

hmr, ce qui peut indiquer leur relation à l'aïeul totémique que fut l'âne, qui entraîna par conséquent, que la coutume ancienne sémite de conclusion des alliances en employant l'âne ait pu subsister chez cette famille.

BRUNO W.W. DOMBROWSKI

QUMRANOLOGICA II

In 1994 several works in the province of Qumran studies were published which deserve special attention. These are:

Norman Golb, *Who wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York) ≈ *Qumran. Wer schrieb die Schriftrollen vom Toten Meer?* [translated into German by Olga Rinne and Joachim Rehork] (Hoffmann und Campe, Hamburg) 544 pp. [ISBN 3-455-11024-x]¹, henceforth: *Golb*;

Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated. The Qumran Texts in English* [translated into English by Wilfred G. E. Watson] (E. J. Brill, Leiden etc.) lxvii, 513 pp. [ISBN 90-04-10088-1 hard-cover, ISBN 90-04-10048-2 pb], henceforth: *Martínez* or (*Martínez*) *DSST*;

Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den In-schriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten. Aramaistische Einleitung, Text · Übersetzung · Deutung, Grammatik/Wörterbuch, Deutsch-aramäische Wortliste, Register; Ergänzungsband* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1994) 450 pp. [ISBN 3-525-53599-6], henceforth: (*Beyer*) *Ergbd*;

Elisha Qimron and **John Strugnell** in consultation with **Y. Sussmann** and with contributions by **Y. Sussmann** and **Yardeni**, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert X, Qumran Cave 4: <part> V: Miqsat Ma'ašeh Ha-Torah* (Clarendon Press, Oxford etc.) xiv, 236 pp., viii plates [ISBN 0-19-826344-9], henceforth usually: *Qim.-Str.*².

¹ Since I could not get a hold of the English original, the German edition will serve as the basis of the following review.

² Since Qimron's and Strugnell's responsibility and the shares of their collaborators are rarely obvious

In the spring of 1994³ Norman Golb closed the preface to his voluminous work on what he considers the true story of the Dead Sea Scrolls⁴ with the expression of his gratitude and compliments to a number of persons for their manifestations of assistance towards his accomplishment. One is seemingly correct, therefore, assuming that his book had been completed by that time and represents, thus, the standard of information then available, the usual margin of forgivable oversights and errors in works of such size and kind notwithstanding.

Golb follows a clear-cut outline. Each of the book's two parts of app. 220 pp. each is subdivided in six chapters. After chapter 12 follow an epilogue (pp. 454-483) and an appendix offering an explanatory list of important matters, places, and persons (pp. 487-496), notes on chapters 1-12 (pp. 497-525), a select bibliography (pp. 526-534), and indices of a medley of subjects and names (pp. 535-544).

1. In part 1 Golb presents what he considers a new theory regarding the origin of the scrolls going in chapters 1 to 3 through the information available regarding the area of Hirbet Qumran (ch. 1), the scrolls and their contents (ch. 2), and the story of the discovery of the first batch thereof (ch. 3). He also tells of his personal experiences and career over more than 40 years since his days as a graduate student under the direction of W. F. Albright at Johns Hopkins University (pp. 65 f.⁵). He recalls: „Albright war der Inbegriff der Würde von Forschung und Lehre, und als er seine Zustimmung zu der damals entwickelten Theorie äusserte, die Schriftrollen stammten ausnahmslos von einer essenischen Sekte, die ihren Wohnort in der Nähe der Höhlen <sc. in the area of Qumran> hatte, sah sich niemand unter uns veranlasst, seine Unterstützung dieser Theorie zu hinterfragen.

they are all treated as a team under this siglum or the names Qimron and Strugnell, unless individual contributors have declared their shares *expressis verbis*.

³ Golb p. 15.

⁴ Hence DSS. Alternatively the siglum QT is used for Qumran Texts or Texts from Hirbet Qumran.

⁵ See already Golb p. 10.

In unseren Dissertationen bezeichneten wir die Urheber der Texte im allgemeinen als die 'Anhänger der essenischen Sekte von Qumran'."

Similar experiences have been made *mutatis mutandis* by scholars of all continents, and even worse, since in many instances the representatives of the „Essene hypothesis“⁶ became more and more rigid and intolerant towards others and, when it became obvious that their positions had been untenable, many of them swiftly modified parts of their reasoning to save their face. *Inter alios et alia*, Golb observed this with respect to the argumentation of Frank Moore Cross, Jr. in the latter's „The Early History of the Qumran Community“ in D.N. Freedman and J.C. Greenfield (eds.), *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology* (Garden City, N.Y. 1971) p. 77.⁷

Different from such colleagues, Golb with respectable consequence enunciated and then published his conclusions of the mistaken identification of the group attested in the bulk of the texts from Cave 1 with Essenes as early as 1979.⁸

Intermingled with his presentation of the history of „Qumranology“, i.e., the interpretation of the archaeologic relicts in the area on the western shore of the Dead Sea and its hinterland and of the explanation of the major texts of Cave 1 and the Cairo Document [= CD] and their relationships, and subsequently foremost in chapters 6-12 of scrolls and fragments unearthed in the other caves, Golb presents a kind of autobiography (in some places unnecessarily slightly apologetic) and describes how grave doubts gradually crept onto his mind regarding the identification of the association recognisable in the *Manual of Discipline* [= 1QS] with the Essenes as known from relations of Josephus, Philo Judaeus, Pliny the Elder, and others,⁹ as well as concerning the identification of the „debris“ or „ruins“ of Qumran¹⁰ with a centre or settlement(s) of this social group that called itself (*hay*)*yahad* in 1QS, and of Cave 1 in the

⁶ This term is more suitable to the assumption of connections and/or origins of DSS with Essenes than the term „theory“ which presupposes a safe basis.

⁷ Golb pp. 121 f.

⁸ In this respect Golb's book under review is chiefly a comprehensive repetition, improvement and supplementation of the observations and thoughts he had previously published in a considerable number of articles. For such see Golb pp. 529 f. and „Qumranologica [I]“ n. 1 [via n.* above].

⁹ A handy selection of the most important texts is available in A. Adam, *Antike Berichte über die Essener in Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen* (ed. by H. Lietzmann and K. Aland) no. 182 (Berlin 1961) which may have escaped Golb when he prepared his select bibliography.

¹⁰ This is the true meaning of Hirbet Qumran.

Habakkuk Pesher [= 1QpHab], *Micah Pesher* [1QpMic], the *Rule of the Congregation* [= 1QSa], the *Rule of the Blessings* [= 1QSb], in *Hodayot* [1QH], and occasionally in other texts, whereas elsewhere this self-designation is missing.¹¹ Golb has recognised the historicity of this group,¹² yet repeatedly pointed to the fact of linguistic and ideological inconsistencies (as well as others, such as archaeological deficiencies and uncertain findings and interpretations) and used these as items of evidence for his hypothesis to explain the conglomeration of texts of various backgrounds in the caves within the vicinity of Hirbet Qumran and to deny the possibility of the uniqueness of the *Yahad*-group which I call *Qumran Association* as a social body *sui generis*.¹³

Surely, Golb correctly admits that „trotz latenter Interpretationsprobleme bleibt aber das Faktum bestehen, dass die 1947 entdeckten Schriftrollen vom Toten Meer eine kompakte und fassbare Einheit bilden: Zwischen diesen Texten gab es genug Verbindendes, das scheinbar vernünftige Verallgemeinerungen über das gesamte Korpus dieser Schriften zuließ“,¹⁴ and, as he has it further, „Es besteht wenig Zweifel daran, dass solche Texte von¹⁵ Autoren verfasst wurden, die einer ‘Einigungs-Gruppe’ (oder mehreren solcher Gruppen) angehörten“. ¹⁶ Yet, irritated by the numerous new texts which were discovered in the course of the following decades, Golb saw and still sees sufficient cause „diese vereinheitlichende Sicht in Frage zu stellen.“ In his view, „versäumten die¹⁷ Qumranforscher, mit den Problemen Schritt zu halten, die durch das neue Material aufgeworfen

11 Obviously he is too radical in his assessment of this fact, inasmuch as Golb does not sufficiently allow for internal developments within the group whose existence he recognises, though. See on this matter B. W.W. Dombrowski, *Ideological and Socio-Structural Developments of the Qumran Association as Suggested by Internal Evidence of Dead Sea Scrolls* 2 parts [hence = *ISD I* resp. II] = *Qumranica Mogilanensia* 11 and 12 (I: Cracow 1994; II in preparation), esp. I pp. 15 f.

12 So, e.g., on pp. 356, 458.

13 Since the late fifties or early sixties. Meanwhile the peculiar character of the Qumran Association has been acknowledged by others also, notably, e.g., S. Talmon. See his „Between the Bible and the Mishna“ in his *The World of Qumran from Within* (Jerusalem-Leiden 1989) p. 20, and *eiusdem* „Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde für die jüdische Religionsgeschichte“ in J. B. Bauer et al., *Qumran - Ein Symposium* = *Grazer Theologische Studien* 15 (Graz 1993), p. 120.

14 Golb p. 126; see, however, Golb's grudging and partial retreat on p. 458 (cited below in n. 34).

15 The relative pronoun „die“ and the plural in the verb „angehörten“ of the following relative clause show that the words „vom Autoren“ must be replaced as typographical error by „von Autoren“.

16 Golb p. 365.

17 My emphasis.

wurden, obwohl der Fortgang der Entdeckungen eine völlig andere, doch potentiell viel überzeugendere Erklärung der historischen Bedeutung dieser Schriftrollen erfordert hätte.“¹⁸

Golb's consequence in this context is that the discrepancies between the scrolls of major size found in Cave 1 (i.e., approximately three percent only of more than six hundred non-biblical scrolls,¹⁹) and such discovered in the following decades would call for more and better proof than shown prior to the compilation of his book, „um die Behauptung glaubwürdig erscheinen zu lassen, dass dieser Begriff <i.e. *yahad*> nur eine einzige *Sekte*²⁰ bezeichnete und nur von einer verwendet wurde. Es ist durchaus denkbar, dass der Ruf nach der ‘Einheit mit Gott’²¹ in der jüdischen Gesellschaft im Palästina des ersten Jahrhunderts mit ihren vielfältigen Parteien, Splittergruppen und Sekten²² und den sich daraus ergebenden politischen Konstellationen von mehr als einer einzigen Gruppe aufgegriffen wurde.“²³

On the one hand, Golb clearly recognised: „Im Laufe von drei Jahrhunderten veränderte sich die Auslegung der Gesetze des Pentateuch sehr dynamisch, und von diesen Veränderungen waren alle Parteien und Sekten unter den Juden betroffen. Die in den *Werken der Torah*²⁴ enthaltenen Ge-

18 Golb p. 126.

19 So according to Golb p. 365.

20 My emphasis. Even though this term has a specific meaning and connotations which do not cover the essence and character of the Qumran Association sufficiently, it reappears in qumranological writings again and again. See on this matter B. W.W. Dombrowski, *Erscheinung, Wesen und Ideologie der Assoziation von Hirbet Qumran nach dem „Manual of Discipline“ (1QS)* [Ph.D. thesis] 3 vols. (Basle 1962-63) ch. XI, subsection IV, 5, and in its revised new edition *Wider die Hellenisierung jüdischer Religion durch Hellenisierung jüdischen Erbes* (forthcoming) *ibid*.

21 This tastes like *unio mystica*. However, this was presumably not thought of by Golb, none the less this characterisation does not meet the faithfulness and humble moderation of thought and doctrine attested for the members of the Qumran Association through their self-evidence in 1QS and other texts. See on this Dombrowski *via* foregoing n. 20, ch. X and *eiusdem* „The Idea of God in I Q Serek“ [hence = *Idea*] in *RQ* 7 (1971) esp. pp. 521 and 524-526, as well as *ISD I* *passim*.

22 Regarding the application of the Hebrew and Aramaic $\sqrt{p-r-\dot{s}}$ as attested in 4QMMT C 7, Golb is aware that this could relate to various groups, even though he assumes that the form *pārašmū* could be circumstantial evidence for the Pharisaic background of the social body somewhat recognisable in 4QMMT [see note 24] or such of „eine ihnen <Pharisäer> nahestehende Gruppe aus dem frühen ersten Jahrhundert n. Chr.“ (Golb p. 253). See, further in sections I. 2 und IV.

23 Golb p. 365.

24 Golb's designation of *Miqṣāt ma'asēh hattôrâ* (cited by the siglum 4QMMT) is somewhat unfortunate since it already conveys his interpretation of the concept and character of this scroll. The

setze spiegeln Aspekte der jüdischen Rechtspraxis in der Deutung durch eine bestimmte Separatistengruppe in einer ganz speziellen Phase ihrer Existenz wider. Wie allgemein in der Geschichte solcher Gruppen von Schismatikern, Sektierern oder entsprechender 'Parteien' zu beobachten, entwickelten und änderten sich die Rechtsvorstellungen dieser Gruppe im Laufe der Zeit.²⁵

On the other hand, this observation of a phenomenon common in the history of religious groups (as well as - *mutatis mutandis* - „secular“ bodies) and its application to his view that 4QMMT shows traces of an early „Pharisaic“ group²⁶ to be connected with early Rabbinism²⁷ has been disregarded by Golb with respect to its possible application to the matter of the actual fading away of the use of the word (*hay*)*yahad* as early as in writings of Cave 1. Nevertheless, there cannot be any reasonable doubt in their interrelationship and authenticity as documents of the Qumran Association,²⁸ as also Golb has acknowledged.²⁹ Moreover, it ought to be remembered in this context, that texts known from Cave 1 came to light in other caves also, foremost in Cave 4, the same place where 4QMMT was found. Thus, Golb's division between the writings of the Yahad known from Cave 1 and such which do not apply the word (*hay*)*yahad*³⁰ to the Qumran Association could hold true merely for the writings of a contents clearly dissonant from the relevant texts of Cave 1, and even with respect

name *Miqṣāt ma'asēh hattôrâ* suits better inasmuch as it merely tries not only to relate to the beginning of the text of the fragments so called, but it also takes care of the selective nature of this material and leaves the question of its literary categorisation open. (See below section IV).

²⁵ Golb p. 253.

²⁶ Golb pp. 247 ff., 253: „Die bisher besprochenen Charakterzüge sprechen somit für eine Zuweisung der Werke der Torah an Phariseer oder eine ihnen nahestehende Gruppe aus dem frühen ersten Jahrhundert n. Chr.“.

²⁷ „Spuren davon <„Rechtsvorstellungen dieser Gruppe“ reflected through the materials of 4QMMT> lassen sich später im Gesetzkorpus der frühen Rabbinen feststellen, einige wurden von den Rabbinen einheitlich gebilligt, andere nicht.“ (Golb p. 253).

²⁸ On this matter see *ISD I*.

²⁹ See above through n. 14.

³⁰ On the importance of the article when *yahad* was used as designation of the Qumran Association by its members see B. W.W. Dombrowski, „*יהדות* und *το κοινόν*: An Instance of Early Greek and Jewish Synthesis“ in *The Harvard Theological Review* 59 (1966), esp. pp. 293-301.

to these one would have to investigate trying to find the reasons for their storage and concealment in said caves and possibly more hiding places that may have disappeared in the course of the last two millennia or slightly less, or which may still be discovered henceforth.

Thus, neither of Golb's arguments is convincing, i.e., *the one* regarding the way of changes in the course of history, as suggested by him,³¹ from, as he claims, the „Pharisaic“ Halakha of the social body referred to in 4QMMT [- I would rather say a group similar to, or even identical with the Qumran Association (in accordance with 1QS) as a younger branch thereof³² with traits of its adjustment to the religious currents of the first and second centuries A.D. determined to a large extent by Pharisaic teachings transitory to schools of Rabbinism -] to the interpretations and rulings of Rabbis, especially of the Tanna,³³ and *the other*, i.e., of the differences between writings of the Yahad-Group [as delineated above] and others as circumstantial evidence for the insignificance of the „Bruderschaftsrichtung, die sich in der Gemeinderegel manifestiert“.³⁴

Besides the points discussed as samples, there are a number of other paralogs in Golb's interesting work of great erudition, and a certain similarity to a particular tendency in the work that will be scrutinised again below in section IV³⁵ will have to be pointed out.

2. Not to be omitted is a short mention of the valuable information Golb serves his readers regarding the unpleasant history of the evaluation and non-evaluation not only of archaeological remains, but even more so of

³¹ How would he explain the origin of the „Yahad“-form of the Association having become reasonably well known through 1QS and related texts and the similarities and differences thereof to the group reflected by 4QMMT?

³² Cf. *ISD I* p. 139.

³³ Cf. Golb pp. 253, 260, 459..

³⁴ Golb p. 458: „Erinnern wir uns <sic!, but see above through n. 14>, dass einige andere Schriftrollen, zum Beispiel die *Gemeinschaftsregel* (1QSa), die *Segensprüche* (1QSb) und die Gruppe der Segnungen, die als 4Q*Berakhot* bekannt sind, vielleicht <my emphasis> alle mit der Bruderschaftsrichtung, die sich in der *Gemeinderegel* manifestiert, in Zusammenhang stehen. Joseph Baumgarten hat gezeigt, dass Texte aus Höhle 4, die zur *Gemeinderegel* aus Höhle 1 in Beziehung stehen, im speziellen Bereich der Bestrafung von Verstößen gegen die Gruppenregeln tatsächlich zahlreiche Unterschiede zur *Gemeinderegel* aufweisen - ein Ergebnis, das natürlich noch weitere Fragen über den Charakter und die Herkunft dieser Texte aufwirft.“ Even this internal development, a clear-cut indication of the life of the Qumran Association in its (changing) times is misinterpreted by Golb in order to show what he considers insignificant, i.e., the Qumran Association as a body *sui generis*.

³⁵ See below through n. 88.

DSS in particular in his chapters 7 to 12 and the Epilogue, and I can only concur with Golb's assessment on p. 481: „Wir können heute erkennen, dass wir die einzelnen Vorstellungen und Praktiken, die wir in den Schriftrollen verkörpert sehen, nicht in das enge Bett einer einzigen Sektenströmung - der essenischen oder einer anderen - hineinzwingen müssen, um eine Verständnisgrundlage zu schaffen;³⁶ vielmehr sind wir gefordert, die einzelnen Ideen in den Schriftrollen durch die sorgfältige Analyse der Inhalte zu erschliessen und sie dann allmählich den verschiedenen spirituellen Strömungen zuzuordnen, die das palästinische Judentum der zwischentestamentlichen Zeit prägten.“³⁷

While Golb's well written book will serve to renew his challenge, and readers cannot but respond with both due respect and, yet, some criticism here and there as well as of his partially excessively radical arguments, it is a milestone by the road towards a better understanding of Hellenistic and Roman Palestine and Judaism.

II

Of similar importance will be Florentino García Martínez' helpful *DSST*. Notwithstanding several shortcomings, such as Martínez' adherence to the absolutely unproved, even unsubstantial hypothesis of the foundation of the Qumran Association by the *môreh haššedeq*,³⁸ a certain amount of radicalism in his argumentation *versus* Golb's hypothesis,³⁹ and mistakes

³⁶ Cf. *ISD I* pp. 31-35.

³⁷ Cf. *Idea*, esp. pp. 515-518 and, further, in this review n. 88.

³⁸ Martínez p. liii. Martínez follows those who translate this name by the inaccurate „The Teacher of Righteousness“.

³⁹ So one reads in Martínez p. l f.: „In view of the exclusive nature of the community and the reiterated ban on relations with 'the others' it is hardly surprising that among the abundance of compositions preserved, not one has been found which could be judged as epitomising the thought, the halakhah or the traditions of a counter-group, even for the purposes of argument or rebuttal. However, perusal of all the manuscripts recovered has not succeeded in bringing to light any composition which dissents from the basic principles, the calendar or the halakhah of the group. The wide variety that can be observed is always kept within specified limits. This allows us to conclude that all the works which were retrieved belong to the longer history of the sect <cf. above n. 20>. Or else they were kept because the sect saw in them confirmation of their prehistory, of the religious movements which influenced their development and nourished their origins, forming part of the legacy within

in the rendition of the texts due to Martínez perhaps inevitable dependence on the work and interpretation of others (which will have to be mended in the course of investigations of the individual texts,⁴⁰) his achievement to put before a wider public a scholarly comprehensive translation accompanied by a certain amount of reference materials is admirable.

While one wishes a comparable edition of the original texts by photographic reproduction - other than Emanuel Tov's and Stephen Pfann's *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche. A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judaean Desert*⁴¹ - published at a likewise reasonable price to be used in the scholar's den, it should be stressed that building on previous relevant contributions of others and of his own, Martínez has paved a good deal of the way towards this achievement blocked for decades through a few others apparently not enthusiastic to promote ends other than such of their own or of others in one form of association with them or another.⁴²

Not only, that (1) he offers in the interest of objectivity the fragments of all important scrolls in addition and separately from the main (possibly reconstructed) bodies of texts, and (2) holds to the clean differentiation between the group tangible in a sizable number of the *DSS* and others,⁴³ but (3) in particular through his „List of the manuscripts from Qumran“ and the information provided therein,⁴⁴ he directs his readers, wherever possible, to the secondary literature offering or being concerned with the sources themselves.

Thus, thanks are due to Florentino García Martínez for a work that - notwithstanding said shortcomings - has been overdue for a long time.

which, as in the various biblical books, the sect identifies itself.“ And on p. li Martínez writes of „the uniform content of the texts found.“ To anyone being somewhat more familiar with the so-called Qumran texts than just superficially, this cannot sound better than an exaggeration by gross simplification [in no need to be refuted in detail] which - to use Martínez' words *ibid.* regarding Golb's hypothesis or „conjectures“ as he calls this - „make even more difficult the resolution of the problems the manuscripts display.“

⁴⁰ After the pattern of such as J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I. A Commentary* (2nd rev. ed. Rome 1971), K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* = *Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie* 15 (Tübingen 1953), and of B. W.W. Dombrowski as adduced above in n. 20.

⁴¹ E. J. Brill-IDC, Leiden 1993.

⁴² For a striking example see below under IV.

⁴³ Martínez pp. lii f. This does not imply that one should concur with everything he relates.

⁴⁴ Martínez. pp. 467-513.

Likewise the publishers of his book, E. J. Brill in Leiden, are congratulated for its swift release at a price everybody concerned can afford.

III

Klaus Beyer's *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*⁴⁵ [hence: *ATTM*] (Goettingen 1984) of 779 pp. has made its way in the world of learning not only as a standard work for Aramaic studies, but in accordance with its origin still reflected by its title also with respect to the promotion of the interpretation of and research in texts found in the area of Hirbet Qumran.⁴⁶ This was possible because Beyer was concerned, almost exclusively, with the linguistic aspects thereof and their place in the history of Aramaic dialects and the majority of texts he offered were no products of the Qumran Association and perhaps merely used by this introvert group.⁴⁷ Thus, his book serves students in matters Qumran chiefly as a source book presenting texts and as a linguistic guide. What may be reliably gained for the history of this socio-religious group within its environment, linguistic and other Beyer left to others.⁴⁸

The more we owe him gratitude for the additions and corrections he has served us now in his *Ergbd*. While for this second volume the references

⁴⁵ Full title and publisher as for Beyer *Ergbd*.

⁴⁶ These were in the opinion of Beyer and others at the time when *ATTM* was released: 1QGenAp and 4QGenAp; 1Q21; 4Q213.214 [+ the Cairo Testament Levi]; 4QQahat; 4Q'Amram; New Jerusalem in 1Q32; 2Q24; 5Q15; 4QOrNab; 4QPsDan; 4Q201-207 = 4QEnoch; 4Q208-211 = 4QAstrolomical Enoch; 1Q23.24, 2Q26, 4Q203.530-533, 6Q8.14 = *Book of Giants*; 6Q14 as „Die Ankündigung der Sintflut“; 4Q534 = 4QMessianique together with 4Q561 = 4QHoroscopique and 2 fragments as „Die Geburt Noahs des Erwählten Gottes“; 4QWords of Michael ≈ 6Q23; 1Q63-68 = unidentified Aramaic fragments; 4Q156 = 4QTargum of Leviticus; 4Q157 = 4QTargum of Job; 4Q196 = 4QTobit; 4QJer^{a b} = 4QJeremiah 10:11, and 1Q71.72 = 1QDaniel 2:4b-6 and 3:22-31. The finds at Wadi Murabba'at a little more than 11 miles south of Hirbet Qumran and of Nahal Hever app. 3 ½ miles south of En-gedi (between the Wadi Murabba'at and Masada) as offered and introduced by Beyer in *ATTM* pp. 304-323 are of no direct bearing on the materials of interest to the study of matters pertaining to the problems involved with the Qumran Association and its literary relics.

⁴⁷ A text somewhat adjusted to the ideology of the Association is 4Q'Amram. For the classification of the DSS see *ISD I* and *II*.

⁴⁸ See Beyer's bibliographic references for each text.

and standards have been retained which were just noted for the main work, and, bibliographic materials have been added chiefly for actualisation everywhere,^{48a} this review-article will be concerned with the very same sections which were referred to regarding *ATTM* as of particular interest for research in those elements of Jewry evinced in the scrolls and fragments that came to light in the area of Hirbet Qumran.

For orientation Beyer serves his readers in *Ergbd* a list of all texts he offers in his two volumes and shows their locations. Those added or re-offered as supplemented or corrected in *Ergbd* are marked by an N preceding the relevant page number in addition to the numbers of the caves and scrolls and/or fragments and the letters he used for his enumeration in the first volume.^{48b} Thus he balances the somewhat odd system he had introduced presumably, in the first instance, for the orientation of his own in the considerable multitude of texts.

1. The texts and translation newly offered [= off], supplemented [= suppl], provided with explanation(s) and/or notes [= expl/not], with alternate readings [= al], additional literature of significance [lit], and/or corrected [= corr] in *Ergbd* are arranged under the same headings as in the main volume, i.e., *Die alttestamentlichen Apokryphen*, *Die Targume*, and *Die biblisch-aramäischen Texte*.

In the first groups he counts: 1Q20 = 1QGenAp [lit, suppl, & al] (pp. 68-70); 4Q537 = *Jakob in Bethel*⁴⁹ [lit, suppl & off] (pp. 70 f.); 4Q539 = *Die Abschiedsrede Josephs*⁵⁰ [corr] (p. 71); 1Q21.4Q213.214 + CTLevi = *Das Testament Levis* I⁵¹ [lit, suppl & al] (pp. 71-78); 4Q540.541 = *Das*

^{48a} Occasionally, Beyer is not critical enough and follows others' influences without regard for corrective objections. See, e.g., in this section III subsection 2 and in *Ergbd* p. 66 the reference in the first place (!) to Oswald Loretz's impermissibly tendentious book *Ugarit und die Bibel. Kanaanäische Götter und Religion im Alten Testament* (Darmstadt 1990). Since Beyer closed his *Ergbd* in November 1993, B. W. W. Dombrowski's „Towards a Revision of the Historiography of the Religion of Ancient Israel - A Response to Oswald Loretz's *Ugarit und die Bibel*“ in *Folia Orientalia* 29 (1992/93) pp. 73-89 may have escaped his attention. Yet, someone versed in matters of the history of both the developments of and in Israel and the relations on tribes and places of Syria and Palestine could see through the faultiness of Loretz's and his forerunners argumentations in any case.

^{48b} *Ergbd* p. 58.

⁴⁹ Martinez has 4QApocryphon of Jacob.

⁵⁰ Martinez: 4QApocryphon of Joseph.

⁵¹ Martinez: 1QAramaic Levi and 4QAramaic Levi.

Testament Levis II⁵² [off] (pp. 78-82); 4Q542 = *Die Abschiedsrede Qahats*⁵³ [lit & suppl with corr] (pp. 82-85); 4Q543-548 = *Die Abschiedsrede Amrams*⁵⁴ [lit, suppl & al] (pp. 85-92); 4Q549 = *Priestergeschichte*⁵⁵ [off & lit] (pp. 92 f.); 4Q558 = *Prophetengeschichten*⁵⁶ [off & lit] (pp. 93 f.); 4Q559 = *Biblische Chronologie* [lit, yet not off] (p. 95); 1Q32.2Q24.4Q554.555.5Q1511Q18 *Das himmlische Jerusalem*⁵⁷ [lit, al & suppl] (pp. 95-104); 4Q242 = 4QPrNab ar = *Das Gebet Nabonids* [lit] (p. 104); 4Q243-245.551 = *Ausserkanonische Danielüberlieferungen*⁵⁸ [suppl] (pp. 105-107); 4Q533 = *Futurischer Geschichtsbericht*⁵⁹ [lit and a few words off] (p. 107); 4Q552.553 = *Die vier Bäume*⁶⁰ [lit & off] (pp. 108 f.); 4Q246 = *Die Apokalypse vom Sohn Gottes*⁶¹ [lit & off] (pp. 109-113); 4Q550 = *Die Urkunde des Dareios*⁶² [lit & off] (pp. 113-117); (1Q19).4Q201-212 *Henoch*⁶³ [not & lit] (pp. 117 f.); 1Q23.24.2Q26.4Q203.530-532.6Q8 = *Die Giganten*⁶⁴ [lit, suppl, corr & not] (pp. 119-124); 4Q534-536.561 = *Die Geburt Noahs des Erwählten Gottes*⁶⁵ [lit, al & suppl] (pp. 125-127); 4Q529.6Q23 = *Die Worte des Erzengels Michael*⁶⁶ [lit & suppl] (pp. 127 f.); 4Q318 = *Astrologische Donnerlehre*⁶⁷ [lit

52 Martinez: 4QAaronic Text A.

53 Martinez: 4QTestament of Qahat.

54 Martinez: 4QVisions of Amram. Cf. above n. 47.

55 Martinez: Work mentioning Hur and Miriam.

56 Martinez: 4QVision.

57 Martinez: 4QNew Jerusalem

58 Martinez: 4QPseudo-Daniel.

59 Martinez: 4QGiants^c

60 Martinez: 4QFour Kingdoms^{a,b}

61 Martinez: 4QAramaic Apocalypse. For other designations see Martinez p. 490.

62 Martinez: 4QProto-Ester^{a-f}

63 Martinez: 1Q19 = 1QNoah; 4Q201.202 = 4QEnoch^{a,b}; 4Q203 = 4QBook of Giants^a; 4Q204-207-211 = 4QEnoch^{c-f}; 4Q208 = 4QAstronomical Enoch^{a-d}; 4Q212 = 4QEnoch^g.

64 Martinez: 1Q,4Q,6Q(Book of)Giants.

65 Martinez: 4Q534 = 4QElect of God, 4Q535-536 = 4QAramaic N and C.

66 Martinez: 4Q529 = 4QWords of Michael; 6Q23 identified by J. T. Milik as a copy of 4Q(Words of) Michael?

67 ≈ Brontologion (Martinez p. 495).

& off] (pp. 128 f.); 4Q560 *Dämonenbeschwörung*⁶⁸ [lit & off] (pp. 129 f.).

Of the second group, i.e., the Targums which Beyer offered in *ATTM*, including *The Book of Tobit*, only the latter covers considerable space. While *ATTM* had on p. 280 a chunk of text and translation, *Ergbd* p. 132 offers for 4Q156 merely a note on interpunctuation. New are three fragments counted as 4Q550^f by Beyer to Isa 14:31-15:1 and in Martinez pp. 292 and 507 as 4QProto-Ester^f. While Beyer (*Ergbd* p. 133) thinks of the possibility that the words preserved were part of a 'Targumflorilegium', one should also recall the liberal use of Biblical passages in quotations offered in texts of the Qumran Association.⁶⁹ Regarding the *Targum of Job* the *Ergbd* supplements now (on p. 133) 4Q157 and 11Q10 by remnants of 23:1-8.

Whereas Beyer had not much to offer for the *Book of Tobit* in *ATTM* - he needed only three pages for text, translation and comments, i.e., 298-300 -, he attempted in *Ergbd* a reconstruction of a Semitic text with reference to the Hebrew original of both the Aramaic and the Greek translations⁷⁰ by the use of four Aramaic and one Hebrew manuscripts (4Q196-199 and 4Q200) on pp. 134-147. This, in particular, is a very valuable contribution not only for the history of this book and its translations but also regarding equations in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek terminology, e.g. Aram. קִשְׁט „truth, straightness“ [Aram Henoah] ≈ Hebr. אֱמֶת „faithfulness, reliability“ ≈ δίκαιοσύνη „righteousness, justice“.⁷¹ To evaluate Beyer's effort in this part of his work and to make full use of it will require a monograph of its own.

Also in the third group of Beyer's texts and additional or corrective remarks, i.e., such on Biblical sections in Aramaic, he has important contributions to make. Apart from Beyer's short bibliographical reference and such to a date of 4Q71 = 4QJer^{b,72} as well as his addition of 4Q117 = fragments of Ezra 4:9-11, 5:17, and 6:1-5, his attempt to provide - in ad-

68 Martinez: 4Q Against Demons..... „Remains of an Aramaic composition which apparently contains incantations“ (o.c. p. 508).

69 See, e.g., *ISD I* p. 86 (n. 147) et al.

70 Evidence is offered in *Ergbd* pp. 134 f.

71 Not normally ≈ צִדְקָה, צִדְקָה, as the translations of מִרְדָּה הַצִּדְקָה presuppose!

72 See *ATTM* p. 301.

dition to 1Q71.72 in *ATTM* pp. 301-303⁷³ - the text of five of the fragmentary manuscripts of the Aramaic portions of Dan 2:4b-7:28 in *Ergbd* pp. 148-160 is noted with appreciation.

2. Question may one, whether Beyer was well advised to include 3Q15, i.e., the so-called *Copper Scroll*, in his book (pp. 224-233). Like 4QMMT which he could seemingly not offer⁷⁴ its language follows the biblical Hebrew language, yet shows Mishnaic traits, and the Aramaic impact on these texts, as obvious as it is, was not such that it could be covered by the title of Beyer's work.⁷⁵ However, Beyer gives his reason for doing so: „Dieser schwierigste aller Qumrantexte bietet ein Verzeichnis der Verstecke des essenischen (und den Essenern anvertrauten?)⁷⁶ Vermögens, die kurz vor 70 n. Chr. auf sicherem Gebiet, d.h. innerhalb oder wenigstens in Sichtweite essenischer Niederlassungen angelegt worden waren. Soweit kein Fundort genannt wird, ist Jerusalem gemeint, das im Südwesten ein Essenerviertel mit eigenem Stadttor besass. In Jerusalem wurde die Kupferrolle also abgefasst. Dort lagerte dann auch der Essenerschatz in Friedenszeiten.“⁷⁷ How does Beyer know, that the treasures really belonged to Essenes? Moreover, had these anything to do with the Qumran Association?

At any rate, this matter is still contentious, and being in the context of Qumranologica of no more direct concern to this reviewer, at this time, than Beyer's valuable additions to the texts from Wadi Murabba'at and Nahal Hever.⁷⁸ It is not to be treated within this context any further.

⁷³ Cf. above n. 46.

⁷⁴ On this problem see below section IV, esp. n. 96.

⁷⁵ In the first paragraph of this section III it was already pointed out that the title of Beyer's work is somewhat misleading inasmuch as it merely relates to what is offered as (an admittedly important) *pars pro toto*.

⁷⁶ The emphasis is mine.

⁷⁷ *Ergbd* p. 224. If one recalls Beyer's reference (in the preface to *ATTM*) to the influence of Karl Georg Kuhn, an ardent advocate of the Essene-hypothesis, on Beyer in his days as a student and thereafter, this is a demonstration for a situation analogous to Golb's experiences. Cf. above section I,1 para. 1 f.

⁷⁸ See above through n. 46.

IV

Instead, the fourth book should now be discussed, since it is based on Qimron's and Strugnell's release of the long awaited photographic reproduction of 4QMMT on eight plates. Finally we have now access to what has been withheld from most of us unreasonably and contrary to professional ethics for decades.

Some readers of Qimron's and Strugnell's commentary may be inclined to excuse their tardiness since this work, virtually, makes the impression of a well researched scholarly work, and the preparation and edition of such works are frequently time-consuming.

Qim.-Str. is arranged as follows: The *Foreword* (pp. vii-ix) is followed by *Abbreviations* (pp. xi-xiv) and the main part of the book consisting of an *Introduction* (pp. 1 f.) and chapters 1. *The Texts* (pp. 3-42), 2. *The Composite Text* <sc. of 4QMMT> (pp. 43-63), 3. *The Language* <thereof> (pp. 64 or 65-108), 4. *The Literary Character of MMT and its Historical Setting* (pp. 109-121), 5. *The Halakha* (pp. 122 or 123-177). Attached are three appendices: 1. Ya'akov Sussmann, „The History of the Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls“⁷⁹ (pp. 179-200), 2. Elisha Qimron, *Additional Textual Observations on 4QMMT* (pp. 201 f.), 3. John Strugnell, *Additional Observations on 4QMMT* (pp. 203-206), further: a *Concordance to 4QMMT* (pp. 207-227), a *Reverse Index to 4QMMT* (pp. 229-235). After all this, aforesaid plates are offered.

While the commentary as a whole and its parts should explain what is, in effect, the main and valuable part of the whole book, i.e., the Hebrew text as put down by some copyists on parchment and papyrus,⁸⁰ every-

⁷⁹ A paper of Sussmann „originally read at a symposium 'Forty Years of Qumran Research', held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in June 1987. The text is reproduced here < i.e., in *Qim.-Str.* > in translation, with selected footnotes; extensive documentation appears in the Hebrew version (*Tarbiz* 59 [1989-199], pp. 11-76).....“ (*Qim.-Str.* p. 179). However, Sussmann's share in *Qim.-Str.* was adjusted to a certain extent, so as to serve the general tendency of this book.

⁸⁰ Regarding Golb's observation and unfortunately exaggerated evaluation of the work of copyists (*Golb* p. 238) certainly holding true for 4QMMT also, see B. W. W. Dombrowski, „4QMMT after DJD X - Qumran Cave 4 - Part V“ [hence: *Dombrowski MMTreDJD X,4,V*] in *Qchr* 5, no. 1

thing is, in fact, intended to convey Qimron's and Strugnell's and their team's concept of what the fragments of 4QMMT are now⁸¹ supposed to have been: „Rather than a personal letter, it is probably a treatise on certain points of traditional Zadokite legal praxis. MMT is a group composition, originating in the Qumran group, or in one of its antecedents, probably between 159-152 BCE.“⁸²

Moreover, as Qimron and Strugnell continue, they wish to convince their readers that „At this early period in the evolution and history of the Qumran group, when their leader was probably the Teacher of Righteousness⁸³ (the Zadokite priest who may well have been also the high priest of the time), the group sent an appeal to an individual leader and his people Israel, with an exhortation to follow their own lead in certain points of Zadokite praxis. This individual was in all probability the Maccabean political leader who was to be known to the Qumran community as the 'Wicked Priest' after his usurpation of the high priesthood.“⁸⁴

Yet, they grant: „At the time of MMT's composition, however, relations between the two groups, the 'we' group and the 'you' group of MMT, seem <to have been> relatively eirenic.“⁸⁴ Obviously, they did not feel certain in their hypothetical argumentation,⁸⁵ especially, as 4QMMT has been understood quite differently by others, a fact, which Qimron and his associates do not care to mention.

Noted should be, however, that regarding their effort to connect the alleged 'we' group reflected in 4QMMT as addressee with one of the major parties of the Intertestamental and New Testament periods, i.e., at least one section of the Sadducees, and the artificially construed 'they' group

(1995) n. 18.

⁸¹ Regarding Qimron's and Strugnell's (as well as Sussmann's [see in *Tarbiz* as of foregoing n. 79]) abandonment of their former interpretation of 4QMMT as a letter, see the text attested in C 28 f. (cf. thereon B. W. W. Dombrowski, *An Annotated Translation of Miḡšāt Ma'āšeh ha-Tōrā (4QMMT)* (Weenzen and Cracow 1st ed. May 1992, 2nd ed. February 1993) [= *AnnotTrans*^{1,2}] pp. 4 and 24 (n. 37) and *eiusdem* *MMTReDJD X,4,V* through n. 7.

⁸² *Qim.-Str.* p. 121.

⁸³ Qimron and Strugnell believe to „have real evidence that connects MMT to the Teacher of Righteousness“ (*Qim.-Str.* p. 114).

⁸⁴ *Qim.-Str.* p. 121.

⁸⁵ The further speculations are not worthwhile to be quoted here. They are without any substance relating to what one might hope for, i.e., the shadow of reality, at least.

with adversaries of said 'we' group Qimron and Strugnell⁸⁶ as well as, in his way,⁸⁷ Sussmann had one thing in common with Golb: they chose one of the major „parties“ of the New Testament era for their attempts at identification.⁸⁸

However, while, in view of the peculiar character of its language, acknowledged by Qimron and Strugnell also,⁸⁹ Golb assigned 4QMMT to the first century AD,⁹⁰ Qimron and Strugnell declared the language attested in 4QMMT to „belong to a line distinct from both post-exilic biblical Hebrew and Qumran Hebrew“ and „not“ to be „a direct antecedent of M<ishnaic> H<ebrew>“ the „typological dating“ of which „is again“ allegedly impossible.⁹¹ This allowed them, as they felt, to go back with their claim to the allegedly likely authorship of the so-called „Teacher of Righteousness“. And while they claimed „both MMT and MH reflect spoken forms of Hebrew current in the Second Temple period“, it is even worse to maintain that „the language of MMT most closely reflects the⁹² Hebrew spoken at Qumran“. Was the language attested for 1QS regulating the internal and external life of the members of the Qumran Association, the Hodayot and other central texts showing their religious fervour and emotional involvement whereto Qimron and Strugnell count 4QMMT then written in a kind of antiquated vernacular, in a *lingua sacra*?

⁸⁶ Pp. 116 f.

⁸⁷ See, especially, his postscript of August 1993 in his contribution to *Qim.-Str.* on p. 200 with reference to pp. 194 f.

⁸⁸ See above through n. 35. However, obviously prior to any acquaintance of his with 4QMMT, nobody less than S. Lieberman pointed out that the great number of religious groups in Palestine during the New Testament period had so many traits in common that no assignment of the *QT* merely on account of their forms of organisation and their Halakha would be tenable or merely possible. (Lieberman, „The Discipline in the So-called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline“ *JBL* 71 (1952) pp. 199-206, here p. 205). After 4QMMT has become accessible, this holds still true.

⁸⁹ *Qim.-Str.* ch. 3, the details of which cannot be discussed within this review-article. See, however, further below.

⁹⁰ Golb p. 236. On p. 264 Golb sets the date of the letter to the beginning of the first century A.D. and suggests: „seine spezifische Wortwahl lässt vermuten, dass er an eine Herrschergestalt dieser Zeit gerichtet war.“ There is no circumstantial evidence for such an assumption, however.

⁹¹ Quotations from *Qim.-Str.* pp. 112 f.

⁹² My emphasis.

⁹³ *O.c.* p. 108. The emphasis is mine.

In an additional note,⁹⁴ Golb has pointed out that „Qimron's ungegründete Behauptungen ziehen sich dann unvermindert durch das ganze Buch, was Strugnell dazu veranlasste, eine Widerlegung der unhaltbarsten beizusteuern“ I can only concur with this assessment, especially in view of Qimron's and Strugnell's treatment of the what can be recognised as original Hebrew text of 4QMMT from the photographic tables, in particular as these seem to have been well produced by the photographer.⁹⁵ For the details I refer here to my *MMTreDJD X, 4, V*.

Pointed should be, in this context, also to the extraordinary, partly discriminatory restrictions the owner of the copyright of *Qim.-Str.*, i.e., Elisha Qimron - in conjunction with others - tries to impose on his colleagues. Does he wish to have control over them lest critical minds review his and Strugnell's commentary? Or should nobody a priori unacceptable to him and what can scarcely be understood other than a cartel with and behind him ever dare to reedit the Hebrew originals and/or with more correct substance the transliterated text or parts thereof?⁹⁶ If the expression of the views and interpretations of others should be harnessed to the extent which is seemingly intended why, then, did he and his associates finally release 4QMMT and had it published, after all? Or do they try to make the publication by Clarendon Press (Oxford) and Oxford University Press Inc. (New York), still companies under private law and no more, and thereby Qimron's and Strugnell's commentary, a study expressing their conclusions and opinions, into an „official“ publication? Should the product of what German speaking scholars call *Geschichtsklitterung* become fact, a pseudo-fact, of course?

We thank Qimron's team at least for the photographs of the Hebrew text, having come to light after all.

⁹⁴ Golb p. 338 n. *.

⁹⁵ According to *Qim.-Str.* p. viii, the Rockefeller Museum's „skilled photographer, the late N. Albina“.

⁹⁶ On Qimron's and his associates terms, the inclusion of 4QMMT in an outstanding work, such as Beyer's *ATTM* with *Ergbd* could be prevented and scholarly work scuttled. That this is no mere fancy has not only been shown by Qimron himself in the notorious Jerusalem trial (for details see Golb ch. 11, esp. pp. 409-411), but also with respect to some publisher's refusal to accede to the wish of K. E. Grözinger et al. to have K. G. Kuhn's paper „The Two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel“ [in K. Stendahl (ed.), *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (New York, N.Y., 1957, pp. 54-64, 256-259) reprinted in their scholarly collection of important articles in matters *Qumran* = *Wege der Forschung* vol. 410 (Darmstadt 1981), see *ibid.* pp. 16 f.

BRUNO W. W. DOMBROWSKI

QUMRANOLOGICA III*

In 1994 and 1995 four works in the province of Qumran studies were published which deserve special attention. These are:

Johann Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer*, 2 vols. = *Uni-Taschenbücher* nos. 1862 und 1863 (Ernst Reinhardt Verlag Munich and Basle in cooperation with a number of other publishers¹, 1995) pb.: [ISBN 3-8252-1862-7 and 3-8252-1863-5 (both *UTB*) and 3-497-01352-8 and 3-497-01353-6 (both E. Reinhardt)], vol. 1: XXVI + 441 pp., vol. 2: VIII + 741 pp., DM 49.80 ≈ öS 389.00 ≈ sFr 47.00 each volume; henceforth *Maier QETM I* and *II*.

James H. Charlesworth et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations* = *The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project* vol 1: *Rule of the Community and Related Documents* »1994«, vol. 2: *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* »1995« (J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville) cl.: [ISBN 3-16-146199-1 and 3-16-146305-6], vol. 1: XXIV + 185 pp., vol. 2: XX + 229 pp., each volume US \$ 99.00, DM 168.00 ≈ sFr 152.00 ≈ öS 1315.00; henceforth: *Charlesworth I* and *II*.

Florentino Garcia Martínez - Julio Treballe Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* [translated from *Los Hombres de Qumrán* (Madrid 1993) by Wilfred G. E. Watson] »1995« (E. J. Brill, Leiden - New York - Cologne) pb.: [ISBN 90 04 100857] X + 270 pp.² Nlg. 68.50 ≈ US \$ 44.50; henceforth: *Martínez/Barrera*.

* „Qumranologica I“ in *Folia Orientalia* XXXI (1995), pp. 211-238, regarding „Qumranologica II“ see this volume above. These review-articles will be referred to by their titles.

¹ See the long list of publishers of renown on p. I of each volume.

² According to its p. IV, this work is supposed to include bibliographical references and an index. While there is no index in the copy I was sent by the publisher, the term bibliographical references for the copious *Notes* on pp. 235-269 is an understatement and misleading.