

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.

Unfortunately, Maier QETTM^{2a} came in my hands considerably later than F. G. Martínez' *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*.³ Else, I would have felt challenged or even compelled to compare both works in "Qumranologica II",⁴ yet now, since such comparison appears to be somewhat repetitive with respect to Martínez DSSE, it will be inevitable to a certain extent only.

However, a few remarks should be allowed, perhaps, for some brief general orientation:

One of the four major types of books and important articles on Qumran matters currently being published – they are here numbered as (1) – is still concerned with introductions to the "finds at Qumran" against what their authors consider their background and environment, as well as with real and imaginary observations and thoughts of colleagues and the handling thereof through such. Noted are works with varying accents and different grades of quality, such as by H. Stegemann,⁵ O. Betz and R. Riesner,⁶ J. A. Fitzmyer,⁷ and Z. J. Kapera.⁸ To these belong also most of the articles in Martínez / Barrera of 1995 to be subject to this review, resp. its Spanish forerunner of 1993.

^{2a} To be supplemented in the same series in July 1996 by volume 3 on the life, concepts and teachings of the Qumran Association for the "wissenschaftlich nicht fachkundigen Leser" [publisher's 1996 prospectus].

³ Leiden 1994 [hence: Martínez DSSE]; reviewed in "Qumranologica II".

⁴ To be joined soon by another rendition of the collected *Dead Sea Scrolls* [hence: DSS], this time in Polish by Piotr Muchowski (Enigma Press, Cracow).

⁵ H. Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus: Ein Sachbuch* (Freiburg-Basle-Vienna 1993) [= *Stegemann Sachb.*; reviewed in "Qumranologica I"], and "The Qumran Essenes – Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times" = *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March, 1991* vol. 1 = STDJ XI,1 (1992), pp. 83-166 [will be subject to review in "Qumranologica IV" in *FoOr*].

⁶ O. Betz and R. Riesner, *Jesus, Qumran und der Vatikan: Klarstellungen* (Giessen-Freiburg-Basle-Vienna 2nd rev. ed. 1993) [hence: Betz/Riesner; reviewed in "Qumranologica I"]; Polish translation *Jezus, Qumran i Watykan...*, by Romana Kiełbasińska with additions by Z. J. Kapera (Cracow 1994).

⁷ J. A. Fitzmyer, *Responses to 101 Questions on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Mahwa N.J. © 1992), in Polish: *Zwoje znad Morza Martwego: 101 Pytań i Odpowiedzi* (Cracow 1997) [in press].

⁸ Z. J. Kapera, "Qumran Cave Four and 4QMMT. Special Report." in *QChr* 1, 2/3 (1990/91), pp. 5-73, and *The Third Battle of the Scrolls: The Philological Scandal of the Century* (in preparation); of Kapera's bibliographies see, especially, *Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls, 1985-1991. Based on the Fred E. Young Collection of the Central Baptist Theological Seminary, Kansas City, Kansas* (in preparation).

Another group (2) is represented by books such as Martínez', Maier's, and Muchowski's aforementioned translations with some notes and bibliographic references.

The third category (3) consists of numerous articles containing both really illuminating and, alas, more often than not obfuscating notes on passages in DSS and their meanings and/or deals with secondary literature, i.e., other than the generally helpful current bibliographies.

As the fourth kind (4) of publications are to be adduced (a) such trying to concern themselves almost to the extent of exclusion of everything else with the philological aspects of the scrolls themselves and (b) new editions of their texts both without commentaries and accompanied by such,⁹ a venture having already sporadically begun soon after the discovery of the texts of Qumran Cave I.¹⁰ However, the awareness of their need appears to be growing in more recent years. To be mentioned are, for type (4a), Elisha Qimron's approach to linguistic and grammatical matters of the Hebrew attested through the bulk of non-biblical Qumran texts¹¹ and, regarding type (4b), the first and second series of volumes published between 1955 and 1982 and from 1990 to 1995 by the Oxford University Press and being called

⁹ For publications in 1995 and hence or forthcoming see *Dove Booksellers. Biblical & Ancient Studies. Specialist Catalog Series* (Livonia, MI, 1996 edition), p. 6.

¹⁰ (a) For texts without detailed commentary be noted, first of all, the promptly and carefully prepared editions still being of great use and value: M. Burrows, J. C. Trever, and W. H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St Mark's Monastery*, vol. I, *The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary* (New Haven 1950) and, most important, vol. II, fasc. 2: *Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven 1951), E. L. Sukenik, *אוצר המגילות הגנוזות שבידי האיניברסיטה העברית, ירושלים* (Jerusalem 1954); (b) texts with translations in booklets by P. Boccaccio and G. Berardi regarding non-biblical scrolls from Qumran Cave I (as listed in *Burchard I* p. 11 and *II* pp. 28 f.); (c) texts with translations and more or less thorough philological commentary, such as by K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakkuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* = BHT 15 (Tübingen 1953), C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents...*, (Oxford 1953.1956²) [after the painstaking critical edition by L. Rost, *Die Damaskusschrift* = Lietzmanns *Kl. Texte* 167 of 1933, i.e. prior to the discoveries in the Qumran area], B. W.W. Dombrowski, *Erscheinung, Wesen und Ideologie der Assoziation von Hirbet Qumran nach dem "Manual of Discipline"* (IQS) 3 vols. in 4 (Ph.D. thesis, Basle 1962-63) [henceforth: *Ersch.*], E. Lohse (ed.), *Die Texte aus Qumran Hebräisch und Deutsch. Mit masoretischer Punctuation. Übersetzung, Einführung und Anmerkungen* (Munich-Darmstadt 1964, 1971² [cited], 1986⁴) [henceforth: *Lohse*]. (d) Most commentaries were offered as items separate from reproduced forms of the texts, yet together with translations. See, e.g., P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline Translated and Annotated* = STDJ 1 (Leiden 1957, Grand Rapids, Mich. 1958) [henceforth: *Wernberg-Møller*], S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot. Psalms from Qumran* = AthD 2 (1960), J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* 2 vols. (Munich-Basle 1960) [henceforth: *Maier TTM*].

¹¹ E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* = HSS 29 (Atlanta, Ga. 1986) [hence: *Qimron*]. Unfortunately, Qimron shares the attitude of most Qumranologists not to treat the individual texts by their own right and separately.

*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*¹² as edited by D. Barthélemy, J. T. Milik, R. De Vaux, M. Baillet and several others.

II

It is a pleasure for the community of scholars to have now received in addition to the Oxford series of type (4b) the two volumes *Charlesworth I* and *II* of the new series edited under the umbrella of Princeton University and jointly published by two competent companies in the United States and Germany as well as a supplementation to the works of category (2) the two volumes of *Maier QETTM*. Like *Martínez DSSE*, both works try to introduce their readers to the host of *all* textual finds hidden in the many caves around the Qumran settlement and the related Damascus fragments found in both the Genizah of al-Fuṣṭaṭ¹³ and Qumran Caves IV, V, and VI.¹⁴

While Maier's endeavours to introduce theologians and others¹⁵ in the academic community through his *QETTM* similar to his *TTM* as its first edition [which in 1960 could not make much use, as yet, of the materials other than those from Cave I], he relates now to virtually all fragments having come to his attention and offers translations, as far as this was seemingly possible for him, of the non-biblical texts in Hebrew and Aramaic in vol.1 of *QETTM* of Caves I-III and V-XI, and in vol. 2 he submits the wealth of chunks of fragments and somewhat more sizable texts of various kinds from Cave IV.

Like *Martínez DSSE* and others, *Maier QETTM* familiarises his readers through an explanatory introduction drawing on facts, interpretations, and opinions.¹⁶ He provides extensive lists of what was found, i.e., of both safely and approximately identified works, and of such whose significance has not been recognised, as yet. He also provides glimpses at relevant editions and secondary literature as well as fairly extensive explanations of historic and social situations prior to and during the New Testament Era.¹⁷ To go by the usefulness of his *TTM* of 1960, I anticipate that much more thereof will be forthcoming in the third volume of his work.

¹² Initially, the area of origin was indicated by the addition of the words *of Jordan*.

¹³ I.e. Old Cairo, hence these fragments are usually called *Cairo Document* and abbreviated CD.

¹⁴ Details, now again, by J. M. Baumgarten and M. T. Davis in *Charlesworth II*, pp. 59-63.

¹⁵ According to the publisher's prospectus for the first half of 1966, p. 2 "TheologInnen, PfarrerInnen, ReligionslehrerInnen, JudaistInnen, BibelwissenschaftlerInnen, ArchäologInnen, AltertumswissenschaftlerInnen, RechtshistorikerInnen, OrientalistInnen".

¹⁶ Vol. 1 pp. IX-XXVI.

¹⁷ See, e.g., re. 4Q320-30 in vol. 2 pp. 278 ff.

As it is often the case, editions of vast source materials in their original language(s) or, even more so, translations thereof, such as Maier's and Martínez' collections, have some shortcomings which ought to be corrected once a reprint or another edition will be prepared either by their present editor or others who, hopefully, may take over when our physical strength will fade away, since – and this should be clearly noted – in particular, after some radical revisions will have been made taking under consideration what will be said now and may be thought of or suggested by others, Maier's work may very well remain to stay for a long span of time as a useful and handy tool for reference. Right now, it must be read and handled with caution, however.

(1) I think, first of all, of the major difference of *Martínez' DSSE* and *Maier's QETTM*. Martínez has arranged copies or dependent texts as separate entities behind the main source of a text, so as to allow the user of his book easy comparisons as to the history and possible tradition of such text and to arrive at his or her own judgment. On the other hand, Maier has created a kind of harmonised text, wherever sections assumedly or really parallel to those of Cave I had been published subsequently.

For instance: in 1QS IX 14 the text clearly reads להבדיל ולשקל בני הצדק לפי רוחים. *Wernberg-Møller*,¹⁸ *Maier*,¹⁹ *Lohse*,²⁰ *Pouilly*²¹ and others offer a conjectured בני הצדק instead of the word connection and have this replacement translated by "sons of righteousness" resp. "Söhne der Gerechtigkeit" and analogously in other languages. While the former two gave no reason for this change – *Wernberg-Møller* referred to Job 31:6a²² –, *Lohse* pointed to 4QS^e. This is now repeated by *Maier*²³ (and likewise by *Qimron* and *Charlesworth*²⁴) whereas *Pouilly* told us: "L'expression *b'ney haššadoq*, employée en <1QS> ix,14, doit être

¹⁸ Pp. 35.137 (n. 33 with reference to his discussion on pp. 89-92 [= n. 12 re. 1QS V:2]).

¹⁹ *TTM I* p. 39.

²⁰ Pp. 34 f.

²¹ J. Pouilly *La Règle de la communauté de Qumrân: son évolution littéraire* = *Cahiers de la Revue Biblique* 17 (Paris 1976), p. 129 et al.

²² He notes regarding this assumed dependence on p. 137 in n. 33: "...on which passage our phrase seems to depend directly, our author having seen in the biblical *bm'zny šdq* an allusion to *bny šdq*..." In his attempt to provide some far-fetched explanation, he could have drawn on a number of other biblical instances of *šdq*, none of such references allowing for the unique character of the Qumran Association, however. For *bny šdq* see *Dombrowski Ersch.* ch. 2, and, briefly, "A Few Remarks on Recent Papers Concerning the Mōreh haššadeq in Dead Sea Scrolls" [hence: *Mōreh*] = *QChr* 3,1-3 (1993) pp. 155-168, here p. 164 (n. 5).

²³ In his *QETTM I* S. 191 n. 525.

²⁴ See below in section III.

interprétée comme suit: «les fils de justice», et non «les fils de Sadoq», car, grammaticalement, aucun nom propre ne prend l'article, pas même à l'état construit²⁵. De plus, une confirmation de cette lecture nous est fournie par 4QS^e.²⁶

However, as *ṣedeq* is not "righteousness" in 1QS, but "beneficence",²⁷ the sort of persons called בני צדק (ה) could be and were adopted by the full members of the Qumran group, i.e., the משכילים, to serve as "priests" with specific functions, duties and honours²⁸ within the social group calling themselves בני צדק "Sons of beneficence", i.e. the *Yahad*. This did neither make the *b'ney ṣedeq* into *ṣ'dûqîm* resp. Σαδδουκαῖοι²⁹ or even a priestly sect as has been suggested,³⁰ nor does any passage in one of the 4QS fragments allow the assumption that בני הצדוק in 1QS IX 14 would be the result of a scribal mistake. 4QS E³¹ merely offers a *lectio facillior* since apparently it was inconceivable to the authority behind it or the scribe that "priests" be subject to the scrutiny of "laymen". In particular, 4QS E fr 1 Col. 3 does *not* belong to the fragments of QS written "defectively".³² Thus its *bny ṣdq* must not be read as *b'ney haṣṣadoq*, and both of them the redactor and the copyist or just the latter, neglected to avoid the tautology, so created with respect to the words אִישׁ וְאִישׁ לְמִשְׁקָל preceding in 1QS IX 12 and 4QS E fr 1 Col. 3 line 8³³ as well.³⁴ It should be noted, however, that

²⁵ Here Pouilly unjustifiably refers to P. Joüon's, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique* [hence: *Joüon*], (Rome 1965²) § 137b (pp. 420 f.). The article relates to the individual members of the Sadokites, however. Cf. *Joüon*, p. 424 (§ 137i) and others.

²⁶ *O.c.* p. 52.

²⁷ See above through n. 22.

²⁸ See 1QS V 9 and I 18b-II18, II 19 f., VI 3 f., VI 8.

²⁹ See already "Qumranologica I" pp. 220 f., 235 f. (notes 8 and 12).

³⁰ Again and again since the adoption by scholars of Eduard Meyer's [*Die Gemeinde des Neuen Bundes im Lande Damaskus. Eine jüdische Schrift aus der Seleukidenzeit* (Berlin 1919)] and Paul Kahle's [*The Cairo Genizah* (London 1947, 1959² < cited >) p. 19] hypotheses regarding the character of the group referred to in CD for the Qumran Association at a later level of its history or for a branch thereof, so still – in her reference to J. D. Amussin - L. N. Gluskina "The Teacher of Righteousness in Joseph Amussin's Studies" in Z. J. Kapera *Mogilany 1989... Part II: The Teacher of Righteousness. Literary Studies = QM 3* (1991), pp. 7-21, here p. 11, and *Betz/Riesner*, p. 66: "Dieses Ideal tritt uns in den Regeln der zadokidischen Priester entgegen, die in den Höhlen am Toten Meer entdeckt worden sind..." (my emphasis).

³¹ Henceforth, I use the sigla offered in *Charlesworth I*. See on this remarks in B. W. W. Dombrowski, *Wider die Hellenisierung jüdischer Religion durch Hellenisierung jüdischen Erbes. Die Qumran-Assoziation gemäss dem "Manual of Discipline" (1QS und Parallele und abhängige Texte)* [hence: *WidHell*] vol. I part 3 (Cracow, forthcoming).

³² See the negative particle לֹא in its line 13 and the comments in *WidHell l.c.*

³³ Partly restored, yet safely.

³⁴ Without using other texts to interpret 1QS, it should be noted that critical observation and censure of "Sons of Ṣadoq" was by no means exceptional to this text. I

*Martínez DSSE*³⁵ has differentiated, at least, and relates in 1QS IX,14 to "the sons of Zadoq" and regarding 4QS E fr 1 Col. 3 line 10 he renders בני צדק "the sons of beneficence" by "the sons of justice".

With ease, one can add to this sample of weakness others which ought to be eliminated by strict adherence to the philological principle of avoiding any harmonisation of similar texts.

(2) Other errors of method and results have been caused by a lack of consideration of details within their overall context. As a matter of consequence, *QETTM* reoffers a good number of such contained already in Maier's *TTM* and other scholars' contributions in the course of the interpretation of texts. So in the very same passage of 1QS IX 14 Maier still has for רוחים "entsprechend ihren Geistern". Neither to him nor a host of others like Qimron and Charlesworth³⁶ did it occur that one has to read רוחים and that this word represents a dual form and relates here and in 1QS V 21 to the two spirits wrestling within "everybody's heart".³⁷

(3) The third major set-back is already indicated by the title of Maier's work. Surely, he obviously wished to differentiate between his *TTM* of 1960 and the volumes of 1995 as well as the forthcoming third volume thereof, but to lapse into the long-refuted hypothesis of an identity of the Qumran Association with Essenes is deplorable. A new edition of Maier's valuable work should certainly drop this claim, unless he has convincing evidence to be brought forward in his third volume expected with great interest.

III

With like interest I have read and continually use *Charlesworth I* and *II*. From the outset, these editions published within the framework of said Princeton Project series of more than 10 volumes³⁸ impress their readers as prestigious high-calibre works, especially as the whole series is supposed to be the creation of an international team of 47 contributors.³⁹ And, indeed,

refer, for example, to 4Q174 Col. 3 of still unknown date where it reads in line 16 f. "...and they are those on whom it is written in the book of the prophet Ezekiel 'these shall not go on polluting themselves through their idols': Meant are the Sons of Ṣadoq and the members of their council who endeavour to (of) the *Yahad*". [See Ezekiel 37:23]. Cf. also below section III (positive traits no. 3).

³⁵ Notwithstanding Martínez' misunderstanding of the following רוחים. See below.

³⁶ *Qimron*, pp. 39, 58, (= §§ 200.26 no. 1, 322), retained in *Charlesworth I* pp. 40 f., 24 f. (see, esp., n. 116), and followed by Charlesworth *ibid*.

³⁷ 1QS IV 23b ff. closing the extensive treatise of III 13 – IV 26.

³⁸ See the frontispiece of *Charlesworth I* and *II*.

³⁹ According to *Charlesworth II*, pp. VII f. Since their number increased by two from vol. I to vol. II, one may presume further changes. - Beside Charlesworth worked on vol. I: F. M. Cross, J. Milgrom, E. Qimron, L. H. Schiffman, L. T. Stuckenbruck, and R. E. Whitaker; in the preparatory and editorial efforts for vol. II participated: J. M. Baum-

James H. Charlesworth as editor in chief writes in the preface to vol. I on p. IX: "The Computer Committee, the Board of Editorial Advisors, the Editor's assistants, and especially the subeditors have labored to make this series *the*⁴⁰ critical and comprehensive edition of the non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls, with texts, English translations, and introductions."

Surely, the arrangements and outward furnishings of *Charlesworth I* and *II* do not leave anything to be desired, they are excellent. Both books in appealing and durable bindings are easy to handle, and one can find one's way through these neatly printed and well organised volumes with ease. Yet they are *not* and cannot be "*the critical and comprehensive edition*" of the text offered therein.

"Critical" they try to be, "comprehensive" in the sense of being 'extensive' they are not and they cannot be before more spade-work will have been done regarding the individual works offered.

However, as the *main positive achievements* I note:

(1) As far as I can see Charlesworth and his associates have avoided to assign the texts offered to any of the groups which in the past have played such an enormous role in the argumentation of many scholars. This barrier for many minds having fallen, their handy work is a considerable step forward to the implementation of further research.

(2) Like Martínez DSSE, the editors of texts and translations in *Charlesworth I* and *II* have offered the Cave I scrolls and CD and assumedly parallel or related texts as separate entities, and, like Maier QETTM they added cross references and explanations, here in notes and in the introductory and closing sections to volumes I and II as well as in the opening sections of each major text and most of its "parallels", i.e., 1QS, 4QS, CD, 4QD etc.

(3) The Hebrew text is offered on the left page and the translation on the opposite to the right. Alterations in "parallel" texts, such as omissions, additions and corrections are shown in the Hebrew text and marked in the footnotes, so, e.g., the significant changes in the text of 1QS V 8 ff. as reflected in 4QS D fr 1 Col. 1 and 4QS B fr 5.⁴¹

Qimron and Charlesworth, the editor and the translator, have noticed, for instance, that the words of 1QS V 9 *לכנ צדוק הכהנים שומרי הברית ודורשי רצונו* are missing in aforementioned fragments of 4QS D and B and the surrounding text was altered.⁴² They rightly concluded that "this

garten, M. T. Davis, J. Duhaime, Y. Ofer, H. W. L. Rietz, J. J. M. Roberts, D. Schwartz, B. A. Strawn, and R. E. Whitaker. Regarding their individual shares as well as those of other supporters of this venture see the respective references in *Charlesworth I* and *II*.

⁴⁰ My emphasis.

⁴¹ See *Charlesworth I* pp. 20 ff.

⁴² See the accompanying notes.

<omission> is a major variant for discerning the relation of MSS B⁴³ and D⁴⁴ to 1QS and the evolution of the *Rule of the Community*.⁴⁵ If the evolution was from 'the men of their covenant' to 'the men of the Community' (which seems *prima facie* likely since *yhd* became a technical term among the Qumranites⁴⁶) then MSS B and D bear witness to a later stage in the evolution of the *Rule of the Community*.⁴⁷

This has led us to the *weaknesses*:

(1) Notwithstanding the efforts of the editors and translators in vol. I and II, the improvements in both the texts and the renditions over previous works are not good enough. This could already be recognised in the context of the references to samples in Maier QETTM, i.e. (1) and (2) offered above in section II, concerning 1QS IX 14.

It may also be noticed from the fact that the differentiation is insufficient between the various types of the fragments of what by mistake is usually called 4QS and elsewhere often treated as though it were one text parallel to 1QS. Consequently, also in *Charlesworth I* the alterations from 1QS V 8 ff. to 4QS B fr 5 and 4QS D fr 1 Col.1 have not been fully understood as being due to the character of these latter two fragments as part of a *midrash* [or together with other pieces of *midrashim*] addressed to the *משכילים*, i.e. the full members, offering a kind of catechism for the *אנשי התורה המתנדים* those "faithful to the law who were subjected to banishment".⁴⁸

(2) Moreover, what counts regarding the edition and interpretation of all texts, especially such of the past, being in certain respects intended or involuntary documentation, that is the penetration into every document individually to understand its intention and purpose as well as the methods employed by authorities behind such text under scrutiny, and this has not been satisfactorily accomplished,⁴⁹ as yet. The translators have not detached

⁴³ I.e. 4QS B fr 5.

⁴⁴ I.e. 4QS D fr 1 Col. 1.

⁴⁵ = 1QS = *The Manual of Discipline*.

⁴⁶ However, the development went the other way: *היחוד* came first as a loan-translation of *το κοινόν*. It was apparently suitable and then adapted to the needs and sentiments of the Jewish group that bequeathed the DSS of Qumran Cave I and others, i.e. the Qumran Association, whereas the *ברית* served to a certain extent as designation and term for its successors or a branch thereof as is recognisable from CD. See B. W.W. Dombrowski, "*היחוד* in 1QS and *το κοινόν*. An Instance of Early Greek and Jewish Synthesis" = *HTR* 59 (1966) pp. 293-307 and (after others) again *Ideological and Socio-Structural Developments of the Qumran Association as suggested by Internal Evidence of Dead Sea Scrolls* part I, [hence: *ISD I*], pp. 116 f.

⁴⁷ *Charlesworth I*, p. 23 n. 101.

⁴⁸ For details see *WidHell*, vol. 1 part III.

⁴⁹ On proper methods and the consequences of their neglect see already B. W. [W.] Dombrowski, "The Idea of God in I Q Serek" = *RQ* vol. 7 (1971), pp. 515-531, here

themselves sufficiently from a number of mistaken meanings of words having been provided by others during the initial stages or later periods of *Qumranology*,⁵⁰ even though the painstaking study of individual texts will minimise what appears to be dark, enigmatic and mystifying passages.

So Charlesworth's view that "the meaning" of כִּיָּא בְּסִאָן רִשְׁעָא מַחְרָשׁ וְגִוָּאִים in 1QS III 2 "is not clear" could have been corrected by him himself, but through the emphasis of his interest on what others have said⁵¹ he fails. Rather than intensively musing over the text for a long duration of time – he is mistaken in his claim that "the opening of column 3 is the most difficult to translate in 1QS"⁵² – and instead of persisting to follow the sense of the whole passage with the help of ordinary dictionaries and grammars, he gives up. Included within the context of the last two lines of 1QS II⁵² to the beginning of III 3,⁵³ one has to translate this important passage: "Whosoever rejects to come in God's covenant, in order to move in the stubbornness of his heart, he must not come into the community of his <God's> truth, for his person/soul has an aversion against the castigations caused by the recognition of the ordinances which produce benefaction. The one who was to turn his life around,⁵⁴ he did not encourage (him). He must not count himself among the upright/just. His recognition,⁵⁵ his potential for work, and his possessions must not come in the Council of the Community. In the shoe he is⁵⁶ of such who does not abide by the law on the grounds of his magics⁵⁷ and vitiation when he returns.⁵⁸ He is not

pp. 515-518.

⁵⁰ See already Charlesworth lists in volumes I and II, both on p. XIII.

⁵¹ Regarding this instance see *Charlesworth I*, p. 13 n. 44.

⁵² Partly, yet safely restored.

⁵³ To be read: וְכֹל הַמִּזְמָן לְבֹא 26 [בְּבֵרִית אֱ] לִלְכֹת בְּשִׁרְיֹתָ לְבֹא לֹא יִבְרָא בִּין אִמְרוֹ כִּיָּא נַעֲלָה 1 III נַפְשׁוֹ בִּיסוּרֵי דַעַת מִשְׁפָּטֵי צָדִק לֹא חֹק לְמִשְׁבִּי חַיִּי וְעַם יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא יִחַשְׁבֻּ 2 וְדַעַתוֹ וְכֹחוֹ וְהוֹנוֹ לֹא יִבְרָא בַעֲצַת יָחִיד כִּיָּא בְּסִאָן רִשְׁעָא מַחְרָשׁ וְגִוָּאִים 3 בְּשׁוּבָתוֹ וְלֹא יִצְדִּק בְּמִתּוֹר שִׁרְיֹתָ לְבֹא וְחוּשָׁךְ יִבְטֵא לְדַרְכֵי אֹרֶךְ

⁵⁴ From its perverted and sinful ways.

⁵⁵ Different from דַּעַת as the result, דַּעַת means in 1QS the act of gaining "knowledge".

⁵⁶ Regarding the shoe as traditional indication of the means of evidence for the character of a person entering into a contractual relationship see *Ersch* pp. 280 f. and again *WidHell* ch. VI.

⁵⁷ מָן + inf. Pi. with pron. suff. 3rd masc. sg. In Isa 3:3 חֲרָשִׁים as Hapax legomenon, yet the root is attested as common in North-west Semitic languages [see *HAL*, p. 343b f. and others]. Cf., esp., the verbal use in the Aramaic Qal and Pa'el [Ezek 13:20 f.] meaning "to enchant, to use magic arts, spells, to cause deafness / muteness" [*Dalman Hwb*, p. 162a; cf. *Levy WbTM* II, pp. 117-119; *LevyChWb* I, p. 286; ← craftsman, blacksmith, craftsmanship etc.; one should recall, in this context, the unfortunate reputation of craftsmen, in particular men working with coal and metals, had and have in the Near East and Africa]. It is magics, indeed, what is to be fended off. One must not participate in the life of the Association and, thus, appear to be (allowed to be) clean, if and when

benevolent in his thought which originates in callousness. Thus, darkness looks at the ways of light."⁵⁹

(3) Closely together with this dependence on the views of others rather than their own study of the form and contents of texts goes the evaluation and assignment of 1QSa⁶⁰ and 1QSB.⁶¹

Charlesworth writes in the Introduction to 1QS on p. 2 that 1QS (= 1Q28), 1QSa (= 1Q28a), and 1QSB (= 1Q28b), "though originally contained in the same scroll and apparently considered related material," they "are certainly not a continuous document", yet he was not at all perturbed by the fact that "there is only one fragmentary copy of 1QSa and 1QSB", "while there are numerous copies of the *Rule of the Community*".⁶²

Instead, he continues⁶³: "The *Rule of the Congregation* is an intriguing, but fragmentary, document. It demonstrates clearly an essential context of Qumran theology: the Qumran apocalyptic Community was living in the Endtime,⁶⁴ and while the Messiah had not yet come the Community < = *Yahad* > was already experiencing the messianic age (cf. 1QSB). Although the Qumranites' eschatology was pre-messianic, their liturgy and

one's ethical sentiments which are supposed to find expression through the honest entry into the covenant do not correspond thereto.

⁵⁸ Properly an adverbial definition instead of a temporal clause as in 1QS X 1 and more often. שׁוּבָה is employed instead of an inf. cstr. (cf. the parallel in Isa 30:15). However, the formal act of the "return and conversion" of such a person with secret mental reservation (see 1QS II 11-18), i.e. through fraud, is really null and void. The connection of the "shoe" and the "return" is obvious.

⁵⁹ See already *Ersch* pp. 40 f. with notes, *WidHell*, p. 67 with annotation, and my monograph "Zur Bedeutung der Kette מִשְׁפָּטֵי צָדִק in 1QS III,1 im Lichte der Theologie- und Frömmigkeitsgeschichte" [hence: *Dombrowski Kette*] = *QChr* 5 (1995) pp. 209-232

⁶⁰ = Règle de la Congrégation / Rule of the Congregation in *Charlesworth I*, pp. 108-117, re-edited and translated by Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck assisted by L. Schiffman. Original edition with commentary by D. Barthélemy in *DJD* I pp. 108-18 and tables of photographic reproductions *ibid.* on plates XIII-XXIV.

⁶¹ = Recueil des Bénédictiones / Blessings in *Charlesworth I*, pp. 119-131, re-edited and translated by Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck. Original edition with commentary by J. T. Milik in *DJD* I pp. 118-130 and tables of photographic reproductions *ibid.* on plates XXV-XXIX.

⁶² *Charlesworth I*, p. 108.

⁶³ In his col. b on the same page.

⁶⁴ Here he refers in footnote 4 to his introduction to F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* = *The Haskell Lectures 1956-1957* (Garden City, N.Y. and London 1958; he cites the rev. ed. of Grand Rapids 1961), M. Hengel *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* 2 vols. (Philadelphia 1974 [German original 1969, 1973² ≈ 1988³]), here vol. 1 p. 175, and J. J. Collins, "Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Movement?" in L. H. Schiffman (ed.), *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* = *JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series* 2, pp. 25-51.

concept of time allowed them to live proleptically as if the Messiah had already come. Each feast was an enactment of what the messianic banquet would be like. Their Community, the House of Holiness, was not only where the future age was experienced as present, but also where heaven was felt on earth. That is also why they could claim that holy angels are in their midst (1QSa 2.9). Typically Qumranic, and perhaps developed in a unique way at Qumran, is the emphasis that the messianic king is subservient to the priest, and those who are the Sons of Aaron (1QSa 2.12-22)."

Surely, Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck could not know of my book *ISD I* having come off the press late in 1994,⁶⁵ yet, there was no reason to read the ideas offered in the note cited into the text of 1QSa. Rather than going into a detailed reply, I refer to said volume of mine pp. 113-131, especially pp. 123-127, where the text of 1QSa II,11-17a and a translation thereof are offered with comments.⁶⁶

(4) Rather than discussing other instances of workmanship in *Charlesworth I* and *II*, I suggest that for the urgently needed revision of this welcome work its publishers should obtain permission to reproduce the photographs of the originals even though this will cause additional expenditures for their series with the effect of an increase in costs for both buyers of individual volumes thereof and those enticed or forced by circumstances to buy the whole set. Yet it will replace the horribly expensive edition on microfiche of the photographic reproductions so inconvenient to buy *in toto*⁶⁷ and/or to handle in the day-to-day research, the additional purchase of texts in transliteration and translation remaining inevitable.

IV

As was mentioned before, *Martínez/Barrera* belongs to a different category of works, yet it seems worthwhile to discuss its first part in this article.

The book is composed of articles⁶⁸ arranged somewhat similar to chapters so as to form an informative group of units, even though its

⁶⁵ Its first copies reached me on Dec. 31, 1994.

⁶⁶ Schiffman's book to which Charlesworth, Stuckenbruck, and Maier *QETTM I*, pp. 240 ff. refer had escaped my notice, however. The differences of Maier's concept and translation to mine are as obvious as Charlesworth's and Stuckenbruck's interpretation of 1QSa and its historical and ideological position vary from its text.

⁶⁷ E. Tov et al. (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judaean Desert* (Leiden 1995), US \$ 1140.00. This includes also a companion volume by Tov and S. J. Pfann.

⁶⁸ Published "in various recent academic publications... three of them have been specially written for this volume" (*Martínez/Barrera* p. IX). Unfortunately, references to the places of their original publication are hard to find or appear to be non-existent.

foreword emphasises their (partially) "differing character and content". Thus, the first unit by Martínez of those offered in the book's part I is concerned with "The men and the Community of Qumran" (pp. 1-16) to be resumed by Martínez' presentation of "The Men of the Dead Sea" (unit 3 on pp. 31-48) and again by his discussion of "The Origins of the Essene Movement and of the Qumran Sect" (unit 5: pp. 77-96). However, Barrera interjected in unit 2 his observations and thoughts on "The Qumran Finds Without a Hint of Scandal" (pp. 17-29) and through unit 4 in three sections a lengthy introduction to "The Essenes of Qumran: Between Submission to the Law and Apocalyptic Flight" (pp. 49-76).

While the first unit provides a general introduction finding its climax, so to say, in Martínez' reference to the so-called "Groningen hypothesis" purporting that "the ideological roots of the Qumran community are located within the Palestinian apocalyptic tradition", i.e., that "its actual origins are found in a split which occurred within the Essene movement during the reign of John Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE)" and that "a handful of Essene priests, grouped around the 'Teacher of Righteousness', separated from the mother movement and made their way to the desert" where "they established their own sectarian community",⁶⁹ Barrera goes even in this first part still farther as will be shown below.

As a matter of importance for the evaluation of what Martínez has to say, it should also be noted what Martínez considered. "The most important reasons for this break": They "are as follows: <1> the problem of the calendar and <2> the organization of the cycle of feasts; <3> a particular way of understanding the biblical prescriptions relating to the Temple, <4> the cult <5> and the purity of people and of things, which is <5a> found in the <5b> revelation received by the Teacher of Righteousness; <6> and the conviction of the imminence of the end of days."⁷⁰

Accordingly, Martínez tries to bring himself to imagine how the Qumran Association may have lived, heavily drawing, as appears to him opportune, on many textual remains found in the area of Qumran and other.⁷¹

⁶⁹ *O. c.*, p. 11.

⁷⁰ The enumeration in brackets is mine. – Martínez continues *ibid.* with the conclusion:

"The result is the creation of the Qumran community. For a couple of centuries this community was to remain faithful to the directives of the Teacher of Righteousness, living in the tense eschatological expectation which marked its origins. To its zeal for the study and interpretation of the Law we owe this rich library, part of which the discoveries of Qumran have enabled us to recover." Unfortunately, Martínez has depreciated the *Leitmotif* of the Qumran Association, the typically Jewish thought of "return to the Law of Moses" without any reservation whatsoever, and made it into one of a considerable number of motives.

⁷¹ In unit 3.

If this way to assume historical events and facts and their causes were correct, 1QS as the eldest of the non-biblical texts would scarcely fit into the scene the description of which simply follows *mutatis mutandis* what Stegemann had concocted already in 1965⁷² and, untenably, still maintained with a few alterations as recently as in 1993,⁷³ and one would have to assume the *Yahad* (as according to 1QS) to have been a social group considerably different from the one which presents itself in this latter text.

Moreover, while Stegemann had come to his views by putting the sequence of documents upside down in a combination of what he had to his avail in 1965 yet with the almost total devaluation and eclipse of 1QS,⁷⁴ Martínez serves a mixed "cocktail" without scarcely any regard to the social and ideological developments of the Qumran Association and any possible impact of others and their writings in its environment,⁷⁵ not to speak of the phantastic claim that it must have been the *Môreh haššedeq* who founded the Qumran Association, even though the identity and reasonably precise dates of this person's life or the dates of persons so called has/have not yet been ascertained in any respect.⁷⁶

Even less compatible with the sources is Barrera's claim that "the 'Teacher of Righteousness'" was "the most prominent figure of the Qumran community. Possible connections of this figure with that of Jesus of Nazareth make it especially interesting",⁷⁷ although he continues: "However, the parallels between these two characters which some have wished to establish cannot sustain serious critical analysis. This applies especially to all those referring to a supposed crucifixion of the 'Teacher of Righteousness' and to the hope in his immediate return on the part of his followers."

In accordance with all that is known, it should be considered that whatever similarities in the appearance and fate of Jesus and the "Teacher of beneficence" may have been discovered or alleged, there is none which could not be matched by others' semblance also. Consequently, the reference to such is premature and completely superfluous, therefore, and will be so, until the comprehension of the major texts of the *DSS*, at least, is reasonably certain, and this, in particular, in those passages which could be somehow relevant for comparisons and connections of persons and ideas. Senior scholars concerned with the history of the New Testament Era like

⁷² H. Stegemann, *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde* [= Dr. theol. dissertation of 1965] (Bonn 1971).

⁷³ Stegemann, *Sachb.* On the latter two books see *ISD I* esp. pp. 18-22, and in "Qumranologica I", pp. 226-231.

⁷⁴ See on this *ISD I*, pp. 18 ff. and through the index of authors, esp., p. 184.

⁷⁵ *O.c.*, pp. 31-48.

⁷⁶ See the flood of contributions thereupon and *Môreh*.

⁷⁷ *O.c.*, p. 53.

Betz, Riesner⁷⁸ and Barrera should avoid answering sensationalists expressedly and implicitly, in particular, when their own grounds for arguments are unsafe.⁷⁹

This holds the more true as also Barrera draws on various texts as though all of them were written at approximately the same time, by identical authors or – to suppose the least – , persons in close contact with each other, and with the intent – and this perhaps even being common to all or most of them – to supplement one another. The selection of sections of assertions here and there and their combination to serve as evidence for proof⁸⁰ does not provide a reliably safe platform, even though I grant that the methods employed by many Qumranologists nowadays, as compared to those of most members of the first and second generation of Qumranologists have considerably improved after a number of scholars of the present generation has become aware that the association of the Qumran group with another social body or with such as Essenes, Zadokites, Ebionites, Christians does not work. Nor does this contribute, so far, anything of value towards the understanding of the New Testament Era and the various ways of thought and religion attested for it.

Surely, many correct observations have been made and, likewise, many conclusions drawn which will stand the tests of further research. Yet, as long as Qumranologists will not turn away from the understanding of the Qumran texts as synchronic or almost synchronic "documents"⁸¹ to treat them in this fashion as attestations to the history of the Qumran Association or/and of (an)other Jewish group(s), so to say, synchronically, no grounds will be gained safe enough to recognise the association's proper place within the fabric of the spiritual, intellectual, and social life of ancient Jewry.⁸² The *diachronical* approach is the *conditio sine qua non*.

⁷⁸ See regarding Betz/Riesner in "Qumranologica I", esp., pp. 219-226.

⁷⁹ Another matter are comparisons of ideas which could occur to human beings in unrelated, distant, and disparate or merely remotely related environments. Such efforts – far from any attempt to seek for or establish immediate or indirect historical links – may sometimes help to understand issues. See, e.g., *Dombrowski Kette*.

⁸⁰ This may often be appropriate in court procedures in view of the proximity of matters of fact and factors of time, but it cannot be so for historians trying to reconstitute with some precision courses of events in ancient times from written and unwritten archaeological relics.

⁸¹ A striking, even a ridiculous example is the preference some grant CD (still in its bulk best known through its two major manuscripts of "around the tenth and twelfth centuries A.D.") [see, further, Baumgarten, R. Schwartz, and Davis in *Charlesworth II*, pp. 54 and 59] over 1QS.

⁸² Cf., for instance, the remarks in Betz/Riesner, pp. 65 f. "Die separatistischen 'Gerechten' waren jene 'Söhne Zadoks' (*bnej zadoq*), die sich für 'Söhne der Gerechtigkeit' (*bnej zedeq*, vgl. 1QS 9,14) hielten. Deshalb ist es immer noch das beste, diese beiden Gruppen [i.e., the zadokite priests alias the *b'ney zedeq* (*ibid.* p. 66) and the Essenes] gleichzusetzen." "Auch Gestalten wie Johannes der Täufer (Markusevangelium

I repeat: many interesting and useful observations and thoughts regarding details have been offered in *Martínez/Barrera*, also in part II of this volume – I think here of the information Martínez serves on the various types of ideas regarding “Messianism” in unit 9 on pp. 159-189⁸³ or Barrera’s discussion of “Affinities between Qumran Exegesis and the Exegesis of the New Testament” in unit 6, subsections VII and VIII –, yet, on the whole, part II should follow in a few years time only, once more clarity about the Qumran Association and its own and other texts found in the area west of the Dead Sea and elsewhere will have been gained to allow reasonably safe conclusions in all respects and some distance from what is offered at present. To have possibly promoted the interest of many⁸⁴ in the *DSS* is seemingly the chief merit of *Maier QETTM*, and to have helped research considerably by laying planks for a provisional basis through interpretation and evaluation of individual texts goes to the credit of J. H. Charlesworth and his co-editors and translators and their assistants.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SIGLA NOT PREVIOUSLY EXPLAINED

<i>ASOR</i>	Americal Schools of Oriental Research
<i>AThD</i>	Acta Theologica Danica
<i>BHT</i>	Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie
<i>Burchard I and II</i>	C. Burchard <i>Bibliographie zu den Handschriften vom Toten Meer</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin 1959 ² und 1965)
<i>Dalman Hwb</i>	G. Dalman <i>Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch</i> (Göttingen 1938 ³)
<i>DJD(J)</i>	<i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (of Jordan)</i>
<i>HAL</i>	W. Baumgartner et al. (eds.) <i>Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament</i> von Ludwig Koehler und Walter Baumgartner, 5 parts (Leiden 1967 ³ -1995 ³)
<i>HSS</i>	Harvard Semitic Studies
<i>HTR</i>	The Harvard Theological Review

1,1-11) und der Eremit Bannus (Josephus, Vita 11), dann kleine Gruppen wie die Boethusianer, die Tobeile Schacharin (die am Morgen ein rituelles Bad nahmen) und die orthodoxen ‘Sadduzäer’ in der Mischna (Jadajim 4,5) gehörten wohl zu diesen Kreisen.....”.

⁸³ According to *Martínez/Barrera*, p. 256 n. 233, on request of G. Sternberger [= Stemberger?] originally in German in *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie* 8 (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1993). Meant is the collective volume *Der Messias* [not yet seen].

⁸⁴ See above the publisher’s assessment through note 15.

<i>JSOT</i>	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
<i>Levy ChWb</i>	J. Levy <i>Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schriftthums</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig 1867-1868, repr. of 3 rd ed. Cologne 1959)
<i>Levy WbTM</i>	J. Levy <i>Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim</i> , 4 vols. (Berlin-Vienna 1924 ² , repr. with additions Darmstadt 1963 [cited])
<i>Lietzmanns Kl. Texte</i>	H. Lietzmann et al. (eds.) <i>Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen</i> (Berlin)
<i>QChr</i>	The Qumran Chronicle
<i>QM</i>	Qumranica Mogilanensia
<i>RQ</i>	Revue de Qumran
<i>STDJ</i>	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah