

⁶¹ Cf. J.H. Charlesworth, Rylands Syriac MS. 44 and a New Addition to the Pseudepigrapha: The Treatise of Shem, Discussed and Translated, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 60, 1977-1978, pp. 376-403.

⁶² Cf. E.A. Matter, The "Revelatio Esdrae" in latin and english Traditions, Revue Benedictine 92, 1982, pp. 376-392, avec traduction, liste des mss et présentation de la question.

⁶³ Cf. A.L. Thompson, Responsability for Evil in the Theodicy of IV Ezra, A Study Illustrating the Significance of Form and Structure for the Meaning of the Book (Soc. Bibl. Lit., Dissert. 29), Missoula 1977.

⁶⁴ Cf. P.D. Hanson, Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6-11, Journal of Biblical Literature 96, 1977, pp. 195-233.

⁶⁵ Cf. R.T. Beckwith, The Significance of the Calendar for Interpreting Essene Chronology and Eschatology, Revue de Qumran 10, 2, (n. 38), 1980, pp. 167-202; Idem, The earliest, (note 41).

⁶⁶ Cf. J. Coppens, Le fils de l'homme daniélique et les relectures de Dan., VII., VII, 13, dans les apocryphes et les écrits du Nouveau Testament, Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses 37, 1961, pp. 5-31.

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QUMRAN ORIGINS AND EARLY HISTORY: A GRONINGEN HYPOTHESIS *

What we are here calling: "A Groningen Hypothesis" is an attempt (yet another) coherently to relate to each other the apparently contradictory data furnished by the Dead Sea manuscripts as to the primitive history of the Qumran Community.

In essence, this hypothesis proposes:

- 1) to make a clear distinction between the origins of the Essene movement and those of the Qumran group;
- 2) to place the origins of the Essene movement in Palestine and specifically in the Palestinian apocalyptic tradition before the antiochian crisis, that is at the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B.C.;
- 3) to place the origins of the Qumran group in a split produced within the Essene movement in consequence of which the group loyal to the Teacher of Righteousness was finally to establish itself in Qumran;
- 4) to consider the designation of the "Wicked Priest" as a collective one referring to the different Hasmonian High Priests in chronological order;
- 5) to highlight the importance of the Qumran group's formative period before its retreat to the desert and to make clear the ideological development, the halakhic elements, and the political conflicts taking place during this formative period and culminating in the break which led to the community's establishing itself in Qumran.

This simple announcement already indicates the characteristic elements of this hypothesis and how it differs from the more generally accepted hypotheses¹:

* I should like to express my sincerest thanks to A. MacKinnon for his translation of the text of this paper.

- that which identifies the Qumran Community with the Essene movement and places the origins of the Essenes in the group of the Hasidim and in the opposition to the hellenization of Palestine preceding the revolt of the Maccabees;
- that which places the origins of the Essene movement in Babylon and fixes the origins of the Qumran group in a split occurring within the Essene movement at the time of Jonathan, shortly after the return to Palestine of some of the Babylonian Essenes.

I have already published in detail the objections which prevent my accepting in its entirety either of these two hypothesis², so that there is no need to recaptulate them here. The first of these hypotheses (which is practically the opinion communis) put forward by G. Vermes and J.T. Milik, elaborated by G. Jeremias and perfected by H. Stegemann, reduces Essenism to the marginal phenomenon of Qumran and supposes an influence of the antiochian crisis of which there is no trace in the Qumran texts. The second, associated with the name of J. Murphy-O'Connor, avoids both difficulties, but postulates a Babylonian origin, in a pagan context, for the Essene movement, a return to Palestine, and a break and installation in Qumran at the time of Jonathan, a supposition for which there is equally little evidence in the surviving Qumran texts³.

Neither of these two more generally accepted theories, then, offer a completely satisfactory explanation of the Qumran origins or of the primitive history of the sect. Each of them undoubtedly includes elements which are valid and which must be retained in any complete account. The distinction between the Essene movement and the Qumran reality and the separation of the origins of Essenism from the antiochian crisis of Murphy-O'Connor correspond to the data of the MSS, as does the placing of the origins of Essenism in Palestine in the Vermes-Milik-Stegemann theory. These elements are equally to be found in our hypothesis. But before proceeding to a detailed explication it is necessary to explain some of the assumptions underlying it.

1) The first is that any theory which claims to interpret the texts must respect the real limits fixed by archaeology and paleography. In our case this means that the period of the origins of Qumran must be dated before the pontificate of John Hyrcanus, the time at which the group of sectarians established itself in Qumran. Certainly the accepted opinion, based on the presentation prepared from the findings of the excavations by R. de Vaux in the Schweich Lectures⁴, admits that the first sectarian occupation of the site goes back to the pontificate of Jonathan. But this conclusion contradicts the findings previously obtained and published by de Vaux⁵ and the very arguments he advanced to support it⁶. The fact is that de Vaux modified his opinion between the different "rapport(s) préliminaire(s)" and this presentation (which has come to

be regarded as authoritative in the still continuing expectation of the publication of the all the excavation material), not owing to the archaeological evidence but with the sole object of giving scope to the theories identifying a single Wicked Priest with Jonathan or with Simon; that is to say, not to close the door to the textual interpretation proposed by Milik and by Cross⁷. In this connection the formulation used by de Vaux⁸ is revealing, in that this motive is evident, as it is in that of Cross⁹ himself based on the absence of Seleucid coins previous to Hyrcanus, apart from 3 bronzes, without precise dates, from Antioch III, IV and V. If it is borne in mind that Hyrcanus probably only began to coin money from 110 B.C.¹⁰, it becomes evident that the argument contradicts not only the identification of the Wicked Priest with Jonathan but also the very identification with Simon proposed by Cross and that the half-dozen years postulated by the latter are no more than a way out - by which the character can enter!¹¹

2) Another important methodological presupposition is that the break between the Qumran group and the Essene movement from which it derives must have been preceded by a period of time which may have been long or short but in any case sufficient to permit the ideological development differentiating the Qumran group from the Essene body in which it originated and culminating in the separation. A good many of the problems encountered in the investigation of the origins of Qumran derive from the false assumption that it is the incorporation of the Teacher of Righteousness in the Essene movement that marks the moment of establishing the Community in Qumran. Hence the objection frequently made to the partisans of a literal interpretation of the known chronological dates of CD that this would oblige them to place settlement at Qumran at a date impossibly advanced and incompatible with the archaeological data. Or the awkwardness for Murphy-O'Connor of incorporating in his theory the 20 years which precede the entry on the scene of the Teacher of Righteousness and during which the members of the Essene movement are "like blind men groping to find their way". Given that Murphy-O'Connor places the Essene return to Palestine after 165 B.C. and settlement in Qumran in 152 B.C. he is obliged to interpret the 20 years as designating half a generation and of understanding this half-generation as covering only 10 years¹². These problems are eliminated if we recognize the importance and the extent of this pre-qumranic phase or formation period, an extraordinarily fruitful period from which were to proceed the writings which establish the ideological bases of the break with the Essene movement and during which there develop the conflicts which are to issue in the sectarian group's trek to the desert¹³.

3) A third presupposition of our hypothesis is that the nonbiblical literature found in the various caves of Qumran is related either to the Qumran sect or to the ideological movement in which the sect has its roots. Evidently not all the non-biblical MSS encountered are of qumranic origin: the paleographical dating of certain MSS formally rules out their having been composed or copied in Qumran and the long editorial history of various works equally makes it clear that the oldest levels were written in a period prior to the establishing of the Community beside the Dead Sea. But in view of the character of the Qumran Community it seems to me out of the question that it should have preserved and made use of works incompatible with its own ideology. The library of the community should not be seen as a modern library, as a kind of repository of the knowledge of the time; the total absence of "profane" works is indicative of this. Nor, considering the exclusive character of the community and the repeated prohibitions of contact with non-members, does it seem to me possible that the community should have kept the religious literature of alien or clearly hostile groups. Even allowing for the ample space necessary to permit an inevitable ideological evolution and recognising that there is nothing that might be considered as a Qumran "canon", a situation like that of the old libraries of Roman Catholic seminaries in which a special inaccessible section contained the works that the Church had placed on the Index of Prohibited Books is inconceivable in Qumran.

This assumption implies that if the fact of its having being found in Qumran is no guarantee of the Qumranic origin of a given work, it does assure us that the work in question was understood by the Community as compatible with its own ideology (and even more important, with its halakhah), that is as coming from the Essene movement or from the apocalyptic tradition which inspired it. Which amounts to saying that the non-biblical literature found as part of the Qumran library may be classified as follows:

- sectarian works, representing the thought and the halakhah of Qumran in its most developed and typical form;
- works of the formative period, presenting a vision still not so clearly differentiated from the Essenism which is its ultimate source but containing indications of future developments and offering an already characteristic halakhah;
- works which reflect Essene thought and accord with what the classical sources teach us about Essenism or which can be attributed to it;
- works belonging to the apocalyptic tradition which give rise to Essenism and which have been considered as part of the common heritage.

4) A last assumption, though by no means the least important, is that of the composite character of the basic works and of the possible evolution of

the thought reflected in them. This assumption implies the recognition that very many of the best preserved writings incorporate elements from the different period or stages, reinterpreted in the light of historical evolution as well as the acceptance that ideas central in the Community, such as determinism, messianism or eschatology, may present themselves in different forms in different documents of the community or in different versions of the same document. To mention only the two best-known examples: The "foundation manifesto" of IQS, originating in the formative pre-qumranic period and transformed for adaptation to the successive historical, theological and organizational developments in the community already settled in Qumran; the Essene nucleus of CD, completed with a series of halakhic prescriptions of the formative period, clearly reinterpreted once the community had been formed, and at a date certainly after the death of the Teacher of Righteousness¹⁴.

This assumption implies the application to the study of the Qumran texts of the same critical methods of historical, literal or redactional analysis as are applied to other texts (such as the Old or New Testament) with a similarly long history of development. On the other hand, the assumption recognizes that the evolution of thought is not necessarily linear and direct and that it is possible for different concepts to have co-existed at the same time. It is this that determines the type of evidence that the hypothesis takes into consideration and the critical way in which this evidence is considered.

The hypothesis here presented about the origins of Qumran is based on these assumptions and makes a clear distinction between the problem of the origins of the Essene movement and that of the origins of the Qumran sect¹⁵. Information as to the origins of the Essene movement must be sought in the classical accounts of the Essenes, in the Essene works preserved at Qumran and in Essene documents incorporated in later Qumran works.

The study of this material allows us to conclude that Essenism

- is a Palestinian phenomenon,
- dates from before the antiochian crisis,
- has its root in the apocalyptic tradition.

Information as to the origins of Qumran and the early history of the Community is to be found in the works of the pre-qumran formation period, in the documents of this period incorporated in later sectarian works and in the same sectarian works that (like the pesharim) refer expressly to the period of the origins. A study of the material reveals to us the halakhic, ideological, and political motives bringing about the schism within the Essene movement which is to culminate in the settlement at Qumran and makes it possible to trace at least in outline the conflicts which opposed the Teacher of Righteousness to the various hasmonean High Priests.

ORIGINS OF THE ESSENE MOVEMENT

Josephus, who tells us more than anyone else about the Essene movement, first brings them onto the political scene in Palestine in the time of Jonathan together with the Sadducees and Pharisees¹⁶. This seems to imply that he sees the Essene movement, like that of the Pharisees and Sadducees, as a typically Palestinian phenomenon. This emerges even more clearly in the presentation of the sects in *Ant.* XVIII, 11 where he tells us that these three Hebrew "philosophies", "which have existed since ancient times" are rooted in "their own traditions", a notion which Philo in his *Apologia* expresses by saying that they go back to Moses. Josephus (*Ant.* XV, 371) certainly characterizes the Essenes as a group "which practises the way of life taught to the Greeks by Pythagoras", a statement that has been used to fix the origins of the movement in neo-Pythagorean doctrines. But, as has often been pointed out¹⁷, all that Josephus is doing here is giving his pagan readers a point of reference, to enable them to understand a Palestinian phenomenon, just as he compares the Pharisees (*Vita* 12) to the Stoics¹⁸. In neither case is there any question of an extra-Palestinian origin.

On the other hand, the fact that Josephus first (*Ant.* XIII, 171-172) introduces the Essenes. Pharisees and Sadducees at the time of Jonathan, has often been cited as proof of the Maccabean origin of the sects. If this were the correct interpretation of the text, the statement already quoted from *Ant.* VIII, 11, that they had existed ἤσαν ἐκ παυτοῦ τον ὀρχατον or, as Pliny puts it (*Historia Naturalis* V, 73), *per saeculorum milia* would make no sense. But the fact is that Josephus¹⁹ does not say that the sects came into existence at that period, but that the Essenes, like the Pharisees and Sadducees, are sects already (ἤσαν) in existence in Jonathan's time, which logically suggests that they originated at some earlier date.

But it is not only the classical statements about the Essenes that indicate their Palestinian origin, the pre-qumranic Essene texts themselves indicate as much.

In referring to the Murphy-O'Connor interpretation we suggested that the arguments he uses to postulate a Babylonian origin for the group reflected in the most ancient levels of the Damascus Document were unconvincing²⁰. We may add here that a series of items in these pre-qumranic levels of the *CD* themselves point to a Palestinian origin, such as a series of halakhic prescriptions referring specifically to the city of Jerusalem and in complete accord with the *halakhoth* of *11QTemple*²¹ for which the most logical thing is to suppose a Palestinian context, as for the *halakhoth* which determine the presentation of offerings in the temple²².

Even clearer than these indirect indications is the synthesis of *1En.* 90. Within the historical panorama representing the second of the visions of the Book of Dreams known as the Apocalypse of the Animals and in the description of the period running from Alexander the Great to the Maccabean rising, the author describes the birth of a group which marks the end of the third period and the beginning of the fourth of those dividing history from the exile to the eschatological era. This group arises at the completion of the first 58 periods of history. The 12 periods remaining before the messianic kingdom are taken up by the persecution of these lambs and the martyrdom of one of them, together with the last Maccabean revolt, and the battles of Judas. That is, the writer places the origin of the group with which he identifies himself in Palestine and in a period prior to the antiochian crisis. R. Beckwith in a series of articles²³ set out to prove that the precise date at which these lambs arose was 251 B.C. D. Dimant, using a different basis for calculation arrived at the date 199 B.C.²⁴. Here there is no need to enter into details. The important thing is to note that the Book of Dreams, which though not a qumranic work²⁵ is certainly connected with the sect, testifies, as do the classical statements about the Essenes, to the Palestinian and pre-Maccabean origins of the group from which the Qumran Community will come²⁶.

But the most important proof, in my opinion, lies in the demonstration that characteristic and fundamental ideas of Essenism and of the Qumran sect can already be found in one form or another within the Palestinian apocalyptic tradition and that this tradition is independent and precedes the antiochian crisis.

This second element (nowadays generally accepted) has been established thanks to the discovery of the Aramaic fragments of Enoch from Cave 4 of Qumran which have made it clear that both the Book of the Watchers and the Astronomic Enoch go back at least as far as the 3rd century B.C. and that there is no connection between the origin of the most ancient Apocalypses and the antiochian crisis.

The idea that certain elements characteristic of the essene movement and of the Qumranic sect are to be found in this Palestinian apocalyptic tradition is one which I have frequently put forward²⁷ and which has been confirmed by the conclusions of other researchers.

Thus P. Sacchi²⁸ has clearly demonstrated that the determinism characteristic of the Essene movement according to the classical sources²⁹ and so prominent in the sectarian writings³⁰ comes from the idea of an original sin which antedates history, an essential idea in the most ancient apocalyptic tradition.

J. Blenkinsopp, analysing the interpretation as a key to the development of sectarianism³¹ has proved that the Essene interpretation culminating

in Qumran in the concept which we have defined as "eschatologization of the Prophets"³² is the prolongation of the transformation of the prophetic interpretation realized within the Apocalyptic Tradition. It is in this tradition that we come across the recourse to the secret books or to the Heavenly Tablets as a hermeneutic procedure, a recourse so often mentioned in the classical descriptions of the Essenes (Bell. II, 136, 142, 159), as in Essene writings³³ and those truly sectarian³⁴.

C. Rowland has underlined the centrality in the apocalyptic tradition of the communion with the angelic world³⁵. This element is found in Josephus's description of the Essenes (Bell. II, 142) according to which "the names of the angels" make up an important part of their secret knowledge and reappears in texts such as IQM VII, 6, IQS, XI, 7-8 or the Angelic Liturgy of Qumran.

Hamerton-Kelly³⁶ has likewise proved that the idea of the eschatological Temple develops within the apocalyptic tradition beginning with the ideology of the Temple of Ezekiel and that it is this ideology that accounts for the Essene rejection of the Temple and of the cult practised there, reflected by Ant. XVIII, 19 and Quod omnis probus 75, as well as the ambiguities of this Essene position. That in writings of the formative period of the Community, such as 11QTemple XXIX, 9-10 this idea of the eschatological Temple clearly appears allows us to understand its presence in other sectarian texts such as IQM II, 1-6 and 4Q174 and to explain the transitory and vicarious character of other concepts of the Temple reflected in the Qumranic writings³⁷.

This rapid resumé demonstrates that the best way to understand a good many of the characteristic elements of Essene thought is to place them in the context of the apocalyptic tradition of the 3rd century B.C. To determine the precise date at which the Essene movement emerges as a separate entity from the apocalyptic background seems to me impossible. The concrete findings of our enquiry permit us only to state with confidence that these origins are to be found at a date prior to the antiochian crisis and that the indications in 1 Enoch and in CD point to the end of the 3rd century B.C. or the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. as the period of the origins of the Essene movement.

ORIGINS OF THE QUMRAN SECT

At the origins of the particular development within Essenism which is to issue in the formation of the Qumran sect can be found the powerful figure whom, for lack of a specific name, we call by the title attributed to him by the sectarian writers: the Teacher of Righteousness. CD I, 5-12 is quite ca-

tegorical to this effect³⁸: the "root of the plantation" which God makes grow from Israel and from Aaron in the time of wrath, the only men in Israel who understand their iniquities and acknowledge their sin, that is the members of the Essene movement,

recognized their iniquity and knew that they were guilty men, and they were like the blind and those who grope (their) 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 to make known to the last generation what He had done to the last generation, the congregation of traitors

This function of the Teacher of Righteousness is a dual one: to lead the faithful along the way of righteousness and to make known to all the imminence and the effects of the Divine Judgement. The first element underlines the function of halakhic interpretation of his activity as characteristic³⁹, the second the intensity of eschatological hope in his message.

Eschatology is precisely one of the elements not brought out in the classical description of Essenism, but in the sectarian writings of Qumran it is prominent and shows a clear development⁴⁰. This element is just as fundamental within the apocalyptic tradition and has enormous importance in such works as Jubilees and the Book of Dreams. These works show, as we said, close relations with the sectarian works, even though a distinct origin must be ascribed to them, and both were written during the formative period of the community. This fact permits us to see in them the guiding line that characterises the development of eschatological hope at the prophetic levels of the OT through apocalyptic eschatology, culminating in the eschatological hope that characterises the Teacher of Righteousness and will characterise the community he created⁴¹. From this CD presentation it may be deduced that the eschatological element constituted an important aspect of the polemic that gave rise to the sect.

However, I think that the first element indicated in the CD text cited was even more important and of decisive influence in constituting the group a sect. In the pluralistic Judaism of the time, the path of sectarian formation was not marked out by differences of ideology or eschatology but goes back to the level of the halakhah regulating practical life. It is in the halakhah, then, that we must look for the causes of the break.

Fortunately we have available two documents which show some of the halakhic problems in question. The first, chronologically, is the Temple Scroll (11Q Temple). The second, and the more explicit, is a halakhic letter known as Miqsat ma'ase torah (Some of the precepts of the Torah MMI) which defines the reasons for separation of the Qumran Sect.

The Temple Scroll is a work whose composition may be attributed to the Teacher of Righteousness, which in any case comes from the formative period

of the sect and which dates from before the establishment of the Community at Qumran⁴². This makes it particularly adequate to provide information as to the halakhic aspects important during the formative phase and to indicate the points on which the Teacher of Righteousness might enter into conflict with the rest of Essenism and with the other elements of the Judaism of the time.

An analysis of its content shows us that its principal components are:

- prescriptions as to feasts and as to the sacrifices at each feast according to a sectarian calendar,
- prescriptions as to the Temple and the city and the norms of purity applying to these,
- the statute of the King,
- various halakhoth relating particularly to problems of purity, tithes and marriage.

The other work (MMI)⁴³ is slightly later, presuming that it was written after the Qumran group's break had occurred⁴⁴, but is perfectly adequate to elucidate the causes of the break, saying expressly in its epilogue:

We have separated ourselves from the majority of the peo[ple...] from intermingling in these matters and from participating with them in these [matters]⁴⁵

which proves that the halakhoth included in the document represent points on which the sectarians were not disposed to temporize, considering them important enough to cause them to separate from the majority of the people.

The programmatic character of this halakhic letter is equally evident in the standard manner in which the different halakhoth are introduced: "And (also) concerning X we say that."

An analysis of the twelve halakhoth published by Strugnell shows a surprising thematic correspondence with 11QTemple⁴⁶. According to MMI the controversy between the sect and its opponents centres on:

- the cultic calendar,
- prescriptions as to the Temple and the city and the norms of purity applying to these⁴⁷,
- halakhoth relating to tithes, impurity and marriage statutes⁴⁸.

The one outstanding element in 11QTemple which does not seem to be reflected in MMI is that of the halakhoth making up the Torah of the King, a fact easy to explain if we bear in mind that the halakhic letter seems to be addressed not to the political power of Jerusalem nor to the Hasmonean rulers but to the religious group from which the sect has separated⁴⁹.

The two texts, then, both indicate that the fundamental disputes within the Essene movement during the formative period of the sect were centred on

the question of the calendar and the consequent organization of the festive cycle, and in a particular way of understanding the biblical prescriptions relating to the Temple, the cult and the purity of persons and things.

That the first of these elements (disputes about the calendar) had been a decisive factor in the formation of the sect and one of the causes that provoked the Qumran split has been recognized since the early days of research on the MSS⁵⁰. CD III, 14-15 specifies that "his holy sabbaths and his glorious festivals" are the first of the secret things in which all Israel has erred and which God has revealed to those with whom he has established his Covenant, and CD VI, 18-19 specifies among the commitments of those entering into the Covenant "to observe the Sabbath according to its interpretation and the feasts and the day of fasting according to the finding⁵¹ of those who have entered into the New Covenant". Well then, calendar problems, like eschatology, are not reflected in the classical descriptions of the Essene movement⁵² with the important exception of the Essene group of the Therapeuts, one of whose most striking characteristics is, together with complete dedication to the contemplative life, the adoption precisely of a pentecostal calendar of feasts similar to that followed at Qumran⁵³. This allows us to suppose that the Essene movement accepted the festive calendar of the rest of the Judaism of the time and that the adoption of a distinct calendar was one of the factors which determined the constitution as a sect within the Essene movement of both the Qumran group and that of the Therapeuts.

A. Jaubert postulated that the origins of the sectarian calendar were to be found in an ancient sacerdotal calendar⁵⁴, but R. Beckwith has demonstrated that the real origins of this calendar are to be found within the apocalyptic tradition and reflect some of this tradition's characteristic preoccupations⁵⁵.

As in the case of eschatology, Jubilees furnishes us with a point of connection. More, it shows us that the calendar served not only to regulate the cult but as a basis for the chronology which allowed the "computation of the ages" and which stimulated the periodization of history and the calculation of the "last times", elements of obvious influence on the development of the eschatological hope characterizing the Qumran sect.

Together with the argument as to the calendar, both 11QTemple and MMI mention a series of halakhoth relating to ritual purity, the cult of the Temple and, to a lesser extent, the matrimonial halakhah, as the central areas in which took shape the argument between the movement from within which the Qumran sect would emerge and the rest of Judaism. These sectors are, from then on, fundamental sectors in all religious life and are regulated by the prescriptions of the biblical text. So much so that in essence the problem of the

origins of the sectarian halakhah is reduced to a problem of interpretation of the biblical text.

How is it possible to explain the emergence within the Essene movement of this particular way of interpreting the biblical prescriptions laid down by the sectarian halakhah? The answer to this question is no other than the Teacher of Righteousness' consciousness of having received by divine revelation the correct interpretation of the biblical text, an interpretation which is thus inspired and prescriptive, and the acceptance by some of the members of the community of this interpretation as a revelation. The rejection by the rest of the members of the Essene movement of this interpretation and of the particular halakhah deriving from it would end by making it impossible for them to stay together.

The sectarian texts show that the biblical text is seen as a mystery whose significance is made clear only through a revealed interpretation⁵⁶. Hence the conviction that the Book of the Law remained sealed and that not even David could read it, that is, that it remained "hidden and was not revealed until Zadok arose" (CD V.5), and that those who wanted to enter into the Alliance had to pledge themselves to be converted to the Law of Moses "according to all that was revealed to the Sons of Zadok" (IQS V.9). If the Teacher of Righteousness was capable of re-writing a part of the Pentateuch in 11QTemple, even daring to present this new Torah as God's Torah, this was only possible in the conviction that this interpretation of the biblical text was done under the direct operation of divine revelation (see IQH II, 13-14; IV, 27-28 for example).

This inner conviction is accepted as an objective fact by the group of his partisans, who endow his interpretation of the biblical text with the character of revelation, thus mandatory:

Its prediction concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of His servants the Prophets [1QpHab VII,4-5].

Hence those who do not accept this interpretation are considered enemies:

They are the men of violence and the breakers of the Covenant that will not believe when they hear all that [is to happen to] the last generation from the Priest [in whose heart] God set [undersing] that he might interpret all the words of His servants the Prophets, through whom He foretold all that would happen to His people and [His land] [1QpHab II,6-9].

The sectarian texts referring to this fundamental break⁵⁷ invariably place it in the context of a discussion of the correct interpretation of the biblical text, which is expressed as "not believing the words of the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God (1QpHab II,1-3) or "not hearkening to the Interpreter of Knowledge" (4Q171 I,19).

A characteristic text is 1QpHab V,9-12. It is a pesher to Hab. 1, 13, a text which mentions some traitors, a wicked man and a righteous one. The Qumran interpretation runs:

Its prediction concerns the House of Absalom and the members of its council who were silent at the time of the reproof of the Teacher of Righteousness and gave him no help against the Liar who flouted the Law in the midst of their whole [congregation].

The basic elements of the pesher are that the Liar "rejects the Law" in the midst of all the community to which he and the Teacher of Righteousness belong (כול עירום) and that the majority of this community accepts the position of the Liar until the just rebuke of the Teacher of Righteousness reduces them to silence. This text reflects, in my opinion, in a sober, concise manner, the outcome of the long period of tensions characterising the formative phase of the Qumran Community. The Teacher of Righteousness's consciousness of having received through divine revelation the correct interpretation of the Law led him to propound a series of ideological and legal positions (imminence of the last days, a particular festive calendar, the imperfection of the existing Temple and cult compared with what they should be, etc.) and of particular halakhoth conditioning daily life (MMT, 11QTemple) and to wish to impose on all members of the Essene community this understanding of the Law. The failure of this attempt was due, according to the sectarian texts, to the influence of the Liar, the leader of the Essene movement who "led many astray with deceitful words, so that they chose foolishness and hearkened not to the Interpreter of Knowledge" (1Q171 I,18-19). The result was to be the break between the adepts of the Teacher of Righteousness and the rest of the Essenes who remained faithful to the Liar.

In the actual decision to retire to Qumran other elements must have played a part, such as the necessity for a physical separation from the rest of Judaism, so as to be able to practise their own halakhah and the prophetic tradition of preparation for the coming of the Lord in the Wilderness. But the ideological origins of the break within the Essene movement are to be found in the different interpretation of the Law laid down by the sectarian halakhah and in the strong eschatological expectation of the Teacher of Righteousness. The "manifest of foundation"⁵⁸ expresses it in these terms:

And when all these happen in Israel, for the Community, according to all these rules they shall separate from the habitation of ungodly men and shall go into the wilderness to prepare the way of Him; as it is written. Prepare in the wilderness the way of... make straight in the desert a path for our God (Isa. 49,3).

This is the study of the Law which He commanded by the hand of Moses according to all that has been revealed from age to age and the Prophets have revealed by His Holy Spirit [1QS VIII,13-15].

EARLY HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY

Now that it is clear what were the ideological sources of the split that gave rise to the Qumran Community, we must attempt to elucidate the historical circumstances in which the split took place and the further development of the group which remained faithful to the Teacher of Righteousness. Unfortunately the available historical sources from outside Qumran itself totally ignore the activities of this tiny group of desert exiles, so that our knowledge of the history of the Community depends entirely on such information as we can extract from the Qumran MSS themselves.

The problem is that the texts preserved, apart from the pesharim, are not profuse in historical detail and that the peculiar character of the pesharim, the texts which include the greatest number of references to the early history of the Community, makes the task of achieving a reasonable historical reconstruction extremely difficult and problematic. Nevertheless the pesharim remain the only Qumran texts which, indirectly, throw light on the history of the sect⁵⁹. The hermeneutical principle underlying the pesharim is precisely that it is the history of the Community (which believed itself to be living in the last days) which reveals the mysterious significance of the utterances of the prophets⁶⁰. Hence, if we wish to have some idea of this history our only recourse is to turn to the cryptic statements of the pesharim, to "decode" them and to compare them with the rest of the information on the period to be gathered from Flavius Josephus or the Books of the Maccabees.

This is in fact the method used by the majority of researchers since the years immediately following the discoveries and, notwithstanding the problems, it has produced a series of findings which, in my opinion, may now be considered as established. Among these we may mention, for example, the discovery of the quality of High Priest (de jure or de facto) of both the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest (Stegemann), the identification as separate persons of the Liar and the Wicked Priest (Jeremias), the consideration of the Liar as the head of the Essene movement from which the group faithful to the Teacher of Righteousness broke away (Murphy-O'Connor), etc.

But the central problem constituted by the identification of the person designated "The Wicked Priest" has continued to elude the efforts of the researchers. While recognising that this person provides the key to the early

history of the Community since he is the highest authority in the country ("he ruled over Israel" 1QpHab VIII,9) and makes it possible to connect the history of the sect with political and religious history through his persecution of the Teacher of Righteousness, efforts to identify him convincingly have failed owing to the fact that the many allusions to him in the Pesharim contain elements so various that it is impossible to apply all of them to any one High Priest of the Second century B.C. It is thus that according to whatever characteristic is favored as most important, at the expense of the others, different results and different identifications are arrived at, from Menelaus⁶¹ to Jonathan (the candidate with the greatest number of defenders)⁶², including Simon⁶³, Alexander Jannaeus⁶⁴ and Hyrcanus II⁶⁵, to confine ourselves to the candidates who fit the archaeological dating of the first occupation of Qumran. All these hypotheses rest on the unsubstantiated presupposition that all mentions of "Wicked Priest" refer to one and the same person. To A.S. van der Woude belongs the credit of having proved convincingly that this is not the case⁶⁶. His suggestion that we should see in the designation "Wicked Priest" a description referring to the various Hasmonean High Priests from Judas Macabaeus to Alexander Jannaeus and in precise chronological order, offers a simple elegant solution which at once respects the totality of the data of the Habakkuk pesher and the limits to interpretation imposed by the archaeological dating of the Qumran settlement.

His hypothesis has, moreover, the advantage of fixing the precise chronological framework for the development of the early history of the Community.

If this hypothesis is accepted⁶⁷, it is possible to be a little more precise as to the historical circumstances in which the split within the Essene movement took place, now that it is possible to determine precisely the period when the Teacher of Righteousness was active. Of all the Wicked Priests mentioned by the Habakkuk pesher, only three appear in direct relation to the founder of the Qumran Community: Jonathan (161-143/42 B.C., 1QpHab IX, 16-X.1), Simon (143/42-135/34 B.C., 1QpHab XI, 2-8) and John Hyrcanus (135/34-104 B.C., 1QpHab XI, 2-8) and only this last persecuted the Teacher of Righteousness after his move to Qumran:

Its prediction concerns the Wicked Priest who pursued the Teacher of Righteousness to the house of his exile that he might confuse him with his venomous fury. And at the time appointed for rest, for the Day of Atone-ment, he appeared before them to confuse them, and to cause them to stumble on the Day of Fasting, their Sabbath of repose.

These data show us that the formative period of the sect runs through the Pontificates of Jonathan and Simon and that this period is characterized not only by the elaboration of the ideological and political principles previously

mentioned, but also by conflicts with the political and religious might of Jerusalem. It also shows us that the break with the Essene movement became complete during the long Pontificate of John Hyrcanus, but this break and the settlement in Qumran did not mean a reconciliation with the political power. On the contrary, John Hyrcanus persecuted the Teacher of Righteousness in his desert retreat and his successor, Alexander Jannaeus, was also to be qualified as a Wicked Priest.

The causes of these conflicts with political authority were undoubtedly of a religious nature, but the texts do not permit us to elucidate them precisely. The positive assessment offered by 1QpHab VIII, 8-13 of the first period of the activity of Judas Maccabaeus and its condemnation of his conduct once in power⁶⁸, permit us to suppose that the origin of the opposition (which precedes the intervention of the Teacher of Righteousness) is connected with the Maccabean uprising. If the parallel of the Hasidim group's position vis-à-vis Judas Maccabaeus is valid⁶⁹ it is possible to imagine that the problem of the legitimation of the High Priest may have been an important element. In any case, the condemnation of Alcimus in 1QpHab VIII, 16-IX, 2 rules out an identification of the group of the Hasidim (who at the outset at least accepted Alcimus) with the Essene group joined by the Teacher of Righteousness.

Other possible motives for the conflicts the founder of the Qumran Community had with the Hasmonean High Priests may be traced by analyzing the halakhoth attributed by rabbinical tradition to Jonathan (m.Pe. III:5) or to Hyrcanus (m.Sh. V:5) and comparing them with the corresponding Qumranic halakhoth. The requirements of the "Torah of the King" (11QTemple) presented as a programme in the face of the historical reality of the Hasmonean dynasty, could only have aggravated the existing tensions and made the conflicts more acute. At all events, even if the causes of these conflicts remain obscure, their reality, so forcibly expressed in the Habakkuk peshier, permits us to differentiate the group faithful to the Teacher of Righteousness from the rest of the Essene movement; both Philo and Josephus insist that all those with political power, with no exception, admired and respected the Essenes (Quod omnis probus 89-91), paid them homage and loaded them with favours (Hypothetica 18), a totally different picture from that presented by the Habakkuk peshier.

If we must briefly sum up the significance of this "Groningen Hypothesis", let us say that it permits us to place the origins of the Essene movement in the Palestinian apocalyptic tradition of the late 3rd and early 2nd century B.C., helps us to understand how and why within this Essene movement the in-

fluence of the Teacher of Righteousness gives rise to a fringe group and makes it clear how after opposing the High Priests Jonathan and Simon, this group eventually broke with the original Essene Community and retired to the desert.

In the solitude of Qumran the members of this group continued for more than a century and a half to live in accordance with the interpretation of the Law and in the eschatological hope with which the Teacher of Righteousness had marked their origins, reflecting at the same time on this period of their origins in their readings of the biblical text.

Notes

¹ In the context of this "Colloquium" it is useless to insist on the multiplicity of hypotheses formulated to explain the origins of the Qumran group. The oldest hypotheses may be found conveniently assembled in M. Delcor - F. Garcia Martinez, Introducción a la literatura esenia de Qumrán, Madrid 1982, pp. 28-35. My objections to the more recent hypotheses of B.F. Thiering (Redating the Teacher of Righteousness, Sydney 1979; idem, The Gospels and Qumran, Sydney 1981; idem, The Qumran Origins of the Christian Church, Sydney 1983) and of R.H. Eisenman (Maccabees, Zadokites, Christian and Qumran, Leiden 1983; idem, James the Just in the Habakkuk Peshier, Leiden 1986) has been expressed in my reviews of the works in Journal for the Study of Judaism. The hypothesis of Norman Golb, who denies the relation between the manuscripts (= MSS) and the ruins of Qumran as well as the Essene origin of the Qumran MSS and postulates that all these come from Jerusalem and were hidden in the various caves by the defenders of the city in the period of the struggle against the Romans (66-70 B.C.) in my opinion neither respects the archaeological evidence nor explains the homogeneity of the content of the MSS, unless we suppose that they are all from the library of a similar group in Jerusalem, when the objections which arise against the usual explanation are opposed to his own hypothesis, cf. his articles: The Problem of Origin and Identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 124, 1980, pp. 1-24 and Who Hid the Dead Sea Scrolls, BA 28, 1987, pp. 68-82. See also his detailed contribution to this "Colloquium". [Not yet received! Ed.]

² F. Garcia Martinez, Essenisme Qumrânien: Origines, caractéristiques, héritage [in:] B. Chiesa (ed.), Correnti culturali e movimenti religiosi del giudaismo, Roma 1987, pp. 37-57.

³ The relevant bibliographical references are to be found in the art.cit. note 2. J. Murphy-O'Connor has recently stated and slightly modified his hypothesis in The Damascus Document Revisited (Revue Biblique 92, 1985, pp. 223-246; an article reprinted in SBL Seminar Papers 1986, K.H. Richards (ed.), Atlanta 1986, pp. 369-383), but without solving the objections opposed to his hypothesis. P.R. Davies, in an article published in the same volume, Qumran Origins, pp. 361-368, offers an acute criticism of the traditional hypothesis, but his scepticism as to the pesharim information as a possible source of notes on the primitive history of the Community obliges him to stay on the level of the Murphy-O'Connor hypothesis. I have unfortunately not yet been able to obtain the recent thesis of P.R. Callaway, directed by C.A. Newsom and defended at Emory University, The History of the Qumran Community: An Investigation of the Problem (see Dissertation Abstracts International A, Vol. 47, No. 8, February 1987, p. 3071-A).

⁴ R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Oxford 1973, pp. 5, 116-117.

⁵ "Il apparaît maintenant que le bâtiment a été construit sous le règne de Jean Hyrcan, il est en tout cas certain qu'il était occupé sous Alexandre Jannée" (RB 61, 1954, p. 231); "La période Ib commence vraisemblablement sous Alexandre Jannée (103-107 av. J.C.); il est possible mais il n'est pas sûr que la période Ia ait débuté sous Jean Hyrcan (134-104), car il semble qu'elle eut une courte durée et que le développement de la communauté exigea très vite une extension des bâtiments, qui trouveront alors leur plan définitif" (RB 63, 1956, p. 538); "Il est certain que les bâtiments de la période Ib étaient occupés sous son règne. Il est possible que la première installation de la communauté dans la période Ia se soit faite déjà sous Jean Hyrcan mais ce point ne peut pas être définitivement établi" (RB 63, 1965, p. 565); "La Communauté s'est installée à Khirbet Qumran à la fin du règne de Jean Hyrcan (134-104 av. J.C.) ou sous Alexandre Jannée (103-76 av. J.C.)" (La Table Ronde 107, 1956, p. 77); "Elle nous apprend que sur l'emplacement d'une installation israélienne ruinée, la communauté s'est fixée à Khirbet Qumran peut-être au temps de Jean Hyrcan, difficilement avant, et qu'elle y était sûrement sous Alexandre Jannée" (RB 66, 1959, p. 102).

⁶ These arguments are: - the remains of this occupation are so scanty as to make it certain that the occupation was of short duration; - the absence of coins precludes a precise dating of this period of occupation; - the pottery remains are identical with those of the following period, indicating a continuity between periods Ia and Ib. Period Ib begins during the pontificate of Alexander Jannaeus; since "the modest nature of the buildings and the scarcity of archaeological material attest the fact that this first installation was of short duration" (*Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, p.5) its extension as far as the pontificate of Jonathan, some 50 years, is gratuitous and without justification.

⁷ Milik identifies the Wicked Priest with Jonathan, cf. *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, London 1959, pp. 84-87; Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*, London 1958, pp. 107-115, identifies him with Simon.

⁸ "The first installation, Period Ia, is certainly earlier than Alexander Jannaeus... Period Ia may possibly have begun under John Hyrcanus, 134-104 B.C., or one of his immediate predecessors, his father Simon, 143-134 B.C., or his uncle Jonathan, the High Priest from 152 to 143 B.C. Of these three candidates for the title of the Wicked Priest John Hyrcanus can first be set aside since his career and activities do not correspond well with what the documents tell us about the Wicked Priest. There remain Simon and Jonathan. The indications in the documents correspond well with what we know of the latter, and in fact G. Vermes and J.T. Milik have put forward sound arguments for identifying him with the Wicked Priest. F.M. Cross, however, has suggested, on no less solid grounds, that Simon is the figure referred to. The findings of archaeology suggest that Period Ia was of brief duration, and this makes it inadvisable to go back much earlier than the reign of John Hyrcanus and favours the candidacy of Simon rather than Jonathan" (*Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 116-117).

⁹ In analysing the evidence of the coins found he is obliged to admit that: "The absence of Seleucid coppers of pre-Hyrcanus date becomes increasingly difficult to explain with each year one mounts before Hyrcanus' accession. It becomes decisive evidence against any dating of beginnings at Qumran more than a half dozen years before Hyrcanus, since Seleucid coppers did not cease to circulate on the day Hyrcanus began to mint coppers even among nationalist Jews" (*The Ancient Library*, pp. 43-44).

¹⁰ According to B. Kanael, *The Beginning of Maccabean Coinage*, IEJ 1, 1950-51, pp. 170-175. The problem is that the numismatic experts cannot agree.

Some, such as A. Ben David (*When did the Maccabees begin to strike their first Coins?*, PEQ 124, 1972, pp. 93-103) and U. Rappaport accept that Hyrcanus was the first Hasmonean to coin his own money, while others, led by Y. Meshorer, roundly deny that Hyrcanus coined any money, which casts a different light on the attribution of the single coin of Hyrcanus found in Qumran according to de Vaux, and maintain that the first Hasmonean to coin money was Jannaeus, cf. Y. Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period*, Jerusalem 1967, pp. 41-52. An important argument to this effect is constituted by the publication of a coin of Antiochus VIII, issued in the 20th year of his reign (in 106 or 102 B.C.), cf. Y. Meshorer, *The Beginning of the Hasmonean Coinage*, IEJ 24, 1974, pp. 59-61, if we accept the hypothesis that this coin was minted in Jerusalem. In any case the principal problem as regards an advanced date lies in the extreme scarcity of Seleucid bronze coins.

¹¹ E.M. Laperrousaz, who has made a critical analysis of the archaeological arguments of de Vaux, arriving at a different conclusion as regards the end of Period Ib, admits that it is impossible to give a precise date for the beginning of the Qumran settlement. Period Ia: "Nous estimons, quant à nous, impossible, à partir des seuls éléments fournis par l'archéologie - plus exactement par la fouille des ruines de Qumran - de situer avec précisions, à l'intérieur du dernier siècle de la "Période hellénistique" de la Palestine, la Période Ia de Qumran" (*Qumran, L'établissement Essenien des bords de la Mer Morte. Histoire et archéologie du site*, Paris 1976, p. 33). The same conclusion in his article *Qumran*, DBSupl. Vol. 51, col. 752.

¹² "To take the 'twenty years' literally would place the appearance of the Essenes on the Palestinian scene around 172 B.C., but biblical precedent suggests that this figure is rather to be understood as a round number signifying half a generation... In this perspective the interval between the appearance of the Essenes and the assumption of leadership by the Teacher of Righteousness would be only about ten years - time enough for a youth to grow to full stature as man and so to justify the assertion that it was about half a generation" (J. Murphy-O'Connor, *The Essenes and their History*, RB 81, 1974, pp. 224-225).

¹³ In the article quoted in note 2 (*The Damascus Document Revisited*, RB 92, 1985, p. 240) J. Murphy-O'Connor makes an important observation which apparently contradicts this assumption: "Much of this material (referring to 1 Enoch, Jubilees and the Testament of the XII Patriarchs) antedates the foundation of Qumran, but it is not necessary to conclude that it therefore reflects the prehistory of the Essene movement. On the basis of an objective consideration of all the evidence, it is more probable that it was the Teacher of Righteousness who served as the conduit by which such materials entered the Qumran branch of the Essene movement". That is, that this literature would form part of the prehistory of the Teacher of Righteousness but not of the Essene movement prior to and independent of it. But, since this personage is decisive in the formation of qumranic thought ("It would be a grave mistake to underestimate the influence of this personage on those Essenes who followed him", art. cit., p. 240) his "prehistory" may be considered as the prehistory of the sect he originated.

¹⁴ Mentioned in CD XX,14. On the composite character of CD, cf. P.R. Davies (*The Damascus Covenant*, Sheffield 1982) who builds on the previous work of Murphy-O'Connor. On the differences between the two, see my review of Davies's work in JSJ 14, 1983, pp. 189-194.

¹⁵ D. Dimant, *Qumran Sectarian Literature* [in:] M. Stone (ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (Compendia Reum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum, II/2), Assen 1984, pp. 483-550, concludes (p. 547) the presentation of the history of the sect by distinguishing among the origins of the sectarian doctrines, which she places in an indeterminate trend in the III-

-II centuries B.C., and the historical and political circumstances which lead to the actual creation of the sect which she does not specify. Even if her conclusion correctly disentangles the ideological origins of the sect from the Antiochian crisis and places those origins in Palestine at a previous date, it does not succeed in identifying the actual territory in which the sectarian doctrines arise ("a wider trend existing in Judaism") and, above all, maintains the identification of the Essene movement with the sectarian group, thus vitiating all her historical reconstruction.

¹⁶ Ant. XIII, 171-172.

¹⁷ See the references in L.H. Feldman, Josephus and Modern Scholarship: 1937-1980, Berlin-New York 1984, pp. 590-592.

¹⁸ Hippolytus in an obviously apologetic tirade will invert the terms and make Pythagoras and the Stoics depend on the Essenes: "The Essene practices concerning the Deity are more ancient than those of all the nations, which proves that all those who have spoken of God or of the Creation have received their doctrines from no other source than Jewish Law. Of those, above all Pythagoras and the Stoics of Egypt are those who have learnt in the school of the Essenes" (Refutatio, IX, 27).

¹⁹ As noted in Feldman, Josephus and Modern Scholarship, pp. 564, 594.

²⁰ The recent works of L.H. Schiffman, (Legislation Concerning Relation with Non-Jews in the Zadokite Fragments and in Tannaitic Literature, RQ 11, 1982-1984, pp. 379-389 and Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Chico 1983) confirm this point, since they prove that the legislation regulating relations with gentiles is substantially in agreement with the traditional halakhah and does not demand a Babylonian context.

²¹ Compare CD XII, 1-2 with 11QTemple XLV, 11-12 for example.

²² CD XI, 17-21.

²³ R. Beckwith, The significance of the Calendar for Interpreting Essene Chronology and Eschatology, RQ 10, 1979-1981, pp. 167-202; idem, The Earliest Enoch Literature and its Calendar, RQ 10, 1979-1981, pp. 365-403; idem, The Pre-History and Relationships of the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes. A Tentative Reconstruction, RQ 11, 1982-1984, pp. 3-46.

²⁴ D. Dimant, Jerusalem and the Temple in the Animals' Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85-90) in the Light of the Thought of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Shtaton 5/6, 1981-1982, pp. 177-183 (Hebrew); idem, The History according to the Animals' Apocalypse, MYM 2, 1982, pp. 18-37 (Hebrew); idem, Qumran Sectarian Literature, pp. 544-545.

²⁵ The date of composition is generally placed between 165 and 160 B.C., which makes it possible to consider it as a work of the formation period; but, in spite of the many relations it presents with qumranic literature highlighted by D. Dimant, its pro-Maccabean position seems to imply a non-sectarian origin. In Qumran there have been found remains of four copies of the work: 4QEn^f is from the third quarter of the II century B.C., 4QEn^e was written in the first half of the I st century and 4QEn^{c,d} in the last third of the I st century B.C., cf. J.T. Milik, The Books of Enoch, Oxford 1976, pp. 5, 178, 225.

²⁶ A similar argument might be constructed from Jub, 23, 26: "In those days, the children shall begin to examine the laws and to study the commandments, returning to the way of righteousness". Jubilees, too, is a work related to sectarian thought and many copies, written in the first half of the II century B.C., have been found in Qumran, but neither may be considered as a qumranic work, cf. J.S. VanderKam, Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees, Missoula 1977, pp. 258-283.

²⁷ F. Garcia Martinez, art. cit., note 2, as well as Origenes apocalipticos del movimiento esenio y origenes qumranicos, Communio 18, 1985, pp. 353-368; idem, Encore l'Apocalyphtique, JSS 17, 1986, pp. 224-232; idem, Les Iraditions Apocalyphtiques à Qumrân [in:] C. Kappler (ed.), Apocalypses et Voyages dans l'au-delà, Paris 1987; idem, La Apocaliptica y Qumrân [in:] II Simposio Biblico Español, Valencia 1987.

²⁸ P. Sacchi, Il Libro dei Vigilanti e l'Apocalittica, Henoch 1, 1979, pp. 42-78; idem, L'apocalittica e il problema del male, Parola di Vita 25, 1980, pp. 325-347; idem, Ordine cosmico e prospettiva ultraterrena nel postesilio. Il problema del male e l'origine dell'apocalittica, Rivista Biblica 30, 1982, pp. 6-25; idem, Riflessioni sull'essenza dell'apocalittica; Peccato d'origine e libertà dell'uomo, Henoch 5, 1983, pp. 31-58; idem, Riflessioni e proposte per una possibile storia dell'apocalittica [in:] Tempo e Apocalisse, Roma 1985, pp. 9-34; idem, I testi palestinesi anteriori al 200 a.C., Rivista Biblica 32, 1986, pp. 183-204; idem, Enoc etiopico 91,15 e il problema della mediazione, Henoch 7, 1985, pp. 257-269; idem, L'apocalittica del I sec.: Peccato e Giudizio [in:] Correnti culturali e movimenti religiosi del giudaismo, Roma 1987, pp. 59-77.

²⁹ Ant. XIII, 172: "The sect of the Essenes declares that fate is the Lord of all and that nothing happens to men which is not in conformity with his decision"; cf. also Ant. XVIII, 18.

³⁰ See recently H. Lichtenberger, Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde, Göttingen 1980, pp. 184-200 and the previous monograph of E. Merrill, Qumran and Predestination, Leiden 1975, which concentrates on 1QH.

³¹ J. Blenkinsopp, Interpretation and the Tendency to Sectarianism: An Aspect of Second Temple History [in:] E.P. Sanders (ed.), Jewish and Christian Self-Definition, Vol. II, pp. 1-26.

³² F. Garcia Martinez, Profeet en profetie in de geschriften van Qumran [in:] F. Garcia Martinez (ed.), Profeten en profetische geschriften, Kampen 1986, pp. 119-132.

³³ Cf. F. Garcia Martinez, Las Tablas Celestes en el Libro de los Jubileos [in:] A. Vargas Machuca (ed.), Palabra y Vida, Madrid 1984, pp. 333-349, which highlights the dependence of Jubilees on 1 Enoch in this aspect.

³⁴ Cf. F. Nötscher, Himmlische Bücher und Schickalsglaube in Qumran, RQ 3, 1958-59, pp. 405-411.

³⁵ C. Rowland sees in it the very essence of apocalyptic, cf. The Open Heaven, London 1982, p. 113.

³⁶ R.G. Hamerton-Kelly, The Temple and the Origins of Jewish Apocalyptic, Vetus Testamentum 20, 1970, pp. 1-15.

³⁷ I have developed at length this aspect in my contribution to the Memorial Diez Macho, La nueva Jerusalem y el Templo futuro en los MSS de Qumran [in:] D. Muñoz Leon (ed.), Salvacion en la Palabra, Madrid 1986, pp. 563-590.

³⁸ Equally categorical is 4Q171 III, 15-17: "this prediction refers to the Priest, the Teacher of Righteousness, whom God chose to stand before Him, establishing him to build for him the congregation of his elect and direct his path in truth".

³⁹ The single other use of the verb DKR in CD is found in the quotation from Num. 24,17 in CD VIII, 19, where it is said that this star is the Interpreter of the Law.

40 The most recent attempt to trace this development is that of P.R. Davies, *Eschatology at Qumran*, JBL 104, 1985, pp. 39-55. Davies supposes that the eschatology of Jubilees, CD, and 4QDibham represents Essene eschatology in so far as this is distinct from Qumran eschatology and characterizes the Qumran group as a schismatic group claiming to have fulfilled Essene expectations.

41 This development has been highlighted by J. Duhaime (*La Règle de la Guerre de Qumran et l'Apocalyptique*, Science et Esprit 36, 1984, pp. 67-88) who explains the transformation of the eschatological hope within the Qumran community in relation to the sacerdotal origins of the sect which had appropriated apocalyptic thought.

42 Each of these assertions would merit a detailed proof which we cannot here offer, cf. M. Delcor-F. Garcia Martinez, *Introducción a la literatura esenia*, pp. 187-206. The basic reason to postulate a prequmranic origin for its composition is the existence in Strugnell's group of fragments of a copy palaeographically datable about 150 B.C., cf. B.Z. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran*, Cincinnati 1983, p. 206 and my review in *Biblica* 66, 1985, pp. 290-294.

43 This work, six fragmentary copies of which were preserved in Cave 4 (4Q394-399) has not yet been edited, but its content was made public in a lecture by J. Strugnell and E. Qimron at the 1984 IES Congress. It is a halakhic letter from the leader of the Qumran community addressed to the leader of his opponents; its purpose is to define the reasons why the sect has separated from the rest of the people and to persuade its opponents to accept the viewpoints of the community. The work, as far as it can be reconstructed by collating the various documents, consists of the following sections: Introduction, which has not been preserved; calendar, partially preserved, to be published by Milik; list of the sect's special halakhoth (some 20 have been preserved; Strugnell and Qimron include in their publication a list of 12 of them); Epilogue (which contains some qumranic theological principles and discusses the reasons why the sect has separated itself from the rest of the people, at the same time suggesting to its opponents that they should return to the true path), cf. *An Unpublished Halakhic Letter from Qumran* [in:] *Biblical Archaeology Today*, Jerusalem 1985, pp. 400-407.

44 "MMI may, then, be the earliest Qumranic work, being apparently written immediately after the separation of the Sect" (Strugnell-Qimron, *art. cit.*, p. 401).

45 Hebrew text in Strugnell-Qimron, *art. cit.*, p. 402.

46 As long as the complete text of the work remains unknown it is impossible to determine the degree of relation to 11QT^a Temple halakhoth. The Strugnell-Qimron description of the themes suggests the point of contact we indicate in the following two notes.

47 Halakhoth 1 to 7 of the list published: 1. Prohibition on accepting sacrifices from Gentiles. 2. Cutting the throats of pregnant animals (-11QT^a Temple LIII, 5). 3. The one banished from the assembly (-1QS^a II, 5-9; 1QM VII, 3-6; 4Q491 1-3, 6). 4. The red heifer (-11QT^a Temple LXIII, 1-8). 5. Exclusion of blind and deaf from the sanctuary (-11QT^a Temple XLV, 12-13). 6. Purity of running liquids. 7. Prohibition against bringing dogs into Jerusalem (-11QT^a Temple XLVII, 1-14), cf. Strugnell-Qimron, *art. cit.*, pp. 401-402.

48 Halakhoth 8 to 12 of the published list: 8. The fruits of the fourth year, for the priests. 9. The cattle tithe, for the priests (-11QT^a Temple LX, 1-5). 10. Regulations for the period of purification from leprosy (-11QT^a Temple XLV, 17ss). 11. Impurity of the human bones (-11QT^a Temple L, 5-9; LI, 4-6). 12. Prohibition of marriage between priests and Israelite women (-11QT^a Temple LXV-LXVI). According to the authors of the paper the original probably contained other matrimonial halakhah in the text following on this latter halakhah, cf. Strugnell-Qimron, *art. cit.*, p. 402.

49 It is interesting to note that this element is also absent from the summary of CD VI,11-VII,4 which provides a good parallel, as regards the content of the two elements here indicated as characteristic, presented as prescriptions for those which were admitted to the Covenant: Calendar and festivals (VI,18-19) prescriptions relating to the Temple (VI,15-16), to the cult (VI,10), impurity (VI,17-18), tithes (VI,20). The summary add other prescriptions, which suppose the established community (VI,14-15; VII,1-4).

50 It suffices to re-read S. Talmon's classic article. *The Calendar, Reckoning of the Sect of the Judaean Desert*, Scripta Hierosolymitana 4, 1965², pp. 162-199.

51 The textual correction proposed by S. Schechter (*Documents of the Jewish Sectaries*, Vol. I, XXXIX, reprint KTAV 1970, p. 71) reading KMSWT "according to the precepts" for KMS'T of the MSS, accepted, among others by Talmon (*art. cit.*, p. 166) and A. Dupont-Sommer (*Écrits Esséniens*, p. 147) seems unnecessary. The expression, which is parallel to PRWSH, used in line 18 to mean the correct interpretation of the Sabbath and in line 20 for the correct interpretation of "the holy things" (tithes) underlines the peculiar character of the group's calendar of festivals.

52 With the one (possible) exception of the addition preserved by the Slavonic translation of Josephus in *Bell. II*, 147, which says that in addition to observing the Sabbath they also observe "the seventh week, the seventh month and the seventh year", a detail which would relate them to the system of computing known from the Book of Jubilees, cf. M. Philonenko, *La notice de Josephus slave sur les Esséniens*, *Semitica* 6, 1956, pp. 69-73. But the value of the Slavonic Josephus is a much-discussed question and its importance problematic.

53 Philo, *De vita contemplativa*, 65. On the basic calendar cf. the commentary of P. Geoltrain, *Le traité de la Vie Contemplative de Philon d'Alexandrie. Introduction, traduction et notes*, *Semitica* 10, 1960, pp. 24-25; also A. Jaubert, *La notion d'alliance dans le Judaïsme*, Paris 1963, pp. 477-479, J. van Goudoever, *Fêtes et Calendriers Bibliques*, Paris 1967³. See also the article by J.M. Baumgarten, *4QHalakhah^a 5, the Law of Hadash and the Pentecontad Calendar*, *JJS* 27, 1976, pp. 39-42. On the Essene character of the Therapeutai, cf. G. Vermes, *Essenes and Therapeutai*, *RQ* 3, 1962, pp. 594-604 and the second volume of the new Schürer, pp. 591-597.

54 A. Jaubert, *Le Calendrier des Jubilés et la secte de Qumrân. Ses Origines bibliques*, VI 3, 1953, pp. 250-264; idem, *La date de la Cène*, Paris 1957; idem, *Fiches de Calendrier* [in:] M. Delcor, (ed.), *Qumrân*, Paris-Gembloux 1978, pp. 305-311. Jaubert's hypothesis has been defended by J.C. VanderKam (*The Origin, Character and Early History of the 364-day Calendar. A Reassessment of Jaubert's Hypothesis*, CBQ 41, 1979, pp. 390-411) who attempted to show that this ancient calendar was used in the Temple cult until 167 B.C., a date at which it is supposed to have been replaced by a luni-solar Seleucid calendar, cf. 2 Maccabees 6,7a and the calendrical change in Jerusalem, JSJ 12, 1981, pp. 51-74, but see P.R. Davies's refutation, *Calendrical Change and Qumran Origins: An Assessment of VanderKam's Theory*, CBQ 45, 1983, pp. 80-89.

55 Cf. the article quoted in note 23, especially RQ 10, 1979-1980, pp. 379-387.

56 R.E. Brown (*The Pre-Christian Semitic Concept of Mystery*, CBQ 20, 1958, pp. 417-443) pointed out some time ago that it is only in qumranic literature that the category of "mystery" is used in discussing the interpretation of Scripture.

57 These texts designate the movement to which belonged not only the Teacher of Righteousness and his partisans but also his enemies as "The House of Absalom" (1QpHab V, 9-12), the members of the movement who do not accept

the Teacher of Righteousness as "Charlatans" (CD XX,10-13; 4Q162 II,6.10), "Traitors" (1QpHab II,1-3), and the leader of the movement opposed to the teacher of Righteousness as "Charlatan" (CD I,13-17; XX,11-12) and particularly as "Liar" (CD I,15; IV,19; VIII,13; XX,15; 1QpHab II, 1-3; V, 9-12; X, 9-13; 4Q171 I, 18-II, 1; IV, 14-15).

⁵⁸ This is how Murphy-O'Connor defines the most ancient level of the Rule of the Community which in a way outlines the programme of the future sect and comes from the formative period.

⁵⁹ The texts may be found conveniently collected in M.P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Texts*, Washington 1979; the most complete study of the Habakkuk peshar is that of W.H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Peshar of Habakkuk*, Missoula 1979; the most recent, B. Nitzan, *Peshar Habakkuk. A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea (1QpHab)*, Jerusalem 1986 (Hebrew).

⁶⁰ Cf. F. Garcia Martinez, *art. cit.*, note 32.

⁶¹ A. Michel, *Le Maire de Justice*, Avignon 1954, pp. 232-258.

⁶² For example, G. Vermes, *Les manuscrits du désert de Juda*, Paris 1955, pp. 92-100; idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Qumran in Perspective*, London 1977, pp. 150-152; J.T. Milik, *op. cit.*, note 7, pp. 84-87; G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, Göttingen 1963, pp. 36-78; H. Stegemann, *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde*, Bonn 1971, pp. 39-129, etc.

⁶³ F.M. Cross, *op. cit.*, note 7, pp. 127-160.

⁶⁴ J. Carmignac, *Les Textes de Qumrân*, Vol. II, Paris 1963, pp. 51-53.

⁶⁵ A. Dupont-Sommer, *Observations sur le Commentaire d'Habacuc*, RHR 137, 1959, pp. 125-176; idem, *Les Ecrits Esseniens*, Paris 1983⁴, pp. 361-368.

⁶⁶ A.S. Van Der Woude, *Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests? Reflections on the Identification of the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk Commentary*, JJS 33, 1982, pp. 349-359. W.H. Brownlee (*The Wicked Priest, The Man of Lies, and The Righteous Teacher - The Problem of Identity*, JQR 73, 1982, pp. 1-37) equally affirms the plurality of Wicked Priests and identifies as such John Hyrcanus, Aristobulus I and Alexander Janneus. Recently I. Fröhlich (*Le genre littéraire des Pesharim de Qumrân*, RQ 12, 1986, pp. 383-398) has identified as Wicked Priests Alexander Janneus, Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II. My study (*Judas Macabeo Sacerdote Impio? Notas al margen de 1QpHab VIII,8-13* [in:] *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Mathias Delcor* (AOAT 215, pp. 169-181) confirms van der Woude's hypothesis proving that even Judas Maccabeus may have been indicated as one of the Wicked Priests.

⁶⁷ As far as is known to me, no work has convincingly proved that this hypothesis is mistaken. Murphy-O'Connor (*art. cit.* note 3, p. 245), confines himself to accusing van der Woude of "an overly literal interpretation of pesharim texts" and of "rather naive faith in the historical worth of details provided by Josephus".

⁶⁸ Cf. F. Garcia Martinez, *art. cit.* note 66, pp. 174-177.

⁶⁹ The Hasidim, who had been the first to join the revolt of the Maccabees (1 Mac. 2,42), abandoned Judas in the hour of conflict with Alcimus (1 Mac. 7,14) who, however, executed 60 of them (1 Mac. 7,16), provoking his subsequent rejection.

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LA CONSCIENCE DE COMMUNAUTÉ ET L'ATTITUDE SECTAIRE À QOUMRÂN REMARQUES HERMÉNEUTIQUES

Cette présentation vise à décrire du problème herméneutique des textes de Qoumrân, tel que je le reçois et le perçois. J'adopterai la définition de l'herméneutique proposée par P. Ricoeur: "l'herméneutique est la théorie des opérations de la compréhension dans leur rapport avec l'interprétation des textes"¹. Ricoeur parle d'un phénomène auquel il a donné le titre de "monde du texte". Ce "monde du texte" n'est pas une reconstruction du texte, qui est d'ailleurs une condition nécessaire mais préalable, afin qu'un texte existe: c'est le niveau de la critique textuelle. "Le monde du texte" ou "la chose du texte" c'est "se comprendre devant le texte"². Autrement dit, le monde, une réalité n'est pas derrière le texte, comme le serait une intention cachée, mais devant lui, comme ce que l'oeuvre découvre. Il faut prendre sous la considération autant les structures extérieures qui formaient le texte, que le sens des mots qui expriment le monde.

L'herméneutique traditionnelle - romantique et diltheyenne - avait un caractère psychologisant et historicisant; c'était la manière de traiter des pièces de musée. Mais l'intelligence d'un texte n'est point une muséologie. Cette voie ne nous est plus accessible, dès lors que nous prenons au sérieux soit le contexte socio-religieux (un *Sitz im Leben*), soit les influences de diverses traditions (histoire des traditions) et les étapes de la naissance des textes (histoire de la rédaction).

Il y a des auteurs qui consacraient leurs études à la question des influences hellénistiques sur l'organisation de la communauté qoumrânienne en forme de *thiasos*³. Un des meilleurs spécialistes des relations entre le judaïsme et l'hellénisme, M. Hengel a montré que ces influences pour une secte aussi fermée que celle de Qoumrân étaient plus fortes qu'on ne le croyait⁴.