newsom, *Daniel*, 299–303. Cf. Devorah Dimant, "The Seventy Weeks Chronology (Dan 9:24–27) in the Light of the New Qumran Texts," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, BETL 106 (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 58–76 (61).

13 Cf. Najman, *Losing the Temple*, 33–47, 123–54. On pseudepigraphy as literary technique, see further Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, 1–40; Najman and Peirano Garrison, "Pseudepigraphy as an Interpretive Construct."

14 Najman, *Losing the Temple*, 16–20.

15 Najman analyses the response of Jewish communities to the first and second destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem (*Losing the Temple*, 1–25, 123–54), building on the work of the philosopher Jonathan Lear who developed the concept of radical hope to address the question how it is possible to have hope in the future when the basic conditions for what makes life meaningful have collapsed or been destroyed. Lear describes the response of the Crow Indians to their decimation and exile and examines how a new future could be imagined and hoped for by reassembling elements from traditions of the past.

flood, such as the books of Enoch. What can be gained from reflecting on and reopening the deep past, “the days of old” (ימות עולם) and “the years long past” (שנות דור ודור)?¹⁶

The sage contemplates ancient history to understand the mysteries of divine intervention. By studying “ancient things” (קדמוניות) the student of wisdom learns about the deeds of God in past ages. This intention is expressed in a fragment from the Barki Nafshi hymns: “to give knowledge to the wise, that the upright ones may increase learning, to consider your great deeds that you have done in years of old (שני קדם) and in the years long past (שני דור ודור).”¹⁷ The goal of wisdom is to understand the miraculous deeds of God through which the righteous were saved and the wicked were punished. This long-term perspective makes it possible to acquire insight into human circumstances and to understand the different paths that people have chosen and where they end up. Meditation on the past creates a foundation for hope in the future, because the righteous can expect heavenly powers to intervene on their behalf just as they did in the ancient days.

The fragmentary text *Mysteries* speaks about false sages who neglect true wisdom and have instead pursued “mysteries of transgression” (רזי פשע). Their lack of knowledge and insight into the course of history will result in their destruction:

ולוא ידעו רז נהיה ובקדמוניות לוא התבוננו
ולוא ידעו מה אשר יבוא עליהמה ונפשמה לא מלטו מרז נהיה

But they did not know the secret of time, and the ancient things they
have not considered.

They did not know what will come upon them, and they have not saved
themselves from the secret of time.

1Q27 1 i 3–4 par 4Q300 3 3–4

16 Deut 32:7. For a thorough study of the use of the word עולם in biblical Hebrew, see Ernst Jenni, “Das Wort ‘ōlām im Alten Testament,” *ZAW* 64 (1952): 197–248; and (part 2), idem, “Das Wort ‘ōlām im Alten Testament,” *ZAW* 65 (1953): 1–35.

17 לתת לחכמים דעה וישרים יוסיפו לקח להתבונן בעלילותיכה אשר עשיתה בשני קדם שני דור ודור (4Q436 1a+b i 2–3). Cf. 4Q418 148 ii 6: בינה לקדמוניות; 4Q417 1 i 3 par 4Q418 43–45 i 2: דם הבטן ברז נהיה ודע מעשין קדם (reconstruction by Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:148). Cf. Kister, “Wisdom Literature,” 32–34.

These false sages are not aware of divine retribution because they have not considered the “ancient things” (קדמניות).¹⁸ This could refer to the acts of creation, the plagues in Egypt and the exodus, or perhaps the transgressions of the kings of Israel and Judah and the retribution that followed. In any case, knowledge concerning the secret of time is to be obtained from careful consideration of the past, and apparently there is a direct relation to what will happen in the near future. The false sages are not aware of the divine mysteries and do not know what will come upon them.¹⁹ The secret of time involves a total revolution of the current reality in which injustice will forever disappear, as darkness disappears by the advent of light, or like smoke that vanishes.²⁰

The true sage considers the ancient things, and this involves contemplation of the generations of humanity (תולדות). Of course, one book of the Pentateuch is of particular significance here: the book of Genesis, which includes “the book of the generations of humankind” (ספר תולדות אדם) and many lists of *tôladôt*.²¹ The ancient histories offer insight into the nature of human beings, the various tribes and their offspring, and how most of humanity has acted wickedly and has been punished accordingly. In Instruction, the *mēbîn* is told to carefully study these histories:

הבט ברזו נהיה וקח תולדות אדם וראה בכול [] ופקודת מעשהו ואז תבין במשפט
אנוש ומשקל]

18 See the discussion of Kister, “Wisdom Literature,” 32–34. Kister shows (*ibid.*, 32) that the passage makes use of Isaiah 43:18–19: עשה אל תתבננו הנני עשה “Do not remember the former things, or consider the things of old (קדמניות). I am about to do a new thing; now it springs forth, do you not perceive it?”

19 There is a striking correspondence in Wisdom 2:22, where the wicked are unaware of divine retribution: και ουκ εγνωσαν μυστήρια θεου ουδε μισθον ηλπισαν οσιότητος ουδε εκριναν γέρας ψυχων άμώμων, “and they did not know divine mysteries nor hoped for the wages of holiness nor recognized the reward for blameless souls.” Cf. Collins, “Mysteries of God.” Note also the following passage that emphasizes Wisdom’s knowledge of “ancient things,” of future events, and of the structures of time: ει δε και πολυπειριαν ποθει τις, οιδεν τα αρχαία και τα μέλλοντα εικάζει, επίσταται στροφάς λόγων και λύσεις αινιγμάτων, σημεία και τέρατα προγινώσκει και εκβάσεις καιρών και χρόνων, “And if anyone longs for wide experience, she knows the things of old, and infers the things that are about to come; she understands twists of words and the solutions of riddles; she has foreknowledge of signs and wonders and of the completion of times and periods” (Wis 8:8).

20 1Q27 1 i 5–8 par 4Q300 3 4–6. Kister demonstrates (“Wisdom Literature,” 35–43) that the eschatological description of Mysteries has interesting parallels in the Testament of Levi, 4Q215a and prayers related to the Rosh Hashanah liturgy.

21 Gen 5:1. See: Gen 6:9; 10:1, 32; 11:10, 27; 25:12, 13, 19; 36:1, 9; 37:2. Note that in each case the Septuagint translates תולדות as γένεσις.

Consider the secret of time and understand the generations of human-kind and see all ... and the assignment of his deed. And then you will understand the judgment of humanity and the weight ...

4Q418 77 2–3 par 4Q416 7 1–2

The sage is told to study the ancient books and acquire insight into the *tôladôt*. The *mēbîn* will then understand the judgment of human beings (משפט אנוש) and the balanced measurements of heavenly justice that are concealed in these books.²² This requires careful study of the hidden meaning of these texts, because when reading Genesis and other ancient books, it is not always clear how wicked deeds are punished and how the righteous receive their reward. Perhaps Instruction alludes to the kind of meditation and textual study we encounter in the book of Jubilees (4:29–30), when it explains that God has actually given Adam his deserved punishment for eating the apple: “on the day you eat from it you shall surely die” (Gen 2:17). Adam died at the age of 930 and Jubilees infers from Psalms 90:4 that a thousand years are like one day in the eyes God.²³ Meditation on the hidden meaning of the ancient books therefore teaches how divine justice is at work even when this is not immediately apparent.

Studying the ancient things and considering the generations of old makes it possible to learn about good and evil, and to understand “the ways of truth” (דרכי אמת) and the “roots of injustice” (שורשי עולה).²⁴ To discern between good and evil requires the understanding that these are not merely dependent on the moral choices of individuals. Rather, truth and injustice are hidden principles that exert influence throughout history. The treatise in 1QS 3–4 imagines these two principles as spirits. The *maskîl* offers instruction to the community and explains the scriptures in order for the students to understand how the spirits of truth and injustice (רוחות האמת והעול) have ruled over humanity from

22 Yehoshua Amir describes how the Wisdom of Solomon develops a similar reflection on the system of divine retribution that is at work both in the present world and in the biblical accounts of ancient history (“Measure for Measure in Talmudic Literature and in the Wisdom of Solomon,” in *Justice and Righteousness: Biblical Themes and Their Influence*, ed. H. Graf Reventlow and Y. Hoffman [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992], 29–46). On the terminology of measurement and balance in the broader context of sapiential reflection on cosmic and social order, see Kister, “Physical and Metaphysical Measurements”; and Asaf Gayer, “Measurements of Wisdom: The Measuring and Weighing Motif in the Wisdom Composition *Instruction*, and in Second Temple Literature” (PhD diss., University of Haifa, 2021).

23 Kugel, *Traditions*, 94–95; James C. VanderKam, *Jubilees* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2018), 264–66.

24 4Q416 2 iii 14 par 4Q418 9+9a–c 15.

the earliest generations of prediluvian times until their offspring in the present and in the future:

למשכיל להבין וללמד את כול בני אור בתולדות כול בני איש לכול מיני רוחותם
באותותם למעשיהם בדורותם ולפקודת נגועיהם עם קצי שלומם

For the *maškil* to give understanding and to teach all the sons of light about all the generations of the sons of man concerning all the kinds of their spirits in their signs according to their deeds in their generations and concerning the visitation of their calamities and the times of their punishment.

1QS 3:13–15

The Two Spirits Treatise explains that all human behaviour is caused by the two opposite principles of truth and injustice that originate in light and darkness respectively. In fact, God has created these two spirits and has set them as a foundation for all human actions (עליהון יסד כול מעשה).²⁵ Humanity has been divided into two camps, of which one is ruled by darkness and the other by light, although the second camp also suffers the influence of darkness. The Treatise explains that humanity has been ruled by these spirits from the moment of its creation, and that throughout their generations (לדורותם) human beings inherit their position in either of the two divisions.²⁶ Such is the situation of humanity for all eternal periods (לכול קצי עולמים) until the final period (קץ אחרון).²⁷ Then God will purify humanity and drive out every spirit of injustice.

Just like fragment 4Q418 77, the Treatise of the Two Spirits reflects a deep meditation on ancient things (קדמוניות) and the generations of humanity (תולדות כול בני איש).²⁸ Its explanation of the human condition begins with the

25 1QS 3:25.

26 1QS 4:15.

27 1QS 4:16–17.

28 Gerschom Scholem first suggested the translation “nature” for תולדות (“הכרת פנים וסדרי”) תולדות, in “שרטוטין אסיף: קובץ מאמרי מחקר,” ed. M. D. Cassuto, J. Klausner and J. Gutmann [Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1953], 459–95 [77–79]), based on a parallel development in Latin for *natura* (from *nasci*) and for Greek φύσις (from φύω). Cf. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 196; Mladen Popović, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism*, STDJ 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 180 n. 29; Jonathan Ben-Dov, “Ideals of Science: The Infrastructure of Scientific Activity in Apocalyptic Literature and in the Yahad,” in *Ancient Jewish Sciences and the History of Knowledge in Second Temple Literature*, ed. J. Ben-Dov and S. L. Sanders (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2014), 109–52 (120). Kister points out (“Physical

creation of humans for dominion over the earth (1QS 3:17–18) and it concludes with the eschatological purification of humanity (4:18–23). The Treatise refers to the deeds of each generation (מעשיהם בדורותם) and thereby implies the history of *all* generations, both before and after the flood, both before and after Abraham. The temptations, transgressions and punishments of the patriarchs and their righteous descendants took place under the influence of the hostility of the prince of darkness (בממשלת משטמתו).²⁹ But the God of Israel and his angel of truth came to their support (3:24–25). Some scholars have interpreted the Treatise of the Two Spirits as the pinnacle of sectarian teaching, explaining the position of the community as the sons of light over against all the others, who are sons of darkness.³⁰ The Serek obviously understands the *yahad* to belong to the sons of light (1QS 1:9, 2:16). However, it is also clear that the Treatise does not only speak about the current reality but oversees all periods of history and all generations of humanity from the beginning until the end. This cannot be reduced to a narrow, sectarian perspective, but rather, like Daniel and Instruction, the Treatise strives for discernment between good and evil through a meditation on ancient history. By turning to the past, the Treatise of the Two Spirits uncovers hidden structures of time and anticipates a new future in which the opposition of light and darkness is overcome.

The division of history into periods is fundamental for understanding the secret of time. The fragments of Mysteries and Instruction do not preserve

and Metaphysical Measurements,” 170–1, n. 71) that this usage may fit some occurrences in medieval Hebrew literature but not in Second Temple writings. The occurrences of תולדות in 1QS 3:19 (תולדות העול and תולדות האמת) and in 4:15 (בני תולדות כול בני) hardly make sense with the translation “nature.”

- 29 The role of the angels of darkness in the Two Spirits Treatise is very similar to the Prince of Mastema (or Prince Mastema, or Mastema) in the book of Jubilees. According to Jubilees, God “made spirits rule over all nations in order to lead them astray from following him,” but the spirits do not rule over Israel because God alone is their ruler (Jub 15:30–32). Nonetheless, Mastema attacks and tries to damage the chosen seed; Abraham with the binding of Isaac (Jub 17:16), Moses on his way back from Midian (Jub 48:2), and the people of Israel during the plagues and the flight from Egypt (Jub 48:9, 12). Cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 50–53; idem, “Mastema in the Qumran Literature and the Book of Jubilees,” in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, ed. J. Baden, H. Najman and E. Tigchelaar, JSJSup 175 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 1346–60. Compare also 4QD^f 4 ii 6–7 *par* 4Q^e 6 ii 17–18 *par* CD 16:4–5 (וביום אשר יקים האיש על נפשו לשוב אל תורת משה יסור) (מלאך המשטמה מאחריו אם יקים את דבריו Abraham’s Covenant.”
- 30 For critical discussions, see Jean Duhaime, “Dualism,” *EDSS*, 1:215–20; Hempel, “Teaching on the Two Spirits”; and Mladen Popović, “Light and Darkness in the Treatise on the Two Spirits (1QS III 13–IV 16) and in 4Q186,” in Xeravits, *Dualism in Qumran*, 148–65. Note that several scholars have interpreted the Treatise as a pre-sectarian work that later became important for the sect. But on the problems with this hypothesis, see page 25–27.

elaborate descriptions of the periods of history, but they allude to them at various moments. According to Mysteries, the secret of time guarantees the destruction of false sages and the future disappearance of evil, which will take place “at the closing of the birthtimes of injustice” (בהסגר מולדי עולה).³¹ This seems to imply a notion of periods and generations that are marked by evil. Relatedly, Instruction refers to the generations of humankind (תולדות אדם) in 4Q418 77 and relates understanding of the secret of time to divine ordinations concerning the periods of history, which are described as “weight of periods” (משקל קצים).³² Texts from the Second Temple period develop various forms and models of dividing history into periods and some compositions offer material that is particularly helpful for conceiving of the thought patterns that may underlie the concept of *rāz nihyeh*.³³

An important example occurs in the Epistle of Enoch, which testifies how the antediluvian sage learned about the temporal divisions from the words of the watchers and from the heavenly tablets. In a section of the Epistle known as the “Apocalypse of Weeks” (1 Enoch 93:1–10; 91:11–17) Enoch describes ten periods that are each divided into seven portions.³⁴ The text summarizes the histories of the biblical books using allusive language.³⁵ Enoch lives at the end

31 1Q27 1 i 5–7 *par* 4Q300 3 4–6.

32 4Q418 77 4. Cf. 1QpHab 7:13; 1QS 9:12; 4 Ezra 4:36–37. See Kister, “Physical and Metaphysical Measurements,” 155, 167, 171. The secret of time is also related to periods in 4Q418 123 ii 2–4: למבוא שנים ומוצא קצים ... קצו אשר גלה אל אוון מבינים ברוז נהיה.

33 On periodization in Second Temple writings, see: Jacob Licht, “Time and Eschatology in Apocalyptic Literature and in Qumran,” *JJS* 16 (1965): 173–82; Shani Tzoref, “Peshet and Periodization,” *DSD* 18 (2011): 129–54; Michael E. Stone, *Ancient Judaism: New Visions and Views* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2011), 59–121; Devorah Dimant, “Time, Torah and Prophecy at Qumran,” in *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation*, 301–14.

34 Klaus Koch proposes that the ten periods of the Apocalypse of Weeks each have a timespan of exactly 490 years, i.e., ten jubilees (“Sabbatsstruktur der Geschichte: Die sogenannte Zehn-Wochen-Apokalypse [1 Hen 93 1–10 91 11–17] und das Ringen um die alttestamentlichen Chronologien im späten Israelitentum,” *ZAW* 95 [1983]: 403–30 [414–20]). Devorah Dimant adopts the same calculation (“Seventy Weeks Chronology,” 66–68, 70–71). However, Loren Stuckenbruck argues that it cannot be inferred from the Apocalypse of Weeks that the ten periods are of equal duration (“The Apocalypse of Weeks: Periodization and Tradition-Historical Context,” in *Four Kingdom Motifs before and beyond the Book of Daniel*, ed. A. B. Perrin and L. T. Stuckenbruck, TBN 28 (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 81–95 [88]).

35 The textual order as it has been transmitted in the Ethiopic manuscript tradition has been rearranged and the text of 91:11–17 was originally located in between 93:10 and 93:11. This is evident from the sequence of weeks 8–10 that continues in 91:11–17 and is also confirmed by 4QEn^g. Cf. Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 49–52. Stuckenbruck argues (*ibid.*, 60–62) that the Apocalypse of Weeks was composed in the first third of the 2nd century BCE, since it alludes to the Book of the Watchers

of the first period and until his time there was righteousness on earth, but in the second period “deceit and violence will sprout” (שקרא וחמסא יצמחון) and there will be “the first end,” which alludes to the great flood, after which iniquity will again increase.³⁶ At the end of the third period “a man” will be chosen as “the plant of righteous judgment,” hinting at Abraham, who is left anonymous to emphasize that Enoch sees future events and does not yet know who Abraham is.³⁷ The descriptions of the fourth and fifth period allude to the revelation of the Torah on mount Sinai and the construction of the first Temple.³⁸ In the sixth period people will turn away from wisdom and at its completion the Temple will be destroyed, and the people scattered. The seventh period that Enoch foresees receives the most elaborate description and this appears to be the present time of the community that produced the text.³⁹ In this period the chosen ones will be elected, and they will receive “sevenfold wisdom,” and will “uproot the foundations of violence and the work of deceit” (ולהון עקרין אשי חמסא ועבד שקרא).⁴⁰ Periods eight through ten consist of restoration, the punishment of oppressors and sinners, the building of an eternal Temple, and the judgment of the watchers of heaven, which is then followed by endless periods of everlasting righteousness in which sin never reappears.

With this brief overview the Apocalypse of Weeks offers a meditation on ancient history while anticipating a future that presents a radical rupture with the present.⁴¹ The text considers the lineage of the righteous from prediluvian times to the present and uses plant metaphors to describe both the generations of the chosen ones and the lineages of the wicked and the oppressors.⁴² Drawing on Najman’s analysis of the “collapsing of time” in the literary strategy of pseudepigraphic attribution, I want to emphasize that the Epistle of Enoch

(composed no later than the 3rd century BCE) but makes no mention of the persecutions under Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

36 4Q212 1 iii 25. Cf. 1 Enoch 93:4.

37 Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch* 91–108, 99–100.

38 Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch* 91–108, 57, 103–11.

39 Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch* 91–108, 56–57.

40 4Q212 1 iv 14. Cf. 1 Enoch 91:11.

41 On Eschatology and Time in the wider contexts of the books of 1 Enoch, see Loren Stockenbruck, “Eschatology and Time in 1 Enoch,” in *Apocalyptic Thinking in Early Judaism: Engaging with John Collins’ The Apocalyptic Imagination*, ed. C. Wassen and S. W. Crawford, *JJS*Sup 182 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 160–80. See also Judith H. Newman, “Participatory Past.”

42 On the use of plant metaphors in the Apocalypse of Weeks, see Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch* 91–108, 76–79, 92–94, 100–2, 123–24, 128–30. On the wider usage of the phrase “eternal planting” in the scrolls, see Patrick Tiller, “The ‘Eternal Planting’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 4 (1997): 312–35.

transports itself back from the second century BCE all the way to the time before the flood when Enoch was taken up into heaven and peered into the future, thereby offering hope with an alternative vision that breaks the power of injustice that reigns in the present. The Apocalypse of Weeks turns to the remote past in an attempt to discern the origins of good and evil.⁴³ This reflection on the ancient past is presented in the form of a vision that explains the hidden temporal structures and how time is divided into distinct periods.⁴⁴

A similar consideration of the past lies embedded in the concept of *rāz nihyeh*. Instruction admonishes the students of wisdom to consider the times of antiquity (םדק), to study everything that happened and to consider each and every deed.⁴⁵ Day and night they need to study the secret of time in order

43 Klaus Koch has argued (“History as a Battlefield of Two Antagonistic Powers in the Apocalypse of Weeks and in the Rule of the Community,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. G. Boccaccini [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005], 185–99) that the opposition of the principles of truth and falsehood in the Apocalypse of Weeks was influenced by Persian dualism. Shaul Shaked cautions (“Qumran and Iran: Further Considerations,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 [1972], 433–46 [434]) that dualism is a rather universal phenomenon that is irrelevant to the question of Persian influence. On the more general issue of Iranian influence in Judaism, Shaked states (“Iranian Influence on Judaism: First Century B.C.E. to Second Century C.E.,” in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 1, ed. W. D. Davies and L. Finkelstein [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984], 308–25 [309]): “It is possible to exclude as unlikely two extreme positions which have been adopted in the course of scholarly discussions around these problems. One of these emphatically denies the actual existence or possibility of Persian influence on Judaism as a factor affecting Jewish thought in the period under consideration (and even goes so far as to suggest exclusive influence in the opposite direction); the other position is the one which would explain almost everything in the development of post-biblical Judaism as stemming directly from Iran.” Instead of these extreme positions, Shaked advocates a more dynamic model that considers various aspects, both internal and external. See, more recently, Albert de Jong, “Iranian Connections in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 479–500. Eibert Tigchelaar has argued (“Changing Truths: מִקְרָא and טְשִׁיט as Core Concepts in the Second Temple Period,” in *Congress Volume Stellenbosch 2016*, ed. L. C. Jonker, G. R. Kotzé and C. M. Maier, VTSup 177 [Leiden: Brill, 2017], 395–415) that it is not so much the notion of opposing principles but rather the semantic expansion of Aramaic מִקְרָא and Hebrew מִקְרָא in texts from the Hellenistic period that may be the result of interaction with the Persian concept of “truth.” Tigchelaar hypothesizes (*ibid.*, 414) “a terminological trajectory from Avestan *aša* being replaced by Achaemenid *rāsta-/arštā-*, rendered in Aramaic by טְשִׁיט and מִקְרָא, and finally to Hebrew מִקְרָא, as a calque of Aramaic מִקְרָא.”

44 Other texts from Qumran that perform a reflection on the past and divide time into periods include the Damascus Document (CD 2:9–10 *par* 4QD^a 2 ii 8–10), Peshar Habakkuk (1QpHab 7:1–14), and 4Q180 (esp. fragment 1). Cf. Devorah Dimant, “Exegesis and Time in the Pesharim from Qumran,” in *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation*, 315–32; and eadem, “The Peshar on the Periods (4Q180) and 4Q181 Reconsidered,” in *ibid.*, 385–404.

45 4Q417 1 i 2–5 *par* 4Q418 43–45 i 1–4.

to know truth and iniquity (יּוֹמָם וּלְיַלָּה הִגָּה בְּרוּז נְהִיָּה וְאִז תִּדַּע אִמְתָּ וְעוֹל).⁴⁶ The text continues with the following admonition:

דַּע מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם בְּכוֹל דְּרָכֵיהֶם עִם פְּקוּדוֹתֵם לְכוֹל קִצֵּי עוֹלָם וּפְקוּדוֹת עַד
וְאִז תִּדַּע בֵּין טוֹב לְרַע כַּמַּעֲשֵׂיהֶם

Know their deeds in all their ways and the appointments⁴⁷ of all periods of eternity and the appointment of eternity. And then you will discern between good and evil according to their deeds.

4Q417 1 i 7–8 par 4Q418 43–45 i 5–6

The study of wisdom requires an understanding of all the deeds that people have performed and the paths they have chosen, either in truth or injustice, from the days of old until the present. Moreover, the deeds and paths of human beings need to be understood in relation to the periods of history. Only by understanding the origins and foundations of human behaviour will the sage be able to discern between what is good and what is evil in their deeds.⁴⁸ Turning to the past and considering the ancient things will lead to insight into the hidden structures of time and the alternation of light and darkness, which offers hope for a new future for those who hold fast to truth and justice.

2 The Divisions of the Times

Human beings do not simply have access to the temporal organization that lies embedded in the *rāz nihyeh*. When we consider the examples mentioned

⁴⁶ 4Q417 1 i 6 par 4Q418 43–45 i 4.

⁴⁷ The root פִּקַּד has a wide semantic range and in some cases “task” or “assignment” is a better translation of פְּקוּדָה than visitation. On פְּקוּדָה in Instruction, see Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 240–42. Cf. Kister, “Wisdom Literature at Qumran,” 308. The last part of the quotation has a close parallel in the Hodayot: כּוֹל מַחֲשֵׁבֵיהֶם לְכוֹל קִצֵּי עוֹלָם וּפְקוּדוֹת עַד (1QH^a 5:26–27). Instead of “their assignment” (פְּקוּדוֹתָם), the Hodayot speak of “their plans” (מַחֲשֵׁבֵיהֶם). This indicates that the two corresponding sentences in Instruction and the Hodayot should be understood in the context of the divine plan that God has established for creation.

⁴⁸ In the following lines of the fragment (4Q417 1 i 8–11 par 4Q418 43, 44, 45 i 6–8) that are broken and difficult to read, the terminology of foundation (סוּד and אוֹשׁ) is prominent and is related on the one hand to truth (אִמְתָּ) and on the other hand to the dominion of deeds (מַמְשַׁלְתָּ מַעֲשֵׂיָהּ). This is strongly reminiscent of the Two Spirits Treatise (1QS 3:20–21, 25–26; 4:1, 6; cf. 4QEn^g 1 iv 14; 1 Enoch 91:11). Compare also the following phrase in the Hodayot: אַתָּה גְּלִיתָהּ דְּרָכֵי טוֹב וּמַעֲשֵׂי רַע חוֹכְמָה וְאוֹלָתָּ (1QH^a 5:20).

above, we notice that both Daniel and Enoch receive knowledge of the hidden structures of time through angelic mediation. Daniel is visited on earth by an angel who explains the mysteries to him, and Enoch is himself taken up into heaven where he hears the words of the watchers and reads in the heavenly tablets. Relatedly, texts discovered at Qumran emphasize that sharing in the knowledge of the holy ones requires participation in angelic prayer. For this reason, the moments at which the sage gives blessing need to be aligned with the sequence of heavenly praise. The division between light and darkness lies at the basis of temporal progression, and the points of transition are marked by prayer. Some texts assume that the temporal structures organizing the periods of history are identical with the divisions of time that organize the liturgical calendar. On a more abstract level, both are expressions of that which comes into being.

One of the clearest and earliest examples of a liturgical text that associates the distinction between light and darkness with heavenly knowledge and angelic prayer is the Hymn to the Creator, a text that was partly preserved in the large Psalms scroll (11QPs^a).⁴⁹ The hymn offers words of praise to the greatness of God:

מבדיל אור מאפלה שחר הכין בדעת לבו
אז ראו כול מלאכיו וירננו כי הראם את אשר לוא ידעו

Separating light from deep darkness, he prepared dawn with the knowledge of his mind.

Then all his angels saw and rejoiced, because he had shown them what they had not known.

11Q5 26:11–12

The hymn invokes Genesis 1 and the language of separation between light and darkness (ויבדל אלהים בין האור ובין החושך), but it praises God for separating light from “deep darkness” (אפלה), which suggests an even deeper, abyssal darkness that existed prior to the creation of light. The following word “dawn” (שחר) signifies release from that darkness and exhibits an eschatological dimension of illumination as a new day, or a new creation in which there will be no darkness. The phrase “he prepared dawn in the knowledge of his mind” signifies that both the beginning and the end of time have been conceived in the divine mind. When the angels saw what God prepared, they sang with joy (וירננו), which recalls the joyful song of the morning stars in the Joban account

49 Sanders, DJD 4:89–91.

of creation (ברן יחד כוכבי בקר).⁵⁰ The spontaneous jubilation of the angels reinforces the notion that the separation of light from darkness anticipates a victory of cosmic proportions.⁵¹

Moshe Weinfeld has shown how the Hymn to the Creator participates in liturgical traditions of the Second Temple period that lie at the basis of the *Yošer Qedushah* of the Jewish morning prayer.⁵² These blessings, elaborating on Isaiah 45:7 (יוצר אור ובורא חשך), praise God for creating the luminaries and combine the motifs of divine knowledge, the creation of light, and angelic song. Weinfeld points out that related traditions are attested in Ben Sira's hymn on the works of creation (Sir 42:15–43:33, esp. 42:16–20) and in the book of Jubilees' account of the first day of creation (Jub 2:2–3).⁵³ The Jubilees passage states that on the first day God created all the angels and spirits, as well as "... the depths, darkness and light, dawn and evening which he prepared through the knowledge of his mind."⁵⁴ Jubilees also describes the angels' response to God's creations on the first day, in a manner strongly reminiscent of 11QPs^a 26: "Then we saw his works and blessed him" (אז ראינו מעשיו ונברכנו).⁵⁵ The close relationship between the Hymn to the Creator and Jubilees 2:2–3 may certainly indicate a relationship between these texts.⁵⁶ But the traces in late antique Jewish prayer, as pointed out by Weinfeld, suggest that the combined motif of

50 Job 38:7. See Moshe Weinfeld, "Angelic Song," 105. Cf. James L. Kugel, "Some Instances of Biblical Interpretation in the Hymns and Wisdom Writings of Qumran," in *Studies in Ancient Midrash* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 155–69.

51 This also appears to be the understanding expressed in 1QH^a 5:28–29, יספרו כבודך ככול ממשלתך כי הראיתם את אשר לא ידעו [שר קדם ולברוא חדשות להפר קימי קדם ולנהק]ים נהיות עולם. Cf. Weinfeld, "Angelic Song," 104. A similar metaphor is used in Mysteries: יגלה הרשע מפני הצדק כגלות חושך מפני אור ... והצדק יגלה כשמש (1Q27 5–6 par 4Q300 3 5–6).

52 Moshe Weinfeld, "Traces of Kedushat Yozer and Pesukey De-Zimra in the Qumran Literature and in Ben-Sira," *Tarbiz* 45 (1975): 15–26 (Hebrew); idem, "Angelic Song."

53 Weinfeld, "Angelic Song," 108–11.

54 The Ge'ez reads: *qalāyāt wa-ṣalmat wa-bərhān wa-goḥ wa-məset za-ʾastadālawā ba-ʾaʾmāro lebbu*. Cf. James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text* (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 8. The fragmentary manuscript 4QJubilees^a preserves a different version: את התהו [מות] אתהו [מות] // מאפלה ושחר ו [הכין בד]עתו (4Q216 5:9–10). Cf. Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:226. The terms for darkness, light, dawn and evening appear in three different orders in the Ethiopic, in 4QJubilees^a and in the Greek fragments in Epiphanius' *Measures and Weights*. Cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 183–84. Interestingly, *ba-ʾaʾmāro lebbu* corresponds to the wording of the Hymn of the Creator (בדעת לבו), while 4QJubilees^a reads [בד]עתו.

55 4Q216 5:10 (corresponds to Jubilees 2:3). Cf. Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:226. The Ge'ez reads: *wa-ʾamehā rʾīna maḡbāro wa-bāraknāhu*. Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 8. Cf. Note the allusion in 1QH^a 5:28 ([ידעו] כי הראיתם את אשר לא ידעו).

56 Patrick Skehan argues ("Jubilees and the Qumran Psalter," *CBQ* 37 [1975]: 343–47 [346]) that Jubilees was influenced by the Hymn to the Creator, while Menahem Kister suggests

divine knowledge, the creation of light and angelic praise was part of liturgical traditions that circulated more broadly in the late Second Temple period.

The separation between light and darkness establishes the progression of time and the alternation of evening and morning, of day and night. The seventh day represents another significant division of time and plays a crucial role in the book of Jubilees. Unlike Genesis, Jubilees already begins the account of creation by anticipating its completion on the sixth day and God's observance of the sabbath by which it is sanctified for all ages and set as a "sign for all his works" (Jub 2:1).⁵⁷ In other words, Jubilees frames the entire creation in the light of the sabbath day.⁵⁸ The description of the six days of creation (Jub 2:2–16) is mirrored in length by the following discourse on the sabbath (Jub 2:17–33). Strikingly, the sabbath is given as a sign to two classes of angels, the angels of the presence and the angels of holiness. These angels refrain from work and keep the sabbath with God in heaven and on earth. God tells the angels that he will set apart a people among all the nations and that he has chosen the seed of Jacob and sanctified them for all ages to keep the sabbath. According to the book of Jubilees the distinction and sanctification of the seventh day corresponds to the separation and sanctification of Israel.⁵⁹ On the sabbath day, Israel will eat, drink and bless the creator. Jubilees emphasizes that Israel keeps the sabbath together (יחד) with the angels.⁶⁰ This separation of holy time and profane time is marked by emulation of the angels, as a

the opposite ("Some Early Jewish and Christian Exegetical Problems and the Dynamics of Monotheism," *JSJ* 37 [2006]: 548–93 [582 n. 109]).

- 57 VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 176–77. For sabbath as sign, see Ex 31:12–17.
- 58 Odil H. Steck, "Die Aufnahme von Genesis 1 in Jubiläen 2 und 4. Esra 6," *JSJ* 8 (1977): 154–82 (160–62); James C. VanderKam, "Genesis 1 in Jubilees 2," *DSD* 1 (1994): 300–21 (305–6, 318). Cf. Jacques T. A. G. M. Van Ruiten, *Primaevial History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1–11 in the Book of Jubilees*, JSJSup 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 13.
- 59 Kister points to the correspondences in Ben Sira 33:7–15 ("the teaching of the pairs") and the Havdalah blessing that is already attested in the early Amoraic period ("Physical and Metaphysical Measurements," 156–60). This may be seen as another instance of Jubilees' participation in liturgical developments.
- 60 4QJubilees^a reads: יחד עמנו ולהיות יחד (4Q216 7:13). The term יחד plays a central role in the description of the community joining in the praise of the angels in the Hodayot and other Qumran texts. See e.g., (1QH^a 11:22–23); ותפל לאיש גורל עולם עם רוחות דעת להלל שמכה ביחד רנה (1QH^a 11:23–24); ובגורל יחד עם מלאכי פנים (1QH^a 14:16); ועם ידעים ביחד רנה (1QH^a 19:17); ובתהל[ה] (1QH^a 19:17); יחד עם בני אלים (4QM^a 24 4). The phrase יחד רנה in 1QH^a 11:24 and 19:17 invokes Job 38:7; ברוך יחד כוכבי בקר ויריעו כל בני אלהים (note the LXX-variant ἀγγελοι for אלהים). Cf. Weinfeld, "Heavenly Praise," 46, 48–49. In a forthcoming article I demonstrate the importance of the notion of joint heavenly praise for community formation in the book of Jubilees, the Dead Sea Scrolls and early Jewish liturgy.

correspondence between heaven and earth by which a human community can temporarily join a congregation of divine beings.⁶¹

The possibility of participation in holiness depends completely on alignment with the temporal sequence of the heavens. This explains why Jubilees places such great importance in temporal structures. Indeed, the prologue indicates that this book contains an account of “the division of the times for the law and for the testimony” (*kufāle mawā’alāta ḥagg wa-la-səm*). The first chapter narrates how Moses is summoned to go up mount Sinai and receive the stone tablets. But God also shares the secrets of what has happened in the past and what will happen in the future, and tells Moses to write down everything in order to testify that God is indeed trustworthy and faithful (1:5).⁶² After giving Moses a brief preview of the course of history, God tells him:

Now you write all these words that I tell you on this mountain: what is first and what is last and what is to come during all the divisions of the times that are for the law and for the testimony and for the weeks of their jubilees until eternity—until the time when I descend and live with them throughout all the ages of eternity.

Jub 1:26⁶³

According to Jubilees both the history of the world and the calendrical system are organized according to “the divisions of the times” (מחלקות העתים).⁶⁴ The number seven stands at the centre of this complex temporal framework.

61 On the notion of heavenly and earthly correspondence, see Hindy Najman, “Between Heaven and Earth: Liminal Visions in 4Ezra,” in *Other Worlds and their Relation to this World: Early Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. T. Nicklas, J. Verheyden, E. M. M. Eynikel and F. García Martínez, JSJSup 143 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 151–67; Najman, *Losing the Temple*, 113–20; Najman, “Ethical Reading: The Transformation of the Text and the Self,” *JTS* 68 (2017), 507–29 (525–27).

62 On the secrets revealed to Moses on mount Sinai, see VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 142–44. Cf. Hindy Najman, “Angels at Sinai: Exegesis, Theology and Interpretive Authority,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 313–33 (316–17).

63 Translation by VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 132. The Ge’ez reads: *wa-’anta ṣahaf laka k’wallo zanta nagara za-’ana ayad’aka ba-zəntu dabr za-qadāmi wa-za-daḥāri wa-za-yəmaṣṣə’ hallo ba-k’wəllu kufāle mawā’al za-ba-ḥagg wa-za-ba-səm’ wa-ba-subā’ehomu la-’iyyobelawon ’aska la’ālam ’aska soba ’əwarrəd wa-’ahaddər məslehomu ba-k’wəllu ’ālama ’alam*. Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 6. 4QJubilees^a preserves the following phrases: [ה ולתעד]דה[ה בכל מחלקות העתים לתור]ה ... // [את הראשנים ואת האחרני]ם[ם] ... [ארד ...] // (4Q216 4:3–5).

64 On the phrase “divisions of the times,” see VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 125–27; Deborah Dimant, “What is the ‘Book of the Divisions of the Times’?” in *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation*, 369–83. See further below.

Not only is the entire book of Jubilees framed by the sabbath commandment in chapters 2 and 50,⁶⁵ but the number seven and its multiplication also dictates the larger cycles of time, consisting of weeks of years (i.e., seven years) and jubilees (i.e., forty-nine years). This system of time reckoning is based on the laws for the “sabbaths of the land” and the jubilee years (Jub 50:1–3; cf. Ex 23:10–12; Lev 25; Dt 15:1–18). The book of Jubilees arranges the sequence of history according to this division in weeks of years and jubilees. But the fundamental role of the number seven is not limited to chronology.

Jubilees employs the remarkable calendrical system of a 364-day year calendar.⁶⁶ In an extensive description of this system of time reckoning, the book explains that the year consists of four seasons of thirteen weeks, numbering a total of fifty-two weeks (Jub 6:28–31). Jubilees emphatically rejects intercalation days and lunar observation and claims that the year counts 364 days exactly and is based exclusively on the sign of the sun (Jub 6:36; cf. 2:8–10; 4:21).⁶⁷ However, it would be inexact to describe this system of time-reckoning as a solar calendar. Instead, the 364-day year should be considered as an ideal schematic year that is based on the number seven.⁶⁸ According

65 Lutz Doering, “The Concept of the Sabbath in the Book of Jubilees,” in Albani, Frey and Lange, *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, 179–205 (179).

66 Albani, “Zur Rekonstruktion eines verdrängten Konzepts”; Uwe Glessmer, “Explizite Aussagen über kalendarische Konflikte im Jubiläenbuch: Jub 6:22–32, 33–38,” in Albani, Frey and Lange, *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, 127–64; Jonathan Ben-Dov, “The 364-Day Year in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish Pseudepigraphy,” in *Calendars and Years 11: Astronomy and Time in the Ancient and Medieval World*, ed. J. M. Steele (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 69–105. For more extensive discussion of the 364-day year calendrical tradition and its relation to Babylonian astronomy, see Matthias Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube: Untersuchungen zum astronomischen Henochbuch* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1996); and Jonathan Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*.

67 Glessmer, “Explizite Aussagen über kalendarische Konflikte”; Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “Lights Serving as Signs for Festivals’ (Genesis 1:14b) in Enūma Eliš and Early Judaism,” in *The Creation of Heaven and Earth: Re-interpretations of Genesis 1 in the Context of Judaism, Ancient Philosophy, Christianity, and Modern Physics*, ed. G. H. van Kooten, TBN 8 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 31–48 (39–41). Jubilees is in fact the only text in the 364-day year calendrical tradition that rejects the moon in favour of the sun. Cf. Ben-Dov, “The 364-Day Year,” 80. On the role of the moon in the 364-Day year calendrical tradition, see Ben-Dov, “The 364-Day Year,” 79–83. Cf. idem, *Head of All Years*.

68 Albani, “Zur Rekonstruktion eines verdrängten Konzepts,” 100–1; Ben-Dov, “The 364-Day Year,” 72. The solar year consists of 365 days and a little less than six hours, which means it is not synchronic with the 364-day year. For a discussion of abstract and cosmological speculations on the role of the number seven in time reckoning in ancient Jewish sources, see Jonathan Ben-Dov, “Time and Natural Law in Jewish-Hellenistic Writings,” in *The Construction of Time in Antiquity: Ritual, Art, and Identity*, ed. J. Ben-Dov and L. Doering (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 9–30 (15–25).

to Jubilees, Enoch was the first human being to discover this temporal system and to write in a book “the signs of the sky in accord with the fixed patterns of each of their months” (*ta’amōra samāy bakama šar’āta ’awrāḥihomu*).⁶⁹ These divisions of the times have also been engraved on the heavenly tablets that perform an important role in authenticating the teachings of Jubilees.⁷⁰ In accordance with the heavenly tablets, the angels in heaven celebrate the festival of weeks on the exact dates determined by the 364-day calendar (Jub 6:17–18).⁷¹ The heavenly tablets, then, dictate the organization of heavenly time with which humans need to coordinate their separation of holy and profane time, while emulating the timekeeping of the angels. It is therefore not surprising that the disjunction between earthly and heavenly time is considered offensive, even catastrophic, in the book of Jubilees (Jub 1:14; 6:32–38).

The divisions of the times (מחלקות העתים) determine a temporal system of days, weeks, months, seasons, festivals, years, weeks of years and jubilees. In the book of Jubilees both the calendar and the chronology of historical events are arranged according to this system.⁷² The entire history from the creation of the earth until Moses’ ascent of mount Sinai is narrated within the peculiar temporal structure that Jubilees imposes. Thus, Jubilees calculates the course of history according to years, weeks-of-years and jubilees. At various moments, the book even specifies the month and the day at which historical events took place, for example when they coincide with annual festivals (Jub 6:1–22; 16:13; 16:15–31; 18:17–19). The book of Jubilees performs exactly the kind of reflection on ancient things (קדמוניות) discussed in the previous section. The work emerged in the last centuries before the common era, but it looks back on history and revisits the ancient generations (תולדות), their good and evil

69 Jub 4:17. Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 24.

70 Florentino García Martínez, “The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees,” in Albani, Frey and Lange, *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, 243–60; Hindy Najman, “Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and Its Authority Conferring Strategies,” *JSJ* 30 (1999): 379–410; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 68–71.

71 VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 316–17. Cf. James M. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees*, JSJSup 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 1–3. For a critique of Scott’s hypothesis of implicit *mišmārōt* and *’ōtōt* cycles in the book of Jubilees, see Jacques van Ruiten, review of *On Earth as in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees*, by James M. Scott, *JSJ* 38 (2007): 425–30.

72 For a detailed discussion of chronology in the book of Jubilees, see James C. VanderKam, “Studies in the Chronology of the Book of Jubilees,” in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*, JSJSup 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 522–44. Cf. idem, *Jubilees*, 1192–201. Michael Segal has argued (*The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology*, JSJSup 117 [Leiden: Brill, 2007], 83–94) that the chronology of Jubilees is part of an editorial layer of the book. See page 125 footnote 77.

deeds, their rewards and their punishments.⁷³ The book of Jubilees adopts the perspective of a figure from the remote past and participates in what Hindy Najman has termed “Mosaic discourse.”⁷⁴ In turning to the past, the book of Jubilees aspires to distinguish between good and evil, tracing the roots of righteous and wicked deeds and situating them within the hidden structures of time, in which the number seven plays a fundamental role.

The literary strategies and conceptual framework that we encounter in Jubilees are highly distinctive but at the same time the work participates in the broader literary world out of which it emerged. Eibert Tigchelaar has demonstrated that the Dead Sea Scrolls attest to the existence of multiple versions of Jubilees.⁷⁵ The diversity within the Jubilees manuscripts implies that it is not possible to make a strict distinction between Jubilees and the so-called pseudo-Jubilees texts.⁷⁶ Both sets of manuscripts are witness to a pluriform

73 The composition of the book of Jubilees is generally dated to the second century BCE. Cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 28–38. However, the manuscripts that scholars have classified as Jubilees and Pseudo-Jubilees suggest that Jubilees was not a stable and fixed text but was rather in progress and was being reworked in the first century BCE and possibly even in the first century CE. Cf. Hindy Najman and Eibert Tigchelaar, “Unity after Fragmentation,” *RevQ* 26 (2014): 495–50; and Tigchelaar, “The Qumran *Jubilees* Manuscripts as Evidence for the Literary Growth of the Book,” *RevQ* 26 (2014): 580–94.

74 Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, 41–69.

75 Tigchelaar, “Qumran *Jubilees* Manuscripts.” Tigchelaar presented an earlier version of his argument at the Leuven Dead Sea Scrolls symposium in May 2014. His analysis builds on the work of Menahem Kister, “Newly-Identified Fragments of the Book of Jubilees: Jub. 23:21–23, 30–31,” *RevQ* 12 (1987): 529–36; and Charlotte Hempel, “The Place of the Book of Jubilees at Qumran and Beyond,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context*, ed. T. H. Lim (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 179–96. Tigchelaar emphasizes (“Qumran *Jubilees* Manuscripts,” 579–81) that editions of Jubilees have been based on Ethiopic manuscripts (dating between the 14th and 20th centuries) with additional text-critical evidence from one partially preserved Latin translation (5th or 6th century) and several Greek quotations and allusions, and he points out that Milik and VanderKam have edited and reconstructed the much older Hebrew fragments from Qumran entirely in light of the Ethiopic, sometimes ignoring minor and major divergences. On the basis of reconstructions of the possible length of the Jubilees scrolls, as well as several textual variants attested in the fragments, Tigchelaar shows that the book we know as Jubilees was most likely subject to a “longer process of redaction or rewriting” that would have resulted in “different versions within the Hebrew transmission” (*ibid.*, 584). From the perspective of 4Q216 see Matthew P. Monger, “4Q216 and the State of Jubilees at Qumran,” *RevQ* 26 (2014): 595–612.

76 Cf. Najman and Tigchelaar, “Preparatory Study of Nomenclature,” 324. Milik classified 4Q225, 4Q226 and 4Q227 as three manuscripts of a composition he called “Pseudo-Jubilees” because they use language familiar from the book of Jubilees but do not overlap with the text of Jubilees. Cf. James VanderKam, “225. 4QPseudo-Jubilees^a,” in *Qumran Cave 4. VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*, ed. H. Attridge et al., DJD 13 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 141–55 (142). There is minimal overlap between 4Q225 and 4Q226, and

and fluid tradition of Jubilees-like works. In the second and first centuries BCE, the book of Jubilees is in progress and it cannot be reduced to a single *Urtext*.⁷⁷ This implies that Jubilees cannot be considered a finished work with a canonical or even biblical status that was quoted or interpreted in other texts from Qumran, as some have argued.⁷⁸ Rather, the book of Jubilees is in formation and is being rewritten simultaneously with other works that were discovered

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- there is no overlap at all between these two manuscripts and 4Q227. While most commentators claim that the Pseudo-Jubilees manuscripts are dependent on later reworkings of Jubilees (see e.g., VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 102), Michael Segal argues (“The Dynamics of Composition and Rewriting in Jubilees and Pseudo-Jubilees,” *DSD* 26 [2014]: 555–77) that 4Q227 is earlier and was used as a source by Jubilees, while 4Q225 and 4Q226 are later and rework Jubilees. Segal offers a much more nuanced and dynamic analysis of the available textual evidence. But the difficulty remains that the Qumran manuscripts attest to multiple versions of Jubilees and that the Ethiopic text on which Segal’s analysis is based might represent but one of the versions that were available to the scribes working on these texts.
- 77 Najman and Tigchelaar, “Unity after Fragmentation.” For a clear and concise overview of the discussions on the literary history of the book, see VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 25–28. Building on earlier suggestions by Devorah Dimant (“The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch,” *VT* 33 [1983]: 14–29), Menahem Kister (“Some Aspects of Qumranic Halakhah,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. J. Trebelle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner, STDJ 11 [Leiden, Brill, 1992], 2:571–88) and Liora Ravid (“The Relationship of the Sabbath Laws in Jubilees 50:6–13 to the Rest of the Book,” *Tarbiz* 69 [2000]: 161–66), Michael Segal was the first (*Book of Jubilees*) to offer an extensive analysis of contradictions and tensions, especially between narrative and legal passages in Jubilees. Segal argued that, rather than directly reworking Genesis, the redactor (or “composer,” cf. Segal, “Dynamics of Composition”) of Jubilees used source materials consisting of reworkings of Pentateuchal narratives which he integrated into a distinctive halakhic and chronological framework. James Kugel has offered an alternative literary critical analysis (“On the Interpolations in the Book of Jubilees,” *RevQ* 24 [2009]: 215–72) in which he identifies twenty-nine passages inserted by a deterministic interpolator who believed that all of history *and* the divine laws were inscribed on the heavenly tablets. Kugel claims that when the twenty-nine passages are bracketed, scholars have access to the “original” book of Jubilees. These detailed studies have generated many important insights into tensions and possible lines of literary development in the Jubilees tradition. But as Tigchelaar points out (“Qumran *Jubilees* Manuscripts,” 580), the debate on the compositional history of Jubilees is largely based on the text of the Ethiopic version and the implications of the diversity within the Hebrew manuscripts are yet to be fully integrated into the discussion. Simultaneously, since 4Q216 and 4Q217 suggest ongoing rewriting of Jubilees in the first century BCE (*ibid.*, 588–89), the hypothesis that Jubilees was composed by a single author is increasingly difficult to maintain (*pace* VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 28; cf. *idem*, “Jubilees as the Composition of One Author?” *RevQ* 26 [2014]: 501–16).
- 78 VanderKam, *Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 153–55; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 167; Armin Lange, “The Status of the Biblical Texts in the Qumran Corpus and the Canonical Process,” in *Hebrew Bible and*

in fragmentary form among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Therefore, it is probable that the influence between these texts worked in both ways and that Jubilees' peculiar terminology and system of time reckoning were part of a larger conceptual framework that is developed in a broader collection of texts.

The phrase "divisions of the times" (מחלקות העתים) is not exclusive to the book of Jubilees.⁷⁹ Devorah Dimant demonstrates that occurrences of this terminology in other Qumran texts should not automatically be considered as references to the book of Jubilees but rather to the underlying chronological system.⁸⁰ One of the most striking examples is a fragmentary text that received the title "Text with a Citation from *Jubilees*" (4Q228).⁸¹ Only one of the five fragments preserves a sizeable portion of text, in parts of two columns (4Q228 1). The second line of the first column preserves the phrase "[in the di]vi[si]ons of the times" (במחלק[ו]ת[ו]ת העתים). The passage further mentions specific portions of time, or periods of time (מחלקת עתה and מחלקת עתו) that involve judgment over the times of iniquity (משפט עתי עולה) and the vindication of wickedness by means of "a burning fire devouring the foundation of evil" (אש בוערת אוכלת) (בסוד רשעה).⁸² Dimant is surely right to point out that 4Q228 cannot be reduced to a citation from the book of Jubilees.⁸³ But as Tigchelaar argues, there is no uniform text of Jubilees but rather a variegated literary tradition in which multiple versions of Jubilees as well as so-called Pseudo-Jubilees texts participate. The terminology in 4Q228 seems to elaborate on this tradition but there is a bigger picture, as Dimant has demonstrated, which involves a system of

the Judaean Desert Discoveries, ed. E. D. Herbert and E. Tov (London: The British Library, 2002), 21–30 (23–24).

79 The Ge'ez equivalent occurs in the prologue (*kufāle mawā'ālāt*), in Jubilees 1:4 (*kufāle k'wāllu mawā'ālāt*); 1:26 (*kufāle mawā'āl*); 1:29 (*kufāle āmatāt*, "divisions of the years"); 6:35 (*kufālehu la-mawā'āl*); 50:13 (*kufāle mawā'alihu* and *kufāle mawā'āl*). Jubilees 36:20 has *ba-kama falata za-mawā'āl lādātu*, which would translate as "according to he divided the times of his generation." VanderKam proposes to read a noun (*falta*) instead of the verbal form *falata* and translates: "according to the divisions of the times of his generation" (*Jubilees*, 954). The Latin for 36:20 was preserved and reads: *secundum diuisionem temporum generationem eius* (VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 289; cf. idem, *Book of Jubilees*, 241). The Hebrew phrase מחלקות העתים is preserved in 4Q216 111 (cf. Jub 1:4); 4Q217 2 1 (cf. Jub 1:19); and further in CD 16:3 (*par* 4QD^e 6 ii 17; 4QD^f 4 ii 5); in 4Q228 1 i 2, 4 (מחלקת עתו), 7 (מחלקת עתה), 9–10 (מחלקות העתים); and in 4Q484 9 2.

80 Devorah Dimant, "Book of the Divisions of the Times."

81 James VanderKam, DJD 13:177–85. VanderKam notes that the title was given by Milik (*ibid.*, 181).

82 4Q228 1 i 6. For the notion of the destruction of the foundations of evil, compare the wording of the Apocalypse of Weeks: מוקשי שחת אשי חמסא ולהון עקרין אשי חמסא. Note also מוקשי שחת in 4Q228 1 i 8, and compare the expression מוקשי שחת in CD 14:2 and 1QH^a 10:23.

83 Dimant, "Book of the Divisions of the Times," 377–78.

time-reckoning, and a reflection on time, that is embedded in liturgical practice. This brings us back to the book of Daniel that already attests to a similar practice of reflecting on the hidden structures of time.⁸⁴ I want to argue that the ways in which these texts develop a conceptual framework, in which calendar and chronology are organized according to hidden principles, are closely related to the concept of *rāz nihyeh*.

The figure of the *maškīl* is an important example of this synergy between meditation and the liturgical marking of time. The final sections of the Serek are devoted to the *maškīl* and offer directions for this sage who behaves “according to the rule of each time” (לְתִכּוֹן עַת וְעַת) and who “... will measure all the knowledge that is found according to the times and the law of the time” (וְלִמּוֹד אֶת כּוֹל הַשְּׂכֵל הַנִּמְצָא לְפִי הָעֵתִים וְאֵת חוֹק הָעֵת)⁸⁵ The laws and rules for the *maškīl* are followed by a series of hymns that illustrate the intense liturgical life of the person pursuing higher forms of knowledge. The first hymn exemplifies the sage’s concern for the calendrical calculation that is embedded in both liturgical practice and in contemplation on the division of the times (1QS 9:26–10:8 *par* 4QS^b 19:1–7; 4QS^d 8:1–13; 9:1–7; 4QS^f 2:1–5).⁸⁶

84 See especially Michael Segal, “Calculating the End: Inner-Danielic Chronological Developments,” *VT* 68 (2018): 272–96, and idem, “The Four Kingdoms and Other Chronological Conceptions in the Book of Daniel,” in Perrin and Stuckenbruck, *Four Kingdom Motifs*, 13–38.

85 1QS 9:12–14 *par* 4QS^e 3:7–10. Most translations interpret לְמוֹד as a *qal* infinitive of לָמַד. But as Dimant demonstrates (“Time, Torah and Prophecy,” 309 n. 21), לְמוֹד can also be interpreted as a *qal* of מָדַד, “to measure.” The expression עַת חוֹק can be compared to תִּכּוֹן הָעֵת (1QS 8:4; 9:18); תִּכּוֹן עַת וְעַת (1QS 9:12) and מִשְׁקָל קְצִים (4Q418 77 4). Note also the parallel to עַת וְעַת תִּכּוֹן עַת (1QS 9:12) in the Damascus Document: מִשְׁפֵּט עַת וְעַת (CD 12:21). The following formula from Peshier Habakkuk is closely related: כּוֹל קִצְיִ אֵל יִבּוֹאוּ לְתִכּוֹנָם (1QP^{Hab} 7:13). And compare: זְכָרוֹן בַּחֲרַת לְפָנֶיכֶם בְּרִי עֲרַמְתּוּ הַכּוֹל חֲקוֹק לְפָנֶיכֶם בַּחֲרַת זְכָרוֹן (1QH^a 9:25–26). Cf. Kister, “Physical and Metaphysical Measurements,” 155, 167, 170–1.

86 Many aspects of this complicated hymn are debated, including its relation to the 364-day year calendar tradition, the role of the moon, and the literary relation with 1QH^a 20:7–14 (*par* 4QH^a 8 ii 10–16). Cf. Shemaryahu Talmon, “The ‘Manual of Benedictions’ of the Sect of the Judean Desert,” *RevQ* 2 (1960): 475–600; Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 204–211; Manfred Weise, *Kultzeiten und Kultischer Bundesschluss in der ‘Ordensregel’ vom Toten Meer* (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 3–57; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 100–10; Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, 44–47; Francis Schmidt, “Questions liturgiques et calendaires dans la Règle de la Communauté (1QS IX, 26–x, 8 et par.),” *Henoch* 34 (2012): 270–88; Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer*, 137–64; Charlotte Hempel, *The Community Rules from Qumran: A Commentary*, TSAJ 183 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 265–300. The manuscript 4QS^e has a version of the laws and rules for the *maškīl* (3:6–4:8) that are not followed by hymns but rather by a calendrical text that has been published as a separate text under the number 4Q319 by the title 4QOtot. Cf. Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:150–52; Jonathan Ben-Dov, “4QOtot,”

The hymn presents the *maskil* as praying continually and enumerates the temporal junctures at which the sage blesses the creator: “He will bless him at the times which He has engraved” (יברכנו עם קצים אשר חקקא).⁸⁷ The first and most basic temporal sequence that the sage marks with blessing is the division of day and night, which are described as “the dominion of light” (ממשלת אור) and “the watches of darkness” (אשמורי חושך).⁸⁸ The sage’s blessings are presented as “an offering of the lips” (תרומת שפתים) that is uttered at new moons and festivals “as a statute engraved forever” (בחוק חרות לעד).⁸⁹ But the *maskil*’s cycle of prayer extends beyond the annual calendar and marks the appointed sabbatical years (מועדי שנים לשבועיהם) as well as the jubilee year that occurs “at the head of the weeks” (ברוש שבועיהם) and is called “an appointed time of liberation” (מועד דרור).⁹⁰ Although the hymn does not use the terminology of the “divisions of the times,” it presents a related system of temporal reckoning that integrates calendrical and chronological speculation.⁹¹ Moreover, the language of engraved statues (חוק חרות) that features prominently in the hymn is reminiscent of the heavenly tablets in Jubilees that record the division of the times. But a striking difference is that in the hymn the temporal divisions marked by blessing are engraved on the sage’s tongue (חוק חרות בלשוני).⁹²

Two Hodayot manuscripts preserve a hymn that is closely related to the hymn in the Serek and uses strikingly similar phraseology (1QH^a 20:7–14 *par* 4QH^a 8 ii 10–16).⁹³ The hymn describes the liturgical cycles in which the *maskil* inserts himself:

in *Qumran Cave 5. XVI: Calendrical Texts*, ed. S. Talmon, J. Ben-Dov and U. Glessmer, DJD 21 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 195–244. On possible conceptual links between the hymns (especially 1QS 9:26–10:8 *par*) and the 4QOtot text, see Hempel, *Community Rules*, 266–68.

87 1QS 9:26–10:1 *par* 4QS^d 8:10–11.

88 1QS 10:1–3 *par* 4QS^b 19:1; 4QS^d 8:11–13; 4QS^f 2:1–3.

89 1QS 10:5–6 *par* 4QS^b 19:3–4; 4QS^d 9:2–4; 4QS^f 2:5.

90 1QS 10:8. Note that 4QS^d 9:6 has a plural form: מועדי דרור. Cf. 4Q286 1 ii 11. The word דרור derives from Lev 25:10 (וקראתם דרור בארץ לכל ישיביה). See also the usage of the term in the Melchizedek Peshier at 11Q13 2:6.

91 4QBerkhot does use the terminology of divisions in a list of temporal units quite similar to 1QS 9:26–10:8 *par*. 4Q286 1 ii offers a poetic description of the heavenly palace (lines 1–5) and divine wisdom (lines 6–8), and proceeds enumerating the times (lines 9–12), including: שבועי קודש בתכונמה ודגלי חודשים [// וראשי שנים בתקופותמה ומועדי [מק]ור פתחתה בפי עבדכה ובלשונו חקקתה על קו (1QH^a 23:11–12). Cf. Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 211.

92 1QS 10:8 *par* 4QS^d 9:7. Compare: על קו (1QH^a 23:11–12). Cf. Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 211.

93 4QH^b 12 ii 3 only preserves the phrase למשכיל, which possibly overlaps with 4QH^a 8 ii 10.

ה[ודות ותפילה להתנפל והתחנן תמיד מקצ לקצ
 עם מבוא אור לממש[לתו] בתקופות יום לתכוננו לחוקות מאור גדול בפנות ערב
 ומוצא אור
 ברשית ממשלת חושך למועד לילה בתקופתו לפנות בוקר ובקצ האספו אל מעונתו
 מפני אור למוצא לילה ומבוא יומם

Thanksgiving and prayer, to prostrate oneself and supplicate continually,
 from one period of time to the next,
 With the coming of light for [its] domin[ion], at the turning points of the
 day, according to its rule, in accordance with the laws of the great light,
 when it revolves to evening and the light goes out,
 At the beginning of the dominion of darkness, for the appointed time of
 the night, at its turning point, when it revolves to morning, and at the
 time when it is gathered into its abode in the face of light, so that the
 night goes out and the day appears.

1QH^a 20:7–10 par 4QH^a 8 ii 10–13⁹⁴

As in the hymn in the Serek, the alternation of light and darkness creates the most basic temporal units that the sage marks with prayer and prostration.⁹⁵ Both hymns draw on the language of Genesis 1:14–18, according to which the sun has dominion over the day and the moon has dominion over the night. But instead of the dominion of the luminaries, these hymns describe the dominion of light and darkness. The *maskil* marks the separation of light and darkness with blessing, which recalls the Hymn to the Creator and the song of the angels who praise God for separating light from darkness “with the knowledge of his mind” (בדעת לבו).⁹⁶ Similarly, the Thanksgiving Hymn explains that the temporal divisions originate in divine knowledge:

תמיד בכל מולדי עת וסודי קצ
 ותקופת מועדים בתכונם באותותם לכול ממשלתם בתכון נאמנה מפי אל ותעודת
 הויה
 והיא תהיה ואין אפס וזולתה לוא היה ולוא יהיה עוד כי אל הדעות הכינה ואין
 אחר עמו

94 Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:90.

95 Cf. Newman, “Embodied Techniques;” Newman, *Before the Bible*, 107–44.

96 See above page 118–20.

Continually, at all birth moments of time and foundations of periods. And the turning point of the seasons, according to their rule, in the signs of all their dominions occurs by rule, reliably, from the mouth of God and the assignment of what is.

And this is what will be. There is nothing else and beside it there has not been anything, nor shall there ever be anything else. For the God of knowledge has established it and there is no other besides Him.

1QH^a 20:10–14 par 4QH^a 8 ii 13–16

This remarkable passage relates the organization of time to the existence of everything that is, that was and that will be. Whereas the Serek hymn moves from the alternation of light and darkness to an enumeration of all the temporal units that are marked by blessing, the Thanksgiving Hymn speaks in abstractions: the sage performs supplication continually, “at all the birth moments of time and foundations of periods” (בכול מולדי עת וסודי קץ). The striking phrase “birth moments of time” (מולדי עת) seems to refer to the generation of times and periods. The word “birthtime” (מולד) is used in relation to periods at two other occasions in the scrolls, both in the direct context of the secret of time (*rāz nihyeh*): in Mysteries the disappearance of evil that the *rāz nihyeh* will bring about in the future involves “the closing of the birthtimes of iniquity” (הסגר מולדי עולה);⁹⁷ whereas Instruction tells the *mēbîn* to “consider the secret of time and understand the birthtimes of salvation” (הבט ברו נהיה וקח) (מולדי ישע).⁹⁸ In both instances, the term “birthtimes” (מולדים) alludes to hidden temporal structures that are embedded in the secret of time. In other cases, the terms *môlād* and *bêt môlādîm* appear to have a technical, astrological connotation, and the *mēbîn* is told to understand someone’s horoscope by considering the secret of time.⁹⁹

The Thanksgiving Hymn does not seem to be concerned with horoscopy, but rather with calendrical calculation based on astronomical phenomena.

97 1Q27 1 i 5.

98 4Q416 2 i 5–6 par 4Q417 2 i 10–11.

99 Morgenstern, “Meaning of מולדים”; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 238; Kister, “Wisdom Literature,” 28, 34–35; Francis Schmidt, “« Recherche son thème de géniture dans le mystère de ce qui doit être ». Astrologie et prédestination à Qoumrân,” in *Qoumrân et le Judaïsme du tournant de notre ère*, ed. A. Lemaire and S. C. Mimouni (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 51–62; Kister, “Wisdom Literature at Qumran,” 305–6. On astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see further: Schmidt, “Astrologie juive ancienne: Essai d’interprétation de 4QCryptique (4Q186),” *RevQ* 18 (1997): 125–41; Matthias Albani, “Horoscopes in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:279–330; Popović, *Reading the Human Body*; Ben-Dov, “Ideals of Science.”

The prayers of the sage are coordinated with the “turning point of the seasons” (תְּקוּפַת מוֹעֲדִים), which are discernible by correct observations of the luminaries.¹⁰⁰ The Qumran caves have yielded a rich collection of calendrical texts, which demonstrate the interest of the owners of the scrolls in calendar and astronomy, and testify to contacts with the intellectual traditions of neighbouring cultures. Moreover, the two *maskil* hymns in the Serek and Hodayot show that astronomical and calendrical concepts were integrated into abstract reflections on the order of the cosmos and the course of history. The entire progression of time is generated by divine order and this system of temporal organization is described as “the assignment of what is” (תְּעוּדַת הוּיָהּ).¹⁰¹ There is, therefore, an intimate connection between time and that which comes into being. The luminaries and the temporal structures originate in the divine mind, which generates everything that comes into existence.

3 Divine Thinking

Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls is embedded in liturgical practice, as the sage aspires to coordinate times of prayer with heavenly models. Several texts consider human wisdom inferior or even dangerous. True wisdom, on the other hand, is found by participating in the choirs of angels whose praise surpasses any knowledge that humans might hope to achieve by themselves. For this reason, it is essential to give blessing continually and in sequence with the divisions of the times that have been divinely measured and ordained. This liturgical sequence provides the performative context for the pursuit of wisdom. Whether the sage considers ancient histories and the generations of old, or tries to comprehend the alignment of the stars, in both cases the efforts of understanding are directed at the hidden organization of time. The sage anticipates a future that looks quite differently from the present. This vision emerges from continuous meditation on the secret of time.

The phrase *rāz nihyeh* combines the terminology of mystery and being. The word *rāz* is a Persian loanword with the sense of “secret” or “mystery” and

100 Note that 4QH^a 8 ii 14 has a plural: תְּקוּפוֹת מוֹעֲדִים. For a helpful discussion of the term תְּקוּפָה, see Penner, *Patters of Prayer*, 141–46. On the term תְּקוּפָה and cardinal days in the 364-day year calendar tradition, see Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, 31–52.

101 On תְּעוּדָה in the scrolls more generally, see Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1986), 115. On תְּעוּדָה in the book of Jubilees, see Menahem Kister, “On Two Formulae in the Book of Jubilees,” *Tarbiz* 70 (2001): 289–300 (294–300.) For an extensive overview of discussions on the meaning of תְּעוּדָה in Jubilees, see VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 72–79.

occurs in Aramaic and Hebrew texts from the third century BCE onwards.¹⁰² In the Dead Sea Scrolls, *rāz* generally refers to heavenly secrets that can only be obtained through revelation or to hidden laws that govern the cosmos.¹⁰³ The second word in the phrase *rāz nihyeh* is a participle of the *niphal* of *hyh*. The root *hyh* occurs in the *qal* and *niphal* stems. These verbs have a complex semantic range and syntax.¹⁰⁴ They are used in the sense of “to happen/come to pass,” “to come into being/become,” and “to be/exist.”¹⁰⁵ The participle has characteristics of both verb and noun.¹⁰⁶ In terms of syntax, it can be used predicatively (as a verb) or nominally (as a noun or adjective). In nominal use, the participle itself does not express time. The temporal aspect can only be deduced from the context.¹⁰⁷ The participle of the *niphal* stem generally denotes an action in progress.¹⁰⁸

102 *DCH*, *sub voce*. Cf. Daniel J. Harrington, “Mystery,” *EDSS*, 1:588–91. On the word *rāz* in ancient Iranian literature, see Shaul Shaked, “Esoteric Trends in Zoroastrianism,” *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 3 (1969): 175–221 (193, 206–13). On Iranian loanwords in Aramaic more generally, see Franz Rosenthal, Jonas C. Greenfield and Shaul Shaked, “Aramaic,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 2:250–61.

103 *DCH*, *sub voce*. Sometimes *rāz* is also used in the everyday sense of “a secret,” e.g., Sir 8:18 (Ms. A) רז תעש זר אל לפני זר (LXX: ἐνώπιον ἀλλοτρίου μὴ ποιήσης κρυπτόν); and Sir 12:11 (Ms. A) רז כמגלה רז היה לו כמגלה (καὶ ἔση αὐτῷ ὡς ἐκμεμαχῶς ἔσοπτρον). רז מגלה in Sir 12:11 corresponds to סוד מגלה/גולה in Prov 11:13; 20:19. LXX renders ἐκμεμαχῶς ἔσοπτρον, “one who polishes a mirror.” Perhaps the translator read רזא (cf. Job 37:18) instead of רז. Cf. Segal, *Ben Sira*, 79.

104 For a discussion of the etymology of *hyh* (connecting it to Arabic *hawā*, “to blow/fall”), see Frank Polak, “Hebrew *hāyāh*: Etymology, Bleaching and Discourse Structure,” in *Tradition and Innovation in Biblical Interpretation: Studies Presented to Professor Eep Talstra on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. W. Th. Van Peursen and J. W. Dyk, SSN 57 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 379–98. On the usage and syntax of *hyh*, see Rüdiger Bartelmus, *HYH: Bedeutung und Funktion eines althebräischen “Allerweltswortes”—zugleich ein Beitrag zur Frage des hebräischen Tempussystems* (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1982). See also Christo H. J. van der Merwe, “The Allusive Biblical Hebrew Phrase יהיה: A Perspective in Terms of Its Syntax, Semantics, and Pragmatics in 1 Samuel,” *Hebrew Studies* 40 (1999): 83–114.

105 *BDB*, *sub voce*; *HALOT*, *sub voce*; *HAWTMM*, *sub voce*.

106 Joüon-Mur § 40 b; 121 k; Gregor Geiger, *Das hebräische Partizip in den Texten aus der jüdischen Wüste*, STDJ 101 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 488–91.

107 Joüon-Mur § 121 i; Geiger, *Das hebräische Partizip*, 454–87 (on the participle of *hyh*, see *ibid.*, 388).

108 Joüon-Mur § 121 q. This distinguishes the *niphal* participle from the passive participle of the *qal* that expresses completed action. Takamitsu Muraoka suggests (“Notae qumranicae philologicae (3) The Community Rule (1QS): Column 3,” *Abr-Nahrain* 35 [1998]: 47–64 [60]) that the participle *nihyeh* is fientive. In Prov 13:19 נהיה תאוה is often translated as “a desire fulfilled.” But the context does not rule out the translation: “a desire that is being fulfilled,” i.e., “a wish that is coming true.” See also Geiger, *Das hebräische Partizip*, 445.

The phrase *rāz nihyeh* could be translated as “the secret of what comes into being” or “the secret that comes into being,” or perhaps “the secret of what comes to pass” or “the secret that comes to pass.” But in a number of cases the participle *nihyeh* is used specifically to refer to things that will happen in the future.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, some have translated: “the mystery that is to come,” or “the mystery that is to be” or “secret of (things) to come.”¹¹⁰ Other have emphasized that *rāz nihyeh* occurs in contexts that speak about the past and have translated: “le mystère passé”¹¹¹ or “the mystery that was coming into being.”¹¹² Still others have suggested that the phrase refers to the entire sequence of time—past, present and future—and have proposed translations along the lines of “the mystery of existence.”¹¹³ I want to argue that the concept of *rāz nihyeh* not only refers to the entire sequence of time, but also to the hidden structures of time that determine both the calendar and the course of history. In fact, *rāz nihyeh* is the organizing principle of time and of the patterns according to which things come into existence. For this reason, *rāz nihyeh* can be paraphrased as “the secret of time.”

The Thanksgiving Hymn quoted in the previous section (1QH^a 20:7–14 *par* 4QH^a 8 ii 10–16), describes how the knowledge of “being” comes to be inextricably linked to the hierarchical organization of the luminaries and the calendrical framework. The astronomical phenomenon of the “turning point of the seasons” (תקופת מועדים) is determined by “the assignment of what is”

109 Kister, “Wisdom Literature,” 30–32.

110 Strugnell and Harrington, DJD 34:154–55 (“the mystery that is to come”); Collins (“Wisdom Reconsidered,” 272–73): “the mystery to come”; Elgvin (“Wisdom and Apocalypticism,” 232): “the mystery to come”; Kister (“Wisdom Literature,” 31): “secret of (things) to come”; Goff (*4QInstruction*, 14–17): “the mystery that is to be.” Cf. Milik (DJD 1:103–4): “le mystère futur.”

111 Roland de Vaux, “La grotte des manuscrits hébreux,” *RB* 56 (1949): 586–609 (605–6).

112 Schiffman, DJD 20:36–38. Schiffman uses both the translation “mystery that was coming into being” and “mystery of that which was coming into being.” Cf. Johann Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (München: Ernst Reinhardt, 1960), 1:43; cf. 2:38. Maier reads רז נהיה עולם in 1QS 11:3–4 as one expression which he translates as “das Geheimnis des gewordenen und des ewigen Seins.” But it is preferable from the perspective of syntax to regard משענת ימיני עולם משען ימיני as a separate clause, parallel to גבורתו משענת ימיני. Cf. Takamitsu Muraoka, “Verb Complementation in Qumran Hebrew,” in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde, STDJ 26 (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 92–149 (105 n. 25).

113 García Martínez and Tigchelaar (*DSSSE*, 1:67, 97): “mystery of existence”; Wold (*Women, Men and Angels*, 234–35): “mystery of existence”; Rey (*4QInstruction*, 291–92): “mystère de l’existence”; Kampen (*Wisdom Literature*, 46–50): “mystery of existence”; Wold (*Divisions and Hierarchies*, passim): “mystery of existence”. Cf. Lange (“Wisdom Literature,” 458): “mystery of being and becoming.” On *rāz nihyeh* as referring to the entire sequence of time, see Rey, *4QInstruction*, 291–92; Goff, *4QInstruction*, 14–17.

(תעודת הויה). By the same token everything comes into being (זולתה לוא היה) because the assignment proceeds from “the God of knowledge” (ולוא יהיה עוד (אל הדעות הכינה)). This combination of terms appears in several other Qumran texts.¹¹⁴ A passage from the beginning of the Two Spirits Treatise provides a striking parallel:

מאל הדעות כול הויה ונהייה ולפני היותם הכין כול מחשבתם ובהיותם לתעודתם
מחשבת כבודו ימלאו פעולתם ואין להשנות

From the God of knowledge comes all that is and will be. Before they existed, he prepared all their designs, and when they come into existence according to their assignment, in accordance with his glorious design, they fulfil their deeds, and nothing can be changed.

1QS 3:15–16

This passage speaks in abstract terms about everything that exists and everything that will exist in the future. All these things have “their design” (מחשבתם) and come into being “according to their assignment” (בהיותם לתעודתם). The third person plural suffixes refer back to “everything that is and will be” (כול הויה ונהייה), implying that “everything that is and will be” comes into being by this assignment (תעודה). In other words, this corresponds exactly to the phrase “the assignment of what is” (תעודת הויה) in 1QH^a 20:12.¹¹⁵

Everything that comes into being originates in “the God of knowledge” (אל הדעות), or to be more precise: in divine thought (מחשבה). The final hymns of the Serek state this more explicitly: “Through his knowledge everything comes into existence and all that exists is prepared in his thought and without him it does not happen” (בדעתו נהיה כול וכול הויה במחשבתו יכוננו ומבלעדיו לא) (יעשה).¹¹⁶ The divine mind, which establishes the entire cosmos, designs all that happens at its appointed time. While the passages in the Serek are interested in human behaviour in the first place, one of the Thanksgiving Hymns makes

114 Cf. Arjen Bakker, “The God of Knowledge: Qumran Reflections on Divine Prescience Based on 1 Sam 2:3,” *RevQ* 26 (2014): 361–74.

115 Note also the correspondence between: לכול מיני רוחותם באותותם למעשיהם בדורותם (1QS 3:14), which relates to the dominion (ממשלה) of the spirits of light and darkness, and: ותקופת מועדים בתכונם באותותם לכול ממשלתם (1QH^a 20:11–12), which seems to refer to the dominion (ממשלה) of the luminaries.

116 1QS 11:11. Compare the following passage from the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice which expresses that everything proceeds from divine knowledge: כיא מאלוהי דעת נהיו כול הוי (4Q402 4 12 par Masik 1 2–3). Cf. Bakker, “God of Knowledge,” 372.

clear that cosmological reflections stand in the background of these teachings. The hymn uses very similar terminology to describe how God created the spirits governing all aspects of creation, how he stretched out the heavens and created the “luminaries according to their hidden rules” (מאורות לרזיהם) and the “stars according to their paths” (כוכבים לנתיבותם), how he created the earth, the seas and the depths and all that is in them, and how he directed the generations of humankind (1QH^a 9:9–22). This encomium of divine cosmic order concludes with the statement: “And with your knowledgeable wisdom you have established their assignment before they came into existence. And according to your will, everything comes into being, and without you it does not happen” (ובחכמת דעתכה הכינותה תעודתם בטרם היותם ועל פי רצ[ונ]כה [נ]היה כול ומבלעד[יך] (לא יעשה)).¹¹⁷ This hymn explains how the creation of the luminaries generates the hidden structures of time that determine the calendar and the periods of history. All of time is present to the God of knowledge (אל הדעות) who sees the entire history of the cosmos at once.¹¹⁸

By meditating on the *rāz nihyeh* the sage participates in divine thinking. This is illustrated in the final hymn of the Serek: “From the source of his knowledge (ממקור דעתו) he has opened my light, and my eye has perceived his wonders, and the light of my mind the secret of time (ואורת לבבי ברז נהיה).”¹¹⁹ God has created the world with knowledge. Therefore, the sage who shares in this knowledge is able to comprehend how things come into being, how they behave when they exist, and how they disappear again. The hidden principle that organizes this process is called “*rāz nihyeh*”:

כיא אל הדעות סוד אמת וברז נהיה פרש את אושה

For the God of knowledge is the foundation of truth and with the secret of time he spread its basis.

4Q417 1 i 8–9 par 4Q418 43–45 i 6

Instruction relates the secret of time to a deity that is identified with “the foundation of truth” (סוד אמת).¹²⁰ The language is enigmatic, and the fragment is

¹¹⁷ 1QH^a 9:21–22.

¹¹⁸ 1QH^a 9:25–28. The hymn uses the language of engraving: זכרון בחרת לפניכה חקוק לזכרון הכול חקוק לפניכה בחרת זכרון וכול קצי נצח ותקופות מספר שני עולם בכול מועדיהם ולוא נסתרו ולא נעדרו מלפניכה (1QH^a 9:25–27).

¹¹⁹ 1QS 11:3–4. See page 97–99.

¹²⁰ The word סוד is often used with the meaning of “foundation” in the Dead Sea Scrolls (as יסוד). Cf. *DCH*, *sub voce*. On some striking usages of סוד in the scrolls, see Kister, “Some Observations,” 159–65.

damaged. But the following lines suggest a relation between “truth” and “her deeds” (מעשיה), as well as “the dominion of her deeds” (ממשלת מעשיה), with the feminine suffixes referring back to “truth” (אמת). This language corresponds closely to the Two Spirits Treatise that describes the dominion of the spirits of truth and iniquity (רוחות האמת ועול) which God has set as a foundation for all deeds (ועליהון יסד כול מעשה).¹²¹ The Treatise tries to explain the enigma of the divine creation of both light *and* darkness, good *and* evil. It explains why throughout history even the righteous are made to suffer “according to the mysteries of God, until its end” (לפי רזי אל עד קצו).¹²² The anticipated end entails the destruction of evil and the future purification of humanity (1QS 4:18–23). Similarly, the fragmentary passage in Instruction teaches that it is possible to know “the hidden things of his scheme” (נסתרי מחשבתו), which includes the calamities brought upon the righteous. The sage is able to understand that God has acted perfectly in “all his deeds” (בכול מעשיו).¹²³ This explains the statement that the God of knowledge is the foundation of truth (אל הדעות סוד אמת): even though both good and evil exist in the world, and even though both originate in divine thought, God is still true and faithful because he has established truth and prepared the future destruction of evil through the secret of time.¹²⁴

The *rāz nihyeh* can be seen as a Jewish conception of time. Building on the work of James Barr and others, Arnaldo Momigliano has voiced a sharp critique of previous scholarship that argued for the absence of a concept of time in the Hebrew Bible, or distinguished a linear, Jewish conception of time from a cyclical, Greek conception of time.¹²⁵ By contrast, Momigliano showed the variety of ancient conceptions of time across the Jewish-Pagan conceptual divides, which had been imposed by theologians and philologists.¹²⁶ More recently, Sacha Stern argued that calendrical and chronological calculation in ancient Judaism should not be misunderstood as reflecting conceptions of time.¹²⁷ Stern argues that Greek notions of time as *chronos* imply an abstraction of temporal units, which is a construct that is absent from ancient

121 1QS 3:25.

122 1QS 3:23. Compare the expression ברזי ערמתו in 1QpHab 7:13.

123 4Q417 1 i 11–12 *par* 4Q418 43–45 i 8–9. Cf. Kister, “Wisdom Literature at Qumran,” 308.

124 For the defeat of evil in Instruction, See 4Q416 1 10–15 *par* 4Q418* 2, 2b 2–7; 4Q418 2a, 209, 218, 208, 2c (=213), 212, 217, 224 2–6. Cf. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 42–43, 65, 74–77. See also 1Q27 1 i 5–7 *par* 4Q300 3 4–6.

125 Arnaldo Momigliano, “Time in Ancient Historiography,” *History and Theory* 6 (1966): 1–23. Cf. James Barr, *Biblical Words for Time* (London: SCM Press, 1962). See also Jenni, “Das Wort ‘ōlām” (part 1 and 2).

126 Momigliano, “Time in Ancient Historiography,” 8–18.

127 Sacha Stern, *Time and Process in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2003).

Judaism, except where direct Greek influence is tangible.¹²⁸ However, it is unnecessary to reduce all ancient conceptions of time to a single definition of *chronos* as the abstraction of measurable time. In fact, scholars have identified a much broader variety of conceptualizations of time and temporality in ancient sources.¹²⁹ Within ancient Judaism, recent scholarship has drawn attention in particular to dynamic conceptions of time underlying notions of an eschaton,¹³⁰ and to concepts that are embedded in various forms of time reckoning.¹³¹ The *rāz nihyeh* is another significant concept from ancient Jewish thought that demonstrates the depth and complexity of sapiential reflection on cosmic order through the prism of time.

The origin and purpose of all that comes into existence lies in divine thought. As eternal being, God sees the beginning and the end of all things at once. The concept of deity that is expressed in these Qumran texts corresponds to what Najman has called the collapsing of time in the context of pseudepigraphic attribution.¹³² Past, present and future are collapsed in the concept of *rāz nihyeh*, which incorporates knowledge of the remote past, of the ancient things (קדמוניות), as well as insight into the end of things and the future vanishing of evil and darkness. The secret of time lies hidden in the new dawn as it inspires hope for a renewed future that is not corrupted by injustice and

128 Stern, *Time and Process*, 18–20, 90–102.

129 See e.g., Ralph M. Rosen (ed.), *Time and Temporality in the Ancient World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2004); Robert Hannah, *Time in Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2009); Jonathan Ben-Dov and Lutz Doering, eds., *The Construction of Time in Antiquity: Ritual, Art and Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

130 Stuckenbruck, “Eschatology and Time”; Newman, “Participatory Past.”

131 See especially Jonathan Ben-Dov, “Apocalyptic Temporality: The Force of the Here and Now,” *HeBAI* 5 (2016): 289–303; and idem, “Time and Natural Law.” For a recent overview of time and temporality in the study of Judaism, with extensive bibliography, see Sarit Kattan Gribetz and Lynn Kaye, “The Temporal Turn in Ancient Judaism and Jewish Studies,” *Currents in Biblical Research* 17 (2019): 332–95. On rabbinic constructions of time and temporal practices, see Sarit Kattan Gribetz, *Time and Difference in Rabbinic Judaism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020). On time in Judaism in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, see: Licht, “Time and Eschatology”; Gershon Brin, *The Concept of Time in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 39 (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Stern, *Calendar and Community*, 1–46; Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*; Ari Mermelstein, *The Genesis of Beginnings: Creation, Covenant, and Conceptions of Historical Time in Second Temple Judaism*, JSJSup 168 (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Helen R. Jacobus, *Zodiac Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Reception: Ancient Astronomy and Astrology in Early Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Mette Bundvad, *Time in the Book of Ecclesiastes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Paul J. Kosmin, *Time and Its Adversaries in the Seleucid Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 137–86.

132 Najman, *Losing the Temple*, 1–25, 123–54. See page 108–9.

ignorance, because “he prepared dawn through the knowledge of his mind” (שחר הכין בדעת לבו). The sage chases after knowledge continually but can only gain access to such understanding by participating in angelic prayer that transcends any form of human knowledge and involves the perceiving of heavenly realities. Therefore, the pursuit of wisdom is embedded in liturgical practice and inseparable from the marking of times by means of prayer and blessing. Contemplation of the *rāz nihyeh* involves pondering the hidden structures of time that organize both the calendar and the course of history. This secret encompasses the entirety of time and its organization, as they originate in divine thinking.

4 Conclusion

In the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, Jewish wisdom concepts are reconfigured across a broad variety of texts that expand and transform existing textual traditions. The intricate concept of the secret of time is entangled with a much broader conceptual framework that is embedded in textual and liturgical practices. To obtain a deeper understanding of the *rāz nihyeh*, it is necessary to look beyond generic boundaries that scholars have constructed such as wisdom, apocalyptic, law, liturgy, or commentary and rewriting. No less urgent is the need to move beyond sectarian/non-sectarian dichotomies in scholarship on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Throughout this book, I have demonstrated that suspending this categorization can generate new and important insights into the configurations of wisdom that we encounter in manuscripts from Qumran.

As I have argued in this final chapter, the secret of time is developed in texts from the Second Temple period across existing categorizations of sectarian and non-sectarian texts, including Enoch, Mysteries, Instruction, the Serek, the Hodayot, Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, and the Hymn to the Creator. The network of concepts and practices that are entangled with the *rāz nihyeh* also surface in the book of Jubilees as it develops the calendrical and chronological principle of the divisions of the times (מחלקות העתים), which is likewise attested in other fragmentary texts from Qumran. Finally, the book of Daniel already contains central elements of this structure that involves turning to the past in order to understand good and evil, discerning the hidden patterns of temporal organization, and seeing the time of the end.

The concepts that shape the *rāz nihyeh* cannot be contained within a sectarian/non-sectarian dichotomy, and neither are they restricted to the Second Temple period. The book of 4 Ezra, composed after the 70 CE destruction,

develops a notion of divine self-revelation that is intimately connected to the concepts emerging in the scrolls. In the seventh and final vision of 4 Ezra, in which the scribe receives a renewed revelation of holy books, God speaks to Ezra from a bush, and says:

I revealed myself in a bush and spoke to Moses, when my people were in bondage in Egypt; and I sent him and led my people out of Egypt; and I led him up to Mount Sinai. And I kept him with me many days; and I told him many wondrous things, and showed him the secrets of the times and declared to him the end of the times.

4 EZRA 14:3–5¹³³

This passage shows that the intricate concepts and terminology in which the *rāz nihyeh* is embedded and which surface in texts like Jubilees and Daniel have an afterlife in Judaism after the temple was destroyed. Scholars have demonstrated that 4 Ezra is perhaps not directly related but certainly akin to rabbinic traditions.¹³⁴ Moreover, throughout my discussion of the secret of time, I have pointed to various points of contact with elements of liturgy that resurface in Judaism many centuries later. Despite significant transformation and discontinuity, these later traditions demonstrate that the conceptual framework and the interpretive practices that are entangled with the phrase *rāz nihyeh* live on after the Second Temple period. There is, moreover, demonstrable continuity between Jewish wisdom in Hebrew and contemporaneous Greek works of philosophical interpretation and commentary.¹³⁵ The secret of time forces us to take a step back and explore the sources in a broader perspective as we reconfigure wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

133 Cf. 3:14; 4:36–37; 9:6.

134 Daniel Boyarin, “Penitential Liturgy in 4 Ezra,” *JSJ* 3 (1972): 30–34; Michael E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990), 38–39; Najman, *Losing the Temple*, 67–91 and passim.

135 Isaac L. Seeligmann, “ῥεῖξαι ἀὐτῷ φῶς,” *Textus* 21 (2002): 107–28; Hindy Najman, “Philosophical Contemplation and Revelatory Inspiration in Ancient Judean Traditions,” *Studia Philonica Annual* 19 (2007): 101–11; eadem, “Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Period.”

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