

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.

In line with most contributions of others with the aim to produce a comprehensive picture regarding topics relating to the *DSS* in order to present an image or facets of the Qumran Association irrespective of the time and places of origin of relevant or irrelevant materials and of the authorities responsible therefor, we have in aforementioned first work a medley of five papers contributed by a group of scholars who participated in the international meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in 1993 at Münster in Westphalia having been augmented by several essays of Philip Davies, Armin Lange / Marion Sieker, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Dirk Stoll.

Regarding 'Part I'

Thus, the opening contribution by *Lange* and *Sieker* (on pp. 3-34) is directed towards 4QPrNab ar<amaice>, i.e., the fragmentary prayer of Nabonidus found in Qumran Cave 4, even though this text appears to have merely been one of those assigned by me to the groups consisting of such being either merely "of interest to the Association, yet not constitutive for its internal life" or being "preserved on the grounds of 'bibliophilistic' or 'antiquarian' interests".¹

This added essay recapitulates and summarises the translation and interpretations of this text and its history. Lange and Sieker come to the conclusion - *inter alia* - "sowohl PrNab ar als auch Dan 3,31-4,34 sind Zeugnisse einer jüdischen Aneignung und Uminterpretation dieses Vorwurfs der Gegner Nabonids",² i.e., of the "Vernachlässigung des babylonischen Reichs- und Stadtgottes Marduk zugunsten des Sin-Kultes".³ "Die Krankheit Nabonids und der Wahnsinn Nebukadnezars, beider Könige Verehrung fremder Götter und ihre Bekehrung sind in die ursprüngliche Nabonid-Polemik eingetragene jüdische Interpretamente, mit deren Hilfe der Vorwurf, Nabonid habe den Marduk-Kult vernachlässigt, in den Vorwurf, Nabonid bzw. Nebukadnezar

¹ B. W.W. Dombrowski "Preliminary Remarks on Ideological and Socio-Structural Developments of the Qumran Association as suggested by Internal Evidence of Dead Sea Scrolls" in *Qumranica Mogilanensia* 13 (1993) [Cracow 1996] p. 33.

² Lange/Sieker p. pp. 30 f.

³ *Ibid.* p. 29.

habe nicht den Gott Israels verehrt sondern Götzendienst betrieben, umgewandelt wird <Dabei> handelt es sich um dem Alten Testament und dem frühen Judentum geläufige Topoi, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Vorwurf des Götzendienste<s> in der a<lt>t<estament>l<ichen> bzw. früh-jüdischen Kultur verbreitet waren. Die Gemeinsamkeiten von PrNab ar und der Danielüberlieferung sind somit nicht traditionsgeschichtlich bedingt. Vielmehr handelt es <sich> in beiden Fällen um eine jüdische Aneignung der Nabonidpolemik aus persischer Zeit."

The second contribution of 'part I' regarding texts found in the Qumran area - this time by *Carol A. Newsom* - concerns 4Q378 and 4Q379 and is devoted (on pp. 35-85) to the painstaking scrutiny and preservation of what is left of an "apocryphon of Joshua". The main value of the remnants of this item of *Peš...rîm* appears to be its provision of Hebraic words and forms.

The editor and commentator of the thankless task to sift through the fragmentary materials of 4Q378 and 379 deserves great respect.

Similarly, *Eileen Schuller's* work of which Schuller briefly reports (on pp. 87-100) is appreciated, in particular, as it "serves to give some sense of both the potential and the limits of the 4QH manuscripts." So we learn that "the amount of new text which we have" in 4QH attestations "is not great in terms of actual words or lines, but often does serve to fill lacunae in 1QH^a adding an extra word or phrase and from 4QH^a 7 virtually a whole new hymn. Where there is <an> overlap<ping>, the text in different manuscripts is more often identical than divergent (p. 98).

On 'Part II'

'Part II' concerns itself with matters of topics and methods pertaining to the scrolls.

On pp. 103-109 *Philip Davies* tries to explain again⁴ the circumstances of the publication of *DJDJ* 5⁵ versus J. Strugnell's and others' criticisms.

⁴ This is actually a reprint of an article Philip R. Davies had published under the same heading in *The Qumran Chronicle* [hence *QChr*] vol. 5 no. 2 in October 1995, pp. 143-150. One would certainly expect an explanation.

⁵ = J. M. Allegro (with collaboration of A. A. Anderson), *Qumrân Cave 4.1 (4Q158-4Q186)*, Oxford 1968.

On p. 108 Davies comes to the conclusion: "J. Strugnell was eager to criticize J. M. Allegro's own work at length rather than produce his own, and subsequent scholarship has been eager to damn DJDJ 5 for lack of care and precision. It seems to me fairly clear that for J. M. Allegro, the importance of the material itself and the need to make it public were more important than scrupulousness in the matter of editing"

Who has observed Strugnell's participation in the work on and regarding the subsequent publication of 4QMMT in DJD X Qumran Cave 4 Part V and the long duration of time it took him to labour together with his co-author, Elisha Qimron, "to bring forth a mouse"⁶ - he will have even less sympathy for Strugnell than for Allegro.

On pp. 111-124 *Ida Fröhlich* writes on 'The Biblical Narratives in Qumran Exegetical Works (4Q252; 4Q180); The Damascus Document'.

After a presentation of her texts as one *Pešer*, she concludes on pp. 118-122 that "the text seems to belong to two genres, 'narrative' and 'exegesis'. As to the narrative part of *Pesher Genesis*, it is not a systematic narrative of the stories of Genesis; it is not even an abridged form of some narratives. The author of the text leaps from one theme to another; some-times he refers only to one detail of a narrative tradition, and, while referring to stories from Genesis, he uses words from other Biblical texts dealing with the same traditions. The narrative part is characterized also by a strong interest in chronological matters. All these characteristics mean that the narratives in *Pesher Genesis* have a special exegetical background and are prepared and reformulated with a special exegetical purpose. Our text is a kind of collection of interpretations on special traditions from the Genesis, on sinners and righteous people of different generations of human history and the history of Israel. The above analysis may shed some light on another text, the survey of human history in the Damascus Document (II₂-III₁₂). Similarly to *Pesher Genesis* it represents a mixed form of narrative and *pesher*-like-exegesis, too. Besides the obvious similarities, *Pesher Genesis* and the

⁶ See on this whole matter *B. W. W. Dombrowski* "A Miscarriage of Justice in Jerusalem" *QChr* 2 (June 1993) pp. 139 f., "Qumranologica II", esp. pp. 179-182, and by the same author "4QMMT after DJD X Qumran Cave 4 Part V" in *QChr* 5 (Oct. 1955) pp. 151-171.

historical survey of the Damascus Document show obvious differences. The exegetical background to the two texts is obviously the same "

Uwe Glessmer is talking on the *Otot*-texts (4Q319) and the problem of intercalations in the context of the 364-day calendar. Since I have an impression regarding 1QS IX 25-X 8 (and corresponding 4QS texts) altogether different from much that is offered on this part of the *Manual of Discipline*,⁷ I do not see much sense in going into Glessmer's sizable article of 40 pages at this time.

Informative as always is *Zdzisław Jan Kapera's* assessment of 'New Research on Qumran in Eastern Europe'. Kapera, being familiar with the ongoing on the East European scene like scarcely anybody else and extraordinarily acquainted with Qumranologica in western Europe and North America as well, a promoter in matters research and publication of Qumran texts and their evaluation, has done a lot to keep the interest in the Dead Sea scrolls alive in the East and West also at times when the wind of political prejudice and mismanagement blew into the face of all who are and were concerned with Near Eastern civilizations. So his report on the East European scene is probably the best of what we can get for the time being.

His concise article of 25 pages (including 7 pp. of bibliographic material) consists of an introduction and three sections, i.e., (1) 'Qumran Research in Poland', (2) 'Qumranic Studies in Russia', and (3) 'Remaining Post-Communist Countries'. Its main value is, in my view, the insight it provides on individuals involved with the introduction and the gradual development of academic work on the Dead Sea Scrolls especially in Poland prior to and after the beginning of the support of Qumran studies by the Oriental Committee of the Cracow Branch of the Polish Academy of Sciences, as of the mid 1980s. "The rediscovery of the now very well known and widely disputed hypothesis of the Jerusalem origin of the Qumran scrolls impressed me <Kapera> so much that I decided to organize the first international colloquium on the Dead Sea scrolls at Mogilany (near Cracow) at the end of May 1987." Right from their start, the Mogilany conferences and publications

⁷ See my *Wider die Hellenisierung jüdischer Religion: Hellenisierung jüdischen Erbes und Lebens. Die Qumran-Assoziation nach dem 'Manual of Discipline' (1QS)* (Cracow 1998) Bd. 1 S. 189-191 (Anm. 1, 7, 22 zu Kol. X).

became a standing institution of international stature. On these colloquies Kapera gives a fairly detailed account (pp. 168-170) followed by a report on the publication activities of the Enigma Press, in particular as these are more and more extended (pp. 170-173).

No less detailed and of equal interest is what Kapera tells us about ongoing work in Russia and other East European states, and its digestion is strongly recommended to all who are interested in both Qumranologica and the civilizations of those Eastern regions.

'Part II' of the *Münster papers* comes to its close with two contributions. In the first paper⁸ Armin Lange considers '1QGenAp XIX₁₀-XX₃₂ as Paradigm of the Wisdom Didactic Narrative' "trying to study structure and genre" thereof on pp. 191-204. "The story of Abram's sojourn in Egypt is compared with other witnesses of the same genre to get some evidence of form and function of the genre." (p. 191)

While it is unnecessary to dig into this article of Lange's and the reference to its predecessor may suffice,⁹ attention should be drawn to the possibility that Lange exaggerates the element of human 'wisdom' in literature found in what appears to be genuine Qumran texts and their environment.¹⁰

Dirk Stoll tries on pp. 205-217 to determine the size of scrolls through calculation. His method may be useful, but needs thorough checking. I, for my own part, prefer "sticking to my own last".

Concerning 'Part III'

Likewise, Hermann Lichtenberger's attempt to present on pp. 221-231 as 'part III' 'das Rombild in den Texten von Qumran' needs a lot more of investigation of the DSS against their environment.

⁸ Lange relates that this "article is a slightly revised version of a lecture held at the Dead Sea Scrolls Congress in Mogilany, Cracow 1991. The text which is used in the article can be found in the edition of K. Beyer (171-178)".

⁹ See foregoing note 8.

¹⁰ See already through "Qumranologica VI" and other publications of Lange's.

Altogether the *Münster papers* offer interesting reading materials and food for thought.

B

After the Pattloch publishing company had not responded to my request for a copy of the German translation of Wise's, Abegg's, and Cook's book for a review - here *Die Schriftrollen von Qumran*¹¹ - I asked the publishers of the American original who promptly sent me the desired copy.

Surely, I had liked to compare both the English edition and its German translation. The more so, as in its 'Prolegomena' (on pp. 1-45) the editors and authors try to introduce their readers - apparently the work is designed to serve as one of the 'text-books' as they are commonly in use by undergraduates in American colleges - to the 'story' of the Qumran texts and of their environment, they also provide suggestions "how to read" their book being confident to express their expectation that "Many of the conclusions reached in the following pages will stand the test of time and become foundation stones for subsequent generations of students." (p. XIV)

That goes definitely too far, in particular, as the editors and authors of the accompanying comments have served the Qumran texts - so to say - only piecemeal. This is not permissible at least for the time being, in as much as too many matters are still lacking clarification as was acknowledged also by Wise and his associates in their 'Preface' "This book, then is more of a beginning of research on the scrolls than it is a completion." (p. XIV)

Rather than going through Wise DSSST step by step - this is impossible by the limitations imposed through the nature of a review-essay - I have deliberately selected for demonstration no. 84 'A Sectarian Manifesto' which has been subject to Wise's and Abegg's close attention and scrutiny for considerable time, i.e., the notorious 4QMMT: 4Q394-399 (on pp. 358-364). Here they were not only not forced to accept what has been offered in secondary literature, so, e.g., "that the *Yahad* were Sadducees with Essene theological tendencies" (p. 358), nor was their any need to follow the alleged recon-

¹¹ Possibly the battle of the Ernst Reinhardt Verlag against certain claims of Pattloch may have intimidated this publisher.

struction of 4QMMT by Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell. Wise and Abegg could have been more critical regarding both their own work and that of Qimron and Strugnell so that one would recognise through their translation what has really been left of 4QMMT. Even though the drawn out printing processes may have prevented Wise and Abegg to use my article on "4QMMT after DJD X Qumran Cave 4. Part V" published in October 1995¹², they should have taken issue with Qimron's and Strugnell's (and others') work. If anything in the DJD series was ever sloppily done, then it was that book which served as Wise's and Abegg's main platform.

I am somewhat reconciled, however, with their work in as much as they have pointed to Paulus and his Letter to the Galatians. Without accepting their argument to any remarkable degree, or possibly even its full extent, I am pleased, at least, to note that they did not follow those who changed their minds to deny the epistolary character of 4QMMT whereto also section C lines 10, 12 f., and 28 of this text alludes.

C

There remains *Martínez-Parry*. This rather voluminous work follows as a kind of continuation to Jongeling's and LaSor's works.¹³ Its authors had to cope with a tremendous amount of bibliographic materials, and for anyone trying to review the results of their efforts or even to criticise any shortcomings the thankless task of overcoming a lot of difficulties stands paramount between him and the diversity of the contributions to be digested.

Thus, one can well understand that *Martínez and Parry* discontinued to use the formats found in Bastiaan Jongeling's and William Sanford LaSor's

¹² See *QChr* 5,2 pp. 151-171 and "*Qumranologica II*", lest my booklet *An Annotated Translation of Miqsāt Ma'asēh ha-Tôrâ (4QMMT)* (Kraków – Weenzen 1993²) be forgotten.

¹³ B. Jongeling *A Classified Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1958-1969* (Leiden 1971) and W. S. LaSor *Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls 1948-1957* (Pasadena, California 1958). Not mentioned by Martínez and Parry are a considerable number of others, such as C. Burchard *Bibliographie zu den Handschriften vom Toten Meer* 2 vols (Berlin 1959² and 1965) [hence *Bibliographie*] as well as current bibliographies in journals, such as the *Revue de Qumran* and, in particular, the *Qumran Chronicle*.

works, as they also did with respect to others, specifically, Christoph Burchard's admirable and still very useful *Bibliographie*.

None the less, it appears to me as though *Martínez and Parry* should not have made so much use of auxiliary personnel to put the particulars of books and articles on paper or - rather - in their computer. What I mean is this: E.g., on p. 147, it reads "F.009 Fabry, Heinz-Josef. 'Die Wurzel שורב in der Qumranliteratur.' In *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. Mathias Delcor, 285-93. Paris-Gembloux: Duculot, 1978." On p. 15, in B.038 the lines as of "In *Qumrân: Sa piété Duculot 1978*" appear again. So in the references to all thirty articles in the work edited by Mathias Delcor. A short abbreviated reference to the work listed in *Martínez-Parry* under D.166 would have sufficed and cut the *volumen* of this work and its price considerably. Another system, such as Burchard's, would have helped also. Moreover, the work would have gained more perspicuity, and a lot of misprints would have been avoided.¹⁴

I am the last person who would be intolerant or even argue regarding misprints, since I know that they have happened to me also, and I am always embarrassed, when they occur. However, in a work for reference they have to be cut down to a minimum to allow its proper use. This holds the more true as academic learning and modern research have become endeavours throughout the world.

The adversities of the inevitably simple alphabetic listing which were noted by *Martínez and Parry* also have been ameliorated through their indices, i.e., an 'Index of Citations' and an 'Index of Subjects'.

There are certainly more improvements advisable. Perhaps, *Martínez and Parry* will sit down with a committee to be established not only of qualified scholars on matters of Qumranology but librarians of various linguistic backgrounds as well. The preparation of a thoroughly revised and condensed second edition will also allow the inclusion of earlier works and its updating to, let's say, the year 2000.

¹⁴ One need not even search for them. They are at hand everywhere. See, e.g., in A.038 "Neue Testamentliche Papyri" instead of "Neue neutestamentliche Papyri" or on p. 121 in D.175 D.170 and on pp. 206 and 211 in H 077 and H.140, 141.

Not withstanding forgoing suggestions, my warm thanks are extended to Florentino García Martínez and Donald W. Parry for the assistance their book renders to Qumranology.

PAUL WEXLER

CONCERNING LEWICKI'S BIBLIOGRAPHY
(Review article)

Bibliographie des travaux de Tadeusz Lewicki by Włodzimierz Zajączkowski and Urszula Lewicka-Rajewska, *Rocznik orientalistyczny* 50(2) (1997), pp. 11-53.

The present bibliography is a comprehensive listing of 476 items published by the late eminent Polish orientalist Tadeusz Lewicki, which span the 64 years of his scholarly output from 1929 and 1993. The listings comprise books written and edited, chapters in journals and books, reviews and notes in a broad array of fields as well as reviews of Lewicki's books and major articles.

Lewicki contributed important research in a host of heterogeneous fields: Arabic dialectology; the North African Ibādites; Berber linguistics and history; Arab history; early Arabic sources on the history and customs of the Slavs, Hungarians, Baltic lands, Caucasus, Carpathians and West Africa; the writings of the 12th-century Arab geographer al-Idrīsī; the history of the Slavs in Muslim lands; Arabic coins found in Slavic lands and the history of trade relations between Europe and the Middle East and in North and West Africa; the fate of Romance dialects in North Africa after the Arabic invasions; the economic history of the East European lands in the 9th-11th centuries; the Khazars in their homeland and West European diasporas; Hebrew sources on the history of Central and Eastern Europe and early Finnic tribes in the early Middle Ages; the Armenian settlement in medieval Zamość; Persian and Arabic sources for early Hungarian history. The bibliography also provides a clear picture of Lewicki's numerous contributions to the monumental *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*.

As a scholar shunting back and forth almost effortlessly between Oriental linguistics-cum-philology and history, Lewicki's name naturally looms large