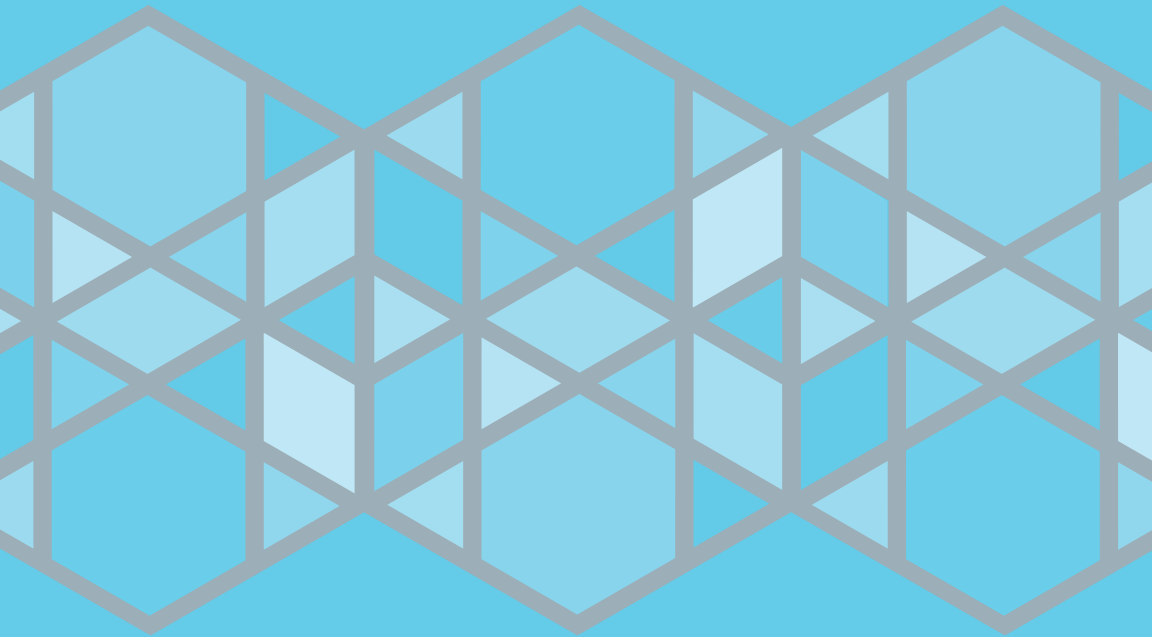




BROWN  
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# Behind the Essenes

History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls



PHILIP R. DAVIES

## **BEHIND THE ESSENES**

Program in Judaic Studies  
Brown University  
**BROWN JUDAIC STUDIES**

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## PUBLISHERS' PREFACE

Brown Judaic Studies has been publishing scholarly books in all areas of Judaic studies for forty years. Our books, many of which contain groundbreaking scholarship, were typically printed in small runs and are not easily accessible outside of major research libraries. We are delighted that with the support of a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities/Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Humanities Open Book Program, we are now able to make available, in digital, open-access, format, fifty titles from our backlist.

Philip R. Davies, *Behind the Essenes: History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1987) was written during the "middle age," as Davies calls it, of research on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Since this book was written, the scrolls have finally been fully published; there have been new archaeological discoveries; and there has been a significant amount of research produced. Yet Davies's suggestions and insights, based on a skeptical reading of the evidence, remain perhaps more germane than ever. Davies, who was also a leading figure in "the Copenhagen School" (a group of scholars who supported a relatively late dating for the Hebrew Bible), sadly passed away in 2018.

This edition incorporates typographical corrections of the original text.

Michael L. Satlow  
Managing Editor  
October, 2019





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Sheffield  
February, 1987



## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The age of forty years is, in a human life, commonly associated with a change, psychological and even biological. It marks definitively the end of serious pretension to youth, but can also be attended by a reversion to some aspects of adolescent behaviour. The study of the Dead Sea Scrolls has now reached middle age: I shall not chase the parallel any further, except to suggest that a new beginning in our understanding of the phenomenon of the Qumran community may be occurring. The publication of more texts after a long famine will put the already published texts into perspective, and will very likely add to the difficulty of drawing from all of the available texts a simplistic picture of the ideology of that community and its background. As far as the origins and history of the Qumran community is concerned, a theory which has dominated research for nearly thirty years is now ready for replacement.

The essays which comprise this book will, I hope, contribute to a much-needed revision of some almost canonical opinions. However, they were mostly conceived and composed as independent studies of important problems with no thought of synthesis into a combined argument or even a single theme. Yet the process of bringing them together brought to me the realization that they all contribute to what can now be seen as a coherent programme. It is for this reason that I have decided to bring them together as a book. I certainly believe that a large-scale critical volume on the history and ideology of the Qumran community, though very much needed, would at this point be premature, for too little analysis of the documents has been accomplished. We do not even have a decent commentary series on the documents.

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The programme, it has emerged, is a systematic application of a particular method of doing Qumran research; to claim this as an innovation seems somewhat excessive, but previous Qumran research, I think, has not been blessed with an overabundance of historical method. Anyway, readers can form their own opinions about this; it makes little difference to the substance of the essays. In any case, I can hardly claim much originality: the conclusions, to be sure, are sometimes novel, although most of them have been anticipated, if in less explicit form, by others to whom much credit must be duly paid, as I hope has been done. The method is even less innovative, being simply the application of techniques of criticism applied not only in biblical studies but in historical studies generally for reading history out of ancient texts, an exercise which for my part at least is employed not in order to dismantle, dismember or betray the sense of ancient literature (as it is still the fashion among some critics to assert) but to constitute<sup>1</sup> a history for them.

We cannot expect - as was once seen to be the goal of "historical criticism" - objectively to restore the historical integrity of texts which once spoke to citizens of our world in another time and thus to keep complete faith with authors of those texts whose desire was to communicate to their fellow inhabitants of that time a particular message. But we can intellectually construe a history which offers a critically plausible account of the texts as relics of the past. Such an intellectual exercise - namely, such a "history" - cannot ever lay claim to certitude; its idiom is that of possibility and probability, its instincts sometimes empathy and imagination, but those who reject it reject that partly scientific, partly existential relationship between the world of the modern reader and that of the ancient writer which defines our notion of "history". One may indeed abstract texts from the history of their production, insisting on the autonomy of the reader. The text, adopted into

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our own time and place, joins us in our solipsism, which is a poor result from our labours to understand ourselves from our past. Alternatively one may exalt the autonomy of the text, at the expense of both author and reader, who are the twin anchors of the text in history. What is applied in these essays is not structuralism, nor any variety of "reader-response" criticism. I have no quarrel with these methods, but they do not produce history, and history is the goal here. History has indeed been the goal of much Qumran research but the methods used could not on the whole be characterized as those of a critical historian. Frequently they have been closer to fundamentalism. They have certainly been positivistic.

The essays which follow, then, are unashamedly an attempt to intellectually constitute a world - or a part of it - which we all know once existed, which we all know was different from ours, and from which we have voices inscribed on leather and stored in caves. We have not made much progress in this task over the last forty years, for a variety of reasons. In the first part of the book I have attempted, as economically as possible, to chronicle enough of the shortcomings of previous (and present) scholarship to establish the fragility of much current opinion on the subject of Qumran origins, then to illustrate how obedience to well-known, even self-evident critical methods can yield promising results, and how it is possible to write a surprisingly (given the evidence) detailed history of the religious movement which gave birth, ultimately, to the Dead Sea Scrolls. The evidence handled in this part of the book is that which is amenable to more or less direct historical exegesis. In the second part, the method is less direct. By an examination of the ideological strands found within the scrolls - not harmonized, but differentiated as far as possible according to their attestation in the documents and these documents' sources - some account of the conceptual and doctrinal components of the Qumran community is rendered

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possible, which can, in turn, offer conclusions capable of being compared with the historical reconstruction attempted earlier.

In the end, however, this remains a collection of essays and not a thorough-going synthesis of the pertinent evidence. That task will be considerable and lies some way ahead of us. The argument of this book is that this task, despite widespread belief, has not been done, and indeed is yet in its infancy. After forty years, Qumran research needs to look critically at what it has achieved and failed to achieve. Notably, it is time to scale down the theories and conclusions we have inherited so as to fit the evidence.

The influence of Jerome Murphy-O'Connor will be evident in the following pages. Less evident, but most important, is the example of Jacob Neusner with his dogmatic insistence that knowledge is only as good as the method used; that we have to work hard to learn what we know by disciplined critical analysis, and - perhaps most important of all - that documents are what the historian has in the first place to understand, and not theories abstracted from them willy-nilly. Furthermore, his recent attack on scholarly credulity in the area of Jewish history could easily have included Qumran studies;<sup>2</sup> if less relentlessly than Neusner, I suppose I am also interested in demonstrating the legacy of credulity in that field. I hope that, as with Neusner, scepticism is not negativism, and there are ways of construing history without simply believing what we are told or choosing by instinct, predilection or indoctrination what we believe from what we are told. There are also numerous scholars whose persistence in the minutiae, in niggling at individual problems, has brought to grief more ambitious but less well founded theories (but whose work seldom penetrates to biblical scholars who remain content to work with what they take to be established conclusions about Qumran). Last, but not least, are those who, despite their often unacceptable assumptions, methods and conclusions,

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have sustained an interest in, and enthusiasm for, the writings left us by the inhabitants of Qumran. Scholarly research is in the end a communal effort and there is some comfort in the belief that one's own shortcomings will be remedied by those who follow. What is important is only that we can share more or less the same notion of what constitutes historical criticism, or, if preferred, what agenda we adopt for writing history out of the texts and other remains. If we have no agreed agenda, we cannot have any corporate research, and what should be a discussion becomes a series of monologues. Perhaps, too, it may be hoped that Qumran studies, having lived long under the shadow of New Testament scholarship and, to a much lesser extent, Rabbinics, will be properly valued as a specialism in its own right. True, the ultimate importance of the Qumran evidence will be its contribution to an understanding of the wider reality of Second Temple Judaism, but we cannot indulge in any comparative or contextual work until Qumran itself is understood. Comparative studies will reveal what is distinctive, but will not explain the distinctiveness or define the individual entity. In Qumran studies we have a field of research comprised of peculiar, distinctive and concrete realities - attested, unlike most of the Pseudepigrapha, by external witnesses, by archaeology and by the gift of the original documents themselves rather than second or third hand translations in obscure languages and with Christian interpolations of disputed extent. Nor must we let the Qumran phenomenon be abused by the sort of agenda which seeks to reduce the extraordinarily complex phenomenon of late Second Temple Judaism to a number of manageable concepts (I do have "apocalyptic" especially in mind, but "priestly" is another unhelpful category, as are "ascetic" or "conservative"). Of course Qumran offers an unequalled opportunity to penetrate the religious demi-monde of early Jewish Palestine, and it will in due course throw light far beyond the shores of the Dead Sea. But for this illumination



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we shall need patience and discipline and a very selective memory of what has been "learnt" in the past.

## CHAPTER TWO: QUMRAN BEGINNINGS

### I

Surveying a decade of intense and often bizarre controversy, Millar Burrows wrote in 1958 that "scholars have not yet reached agreement concerning the origin of the Qumran community".<sup>1</sup> Yet J.T. Milik's Dix ans de découvertes had appeared in 1957, and in the same year F.M. Cross completed the Haskell lectures. In 1959 both of these were available as books in English,<sup>2</sup> and from that moment on the account of Qumran origins which Cross and Milik offered, with only minor differences, became a consensus, moreover, endorsed not only by Milik and Cross, but by de Vaux,<sup>3</sup> Hengel,<sup>4</sup> and most notably by Vermes, who has been one of the most prolific writers on the topic. Having anticipated the consensus as early as 1954, he has reiterated it without any essential modification ever since, and most recently in his revision of Schürer,<sup>5</sup> where he notes, but does not seriously engage, the refinements of Jeremias and Stegemann, which have also done much to enhance the theory.<sup>6</sup> This theory in its original, unrefined form is as follows:

1. The Qumran community is equated with the Essenes of the classical sources (Pliny, Josephus and Philo). According to Cross,<sup>7</sup> "the Qumran sect was not restricted to Qumran, but like the Essenes of the classical sources counted its camps and settlements throughout the villages of Judah", while Milik also regards the history of the Essenes as synonymous with the history of the Qumran community<sup>8</sup> and concludes: "So from its modest beginnings in the second century B.C. the Essene movement spread widely throughout the Jewish world". Vermes cites approvingly the "wide consensus of opinion"

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which "favours an identification of the people of Qumran with the Essene sect".<sup>9</sup> The point to be grasped here is that for all these scholars, the Qumran sect does not simply contain Essenes, they are the Essenes; no Essenes existed except as offshoots of that Qumran settlement.

2. The beginnings of the Essene movement lie in the period of the "Hellenistic crisis" which gave rise to the Maccabean revolt. During this period arose a party of Hasidim, who were supporters of the Zadokite high-priestly house, zealous for the law and, some scholars would add (e.g. Cross and Hengel) creators or carriers of apocalyptic. The Essenes were either a continuation of this party, or (as Milik prefers) crystallized from part of the "vast Asidean movement". The Hasidim existed for about twenty years before the arrival of the founder of the Qumran community, the "Teacher of Righteousness" - a computation based on chronological data in CD 1.

3. When the (non-Zadokite) Maccabean family assumed the high-priestly office, a dispute arose between them and the Zadokites. Each party was represented by a priest, the "Teacher of Righteousness" on the one hand and the "Wicked Priest" of the Habakkuk peshet on the other. Defeated, the Zadokites either withdrew (as Cross concludes), or were forced (so Vermes) to leave Jerusalem. The "Wicked Priest" is either Jonathan (Milik, Vermes) or Simon (Cross). Why exactly the dispute occurred is not agreed: Cross simply mentions rivalry between priestly houses, whereas Milik suggests that more factors may have been at play, including Hellenising traits, priestly behaviour, halakic divergences and a calendrical difference. (For the last of these he needs to conjecture a change in the calendar by the Hasmonians, for which he admits there is no evidence.) Nevertheless, he is surely right to comment that "priestly rivalry" without some concrete issues is somewhat imprecise as well

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as improbable.

The foregoing explanation of Qumran origins was built on four sorts of evidence: the classical sources about the Essenes, archaeology and palaeography, accounts of the history of the period, and the evidence of the Qumran documents. The classical accounts of the Essenes seemed to describe a group so close to that reflected in the Scrolls that it had to be identical; the archaeological and palaeographical evidence concurred in setting a period of occupation of Qumran beginning in about 140 BCE; the Damascus Document and the Habakkuk peshet gave respectively a sketch of the rise of the community and details of the activities of key personages. It was, and is, an elegant and economical account which gives a first impression of being soundly based.

## II

This original version of the consensus has since been modified, supplemented and refined in several significant respects. In 1963 G. Jeremias published a very detailed examination of the key figures in the pescharim with a view to collating all the statements about their identity and activities.<sup>10</sup> The most important of his conclusions was that the "Wicked Priest" and the "Man of the Lie" in 1QpHab could be clearly distinguished as different persons. Jeremias's minute analysis of all the details given about the "Wicked Priest" led him to the conclusion that only one historical person could be indicated, the Hasmonean Jonathan. The "Man of the Lie", on the other hand, could not be identified because it became clear that he was the leader of a group within the community which rejected the "Teacher" and broke away. (This figure, perhaps significantly, is also referred to in the Damascus Document, whereas the "Wicked Priest" is absent.)

In 1971, H. Stegemann<sup>11</sup> developed Jeremias's ana-

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lysis in several directions. He agreed that Jonathan was the "Wicked Priest" of the pešharim, but added the suggestion that the "Teacher" had also been a high priest of Zadokite lineage, who had been replaced by Jonathan. This priest found refuge among the Hasidim, of whom he claimed leadership. These Hasidim had already retreated into "camps" in the "wilderness", i.e. outside the towns of Judah, because of Hellenization and in particular because of the murder of Onias II in 172/1. Some of them accepted the "Teacher"; these went to Qumran and became the Essenes. Those who rejected the "Teacher", led by the "Man of the Lie" (also "Liar", "Spouter of Lies", "Scoffer") became the Pharisees, their very name betraying their "separation" from the Essenes. (This proposal in any case seems to be contradicted by the use of prš in the as yet unpublished MMT [see n. 16].)

The direction of this line of research, while in large part consolidating the prevailing consensus, also opened up new perspectives. First, the Qumran community's origins now appeared to involve not only a break with the Jerusalem authorities, but also an internal rift. In the view of Stegemann it was the internal rift which essentially created the community, while the "Wicked Priest"'s dispute with the "Teacher" served to drive him to the Hasidim. Second, the recognition of an already existing group, its identity and its relationship to the Qumran community has shed light on a number of problems in CD: "Damascus", which is the name given to a place of exile of the community, and the character and setting of legislation which cannot have applied to the Qumran community, have been accounted for; CD has been now seen to reflect the organization of the parent community from which the Qumran group emerged, with the name "Damascus" referring to their place(s) of retreat and the laws governing their "camps". The earlier necessity of equating "Damascus" with Qumran, which was a highly problematic move, was now overcome, and differences in

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legislation and history between the Qumran community and the community referred to in CD's historical descriptions were appreciated as positive clues to a more complicated history rather than irritating discrepancies to be brushed away or overlooked. The effect of the work of Jeremias and especially of Stegemann has been to show that descriptions of the Qumran community "breaking away from Judaism" (as Milik had put it) are misleading. What created the community, at least directly, seems to have been an internal dispute, with the quarrel between "Wicked Priest" and "Teacher of Righteousness" being a contributory factor only. This in turn makes the still-posed question "what separated the Qumran sect from the rest of Judaism?" about as useful as "what separates the Presbyterians from the rest of Christianity?".

The next stage in the history of the consensus witnessed a more radical revision by Murphy-O'Connor, developed in a series of analyses of CD, capped by an essay on Essene history.<sup>12</sup> The result is seen by some as an entirely new theory, starting from new premises. This is partly true, for it has widened the scope of the evidence, and offered a new theory of "Essene origins". Nevertheless, it can also be perceived as in large measure a logical development of the methods and conclusions of Stegemann, correcting some obvious weakness while confirming, if at the same time slightly modifying, a good deal of his reconstruction. On the identity of the "Wicked Priest" and the "Teacher of Righteousness" Murphy-O'Connor agrees with Stegemann. He also agrees that the "Teacher" came to an already existing community, that he caused a rift and went with those who followed him to Qumran, leaving behind a group which continued to exist alongside the Qumran community. The differences are that Murphy-O'Connor does not see in this parent group the Hasidim who, in Stegemann's view, had withdrawn to "camps" in Judah. For the laws for the "camps" which are set out in CD reflect, according to Murphy-O'Connor, a gentile, not a Jewish environment. The community or communities which

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they governed were among Diaspora Jews - more precisely, Babylonian Jews who returned to Judah in the wake of the early Maccabean successes, found the religious climate intolerable, and, in effect, became "sectarian" in the sense of identifying themselves with the true "Israel", and shunning other Jews. This group, and not merely those at Qumran, are the Essenes, and after the rift which led some of them to Qumran, the remainder lived in Palestine in much the way Josephus describes them.

Murphy-O'Connor's account is superior to Stegemann's in several respects.<sup>13</sup> It explains better the similar but not identical Essenes of the classical sources by making Qumran the home of an Essene splinter group. Its explanation of "Damascus" in CD as a symbol for Babylon, though made the focus of a good deal of the criticism of his theory,<sup>14</sup> is not its central argument, but this particular element is in any case preferable to what is probably the most favoured view equating "Damascus" with Qumran, since this latter equation is not based on any kind of argument but remains merely a harmonizing inference. Milik's suggestion<sup>15</sup> that Damascus is not a symbol, but became a place of refuge for the Qumran community during their absence encounters numerous difficulties: it does not account adequately for the change in organization, belief and practice between CD and the obviously Qumranic IQS, such as sending offerings to the Temple and taking wives, nor the close connection between "Damascus" and community origins in CD. A further advantage of Murphy-O'Connor's theory is that it avoids building anything on the Hasidim, an entity whose beliefs, and even existence as a coherent and organized party is now being more widely recognized as dubious. Finally, in what goes largely unrecognized by his critics, Murphy-O'Connor's use of form-criticism on CD has enabled him to examine the function of its components and thus reinforce his picture of an Essene group trying to persuade Judeans of its own view of the covenant and its halakah. Such a reading is further

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enhanced by the recently described "halakic letter" being edited by Qimron and Strugnell.<sup>16</sup> This letter (a) seeks to persuade opponents of its halakah, (b) has, as its editors judge it, a surprisingly mild tone, and (c) apparently reflects precisely the issues which one might regard as Essene but not specifically Qumranic. By contrast, attempts to convince others by mild persuasion do not match the perception many scholars have of the Qumran community; their closest parallel seems to be in the Admonition of CD.

A further challenge to Murphy-O'Connor's work has aimed at his methods rather than his conclusions. His use of historical-literary-critical methods has been dismissed as subjective and speculative. This is no doubt in part reflective of a current fashion to dismiss this kind of methodology in biblical studies, a fashion which can amuse but hardly disturb the serious historian. Insofar as the criticism amounts to an honest engagement with the business of research into Essene history, it can be acknowledged that Murphy-O'Connor's methods and conclusions are ready to be replaced as soon as alternative methods are applied which are less speculative and less subjective. Until then, mere dismissal will not do. So far I have seen no other critical method of literary exegesis applied to the question of Qumran origins and history, unless a preparedness to believe any statement which can be made to fit a supposed background and a willingness to harmonize or ignore the remainder of the data is to be called critical, or even a method.

The fact is that if we wish to offer an answer to the question "what created the Qumran community?" we have no choice but to use critical exegesis of the documents, and a method which is constructed and developed with the explicit end of deducing history from texts, i.e. one which deploys source-criticism, form-criticism, redaction-criticism, utilizes other contemporary witnesses and seeks to make sense of as much of the data as possible. Of course, the conclusions will require speculation; no ancient history is possible



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without it. The crucial distinction to be made is between rational and critically based speculation which offers itself in terms of intellectually probable deductions from evidence, and other kinds, notably the speculation which starts with an idea and then arrays the evidence, or as much as may be arrayed, in order to dress up the idea respectably. The point I am making is that Murphy-O'Connor's approach and conclusions, with which I largely but not entirely concur, are methodologically superior to all others so far applied to the problem of Qumran origins. Ergo, his theory is the most probable. The task is now to accept it for the time being, and either improve it, refute it on its own terms, or supply a better method with better conclusions which will then take the field as the highest probability.

### III

Speculation, however methodical and disciplined, will not achieve certain historical knowledge. But it will be helpful to become aware at the outset of what we do know, and do not know. We have inherited a (relatively small, but important) number of sound conclusions from our predecessors, but also some assumptions based on theories which do not bear close examination. Accordingly, I propose that we progress on the path of research into Essene origins and history starting from the following minimal premises, taking them to be either proven or sufficiently probable to be built upon:

1. Qumran was occupied (after its initial Israelite phase) somewhere within fifty years after 140 BCE. Note Cross's remark that "the rarity of coins dating before Antiochus Sidetes becomes more difficult to explain for every day we push back earlier than 138 BCE".<sup>17</sup> The same period was also defined by Milik<sup>18</sup> and is supported by palaeography. Archaeology and palaeography have achieved their task of delimiting the period of settlement to about the late 2nd

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century BCE, but we cannot and should not press their evidence towards greater precision in the interests of a theory of origins.<sup>19</sup>

Archaeology may also perhaps be taken to have established that the Qumran community had no cult and consisted of males only; this is not certain, but highly probable as well as supported by literary evidence from Qumran and Pliny.

2. The Qumran community is related to, but not identical with, the Essenes of the classical period. It is conceivable that the Qumran community evolved into the large and widespread movement described by Josephus, and also changed its ideology, but this would need to be supported by a demonstration that the ideology of later Qumran writings (like 1QM and the peshtarim) are closer ideologically to these Essenes than earlier writings (like CD, Jubilees and 11QT). The evidence seems rather to point the other way.

3. The Qumran library, apart from its biblical manuscripts and some documents without evident sectarian bias (the Job Targum, the Genesis Apocryphon), contains two kinds of "sectarian" writing which must be distinguished from each other; works which point to a specifically Qumran origin (e.g. 1QS, 1QM), and works which do not (e.g. 11QT, Jubilees). The similarities and differences between these two categories suggest that a simple comparison or contrast between Qumran ideology and the ideology of the Jerusalem priesthood, or other groups within Judaism, is not only irrelevant but misleading. The Qumran community preserved some literature which it did not generate, but which shares some Qumran features (calendar, halakic rulings) while differing on other matters (Temple participation, eschatology).<sup>20</sup>

Now, there are also some things which we do not

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know, even though we may think we do. We do, of course, know something of the historical period. But we cannot a priori relate any of it to Qumran origins. Furthermore:

1. We do not know, although it is often asserted as self-evident, that the Qumran community was "priestly". It was founded by a priest, ruled by priests, and it may have extended priestly rules of holiness to non-priests. But quite clearly many of its members were not priests. It still needs to be demonstrated precisely in what way, if any, the Qumran community could be said to be more "priestly" than the whole, or any part, of Second Temple Judaism, permeated as this was by the ideology of Ezra, Chronicles, the Priestly writings and dominated in its economic and social, as well as religious life by the Temple. Indeed, many scholars perceive an ideological and/or historical relationship between Qumran and the Pharisees; but the Pharisees were not a priestly movement. Often a confusion seems to exist between the claim that the community was priestly in composition and that it was priestly in ideology. The former is false, the latter not particularly illuminating unless given much more precision.

2. Even less may we use the term "Zadokite" of this community. There is no evidence that they called themselves "sons of Zadok", no evidence that they were especially loyal to the Zadokite house. (This view was once supported by referring to the Zadokite allegiance of the Hasidim, but this allegiance is nowhere stated in the sources.) Again, we need to have arguments and evidence, if any exist.

3. We do not know that the Qumran community was born of any concern with Hellenism. Most Jews presumably disliked those aspects which contradicted their traditional religious ways, while at the same time accepting many features of Hellenistic civilization (as did Ben Sira). There is no

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evidence that the Qumran community differed in any respect from this attitude. They certainly seem to have been influenced by some foreign ideas; possibly Pythagoreanism, as Hengel surmised, more probably by Persian dualism (some while after their origin?), and obviously by astrology, as 4QCry186 attests. And they could and did write in Greek.

These comments are intended to remind us of what we have been taught about Qumran, and often repeat about Qumran, but in fact have not been properly argued for and therefore are not really known at all. They are not exhaustive by any means. One could add to them the struggles between the "Teacher of Righteousness" and the "Wicked Priest" read out of 1QpHab, or the organization of the community as produced from a mixing of 1QS, CD and Josephus, producing among other things a society lead by priests, or maskils, or mebaqqers or those masquerading under the three titles simultaneously.

## IV

Finally, then, what might we learn about the origins of Qumran in the future? Since we have only the Qumran texts (including those still awaited) on which to proceed any further, how successful we are will depend on the quality of our methods. Since any conclusions drawn from exegesis of the texts will be incapable of proof, the quality of our historical knowledge can only be as good as the quality of the method and arguments, a point already insisted upon earlier. The best arguments may, in fact, yield a wrong conclusion about the historical fact, but we can never know that; we must be content with the view which is best argued, and accept it as our historical knowledge. The question of critical method in dealing with literary sources is therefore crucial. Neusner's way of putting this point is "How do we know what we know?" Now, as I have said earlier, the account of Essene and Qumran origins by Murphy-O'Connor

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is in my view superior methodologically to its main alternative. Cross and Milik had no critical method for exegeting the texts; basically they added archaeology and palaeography to the classical sources, then looked for an historical scenario consistent with statements in the pesharim and in CD 1. It was essentially a harmonizing, synthesizing method; the explicit caveats which Cross himself offered about the pesharim he never in fact heeded. I would include Jeremias in this criticism since nowhere did he even begin to justify an approach to the texts which in its assignation of historiographical value was excessive to the point of fundamentalism. Stegemann did not significantly improve on this approach to the pesharim, where he was - as he confessed to me in a private letter - unduly influenced by Jeremias and by the prevailing consensus. However, where he departed from the well-trodden paths and struck out on his own, in the treatment of the Damascus Document, he developed a good critical method, whose only weaknesses were that his historical conclusions were already furnished by his study of the pesharim, so that he misconstrued some important passages, and that he did not extend his approach beyond source criticism and a little form-criticism. Murphy-O'Connor's analysis is more refined in the latter respect, but he still attaches undue weight to the pesharim.

The pesharim have long been at the centre of the debate about Qumran origins. It is generally conceded that they appear to be a late literary product at Qumran. All may, indeed, be autographs.<sup>21</sup> The genre is midrashic, the distance between the documents and some of the events they purportedly allude to uncomfortably large. I know of no attempt as yet to formulate criteria for evaluating its contents. Both Cross and Milik were content to suppose that behind them lies an oral tradition inaugurated by the "Teacher" (in the words of Cross, they "reflected the accumulated lore of Essene exegetes over a considerable period of time").<sup>22</sup> But no-one cites an analogy to back up

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this surmise. The New Testament gospels, for example, are not an ideal parallel case, but they do provide some interesting comparisons. The timespan between founder and written narrative is, of course, shorter; the genre more historiographical, both in form and in purpose. Even so, the gospels contain disputes between Jesus and Pharisees which might reflect later Jewish-Christian polemic, while between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics there is a great deal of divergence - different exegetical lore, or freedom of invention? A really midrashic passage like Matthew 2 is not taken by the majority of scholars to be history - or rather, there is an historical core, but much overlaid. If Matthew 2 were found at Qumran telling of the birth of the "Teacher", might we expect scholars trained in Qumran studies to set about identifying the wise men, perhaps on the basis of their astrological knowledge, their presents, their capacity to receive dreams, their acquaintance with Herod, etc.? Might such scholars not assume also that the flight into Egypt is part of the "accumulated lore of Christian exegetes", like the shepherds in the fields? The use made of the pescharim for historical purposes is nothing less than a shambles. It is not even as if the statements in 1QpHab are entirely consistent or unambiguous. A list of problematic cases has been given by Brownlee,<sup>23</sup> and there is no point in rehearsing them here. The work of Brownlee and Brooke<sup>24</sup> has also underlined and explicated the midrashic conventions operative at Qumran. The first direction in exegesis of the pescharim must always be towards their midrashic function, for until we understand how these commentaries work - and that means as midrashim - we have no warrant to plunder them for historical data, especially given that (a) no continuous tradition can be established as lying behind them and (b) where they do contain - as we know that they do (I think in particular of 4QpNah) - some historical information, any kind of plausible analogy we could invoke would warn us that it will be mixed up with invention, will be distorted,

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garbled and anachronistic. How, in the circumstances, can any method which relies on every small detail about the "Wicked Priest" in order to build an historical profile justify itself as a critical method?

My first proposal for the future research into Qumran origins is, therefore, that we start looking critically at the pesharim, and until we have reason to believe anything they say we disregard all their allusions which are not corroborated elsewhere - and that is very few. We may accept the "Teacher of Righteousness" as an historical individual, but not the "Wicked Priest". The latter is very possibly an amalgam of several figures, none of whom, moreover, may have dealt directly with the "Teacher" (nor maybe even his community), but who would have been the targets of the community's polemic. I may seem here to be unduly sceptical, but the paucity of textual evidence and the elusiveness of clear historical data make it fatally easy to start in an entirely wrong direction by making a simple assumption for which there is no evidence or warrant. The case of the "Wicked Priest" would be less worthy of censure had the figure not been made the centre of so much historical reconstruction.

The situation with the Damascus Document is unlike that of the pesharim, for here we find present several historiographical passages, we have a clearly composite document, we have synoptic passages within it, and we have some external material to relate it to (Jubilees, 11QT). The text also presents us with problems of such a nature that attempting to solve them may unlock secrets. Certainly the problems cannot be avoided or ignored. For a simple example: is the community founded by the "Interpreter of the Law" or the "Teacher of Righteousness"? If we identify them, as is usually the procedure, why do we want to do so, and why should the document confuse us with two titles? If we identify them, we then have to ask where is "Damascus", and who will "teach righteousness at the end of days"? A

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messiah? the "Teacher" redivivus? If the former, is he the "messiah from Aaron and from Israel" of 20.1 - or can this phrase only mean two messiahs? The questions that CD raises cannot be answered piecemeal. One problem leads to another, and in the end we have to unravel the whole document, something which few have cared to attempt. Thus we cannot escape the challenge of the document as a whole and its sources. What do the genres of these sources tell us? And what is the document as a whole written for? How do you answer these questions without form-criticism and redaction-criticism? I have met several criticisms of the conclusions I drew in my analysis of CD,<sup>25</sup> but practically no-one saw the logic by which the questions were addressed. A critical history of Qumran cannot take any path other than the critical exegesis of individual documents. Incidentally, part of that logic is the interrelatedness of the problems. It is sterile to criticize one particular exegetical argument unless its implications for other pieces of exegesis and for the meaning of the document as a whole have been addressed. In part, this too has always been a failing of Qumran research - its ability to extract passages out of their documentary context and rearrange them into modern reconstruction. As a critical procedure it lies on the same level as the hermeneutics of 1QpHab.

In the case of CD, I think it must be accepted that the document does not describe the Qumran community - different laws, a different attitude to the Temple, different views of exile and law can all be discerned, not to mention a different founder. But CD does have a few references to the "Teacher of Righteousness" and unmistakable Qumranic features. This phenomenon calls for an explanation first in terms of the document itself and its history, then in terms of the history and prehistory of Qumran. What we cannot do, as has been done in the past, is to separate the related problems of the documents from each other, and individually harmonize them on the basis of what



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we know from elsewhere, because in the first place this procedure ignores the fact that the document - any ancient document - is the primary historical evidence, and thus needs to be understood on its own terms before any inferences are drawn, and secondly, for the more practical reason that we cannot harmonize with data uncritically established. We do not know enough about Qumran to explain, or explain away, the problems of CD on the basis of external knowledge. Virtually our only knowledge about Qumran is from texts, the texts found at Qumran, or, in one case, in Cairo but then later discovered at Qumran.

My second proposal is, therefore, that we study individual documents, and in particular that we concentrate more attention on CD. Obviously I would like to see some testing of my suggestions; in particular that in CD we find a meeting of pre-Qumran (i.e. Essene) and Qumran ideology and materials, giving us a link between such works as Jubilees, Enoch and 11QT on the one hand, and 1QS in particular on the other. If my contention is basically correct, moreover, we may have found out more about the "Teacher of Righteousness": the document attests the expectation of "one who would teach righteousness at the end of days", whose appearance would terminate the validity of the laws by which the community lived. If the historical "Teacher" did claim this office, his rejection by some of the community, his giving of a new code of regulations and the eschatological expectation which apparently captivated his followers are all cogently explained. And we have, perhaps, the kernel of the answer to why the Qumran community was formed: it was a "messianic" group of the Essenes.

My third proposal is developed from the second, but extends to other documents. We need to work towards a clearer distinction between what is Essene and what is Qumranic-Essene. The calendar, for example, is not distinctively Qumranic; dualism in its 1QS form(s) is;

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halakoth relating to z<sup>e</sup>nut are not distinctively Qumranic; the rejection of participation in the Temple cult is - and so on into the larger questions of eschatology and ecclesiology, remembering of course that both Qumran and non-Qumran Essenes presumably developed their ideas and practices, and the latter may never have been monolithic. (One interesting and important test case may be the MMT text recently described by Qimron and Strugnell and referred to above, which seems to contain nothing specifically Qumranic, though its editors take its Qumranic origin for granted.)

My fourth proposal, leading on from the third, is that we look at the question of Essene origins. If we cannot any longer repose confidence in the Hasidim, where - and when - may we expect to find the roots of the Essene movement? In Babylonia? or Palestine? or both? In the second century BCE, or the third? What reasons have we for ruling out an earlier period? If, as seems likely,<sup>26</sup> other Essene documents among the pseudepigrapha may be identified as such, it may be that the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls will have thrown more light on Second Temple Judaism than was once thought possible.\*

\*This chapter may also be found in the SBL Seminar Papers 1986, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986.



CHAPTER THREE: CD AND THE HISTORY OF THE ESSENES  
A Reconsideration in Light of Criticism

In his article "The Damascus Document Revisited",<sup>1</sup> Jerome Murphy-O'Connor has responded critically and sympathetically to the analysis of the first part of the Damascus Document (the Admonition) which I published in 1983.<sup>2</sup> It was to be expected that just as some scholars had dismissed Murphy-O'Connor's conclusions or criticized his methods as "subjective" or "speculative" - for example, Charlesworth<sup>3</sup> and Vermes<sup>4</sup> - so my own subsequent adoption of a literary-historical-critical methodology would attract the same accusation; this expectation was not unfulfilled.<sup>5</sup> However, Murphy-O'Connor's reply illustrates quite clearly that he does not see either my arguments or my conclusions as dependent on his own work. He accepts that the same methods have led, by different routes, to alternative source-critical, form-critical and redaction-critical constructions. Nevertheless, a comparison of the two analyses shows, first, that essentially the same conclusions about the historiographical profile in CD has been reached, and second, that the points at issue between us can be debated in terms of evidence and exegetical argument. The method has proved, after all, not to be "subjective", but to be amenable to rational and objective discussion. The same basic method, differently applied, leads to similar general conclusions, though by occasionally divergent paths. The method we have used is vindicated rather than undermined by the nature of the discussion between Murphy-O'Connor and myself, proving rather more "objective" than its detractors allow, and, as I have suggested in the previous chapter, more productive of history than the alternatives.

In the first part of this chapter, I wish to con-

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tinue the dialogue with Murphy-O'Connor by responding to his critique. In the second part I shall attempt to sketch an outline of Essene history on the basis of the evidence in CD. A substantial part of Murphy-O'Connor's reconstruction of Qumran, as opposed to Essene, origins entails an identification of the "Wicked Priest" and "Teacher of Righteousness". I have earlier given reasons why I regard this part of his account as less soundly based than what he has built on CD. I have no alternative identifications, and in the case of the "Wicked Priest" I have doubts about the possibility of identification. Some of my reasons were given in the preceding chapter. Accordingly, I am in no position to argue that Murphy-O'Connor's account here is wrong, only that the nature of the evidence, as I see it, does not permit any individual to be identified.

### I

The points of disagreement between Murphy-O'Connor and myself over the structure of CD and the history of its authors concern the exegesis of certain passages, the delimitation of sources and - here the disagreement is not profound - the precise function of the Admonition. On the question of (minimal) Essene participation in the cult Murphy-O'Connor has been persuaded by my arguments, as he has also been by my interpretation of the "well midrash" (6.2-11), my suggestion of the impact of eschatological calculation on the decision of Essenes to return to Palestine, and my deduction of the claim of the "Teacher of Righteousness" to be an eschatological figure awaited by the Essenes. In like manner, I have felt persuaded by Murphy-O'Connor's critique to adjust my views on one or two matters to increase the extent of agreement between us.

Let me begin with these changes of mind:

1. Murphy-O'Connor has accepted my contention that in the

opening Heilsgeschichte (1.3-12) there are two levels, an original Essene account of the movement's origins recast by the overlaying of a secondary, Qumranic "updating". In my division between these two layers, I had inclined to assign to the former level the "remnant" which God preserved from the destruction under Nebuchadnezzar, and to the latter the "root" which God raised to "occupy His (or: "its") land" (DC, 61ff.). Murphy-O'Connor questions my identification of the "root" with the Qumran community, which my analysis entailed. He would rather assign the "root" to the earlier layer, with the Qumranic interpolation comprising lines 9-11. The main concern of my analysis at this point was to demonstrate the obvious differentiation between the "remnant" and the "root" in this discourse, a point which most previous exegesis of the passage had denied or ignored. That distinction is, of course, crucial to the understanding of CD's history of the movement, since the "remnant" with which God made the covenant had as its founder one called the "Interpreter of the Law", not one called the "Teacher of Righteousness". Nevertheless, it is impossible on purely literary-critical arguments to identify precisely the point in the passage at which the original account of the movement's history is interrupted. Obviously by 1.11, where "God raised for them a Teacher" we have come upon the Qumranic revision; but this "raising" is difficult to detach from the preceding item, "God understood their deeds..."<sup>6</sup>, which it would seem plausible also to assign to that revision. The crux of the matter is 8b-9, which describes their recognition of iniquity, guilt and loss of direction. It is impossible to be certain which of two ways to read this, whether as a description emanating from Qumran and intended to suggest that only with the "Teacher" did the community find itself (and that even before the arrival of the "Teacher" the group were "seeking him with their whole heart"<sup>7</sup>); or as an integral item of the original version of the community's Heilsgeschichte, in which case it suggests that the entire

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movement underwent a loss of morale on its return. In actual fact, it matters little in the end to whom this piece of Essene history is assigned; in either case it may be taken as a likelihood that the Essenes were uncertain after their return to "occupy the land", and whatever success the "Teacher" had should be at least partly explained by this state of affairs. Beyond this imprecision, however, our analysis can be more confident when conclusions drawn from elsewhere in CD are applied. For, according to the view I originally expressed, the "Teacher"'s community would have splintered from its parent before the "Teacher" arrived. Elsewhere, however, I had suggested that the splinter was caused by the claims of the "Teacher", whose arrival therefore must have predated that splintering. To be consistent, then, we have to accept that the "root" in line 7 is part of the (pre-Qumran) Essene, i.e. the original account, as Murphy-O'Connor proposes.

Accordingly, this opening passage of CD may be said to yield useful data about the history of the Essenes, data on whose interpretation Murphy-O'Connor and I are in agreement: the root planted "to occupy His (or: its) land" is a community coming to Palestine, from exile. Hence, while we may rightly look outside Palestine for the origins and the ideological roots of the community, the community whose history CD describes is one which lives in Palestine, which it believes it has been destined to occupy.

2. A second point of convergence with Murphy-O'Connor can also be affirmed; here perhaps an apparent disagreement rests on a misunderstanding. He imputes to me the statement (DDR, 230) that the material of 2.14 - 6.1 was "directed to making converts in the diaspora"; he agrees that no doubt they did acquire new adherents in the Diaspora (and, as he acknowledges, 14.3-6 proves it), but asserts that "they equally made converts in Palestine". For my statement he cites DC p. 96, which says that the groups must have made

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converts "also in exile". There is no disagreement, then, over this issue. However, my statement (CD, 203) that "there is nothing specifically to contradict the view that it (sc. the Admonition) was composed in the Diaspora" requires a qualification which I did not spell out, and which is even more urgently required in light of my attribution of 1.7 to the pre-Qumranic recension. Since a move to Palestine is implied there, it must be that the document in its pre-Qumranic form was of Palestinian origin. That does not mean, however - and here Murphy-O'Connor may differ - that all the materials were originally composed in Palestine. We both agree that the Essenes first existed, according to CD, as a distinct group outside Palestine, and won converts there; a priori, therefore, it is improbable that the Essenes in Palestine, when creating their document, did not appropriate some material from the earlier period. This being said, I would expect CD's structure and materials to tell us in the first instance more about the Essenes in Palestine than about their predecessors (and also their contemporaries?) in the Diaspora.

On the following points there remain differences between Murphy-O'Connor and myself. Many of them are of little consequence and, due to the nature of the evidence, probably impossible to resolve satisfactorily. I restrict myself therefore to those which are of some importance:

1. The extremely difficult problem of the midrashic passages in 7.9-8.2 and 19.5-14 is another area in which Murphy-O'Connor has modified his position in the light of my suggestion, and in turn prompted me to reassess my own verdict. The A and B mss. have preserved different texts within similar formulas, and the challenge is to discover the reason for the difference and, if possible, the original text. Murphy-O'Connor's original suggestion<sup>8</sup> had been that the original text had included an Isaiah midrash from ms. A



(7.10b-13), and a Zechariah-Ezekiel midrash from ms. B (19.7-12), with an Amos-Numbers midrash later interpolated into ms. A. G.J. Brooke subsequently argued<sup>9</sup> that the variation in the texts was the result of a deliberate editorial process whereby the Zechariah-Numbers midrash in the original text (represented more or less by ms. B) was replaced by the Amos-Numbers midrash in order to substitute an expectation of two messiahs for one. In the light of my argument (also advanced independently by C. Milikowsky<sup>10</sup>), that only one messianic figure is present in ms. A, Murphy-O'Connor has revised his opinion and now holds that the ms. A text, with its Amos-Numbers midrash is original, and the ms. B text represents the Qumranic recension. His reason for this is the substitution the occurrence of the word "poor" (C<sup>a</sup>nawim) in 19.7, which he suggests is an allusion to the Teacher and his community (DDR, 243). He then argues further that the Teacher, having claimed his title on the basis of 6.11 also claimed the title "Prince of the Congregation" from 7.20. The appearance of a claimant to this second title robbed the text of the future orientation it needed to function as a warning, and required the substitution of another future figure, the "Messiah of Israel and Aaron".

The problem here is certainly extremely complicated, and merits more attention. I have become convinced that the Amos-Numbers midrash in ms. A is entirely consistent with the ideology of the rest of the original Admonition, and have made it the basis of an examination of the Essene ideology of the Temple<sup>11</sup>. However, I am not persuaded of a Qumran origin to the ms. B version; the solution is attractive and economical, but has a slender exegetical basis, and overestimates, I think, the integrity of the ms. A text. The warning (7.9f.) points to a divine visitation. The Isaiah quotation is an appropriate one, which introduces the precedent of the division of the kingdoms: the northern kingdom was superior, but its destruction provided no survivors; Judah, on the other hand, had a remnant. The quotation from

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Amos moves from a typology of destruction (which the rhetoric of warning needs) to a non-typological description of the theological effect of the exile - the "law" and "prophets" were removed to "Damascus". The Numbers midrash picks up the Amos midrash thematically, and, arguably, also verbally through the repetition of "Damascus". But the words "the star is the Interpreter of the Law" are quite without precedent - neither has been mentioned, there is no citation of Numbers, and the theme of warning is being left further behind. It is in fact rather inelegantly and imperfectly restored through the words "and when he (the "Prince of the Congregation") arises he shall destroy all the children of Seth" (7.20b-21a). The following words resume the point established by the Isaiah midrash - the typology of the "first visitation". The sequence and arrangement are not those of a text composed for the occasion. If the Amos-Numbers midrash is a unit, which is probable, it has been borrowed from a florilegium and inserted here, probably as an amplification of the escape to the "land of the north". The original argument of the Isaiah midrash is resumed in 7.21b, while 8.1-2 applies the typology in terms of a visitation by Belial (contrast the visitation by God in 7.9). Consequently, after renewed examination of the passage, I still adhere to Murphy-O'Connor's earlier view that the Amos-Numbers midrash is an interpolation.

Now, as to the ms. B text, we can accept that in general it does exhibit secondary tendencies vis-a-vis the A text, as Murphy-O'Connor has demonstrated. I find here, however, no clear sign of Qumran origin (this is not, of course to say that it could not have originated there). My conclusion is that it is indeed a substitution for the original Isaiah midrash - it refers, unnecessarily and without any typological argument, to the "first visitation", which is the point of the Isaiah midrash. The fact that it is itself a midrash suggests, too, that it was prompted by an existing midrash (coincidence is a last resort explana-

tion). It nonetheless reads more smoothly and makes its point (19.13-14) more economically. But why the replacement? I can see nothing exceptionable about the Isaiah midrash. Either the Zechariah midrash was part of the original text, as Murphy-O'Connor originally argued, or the creator of the B text had before him also the Amos-Numbers midrash and disliked something about it, so replacing the whole Isaiah-Amos-Numbers midrash with a Zechariah-Ezekiel midrash which did a similar job somewhat more economically. In this case, it must probably be a matter of messianic doctrine, as Brooke suggested, but not, as in Brooke's view, from the B to the A text and from one messiah to two, but from the A to the B text, and replacing a "Prince" (a clearly military figure) by a more innocuous "messiah".

On the whole, it does not seem to me profitable to speculate further. We can be reasonably sure that the history of the transmission of this document is complex, and this particular passage is apparently a victim of this complexity. Thus, any proposed account has a right to be complex itself. It will also, however, be speculative.

2. CD 4.1-11 is a passage ending with an announcement of a list which seems to have become lost. Observing the presence of terms such as "period", "number" and "years" in the description of the (missing) list, I commented that the biographical information given in it did not constitute its purpose; "It is not the periods, numbers and years of individuals which carry any significance; the list as a whole is a record of the "period", and moreover, a period of defined length" (DC, 110-101). There is a reference in IV,10 to the "completion of the period, according to the numbers of these years". Murphy-O'Connor's opinion is that the list served to establish the credentials of the members of the community who, having returned from Babylon to Palestine, need to prove their Jewish pedigree. He cites the analogy of Ezra 2.59-62. My interpretation is described by him as

"unusual", and one that implies a hypothesis which is "absurd" and whose conclusion is "ridiculous". He also claims that I cannot find an analogy to the sort of list I am proposing (DDR, 231). This vigorous attack obliges me to defend my exegesis more fully than I originally undertook. First, then, I am not sure in which sense the exegesis is "unusual"; nor is it "absurd" or "ridiculous" to point out what the text exhibits: it clearly implies a defined period, and that defined period is referred to by the phrase mspr hšnym, both words being used also in the description of the missing list. Hence, Murphy-O'Connor is somewhat disingenuous in protesting that he is unable to "see a list of names as connoting a period of defined length" (*ibid.*), for obviously what is missing is not a list of names. The whole point of my exegesis is that for Murphy-O'Connor's explanation we need a list of names, not "a list of names, in their generations, the period of their lifespan, the numbers of their afflictions, the years of their residence (in exile), and a list of their deeds" (4-6). For this sort of list it is Murphy-O'Connor who does not have the analogy; for this sort of document is not what we find in Ezra, which he cites to support his proposal. It is more like the Priestly genealogical lists in the Pentateuch, which, it is generally conceded, often if not usually have a calendrical purpose among other things, for the Priestly redaction of the Pentateuch as a whole includes an evident chronological structuring.

Hence, I doubt that my exegesis is even by implication "ridiculous". I can appreciate that it could be taken as challenging a piece of Murphy-O'Connor's argument that the Essenes returned to Palestine and needed to provide credentials. However, it should not be so construed, for I am not denying that the list would not also implicitly (or explicitly) serve as a credential. I am trying not so much to say something different from Murphy-O'Connor as to say more. His criticism somewhat surprises me. Nevertheless,

there is an objection to his suggestion about credentials as the function of the missing list. The analogy of Ezra 2 is not really good enough, for it applied only with respect to the priesthood (v.62). Was it ever necessary to establish the Jewishness of any who returned from exile? Maybe, maybe not. Neh. 7.5ff. is a closer parallel, though not close enough.

There are two further arguments in support of my exegesis which it seems were not sufficiently emphasized in my analysis. The first is that the three discourses which open the Admonition create a coherent argument: the first, 1.1 - 2.1, introduces the "age of wrath" in historical perspective, the second, 2.1-13, presents it in predestinarian guise, while the third, to which the passage in question belongs, focusses on rescue from the divine wrath, namely, the community, as the party of God's covenant, destined to "occupy the land" when the divine wrath ends at its appointed time. The second argument is that our "genealogy" forms the sequel to a midrash of Ezek. 44.15, where the biblical text's single category (levitical priests, sons of Zadok) is interpreted as three (priests, levites, and sons of Zadok); but, more significantly, these categories are chronological. The "priests" are the first exiles, the "levites" are those who formed the membership in exile, while the "sons of Zadok" are the elect of Israel....who shall arise in the end of days". If its context is not to be ignored, one must acknowledge the eschatological thrust which the missing list must have carried.<sup>12</sup>

The outcome of my disagreement with Murphy-O'Connor over this passage is nevertheless of relatively minor importance given our agreement over the conclusion which I drew from my exegesis.

The missing list, as I interpret it, offers evidence that one of the reasons (if not the sole reason) for the migration of these Jews from the Eastern diaspora (let us conveniently retain the shorter "Babylon") to Palestine was

a calculation of the end of the "age of wrath". The three opening discourses which form the "History" section of the Admonition compel the conclusion that part of the argument is an announcement of the imminent end of the divine rib. Murphy-O'Connor, in being now persuaded that "the date of the return was determined by some type of eschatological calculation" (DDR, 234), plausibly invokes as additional evidence the "twenty years of groping" in 1.9-10.

3. CD 4.2 and 6.5 contain the expression šby ysr'l, and there is general agreement that the expression should have the same value in both passages. Each passage locates this group at the beginning of the movement, the second more explicitly than the first (on the chronological framework of the first passage, see the preceding discussion). Murphy-O'Connor's original reading was šabey (from šub), interpreted as "returnees (of Israel)". My preference was š<sup>e</sup>by, "captivity", while the majority of scholars have opted for šabey but with the meaning "penitents". Murphy-O'Connor now agrees with that majority view, while preferring to translate "converts". At the same time, he allows that my translation "better reflects the historical situation" (DDR, 233), but finds difficulty with the plural verbal forms which follow it. If this is his only objection (as it appears) he can be assured that grammatically singular terms which are applied to numerically plural subjects (such as "house of Israel") are quite used to accepting plural verbs, and a concordance to the Old Testament will supply numerous examples. Additionally, it is evident that in both occurrences in CD a plural verb form is required by the context: in 4.2 all the surrounding verbs and nouns are plural, and a singular, even if grammatically correct, would be odd - especially when applied to the same group designated by a plural term a few words earlier. In 6.3ff. (also a midrash, incidentally), the expounded biblical text reads "the well which princes dug, which nobles of the people dug with a

staff". In the interpretation, "those who dug" (= the šby ysr'1) requires a plural verb. As a final remark on this issue, let me repeat Murphy-O'Connor's original objection that šub in this sense is followed by what you repent of or return or are converted from. That observation first prompted me towards my own reading and I see no reason to change my mind.

Yet again, the exegesis turns out to hold a key to history. The phrase šby ysr'1 is not found in the Bible, although hšbym min hšby' occurs in Nehemiah 8.17 (cf. 1.2-3, nš'rw mn hšby; 7.6, h<sup>c</sup>lym mšby hqwlh). It is likely that the similarity is no mere coincidence. Perhaps šby ysr'1 here is a shorthand allusion to the biblical reference; the implied equation would contrast the premature returnees of Nehemiah's time with the punctual returnees of CD. But since šby ysr'1 is not the identical phrase, and a more transparent paraphrase could have been used if needed for this purpose, I suggest another explanation. The Nehemiah texts presuppose šby already as a technical term for the exile, and even possibly for the exiled nation. At all events, this extended sense, if not originally present, could easily develop. I suspect that the connection between the two texts is not literary but historical. The exiles in Babylon referred to themselves as the šby. šby ysr'1 denotes the true Israel in exile.

4. On the question of a breach between the CD community and the Temple, I took it as almost self-evident that the non-Qumran Essenes accepted the practical and ideological necessity of the participation in the Temple cult, although remaining critical of it and accepting that only those possessing the true law could properly use that cult.<sup>13</sup> In support of my contention that the Qumran community rejected all contact with the Temple I called attention to a number of secondary elements which I took to be evidence of this attitude on the part of the Qumran community which, I

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believed, was responsible for these elements. They were 1.4; 6.12b-14a and 6.18b-19, but chiefly 20.23. However, I was (justifiably, as it seems) careful to state that this change of attitude was only possibly indicated in CD and that in any case there is "no suggestion in CD that the attitude towards the Temple constituted a primary issue between the community and its parent" (DC, 201).

Murphy-O'Connor, in emending his earlier view, suggests that the Essenes themselves hardened their attitude towards the Temple on their return to Palestine, and that 6.11-14 refers to their agreement not to frequent the Temple beyond the minimum necessary. As far as the exegesis of this passage is concerned, it is hardly possible to decide this matter, for it hangs on the exact extent of what we both take to be a gloss. I was persuaded to assign it to the Qumran redaction not so much on exegetical arguments (which established only that it was glossed), but largely on grounds of internal coherence: I found no text in CD which reflected a ban of any kind on the Temple which was not suspect as secondary (1.4; 6.12b-14a; 6.18b-19) or was to be assigned to the Qumran community (6.18b-19; 20.23). It is, of course, quite plausible to suppose a concrete Essene decision to minimize contact with the Temple and to find this "covenant" referred to in CD. On the other hand, we are fairly certain that the Qumran community entirely abandoned the sacrificial cult and adjusted ideologically to such a ban. Murphy-O'Connor's own analysis of 1QS<sup>14</sup> has identified as a proposal of the Teacher a document which calls for non-sacrificial cultic behaviour. Whereas Murphy-O'Connor's interpretation offers a datum which we cannot be certain of, my own exegesis seems to me to confirm what we already know as well as to explain more economically the presence of explicit anti-Temple statements in CD.

5. In his review of DC, Murphy-O'Connor makes two general points about method and interpretation. First, he very



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astutely recognizes that I am prepared to identify a source where I find a passage which could have existed independently; his own approach, he states, is not to remove material "unless forced to". Let the difference remain, for our understanding of CD, and the validity of the general approach, will be more plausibly attested by our independent use of the same method "liberally" and "conservatively". Differences of this kind in methodology, as this essays shows, do not affect historical inferences very greatly. In fact, I understood my own analysis to be in the end less source-critically orientated than Stegemann's, and to deliver a view of the redaction of the source-material which proposed a coherent and intelligent plot for the Admonition as a whole. I am not so sure that my concern for the coherence of the entire Admonition does not exceed even Murphy-O'Connor's. His second criticism is that I do not provide a consistent explanation of the redactor's intention, being unsure whether the document was addressed to outsiders or insiders. The point is certainly taken; the explanation is provided by Murphy-O'Connor himself - the various parts of the document are addressed sometimes to outsiders and sometimes to insiders. As he would have it, 1.1 - 6.11 is addressed to outsiders and 6.11ff. to insiders. I am happy to accept the principle that the materials here may reflect just such different Sitze im Leben, but I am not content to let the matter rest with the sources. Whom does the assembled document address? This is not a question I would like to ask of the book of Jeremiah, or Leviticus, or the Acts of the Apostles, or the Enochic collection. I rather think that the document addresses whoever might originally have occasion to read it, and that both community members of long standing and those in the process of joining are addressed. Murphy-O'Connor reprimands me over the phrase "initiates in the process of making their choice", which he sees as literally a contradiction in terms. I must defer to the Dominican priest and reformulate! Perhaps he will accept

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catechetes; the existence of a long probationary period for Essenes is attested by Josephus, and this may be the case with the CD community. Incidentally, one other criticism, regarding the "Injunctions", seems to me to miss the mark: my suggestion that this brief list of laws is an "abstract" strikes him as anachronistic. Maybe "abstract" is again an inappropriate word; but the decalogues in Exodus which precede the legal corpora (and are embedded in a narrative account), provide a parallel of sorts, I would have thought. Whether or not they really are abstracts, they have been seen throughout Jewish and Christian tradition as a distil-lation of the Law.

Apart from the items discussed above, I concede that many of my source-critical and other judgments are open to revision or rejection. With the many points of detail addressed by Murphy-O'Connor I see no reason to take issue here. The need is for rather more Qumran scholars to apply themselves to the task of correcting and refining the methods and conclusions which, as I think has been demonstrated, can deliver knowledge about the history of the Essenes unobtainable by other means. The outline of such a history based entirely on CD follows.

## II

The community which produced the Admonition of CD claimed that it originated after the destruction (desolation) by Nebuchadnezzar (3.10; 5.21), when the first covenant had been abandoned and was restored or renewed with a "remnant" (1.1-5; 2.11; 3.13; 4.10ff.; 5.20ff.). The community's founder was referred to as the "Interpreter of the Law" (6.7; 7.18), and the foundation took place during the "age of wrath" (1.5) or "age of wickedness" (6.10,14; cf. 4.9f.) in "Damascus" (6.5,19; 7.19; cf. 8.21/19.34), which is the place of exile (4.6) for which they had left Judah (4.3; 6.5). The renewal of the covenant involved a revelation of

law (3.13ff.), in which Israel had previously gone astray (3.14) and was now being allowed to stray by God (2.13; 4.13ff.). Hence the community had its own halakhic code, involving inter alia matters of marriage (4.17ff.; 7.2) and calendar (3.14). The community believed that the length of the "age of wrath" was predetermined, and that their membership was also predetermined (2.9ff.; 4.9ff.); they were to comprise a remnant in every generation until the end of that age (4.4). Then the laws under which they lived (the "law for the age of wickedness", 6.14) would be no longer operative, but "righteousness" would be given to them by an eschatological "teacher" (6.10f.), while those outside the community would be destroyed (2.9; 7.9/19.6; 8.2/19.14).

The community believed that when the predetermined time came God would grant it repossession of the land of Israel (2.11). Accordingly, some of this community came to the land (1.8bf.; 4.11; 8.3), presumably in the expectation that the predetermined period had arrived. Here they criticized the behaviour of the religious establishment (4.14ff.; 8.3ff.) and attempted to proselytize (1.1f.; 2.14ff.), claiming that time was short (4.10; 8.11[?]).

The dismay which presumably arose from the unfulfilment of their hope and possibly opposition from the religious authorities was changed when one claiming to be the eschatological teacher appeared. His claim implied authority in matters of law (20.11) and the imminent "end of days". He was not accepted by more than a few; his followers chided those who rejected him as traitors to the covenant (19.33f.; 20.11), believing that they were the true members of the "Damascus" covenant (20.12), obliged to follow the dictates of the Teacher (20.28), which, it seems, included an avoidance of the Temple cult (1.4?; 6.11bff.; 6.19; 20.22f.?). Both this and the practice of celibacy can partly if not wholly be explained by the belief of the Qumran Essenes in the imminent eschaton. There is a NT parallel to the latter, at least.

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The Teacher died, but the hope of his followers in the imminent "end of days" persisted (20.13ff.).

This is the history of the community, derived from a combination of the account given in CD and evidence afforded by the history of the document according to a critical reconstruction. It seems to me that the history which CD relates is consistent with the community's ideology, with what is known of Essenes, and with other documents from Qumran. It is the history with which - and from which - we ought to be working.



#### CHAPTER FOUR: SONS OF ZADOK

The connection of the name "Zadok" with the Qumran community in a sense antedates considerably the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves. One of S. Schechter's Documents of Jewish Sectaries<sup>1</sup> retrieved from the old Qaraite synagogue in Cairo and published in 1910 he entitled "Fragments of a Zadokite Work". R.H. Charles also entitled this work "The Zadokite Fragments",<sup>2</sup> referring to its authors as the "Zadokites" and identifying them with "(reformed) Sadducees", in both respects following the conclusions of I. Lévi.<sup>3</sup> Although various identifications were proposed in the following decades,<sup>4</sup> the name "Zadokite" remained the standard appellation for the "sect" responsible for the document. The presence of the name "Zadok" and the term "sons of Zadok" was one of a number of features which confirmed the affinity between the Cairo document and the Qumran scrolls even before the recovery of fragments of the document from caves 4, 5 and 6, under the now standard siglum D(amascus) - hence C(airo) D(amascus) for Schechter's original manuscript. It has continued to be affirmed that the Qumran sect were a Zadokite priestly sect,<sup>5</sup> calling themselves "sons of Zadok" or at least being fervent supporters of the Zadokites. In most cases there is not the slightest concern to be specific about these alternatives or to evaluate the evidence for any of them. The common attribution of a "priestly" character, or even priestly membership, to the Qumran community is perhaps partly inspired by the now relatively ancient "Zadokite" title, even where additional arguments are brought forward.

Three factors in recent research call for a reexamination of the "Zadokite" element in the literature from Qumran. First is the distinction between the community of

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the "Damascus Document" (CD) and the community of 1QS, in both of which the words "Zadok" or "sons of Zadok" play a part. Are the uses of the terms identical in each document? Second is the analysis of 1QS by J. Murphy-O'Connor,<sup>6</sup> which argued for a process of evolution in the structure of authority within the Qumran community, which implicated the status of the priests within it - and thus, though this not explicitly, the significance and role of "sons of Zadok". The third factor is the proposed identification by H. Stegemann and Murphy-O'Connor of the "Teacher of Righteousness" with the Zadokite High Priest.<sup>7</sup> All of these factors suggest that a careful analysis of the use of "Zadok", "sons of Zadok" - and possibly related terms such as "sons of righteousness" (bny zdq), though that is not included in this essay - in the Qumran literature may shed some light, albeit a small ray, upon the history, ideology and organization of the Qumran community. While such illumination has certainly been cast in previous research, it remains to be seen whether its quality cannot be improved.

### "Zadok" and "Sons of Zadok" in the Damascus Document

The reasons given by Schechter for using the term "Zadokite" of the "sect" which wrote CD were of different kinds. The document itself contains only two passages about Zadok, one in which "sons of Zadok" occurs twice in a biblical citation and its interpretation (3.21-4.1; 4.3), the other mentioning an historical individual called Zadok whose appearance was connected with the availability of the true law (5.5). Schechter declined to identify this individual: although he alluded (XXII) to the "Zadok" mentioned in Aboth de Rabbi Nathan and who lived c. 200 BCE, he remained dubious of the identification (although it has very recently been revived by B. Z. Wacholder<sup>8</sup>). However, he concluded that the "sect" was founded by a "Zadok", and took the name of "Zadokites" (XXV). He observed (XVIII-XIX) that certain Qaraite authors

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knew of a Zadok who had attacked the "Rabbanites" who opposed marriage with a niece and divorce, and adopted a calendar of 30 day months. Whether this information is historically reliable is difficult to say. It would be unwise to take it as confirming the identity of the author of CD for the simple reason that CD was found in a Qaraite synagogue, and hence all the information about "Zadok" and the "Zadokites" could well have been adopted from the document itself. Indeed, this explanation might be the safest to adopt. We cannot be sure, therefore, that we have external confirmation of the "Zadokite" character of the CD "sect".

As far as the internal evidence goes, we have no basis for assuming that this "sect" called themselves "Zadokites". The only two occurrences of "sons of Zadok" are found in a midrash on Ezek. 44.15. The MT reads "the levitical priests, the sons of Zadok, who kept the charge of my sanctuary when the children of Israel strayed from me, they shall approach me to minister to me and they shall stand before me to offer me fat and blood". The text cited in CD reads "the priests and the levites and the sons of Zadok who kept the charge of my sanctuary when the children of Israel strayed from me, they shall offer to me (but ngš for MT grb) fat and blood". The abbreviation of the last part of the text, and the substitution of ngš for grb cannot be related to any ancient version, and may be the result of defective recollection of the biblical text; at any rate, they do not apparently alter the sense. Quite the opposite is the case with the insertion of "and" twice between "priests" and "levites" and "levites" and "sons of Zadok". The Ezekiel passage represents a well-known claim (not accepted by either the Priestly writers or the Chronicler) of exclusive priestly rights for the Zadokites. According to Ezekiel, only descendants of Zadok could be priests; the remainder are levites. The occupation of the high-priesthood by Zadokites is accepted by P and endorsed by Ben Sira (45.24;



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51.12). The text as rendered in CD, however, by offering three categories actually denies the exclusivity of Zadokites which Ezekiel demands. On the question of the high-priestly prerogative which was, it seems, generally accepted in Palestine of the Second Temple period - although Ezra-Nehemiah omits any reference - CD is silent. Moreover, the midrash makes no attempt to relate the three categories of priest to a hierarchy. The priests, levites and sons of Zadok respectively represent three chronological stages in the history of the community; the priests went out from Judah, the levites were "joined" to them (a pun on the root lwh), while the "sons of Zadok" are "the elect of Israel, the men called by name, who shall arise at the end of days". All three categories comprise, as it were, the entire sect at different stages, and all are equally entitled to "serve" the Lord. It is possible to argue that the midrash asserts the priestly function of all the community, and that is an aspect of their theology which deserves critical consideration. But that is, nonetheless, quite a different matter. The Ezekiel midrash serves in its present context as part of the authentication of the community as the preordained, divinely-endowed, law- and covenant-possessing remnant of Israel, future possessors of the land at the end of the "age of wrath". The issue of hierarchy does not arise, nor can the community be identified as "sons of Zadok" any more than it can with "levites", also present in the Ezekiel text and equally applied. It seems indeed from this midrash that the Ezekiel text was understood in the community of CD as not authorizing an exclusively Zadokite priesthood - for it treats the term typologically and applies it to all the present members of the community, who we have no reason to assume were all Zadokite; at all events, it is wrong to appeal to the phrase "sons of Zadok" here as indicating that the community either called itself "sons of Zadok" or accorded any special status to Zadokites. Nor have we any reason to assume that the original members were Zadokites -

for the term here is applied not to the first members but the latest!

The figure of Zadok in 5.5 has, as already indicated, an interesting history. The passage in which it is set reads: "And concerning the prince, it is written: He shall not multiply wives for himself; but David had not read the sealed book of the law which was in the ark, for it had not been opened in Israel since the deaths of Eleazar, Joshua and the Elders....so it was hidden [and not] revealed until Zadok arose. Hence the deeds of David were overlooked, except the blood of Uriah, and God allowed them to him." Three lines of interpretation have been offered by commentators: first, that the Zadok referred to is the founder of the community (and in this case usually identified with the "Teacher of Righteousness");<sup>9</sup> second, that he is David's priest;<sup>10</sup> and third, that he is some other figure of recent or ancient time. Among the third group, Schechter is agnostic, while Ginzberg and Rabin nominate Hilkiah the descendant of Zadok and priest of Josiah, under whom a lawbook was found.<sup>11</sup> There exist difficulties with all positive identifications. The suggestion of Hilkiah supposes an original reading ben zdwq, which is somewhat unusual and unspecific for Hilkiah. The proposal that this Zadok refers to the founder of the community is conjectural, because this occurrence would then be the only use of the personal name of one who everywhere else is referred to by a title. And lastly, the Zadok of David's time had no connection with any lawbook.

Since it is David who is being referred to in the passage, and the best-known Zadok is the priest appointed by him, this identification would nevertheless seem to be the most probable. The difficulty in the way of this interpretation has recently been removed convincingly by J.C. VanderKam<sup>12</sup> who suggests that for the author of CD the law was understood to have been "sealed" and was not available to the king until the ark was brought to the central sanc-

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tuary of Jerusalem. 1 Chron. 15.11 narrates that Zadok took part in the ceremony of installing the ark there. Accordingly, the many wives which David married were "allowed to him". Only Bathsheba did he marry after the law in the ark was accessible, and, VanderKam notes, 5.5-6 "speaks critically of the shameful circumstances which surrounded that union".<sup>13</sup> It might be argued against VanderKam on this point that it is the death of Uriah and not the taking of another wife which is condemned; the author logically ought to condemn the marriage with Bathsheba according to his own halakic principles. However, the biblical story itself shows that Bathsheba was favoured as the mother of David's ultimate heir, and the limits of human exegetical ingenuity are finite. VanderKam seem to have settled the question of the identity of Zadok in this passage quite satisfactorily.

We can conclude, therefore, that CD does not imply the founder of the community was called Zadok, nor does it claim any special attachment to Zadok as high priest or - more importantly - as the revealer of any new Torah, but only as guardian of the ark which contained the law. We can also be fairly certain that the law in question was understood to be Deuteronomy, since the law cited is Deut. 17.17 from the "law of the king"; vv. 18ff. in fact prescribes that the king shall make a copy of the law for himself. Obviously, this could not be done by David until he had the law from which to make the copy.

Thus, no basis exists in CD for believing that the community was founded by a "Zadok", or led by Zadokites, or claimed any special attachment to Zadokites or their cause. Such a statement does not mean that subsequently the Zadokite label could not be erroneously attached to this community by Qaraites as it has been by modern scholars.

### "Sons of Zadok" in the Qumran community

There is no other reference in Qumran literature to an

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individual called Zadok, apart from the Copper Scroll (3Q15), which contains nothing which we can be sure has any bearing on the community. At 11.3,6 (= items 53 and 54 in Milik's numbering<sup>14</sup>) we find mention of the "tomb of Zadok" and the "court of Zadok" (which Milik renders as "the court [of the tomb] of Zadok"). Milik's view is that the Zadok in question is the high priest of David and Solomon, whose tomb was located in Jerusalem. This would seem to be almost certainly the case; so the text has no bearing whatsoever on the matter in hand.

If we turn to the phrase "sons of Zadok", however, we find occurrences in 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSB, 4QFlor, and possibly in 4QShirShabb. Perhaps it is more remarkable that we do not come across the term in 11QT or 1QM - other cultic or liturgical texts where it might be expected.<sup>15</sup> So far only seven, or possibly eight occurrences of the term outside CD are known. Rather than set out to argue whether the Qumran community called itself "sons of Zadok", it would be helpful to discover the function of the term within the literature and draw whatever conclusions are possible.

In 1QS "Sons of Zadok" is found in 5.2,9 and 9.14. The last of these should probably be ignored. The reading is bny hzdwq, and the term is applied to the entire community. While the translation "sons of Zadok" has been accepted by some scholars, and thus its use as a designation of the entire community,<sup>16</sup> the majority have preferred to read "sons of righteousness". This is because (a) the use of the article before a proper name is anomalous and (b) its application to the entire community contradicts its meaning in col. 5 and obliges us to posit an ambiguous usage in which it could denote either all or part of the community, depending on the context.<sup>17</sup> In any case, the reading bny zdq in 4QS<sup>e</sup> seems to confirm such a reading. We are left in 1QS, therefore, with a double occurrence of the same expression in virtually the same context: mšybym <sup>C</sup>1 py bny zdwk hkwhnym šwmry hbryt w<sup>C</sup>1 py rwb 'nšy hyhd hmžqnym bbryt (5.2); lbny

zdwg hkwhnym šwmry hbryt wdwršy rzwnw lrwb 'nšy brytm hmtndbym yhd l'mtw (5.9). Two conclusions to emerge immediately from this are (a) that the "sons of Zadok" are not the whole community, and (b) that they do not have in this respect exclusive authority, but only shared with all the other full members of the community!

Wernberg-Møller<sup>18</sup> has argued not only that the phrase "sons of Zadok the priests" conveys an obvious allusion to Ezekiel, but also that the whole passage is an "unmistakable echo" of CD 3.18 - 4.7, the midrash on Ezek. 44.15. He points to the presence in both passages of h<sub>z</sub>q (1QS 5.3 m<sub>h</sub>zkym/CD 3.20 m<sub>h</sub>zykym), gwdš (1QS 5.6/CD 4.6); byt h'mt lysr'l (1QS 5.6/cf. CD 3.19 byt n'mn); nlwym (1QS 5.6/CD 4.6 whnlwym); and kpr (1QS 5.6/CD 3.18; 4.6). Wernberg-Møller concludes that the 1QS passages represent "a late - and misunderstood - version" of CD 3.18 - 4.7. In light of the thesis that CD mostly represents a parent community and not the Qumran community, we can refine this judgment. It can now be suggested that the Qumran community saw in CD an allusion to itself as the "sons of Zadok, the chosen ones of Israel, those called by name who arise at the end of days". This of course distorts the original meaning of the midrash, for whereas the terms "priests", "levites" and "sons of Zadok" originally had each applied to the entire community at different times in its history, as the logic of the midrash dictates, as now interpreted by the latter-day Qumran group "sons of Zadok", though still representing the community in its last phase, signified a their own particular group, that part of the community who, arising at the end of days, followed the "Teacher of z<sub>d</sub>q". Thus "sons of Zadok" could function as still applying to the whole community, but to the "whole community" as defined by a sectarian part of it, and in this way, "sons of Zadok" could become a title for the Qumran group, though, as the infrequency of that title implies, not a prominent or regular title.

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However plausible this proposal may seem, it is nevertheless weakened by the the evidence of actual usage of the term in 1QS. The "sons of Zadok" in 1QS 5 are not the whole community, but only part of it. Yet, if their authority in these matters is only equal to the rest of the community, why mention them at all, and how can we tell whether in any matter whatsoever they had any authority? In other words, the text hints at some special status for this group by singling them out, but does not say in what that status consists.<sup>19</sup>

Wernberg-Møller, recognizing this problem, suggested that 1QS 5.1-10 "originally had a wording which - with respect to the contents - was consistent" with CD 3.18 - 4.7. With that he leaves the matter to rest, and not in a very comfortable posture. For to heighten the mystery of how the "sons of Zadok" came to be mentioned here, we have the problem of 1QS 9.7f. Here "only the sons of Aaron shall rule in judgment and in matters of property, and by their authority shall go forth the lot for every rule which concerns the men of the community and the property of the men of holiness who walk in perfection". In this passage we have two kinds of contradiction with 1QS 5: it is only the priests who have authority over the very same matters (law, property), and not the priests together with (presumably) everyone else; while the priests now have the title "sons of Aaron" and not "sons of Zadok"! It would be irresponsible to ignore or speculatively to harmonize these two passages. Their incompatibility needs to be accounted for critically and logically. Unless titles and functions are interchangeable at Qumran at any given time (which absolves us from any duty to make sense of the community as an organized entity) we are prompted to resort to the most probable resolution, which is that the organization and nomenclature of the community evolved through time. (Such an evolution is also suggested by other variations, for example m<sup>e</sup>baqquer/maskil or the problematic "concil of the community"

which fits uneasily into any reconstruction of the community's organization.)

Only one critically-derived account exists of the formation of IQS and its possible relationship to the history of the Qumran community. This is the analysis of, again, Murphy-O'Connor, which has been refined and confirmed, though not as thoroughly as might have been, by J. Pouilly.<sup>20</sup> Whatever shortcomings there may be with their reconstruction of the make-up of IQS, there remains no alternative account deserving of attention. Consequently, it is in the light of this analysis that we shall have to consider the problem of "sons of Zadok" in that document. It will not be necessary to take their analysis for granted, but since the question of the "sons of Zadok" was not explicitly addressed by either Murphy-O'Connor or Pouilly, the ability (or otherwise) of their hypothesis to account satisfactorily for it will be something of an independent test of its validity.

Murphy-O'Connor and Pouilly proposed four stages in the formation of IQS, the process being that of growth around a core document which itself comprises the first stage. (There are also, besides the material relating to each stage, a small number of additions and glosses introduced into earlier material in the process of creating subsequent stages.) The earliest stage comprises 8.1-10a, 12b-16a + 9.3 - 10.8a, Pouilly omitting 8.10b-12a as a gloss from stage 2. Their interpretation of this material builds on a suggestion first offered by E.F. Sutcliffe and accepted by several others<sup>21</sup> and holds that we have here the pre-Qumranic "blueprint" for the community, composed by the Teacher and called by Murphy-O'Connor the "Manifesto". The community will consist of fifteen men, three priests and twelve laymen. Although neither Murphy-O'Connor nor Pouilly develop this point, undoubtedly the numbers represent the twelve tribes (excluding Levi) and the three Levitical families of Gershon, Kohath and Merari, hence the community

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represents all of Israel. More precisely, since (8.13) they are to "go into the desert" the formation is modelled on the wilderness organization of Numbers 1-10, where we find the 12 + 3 constitution of the nation, and where, in 3.5ff., the Levites are assigned to Aaron, just as Israel is assigned to Moses. Interestingly there is no insistence that the priests be Zadokites. The makeup of this community is reflected in the terms "Israel" and "Aaron" (8.5f.; 9.11). Authority is vested in the "sons of Aaron" alone (9.7) - i.e., the three priests. If they are supposed to be Zadokites, why not say so?

The second stage in the growth of 1QS is represented by two originally separate passages, 8.16b-19 and 8.20-9.2 plus the interpolation at 8.10b-12a. The material comprises non-homogeneous penal legislation. For our purposes, the significant element here is the phrase in 8.19: "on the authority of the 'many'". Possibly this one indication is insufficient to establish that authority has now passed from the "sons of Aaron" to the "many"; but at all events, there is no mention here of any priests, be they sons of Aaron or of Zadok.

The third stage is 5.1-13a + 6.8a-7.25. It is here that we find our two references to "sons of Zadok"; yet, as already noticed, their authority is shared with the "majority of the men of the community". At the same time we also find "Aaron" and "Israel" as a pair of terms denoting together the entirety of the community (5.6). There is also an interesting statement in 5.20bff. Here the text reads: "they shall examine in community his spirit as between one and the other, according to his intelligence and his deeds in the law interpreted according to the sons of Aaron who devote themselves in community to restore his covenant and to heed all his statutes which he has commanded men to practise, according to the majority of Israel who devote themselves to return in community to his covenant". Here we have an intriguing parallel to 5.2,9. In the one case, "sons of



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Zadok" is matched by "majority of the men of the community", in the other "sons of Aaron" by "majority of Israel". Moreover, both passages contain the words ndb and bryt. An important difference is that 5.20bff. uses the words "return" and "restore" in connection with the covenant, while 5.2ff. uses "keep" and "hold fast". Something important is to be learned from this variation; there can be no question of waving away these two passages as alternative formulations of a single coherent notion.

In 6.8b we encounter another set of divisions: in the "session", the priests sit first, the elders second, then the people: a three-fold division, with "priests" appearing for the first time, rather than "sons of Aaron" or "sons of Zadok the priests". This characterization of the community can perhaps be amplified by 6.3ff.: "in every place where there shall be ten men...there shall not be lacking among them a priest...when they prepare the table.. ..the priest shall be first to stretch forth his hand". At 6.19 we find the phrase "on the authority of the priests and the multitude of the men of their covenant" but we also have specially designated officials to take care of certain matters (6.13b, 20). The only other mention of priests in this material is at 7.2 which condemns speaking angrily at "one of the priests who are registered in the book".

The emergence of "priests" within a twofold or threefold classification of the community within stage III is interesting because it fits rather logically with the situation in stage IV. This stage consists of additions and interpolations. The latter are of no interest to our question. The additions consist of 1 - 4 and 10.9 - 11.22. The latter, a hymn, contains no reference to priests, but cols. 1 - 4 has two. At 1.16ff. is a covenant renewal/entry liturgy in which priests bless, levites curse, then both priests and levites curse. Now, the ritual is of course based on Deut. 27 - 30; hence we might be cautious in using it as evidence of hierarchical structure in the Qumran com-

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munity. Nevertheless, in 2.19 is a ceremony of assembly for the members, with no direct biblical precedent, in which we find priests, levites, then people. Since the "people" are implied also in the covenant ceremony, we can conclude that in 1QS 1 - 4 the hierarchy is consistently presented. If we now compare this with the "session" of the community in 6.8bff., we find again a threefold hierarchy but with levites replacing elders. If we wished to pursue this curious evolution further, we could cite 1QM 2, whose description of the Temple cult during the final war includes participation by a chief priest and his second, twelve priests, and twenty-six heads of priestly courses; then twelve levitical chiefs and twenty-six heads of courses; (twelve) chiefs of tribes and (lay) heads of courses. All have some part in the cult. Might this be a realization of the ideal of the priesthood of all Israelites in the final days? At all events, it widens further the variation in hierarchy which the writings of the Qumran community present to us.

Our purpose, however, has not been to undertake a study of the hierarchy, but to consider specifically the extent of "Zadokite" influence and terminology in the Scrolls. Now, the "sons of Zadok" recur in 1QSa. According to Murphy-O'Connor, Stage III at Qumran may be correlated with Period Ib, in which the initially small community was very much enlarged. Murphy-O'Connor suggests that the reign of Hyrcanus is the most probable period in which this enlargement took place, assigning the influx of new members, as did Milik, to the ruler's persecution of the Pharisees. He also remarks that "the great majority of significant contacts between 1QSa and 1QS occur in stage III".<sup>22</sup> Is this observation borne out by the references to priesthood in 1QSa? It seems so, at least partly: there are three occurrences of the term "sons of Zadok" at 1.2, 24 and 2.3. At 1.2 we find an exhortation of obedience to "the sons of Zadok the priests and the members of their covenant"; in

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5.24 "by order of the sons of Zadok the priests [and all the h]eads of families of the Congregation", and at 2.3 "all those called by name, assembled in community, united for the Council of the Community in Israel in the presence of the sons of Zadok the priests". The presence of the phrase "sons of Zadok the priests", as we have seen, is exclusive to Stage III of 1QS as reconstructed by Murphy-O'Connor and Pouilly. However, there is significant variation to be found. The association of the "sons of Zadok the priests" with the "members of their covenant" in 1.2 parallels the 1QS material, where the "sons of Zadok" are only mentioned together with the "majority of the men...covenant". But in 2.24 we find "under the orders of the sons of Zadok the priests [and of all the h]eads of families of the Congregation". This phrase can perhaps be explained as an exact counterpart of the "majority of the community" in the age of the restored congregation of Israel. But it is preceded by references to the "sons of Levi under the orders of the sons of Aaron" (1.22bf.). In the same passage are heads of families, heads of the congregation, chiefs, judges - each under the order of someone else, it seems. One cannot escape the impression that here, and again in 2.1ff. where the "sons of Zadok the priests" recur, is a glorious mingling of all possible hierarchies culled from everywhere in 1QS - or anywhere else - so as to ensure that in the final restoration of the community of Israel nobody is missing. I would not therefore agree with Murphy-O'Connor that 1QSa is a utopian extension of the organization of Stage III; it looks to me more like a hotchpotch having no exclusive relationship to any particular stage in the history of the community. My only positive suggestion is that it represents a kind of "curtain call" in which all the players, whether dead or alive by the end of the play, line up to take their eschatological bow. Further research into this question too would be extremely useful. At all events, I am disinclined to regard 1QSa as of any help in

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establishing when and to what extent the "sons of Zadok" enjoyed any particular status within the historical Qumran community.

A further reference to "the sons of Zadok the priests" is found in 1QSB 3.22: "Words of benediction for the m[askil, to bless] the sons of Zadok the priests, those whom God has chosen to establish his covenant for ever and to prove all his ordinances in the midst of the saints, and that he may [re]new for thee the [eternal] covenant of priesthood". This blessing follows those for all the members of the community (1.1-5), for the high priest (2.24-28) and precedes that for the "Prince of the Congregation". The existence of the chief priest and prince of the congregation suggest a comparison with 1QSA, where the "sons of Zadok the priests" are also found. It would seem to me prima facie probable that 1QSA and 1QSB are in fact from the same document. The "Prince of the Congregation" - and surely the the high priest too - are eschatological figures. In any case, the bringing together on the same manuscript of 1QSA and 1QSB means they were both read as descriptions of activity in the future, and probably of the same occasion. We must, therefore, pass the same verdict on 1QSB as on 1QSA: the hierarchy does not necessarily reflect any actual hierarchy in the history of the Qumran sect, but brings together for the eschatological scenario a number of bodies and persons who occur in 1QS and elsewhere. Their value for a historical reconstruction is meagre - indeed, these two texts are jokers in the pack in that the unwary or uncritical scholar might well integrate them with 1QS and CD to offer an entirely unhistorical picture of an actual Qumran hierarchy.

Finally, we have a reference in 4QFlor which, alas, leaves beside it a tantalizing lacuna. However, there is something of interest here, even if conclusions must be conjectural. 4QFlor 1.17 reads:<sup>23</sup> hnh bny zdwq w'[n]šy  
Czt[m]h rw.[...]y 'hryhnh l<sup>C</sup>zt hyhd, which Allegro

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translates "they are the sons of Zadok and the m[e]n of the[ir] community [...] after them to the counsel of the community". Brooke renders "They are the sons of Zadok and the m[e]n of their cou[nc]il who keep fa[r from evil] and after them [...] a community (or: together)". It is interesting that this is the only reference to the "sons of Zadok" as a body within the community that does not use the Ezekielian phrase "sons of Zadok the priests". If this is significant - and we cannot, of course, insist on that - the existence of non-Zadokite priests in the community may be inferred - presumably the "sons of Aaron" and "sons of Aaron the priests", wh are mentioned in 1QS and 1QSa but not here. For this text comprises an exegesis of Ezek. 37.23 - or, as Allegro notes, possibly a paraphrase of Ezek. 44.10, and it is of course in Ezekiel that the "sons of Zadok the priests" appears, and always in this form. The base text here, however, is Ps. 1: "Happy is the man that walks not in the counsel of the wicked". The interpretation of this is unfortunately marred by lacunae, but the exegesis is reinforced by citing Isaiah 8.11, "and it was as with a strong [hand that he turned me aside from walking in the way of this] people. Then comes the Ezekiel citation "[They shall] no[t defile themselves any more with] their [i]do[l]s". It is in the exegesis of this passage that the phrase "sons of Zadok" occurs. But there is a difference of interpretation among scholars as to whether the "sons of Zadok" are being spoken of approvingly or otherwise. Vermes<sup>24</sup> translates "the Sons of Zadok who seek their own counsel and follow [their own inclinations] apart from the Council of the Community". Dupont-Sommer's translation also takes the sons of Zadok to be criticized, and he suggests that here the phrase refers either to the Sadducees or those within the community who are unfaithful.<sup>25</sup> A negative presentation of the sons of Zadok is suggested by the phrase "and the men of their counsel (or: council)", which corresponds to the "counsel" of Ps. 1, the base text. Brooke's suggestion, however,<sup>26</sup> is

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that the sons of Zadok should be taken positively, and that it is they who "keep far" (reading r[hq]) from evil. Despite the recurrence of Csh here, Brooke's interpretation must be preferred; the entire passage is not concerned with the identity of the "counsel of the wicked", but with the "happy", those who dissociate themselves. While we cannot be certain, therefore, it is unwise to conclude that here the term "sons of Zadok" has acquired a negative meaning. If, however, such a meaning were ultimately to be confirmed, we might see here a clue to the disappearance of the term "sons of Zadok" from the Qumran literature after a relatively early and apparently short-lived usage in IQS Stage III. At this juncture, however, we must refrain from such temptations and remain within the limits set by exegesis of the text we have (or, as in this case, partly have).

Before reviewing the results of this survey, it is worth considering whether there might be any connection between the phrases "sons of Zadok" (bny zadoq) and "sons of righteousness" (bny zedeq). A number of scholars have proposed that the terms are in some way related. At the outset, however, we should observe that only in CD is "sons of Zadok" applied - and there only midrashically - to the community as a whole, while "sons of righteousness", which is found only in texts composed within the Qumran community (i.e. excluding the pre-Qumran contents of CD), refers always to the entire community and never to a part of it. Nevertheless, could it be the case that some connection yet exists? We referred earlier to the suggestion of Wernberg-Moller (see n. 18) that in IQS the Ezekiel midrash of CD 3.18ff. had been reinterpreted so as to present a community which would arise at the "end of days". The suggestion is attractive, as I commented earlier; but it need not imply that "sons of Zadok" was appropriated as a title by the Qumran community, only that they could see in the Ezekiel text as understood in CD a prediction of their rise, as an extension of the CD community, towards the end of the "age

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of wrath". I have pointed out elsewhere<sup>27</sup> the frequency of the root zdg in the Qumranic stratum of CD, which is in contrast with the rest of CD but in line with the literature of the Qumran community. But this does not need to be explained by means of "Zadok"; for the term can quite plausibly be derived from the title "teacher of righteousness"; and this title itself does not point to any "Zadokite" element in the office of the Teacher but to his appropriation of the title of the expected future lawgiver of the CD community, the "one who will teach righteousness at the end of days" (CD 6.11). A parallel of sorts would be the term "Nazarenes" adopted by Christians; it derives from their founder and does not reveal their own place of birth

In a brief but judicious review of the problem of the "sons of Zadok" in the Qumran literature G. Klinzing concluded as follows:<sup>28</sup> "'Sons of Aaron' is in the Qumran texts an expression with which the priests in the community of legitimate descent were designated. The formula 'the sons of Zadok the priests' was used in the same sense; no differentiation between the two designations is possible, whether in respect of origin or of authority or of priestly function. There is no indication in the texts of polemical tendencies against a non-Zadokite or non-Aaronite high priesthood."

Klinzing's treatment of the problem is rigorous and the conclusions appropriately drawn - except that, like most of the monographs in that commendable Studien zur Umwelt des neuen Testaments series, literary and theological analysis far outstrips historical analysis, so that the problem remains two-dimensional. By introducing even the most elementary historical considerations, the problem assumes a potentially solvable aspect. Hence, we can attempt a rather bolder conclusion than this, even if it will remain somewhat conjectural.

The evidence of the Qumran literature relating to our problem can be understood consistently, even if only

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with due qualification. "The sons of Zadok the priests" occurs as a title for a specific group in three different kinds of literature, in each of which the historical value of the allusion must be independently, and differently, evaluated. Potentially of most value are the two references in 1QS, both of which occur within material assigned by the literary analysis of Murphy-O'Connor to a particular stratum, representing a certain stage in the evolution of the Qumran community (Stage III). The term also occurs four times in texts which portray an eschatological scenario, from which it is far from straightforward to posit an actual historical reality, though the existence of this term to denote a particular group at some time in the history of the community is a reasonable inference. The third kind of reference is that in 4QFlor, which is difficult to evaluate at all: it may be a negative characterization, although probably is not; the context is uncertain because of the state of the text. Moreover, because it is a relatively late midrashic composition, where soubriquets abound, it may be of relatively little historical value. Certainly, we ought not to try too hard to reconstruct any historical event (or group) from its cryptic reference. At best, the appearance of the phrase testifies to its author's acquaintance with the term as a designation for a group who had a "counsel" (or: "council"), and I would suspect that it may be a secondary allusion in that it is picking up from other Qumran texts where the phrase occurs, in much the same way that 1QpHab uses "seekers of smooth things" drawing on the Hodayoth (see chapter 6).

While it may seem cavalier to dismiss so many references to the "sons of Zadok" and to base a good deal on a mere two occurrences in 1QS, we are methodologically obliged to do so because only these references (and to some extent the reference in CD) afford any historically orientated conclusions. We wish, after all, to know the historical extent and nature of the role of the "sons of Zadok" at



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Qumran, and must consider the term as referring to an historical group and not as a cipher or a group of players in an eschatological drama. Finally - and this is of extreme importance - we must offer a satisfactory account of the variation of terms in a context where this would not be expected - namely, the precise title to be accorded to the priesthood - and the absence of the term "sons of Zadok" from a very large segment of Qumran literature where we would expect to find it - including 11QT, CD (where they do not appear as a priestly group), and 1QM, where the priests play a major role in the cult and in the warfare.

The evidence, very strictly construed as above, could be taken to mean that, for a short period of time only, the term "sons of Zadok" was used of the priests at Qumran. There is no evidence of its use at the very earliest period of the Qumran community, while subsequently it was replaced by other terms, e.g. "sons of Aaron" and "priests". It lived on only as an ideal term, i.e. as a term denoting priests in the ideal age, although it is not clear that this age is depicted as belonging to the community rather than to the restored "congregation" of "Israel" (1QSa). Now, even when the term is employed to refer to the priests in the contemporary community (1QS), the "sons of Zadok" are accorded no special authority, but share it with the rest of the community. As Murphy-O'Connor noted, this sharing of authority appears to be something of an innovation; in an earlier phase of the document, the priests had been accorded sole authority; now that they are "sons of Zadok" they lose it! It might be suspected that not long after the Qumran community was formed, the term "sons of Zadok" was adopted for the priests in the community. It may be - though here we are creating a hypothetical stage of transition between two of the identified "stages" - that at a certain period these "Zadokite" priests had enjoyed some exclusive authority, but by the time the relevant documents were written this had been, in Murphy-O'Connor's words, "democratized". The term

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"sons of Zadok" did not, at any rate, stick; the preservation of the term in 1QSa and 1QSB suggests that there was no strong hostility towards it; but the Qumran priesthood did not preserve either a Zadokite character or a Zadokite name.

This seems to me the likeliest reconstruction possible from the evidence. In that sense, it is justified. The only effective criticism of it might be that the evidence is too flimsy. If so, it is too flimsy for any other hypothesis, and the most important part of my argument has been sustained - namely, the negative part. Scholars of Qumran simply must stop talking Zadokite.

This negative conclusion does not deny the temptation to further speculation, so let us be indulgent for a moment, though only in a spirit of adventure, or perhaps to map out a possible area for further investigation. It is possible that soon after the formation of the community (but not at the time of its foundation), a group of Zadokite priests exerted an influence on the community, and assumed priestly leadership. This preeminence was short-lived. If this further bit of speculation were plausible, it could be linked with the existence of a non-Zadokite priesthood in Jerusalem from the time of Jonathan - or perhaps twenty years earlier, after the death of Onias II. But it must be borne in mind that on the argument being developed here the "Zadokite" infiltration would be placed after the foundation of the Qumran community, which is already presupposed in 1QS Stage II. The suggestion that the "Teacher of Righteousness" was a Zadokite and imported Zadokite ideology is somewhat contradicted by the evidence of 1QS, which shows that "sons of Zadok" is used only after the death of the founder.

One could suggest other reasons for a "Zadokite" infiltration into Qumran (if this is actually what happened), including a return from Leontopolis in Egypt, where Onias III had fled, and built a temple. This is a

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connection as yet inadequately explored.<sup>29</sup> The connections between this Temple and its site on the one hand, and Qumran on the other, are tantalising, as are the Egyptian Therapeutai, who seem to be so similar to the Essenes. But whatever the reason, the attempted Zadokite takeover of Qumran - if such there was - failed, as far as our evidence tells us. Accordingly, we might be better advised to speak of the non-Zadokite nature of the community at Qumran. At all events, we had better forget the "Zadokite" label until we can find evidence at Qumran which tells a different story.

## CHAPTER FIVE: MARRIAGE AND THE ESSENES

Few passages in the Damascus Document have provoked more discussion than the apparent prohibition in 4.20ff. against a man taking two wives during his lifetime. The statement, couched in the form of a criticism of a practice by others, is precise and, one would think, unambiguously expressed: the practice in question is of a man being married, during his lifetime, to more than one woman. However, the implication that those formulating the criticism did not permit themselves more than one wife has perplexed many, if not most, commentators, who attempt to extract from the text a meaning which it does not literally convey.

The argument of the passage in which the prohibition appears is reasonably straightforward. A general accusation is being made that Israel has been ensnared by the "nets" of Belial, who presents them in the guise of righteousness.<sup>1</sup> These "nets" are fornication, wealth and defiling of the sanctuary. No-one, it is claimed, escapes them all, and the "builders of the wall" in particular are caught in two of them. The first of these is "fornication", of which the taking of two wives "in their lifetime" is the immediate example. Arguments from the story of creation and of the Flood are used to support the criticism. In what is a digression (possibly even an interpolation, but the issue is not of any importance) David is exonerated from the criticism by virtue of his ignorance of the law. Thus a possible counter-argument from precedent is also forestalled. The second "net" in which the "builders of the wall" are trapped is the third to have been mentioned, "defiling the sanctuary", although the examples actually given do not seem to match the charge. The second example in particular, marrying a niece, is more appropriate to the charge of

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fornication. The third of Belial's "nets", riches, is not instanced at all.<sup>2</sup>

The flow of the argument is not entirely smooth, even though its course is unmistakable. Those scholars who suspect some dislocation of the text or some uneasy editing of source materials are probably correct. But these considerations need not stand in the way of an exegesis of the argument. Israel has been ensnared by Belial; the behaviour of the "builders of the wall" provides examples of two of the "nets". The "nets" are mistaken by Israel for "righteousness" - that is, they are not seen as departures from the law, but as in accordance with the law. It is this false understanding of the law which is the work of Belial. Simple disregard of the law is not the concern. The claim is not that Israel is only disobedient, but that Israel is also blind and in error. The practices it takes as "righteous" are not.

Now, the nets are specified, although the charge is elaborated on only two of the three counts (fornication and defiling the Temple); furthermore, these two counts are laid at the door of the "builders of the wall". These builders are identified as followers of a "Spouter" (mtyy), whose appearance elsewhere in CD and in the pescharim has led to his identification as a sectarian opponent of the "Teacher of Righteousness". But one of the major conclusions of the analysis of CD by Stegemann<sup>3</sup> was to show that this identification was secondary. The majority of scholars have, nonetheless, concluded that the nub of this passage is an attack by sectarians on their religious opponents whose practices differed in respect of marriage. The difficulty with understanding the accusation in this way is that it makes no sense of the overall argument, unless the behaviour of the "builders of the wall" constitutes some kind of norm. You do not substantiate the accusation that Israel is ensnared by Belial by pointing to the abuses of a deviant minority. In fact, the most common view among those who see in the

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"builders of the wall" a particular group is that they are the priestly rulers. Even if this were the case, the argument requires that they represent some kind of norm, and that their behaviour is accepted by "Israel" as "righteousness". Nonetheless, it seems to me that, if the "builders" are priests, the instance given of defiling the Temple" is most curious, and the omission of an instance of "wealth" is equally so, given that elsewhere in CD when priests seem to be attacked, it is for the acquisition of wealth unlawfully.

The instance of marriage between uncle and niece (5.7b-11a) illustrates the issue at hand. Such a connubium is not forbidden by the written Mosaic law in the Bible, and was, as far as we know, widely regarded as acceptable in theory whether or not commonly practised. CD claims that the law is not being followed, for marriage between nephew and aunt is forbidden, and "the law of incest is written in terms of males, but it is the same for women".<sup>4</sup>

Let us now turn to the crucial phrase: lqht šty nšym bħyyhm. The masculine suffix shows that the text refers to males having two wives in their lifetime. Yet the discussion of the phrase in the history of research reveals a reluctance to accept this meaning. The chief reason for such reluctance may well be that polemic against any second marriage seems hard to believe or to explain, and apparently unattested in ancient (or modern) Judaism. Hence the debate has generally turned upon whether divorce or polygamy were meant - i.e., whether "in their lifetime" really means "one after the other" or "at the same time" - but not really both. From the editio princeps of Schechter onwards, the literal meaning of the text has not actually been taken seriously. Schechter himself began well enough: he translated "during their lifetimes", drew attention to the Hebrew bħyyhm and added the comment "the argument is evidently not only directed against polygamy but also against divorce".<sup>5</sup> "Evidently"; but in his Introduction (p. 17), he proffers a contrary opinion: "this prohibition.....extends also to

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divorce, or rather to marrying a second wife, as long as the first wife is alive" (my emphasis). Apparently, Schechter is here reading the masculine suffix as if it were feminine - nothing else explains his comment. Charles took the same line,<sup>6</sup> quoting with approval Schechter's verdict that divorce (in addition to polygamy) was meant: "this is probably right, though the suffix, i.e. 'their', is masc..... and if taken strictly would refer to the men. But not infrequently in the O.T. the masc. suffix is used in reference to feminine nouns". While presumably not wishing to introduce further confusion, he adds "but the reference to David in v.7 would imply that we have here to do with polygamy only"!

Ever since Schechter and Charles, the most widely favoured view has been that polygamy and remarriage after divorce are implicitly prohibited in our text.<sup>7</sup> Yet this is a view which requires that a masculine suffix be read as a feminine. A minority of scholars believe that polygamy only, and not divorce, is criticized. A few more scholars have taken the text literally,<sup>8</sup> but only one has argued for this interpretation. In 1970 Murphy-O'Connor commented as follows: "the suffix should be taken at its face value, unless there are strong reasons to the contrary. This is not the case here; the masculine suffix yields perfect sense. However, to interpret it as a prohibition of polygamy is to introduce a limitation that the text does not contain. The text does not forbid having two wives simultaneously. It goes much further, and forbids two marriages in a single lifetime, be it after the death of a spouse or after divorce".<sup>9</sup>

The matter might have rested satisfactorily at this point, without need for further consideration, were it not for two attacks on Murphy-O'Connor's contention, attacks which, while in themselves rather feeble, suggest that a fuller explanation of the literal reading is needed. It is apparent that, exegetical rigour notwithstanding, the

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obvious meaning is not acceptable to some. In one of the attacks just referred to, Vermes confesses that "from a purely linguistic viewpoint, this thesis is irreproachable. No exegetical gymnastics are introduced and the text is read, accepted, and understood as it stands".<sup>10</sup> He nevertheless agrees with Yadin, the author of the other article referred to, that the text means something else.

Yadin's response to Murphy-O'Connor was to cite a passage from the Temple Scroll, then still unpublished.<sup>11</sup> 11QT 57.7-9 legislates for the king as follows: "he shall not take in addition to her [the first wife] another wife, for she alone shall be with him all the days of her life. But if she dies, he shall marry another". Yadin concluded from this that the Essenes permitted divorce, and that therefore the passage in CD must be understood to forbid polygamy. Murphy-O'Connor's reply<sup>12</sup> was that Yadin's argument precluded any variety or evolution within Essene literature, which is a fair response, but hardly a strong one. Yadin can be answered more adequately. On the assumption that 11QT and CD are both Essene texts (though not both Qumran texts, as Yadin believed) - which some scholars would doubt - one may expect a coherence of opinion on such matters as polygamy or divorce. But 11QT says nothing about divorce. It permits - or requires - a king to remarry if his first wife dies. Certainly, it forbids polygamy to the king, but the phrase "she alone shall be with him all the days of her life" might also forbid divorce. Even where 11QT deals with marriage to a prisoner of war (63.10ff.) divorce is not mentioned. The only issue is remarriage after death of the first wife, and only in this respect are CD and 11QT apparently in disagreement. But the disagreement is dubious, since one text legislates for the king, the other for the rest of the male species. Ought we to assume that in this case the law of the king was the same as that for anyone else? There can be no proof either way, but both 11QT and the Mishnah afford special legal



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status to the king (for instance, the Mishnah allows him eighteen wives [m. Sanh. 2.4]). It is not unlikely that the king is expected always to have a queen, and may therefore be obliged to remarry on the death of his previous wife. This would be a plausible interpretation if 11QT regarded the king's marriage as existing for special purposes beside procreation alone. Yadin's objection, then, while affording relevant evidence, is hardly substantial enough to settle the issue and can be explained in more than one way.

Vermes agrees that Yadin's appeal to the Temple Scroll is unsuccessful, and so offers, in what is to date the most substantial treatment of this passage, several new arguments in favour of the conclusion that polygamy only, but not divorce, is forbidden. These arguments can be conveniently arranged into six, as follows:

1. Murphy-O'Connor's interpretation rests on a tautology.
2. bhyyhm is a mistake, or does not mean what it says.
3. Jewish practice of the period in question allowed divorce but not polygamy.
4. CD itself possibly legislates for divorce.
5. The proof-texts used in the passage are valid in the case of polygamy only.
6. The doctrine of marriage imputed to the Essenes by this passage is unlikely in a Jewish community.

These arguments cover practically all the possible objections to the literal understanding of the text. In the remainder of the chapter I shall therefore attempt to show that each of them can be reversed so as to provide additional support for that literal reading, and, in the

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process, throw additional light on features of Essene thought and practice.

1. Is the literal reading based on a tautology? Vermes writes:(55) "What is the difference between 'by taking two wives' and 'by taking two wives in their lifetime,' unless of course the author meant to exclude post-mortem marriages?". The difference is that the former might leave open the possibility of understanding the criticism to apply either only to polygamy or only to divorce. The addition of the words "in their lifetime" has the effect of contradicting both of these limitations on the text. In other words, the phrase is there precisely in order to prevent the kind of interpretation Vermes proposes, i.e. that either two wives simultaneously or two wives in succession is meant.

2. Vermes also supposes that the "tautologous" phrase bhyyhm does not mean what it says. But he offers no serious account of the matter, and is content to throw out suggestions, any one of which he is apparently satisfied with (66): "bhyyhm is either a mistake; or else it is a linguistic peculiarity, attested in biblical and post-biblical Hebrew, whereby a masculine third person plural suffix stands for the corresponding feminine one; or it is a tautology....namely no second marriage is lawful as long as both women and their one husband are alive". But none of these is satisfactory if examined closely. In the first place, there are different kinds of "mistake", some of which can be attributed to scribal misunderstanding, leading to a false "correction" or to a "slip of the pen". But it is extremely precarious to fall back on what here would amount to a most curious and unfortunate coincidence, whereby a "slip of the pen" creates a legal dispute of some complexity. A deliberate alteration, on the other hand, leaves just as much a problem for the exegete, except that it is now the view of the scribe and not the author which requires explanation!

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In the second place, it is simply not true that the masculine suffix can stand for the feminine, but only for masculine and feminine. Moreover, it is improbable that in a case where the gender is of crucial importance the author should allow ambiguity. It is unlikely, furthermore, that the common gender is intended, since the antecedent subject is male (only males take wives). And, finally, the view that a male should not remarry while either he or his spouse is still alive contains a genuine tautology!

3. Vermes prefers to see a ban on polygamy in our passage because "intrinsic likelihood militates in its favour", since "Inter-Testamental and Mishnaic Jewish society was largely monogamous", while "divorce and remarriage were.... accepted among Jews in general" (51f.).<sup>13</sup> This particular argument is unfortunate. For it is generally conceded that CD is, if not "sectarian" - for we rightly adopt caution in using that word in the context of Second Temple Judaism - then, on its own evidence (though not, of course, its own estimate) "heterodox", i.e. opposed to widely-accepted doctrines and practices (e.g. regarding the use of the Temple and of the calendar). In this very passage it is that difference of practice between the community and "Israel" which is being addressed! Hence CD's view of marriage is more likely to differ from general practice than to conform to it. Indeed, in this particular instance it has to differ, or else the entire argument being pursued is abortive. So if Vermes's premise about "Inter-Testamental and Mishnaic Jewish society" is correct, the "intrinsic probability" is that CD is arguing for something different. Whatever the passage does express, it is not in favour of divorce and against polygamy!

4. The suggestion that CD itself possibly legislates for divorce is, it must be allowed, advanced with considerable caution: ".....if Rabin's interpretation of a mutilated

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section of the Damascus Rule (13:17) is adopted, divorce appears to have been legislated upon in this very document" (52). An "interpretation" of a "mutilated section is indeed a possibility at best. The crucial word is mgrs, whose ordinary meaning, according to Rabin, is "common land". Rabin thinks that this meaning gives no sense, and - as Rabin is of course quite eager to do,<sup>14</sup> he looks at the Mishnaic meaning, which is "divorce". The "interpretation" is of a disputed meaning. Now, despite the poor state of the text, the context is not entirely beyond reconstruction. Preceding the word mgrš is a piece of legislation concerning trade with "children of the Pit (šht)" - a term which CD uses to refer to those outside the community. Now, in this context, a reference to "common land" would not be inappropriate. Divorce, on the other hand, seems less likely as a topic. There is nothing in the immediate or even less immediate context of CD 13.17 which has to do with family or marriage.

5. The evidence of the proof-texts is perhaps the most substantial of all. Vermes rightly discusses them at some length. Again, however, this line of argument turns out to point in the opposite direction. "If all three biblical proof-texts adduced by the author of the document to back his thesis are carefully examined, the anti-polygamist basis of the passage becomes indisputable" (53). The first proof-text is from Genesis 1, "male and female he created them"; the second from the Flood story, "two and two they entered the ark", while the third, which argues not from a proof-text strictly but from a historical precedent narrated in the Bible, cites David's many wives. The first of these three Vermes admits to being the "least convincing." In fact it is not convincing at all, for it cannot be made to forbid polygamy alone, which is what his argument requires. (In the NT, of course, Jesus is made to use this text to forbid divorce!). But taken with the second proof text, it does

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have a specific meaning, as we shall see. The second text, according to Vermes, "makes sense only if polygamy is the target of the author's criticism. After all, any of the four men in question might have remarried after divorce or widowhood and still have come to the ark 'two by two'". The point here depends upon the example of the humans being the object of the citation. But surely the words "two by two" refer to the animals? So what is the point of the text - or rather, of the two proof-texts, since obviously they do not make their point individually? There are two features shared by the two proof-texts, the number two and the purpose of the mating, the first being explicit, the second implicit. The key is "two", of course, since "two wives in their lifetime" is how the accusation is worded. Thus, "male and female", one of each, namely two; and the inhabitants of the ark, one, or seven, pairs. The divine disposition for man and woman is the pair, one of each. And what is the purpose of the pair? In both cases, procreation. Man is enjoined to "be fruitful and multiply"; the animals in the ark (and the humans) are needed to perpetuate their species after the Flood. For procreation two is enough, indeed, two is the divine decree. Thus, "two wives in a lifetime" is forbidden, for that goes beyond the required minimum. Any marriage not for the purpose of procreation is therefore sinful, and in CD is called znwt. Marriage for lust or financial gain is not divinely ordained marriage, and thus more than one wife is not ordained. And what of the obvious objection: but suppose that the first wife is barren? We should expect that eventuality to be addressed, as indeed it is - though not in this document. But we shall come to that matter shortly. For the moment we have a perfectly clear doctrine, which is amply supported by the proof-texts and forbids any second wife, because marriage is for procreation only. Both divorce and polygamy are forbidden.

But what of the third proof-text? As observed earlier, the allusion to David (which is probably an

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interpolation)<sup>15</sup> is not really a proof-text at all, but the disposal of a possible argument from precedent for being married to more than one wife (just as - one cannot avoid the comparison - Jesus uses the case of David as a precedent for plucking corn on the Sabbath in Mk. 2.23 & parr.). Vermes argues that polygamy only is in question here, and that divorce is, by implication, permitted. I cannot see how Vermes can insist that "multiplying wives" must necessarily only mean polygamy and not divorce also. The whole David passage seems to me quite irrelevant to the solution of the problem. David did not divorce any of his wives.

6. The last of Vermes's arguments brings us conveniently to the problem raised just previously about the practical problem of barren marriages. We arrive at our solution by way of addressing his claim that "the custom [of permitting a man one wife only in his lifetime] as such is odd in a Jewish setting". Oddness, as we have already remarked, is what we might expect in CD. But is such a custom unknown? Is there no account of any group whose marriage practices might have reflected the doctrine of one wife per life? Josephus gives us the following description of a Jewish group:

"They think that those who decline to marry cut off the chief function of life, the propagation of the race, and, what is more, that, were all to adopt the same view, the race would quickly die out. They give their wives, however, a three years' probation, and only marry them after they have, by three periods of purification, given proof of fecundity. They have no intercourse with them during pregnancy, thus showing that their motive in marrying is not self-indulgence but the procreation of children....."<sup>16</sup>

Most scholars will identify this as taken from

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Josephus's famous description of the Essenes. If Josephus is right (which is not unknown) the Essenes gave extraordinary practical testimony to their belief that marriage was strictly for procreation. This doctrine, and the seriousness with which it was applied, are entirely in keeping with the view that no one should marry more than once. "Odd" this may be; and so the Essenes were odd. Since CD is widely held to be an Essene document, it puzzles me that no scholar seems to have thought of consulting on this matter one of the few descriptions we have of the habits of this Jewish movement.

It remains to ponder whether an Essene whose wife died childless would be permitted to remarry. No doubt such a plea might seem reasonable to the deprived victim. Possibly exceptions were allowed. Exceptions, by their very nature, rarely find their way into generalized statements, which confine themselves to the principle and not its ragged edges. But religious societies with strict rules undergirded by rigid doctrines do not necessarily bend to the demands of fairness, logic or mercy, and certainly appear less generous in the matter of sexual requirements. It strikes me as more probable that the will of God was seen behind the barrenness, or the premature demise as it may be, of an apparently, or potentially, fertile wife.

One more thing can perhaps be illuminated. The abstinence from sex during pregnancy of the Essenes (again assuming Josephus to be right) suggests the possibility of a less than joyous attitude to sex. If offspring were to be thought to be no longer needed, then sex might be abandoned altogether. There is evidence that in fervent expectation of the eschaton some early Christians abstained from marriage. There is no point in breeding offspring for judgment or for indulging in earthly enjoyments when heavenly bliss is around the corner. Given the Essene attitude towards such things, an Essene group convinced of the imminence of the eschaton might well do the same. It seems, at any rate, that celibacy was the rule at Qumran, at least for a portion of

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their history. The evidence of the cemeteries near the ruins might be taken to mean that this practice was not sustained by all. A century, after all, is a long time to wait for the eschaton. On the other hand, Pliny the Elder testifies to a practice at Qumran which, on the explanation given here, had probably lost its original significance. Certainly, there is no need to invoke fanciful notions such as holy war injunctions or ancient Nazirite or Rechabite practices to explain the curiosity.





## CHAPTER SIX: HISTORY AND HAGIOGRAPHY

### The Life of the "Teacher" in Hymn and Peshar

The Hymns scroll from Cave 1 (1QH) poses numerous problems for the student of "Qumran theology" (and their significance in this respect has been overestimated), but no less important are the questions of authorship and function which have been more or less permanently a matter of debate. In many respects the Hodayoth remain without a clear ideological or historical-social context; the sentiments they express are different enough in form and content from other major Qumran documents (1QM, 1QS, CD, 11QMelch, etc.) to leave doubt about their place within the beliefs of the community, and equally our ignorance of the devotional activities of the community prevents us from confidently attributing any public or private function to these hymns. At present scholarship appears divided on two central questions: whether these hymns were written (some or all) by the "Teacher of Righteousness", and whether they were used in public liturgy or private devotion.

My suggestion in this chapter is confined to the collection of hymns in 1QH. Other arrangements of these hymns are known, and, inevitably, Qumran scholars have been arguing about the "proper" order, as if unaware that the idea of a "canonical" or "official" order is itself questionable. In the light of this suggestion I then want to compare certain biographical (or autobiographical, or perhaps most accurately "pseudo-autobiographical") data in 1QH with data in the pesharim. Similarities between the two sets of data have been observed before, but hardly subjected to a critical appraisal. The implications of such a comparison involve not only the relationship between documents within the development of Qumran tradition, but also the limits of the

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possibility of our knowing anything of the life of the "Teacher of Righteousness".

### I

1QH is an anthology of hymns written in the first person singular and containing in many cases references to personal experiences. It remains a matter of dispute whether these experiences are those of one individual or of many, and whether the experiences are entirely genuine. These questions, however important, cannot be answered, at least not directly, and it is futile for the argument to continue in these terms. A more realistic starting point is the beliefs of the compilers, readers and users of these hymns about their contents. Who, if they wondered at all, did they think had written them, and for what purpose - if, again, they were concerned about such things? If we cannot be certain of our answers to these questions, we at least have some evidence to work upon. The arrangement of the hymns in 1QH is one such piece of evidence, to which I shall turn presently. But the most valuable piece of evidence is the treatment of the biblical Psalms in Second Temple Judaism and at Qumran. The biblical book of Psalms also contains many pieces written in the first person singular and recounting personal experiences, be they private experiences or public ones. Of the author of these psalms, and the recipient of these experiences there was apparently general agreement: it was David who had written them all, and it was his experiences which were revealed in them. Accordingly, many of the superscriptions now carried by some of the Psalms witness to the attempts of later persons to fit the experiences narrated in the Psalms to events in the life of David which had been narrated in legends now preserved in the books of Samuel. Thus, Psalm 59, which opens "Deliver me from my enemies..... lo, they lie in wait for my life.....each evening they come back, howling like dogs"

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bears the superscription "A Miktam of David, when Saul sent men to watch his house in order to kill him". Psalm 57, "Be merciful to me, O God.....in the shadow of thy wings I will take refuge.....I lie in the midst of lions that greedily devour the sons of men....." is headed "A Miktam of David, when he fled from Saul, in the cave". For the sake of preparing for later conclusions, let me observe that these superscriptions can very plausibly be read as peshet on the text of the Psalm - a poetic allusion is given a concrete historical setting by way of establishing its true "meaning" or "reference".

Certainly, the same sort of hermeneutic is attested at Qumran. Psalm 151B has the superscription "At the beginning of David's power after the prophet of God had anointed him", while the so-called "Davidic Compositions" text (11Q DavComp) refers to David's authorship of 3,600 psalms and 450 songs. In Psalm 151 from Cave 11 we have what is surely a Davidic pseudepigraphon of markedly autobiographical tone. And equally, the assumption - indeed, the importance - of Davidic authorship of the Psalms (both canonical and non-canonical) in the Qumran texts has been remarked (e.g. by Sanders<sup>1</sup>). Comparison between the Qumran hymns and the biblical Psalms does not need to be established here: the heavy dependence both formally and linguistically has been demonstrated with clarity by S. Holm-Nielsen.<sup>2</sup> The similarity with which I am interested here is the autobiographical character of much of the contents of each corpus, and the fact that in each case a particular personage was credited with these "autobiographical" compositions.

For very many modern scholars<sup>3</sup> have either argued, or taken for granted, that the Qumran Hymns were composed by the "Teacher of Righteousness", and therefore that he experienced what their contents describe. This view is not unanimous, of course, and I would prefer to remain entirely sceptical of such attribution. But I would certainly take it for granted that within the Qumran community these hymns -

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and at the very least the autobiographical ones - were understood to be compositions of the "Teacher". Hence, they comprised a sort of hagiography; they enshrined what were seen as the most authentic data about the life and experiences of the founder of the community that could possibly exist. It is indeed not inconceivable that the arrangement of the materials in 1QH reflects their autobiographical value, for those hymns which could be taken as describing an individual's life experiences are grouped together - from 2.1 - 7.5, and possibly as far as even 10.12, though these later hymns are less clearly autobiographical (or rather, less capable of being so read). The material following these hymns describes life in a community, rejoicing in deliverance and salvation, perhaps even anticipated eschatological bliss. On the ordering of the contents of 1QH, however, there is no present consensus, and I do not advance my suggestion too boldly; it hardly matters to my argument. Characteristically, Carmignac has attempted to rearrange the contents of 1QH into two scrolls so as to give a more satisfactory life of his beloved "Teacher of Righteousness".<sup>4</sup> The significance of this attempt is that it is inspired, partly at least, by the data Carmignac has read from the pescharim. I wish to proceed here on a quite contrary course: namely, from the hymns to the commentaries, suggesting that in reality this corresponds to the process at Qumran. That is to say, the commentaries, in part at least, are dependent on the hymns for data about the "Teacher".

Now, it is probably fair to say that in previous Qumran research, all forty years of it, no attempt has been made to investigate the historical basis of the data provided in the pescharim. We have had assumptions about the reliability of the data, suggestions that the traditions go back to the Teacher himself, and remarks on a certain correspondence between data in the Hymns and the pescharim. But none of this is critical investigation; rather, it is convenient assumption. Admittedly, we have allusion in 4QpNah to a known

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historical figure, a Seleucid king Demetrius; the reference here is to an apparently well-known public event of the 1st century BCE. That establishes, certainly, that references to, e.g., the Kittim in 1QpHab may be approached with some confidence in their identity as the contemporary world power. But these considerations do not establish a priori that the pescharim have reliable information about the "Teacher" or the "Wicked Priest" or the "Man of the Lie". That remains just a possibility, and one which needs to be tested before we can conceive of building any Qumran history on such data. So where did the data about the Teacher and his contemporaries come from? We have no documents from Qumran which contain possible sources, with one exception (The Damascus Document contains a few rather obscure references to the "Man of the Lie", all of which are suspect as secondary, and in any case do not appear to have provided the sort of information offered in the pescharim). The exception is the hymns collected in 1QH. Other, now lost, sources may have existed, and may even yet emerge. But in the meantime, if it could be shown as probable that some of the information in, say, 1QpHab was drawn from the Hymns, we could dispose of the assumption that reliable old traditions must underlie the biblical interpretations; that assumption would need to be supported by some argumentation.

## II

Before looking at some examples of possible borrowing from the hymns, a word about the composition of the pescharim. The commentator has chosen, or been set, a continuous biblical text upon which to make remarks, and is therefore not entirely free. Unlike the Melchizedek midrash, where the argument is built from proof-texts chosen by the author, and which most adequately promote the argument, the author of the pescharim is somewhat constrained by the datum of the biblical text. This constraint is tightened by adherence to

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a convention whereby one biblical term is held regularly to represent one figure or group. Thus, when, for instance, the "righteous man" of the biblical text needs to be equated with the Teacher, and the "wicked one" with the "Wicked Priest" or the "Man of the Lie", two important implications follow: one is that there is limited scope for introducing independent items of information, and the other is that, if the author is at all committed to the theory of interpretation with which he operates, he will regard it as legitimate to infer "events" from the biblical text. These considerations do not rule out the wedding of independent and in principle accurate historical data to the biblical text, but they raise a priori an objection to the almost universal assumption that the interpretations of biblical texts in the pesharim relate historical facts.

The way forward at this point seems to be as follows: wherever there is presented as an interpretation of a biblical text information which is not derivable from the text but seems gratuitous, then that information may be regarded as potentially of historical value. At least, it must be regarded as having a basis independent of the biblical text. This is a logical step forward, but still does not lead directly to any reliable knowledge. There are sources of information available to the author of the pesharim other than historical memory. In fact, even in the case of historical memory, very little thought has been given to the possible nature of traditions which might preserve such memories. As yet we have no materials from Qumran which might reflect such a tradition in literary guise. No biographical information about the "Teacher" or his vicissitudes exists outside the pesharim (or the very scanty interpolations in CD), except, in fact, for the Hymns. According to the suggestion I have offered above, the collection of hymns in 1QH invites being read as autobiographical and offers glimpses into the "life" of the community's founder.

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Correspondences between parts of 1QH and 1QpHab have been noted by several scholars, all of whom offer them as evidence of the historical accuracy of the pesher. This sort of confirmation, of course, implies authorship of some of the Hymns by the "Teacher". Such authorship, argued for by Kuhn,<sup>5</sup> is not improbable, though it has not yet been so widely endorsed as to constitute a consensus. Carmignac has gone further than Kuhn and suggested a rearrangement of the order of contents of 1QH so as provide a more plausible biography of the Teacher,<sup>6</sup> an attempt which must be regarded as fanciful even by its author's standards. The suggestion that these hymns, or at least the more obviously autobiographical of them, were regarded as compositions of the Teacher is a more modest and indeed a more secure basis on which to build a comparison between them and the pesharim - in this case, the Habakkuk pesher.

The obvious starting point for such a comparison is the famous lemma of 1QpHab 11.2ff.:

Woe to him who gives his neighbours to drink, mixing in his poison, indeed, making (them) drunk in order that he might look upon their feasts. The interpretation of it concerns the Wicked Priest who pursued the Teacher of Righteousness - to swallow him up with his poisonous vexation - to his place of exile. And at the end of the feast, (during) the repose of the Day of Atonement, he appeared before them, to swallow them up and to make them stumble on the fast day, their restful sabbath.<sup>7</sup>

So much speculation has been built on this lemma! It has often been taken to describe the critical moment in the formation of the Qumran community. Now, some of the interpretation derives naturally, if not inevitably, from



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the biblical text itself. The good and bad parts are assigned to the hero and villain respectively of the Qumran drama, the "Wicked Priest" and the "Teacher"; the "Wicked Priest" receives the woe, as with all the other "woes" of Hab. 2.6-17, except 1QpHab 10.5-11.1, and his neighbour is the one he persecutes, namely the "Teacher". The feast itself, given that the villain is a wicked priest, should denote a cultic festival, of which the Day of Atonement is the most dramatic. However, three important items are not extracted from the biblical text, namely the "exile" of the "Teacher", the "making stumble" and the famous (infamous) "swallowing". Hab, 2.15 is also quoted in 1QH 4.9f.:

And they, teachers of lies and seers of  
falsehood,  
have schemed against me a devilish scheme,  
to exchange the Law engraved on my heart  
by Thee  
for the smooth things (which they speak)  
to Thy people.  
And they withhold the drink of knowledge  
from them that thirst  
and for their thirst they give them  
vinegar to drink  
to look upon their straying, behaving  
madly at their festivals  
that they be caught in their nets.....<sup>8</sup>

The quotation here is mixed up with Isa. 32.6 and Ps. 69.22. Now, the "extraneous" items in the 1QpHab interpretation happen all to be present in the hymn. "Looking upon their straying" comes between "giving to drink" and "feasts", which seems to include it within the Habakkuk quotation of the hymn. The hymn presents a picture of those (called "teachers of lies and seers of falsehood") who cause others to stray and to be caught in nets. The commentary follows

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this line, using the word "stumble" instead. "Stumble" excellently conveys both the effect of literal drunkenness and the idea of doctrinal error, which the hymn passage and plays upon. The "exile" of the "Teacher" is described immediately before the relevant passage in 1QH:

Teachers of lies [have smoothed] Thy  
people [with words],  
and [false prophets] have led them astray;  
they perish without understanding  
for their works are in folly.  
For I am despised by them  
and they have no esteem for me  
that Thou mayest manifest Thy might  
through me.  
They have banished me from my land  
like a bird from its nest;  
all my friends and brethren are driven far  
from me  
and hold me for a broken vessel.

The hymn pictures the psalmist (=the "Teacher") in exile with "teachers of lies" plotting to deceive the "thirsty" who wish to drink (of the Law from the Teacher?) so as to cause them to go astray, especially as regards feast-days, and fall into snares. Finally, the "swallowing" of the "Teacher" by the "Wicked Priest" is nothing else than an allusion to the "devilish scheming" (zmmu bly<sup>C</sup>l) of 4.10. Whatever the historical background (if any) of the accusations in the hymn, the author of the Habakkuk commentary, using this passage, has been able, it seems, to construct an event with the "Teacher" in exile and his flock, threatened with stumbling on a feast day.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, in quoting the biblical text, the peshet and 1QH 4 attest the same textual variant: "feasts" (mw<sup>C</sup>dyhm) for "nakedness" (m<sup>C</sup>wryhm). Did the authors of each have the same defective

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text, or is the deviation in one influenced by the deviation in the other?

Now, according to 1QH, the enemies are "teachers of lies", or "deceiving teachers"; in 1QpHab the adversary is called a "Wicked Priest". How has this transformation happened? There are three problems here, in fact. The first concerns the figure of the "Wicked Priest" himself. He is entirely absent from 1QH and from CD, the most important of the Qumran documents relating to the origins of the community. On the other hand, a "Liar" and "Spouter of Lies" is introduced into CD, while 1QH speaks frequently of "lying" - as well as "teachers of lies", of course (see below). The fact that the Wicked Priest is entirely confined to the pesharim is unfortunate given the immense weight attached by most Qumran historians to his identity. The presence of this figure requires as a matter of urgency some kind of critical explanation, which is not to be undertaken here.

The second problem is closely related to the first: why has the peshet opted for the "Wicked Priest" and not the "Man of the Lie," which the 1QH text more readily suggests? For the "Spouter of the Lie" is the object of the two preceding lemmata (the second preserving only the word for "Lie"), while the "Wicked Priest" is the object of the other lemmata on Hab. 2.5-17 where an individual is in question. Does this not imply that the author of the peshet is aware of the difference between the two characters and thus is in possession of genuine historical information? This conclusion is rash. First, we should ask why "Spouter of the Lie" occurs only in 1QpHab 10.9 (and probably 10.17-11.1) - the only occurrences in this peshet, while the "Man of the Lie" is the formula used at 2.1-2 and 5.11. Are they the same? Indeed, is the "Wicked Priest" in 1QpHab the same as the "Priest" of 8.16 and (probably) 9.16? How many different figures can we posit? Despite the well-received arguments of Jeremias,<sup>10</sup> can we firmly distinguish the "Lie" figure from

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the "Wicked Priest"? It may be that we shall some day be able to sketch a possible tradition-history of these various names, though probably only with the aid of further manuscripts. At present, it is legitimate to turn aside from such speculation and assume that the writer of the commentary uses several different names for (an) individual opponent(s) of the "Teacher", which are reducible to a pair including the word "lie" and a pair including the word "priest". The variation itself suggests the possibility that the writer is not aware of any historical differentiation between the characters, and that the usage may be governed by any number of factors. Certainly, what is said in general of the "lie"-figure(s) and the "priest"-figure(s) overlaps to a very considerable degree. If we do not know whom the peshar is talking about, we do not even know how many figures it differentiates. We do not know if the author was aware of the difference between them, whether he thought they were different names for the same person, or different persons (how many?) or (quite probably) did not have any idea. We need to reflect further on this question.

The third problem, unlike the others, allows of some progress towards solution.

### III

How is it that plurals in 1QH ("teachers of lies....seers of falsehood") have become singulars in 1QP Hab (the "Man of the Lie")? This is, as we shall see, a more general phenomenon, whereby rather vaguer plural terms in the Hymns become soubriquets for discrete individuals, or for identifiable parties, in the pesharim. This tendency, as well as the application of phrases in 1QH to parties functioning nearer to the time of the peshar, are features of the relationship between the two works which we shall explore in the remainder of this chapter. The following examples of terms common to both are not exhaustive and,

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indeed, not conclusive, but they open the way for a theory concerning the source of some data in the pesharim which, for once, is not based on speculation and assumption.

### 1. Cryšym ("violent", "ruthless")

This word occurs in 1QH 1.39 (fragmentary); 2.11,21. In 2.11 the author is "an object of slander upon the lips of violent [men]; in 2.21 "violent [men] have sought my life". In 1QpHab 2.5f.:

the interpretation of the passage [concerns the trai]tors at the end of days. They are the ruthless [ones of the covenant] who will not believe when they hear all that is going to co[me up]on the last generation from the mouth of the priest into [whose heart] God put [understandi]ng.....

Also, in 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> ii,14<sup>11</sup> we have the "ruthless of the covenant who are in the house of Judah" who will "plot to destroy completely those who observe the law who are in the council of the community". Since the "Priest and the men of his council" occurs in line 19, we may have a link here between these "ruthless ones" and the Teacher. At 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> iii.12, again, the "ruthless ones of the co[venant, the wi]cked ones of Israel.....will be cut off" (cp. iv.1-2). However, another usage appears in iv.10 where the "ruthless ones of the Gentiles" will wreak vengeance on the Wicked Priest.

Hence, while in 1QH "ruthless" or "violent" people - without further qualification - are those who (a) slander and (b) seek the life of the author, in the pesharim the term is always qualified so as to place them in a particular context: we have the "ruthless of the covenant" and the

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"ruthless of the Gentiles"; of the former, there may be some within the community, if that is what the "ruthless of the covenant who are in the house of Judah" means. Whether or not here specific identifiable groups are designated is not certain, but there is at least a more specific designation of the term.

### 2. kzb ("lie", "falsehood")

Meliše kazab ("interpreters of falsehood", "lying interpreters") occurs at 1QH 2.31; 4.7,9f.; 6.19 and possibly 6.13. In 2.31 God has delivered the author from their "envy" (qn'h), while in 4.7 they have done something like leading people astray (the text is incomplete). In 4.9 they have "devised plans of Belial against me" and in 6.19 "they who participated in my testimony have been led astray by interpreters of falsehood". The occurrence in 6.13 is followed by a lacuna.

We do not find meliše kazab in the pescharim; however, we get one, and possibly both, components. kazab is common: we have the "man of the lie" in 1QpHab 2.2; 5.11; 11.1 and the "spouter of the lie" in 10.9. In CD the latter figure appears (8.13; 19.26) and we also find a "man of scoffing" ('yš hlšwn) who, in 1.13 "spouted waters of deceit (htyp mymy kzb) to Israel". We find the "men of scoffing" in CD 20.11, following shortly after the mention of the "man of the lie", in such a way as to suggest some degree of identity. The same phenomenon we observed earlier is also here - whereas "lie" is used not as the soubriquet of any particular group in 1QH but as a characterization of opposition to the author - and in the plural, in 1QpHab it becomes part of the soubriquet of an individual opponent. If for a moment we extend our survey to CD, we find the same feature, but including an interesting connection between "scoffing" and "lying" such that most modern commentators have identified the "scoffer" with the "liar". Is there any

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significance in the similarity between the 1QH mlysy kzb and the connection between lšwn and kzb in CD? Are we, in other words, observing the formation of soubriquets for individual opponents out of more general terms characterizing opposition in 1QH but not applied to any specific group? For 1QH uses both mlysym and kzb in more than one regular phrase; see nby'y kzb at 4.16 and the favourable use of mlysym at 2.13 and 18.11 (and frg. 2.6). In 1QH the terms are used so as to emphasize contrast - true versus lying interpretation. In the pescharim the focus is not on the quality of the difference but on the personalities, and the vocabulary usage changes accordingly as the words become parts of soubriquets for individual opponents.

### 3. dwršy ḥlqwt ("seekers of smooth things")

Here we are dealing with a slightly different phenomenon: in both 1QH and the pescharim the term is regularly plural. The difference is that in 1QH the term is not obviously a standard title for a determined group, but a characterization of opponents, whereas in 1QpHab the "seekers of smooth things" seem to be presented as a distinct party (often identified by modern scholars with the Pharisees).

Dwršy ḥlqwt occurs in 1QH 2.15,32 (cf. 4.10). In 2.15 the author becomes "a spirit of jealousy to all who seek smooth things", the phrase paralleled to "interpreters of falsehood". In 2.32 these are a "congregation" (ḥdh), while in 4.10 "interpreters of falsehood spoke smooth things". Thus, two terms, "interpreters of falsehood" and "seekers of smooth things (better, "lying exegetes") are interchangeably used for opposition to the author. They are not separate groups; indeed, it is hard to see that they are set groups at all. (In CD 1.18, the Israel led astray by the "man of scoffing" will be punished by God because they "sought smooth things".) In the pescharim there can be no doubt that an identifiable group is designated by the

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phrase: in 4QpNah frgs. 3-4 ii.2,4<sup>12</sup> they are associated with the "city of Ephraim" and in ii.6-7 also with a city; here they will be destroyed for "leading astray the simple" (see below on "simple"). They also have a "council" and a "congregation" - the latter as in 1QH, but undoubtedly here the term designated a formal body not just a collection. In i.2 they invite Demetrius to Jerusalem. In 4QpIs<sup>c</sup> frg. 23 ii.10<sup>13</sup> they are a "congregation who are in Jerusalem". It is interesting to note that in the Nahum commentary these "seekers" are placed in a different time from the "Teacher", at least on nearly all modern reckonings, since the "Teacher" and Demetrius (whichever one) are not regarded as contemporary. So what of the reference in 1QH, since the commentaries do not associate this group with the "Teacher", yet in 1QH we are apparently not dealing with a fixed group? The answer which makes best sense of these data is that the phrase has been borrowed from the Hymns in order to coin a soubriquet, the point being here that the more recent opponents of the community are either foretold by the "Teacher" in his prophetic hymns or that there is a continuity between the opposition to the "Teacher" and the opposition to the community later on. Either way, the view that the commentaries are dependent on the Hymns is the most plausible account of the identity of vocabulary.

### 4. ptyym ("simple")

Again, we are dealing here with a phrase used in the plural in 1QH and the peshtarim. Again, it functions as a soubriquet in the latter but not in the former. Actually, it occurs only twice (in the plural) in 1QH, at 2.8f., where the author is "healing for all who return from sin, prudence for the simple" - the parallelism suggesting that the term designates those who repent and follow the "Teacher", but is not a soubriquet for his followers as a group. In frg. 15.4 the author is to "cause the simple to understand by the power of



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Thy strength" - again, while the issue is not so clear, it is not implied that the "simple" are a defined group. (Incidentally, in CD and 1QS<sup>a</sup> the term in the singular means literally a fool.) In 1QpHab 12.4 we find more definition: "the beasts are the simple ones of Judah, those who observe the law" and in 8.1 the interpretation concerns "all those who observe the law in the house of Judah, whom God will save from the house of judgment on account of their tribulation and their fidelity to the 'Teacher of Righteousness'". Here "Judah" stands, in all probability, for the community, and so the "simple" are its loyal members. It is a soubriquet; the biblical text does not explicitly warrant the introduction of the term, which we must therefore assume to be self-explanatory. In 1QpMic frg. 7 (and possibly frgs. 20-21) "simple" also occurs, but unfortunately the context is not provided, though like Horgan, I take it to be most probably a designation for some if not all of the community. In 4QpNah 3.5 we have also the "simple of Ephraim", who will "join Judah"; in line 7 they will not "support the seekers of smooth things". Here the "simple" are most likely not present, but future members.

### 5. 'bywn(ym) ("poor")

This term occurs in 1QH 2.32; 3.25; 5.16,18,22; frg. 16.3. It is here nearly always in the singular, where it refers to the author. In 5.22 and frg. 16.3, where it is in the plural it is not apparently a soubriquet. But in 1QpHab 12.3,6,10 the term is in the plural and describes the victims of the "Wicked Priest". Are these victims a specific group? It is unclear whether the victims are members of the community or not, but the context, especially the association with "simple" and "council of the community" suggests that they are; moreover, in 9-10 they reside in the "cities of Judah" - presumably meaning the settlements of the community. In

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4QpPs<sup>a</sup> ii.10 the "congregation of the poor ones, who will accept the appointed time of affliction.....will be delivered from all the traps of Belial, and afterwards will delight....." - clearly members of the community. Here 'bywn' is actually supplied by the biblical text, being interpreted by Cdt h'bywnym, a soubriquet. These "poor" recur in ii.10, interpreting "those blessed by the Righteous One" of the biblical text. It is contrary to the observed rule that a commonly singular term in 1QH becomes plural in the pesharim, but entirely in accordance with the observed rule that it becomes a soubriquet only in the pesharim, not in the hymns.

6. mlyš d<sup>Ct</sup> brzy pl' ("interpreter of knowledge by wonderful mysteries")

In 1QH 2.13 the author so describes himself. Perhaps we ought to consider this phrase, for our purposes, as a cluster of common terms. Thus, 1QH 4.27f. has rzy pl' as does 7.27; 2.18 has d<sup>Ct</sup> as the teaching of the author (cf. d<sup>Ct</sup> also in 3.23; 4.11,18; 10.20,29; 12.29,32). In 12.13 we find both d<sup>Ct</sup> and rz and in frg. 2.6 mlyšy d<sup>Ct</sup>. Pl' is, of course, a very common term in 1QH.

In 1QpHab 7.4 the "Teacher of Righteousness" "made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets"; 7.8 has the "mysteries of God" revealed to him while rz recurs in line 14. The most common terms for the educative and interpretative work of the author of the hymns are applied also at the appropriate place in the peshar. Now, this has not normally been remarked upon, and one assumes that such correspondence of vocabulary is expected by the modern scholar. Probably it is felt that such terms were common stock at Qumran. Possibly, but this convenient assumption fails to take account of the use - or more commonly non-use of these terms in other Qumran texts. It is the fact that these terms are largely shared by 1QH and the

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pesharim that strikes the historian. The appropriate explanation, consistent with the bias of the evidence considered in this chapter, is that the term, widely used without more precise definition in 1QH has been borrowed from the hymns and applied in a narrower sense by the author of the pesher to designate the kind of interpretation of scripture which is being produced. That is, "mysteries" are now scriptural texts, and "knowledge" is their interpretation. What does this suggest? Not that a new kind of treatment of scripture is being developed - for the principle of such inspired exegesis is much older - but that the original teaching of the founder of the community is now being transformed into something more (or perhaps, less) than it originally was. Instead of a religious leader and lawgiver, the "Teacher" has become the founder of a school of exegesis. A similar phenomenon is found in the development of the early church, which developed a similar way of reading the Jewish scriptures, a way not ascribed to Jesus himself. But this parallel is no more than an observation. It explains, however, one of the ways in which religious communities sustain and redefine themselves after the removal of their founder, and especially encourage their faith in times of distress by assuring themselves that all was foretold and that they will be secure in that knowledge. So the pesher phenomenon at Qumran may well be a development late in the history of the community and have little to do with the activities of the "Teacher". Certainly, it may have little to do with real history.

The analysis and conclusions presented here are not, I think, conclusive, but perhaps persuasive enough to demonstrate that any research into the soubriquet-bearing groups of the pesharim ought not to be done on the basis of a fundamentalist assumption about their reliability, at least on matters concerning the "Teacher", nor in the belief that there are "old traditions" preserved herein. It is possible

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to make progress with critical analysis, though how far these will lead us remains to be seen. More work on the relationships between soubriquets in CD and the pesharim would be helpful (including, perhaps 4QFlor, where the "Interpreter of the Law", a figure of the past in CD, is a figure of the future). But, as with most fundamental questions concerning the origin, history and nature of the Qumran community, little has really been done and critical work has hardly begun. It has a long way to go.



## CHAPTER SEVEN: A COMPARISON OF THREE ESSENE TEXTS

Among the documents found at Qumran but not generally reckoned to be composed there are 1 Enoch and Jubilees. The correspondences between these documents and certain features of the Qumran compositions have led scholars to assign them to "pre-Essene" or "proto-Essene" circles. The suggestion that the "Damascus Document" represents a pre-Qumranic composition redacted in the Qumran community, based largely on internal grounds but also prompted by the need to explain its obvious differences from Qumran compositions<sup>1</sup> invites confirmation through a comparison with the two other texts mentioned.

The object of the limited comparison being offered here is to examine two aspects - Heilsgeschichte and key vocabulary items - to discover to what extent the three can be ascribed to a general trend or tradition, or to a single and coherent group, and whether that group constitutes a "sect" by identifying itself as the true Israel and rejecting the remainder of the nation. The Heilsgeschichten may reveal how far the nation of Israel and the author's group are contrasted or identified; the vocabulary will highlight any such contrast. Clues to the function of the texts (insofar as this can be perceived) revealed in the analysis may also reveal the attitude of the author to the audience, be it hostility or persuasion to an outside audience, or consolation to an inside audience.

Individual studies of aspects of 1 Enoch and Jubilees by e.g. Dexinger<sup>2</sup> and Davenport<sup>3</sup> have already explored the problem, and a typically competent treatment of the question of Jubilees' relationship to Qumran is available from VanderKam.<sup>4</sup> In the following comparison I shall confine

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myself to only one of the constituents of 1 Enoch, the Epistle of Enoch (=EE). This is because it contains the "Apocalypse of Weeks" (=AW), which can be directly compared with similar material in Jubilees (=J) and CD, but also because the most detailed and convincing essay comparing Qumranic and Enochic material has been undertaken by George Nickelsburg in a study of the "Epistle of Enoch" (1 Enoch 92-105). In the course of this study, he observed: "The author speaks for a group of Jews who make exclusive claims for their interpretation of the Torah and who perceive as revealed wisdom the belief that an imminent judgment will separate them from those whose interpretation of the Law differs from theirs, as well as from the violent rich who oppress them".<sup>5</sup> Nickelsburg compared the "Epistle" (=EE) with several Qumran texts, from which he concluded with a consideration of its possible Essene authorship. However, he rejected the possibility on the grounds that there were 1. no specific exegetical traditions common to EE and the Qumran materials; 2. no polemics against the Temple, its cult and priesthood; and 3. no "heightened dualism" which would confirm Essene authorship.

Two assumptions contributed to this conclusion. First, by "Essene", Nickelsburg meant "Qumranic". Second, he included the "Damascus Document" (CD) with IQS and IQpHab in his comparison. But had he separated CD from the other two, he would surely have concluded that the last two arguments against the Essene authorship of EE required qualification. There is in CD no "heightened dualism", and, while there is some implied criticism of the national leadership and its halakah as well as a less than wholehearted participation in the Temple cult, there is no explicit polemic against the Temple cult or its priests as such. In any contrast between EE, CD and the documents of clearly Qumranic origin, CD lies unambiguously on the side of EE. (At the same time, of course, CD contains material of an unambiguous Qumranic stamp.) In the following analysis, I shall make no assump-

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tions, positive or negative, about the relationship of CD to Qumran. The present discussion, then, is not in the form of a circular argument, in that I am not assuming a priori any provenience for CD for the purposes of comparison with EE: on the other hand, I hope to confirm my suggestion that CD is originally a pre-Qumranic document.

Another important gain from a positive comparison of EE and CD would be an increase in our knowledge of the group(s) behind them. It seems unnecessarily pedantic not to call them "Essenes". There is already some recognition - or suspicion at any rate - of a particular group being responsible for much of the literature emanating from mid-2nd century Palestine. The most common association has been between Hasidim and "apocalyptic", prompted in more recent debate by O. Plöger<sup>6</sup> and reinforced by M. Hengel.<sup>7</sup> Both sides of this equation need reformulating for historical research: the Hasidim are a dubious entity, while attempts to relate "apocalyptic" to a particular group are being increasingly recognized as impossibly over-simplistic. One relic of this equation, however, has been the connexion between "apocalyptic" and the Maccabean revolt. It is clear that many apocalypses were written at this time, but probably neither CD nor EE, nor indeed any of their sources. The search which has now to be undertaken is for religious movements, ideologies and groups in the Second Temple period prior to the Maccabean period. It is known that they existed and their literature appears in the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and no doubt in the Hebrew Bible too. Paul Hanson's rather linear and simple account<sup>8</sup> is nevertheless a useful attempt at filling one of the most crucial vacuums in our knowledge of ancient Judaism. The Qumran scrolls have provided the necessary starting point for the long - the endless - task of unravelling the strands which wove together over the centuries of exile whether in or outside Palestine, to form the rich matrix of Christianity, late Judaism,<sup>9</sup> and countless versions of each. For these scrolls





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thing and begin to do evil in my sight. And I shall hide my face from them and give them over to the power of the nations to be captive, and for plunder, and to be devoured. And I shall remove them from the midst of the land, and scatter them among the nations. And they will forget all of my laws and commandments and judgments and will err about new moons, sabbaths, festivals, jubilees and ordinances.

#### PRE-EXILIC TIMES

DAMASCUS DOCUMENT 2-3

DAMASCUS DOCUMENT 5-6

For many have gone astray because of them; powerful men have come to grief because of them, in the past and up to the present. By walking in the stubbornness of their heart the Watchers of heaven fell; because of it those who did not keep the commandments of God were caught, as were their children, who were as tall as cedars, and whose corpses were like mountains when they fell, because all flesh which was on dry land perished and became as if they had not been - because they did as they wanted and did not keep the commandments of their Maker, until his anger was aroused against them. Because of it the children of Noah went astray, as did their families; through it they were cut off. Noah did not follow it, and he was accounted a Friend because he kept the commandments of God and did not choose what he himself wanted. And he passed on (the commandments) to Isaac and Jacob, and they kept (them) and were written down as Friends of God and covenant partners for ever. The children of Jacob went astray because of them and were punished according to their error. And their children in Egypt walked in the stubbornness of their heart in taking counsel against the commandments of God and doing each one as he thought right. They ate blood, and their males were cut off in the desert. (And he spoke) to them at Kadesh: "Go up and possess the land", but they chose what they wanted and did not listen to the voice of their Maker, the commandment of their Teacher, but murmured in their tents. And the anger of God was roused against their congregation. By it their children perished; by it their kings were cut off, by it their warriors perished, and by it their land was made desolate. By it the first covenant members incurred guilt and were delivered up to the sword, because they had forsaken the covenant of God and chosen what they wanted and been drawn after the stubbornness of their heart to do each as he wanted.

For in earlier times Moses and Aaron arose with the help of the Prince of Lights, while Belial raised up Jannes and his brother in his cunning, when Israel was saved the first time. And at the time of the destruction of the land there arose those who "moved the boundary" and led Israel astray and the land became desolate because they spoke rebellion against the commandments of God given through Moses and through those anointed by holiness, and prophesied falsely to turn Israel from God.

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#### EXILIC TIMES

#### APOC OF WEEKS

#### JUBILEES 1

After that in the seventh week an apostate generation shall arise; its deeds shall be many, and all of them criminal. At its completion, there shall be elected the elect ones of righteousness from the eternal plant of righteousness, to whom shall be given sevenfold instruction concerning all his flock. Then after that shall occur the eighth week - the week of righteousness. A sword shall be given to it in order that judgment shall be executed in righteousness on the oppressors, and sinners shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous. At its completion, they shall acquire great things through their righteousness. A house shall be built for the Great King in glory for evermore. Then

after that in the ninth week

the righteous judgment shall be revealed to the whole world. All the deeds of the sinners shall depart from upon the whole earth, and be written off for eternal destruction; and all people shall direct their sight to the path of uprightness. Then, after this matter, on the tenth week in the seventh part, there shall be the eternal judgment, and it shall be executed by the angels of the eternal heaven - the great judgment which emanates from all of the angels. The first heaven shall depart and pass away; a new heaven shall appear; and all the powers of heaven shall shine forever sevenfold. Then after that there shall be many weeks without number forever; it shall be (a time) of goodness and righteousness, and sin shall no more be heard of forever.

And afterward they will turn to me from among the nations with all their heart and with all their soul and with all their might. And I shall gather them from the midst of all the nations. And they will seek me so that I might be found by them. When they seek me with all their heart and with all their soul, I shall reveal to them an abundance of peace in righteousness. And with all my heart and with all my soul I shall transplant them as a righteous plant. And they will be a blessing and not a curse. And they will be the head and not the tail. And I shall build my sanctuary in their midst, and I shall dwell with them. And I shall be their God and they will be my people truly and rightly. And I shall not forsake them, and I shall not be alienated from them because I am the Lord their God.

### Three Essene Texts

#### EXILIC TIMES

##### DAMASCUS DOCUMENT 2-3

But with those who adhered to the commandments of God, who were left over of them, God established his covenant with Israel by revealing to them the hidden things in which all Israel had gone astray - his holy sabbaths and his glorious festivals, his righteous testimonies and his true ways, and the desires of his will, which a man should do and live by. He opened to them, and they dug a well of copious water. And those who despise it shall not live. For they had been defiling themselves with human sinfulness and unclean practices and had said "But this belongs to us". Yet God in his wonderful mysteries forgave their iniquity and removed their sin and built for them a "sure house in Israel" whose like has not stood from past times until now. Those who adhere to it will live forever and all the glory of Adam shall be theirs.

##### DAMASCUS DOCUMENT 1

For when they sinned in forsaking him, he hid his face from Israel and from his sanctuary and delivered them to the sword. But when he remembered the covenant of the fathers, he preserved a remnant for Israel and did not bring them to total destruction. And in the period of wrath (390 years from delivering them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon) he punished them, but he made a root for planting grow from Israel and Aaron to occupy his land and to flourish on the goodness of his soil. And they recognized their iniquity and knew that they were guilty, and were like the blind and those who grope for the way for twenty years. But God understood their deeds, that they sought him with a perfect heart, and he raised for them a teacher of righteousness to lead them in the way of his heart. And (thus) he made known to later generations what he had done to the previous generation, the congregation of traitors.

##### DAMASCUS DOCUMENT 5-6

But God remembered the covenant of the fathers and he raised from Aaron men of understanding and from Israel men of wisdom. and he let them hear, and they dug the well, "a well which princes dug, which nobles of the people dug with a staff". The well is the law, and those who dug it are the "captivity of Israel" who went out from the land of Judah and settled in the land of Damascus, all of whom God called "princes", because they sought him and because their renown was not denied by anyone. And the "staff" is the Interpreter of the Law of whom Isaiah spoke: He produces a tool for his work". And the nobles of the people are those who have entered (the covenant) to dig the well with the "staves" ("rules") which the staff ("legislator") fashioned, to walk in during the whole period of wickedness - and without which they will not succeed - until there shall arise one who will teach righteousness at the end of days,

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can be linked to a specific community, whose library we have been privileged to inspect and whose ancestors and relatives are not beyond our reach. By working backwards via the literature at Qumran we can explore a number of religious ideas which form a more or less cohesive ideology. And we can work on the reasonable hypothesis that the Essenes represent the best-known - and perhaps the only - representatives of that ideology.

#### 1. Heilsgeschichte

By this term, I refer to the story which the documents tell about Israel, past but also to some extent future. Do the authors define "Israel" (present and future, at least) so as to exclude all but their own group? Are their fellow-Jews already destined for annihilation, or merely temporarily in error? If there is a distinction between the nation and the group, at which point historically does the divergence occur? How now do they stand in relation to Jews not of their persuasion? What is the respective destiny of each? All three documents contain schematized historical presentations of history - the "Apocalypse of Weeks" in EE, three descriptions of community origins in CD, and two in Jubilees, of which we shall consider only one here.<sup>10</sup> A comparison of the (p)reviews of Israel's history according to our sources will be facilitated by the synoptic table on the preceding pages.<sup>11</sup>

It is widely agreed that the "Apocalypse of Weeks" is an earlier and independent composition incorporated into the "Epistle of Enoch". For the present it is this which is being directly compared with J and CD. However, it is not proposed to insist on the distinction between AW and EE for the purposes of the wider comparison. For the sake of accuracy, however, AW will be referred to where appropriate.

According to AW, then, there is a 10-jubilee

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calendar of world history commencing with creation. This provides the structure of the historical (p)review. In Jubilees this is not so, but the first chapter, whether or not originally part of the main body of the book<sup>12</sup> would seem to imply it. In the case of CD, too, the history is not periodized into "weeks", although 16.3-4 refers to a "book of the divisions of times into their jubilees, and weeks and the epochs of Israel's blindness", and there are other hints of some kind of calendrical or quasi-calendrical computation.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, the use of a calendrical system in AW does not mark such a great difference from the other texts, for it covers only very thinly a more significant pattern. It is probable that the "weeks" are not intended to be regarded as of equal length,<sup>14</sup> so that the total number of years elapsing before the expected events is not significant. Each jubilee week, in fact, is assigned either one heroic figure or one major event or both; sometimes, but not always, the end of the week correlates with an epochal event: Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Jacob/Israel, Elijah (not Moses!); flood, election of Israel, law, Temple and kingdom. (In this respect, AW is different from Dan. 9, where the number of years is the basis of the whole exercise and the events themselves have no intrinsic significance except to mark the passing of the allotted time and the approach of its end.) AW does not, then, offer a simple calendrical outline of history, but has been formed according to a clear chiasmic pattern. The last three weeks offer a threefold eschatological scenario; in the 8th week righteousness triumphs in Israel; in the ninth week in the whole world, and in the tenth week in the whole cosmos, including heaven. Corresponding to these last three weeks is Enoch in the first week, Noah in the second and Abraham/Jacob in the third - cosmos/earth/Israelite. Israel/earth/cosmos. The chiasm can be traced a little further: the giving of the law in the fourth week balances the "sevenfold instruction" of the new Israel (the "elect ones of righteousness") in the

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seventh week, and the kernel of the chiasm is represented by the completion of the Temple, followed by the blindness of Israel.

Other patterns are also discernible in AW. For instance, the ten weeks correspond to the generations before the flood, with the seventh week - when the chosen "plant of righteousness" appears - corresponding to Enoch - and the tenth week to the recreation of the world as at the flood. Also (or alternatively?) the three great catastrophes of flood, destruction/exile and eschatological visitation may form some kind of arch. There are also three periods, it would seem, of human wickedness; but they do not relate consistently to the three periods of destruction. Other, less probable, constructions are also open.<sup>15</sup> The existence of so many possibilities may reflect a complex prehistory to the AW,<sup>16</sup> or it may be that some of the patterns are unconscious or even accidental. Nevertheless, we must be aware that the Heilsgeschichte is offering a view of Israel's past and future which may be operating on more than one level. That is not to say that the historical sequence of events has been dictated by other considerations, but that the selection and presentation certainly has.

Turning now to the account of Israel's history in Jubilees 1, we find it announced as a record of Israel's perpetual wickedness. It commences, of course, at a different point, namely at Sinai. After entering the land, Israel will commit idolatry. The whole of the pre-exilic occupation of the land is painted in a single picture. It is terminated by the destruction and dispersion, where Israel will forget, as opposed to ignore, the divine laws. Then Israel will turn "from among the nations", will be gathered to its land, and will be transplanted<sup>17</sup> as a "righteous plant"; the building of the sanctuary will follow, and God and his people will be forever reunited. Here the construction is very simple: from the entry into the land until the exile all is wickedness; the exile leads to loss

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of the law, but "afterward" there will be repentance and restoration. There is no election of a righteous Israel; although the term "righteous plant" occurs, there is no indication that it applies to only part of Israel. There is no final judgment between wicked and righteous, either. The thrust is clearly towards the unification of the entire nation through repentance. But obviously the restoration has not occurred, and Israel is still "among the nations". The function of this review, nevertheless, seems fairly clear: an exhortation to Israel to recognize its perpetual wickedness through ignorance (whether involuntary or deliberate) of the law, and to repent in order to receive the divine benefits.

It is very probable that Jubilees itself was intended to bring about that repentance, by demonstrating how the law was to be kept. Its audience is evidently to be found among the nation as a whole and not a sectarian community. It is presumably a conversion document (not to try and define it more closely), aimed at the repentance of the nation by seeking and returning to the law.

Finally, let us scrutinize CD. This document differs from both AW and J in that its account of history is presented with no authority other than that of the author, and is a review, not a preview, i.e. not an inspired revelation from an ancient sage or from God purportedly looking forward into the future. Furthermore, in CD there is more than one account. The fullest is in 2.14 - 3.20, another is given in 5.15 - 6.11, and the briefest in 1.1-12. The first account runs apparently from the time immediately preceding the Flood, although more significantly it represents the first great act of rebellion, by heavenly beings. The entire pre-exilic era is described through the combination of several phrases - "not keeping the commandments of God", "walking in stubbornness of heart", "choosing their own desires", "arousing of the anger of God", and the succession of rebellion through children.<sup>18</sup> The outcome of



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this was loss of children, kings, warriors and land; all were delivered to the sword because they had forsaken the covenant of God. These are the "first members of the covenant" (b'y bryt hr'swnym; 3.10). This is immediately contrasted with "those who adhered to the commandments of God" with whom the covenant was renewed, and to whom was revealed the "hidden things in which all Israel had gone astray" - notably in respect of the calendar; these have a "sure house" and will inherit the "glory of Adam". In 5.15ff. only the briefest of references is made to a pre-exilic event when "Israel was saved the first time"; the passage proceeds to the time of the "destruction of the land" due to rebellion against the "commandments of God" given through Moses and the prophets. Thereafter the focus is upon those with whom the covenant was maintained; they were given a law, by which to live until at the end of days there will be "one who will teach righteousness".

The third passage reinforces the other two, again concentrating on the renewal or preservation of a covenant with a remnant. It is widely agreed that this passage has been glossed; but it obviously speaks of repentance and restoration to the land. There is also a reference to the raising - in the past - of a "teacher of righteousness". The most prominent characteristic of the CD passages when compared with AW and J is their emphasis on a community representing the remnant which received a renewed covenant from God, and a law, and who can therefore be righteous. The entire Admonition seems to have been created to introduce this community as the true Israel to those who were outside and were still blindly without the law. These passages contain implied threats about a future judgment, but the emphasis is nevertheless on the positive rather than negative issue of joining the community. Elsewhere in CD threats against the wicked are made explicit; there will be a visitation of God, when the wicked will be punished but those who "turn back" will escape" (7.10 - 8.1/19.6-14;

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8.2-21/19.15-33).

Is there any substantial agreement between these texts regarding the history of Israel, or do the differences demonstrate that Heilsgeschichten of this sort were adapted rather freely to different functions and audiences? Certainly, we have seen that a good deal of flexibility is to be discovered. But perhaps this very flexibility enhances the importance of those features where there is no flexibility. Is there enough common ground between the texts being compared to form the outline of a common Heilsgeschichte tradition? The following seem significant.

1. The most obvious common feature is the complete absence of reference to the Second Temple or to any return from exile to the land. EE and J both focus attention on the dispersion of Israel; EE adds the burning of the Temple. The mention of the sanctuary in CD 1.3 is probably secondary; in any case the emphasis throughout CD is on the destruction of the land, for exile is associated rather with salvation, as the home of the "Damascus covenant".

2. All the three documents agree also in recording the general wickedness of the pre-exile period. CD exempts Noah and the three patriarchs (3.1ff.); Moses and Aaron are mentioned in another passage (5.17ff.); EE commences the period of wickedness after Enoch, and alludes to, presumably as exemptions, Noah, Abraham, Jacob/Israel and Elijah. J, starting from the time of Moses offers no exemptions. There are, again, differences of emphasis in the three documents. CD 2-3 stresses disobedience to the will of God, presumably by way of contrast to the obedience to that will exemplified in the community; EE refers to the blindness of Israel, forgetting wisdom; this contrasts with the "sevenfold instruction" of the chosen. This motif is also present in CD 4 through the contrast between the deception of Israel by

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Belial and the "revealing of the hidden things" to the community, and the opening of the Heilsgeschichte (2.14) with šm<sup>C</sup>w...w'qlh<sup>C</sup>ynykm (cp. CD 1.1 with its šm<sup>C</sup>w and bynw and 2.2 with its šm<sup>C</sup>w and 'qlh 'znkm) demonstrate the same wisdom/ignorance contrast. J, however, takes as its accusation idolatry, brought about by forsaking of the law. Correspondingly, in the final reconciliation "I shall be their God and they will be my people truly and rightly"; the issue is here that Israel has moved from God. But there are important correspondence also with CD, particularly the notion that Israel is blind to God's laws.

3. All three texts present God's salvation not as a mighty act of war but of instruction. Who are the recipients, and how does the instruction come about? For EE it is "sevenfold instruction concerning all his flock" - apart from supposing that this is to some extent contained in the Enochic corpus (the number 7 is important in the Enoch tradition, of course, though not exclusively), there is little to learn from this phrase. The recipients are the "elected ones of righteousness from the eternal plant of righteousness". The second phrase occurs earlier as a definition of Israel; so the recipients are the "elect of Israel", and since they proceed to execute judgment, they are also the heirs of Abraham, the "plant of the righteous judgment". Thus, of course, the group for whom EE speaks is continuous with Israel. In CD likewise: the recipients are the remnant of Israel who "adhered to the commandments of God" and were given the true law. Unlike EE, the "instruction" is specified: they have revealed to them the "hidden things in which all Israel had gone astray", and this means sabbaths, festivals, righteous testimonies and true ways. Another detail is the mediator of this revealed law: he is called the dwrš<sup>h</sup> htwrh, "interpreter of the law". Yet another detail: this remnant, having been sinful, received God's pardon as a prelude to the giving of the law.

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The parallels between CD and J in this regard are especially striking. J does not use the language of "remnant" but appears at first sight to be speaking of all Israel. No special group appears on the scene as the recipients of divine instruction. Partly for this reason, it is difficult to perceive at what point in J's Heilsgeschichte we are dealing with the future, from the perspective of the text. It seems at first sight that the latest event in the past is the straying of Israel over "new moons, sabbaths, festivals, jubilees and ordinances". The next event is the turning back to God "from among the nations", followed by God's revelation. This can hardly be the restoration of the 6th century, as is becoming generally acknowledged. But can it lie entirely in the future? This interpretation, too, is hardly possible. At the very least, this event, if future, would have to be imminent, and since the repentance is portrayed as an act of Israel's initiative, its imminence must have some basis in the present - i.e. it must already be starting. This process is surely implicit in the book of Jubilees itself, which contains the "true teaching" about the new moons and sabbaths, etc. The next question is: is the true law, on the basis of which Israel will repent and return to God, the possession of a select group? According to J, after the dispersion Israel forgot all the laws of God, including the proper calendar. How, then, will the true law be revealed, and to whom? After this repentance, Israel will be "transplanted" as a "righteous plant". What, finally, is this "righteous plant"? In EE it is Israel, from among whom an elect group receives instruction. Now, in both EE and CD the salvation of Israel has also already begun to take place through a select group. In CD we have the "root for planting" in 1.7, a reference to the community. However, this group is seeking converts, and apparently sees itself as the nucleus of the future true and restored Israel. The picture is less clear in AW, but the scenario of the last three weeks is more consistent with an ideology of

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restoration - of Israel, the world, and the cosmos - than of the vindication of the elect group alone and the destruction of the rest of Israel. AW at any rate (let us not include the rest of EE as yet) sees the removal of all sin, and "all people shall direct their sight to the path of uprightness". The "chosen ones of righteousness" are therefore the seed of the new Israel to be restored in the future.

The one remaining difference between EE, CD and J is over the "plant", for according to J, it seems to be the whole nation. The difference should certainly not be smoothed away, but it does not amount to a flat contradiction: the restoration of all Israel is the goal of all three texts; what Jubilees does not contain is any allusion to a group who form its nucleus. Such a group seems to me quite possibly implied by the nature of Jubilees itself, but nevertheless the fact is that Jubilees is not written, it seems, explicitly to recruit Israelites to that group. There is no claim that the true law has already been given to a select group - even although the contents of Jubilees might be seen to imply precisely that! Jubilees, therefore, in my opinion, is not irreconcilable with EE and CD on this particular point, but the absence of a chosen group in the Heilsgeschichte needs to be accounted for. The absence is indeed somewhat problematic given the close correspondences between J and CD to which I alluded earlier, for CD is the most explicit of the three texts on the identity and history of the true Israel. The "seeking" of God by Israel in J seems to be paralleled by the "seeker ("interpreter"? = dwrš) of the law" in CD, while the repentance and forgiveness of Israel in J are ascribed to the community in CD 1.8f. and 3.17f. Also very striking is the specification of Israel's halakic errors: in Jubilees, at the time of the dispersion, "they will forget all of my laws and all of my commandments and all of my judgments, and they will err concerning new moons, sabbaths, festivals, jubilees, and ordinances"; in CD after the dispersion, the remnant has

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revealed to it "the hidden things in which all Israel had gone stray - His holy sabbaths and His glorious festivals, His righteous testimonies and His true ways...". A further correspondence is between the "transplanting" of Israel as a "righteous plant" from "among the nations" in J, and the remnant in CD, formed in exile ("Damascus"), having sinned and been pardoned, founded by a "seeker of the law", and becoming a "root for planting" to "occupy His land". What, then, is foretold of Israel in Jubilees - repentance, seeking God, (implied) return to true laws and calendar, removal from exile and transplanting in the Land, is in CD part of the community's history. Is the history of CD's community bogus, a kind of midrash on Jubilees (a book to which CD probably refers at 16.3-4), or is Jubilees concealing a "remnant group" which already exists? It is impossible to conclude that all of CD's Heilsgeschichten are midrashim on Jubilees. Rather, they often employ midrash on biblical passages. Now, some kind of remnant group, espousing a lunisolar calendar among other halakic traditions, is strongly implied in Jubilees. Hence, the question of the relationship between CD and J does not seem difficult to answer, especially if we wish also to admit the evidence of AW which speaks of a select group. The only problem is the one we formulated earlier: why is the existence of such a group concealed in Jubilees? Answers are not difficult to suggest: the function of the text may be such that the existence of a group as such was unhelpful or irrelevant, or even taken for granted. Perhaps the group is not aware of its differentiation from its Jewish context - if, for example, it speaks for newly-arrived Essenes from the Diaspora expecting to find its views acceptable in Palestine, as Murphy-O'Connor's theory of Essene origins posits. A study of Jubilees itself seems the best context in which to pursue the problem, and not here.

4. The most obvious common feature of Jubilees and CD

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is, of course, the solar calendar. In J it forms a major structural element, although, as has been generally appreciated, in comparison with certain parts of 1 Enoch, Jubilees does not make a strong or even explicit polemical issue out of the calendar. In CD this calendar is clearly enough implied (e.g. 3.14-15), though it is not made a polemical issue. The calendar is also found, of course, in 1 Enoch, though not in AW or, indeed, in EE. We may, perhaps, be permitted to assume it because (a) of the association with Enoch and (b) the reference to the renewal of the heavens, with the "powers of heaven" shining forever "sevenfold". To be honest, however, we must take note of the fact that, like CD, the calendar is obviously not a major polemical issue here.

5. The place of the exile or dispersion of Israel in the three documents provides another important point of comparison. The least prominence is given to this by AW, which notes that "the whole clan of the chosen root shall be dispersed". No mention is made of a return of this diaspora, and the dimension of exile/dispersion is not part of the rhetoric of this text. For the other two, however, it is. According to J, God will "remove them from the midst of the land and....scatter them among the nations". In announcing the beginning of the restoration of Israel, the text reads "and afterward they will turn to me from among the nations.. ..and....I shall transplant them (see n. 17 for the meaning)". Thus, whether literally or typologically, the beginning of the restoration takes place "among the nations". The typological interpretation is somewhat less likely. "Exile" can indeed function this way; being "among the nations", however, has no likely typological value in this connection, though it could plausibly be a reference to the presence of foreigners and of foreign rule, even though this dimension of Israel's historical experience is otherwise entirely ignored. Moreover, the exile is certainly

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literal in CD, as is generally conceded. There is disagreement about where the exile occurs; insofar as the parallel with J is of any value, the Babylonian captivity is by far the most probable. The group who have received the law are the "šby ysr'l who went out from the land of Judah and settled in the land of Damascus", and their foundation is consistently placed following the deportation. It has been objected<sup>19</sup> that the timescale is irrelevant and that any time after the deportation might be meant. True: but the issue is not so much one of chronology; there may have been an interval of centuries involved. The point is that the community was founded, as far as it was aware, literally in exile, and this is certainly supported by Jubilees, as it is by another Qumran text 4QDibHam.<sup>20</sup> Accordingly, we may conclude that CD and J - but not AW - agree that the restoration begins in exile "among the nations", and that a return to the land as a "root" is part of God's restoration in response to repentance and search for the true law.

6. The absence of any reference to the building of the Second Temple prompts a glance at the place of the Temple in these three Heilsgeschichten. AW gives prominence to the building of the First Temple, placing its construction at the end of the fifth week, the halfway point of the calendar. At the end of the eighth week will be built "a royal Temple of the Great One in his glorious splendour, for all generations, forever" (reading 4QEn<sup>g</sup>). In J the First Temple is also prominent: "my tabernacle and my sanctuary, which I sanctified for myself in the midst of the land so that I might set my name upon it and might dwell (there)", and a new Temple will be built in the future. J makes it plain that God will build this new Temple. In CD matters are quite different. There is no reference to the First Temple except at 1.3, where it is probably secondary,<sup>21</sup> and no forecast of a new Temple. Instead we find the community referred to as



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"sure house in Israel" which God built - whether an allusion to the Zadokite house or the Temple, it presumably hints at the community as being in some way related to the idea of Temple. There is also the reference to "lighting His altar in vain" in 6.12. and the accusation of "defiling the Temple" at 4.18.<sup>22</sup> Although it seem that CD envisages use of the Second Temple by the community, its attitude is cool. No doubt a rebuilt Temple in the future was envisaged, or at least a full use of a purged Temple cult, but this aspect is not covered in CD, and the question of the Temple is left very much in the background.

All three texts, then, ignore the Second Temple; two look forward to a future Temple. All of them represent a critical attitude towards the Temple of their day;<sup>23</sup> CD condones its use under stringent qualifications. While we cannot speak of complete unanimity in the three texts, there is certainly more than a mere compatability between them on this issue, and no inconsistency.

7. A final point of comparison is that of the law. AW records two bodies of law: the "law for sinners", which is recognizable as the "Noachic covenant", the law binding upon even non-Jews; and the Sinai law, called "a law with a fence for all generations". This translation is not entirely certain, for some have proposed that what is referred to is a law and an enclosure, i.e. law and the promised land in which it is to be kept.<sup>24</sup> Wintermute<sup>25</sup> suggests that "the key to the text may be m. Aboth 1:1", a famous and obviously enticing parallel. He does not explain how this key might open the door, or what door. One possibility is that, as implied in the Aboth reference, there are two laws, one written and one unwritten - or at any rate two sets of laws. Jubilees, of course, teaches that the Sinai law was known and observed by the patriarchs. Since the Heilsgeschichte only starts from Sinai no act of lawgiving is described here. Israel almost immediately abandons the law. Moreover,

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"they will persecute those who search out the law". But there is no mention of a new lawgiving, nor even of Israel returning to the law, although this is surely implied. When God "reveals", it is "an abundance of peace in righteousness", and not a new law. But the phrase "they will seek me", in this context especially, surely denotes halakah. And Jubilees itself comprises in some measure a presentation of law. Is a second, or subsequent, law implied? The phrase "the first and the last" in Jub. 1.26 may be significant. Wintermute's translation<sup>26</sup> "what (was) in the beginning and what will occur (in the future)" may be right, but equally possible is "the former (law) and the latter (law)". The idea of two laws in Jubilees has been explored by Wacholder,<sup>27</sup> and this is the meaning of the phrase in CD.<sup>28</sup>

In CD there are indeed two lawgivings, though the matter is one which invites further investigation. The claim of Jubilees that the law was available before Sinai is upheld (e.g. "Noah kept the commandments of God", 3.2). Israel strayed from the law, and the remnant learned "the hidden things in which all Israel had gone astray" (3.14). nstr refers to laws known only within the community, and the result of this revelation was the digging of a well - the creation of halakah. For CD, then, there are two lawgivings, but not both at Sinai. The one at Sinai - on the basis of which Israel is still accused, 5.8f. - was forsaken by Israel, and still is; but in any case it has been "updated" (to use as neutral a word as possible) by laws revealed to the remnant community, although these laws, being those things in which Israel had strayed, and which Noah observed, must have been given earlier (too?). This is not the place to undertake an investigation of the intricacies of the status and content of Torah, which would involve the Temple Scroll also. It is sufficient to note that while yet again we do observe differences of detail between J and CD, it is easier to account for these than to explain away the similarities. On the matter of AW we can only say that the

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mention of a "fence" may suggest a similar conception of a law at Sinai now supplemented by other equally authoritative teaching; but we cannot do more than suggest this interpretation.

At this juncture it may be helpful to sum up the points of correspondence found so far between the three passages we have examined. They all omit reference to the Second Temple and imply or commend a cool attitude towards it. They all dismiss the pre-exilic world as entirely wicked (with minor and unimportant qualifications). They all either describe or imply a group which sees itself as the legitimate continuation of Israel in possession of revealed teaching. Two of the texts trace this to the diaspora and anticipate or describe their return to the land. (The third, which does not, nevertheless belongs to a tradition, that associated with the figure of Enoch, which gives many indications of originating in the eastern diaspora; but here I am concerned strictly with internal evidence.) They all envisage a restored Israel growing out of the remnant group, and expect, implicitly or explicitly, a new Temple to be built in the future. Two of the texts betray a solar calendar; the third text does not, but is consistent with adoption of such a calendar. Two of the texts speak in terms of Israel's "blindness" and the contrasting "wisdom" or "perception" of the true Israel. Two of the texts represent the law as having been fully known before Sinai.

The differences so far noted between the three texts are also worthy of note, but call for further investigation of the individual documents and their history. Briefly, we may say that the majority of differences can be explained by assuming different purposes or audiences. But genuine differences (e.g. possibly in sectarian mentality, attitude to Temple, understanding of the origin of law) may present an opportunity to define more closely the history or the extent and latitude of the movement from which the texts

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arise. For there can hardly be any doubt that the correspondences of these texts, even in the restricted area of Heilsgeschichte, oblige us to regard them as products of a single movement, and one which at least two of the three texts identify as a distinctive group. It is unnecessarily pedantic to withhold from this group the name "Essene". But the use of this designation does not have to imply a tightly-organized movement, at least sociologically. We know that such organization is attested by Josephus in the first century CE; but the Qumran evidence is not indicative of the Essenes as a whole, but only of a particular Essene sect. Ideological cohesiveness seems apparent, though not without some flexibility. Further speculation in this direction is premature, though such flexibility is consistent with the kind of dilemma which according to Murphy-O'Connor may have faced the Essenes on their arrival in Palestine. Self-consciousness as a distinct remnant group may have sharpened only in conflict with an unexpectedly hostile religious environment.

From a study of the terminology even greater precision is possible on some of the points covered, particularly the centrality of halakah for the definition of the Essenes, and their tracing of their roots to the diaspora community.

#### 2. Terminology

A survey and analysis of the vocabulary of EE, Jubilees and CD is a large enterprise. Here I have confined myself to the Heilsgeschichte passages already treated, but including the whole of the Admonition of CD, since this restricted comparison is sufficient to present purposes. A fuller linguistic analysis is desirable. For instance, the "Epistle of Enoch" as a whole uses "righteous" or "righteousness" over thirty times, as well as "plant" and "elect".

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#### zdg

This is one of a number of key terms in AW and the Qumran literature to have been compared by Dexinger.<sup>29</sup> He remarks that the term qšwt (= zdg) is already an Unterschiedungsmerkmal in AW, and interprets "plant of righteousness" as "rechte Satzung" or "richtige Observanz". These remarks are largely borne out in the other two texts. In Jub. 1 "righteous" occurs only twice; once is in the term "righteous plant", which we must regard as parallel to "eternal plant of righteousness" in AW, and meaning the true Israel, while the other usage "I shall reveal to them an abundance of peace in righteousness" may suggest that zdg by itself denotes law, having the law and (righteously) obeying it being undifferentiated. For in both AW and CD what is revealed to the "true Israel," (whether or not explicitly a chosen remnant) is "instruction" or "law", and one would therefore expect something analogous in Jubilees. In CD the usage of zdg also supports both of Dexinger's remarks. Particularly important is the phrase yrh zdg (6.11) denoting one who will teach law in the future. In the Qumran redaction we have the hqv hzdg (20.11,33) which are the teachings of the mwrh zdg. Even when not applied to the community, "righteousness" in CD appears to denote halakhah or Torah: cf. 1.1,16; 4.16. Hence in Essene terminology zdg appears to denote law, and not simply obedience to it; hence God can reveal righteousness (Jub. 1) and men can know it (CD 1.1).

#### mt<sup>c</sup>t (= nzbt)

All three texts use the term "planting". In AW, first of all, Abraham is the "plant of the righteous judgment" while Jacob/Israel is the "eternal plant of righteousness". Now, if the earlier suggestion that "righteousness" means "law" is correct, we have here the contention that the patriarchs were possessors of the law. This is of course precisely what

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Jubilees claims and CD presupposes. Moreover, I strongly suspect that the reference to "visions of the old and righteous" being seen together with the Sinai law indicates knowledge of the patriarchs revealed on Sinai, in which case either Jubilees or a Vorlage would suit particularly well; the "old and righteous" can hardly be other than the pre-Sinai patriarchs who had, and kept, the law. If "plant of righteousness" denotes the nation Israel and "righteousness" denotes "law", what is denoted by "plant"? It is possible that the "plant" itself is Israel (and sufficient OT precedents for this could be found). But I believe the meaning is more precise. In both Jubilees and CD "plant" is associated with dwelling in the promised land: "I shall transplant them (or: remove them) as (or: to be) a righteous plant"; "he made a root for planting grow from Israel and from Aaron to occupy His land". Hence, in AW also I believe that the "plant" denotes Israel as settled in its soil, its land. That makes sense of the parallel texts, of the imagery itself, offers good OT precedents (is the plant a vine?) and is consistent with the well-established OT formula that the gift of the land was "as promised (or sworn, or covenanted) to your fathers".

According to Dexinger, while "plant" refers to the elect, "root" refers to the nation of Israel; the two were certainly to be sharply distinguished. In AW a distinction is indeed possible, even though "root" occurs only once, because that occurrence describes the dispersal of the nation: "the whole clan of the chosen root shall be dispersed". The object of description seems to be negative, with the implication that the "choice" of the nation Israel is about to devolve onto a remnant. But is this really the case: why "root"? Obviously the metaphor is linked to "plant" - one might even suggest the terms belong to a single metaphor. Since Jubilees does not employ the term "root", we have to resort to CD for possible assistance. Here it occurs only once, where God makes a "root for

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planting" grow from "Israel and Aaron" for the occupation of the land.(1.7). The striking point of comparison is the condition in which this divine act takes place. "Root" occurs only once in AW and once in CD and in both cases it is used in conjunction with the dispersion or exile. In AW it is the root which is dispersed, while in CD it is the root which grows from the remnant of Israel which is "not brought to total destruction" (1.4f.) in the wake of the Babylonian deportation. The root is the exilic community. For the "dispersed" in AW are not the entire nation, but those deported: in CD the "root" is the deported remnant from which the plant will grow. Here, at last, we have what was previously missing: a reference to the diaspora as the matrix of the group: not exile, a term which would be capable of a symbolic interpretation, but dispersion, an historical and geographical fact.

#### Other terms

A detailed investigation of other terms common to our three texts would establish little more than a demonstration that there is a good deal of common vocabulary and conceptual coherence. Accordingly, I shall simply list, with brief comments, those words which seem to form a common stock of basic ideological language in two or in all of the texts:<sup>30</sup>

1. "err, stray" (t<sup>c</sup>h), of Israel with respect to the law: Not in AW. Jub. 1.11,14; also used are the verbs "forget", "forsake", "neglect". CD 1.15; 2.13,17; 3.1,4,14; 4.1; 5.20; (12.3); mostly in the discourse 2.14 - 4.12b, but represented once in each of the preceding discourses and in the following section. The notion of Israel's straying is a major argument of the opening section of the Admonition.

2. "choose, chosen" (b<sup>h</sup>r): Not in Jub 1. 1En 93.5,8,10; of the originally chosen

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patriarchs, of the chosen survivors of the pre-exilic Israel and of the group for whom AW speaks - all of God choosing. CD 1.18,19; 3.11 of Israel's wrong choice; 2.7 of God not choosing the wicked; 2.15 inviting the hearers to choose God's will; 3.2 of Noah's not choosing his own desire; 4.3 of the group as the "chosen of Israel"; 8.8/19.20 of the wrong choice of the "princes of Judah"; a wider range of usage, frequent enough to make "choosing" a theme throughout the Admonition, whose purpose is to invite the right choice. Only twice (once implicitly) is God the chooser.

#### 3. "hiding the face":

Not in AW. Jub 1.13 and CD 1.3 use it for the action of God in bringing destruction and dispersion on Israel at the Exile.

4. Other terms common to Jub 1 and CD such as "forsake", "rebel", "stubbornness" "remove", "feasts", "new moons", and many others, while not significant individually, cumulatively demonstrate further the communality of vocabulary and idiom within a basically identical ideology.

#### Postscript

This restricted analysis of three Essene texts has not even covered the whole of EE and Jubilees. Detailed comparison is required of the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 83 - 90) and Jub. 23.14-31. The former does not appear to be an Essene composition; the latter has been suggested by Davenport as exhibiting signs of two redactions, one at Qumran.<sup>31</sup> Like Jub. 1, it envisages a renewed search for the law and the commandments, followed by greater longevity (the "glory of Adam" of CD 3.20?). There are in this passage some possible parallels with the latest strata of CD: at 23.21: "those who escaped will not be turned back", cf. CD 8.20f.; at 23.31: the quotation of Ex. 20.61, cf. CD 20.21f.; and just



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possibly there is a connection between 23.20 "...war in order to return them to the way" and CD 20.14's "men of war" and the appearance of "way" in 19 passim. A further parallel with the original stratum of CD is the return of great longevity following a search for the law, 23.27, and the "glory of Adam" in CD 3.20. However, it still remains to be shown how much of Jubilees refers to the period of the author; 23.14-23 is possibly referring to the pre-exilic generation. If there is contemporary social critique here, however, we must consider it in the light of EE and also CD 8.2ff, where the "princes of Judah" are attacked. I have suggested<sup>32</sup> that this critique belongs to a secondary level in CD, and relates to the development of an Essene social ideology in Palestine. Perhaps that conclusion can be confirmed or corrected by an investigation of other elements in early Essene texts.

At all events, the very modest analysis above demonstrates the possibility of gaining insights into Essene history and ideology through a literary-critical analysis. There is indeed a history to be written from these sources. While some excellent work has been done on the individual documents, as yet the opportunity to perceive a history of a single distinct movement in these texts has not been taken. This may be partly because it was not suspected that such a history was there; but it can now hardly be denied that the evidence invites us to follow the theory that a substantial body of Jewish literature of the late Second Temple Period comes from the Essenes. Is this so surprising? For Josephus they were the major Jewish "philosophy", and it is about time we put them back on the centre of the Jewish stage. Their Qumran secessionists have in one way given the Essenes a sectarian reputation, but they have also, it seems, redeemed themselves somewhat by handing over to us the means to rediscover a mainstream Jewish movement.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. For the use of this term - and for the definition of history which I espouse, see Leon J. Goldstein, Historical Knowing, Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1976. (See especially pp. 102ff. where the problem of disagreement in history is exemplified in two books about Qumran.)
2. See Neusner's Reading and Believing. Ancient Judaism and Contemporary Gullibility (Brown Judaic Studies, 113), Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986. In a letter to Neusner I suggested that Qumran studies had exhibited worse examples of naivety even than rabbinic studies, and he agreed. Qumran scholars may be relieved that Neusner's attention has thus far been directed elsewhere.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO: QUMRAN BEGINNINGS

1. M. Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, New York: Viking, 1958, 191 (repr. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1978).
2. J.T. Milik, Ten Years of Discovery in the Judaean Wilderness, London: SCM, 1959; F.M. Cross, Jr., The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1959.
3. R. de Vaux, Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls, Oxford: OUP, 1973, 116-17.
4. M. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period, Philadelphia: Fortress/London: SCM, 1974, 224-27.
5. G. Vermes, Les Manuscrits du désert de Juda, Tournai: Desclée, 1953; E. Schürer, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ, revised by G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Black, II, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979, 585-90.
6. G. Jeremias, Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963; H. Stegemann, Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde, Bonn: privately published, 1971.

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7. F.M. Cross, Jr., "The Early History of the Qumran Community" in New Directions in Biblical Archaeology, ed. D.N. Freedman and J.C. Greenfield, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1976, 70-89, 76.
8. Op. cit., 44ff.; the following quotation is from p. 92.
9. In the revision of Schürer, II, 583, and cf. 586.
10. G. Jeremias, op. cit. (n. 6).
11. H. Stegemann, op. cit. (n. 6).
12. "An Essene Missionary Document? CD II,14-VI,1," RB 77 (1970), 201-29; "A Literary Analysis of Damascus Document VI,2-VIII,3," RB 78 (1971), 210-32; "The Original Text of CD 7:9-8:2 = 19:5-14," HTR 64 (1971), 379-86; "The Translation of Damascus Document VI,11-14," RQ 7 (1971), 553-56; "The Critique of the Princes of Judah (CD VIII,3-19)," RB 79 (1972), 200-16; "A Literary Analysis of Damascus Document XIX,33-XX,34," RB 79 (1972), 544-64; "The Essenes and Their History," RB 81 (1974), 215-44.
13. For a slightly different verdict but generally judicious comparison, see M.A. Knibb, "The Dead Sea Scrolls: Some Recent Publications," ET 90 (1979), 294-300.
14. The abrupt dismissal in Schurer II, 586 is justified by reducing Murphy-O'Connor's case to an exegetical equation of Damascus=Babylon, ignoring the remainder of the evidence.
15. Op. cit., 90f.,98.
16. E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, "An Unpublished Halakhic Letter from Qumran," Israel Museum Journal 4 (1985), 9-12; also Biblical Archeology Today, ed. J. Aviram, A. Biran, et al., Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1985, 400-407.
17. Cross, art. cit., 72.
18. Op. cit., 44.
19. The limits of palaeographical dating currently in vogue among those editing the Qumran materials seems to be 50 years, the maximum working lifetime of a scribe. The assumption that typology can be transferred rather simply into chronology is not self-evident, but here is not the place to tackle that problem. Certainly, however, some idea of the mechanism by which scripts evolve needs to be acquired, and the lifetime of a scribe may be an inadequate criterion. Still, even if we accept that criterion, the actual margin is not +/- 25 years (= 50) but +/- 50 (= 100). If this figure is applied, the usefulness of palaeography is

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severely diminished. Certainly, the probability of different scripts existing simultaneously at Qumran must be accepted. Logically, then, one particular mss. in Herodian script can predate another particular one in Hasmonean. Some statements of the palaeographical criteria in Qumran research imply, whether deliberately or not, that evolution of handwriting is pretty uniform; Birnbaum's efforts here are not to be taken too seriously. All in all, the dominance of palaeography in matters of Qumran history is unwarranted; presumably the impression lingers in some quarters that palaeography is the supremely "objective" factor. This is not so obvious, at least to scholars outside Harvard. A thorough demolition of the way palaeography has been applied to Qumran documents can be found in R. Eisenman, Maccabees, Zadokites, Christians and Qumran, Leiden: Brill, 1983, 28-31 and especially 78-91.

20. For elaboration of this point, see P.R. Davies, "Eschatology at Qumran," JBL 104 (1982), 42ff.

21. Cf. M.P. Horgan, Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books, Washington: CBA, 1979, 3.

22. Cross, art. cit., 82.

23. W.H. Brownlee, "The Wicked Priest, The Man of Lies, and the Righteous Teacher - The Problem of Identity," JQR 73 (1982), 1-37, esp. 5.

24. G.J. Brooke, Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985.

25. P.R. Davies, The Damascus Covenant, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984.

26. See G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "The Epistle of Enoch and the Qumran Literature," JJS 33 (1982), 333-48.

### NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE: CD AND ESSENE ORIGINS

1. "The Damascus Document Revisited," RB 92 (1985), 223-46 [hereafter DDR]; review of The Damascus Covenant, ibid., 274-77.

2. The Damascus Covenant, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983 [hereafter DC].

3. "The Origin and Subsequent History of The Authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Four Transitional Phases Among the

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Qumran Essenes," RQ 10 (1980), 213-33.

4. In his revision of E. Schürer, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135) Vol II, ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar & M. Black, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979, 585-590.

5. See the review by J.J. Collins, JBL 104 (1985), 530-533, who sufficiently misunderstands the contents and the argument to be able to confuse presupposition with conclusion. His dislike of the method is explicit, although his earlier work on the Sibylline Oracles employed it quite successfully. He appears at present to have no historical method to replace the one he has now abandoned.

6. The obvious bitterness evinced by the secession (as the Qumranites saw it) of many of the group would not necessarily cast a retrospective shadow on the pre-"Teacher" period, since CD is at pains to blame secession on a "Spouter of Lies" or "Scoffer" (1.13ff. etc.). To describe the sincerity of the earlier group would enhance that perspective.

7. I now prefer this translation of blb šlm; it seems to me that the sincerity of the group is what earns them a "Teacher" and not any perfection, even of heart - this is anyway contradicted by the description in 8b.

8. "The Original Text of CD 7.9-8.2/19.5-14," HTR 64 (1971), 379-86.

9. "The Amos-Numbers Midrash (CD 7:13b-8:1a) and Messianic Expectation," ZAW 92 (1980), 387-404.

10. "Again: Damascus in Damascus Document and in Rabbinical Literature," RQ 11 (1982), 100-104.

11. DC, 134-36; "The Ideology of the Temple in the Damascus Document," JJS 33 (1982), 287-301.

12. For a recent discussion of "eschatological measurement", including lists, see R. Stuhlmann, Das eschatologische Mass im Neuen Testament, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983. Our passage is referred to on pp. 92, 140ff.

13. DC, 134-36; "The Ideology of the Temple in the Damascus Document". H. Stegemann, Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde, Bonn, 1971, 225-26, had argued that the pre-Qumran community (which he identified with the Hasidim), did not completely boycott the Temple, but he did not explore any further the basis of this attitude. It remains an open question whether - and if so, how - the non-Qumran Essenes continued to use the Temple.

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14. "La g n se litt raire de la R gle de la Communaut ," RB 76 (1969), 528-49.

### NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR: SONS OF ZADOK

1. Cambridge: CUP, 1910, repr. New York: KTAV, 1970 with a Prolegomenon by J.A. Fitzmyer.
2. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament II, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913, 785-834.
3. "Un  crit sadduc en ant rieur   la destruction du Temple," REJ 61 (1911) 161-205; 63 (1912), 1-19.
4. The history of scholarship has been briefly reviewed in my The Damascus Covenant, 5-47.
5. "La g n se litt raire de la R gle de la communaut ," RB 76 (1969), 528-49; cf. the subsequent refinement by J. Pouilly, La R gle de la Communaut  de Qumran: son  volution litt raire, Paris: Gabalda, 1976.
6. E.g. H.H. Rowley, "The Teacher of Righteousness and the Dead Sea Scrolls," BJRL 40 (1957), 138; A.R.C. Leaney, The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning, London: SCM, 1966, 91-95.
7. H. Stegemann, Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde, Bonn, 1971, 220; J. Murphy-O'Connor, "The Essenes and their History," RB 81 (1984), 215-44 (230), "Demetrius I and the Teacher of Righteousness," RB 83 (1976), 400-420.
8. The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness, Cincinnati: HUC, 1983, esp. 101-129. See also the earlier discussion of this possibility by Y. Yadin, Megillat hammigdash, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977, I, 300-303.
9. So, e.g., I. L vi, art. cit., 180f.; P. Wernberg-M ller, "Zdq, zdyq and zdwq in the Zadokite Fragments (CDC), the Manual of Discipline (DSD) and the Habakkuk-Commentary (DSH)" VT 3 (1953), 310-15.
10. E. Meyer, "Die Gemeinde des neues Bundes im Lande Damaskus: eine j dische Schrift aus der Seleukidenzeit," Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse 9, Berlin, 1919, 1-65 (34).

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11. L. Ginzberg, Eine Unbekannte jüdische Sekte, New York: privately published, 1922; rev. ed. An Unknown Jewish Sect, New York: KTAV, 1970, 21 [references to the English edition]; C. Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958<sup>2</sup>, 18. Cf. also L. Schiffmann, The Halakhah at Qumran, Leiden: Brill, 1975, 31.
12. "Zadok and the SPR HTWRH HHTWM in Dam. Doc. V, 2-5," RQ 11 (1984), 561-70.
13. ibid., 569.
14. J.T. Milik in Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan (=DJDJ), III, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962, 201-302 (214, 271).
15. C. Newsom, Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985 (cf. the concordance, 442).
16. E.g. A.R.C. Leaney, The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning, 228, 231.
17. J. Liver, "The 'Sons of Zadok the Priests' in the Dead Sea Sect" RQ 6 (1967-69), 3-30 (7); Wernberg-Møller, art. cit., 310f. proposes reading bn̄y ẓdyq (= bn̄y ẓdq).
18. Art. cit., 313f.
19. There may be some significance in the phrase "keepers of the Covenant" as an epithet of the Zadokite priests (twice in IQS 5), in light of Ezek. 44.15's "who kept charge of my sanctuary" (šmrw 't mšmrt mqđšy); is this a polemic also against other, non-Qumran Zadokites? Note, though, how "covenant" is also named in connection with the "majority" or "multitude", as if to equalize any special status of the Zadokites in this respect. The mention of covenant in their case is surely redundant otherwise.
20. See n. 5 above. In his preface to Pouilly's book, Murphy-O'Connor accepts the two minor modifications argued there. Consequently both scholars may be taken to propose the same analysis.
21. E.F. Sutcliffe, "The First Fifteen Members of the Qumran Community: A Note on IQS 8.1ff.," JSS 4 (1959), 134-38; The Monks of Qumran, London: Burns & Oates, 1960, 58f., 254f. The suggestion also has the support of P. Guilbert, "Le plan de la Règle de la Communauté," RQ 1 (1959), 323ff., P. Wernberg-Møller, The Manual of Discipline, Leiden: Brill, 1957, and A.R.C. Leaney, op. cit., 208ff. ("Model of a Pioneer Community").
22. "La gènèse littéraire," 537.

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23. The standard edition of this document is by Allegro in DJDJ V, 1968. The volume ought to be used in conjunction with J. Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,'" RQ 7 (1970), 163-276; for 4QFl, however, the best edition, translation and commentary are to be found in G.J. Brooke, Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985.
24. The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962.
25. Les écrits esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte, Paris: Payot, 1959, 327. (ET, The Essene Writings from Qumran, Oxford: Blackwell, 1961.)
26. Op. cit., 118f.
27. The Damascus Covenant, 186.
28. Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im NT, Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971, 136ff. Due acknowledgement should be given to two articles on the subject which have not been discussed but whose conclusions are on the whole in line with those being presented here and to which I am indebted in several ways: M. Delcor, "Le sacerdoce, les lieux de culte, les rites et les fetes dans les documents du Khirbet Qumran," RHR 144 (1957), 5-40, esp. 6-14, and J. Liver, "The 'Sons of Zadok the Priests' in the Dead Sea Sect," RQ 6 (1967-69), 3-30. Both accept that the "sons of Zadok" played a determining role in the formation of the Qumran sect and attribute this role to the crisis over the high priesthood in the Hasmonean period.
29. Particularly interesting is the article by C.T.R. Hayward, "The Jewish Temple at Leontopolis: A Reconsideration," JJS 33 (1982), 429-443.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE: MARRIAGE AND THE ESSENES

1. While the exact meaning of wytym pnyhm lslwst myny hsdq is not certain, the majority of commentators agree on the sense: J. Maier, Die Texte vom Toten Meer, Munich: Reinhardt, 1960, I, 52: "gibt ihnen den Anschein dreier Arten des Rechts"; C. Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, Oxford, 1954, ad loc., "made them appear [to them] as three kinds of righteousness"; G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 101: "setting them up as three kinds of righteousness". R.H.



Charles, "Fragments of a Zadokite Work", The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, II, 809 translates more literally: "directed their faces to...."

2. The sequence here is problematic whether one translates in 4.20 "trapped in two nets" or "trapped in fornication in two respects", as e.g. Rabin. It has been suggested (G. Jeremias, Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962, 103; J. Murphy-O'Connor, "An Essene Missionary Document? CD II,14-VI,1," RB 77 (1970), 201-229, 221) that marriage with a niece might be a further instance of Temple defilement in that both this and intercourse with menstruants were directed at the behaviour of priests. It is less conjectural to make a connection via Leviticus 15.19-31: "thus you shall keep the people of Israel separate from their uncleanness, lest they die in their uncleanness by defiling my tabernacle which is in their midst."

3. The use of the phrase "builders of the wall" is plausibly an allusion to CD 4.11b-12 which precedes our passage and uses the imagery of a wall to separate the community of CD from the remainder of Israel. The origin of the phrase is biblical; cf. Ezekiel 13.10. Many scholars regard these "builders of the wall" as sectarian opponents of the Qumran community (so Vermes, "Sectarian Matrimonial Halakhah in the Damascus Rule", Post-Biblical Jewish Studies, Leiden: Brill, 1975, 50: "doctrinal opponents of the Zadokite community". Jeremias, Stegemann (Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde, 151ff.) and Murphy-O'Connor (art. cit., 219ff.) all regard them as rebels from the community of the "Teacher of Righteousness". But Stegemann and Murphy-O'Connor agree (with minor variations) that the reference to the "Spouter" here is a gloss. See also my The Damascus Covenant, 111f.

4. Halakic disagreement can also account for the accusation of Temple defilement in 5.6b-7a, constituting the second "net of Belial". Ensnarement in this net is instanced by the case of intercourse with a menstruant, but here too it is probably a matter of disagreement over the length of the period of uncleanness rather than over the fundamental principle. It is unnecessary to suppose that any Jews regarded intercourse with menstruants as acceptable.

5. S. Schechter, Documents of Jewish Sectaries. On p. 19, Schechter comments, referring back to p. 17, "But as pointed out above....the Sect....regarded a second marriage during the lifetime of the first husband, even after divorce, as fornication" (my emphasis). Is "husband" here a mistake for "wife" or is Schechter as confused as his readers?

6. Op. cit., 810.

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7. E.g., J. Fitzmyer, "The Matthean Divorce Texts and Some New Palestinian Evidence," Theological Studies 37, 197-226; "Divorce Among First-Century Palestinian Jews," Eretz-Israel 14, 103-20.
8. E.g. J. Hempel in an editorial comment on the article by P. Winter, "Šadoqite Fragments IV 20,21 and the Exegesis of Genesis 1:27 in late Judaism," ZAW 68 (1956), 71-84, 264; M. Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins, London/New York: Nelson, 1961, 123f.; W.L. Lane, The Gospel According to Mark, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974, 356, n.14.
9. Murphy-O'Connor, "An Essene Missionary Document? CD II,14-VI,1," RB 77 (1970), 201-29, quoted from 220
10. Vermes, 50-56, quoted from 52.
11. Y. Yadin, "L'attitude essénien envers la polygamie et le divorce," RB 79 (1972), 98.
12. J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Remarques sur l'expose du Professeur Y. Yadin," RB 79 (1972), 99-100. Note also the opinion of J. Mueller, "The Temple Scroll and the Gospel Divorce Texts," RQ 10 (1980), 247-56, that 11QT forbids both polygamy and divorce.
13. This contradicts the opinion of Jeremias (op. cit., 100f.): "soviel wir sehen, war die Polygamie überall im orthodoxen Judentum erlaubt, bei Pharisäern und Sadducäern. Josephus stellt die Polygamie als selbstverständliche Sitte hin...!"
14. Cf. his Qumran Studies, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.
15. Murphy-O'Connor, art. cit., 221: "its parenthetical character ..... is recognized by all"; Maier, op. cit., II, 148: "Einschub"; Stegemann is of the same opinion.
16. Josephus, War, II, 160-161. He is referring to the "other order" of Essenes of course; those first mentioned by him (119ff.) "disdain marriage" but do not "in principle condemn wedlock" (121). Translation is that of Thackeray in the Loeb edition, London: Heinemann and Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961.

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### NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX: HISTORY AND HAGIOGRAPHY

1. E.g. "Ps 151 in 11 Q Pss," ZAW 75 (1963), 73-86 (esp. 77f.); "Variorum in the Psalms Scroll (11QPs<sup>a</sup>)," HTR 59 (1966), 83-94.
2. S. Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot. Psalms from Qumran, Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960.
3. For a recent survey of opinions, confirming this consensus, see M. Delcor and F. García Martínez, Introducción a la Literatura Esenia de Qumran, Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1982, 109.
4. J. Carmignac, "Les elements historiques des 'Hymnes' de Qumrân," RQ 2 (1960), 205-222.
5. H.-W. Kuhn, Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957.
6. In addition to the article cited in n.4, see "Localisations des fragments 15, 18 et 22 des Hymnes," RQ 1 (1959), 425-430; "Complements au texte des Hymnes de Qoumrân?" RQ 2 (1960), 267-276, 549-558.
7. Translation from M. Horgan, Pesharim: Qumran Inter-pretations of Biblical Books, Washington: CBA, 1979, 19.
8. Translation from G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 161.
9. The wordplay here has already been observed by R. Eisenman, James the Just in the Habakkuk Peshet, Leiden: Brill, 1985, 53, 91f., 96 (bl<sup>c</sup>) and 101 (zmmw).
10. Jeremias, Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit, 77; cf. the refutation by B. Thiering, "Once More the Wicked Priest", JBL 97 (1978), 191-205, who refers both terms to the same historical personage. But did the writer of the commentator know the identity of either?
11. See Horgan, 196.
12. See Horgan, 163-4.
13. See Horgan, 103.

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### NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN: A COMPARISON OF THREE ESSENE TEXTS

1. Argued in my The Damascus Covenant. It remains a little disappointing to me that no serious attempt has been made to refute this thesis while no-one (Murphy-O'Connor apart) has accepted it or its implications, either. Right or wrong, I would have thought that the claim of the book made an important difference to Qumran studies.

2. F. Dexinger, Henochs Zehnwochenapokalypse und offene Probleme der Apokalyptikforschung, Leiden: Brill, 1977.

3. G.L. Davenport, The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees, Leiden: Brill, 1971.

4. J.C. VanderKam, Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees, Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977, esp. 255ff.

5. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "The Epistle of Enoch and Qumran", JJS 33 (1982), 333-348 (344f.). This treatment has now been amplified by an excellent study published in SBL Seminar Papers 1986, whose conclusions are, I believe, convergent with those of this chapter, but based solidly on social-religious analysis of Enoch materials. The verdict of F. Dexinger on AW: "die späteren Qumran-Essener mit den Urhebern der 10WApk geistig verwandt sind." (op. cit., 188) is fully borne out by subsequent analyses.

6. O. Plöger, Theocracy and Eschatology, Oxford: Blackwell, 1968.

7. M. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism, London: SCM, 1974, I, 175ff.

8. P.D. Hanson, The Dawn of Apocalyptic, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975.

9. By "late Judaism" I refer to the successors (along with Christianity) of "early Judaism", now an established term for the pre-70 CE religion, particularly of Palestine but also of extra-Palestinian Jewish communities. It includes rabbinic Judaism, but also other developments attested by the Hekhaloth literature, Qabbalah and Hasidism.

10. Jubilees 23.16-21 is very important, but I hope to devote a future paper to its analysis.

11. The translations of AW and J are from The Old Testament

## Notes

Pseudepigrapha, ed. J.H. Charlesworth, Garden City, 1985, and the translation of CD from The Damascus Covenant.

12. Davenport, op. cit. 14f., 19ff.

13. The Damascus Covenant, 100f.

14. R.H. Charles, The Book of Enoch, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893, 262f.

15. E.g. the pattern of wickedness followed by separation of the elect, suggested by J.J. Collins, The Apocalyptic Imagination, New York: Crossroad, 1984, 51.

16. Some editorial amendment of the original apocalypse by the author of the EE is probable at any rate; cf. M. Black, "The Apocalypse of Weeks in the Light of 4QEn<sup>g</sup>", VT 28 (1978), 464-69; Dexinger, op. cit., 108f. separates from even the Aramaic text a "Methuselah Apocalypse (91.1,3b-10; 92.3-5), leaving an original AW of 92.1acd; 93.3b-10; 91.11-17 and redactional touches in 91.2,3a,18-19; 93.1-3a,11-14 with a further redactor adding 93.11 (eth) and expanding 93.11-14.

17. The Ethiopic has "remove" in the sense of leaving one's place of residence, which seems to me (pace Wintermute in OTP II, 53), quite appropriate for the return from the diaspora.

18. The elements are set out in a table in The Damascus Covenant, 79.

19. M.A. Knibb, "Exile in the Damascus Document", JSOT 25 (1983), 99-117; J.J. Collins, op. cit., 60f.

20. Published by M. Baillet, "Un recueil liturgique de Qumran, Grotte 4: Les parôles des luminaires", RB 68 (1961), 195-250.

21. The Damascus Covenant, 62f.

22. For a detailed analysis of Temple ideology in CD see my "The Ideology of the Temple in the Damascus Document", JJS 33 (1982), 287-301.

23. Dexinger, op. cit., 188 refers to AW's "unverkennbare Distanz zum konkreten Tempel in Jerusalem".

24. So Charles, APOT, II, 263.

25. Op. cit., 74.

26. Ibid., 52

## Notes

27. B.Z. Wacholder, The Dawn of Qumran, Cincinnati: HUC, 1983.
29. The Damascus Covenant, 182f.
30. Op. cit., 145-181.
31. Obviously, in the case of Jubilees the original Hebrew/Aramaic term is not present. The point of the exercise, however, is that the terms compared are used in a consistent way, which permits us to assume linguistic equivalence as well as idiomatic identity. Hence, for example, "righteousness" would be qdq in Hebrew, qšwt in Aramaic, as the Q Enoch fragments show.
32. Davenport, op. cit., 32-46.
33. The Damascus Covenant, 155ff.



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