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Bruno W. W. Dombrowski

WIDER DIE HELLENISIERUNG JÜDISCHER RELIGION

Resistance to the Hellenization of Jewish Religion
through Hellenization of Other Elements of the Jewish Heritage
The Qumran Association
in Accordance with the Testimony of the QS Texts

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Professor Bruno W.W. Dombrowski having been active in various provinces of Ancient Civilizations, Classical and Middle Eastern, became known, in particular, for his thorough contributions in the young discipline of Qumranology which he continued after his retirement. Here he submits his commentary on the *Manual of Discipline (1QS)* as self-evidence of the Qumran Association. He shows how much can be learned of this group through a meticulous interpretation of this source which previously had been neglected as more or less insignificant for historiography.

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QUMRANOLOGICA VI*

On monographs by Lange, Sekki, and Ringgren:

Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination • Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran = STDJ XVIII* (E. J. Brill, Leiden - New York - Cologne 1995) cloth: [ISSN 0169-9962 and ISBN 90 04 10432 1] XII + 349 pp. Nlg 178.50/US \$ 115.50; hence *Lange Weish.*

Arthur Everett Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran = Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 110*¹ (Scholars Press, Atlanta, Georgia 1989) X + 261 pp. [ISBN 1-55540-351-4 and ISBN 1-55540-352-2 pb]; hence: *Sekki Ruah.*

Helmer Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran • Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [Translated by Emilie T. Sander from *Tro och liv enligt Döda-havsrullarna* <Diakonistytelsens Bokförlag, Stockholm 1961>] (Fortress Press, Philadelphia 1963) expanded edition by James H. Charlesworth (Christian Origins Library, Crossroad, New York 1995) X + 330 pp. pb. [ISBN 0-8245-1258-8]; hence: *Ringgren Faith.*

* "Qumranologica I" in *Folia Orientalia* 31 (1995) pp. 211-238 plus missing notes on the back cover after p. 260; "Qumranologica II" and "Qumranologica III", in *FolOr* 32 (1996) pp. 165-182, 183-199; "Qumranologica IV" and "Qumranologica V" in *Fol Or* 33 (1997) pp. 197-208, 209-222. These review-articles will be referred to by their titles only.

¹ According to the title page. The impressum on p. IV reads twice 'no. 115'.

Quite different from Maier's contributions² and works of others with the aim to deliver an all-comprehensive picture regarding topics and under headlines such as 'The Sect // The Essenes of Qumran' 'The Dead Sea Scrolls' 'The Scrolls and Christian Origins' 'Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer' and the like, are *Lange Weish.*, *Sekki Ruah*, and *Ringgren Faith*, being concerned with *specific aspects* of the *DSS*. However, while these share with the former, *inter alia*, the common attitude to harmonise various texts, i.e., so to say, to bake a cake containing many ingredients by use of various sources, in order to produce an image or facets of the Qumran Association irrespective of the time and places of origin of the materials, and of the authorities responsible therefor as well, the latter have selected, gathered and provided information seemingly relevant to their topics.

Regarding *Lange Weish.*

When one casts a first glance at this book, it provokes in its arrangement and publisher's neat presentation the impression of a piece of virtually solid scholarly workmanship. One becomes acquainted with a product typical of German learning in our days employing untenable methods often shared by other nationals also. Indeed, by its author's information, this book represents "eine leicht überarbeitete Fassung" of his "Dissertation, die im Sommer 1994 unter dem Titel 'Weisheit und Prädestination: Eine Untersuchung zum Zusammenhang von weisheitlicher Urordnung und prädestinarianischer Geschichtsordnung in den Textfunden von Qumran' bei der Ev.-Theol. Fakultät der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität in Münster eingereicht wurde" and which had been supplemented, on suggestion of H. Lichtenberger and H.-P. Müller, by materials newly published since.³

Laudable are Lange's efforts to provide the individual chapters of his study with texts in transliteration after restorations and translations whose quality remains to be checked, however, by closer examination through specialists concerned with individual scrolls and fragments. Unfortunately, it must be noted already in this context that Lange's proposals are not necessarily con-

² J. Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer*, 3 vols. = *Uni-Taschenbücher* nos. 1862, 1863, and 1916 (Munich and Basle 1995-1996). Cf. *Qumranologica III* and *V*.

³ *Lange Weish.*, p. VII.

vincing, so, e.g., regarding 4QSapA which he treats first. Highly questionable are, however, his topic, the approach thereto, and the premises allegedly serving his ends.

He sets out by talking *inter alia* about 'the Essenes and the texts from Qumran' (p. 5), presents 'characteristics of Essene texts' (p. 6 ff.), and provides us with an essay on 'the history and theology of the Essenes' (pp. 20 ff.). While he still takes previous and current attempts at hypotheses of an identity of Essenes and the Qumran Association and of an alleged priestly origin thereof for real and corresponding to fact,⁴ he claims that the "Gemeinsamkeiten" of the "antiken Essenerberichterichte mit den Texten von Qumran bei weitem die Unterschiede überwiegen: Sowohl in den antiken Essenerberichten als auch in den Texten von Qumran finden sich Hinweise auf Gemeinschaftsmähler, eine strikte Gemeindehierarchie, eine lange Probezeit neuer Mitglieder, Gemeinschaftseigentum, ein gespanntes Verhältnis zum Jerusalemer Opferkult. Ferner stimmen die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen von Qumran, falls⁵ das grosse Bassin vor dem Speisesaal zu Reinigungszwecken benutzt wurde, mit den von den antiken Autoren berichteten Reinigungsbäder<n> der Essener überein.^[6]"

These arguments of Lange do not help his case at all. Whosoever has been concerned with ancient associations will easily recognise how social or socio-religious groups other than just Essenes and the association attested in scrolls and fragments show the same phenomena he lists as evidence. Moreover, his reference to what may have been a basin and a banquet-hall is not even an *indication* of any identity of the Qumran Association and Essenes. It should also be noted that Lange's further reference to Roland Bergmeier's⁷ interpretation of variations and even discrepancies in Jose-phus', Philo's and other

⁴ *O.c.*, pp. 20 ff.

⁵ The emphasis is mine.

⁶ Here he refers in his note 89 to H. Stegemann, "The Qumran Essenes · Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times" in J. Trebolle Barrera - L. Vegas Montaner (eds.) *The Madrid Qumrân Congress = Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls Madrid 18-21 March 1991 in StTDJ XI,1* (Leiden etc. 1992) pp. 83-166, esp. pp. 108-138, and to G. Vermes and M. D. Goodman (eds.), *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources* in Oxford Centre Textbooks 1 (Sheffield 1989).

⁷ See through *Qumranologica V*.

relations on the Essenes does not lead beyond this point. To the contrary, a close scrutiny of Josephus' assertions shows re-markable disparities between the ideologies of Essenes (as there related) and the doctrines of the Qumran Association.⁸

Similarly, one has to refute Lange's indefensible reconstruction of what he still offers as the history of the Essenes, following more or less what Stegemann had suggested and still proposes with variations in detail.⁹

Rather, than going into this matter any further within this context – it may suffice to point to previous studies of several scholars –, the central point of Lange's study should be tackled. It is, as the title of his book confirms, what Lange considers 'wisdom' in texts of the *Yahad* and its association with, respectively differentiation from what is generally called 'wisdom literature', especially, its Jewish attestations. Let's hear Lange himself.

He notes, e.g., on p. 92:

"Mit diesem exklusiven und offenbarungstheologischen Zugang zu einer ethisch-dualistisch geprägten weisheitlichen Urordnung steht 4QSapA in der Tradition revelatorischer Weisheit. Neu ist, dass Wissen und Erkenntnis in 4QSapA nur für wenige Offenbarungsträger möglich sind und sich teils über lange Traditionsketten von einer Gestalt der mythischen Urzeit herleiten (Enosch). Auch die Identifikation der weisheitlichen Urordnung mit den himmlischen Tafeln ist bislang aus weisheitlichen Texten nicht bekannt. Sie dürfte eine Reaktion auf die Krise der Weisheit darstellen, in der das Postulat einer sinnstiftenden weisheitlichen Urordnung fraglich geworden war. Die dem Menschen unzugänglich und daher fragwürdig gewordene sinnstiftende weisheitliche Urordnung der Welt wird in 4QSapA, wie schon in den Liedern von der verborgenen Weisheit ... dem Menschen entrückt, indem sie zu einem Geheimnis Gottes erklärt wird (רז נחיד). Dadurch dass diese fraglich gewordene und verborgene Ordnung zu einem auf den himmlischen Tafeln schriftlich fixierten 'Bauplan' des Seins wurde, wurde ihre Wahrheit und Wirklichkeit bestärkt, gleichsam mitfixiert. Auf diesem Hintergrund ist auch die Anbindung der Offenbarung der weisheitlichen Urordnung an Offenbarungs-träger der mythischen Urzeit zu verstehen: Was in fernster Vergangenheit offenbart und seitdem tradiert wurde, muss je

⁸ *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 216 ff.

⁹ Cf. already my *Ideological and Socio-Structural Developments of the Qumran Association as suggested by Internal Evidence of Dead Sea Scrolls* part. I = *Qumranica Mogilanensia* 11, pp. 18 ff. (n. 9).

älter, je wahrer sein.¹⁰ Von diesem Bestreben, das Postulat einer weisheitlichen Urordnung zu bekräftigen und zu bewahrheiten, ist auch die Exklusivität des Offenbarungsgedankens in 4QSapA zu verstehen (s. 4Q417 2 I¹¹): Nicht das sich nicht mehr an der Alltagserfahrung bewährende Postulat einer weisheitlichen Urordnung wird hinterfragt, sondern der um die Erkenntnis dieser Ordnung bemühte und an diesem Erkenntnisstreben scheiternde Mensch. Nur noch einigen würdigen Erwählten ist es möglich, mit Hilfe der Offenbarung die weisheitliche Urordnung zu erkennen.

Mit diesem Zusammenspiel von exklusiver Offenbarung, mythischer Entrückung und schriftlicher Fixierung einer ethisch-dualistisch gedachten weisheitlichen Urordnung sind in 4QSapA entscheidende Weichen auf dem Weg zu einem prädestinarianischen Weltbild gestellt."

There cannot be any valid doubt that human *wisdom* of the Association's time nor of the past back into what may, perhaps, be called the mythic epochs of the Jewish people or others was *not* a matter of concern or of particular interest for the members of the Qumran Association and/or its authorities. This holds true, as far as can be seen, for all texts that originated from the Qumran Association, notwithstanding whether it called itself *Yahad* or otherwise. Contrary to what Lange has construed, it was a matter of major concern to the Association's members to emphasise their sinfulness, weakness, and lack of knowledge and wisdom, and it helps in no way that Lange admits (on p. 168), that "die Zwei-Geister-Lehre von Form und Inhalt her zwar nicht zur Weisheit gerechnet werden kann, obwohl sie didaktischen Charakter hat", nor that, as he then alleges, "die Zwei-Geister-Lehre in den Verfasserkreisen von Myst¹¹ und 4QSapA entstanden ist.¹²"

Surely, there has been a connection of assertions in 1QS (resp. the 4QS texts) with such in 1Q27 and 1QSapA, but just not along the line or aspect Lange advances. *Human wisdom has been of very little interest*. Correct is that the 'catechism' of 1QS III,13 ff. is particularly concerned with the pur-

¹⁰ Here proper German should have *desto wahrer*!

¹¹ The arrangements of 1Q27 with 4Q299-301 beyond J. T. Milik's contribution in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert · Qumran Cave I* (Oxford 1955, repr. 1956) pp. 102 ff. are of no particular concern in this context.

¹² He seems to have recognised the weakness of his claim, however, for right thereafter he concedes: "Vielleicht wurde sie zu einem etwas späteren Zeitpunkt und /oder von einem anderen Teil der sich in Myst und 4QSapA artikulierenden weisheitlichen Kreise verfasst."

pose and meaningfulness of history and human sufferance, providing explanations and information in mythological language, but it is remarkably terse with respect to God's recognised creation of the world and man and with regard to the past. The *Peš...rim*-Materials and 4QMMT are much more pre-occupied by the latter. Moreover, the section III, 13 ff. of 1QS must not be separated and removed from the environment of this text and then treated separately, as this is done by Lange who appears to have shunned from assigning this fundamental evidence its proper place. Neither 1QS as a whole nor III, 13 ff. does fit to his preconception of the essence of the Qumran Association whose members were not only indifferent to human wisdom, instead, they paid attention to the care for their lives in their presence and future.

What has been said regarding the first half of Lange's book is equally applicable to its latter part. Rather than dwelling on this matter any longer, I turn now to *Sekki Ruah*.

On *Sekki Ruah*

Another work owing its existence to efforts to obtain the status of Ph.D., this time (1987) from the University of Wisconsin¹³, has been *Sekki's* presentation of the materials on *ruah* in Qumran texts, especially as this important word occurs in the non-biblical Hebrew scrolls of Qumran published to the time of *Sekki's* book constantly.¹⁴

My impression of this study is that, notwithstanding *Sekki's* treatment of *ruah* across the board of those relics, he has proceeded in a sober way. With ease one can read and digest the contents of his clear-cut chapters, in particular, as they are remarkably free of hypotheses and, what is even worse, unjustifiable fancy.¹⁵

Sekki Ruah is arranged by chapters as follows:

¹³ Advisor: Keith N. Schoville.

¹⁴ It is not quite clear whether *Sekki* refers on his p. 225 to the year of his promotion (1987) or to the time of the publication of his thesis (1989).

¹⁵ Apart from *Sekki's* use of the terms 'sect' and 'sectarian', for instance, I did not meet any attempt at social specification.

I Introduction (pp. 1-6), II A chronological survey of the literature (pp. 7-69), III *Ruah* as God's spirit (pp. 71-93), IV *Ruah* as man's spirit (pp. 95-143), V *Ruah* as angel /demon (pp. 145-171), VI Other uses of *ruah*: 1) wind, 2) breath, and 3) uncertain and fragmentary texts (pp. 173-183), VII Analysis and comparison of the results of chapters 3-6 (pp. 185-191), VIII The meaning of *ruah* in 1QS 3:13-4:26 (pp. 193-219), and IX Conclusion (pp. 221-223).

Added are as a key to facilitate the access to his items of information an 'Index to *ruah* in the non-biblical, Hebrew scrolls of Qumran published to date' (pp. 225-239) and a 'Classified Bibliography' (pp. 241-261).

Sekki's book has been written with considerable carefulness, and cross-checks have confirmed its author's application and his erudition. Unfortunately, his book suffers of two impediments, however.

(1) He should have limited the scope of his investigation to one or two of the texts and penetrated to a greater depth. This would have helped him considerably to avoid mistakes in his translations and misunderstandings. So, e.g., in 1QS III 7 and 8 where *ruah* means 'mentality' which the *Yahad* has and not any spirit of God.

(2) As in the Old Testament a great variety of meanings has been attested for *ruah*, so the employment of this word has been much more intricate in Qumran texts than is considered by him. 'Spirit' for *ruah* does not suffice.

Notwithstanding these reservations *Sekki's* book is warmly recommended as a useful tool.

Concerning *Ringgren Faith*

This work is altogether different, as it was originally published in the "pioneering days" of Qumranology, and the world of learning should be grateful to its author and James H. Charlesworth to have newly provided access thereto with some additions for a wider public to profit.

However, while its introductory discussions of literary questions (pp. 1-24) and historical questions (pp. 24-44) have not been updated significantly, its following parts on doctrine (consisting of 4 chapters), and the place of the beliefs of the Qumran Association in the history of Jewish religion and other persuasions (part three consisting of 22 pages) are very valuable and

provide ample food for thought. Less useful are Ringgren's presentations on the organisation and cult of this social body (chapters 6 and 7).

Ringgren has followed the beaten track of *using* all materials available to him as evidence in the late fifties and early sixties *together, irrespective of their literary genres*, he has provided, nevertheless, remarkably clear essays on the texts' substance as far as theological assertions¹⁶ are attested. This was possible because the theological views as expressed therein were, more or less, common to them or, rather, their theological doctrines are one of the joining elements and a mark of genuineness for identification of the Association's texts as such. Perhaps, they were the decisive indication for any assumption of relationships they may have had with each other. Accordingly, Ringgren – even though he infringed the basic rule of philology to use for his presentation only the results of thorough investigations of every and each text individually,¹⁷ before he would try to serve a description of "The Faith of Qumran", the "Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls", and / or "a systematic account of the doctrines and practices of the Qumran community as set forth in the Dead Sea Scrolls" (p. v) – succeeded in his attempt at combination and presentation.

He was also helped, however, by his extraordinary experience in various areas of religious studies and his impressive records of learning in fields of the Near and Middle East and the Classics as well. Thus, it is a pleasure to read through the well-arranged chapters of his book.

Ringgren subdivided the main-parts of his book as follows:

In 'part one' on 'doctrine', **Ch. 1** is concerned with God (pp. 47-67), wherein Ringgren is treating the aspects of 'the transcendent one' (pp. 47 f.), 'God's majesty and glory' (pp. 49-52), 'the creator and sovereign ruler' (pp. 52-55), 'God's ordering of the universe' (pp. 55-57), 'God's acting in history' (pp. 58-60), 'God's mysteries' (pp. 60-83), and 'God's righteousness' (pp. 63-67).

¹⁶ In the widest sense of this term. See below.

¹⁷ Relatively few exceptions notwithstanding, in 1961, there was scarcely anything available in the jungle of contributions to Qumranology.

In **Ch. 2** he discusses 'Dualism' (pp. 68-80). It is followed by **ch. 3** 'Angels and demons' (pp. 81-93), **ch. 4** on 'Man' (pp. 94-151) [with subsections on 'nothingness', 'sin', 'hope, election, conversion', 'the way of salvation', 'knowledge', 'forgiveness and purification', 'fellowship with the Holy Ones', 'ethical ideas', 'reward and punishment'], and **ch. 5** being concerned with 'Eschatology' (pp. 152-198) [its subdivisions treating 'The Messiah' (pp. 167-182) and the *Moreh hassedeq* which designation he mistranslates like others by 'The Teacher of Righteousness' (pp. 182-198)].

While chapters 2 - 5 of 'part one' were already directed towards merely partial aspects of theology,¹⁸ chapters 6 and 7 of 'part two' on 'organisation and cult' should actually not be part of this study, in as much as their contents cannot be considered divisions of 'theology' or 'faith', and they are still egg-shells of early Qumranology offering a considerable amount of errors.

A different matter, altogether is 'part three', i.e., the chapters 'Identification' (no. 8) and 'Relationship with other forms of religion' (no. 9) where Ringgren is in his own domain, even though he continues to a large extent on the path he took in chapters 6 and 7.

In **ch. 8** Ringgren gives a balanced and concise account of the chances of an identity of Essenes and the Qumran Association on the basis of information as available to him in the late fifties and early sixties. What he then wrote is considerably better than the arguments which are often brought forward. So he notes on p. 241 "The conclusion of this discussion must be either that the people of Qumran are Essenes or that they are very close to the Essenes", and he asks, on the one hand, "is it actually probable that two communities which were as similar as the Essenes of Josephus and the Qumran community¹⁹ had lived so close to each other without having had anything to do with each other?" His reply was "Hardly". On the other hand, Ringgren has realised (cf. **ch. 9**) like others that there were traits in the doctrines of the Qumran Association which it had in common with other socio-religious

¹⁸ See above n. 16.

¹⁹ See on the erroneous character of this designation B. W.W. Dombrowski, *Wider die Hellenisierung jüdischer Religion: Hellenisierung jüdischen Erbes und Lebens · Die Qumran-Assoziation nach dem 'Manual of Discipline' (1QS)* (Cracow 1998) Bd. 2 S. 188 und 204 ff.

groups, and he should have noticed that the variety of such would certainly allow the existence of Essenes and Qumran Association in the same or similar conditions without any identity whatsoever but as separate groups resulting from the common Hellenistic environment. He was very close to preference of this acknowledgement as can be read on pp. 250 f. of his book:

"The relationship to Gnosticism presents a special problem. It has been pointed out that knowledge in Qumran as in Gnosticism can be described as man's knowledge of himself and of his nature as revealed by God as Saviour and of the way to salvation. But salvation in Qumran is not as it is in Gnosticism an ascent to the divine and deification,^[20] but it is salvation under the conditions of earthly life. And the dualism of the Qumran congregation^[21] is not a metaphysical-cosmic dualism but a religious-ethical dualism. *Thus it becomes rather a question of definition as to whether the Essenes in Qumran should be called Gnostics or not.*^[22] One must apparently take into account a whole series of gradations, of shades of meaning between Gnostic and non-Gnostic movements. Qumran lies somewhere in the middle of the scale."

In the course of further discussion with regard to possible relationships, so with Jewish mysticism, he notes on p. 252: "It is probably necessary to see that in Judaism in the time of Jesus there were not only the three 'parties' which Josephus reports but also a series of various gradations and intermediary forms. It could be any one of these forms of Judaism related to Qumran which is the direct precursor of the *Hêk...lôt* tradition"

One reads *Ringgren Faith* with great profit. Miss Emilie T. Sander as careful translator, James H. Charlesworth as editor of Helmer Ringgren's book so sensitive in his approach to intricate matters, and the Crossroad Publishing Company are thanked for providing access to a work of great value.

²⁰ Regarding Gnosticism Ringgren's claim is limited too much. A further discussion is impossible within the framework of this review-article. Concerning the Qumran Association see already my "Zur Bedeutung und Eigenart von להביט באור החיים in IQS III,7 im Vergleich mit ähnlichen Formulierungen aus der Antike" in *Qumran Chronicle* 5 (1995) pp. 233-261, esp. pp. 243 f.

²¹ See through foregoing note 19.

²² My emphasis.

BRUNO W. W. DOMBROWSKI

QUMRANOLOGICA VII*

New books on my desk

Heinz-Josef Fabry, Armin Lange und Hermann Lichtenberger (Hrsg.), *Qumranstudien • Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Münster, 25.-26. Juli 1993* [Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum vol. 4] (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Goettingen 1996) X + 243 pp. + 10 tables (cl.) [ISBN 3-525-54202-X]; hence: *Münster papers*.

Michael Owen Wise with Martin G. Abegg, Jr. and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls • A New Translation* (Harper Collins Publishers, New York, and Harper San Francisco 1996) XIV + 513 pp. [ISBN 0-06-069200-6 (cl.) and ISBN 0-06-069201-4 (pb)]; hence: *Wise DSST*.

Florentino García Martínez and Donald W. Parry, *A Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1970-95 • Arranged by Author with Citation and Subject Indexes = STDJ XIX* (E. J. Brill, Leiden - New York - Cologne 1996) cloth: [ISSN 0169-9962 and ISBN 90 04 10588 3] X + 561 pp. (cl.) Nlg 250,00 / US \$ 161,50; hence *Martínez-Parry*.

* "Qumranologica I" in *Folia Orientalia* XXXI (1995) pp. 211-238 plus missing notes on the back cover after p. 260; "Qumranologica II" and "Qumranologica III", in *FolOr* 32 (1996) pp. 165-182, 183-199; "Qumranologica IV" and "Qumranologica V" in *Fol Or* 33 (1997) pp. 197-208, 209-222. For "Qumranologica VI" see this current volume. These review-articles will be referred to by their titles only.