

relationship of the *Sabbath Songs* to the ideology and the life of the Qumran Association were can also be learned from Lange's dissertation of 1994.⁷⁰ One example should perhaps be cited: On p. 172 Lange writes "Der paläographische Befund zeigt, dass die Sabbatlieder in der frühherodianischen Schriftepoche (ca. 30-1 v. Chr.)^[71] vom *yahad* intensiver^[72] gelesen wurden als zu anderen Zeiten, da in dieser Zeit fast die Hälfte der in Qumran gefundenen Abschriften entstand."

The problematic situation becomes likewise obvious when one compares the tentatively restored texts and their translations as offered in *Angellit* and by Lange, e.g. of 4Q402 4⁷³ or through Tigchelaar's⁷⁴ column II to be compared with *Angellit* pp. 46 and 154 ff.

Surely, none of those concerning themselves with the *Sabbath Songs* can claim to offer materials of any historical liability except the modest work by Pavel Zdun who mainly used in his licentiate thesis earlier studies of Carol Newsom as basis for his translation and comments.⁷⁵ Since Zdzisław Jan Kapera has already reviewed this study and has described it quite fairly with due appreciation,⁷⁶ it may suffice here to refer to its pages 162-186 which offer in chapter 3 a selection of "theological" issues building on evidence attested in the actually preserved materials. Especially to be noted are pp. 179 f. with the attestations of the title מלך "King" for God which were seemingly unusual for 'Qumranic' assertions, yet in no way a matter of dissense.⁷⁷

Goettingen 1984) p. 274.

⁷⁰ Armin Lange *Weisheit und Prädestination* = *STDJ* 18 (1995). See esp. pp. 171 ff.

⁷¹ If there has been such.

⁷² Lange meint sicher 'öfter' oder "von mehreren Personen" oder "Gruppen".

⁷³ *Angellit* p. 152 and Lange *o.c.* p. 176 with their translations on the pages facing the texts.

⁷⁴ Through foregoing note 55 pp. 182 f.

⁷⁵ Unfortunately, reference to his book of 1996 is missing in *Angellit* of 1999.

⁷⁶ In *The Qumran Chronicle* 7 (Kraków 1997) pp. 253-255.

⁷⁷ This was also noticed by A. Schwemer and the editors of *Angellit* p. 6b: "The prominence of the motif of God as king in the *Sabbath Songs* is striking and distinguishes this work from much contemporary literature."

BRUNO W.W. DOMBROWSKI

QUMRANOLOGICA X*

Four Books of Virtual Importance for Studies in Matters Qumran

Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich (eds.), *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls · Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues = Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* (edited by F. García Martínez and A. S. van der Woude) [= *STDJ*] vol. 30 (E. J. Brill, Leiden - Boston - Cologne 1999) viii + 711 pp. [ISBN 90 04 111 557] Nlg 313,00 / US \$ 184; hence *Pr*.

Esther G. Chazon and Michael Stone with Avital Pinnick (eds.) *Pseud-epigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls · Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 January 1997 = STDJ* vol. 31 (ibid. 1999) viii + 217 pp. [ISBN 90 04 111 646]; hence *Ch-St*

Peter W. Flint and James C. Vanderkam assisted by Andrea E. Alvarez (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years · A Comprehensive Assessment* Vol. 2 (E. J. Brill, Leiden - Boston - Cologne 1999) XXIV + 816 pp. [ISBN 9004110607 and ISBN 90-04-11061-5]; Nlg 150,00 / US \$ 88; hence *DSS* 50.

* "Qumranologica I" in *Folia Orientalia* XXXI (1995) pp. 211-238 plus missing notes on the back cover after p. 260, "Qumranologica II" and "Qumranologica III" in *FolOr* 32 (1996) pp. 165-182, 183-199, "Qumranologica IV" and "Qumranologica V" in *FolOr* 33 (1997) pp. 197-208, 209-222, "Qumranologica VI" and "Qumranologica VII" in *FolOr* 34 (1998) pp. 183-192, 193-202, "Qumranologica VIII" in *FolOr* 35 (1999) pp. 207-223, "Qumranologica IX" in *FolOr* 37 (2001) pp. 205-220. These review-articles will be referred to, if at all, by their titles only.

Beate Ego, Armin Lange, Peter Pilhofer with Kathrin Ehlers, *Gemeinde ohne Tempel - Community without Temple · Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* = *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 118 edited by Martin Hengel and Otfried Hofius¹ (Mohr Siebeck Tübingen 1999) X + 519 pp., DM 218,50 [ISSN 0512-1604]; hence *WUNT* 118.

These volumes belong to a large extent to what was listed in *Qumranologica IX* as category II, i.e. to such studies exploiting scrolls and passages thereof to have existing or newly developed hypotheses strengthened or corroborated.

Since it is impossible and would not be worthwhile to discuss a considerable number of their articles and essays in detail; they are first listed in the alphabetical order of the surnames of the individual contributors²:

Martin G. Abegg, Jr. "Does Anyone Really Know What Time it is: A Reexamination of 4Q503 in Light of 4Q317" = *Pr* pp. 396-406 <1>³
Matthias Albani "Horoscopes in the Qumran Scrolls" = *DSS* 50 pp. 279-330 <2>..... " 'Wo sollte ein Haus sein, das ihr mir bauen könntet?' (Jes 66,1 Schöpfung als Tempel JHWHs)"** = *WUNT* 118 pp. 37-56 <3>..... see Glessmer
Philip S. Alexander "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls" = *DSS* 50 pp. 331-353 <4> Elaine M. Alger see Miner David V. Arnold see Miner
David E. Aune "Qumran and the Book of Revelation" = *DSS* pp. 622-648 <5> **Friedrich Avemarie** "Ist die Johannestaufe ein Ausdruck von Tempelkritik? · Skizze eines methodischen Problems" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 395-410 <6> **Jostein Ådna** "Jesus' Symbolic Act in the Temple (Mark 11:15-17): The Replacement of the Sacrificial Cult by his Atoning Death" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 461-475** <7> Blake C. Ballif see Woodward Gila K. Bargal see Woodward
Joseph M. Baumgarten "Messianic Forgiveness of Sin in CD 14:19 (4Q266 10 I 12-13)" = *Pr* pp. 537-544 <8> "The Purification Liturgies" = *DSS* 50 pp. 200-212 <9> **Gregory**

¹ Although this work contains a number of studies on subjects of other aspects of Jewish life than matters directly concerning the Qumran Association it is discussed in this context on the grounds of its relevance to qumranologica. Unfortunately, the designation 'Qumranic' (and its derivations as, e.g., 'qumranological') have gained a double significance: it can relate to the Qumran Association, its ideology and activities (hence = type A) and also to other finds made in the Qumran area and the results of their interpretation (hence = type B). Unfortunately, the two usages have at times been confused.

² Those marked by two asterisks are not concerned with Qumran.

³ Numbers in this fashion will serve for references further below.

Bearman and Sheila Spiro "Imaging Clarified" = *Pr* pp. 5-12 <10> **Moshe J. Bernstein** "Noah and the Flood at Qumran" = *Pr* pp. 199-231 <11> "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls: Categories and Functions" = *Ch-St* pp. 1-26 <12> **Christfried Böttrich** " 'Ihr seid der Tempel Gottes'. Tempelmetaphorik und Gemeinde bei Paulus" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 411-425** <13> **James E. Bowley** "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran" = *DSS* 50 pp. 354-378 <14> **Marc Bregman** "Pseudepigraphy in Rabbinic Literature" = *Ch-St* pp. 27-41** <15> **George J. Brooke** "The Allegro Qumran Photograph Collection: Old Photos and New Information" = *Pr* pp. 13-29 <16> "Miqdash Adam, Eden and the Qumran Community" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 285-301 <17> **Magen Broshi** and **Hanan Eshel** "How and where did the Qumranites Live?" = *Pr* pp. 266-273 <18>..... see Woodward
James H. Charlesworth "John the Baptizer and Qumran Barriers in Light of the Rule of the Community" = *Pr* pp. 353-375 <19> **Esther G. Chazon** "A Case of Mistaken Identity: Testament of Naphtali (4Q215) and Time of Righteousness (4Q215a)" = *Pr* pp. 110-123 <20>..... and **Michael E. Stone** "4QTime of Righteousness (4Q215a, Olim 4QTNaphtali): A Preliminary Publication of Fragment I II" = *Pr* pp. 124 f. <21> **John J. Collins** "In the Likeness of the Holy Ones: The Creation of Humankind in a Wisdom Text from Qumran" = *Pr* pp. 609-618 <22> "Pseudepigraphy and Group Formation in Second Temple Judaism" = *Ch-St* pp. 43-58 <23> "Apocalypticism and Literary Genre in the Dead Sea Scrolls" = *DSS* 50 pp. 403-430 <24> **James R. Davila** "Heavenly Ascents in the Dead Sea Scrolls" = *DSS* 50 pp. 461-485 <25> **Marinus De Jonge** "Levi in Aramaic Levi and in the Testament of Levi" = *Ch-St* pp. 71-89 <26> **Beate Ego** "Der Strom der Tora · Zur Rezeption eines tempeltheologischen Motivs in frühjüdischer Zeit" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 205-214** <27> **Torleif Elgvin** "Renewed Earth and Renewed People: 4Q475" = *Pr* pp. 576-591 <28> **Esther Eshel** "The Identification of the 'Speaker' of the Self-Glorification Hymn" = *Pr* pp. 619-635 <29> "Prayer in Qumran and the Synagogue" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 323-334 <30> **Hanan Eshel** "The Meaning and Significance of CD 20:13-15" = *Pr* pp. 330-336 <31> "Josephus' View on Judaism without the Temple in Light of the Discoveries at Masada and Murabba'at" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 229-238 <32> see Broshi
Craig A. Evans " 'The Two Sons of Oil': Early Evidence of Messianic Interpretation of Zechariah 4:14 in 4Q254 4 2" = *Pr* pp. 566-575 <33> "Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls" = *DSS* 50 pp. 573-598 <34> **Daniel K. Falk** "Biblical Adaptation in 4Q392 Works of God and 4Q393 Communal Confession" = *Pr* pp. 126-146 <35> **Joseph A. Fitzmyer** "The Aramaic Levi Document" = *Pr* pp. 453-464 <36> "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls"

= *DSS* 50 pp. 599-621 <37> **Peter W. Flint** "'Apocrypha,' Other Previously-Known Writings, and 'Pseudepigrapha' in the Dead Sea Scrolls" = *DSS* 50 pp. 24-66 <38> "A Preliminary Edition of 4QPs^d (4Q86)" = *Pr* pp. 93-105 <39> **Jörg Frey** "Temple and Rival Temple – The Cases of Elephantine, Mt. Gerizim, and Leontopolis" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 171-203 ** <40> **Ida Fröhlich** "Qumran Names" = *Pr* pp. 294-305 <41> **Uwe Glessmer** "Calendars in the Qumran Scrolls" = *DSS* 50 pp. 213-278 <42> and **Matthias Albani** "An Astronomical Measuring Instrument from Qumran" = *Pr* pp. 407-442 <43> **Stephen Goranson** "Others and Intra-Jewish Polemic as Reflected in Qumran Texts" = *DSS* 50 pp. 534-551 <44> **Betsy Halpern-Amaru** "The Naming of Levi in the Book of Jubilees" = *Ch-St* pp. 59-69** <45> Perry J. Hardin see Miner **Charlotte Hempel** "Community Origins in the *Damascus Document* in the Light of Recent Scholarship" = *Pr* pp. 316-329 <46> "Community Structures in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Admission, Organization, Discipline Procedures" = *DSS* 50 pp. 67-92 <47> **William Horbury** "Der Tempel bei Vergil und im herodianischen Judentum" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 149-168** <48> **F. G. Hüttenmeister** "Die Synagoge · Ihre Entwicklung von einer multifunktionalen Einrichtung zum reinen Kultbau" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 357-370** <49> **Curtis Hutt** "Qumran and the Ancient Sources" = *Pr* pp. 274-293 <50> Thomas W. Karlinsey see Miner **Michael Knibb** "Eschatology and Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls" = *DSS* 50 pp. 379-402 <51> **Robert A. Kugler** "The Priesthood at Qumran: The Evidence of References to Levi and the Levites" = *Pr* pp. 465-479 <52> "Priesthood at Qumran" = *DSS* 50 pp. 93-116 <53> **Dieter Kurth** "Ägypter ohne Tempel" = *WUNT* 118 133-148 ** <54> **Armin Lange** "Gebotsobservanz statt Opferkult · Zur Kultpolemik in Jer 7,1-8,3" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 19-35 ** <55> **Hermann Lichtenberger** "Zion and the Destruction of the Temple in 4 Ezra 9-10" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 239-249 ** <56> David G. Long see Miner **Florentino García Martínez** "More Fragments of 11QNJ" = *Pr* pp. 186-198 <57> "The Temple Scroll and the New Jerusalem" = *DSS* 50 pp. 431-460 <58> "Priestly Functions in a Community without Temple" = *WUNT* pp. 303-319 <59> **Corrado Martone** "Some Observations on the New *Mishmarot* Texts from Qumran" = *Pr* pp. 443-449 <60> **Sarianna Metso** "In Search of the *Sitz im Leben* of the *Community Rule*" = *Pr* pp. 306-315 <61> **Gayle F. Miner et al.** "Archaeological Applications of Synthetic Aperture Radar (SAR)" = *Pr* pp. 32-43 <62> **Hans-Peter Müller** "Plausibilitätsverlust herkömmlicher Religion bei Kohelet und den Vorsokratikern" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 99-113 ** <63> **Jacobus A. Naudé** "Holiness in the Dead Sea Scrolls" = *DSS* 50 pp. 171-199 <64> **George W. E.**

Nickelsburg "The Nature and Function of Revelation in 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and some Qumranic Documents" = *Ch-St* pp. 91-119 <65> **Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr** "Tora ohne Tempel · Paulus und der Jakobusbrief im Zusammenhang frühjüdischer Torarezeption für die Diaspora" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 427-460 ** <66> **Bilhah Nitzan** "The Textual, Literary and Religious Character of 4QBerakhot (4Q286-290)" = *Pr* pp. 636-656 <67> "Repentance in the Dead Sea Scrolls" = *DSS* 50 pp. 145-170 <68> **Donald W. Parry** "4QSam^a (4Q51): A Preliminary Edition of 1 Samuel 25: 3-31:4" = *Pr* pp. 58-71 <69> **Stephen J. Pfann** "The Essene Yearly Renewal Ceremony and the Baptism of Repentance" = *Pr* 337-352 <70> **Dana M. Pike** and **Andrew C. Skinner** "4QMiscellaneous Fragments: Progress and Problems" = *Pr* pp. 161-170 <71> **Petr Pokorný** " 'Wo zwei oder drei versammelt sind in meinem Namen (Mt 18,20)' " = *WUNT* 118 pp. 477-488 ** <72> **Émile Puech** "Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521 and Qumran Messianism" = *Pr* pp. 545-565 <73> **Elisha Qimron** "Toward a New Edition of 1QGenesis Apocryphon" = *Pr* pp. 106-109 <74> **Andreas Ruwe** "Die Veränderung tempeltheologischer Konzepte in Ezechiel 8-11" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 3-18** <75> **James A. Sanders** "The Impact of the Scrolls on Biblical Studies" = *Pr* pp. 47-57 <76> "The Scrolls and the Canonical Process" = *DSS* 50 pp. 1-23 <77> **Lawrence H. Schiffman** "Priestly and Levitical Gifts in the *Temple Scroll*" = *Pr* pp. 480-496 <78> "The Temple Scroll and the Halakhic Pseudepigrapha of the Second Temple Period" = *Ch-St* pp. 121-131 <79> "The Qumran Scrolls and Rabbinic Judaism" = *DSS* 50 pp. 552-571 <80> "Community Without Temple: The Qumran Community's Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 267-284 <81> **William M. Schniedewind** "Structural Aspects of Qumran Messianism in the *Damascus Document*" = *Pr* pp. 523-536 <82> **Stefan Schreiner** "Wo man Tora lernt, braucht man keinen Tempel · Einige Anmerkungen zum Problem der Tempelsubstitution im rabbinischen Judentum" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 371-392 ** <83> **Eileen Schuller** "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls" = *DSS* 50 pp. 117-144 <84> **David R. Seely** "4Q437: A First Look at an Unpublished *Barkī nafshī* Text" = *Pr* 147-160 <85> **Folker Siegert** "Die Synagoge und das Postulat eines unblutigen Opfers" = *WUNT* 118 pp. 335-356 ** <86> Andrew C. Skinner see Pike Sheila Spiro see through Bearman **Michael E. Stone** "The Axis of History at Qumran" = *Ch-St* pp. 133-149 <87> see Chazon **John Strugnell** "The Sapiential Work 4Q415ff and Pre-Qumranic Works from Qumran: Lexical Considerations" = *Pr* pp. 595-608 <88> **Shemaryahu Talmon** "Calendar Controversy in Ancient Judaism: the Case of the 'Community of the Renewed Covenant'" = *Pr* pp. 379-395 <89> Douglas G.

Thompson see Miner **Hans Georg Thümmel** "Versamlungsraum, Kirche, Tempel" = *WUNT 118* pp. 489-504** <90> **Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar** "Reconstructing 11Q17 *Shirot 'olat ha-shabbat*" = *Pr* pp. 171-185 <91> **Emanuel Tov** "Correction Procedures in the Texts from the Judean Desert" = *Pr* pp. 232-263 <92> **Eugene Ulrich** "'Oldest Psalms Manuscript: 4QPs^a (4Q83)" = *Pr* pp. 72-92 <93> **James C. VanderKam** "Isaac's Blessing of Levi and his Descendants in *Jubilees* 31" = *Pr* pp. 497-519 <94> "The Angel Story in the Book of *Jubilees*" = *Ch-St* pp. 151-170 <95> "Identity and History of the Community" *DSS 50* pp. 487-533 <96> **J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten** "Visions of the Temple in the Book of *Jubilees*" = *WUNT 118* pp. 215-227** <97> **Manuel Vogel** "Tempel und Tempelkult in Pseudo Philo *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*" = *WUNT 118* pp. 251-263** 98> **Cana Werman** "Qumran and the Book of Noah" = *Ch-St* pp. 171-181 <99> **Thomas Willi** "Levitien, Priester und Kult in vorhellenistischen Zeit · Die chronistische Optik in ihrem geschichtlichen Kontext" = *WUNT 118* pp. 75-98** <100> **Ina Willi-Plein** "Warum musste der Zweite Tempel gebaut werden?" = *WUNT 118* pp. 57-73** <101> **Lori C. Wood** see Woodward **Scott R. Woodward et al.** "Putting the Pieces Together: DAN and the Dead Sea Scrolls" = *Pr* pp. 30 f. <102> **Benjamin G. Wright** "Qumran Pseudepigrapha in Early Christianity" = *Ch-St* pp. 183-193 <103> **Erich Zenger** "Der Psalter als Heiligtum" = *WUNT 118* pp. 115-130** <104>.

Apart from the contributions on non-Qumranic matters in *WUNT 118*,⁴ and beside lists of textual evidence – to be noted is, especially, **Emanuel Tov's** contribution on pp. 669-717 in *DSS 50* – and indices in their latter parts as well, all four works offer materials demanding the attention of all those concerned with the finds in the area of Hirbet Qumran and a few other places in Judaea.

Here are such to be grouped as **type A**⁵: 4, 17, 25, 29, 31, 35, 39 (?), 41, 46, 47, 51, 59, 61, 64, 68, 81, 82, 84, 85, 88, 96 [!], and those to be counted as **type B**: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 50, 52, 53, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 84, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96 [!], 99, 102, 103.

⁴ They are due to its history and its scope (cf. *ibid.* pp. V f.).

⁵ See above note 1. Some of them belong to both groups.

II

While I cannot and need not go into details regarding all of the aforesaid studies, I choose one which seems to be the most important contribution:

After attempts of others to explain how the names 'Essaïoi and 'Eσσηνοί could have been designations for the Qumran Association, James C. VanderKam of the University of Notre Dame, one of the co-editors of *DSS 50* has in his contribution "Identity and History of the Community" – here item 96 – offered his interpretation of these names and their context to staunchly support his presentation of an identity of the Qumran Association with the sect of the Essenes as described mainly by Josephus and Philo Alexandrinus.

In the past VanderKam has even considered any mere comparison of the Qumran Association with Essenes inadequate and thought Qumran to have been a monastery of this group.⁶ While, other than *Johann Maier*, he did not fall prey to the arguments of Bergmeier,⁷ VanderKam did not consider either in his previous studies or in item 96 the details of Josephus' and Philo's relations on the Essenes. While in the latter on his pp. 487-500 he did not advance beyond others' previous explanations of their designations, he submitted in the second and third parts of his paper, i.e., on pp. 501-531 his "*History of the Qumran Community: A Survey of Proposals*" and "*A Sketch of the History of the Community*". After a discussion of qumranological literature, he offers in one paragraph on p. 507 a general introduction to "The History of the Community" repeating that "residents of Qumran wrote nothing that could be termed a history of their community (although they did refer to events in the group's past), and no other writer filled the gap. This includes Josephus whose sections on the Essenes 'reveal' in his view 'nothing at all'.⁸" Yet VanderKam feels that "within the general framework provided by the archaeological data and from the

⁶ See his "The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Essenes or Sadducees?" = *Bible Review* 7,2 (April 1991) pp. 42-47 and its reprint (with minor changes) "The Qumran Residents: Essenes not Sadducees!" = *Qumran Chronicle* [= *QChr*] 1,2/3 (1991) pp. 105-108. VanderKam has been followed by a number of others, so O. Betz and Rainer Riesner (see through *Qumranologica I*, esp. p. 221 f.).

⁷ Roland Bergmeier *Die Essener-Berichte des Flavius Josephus · Quellenstudien zu den Essenertexten im Werk des jüdischen Historiographen* (Kampen – The Netherlands 1993). See on this book and its matter the reference in *Qumranologica V* below.

⁸ Here he quotes P. R. Callaway on whose work see already my *Ideological and Sociostructural Developments of the Qumran Association* Part I = *Qumranica Mogilanensia* 11 (Kraków 1994) esp. pp. 24 f. and 28.

evidence in the texts it is possible to make some suggestions about the historical course of the small part of the Essene movement living at Qumran."⁹

Subsequently VanderKam parades illustrious men of the pre-Christian Jewish history through a discussion of various scholars' arguments in favour of the varying explanations of the origins and early development of the Qumran Association, by his claim always to be considered "Essenes". Yet, what is to be proved, is that the members of this group were Essenes, whereby according to VanderKam this quality is pre-supposed as a fact. By the proper standards of philology and historiography this procedure is untenable.

In his third subsection, VanderKam presents *A Sketch of The History of the Community* (on pp. 524-531). Again he serves his readers a medley of various real or alleged facts, he draws from sources such as *The Cairo Document* (CD), the *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab), from *Psalms*, *Peshārīm* thereto, and 4QMMT, further from archaeological observations made before 1999 as well as through his conclusions and suggestions.¹⁰ One may wonder whether VanderKam, who knows the efforts and achievements of scholars associated with the research in matters Qumran entertained at renowned Cracowian academic institutions,¹¹ has not read the contributions offered in *Folia Orientalia*¹² over a number of years prior to DSS 50. And even more so, one may ask why VanderKam did not investigate the writings of Josephus and Philo and parse what they wrote and this with tedious efforts as this has been done in *Qumranologica V* as of 1997.

⁹ VanderKam *Ibid.*

¹⁰ On p. 529, e.g., he writes under (7) "Very little can be said about the history of the community after it arrived at Qumran. If the Qumran site had no period Ia (thus eliminating any evidence of occupation before 100 BCE), then there may well have been some other location for the Teacher's* community between the time of his conflicts with the Wicked Priest and the building and settlement of Qumran. Whether the Teacher was alive at this time we do not know. If there was no period Ia and the original form of the building complex was period Ib, then the claim that, after beginning as a small group at Qumran, there was a major surge in occupation around 100 BCE will have to be abandoned. The community may have been at its full strength from the beginning of the Qumran phase." *Meant is the מורֵה הַצִּדִּיק. Apart from the fact that a historiographer must not build on vague and unsafe grounds, such as is obvious from afore-cited text, there is no indication of any identity of the Qumran Association with Essenes whatsoever and there is no evidence of the history of the Association except some shadowy reflections.

¹¹ See his own contribution for the *QChr* of 1991, referred to above in n. 6.

¹² Listed among the abbreviations of DSS 50 on p. XV.

Since the major texts of relevance, i.e., those of Josephus, are offered there together with renditions, one would expect it might suffice here to repeat the gist of what they convey. Yet for convenience the most significant and therefore particularly important items are reproduced below as appendices with references taken from *Qumranologica V*.

Regarding Bergmeyer's argumentation¹³ (which inevitably has to be adduced in this situation) it is noted with respect to the Essene belief in immortality referred to in *Qumranologica V*¹⁴: "In order to differentiate it from Pharisaic (as well as Sadducean) thought in assumed accordance with Josephus, Bergmeyer postulates and even constructs here a specific doctrine of the *Essenes* by reference to ideas related through the Qumran Association. This means he uses information (as he sees it) provided by 1QH, 1QS and other scrolls. Not only that this does not agree with Josephus' information¹⁵ but it is also a mistake of method to replace Josephus' text as less reliable in order to show that the doctrine of immortality upheld by 'the Essenes' did not have much in common with that of the Pharisees (not to speak of the Sadducees and Zealots), and, on the other hand, to point to some degree of proximity of their thoughts to the doctrine of the Qumran Association. In fact, while there is no reason at all to earnestly *equate* 'the Essenes' beliefs in immortality with those of the other 'schools' or major religio-political groups as described by Josephus, the expectations of the Qumran Association delineated in some of its writings showed traits being similar to those of *both* Essene groups *and* Pharisees, yet these are *only superficial and lack real substance*. The differences between all of them are so remarkable that one should not attempt to consider their most central doctrines on immortality and rejection to doom merely a partial inter-relationship which can be safely explained through the impact of Hellenic and Hellenistic mythologies and, likewise, schools of philosophical thought in both forms, the strict and the popular.¹⁶ Doubtless, one will have to hold these groups of Jews firmly apart, however, some having been larger, others smaller, especially as Josephus relates of several types of Essenes in BJ 8,12 and 13. In particular, Essene and Pharisaic views of the responsibility of the 'soul' and the reward or punishment thereof are completely

¹³ See above through note 7.

¹⁴ On pp. 215 ff.

¹⁵ BJ II 8,11.

¹⁶ Also Josephus has been aware of this; cf. O. Michel and O. Bauernfeind: *Flavius Josephus De Bello Judaico · Der Jüdische Krieg* (3 vols. bound in 4: Darmstadt 1959-1969) [hence = Michel – Bauernfeind] here vol. I p. 439 (n. 86).

different from the beliefs of the members of the Qumran Association^[17] that their 'flesh' were the cause of their sinfulness and from assertions concerning their new life by God's grace as reported especially in 1QS III 7b-9 and XI 5 end -22 with allusions to this belief in other texts *inter alia* in 1QH."

The differences between each of the major socio-religious groups discussed by Josephus, i.e., Pharisees, Essenes, and Sadducees, from the Qumran Association representing through their beliefs in immortality four central doctrines of their social groups, at least one for each of them, are apparent so that a few strokes suffice to do away with all attempts at identification of the Qumran Association with any of the social groups adduced and discussed by Josephus as basic elements of Jewry.¹⁸

For Josephus "*the Pharisees*" belief in *immortality* was *limited to the soul*. This continuation of the soul pertained, however, to all human beings under the umbrella of the Jewish law and tradition, yet only those souls having acted in accordance therewith would "pass into another body". Thus, their responsibility was assumed, although God and Heimarmene were originators of "everything", and "the doing of what is right and what not" was "not supposed to rest mostly with humans". However, the hiatus between the thought of the responsibility of "men" and God and the Heimarmene as being together the *causa prima* is cached through the claim that "Heimarmene" assists everybody like the angel of truth in 1QS III 24 f.

"*The Essenes*" are described to have considered their bodies "perishable" and being comparable to a "prison" and the souls of those who had lived by the law were thought to be carried upon their death to a kind of heavenly Elysium to live there freed from carnal bondage, happily ever after. While nothing is said of any impact of Heimarmene or any other power, the *proximity of the Essenes*, as described by Josephus, to *Pharisees* is obvious.

Notwithstanding certain elements in their ideology, especially their belief in the "flesh" as the seat of sinfulness they had in common with the Pharisees, the members of the *Qumran Association* had, by their 'official' ideology, no thought of any dichotomy between "body" and "soul". They rejoiced at God's grace having liberated them through their illumination on account of his revelation in what way and at what time they had to act in

¹⁷ At the level of QS and related texts in their history.

¹⁸ BJ II 8,14 (164 ff.). The Sadducees as according to Josephus assessment are a priori beyond any serious comparison with the Qumran Association. The following lines have also mainly been taken from *Qumranologica V*.

accordance with what God had commanded through Torah and prophets. This was for them the "life" in their current Aion and until God would establish his "right" and "truth" on earth.¹⁹ The hiatus between the responsibility of man and his predestination the Qumran Association shared with the Pharisees. Yet its members did not concern themselves with the Heimarmene, they rather considered what appeared to be "fate" (ἡ τύχη) as associated with misfortune²⁰ in the course of God's history with man and, especially, with his people, i.e., the Qumran Association. The doctrines of conversion and of the two spirits were supposed to do away with the problem of human responsibility *versus* predestination. While there is nothing mentioned in BJ II 8,11 of any role of the Heimarmene in the religio-philosophical thought of Essenes,²¹ she was still less meaningful for the members of the Qumran Association.

Appendices

Regarding the *Essenes* as third "school" Josephus notes in BJ II 8,11 [Greek text after Niese as also in Thackeray's and Michel's and Bauernfeind's editions]:

Καὶ γὰρ ἔρρωται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἥδε ἡ δόξα, φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ὕλην οὐ μόνιμον αὐτῶν, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους αἰεὶ διαμένειν, καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ λεπτοτάτου φοιτώσας αἰθέρος ὥσπερ εἰρκταῖς τοῖς σώμασιν ἵν' ἔτι φυσικῇ κατασπαυμέναις, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀνεθῶσι τῶν κατὰ σάρκα δεσμῶν, οἷα δὴ μακρᾶς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμέναις τότε χαίρειν καὶ μετεώρους φέρεσθαι. καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἀγαθαῖς ὁμοδοξοῦντες παῖσιν Ἑλλήνων ἀποφαίνονται τὴν ὑπὲρ ὠκεανὸν δίαιταν ἀποκεῖσθαι καὶ χῶρον οὔτε ὄμβροις οὔτε νιφετοῖς οὔτε καύμασι βαρυνόμενον, ἀλλ' ὃν ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ

¹⁹ See several studies of mine, *inter alia*: *Wider die Hellenisierung jüdischer Religion: Hellenisierung jüdischen Erbes und Lebens....* = *Qumranica Mogilanensia* 16 (2 vols Kraków 1998) through vol. 2 p. 374 lemma טפשמ.

²⁰ See my "On Misfortune, Fate, Destiny, and History according to 1QS and Relevant Words in Texts from Hirbet Qumran as well as Equivalents in the Hellenistic Environment" = *QChr* 6, 1/4 (1996).

²¹ Regarding certain contradictory assessments of Josephus as in AJ XIII 9 (172) see *Qumranologica V* p. 221. In no way, however, do any of Josephus relations allow to replace the peculiar character of the Qumran Association as one of the many religious groups having sprung up during the Hellenistic times in Palestine and to remove its self-evidence on its identity from the records.

πραῦς αἰὲς ζέφυρος ἐπιπνέων ἀναψύχει· ταῖς δὲ φαύλαις ζοφώδη καὶ χειμέριον ἀφορίζονται μυχὸν γέμοντα τιμωριῶν ἀδιαλείπτων. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν Ἑλληνες τοῖς τε ἀνδρείοις αὐτῶν, οὓς ἥρωας καὶ ἡμιθέους καλοῦσιν, τὰς μακάρων νήσους ἀνατεθεικέναι, ταῖς δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν ψυχαῖς καθ' ὅδου τὸν ἀσεβῶν χώρον, πρῶτον μὲν αἰδίους ὑφιστάμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς, ἔπειτα εἰς προτροπὴν ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀποτροπὴν. τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀμείνους ἐλπίδι τιμῆς καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν, τῶν τε κακῶν ἐμποδιζέσθαι τὰς ὁρμὰς δέει προσδοκῶντων, εἰ καὶ λάθοιεν ἐν τῷ ζῆν, μετὰ τὴν διάλυσιν ἀθάνατον τιμωρίαν ὑφέξειν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἑσσηνοὶ περὶ ψυχῆς θεολογοῦσιν ἄφυκτον δέλεαρ τοῖς ἅπασι γευσάμενοις τῆς σοφίας αὐτῶν καθιέντες.

“For strong is with them the view that the bodies would be perishable and their substance impermanent, the souls being immortal, however, would last forever, and that after having resorted (to the bodies) out of lightest air they were connected with the bodies as though they were in prison pulled down by some earthy spell. Once they had been released from the carnal bonds as though they had been delivered from lasting servitude, however, they would be happy and carried aloft; and with respect to the good (souls) they declare in agreement with Greeks*¹ that beyond the sea a way of living was waiting and a location neither burdened by rains nor by snowstorms nor (by times of) burning heat, but which a light, steadily blowing westerly wind would refresh. The careless (souls)*² they assign a gloomy and wintry corner filled with incessant punishments. Greeks appear to me analogously to have assigned to the brave whom they call heros and demigods the isles of the blessed, to the souls of the evildoers in the netherworld the location of the godless First, they suppose that the souls are everlasting, then (they suppose) an incitement to virtue and a deterrent from wickedness, for the good would become (still) better in (their) lifetime hoping for glory also after (their) demise and that the impulses of the wicked would be impeded while they expected - even though they might have escaped detection during their lifetime - after (their) disintegration to suffer everlasting punishment. This, now, theologise Essenes concerning the soul implanting an inescapable incitement in those who once tasted their philosophy.”

*¹ ≈ Hebrew *b^cnê hayy^cwānīm*.

*² See above n. 16.

In *BJ* II 8,14 it reads: Δύο δὲ τῶν προτέρων Φαρισαῖοι μὲν οἱ μετὰ ἀκριβείας δοκοῦντες ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἀπάγοντες αἵρεσιν εἰμαρμένην τε καὶ θεῷ προσάπτουσι πάντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν πράττειν τὰ δίκαια καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κεῖσθαι, βοηθεῖν δὲ εἰς ἕκαστον καὶ τὴν εἰμαρμένην· ψυχὴν τε πᾶσαν μὲν ἀφθαρτον, μεταβαίνειν δὲ εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν μόνην, τὰς δὲ τῶν φαύλων αἰδίῳ τιμωρίᾳ κολάζεσθαι.

“Of the two previously mentioned (schools)*¹ the Pharisees seem accurately*² to expound what pertains to the law, and leading off as the first school*³ they ascribe everything to *Heimarmene* and God. Surely, both the doing of what is right and (what is) not, be supposed to rest mostly with humans, yet *Heimarmene* succour everybody. Every soul be imperishable, but only the soul of good (persons) would pass into another body, whereas those of the careless would be punished through everlasting vengeance.”

*¹ See O. Michel's and O. Bauernfeind's commentary above through n. 16 vol. I p. 439 (n. 86).

*² While others draw μετὰ ἀκριβείας to ἐξηγεῖσθαι, I have left it in its position trying to imitate the somewhat imprecise style of Josephus.

*³ Accusativus Graecus resp. accusative of sentence apposition → accusativus adverbialis (very common in Hellenistic Greek). Cf. already E. Schwyzer and A. Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik* [= *HAW* II.1.2] [hence Schwyzer *GrGr*] vol. II (1959²) pp. 84 ff.

The feminine gender in ταῖς φαύλαις (towards the end of paragraph 155 of *BJ* II 8, 11) indicates that this is not only antithetic to the preceding ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς and, thus, relates to the “souls” and *not* the whole of persons consisting of both flesh and soul, but Josephus declares here that for the Essenes the cause for their sinfulness has been *negligence of their souls* through disobedience to “the law”.

The Pharisees, however, believed (according to *BJ* II 8,14 [cf. above]) that “every soul” be immortal, yet merely the good ones would pass over into another body, whereas the ones who had been careless (through disobedience to the law; see the employment of מַעֲשֵׂי רַמְיָה in 1QS IV 23 *et al.* and thereto *WidHell* vol. I n. 113) would be “penalised endlessly”, whereby in *BJ* II 8,14 Josephus neglects to tell his readers further details. Somewhat more of Pharisaic beliefs regarding the subjects of evaluation for immortality and punishment one may learn from Josephus (being a partisan of the Pharisees himself) through *BJ* III 8,5 (374 f.), in as much as the souls of those accepted by God are assigned a “heavenly place”, hence after “the turn / overturning of the Aions they would become again inhabitants of clean bodies”, whereas “for those who raged against themselves,”*¹

their souls the Hades swallows where it is darkest*². However, their father, God, inflicts on the descendants punishment with respect to the insolent of the fathers*³."

*¹ Literally: "whose hands raged against themselves (the persons)". This passage has been taken by others to relate to suicides. So H. St. J. Thackeray (*Josephus...The Jewish War, Books I-III* (Cambridge, Mass. and London 1927, repr. 1976 [cited]) p. 681) has "those who have laid mad hands upon themselves", and Michel - Bauernfeind vol. I p. 373 offers "Wer aber im Wahn selbst Hand an sich legt, ...". Cf., however, the use of כִּיד רַמָּה in 1QS V 12 et al. with WidHell vol. I n. 78.

*² See Schwyzer GrGr II p. 185, Blass - Debrunner pp. 47 f. [§ 60].

*³ Of no relevance for the matter of concern in the context of this treatise is the variant θάτερον for τῶν πατέρων.

REVIEWS

А. В. П а й к о в а (А. V. P а у к о в а), *Легенды и сказания в памятниках сирийской агиографии* [*Legends and Tales in the Monuments of Syriac Hagiographic Literature*], Nauka, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Palestinskij Sbornik, Vol. 30 (93), Leningrad 1990, pp. 142.

The monograph by A.V. Paykova (1932-1984), published posthumously in *Палестинский сборник - The Palestinian Anthology* 30 (1990) deserves close attention for the mere fact that the author shows that several hagiographies popular in the Middle Ages were originally written in Syriac and not in Greek. Although their writers were educated in Greek and knew that language perfectly, they were able to work out their own quality characterised by minute descriptions of facts and detailed documentary precision (p. 9).

The work consists of two basic parts: the first representing the introduction (pp. 5-15), the evolution of the hagiographic genre in Syriac literature (pp. 16-34), the outline of the culture and everyday life in the monuments of Syriac literature (pp. 35-65) and the Syriac sources of traditional hagiographic literature (pp. 66-91) - all the above-mentioned chapters accompanied by their own endnotes.

The second part is mainly composed of the Russian translations of the four hagiographic texts chosen by A.V. Paykova (pp. 95-118).

The author justifies her choice by four main reasons (p. 12):

1. They are examples of the best hagiographic literature in Syriac,
2. They prove that Syriac was their original language,
3. They influenced Old Russian literature of the genre.
4. They show the evolution of the genre.

The first chapters give a valuable analysis of the principal hagiographic texts in Syriac along with the scholars occupied with their translation and elaboration. The special value comes from the whole range of the Russian scientists, often accessible mainly in their native language (pp. 10-11).