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WIDER DIE HELLENISIERUNG JÜDISCHER RELIGION

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

In German

English Summary

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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 VIII*

De frustulis sparsis observationes

Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule = Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 21* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1997) cl.: [ISSN 0169-9962 and ISBN 90 04 10683 9] XII, 175 pp., XIII plates & 2 charts, Nlg 151,50 / US \$ 89,00; hence *Metso*.

Johann Maier, *Die Tempelrolle vom Toten Meer und das »Neue Jerusalem« 11Q19 und 11Q20; 1Q32, 2Q24; 4Q554-555, 5Q15 und 11Q18. Übersetzung und Erläuterung. Mit Grundrissen der Tempelhofanlage und Skizzen zur Stadtplanung*, (Ernst Reinhardt Verlag, Munich and Basle, 3rd revised and enlarged ed. 1997) LVI + 350 pp. + 13 tables UTB 829 [3-8252-0829-X]; pb. Deutschmark 39,80, Austrian Shillings 291,-, Swiss Francs 37,- hence: *Maier Tempelrolle*.

Gerhard Sellin, François Vouga (eds.), *Logos und Buchstabe · Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Judentum und Christentum der Antike = Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (Francke Verlag Tübingen and Basle 1997) 269 pp.; pb. Deutschmark 86,-, Austrian Shillings 628,-, Swiss Francs 77,- [ISSN 0939-5199 and ISBN 3-7720-1871-8]; hence: *Sellin-Vouga*.

Willem Cornelis van Unnik, *Das Selbstverständnis der jüdischen Diaspora in der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit · Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben &*

* "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 *FolOr* 33 (1997) pp. 197-208, 209-222. "Qumranologica VI" and "Qumranologica VII" in *FolOr* 34 (1998) pp. 183-192, 193-202. These review-articles will be referred to by their titles only.

bearbeitet von *Pieter Willem van der Horst* = *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums* 17 (E. J. Brill, Leiden - New York - Cologne 1993) cl.: [ISSN 0169-734X and ISBN 90 04 09693 0] 200 pp. Nlg 110,00 / US \$ 63,00; hence = *van Unnik - van der Horst*.

A**

Once I had submitted, in July 1998, my commentary on the QS texts to the publisher, I found Sarianna Metso's *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* on E. J. Brill's display.

In view of the partial overlapping of her subject and the tasks of my study, and the quality of her workmanship as well, it appeared worthwhile to evaluate her attempt at analysis and redaction criticism not only of 1QS but also of the so-called 4QS texts [hence = 4QS] and to compare these with the products of my own efforts investigating the assertions in 1QS on the Qumran Association.

The result of said investigation is the recognition and acknowledgement of 1QS as a composite work produced by a Jewish mystery group with both very strong features of Greek and Hellenic-Egyptian socio-religious bodies and very strong bonds to the Israelite and Jewish heritage as understood by its members.

In the course of the long duration of my concern for the QS texts, I had come to the conclusion that at one point of time or within the span of a period thereof the QS text must have been considered a unit by the authorities being or feeling themselves responsible therefor, notwithstanding its composite and repeatedly altered character. Consequently I took, at first, 1QS and, after their publication, the 4QS texts at face value to listen and ponder upon what they have to relate, especially as this would certainly concern the true character of the Qumran Association. Metso's study, however, tries to pinpoint a sequence of these texts with special respect to their origins.

Her book, in its attempt to scrutinise and compare the individual sections of 1QS and the 4QS texts, resembles somewhat my *FragmVerw*¹ (a by-prod-

** This section was already published in the 'Abstract and Epilogue' to my *Wider die Hellenisierung jüdischer Religion: Hellenisierung jüdischen Erbes und Lebens • Die Qumran-Assoziation nach dem 'Manual of Discipline' (1QS) 2 vols. in 1 [= Wid Hell (1 & 2)] = Qumranica Mogilanensia 16* (Cracow 1998). On request of its editor it is here repeated *mutatis mutandis* to provide easy access for a wider public.

¹ = "Fragmente und Verwandte des *Manual of Discipline* aus Höhle 4" *QChr* 7 (1997) pp. 15-49. For abbreviations and sigla see also *WidHell* vol. 2 pp. 298 ff.

uct of *WidHell*²) and depends, yet, to a large extent on the works of many others, such as F. M. Cross, F. García Martínez, J. Maier, M. A. Knibb, A. R. C. Leane, E. Qimron, J. H. Charlesworth, and H. Stegemann.³ The more remarkable are the insights she can book on her own account. While one might be inclined, however, to judge mildly misinterpretations and occasional shortcomings and to reckon in her favour the circumstances of her life and background "as a member of the Göttingen team", i.e., a "group of young Qumran scholars working in Göttingen",⁴ naturally under the specific impact of Hartmut Stegemann,⁵ she should, surely, have liberated herself from the elder scholars' influences to a much greater extent than she actually did, and she should have concentrated still more on the meaning and significance of the Hebrew text as her main guiding line. For the time being, at least, not the sequence of the origins of the various versions of QS nor any other matters are of primary interest, but their *contents*.

However, it is questionable whether we shall ever be able to safely establish, at all, the sequence of origins and of the phases in the growth of the versions of QS having come to light through past and possible future finds. Yet, while Metso recognised differences between 1QS and the largely fragmentary texts of QS and its relatives from Cave IV, she did not thoroughly contemplate the *causes*. Instead, she promptly declared: "The material of the Community Rule from Cave 4 provides a unique opportunity to obtain concrete evidence of the stages of the development of a text, and thus to test more conventional methods of literary and redaction criticism."⁶

Whether it is actually the task of research concerned with *Dead Sea Scrolls* "to test more conventional methods of literary and redaction criticism" should be subject to serious doubt. I have rather followed the old, proven methods of Philology and Historiography to digest what texts offer, even though this is to be done with a critical mind being to a reasonably bearable extent adequate to their specific circumstances.

Thus, Metso should have avoided getting entangled in the text of VIII 10 ff.⁷ which as it stands in the QS texts is irritating and, yet, has to be and can

² Repeated in vol. 1 as its 'TEIL III' with alterations, resp. amendments.

³ See her introduction.

⁴ Metso p. IX.

⁵ Metso *ibid.*; on Stegemann's work see - *inter alia* - my *ISD I* pp. 18-22 and *Qumranologica I* pp. 226-231. Apart from everything else, Stegemann's influence has been so strong that it even governed the first sentence of her 'introduction': "Along with the Damascus Document, the Community Rule (Serekh hayahad) has perhaps exercised the strongest influence on our views with regard to the Essenes." (p. 1).

⁶ Metso p. 5.

⁷ See *o.c.* p. 53.

be sorted out and parsed without any damage in the course of some sensible approach, i.e., only with moderation of one's desire to conjecture or possibly merely discard or explain away what sounds abstruse or unfamiliar. It may suffice, in this context, to refer to my previous interpretation thereof *sub indice* in *WidHell* vol. II. Still more important is, however, to note that Metso misinterpreted 4QS E fr 1 col. 3 claiming this to have offered a text older than 1QS.

On the grounds of inconsistencies indicating the *secondary* character of 4QS E fr 1 col. 3,⁸ I noted this version's *more recent date* of origin, and, yet, because of its confirmed⁹ combination¹⁰ I have previously pointed out¹¹ that both VIII 11-15a + IX 12-20 (as in 4QS E fr 1 col. 3) and 1QS VIII 1 ff. could very well have had - presumably had, in fact - a common forerunner.

Similarly, the pieces 4QS E fr 1 col. 1, 4QS E fr 1 col. 2, and 4QS E fr 2 lend no cause to any assumption of an origin of these texts prior to 1QS as suggested in *Metso* pp. 147 and 152. The same holds true regarding her claim of a greater age for the B and D texts of 4QS. All the arguments Metso brings forward to support her view are either mistaken or heavily outweighed by contrary facts. There is not the slightest trace of support for sentences as: "Two different lines of tradition, both of which are older than that of 1QS, are represented by the manuscripts 4QS^{b,d} and 4QS^e. In the manuscripts 4QS^{b,d} the additions strengthening the self-understanding of the community (the terms *הכרית* and *היחרר*, for example, occur in 1QS more often than in 4QS^{b,d} [12]), as well as the direct Old Testament quotations, the purpose of which was to provide a Scriptural legitimation for the regulations already

⁸ For details see through the studies mentioned in n.10.

⁹ Cf. *Charlesworth I* p. 89 n. 26.

¹⁰ See subsection 16 in *Dombrowski FragmVerw* and again in vol. 1 on pp. 213-215.

¹¹ In *Context, FragmVerw* p. 25 (n. j), and in vol. 1 pp. 170 ff.

¹² This is an *argumentum ex nihilo*! - And regarding the comparison of 1QS with said 4QS texts one is reminded of one referring to an elephant vis à vis a horse.

Further, it should be noted that, having checked the sections contained in 4QS B fragments 1, 2, 3, 4, 8 col. 1 and 2, and fr 9 as well as B 6 and 7 again, I note that they do not justify this claim at all.

Likewise, there is no cause for this alleged observation in 4QS D fr 1 col. 3 (remnants of merely 8 words on the right-hand margin of a column), and fr 2 (which betrays its secondary character not only by the defective spellings in *חִקְרֵת* of its line 3 [~ line 10 in 1QS] and in *כָּל* of lines 5, 7, and 12, but even more so through the replacement of *אֲדוֹנֵי* [= *הָאֲדוֹנָה*] through *הָאֲמָת*, and the omission of the slightly mutilated quotation of Is 40:3 [as in 1QS VIII 14] altogether).

Nor is there any evidence in D fr 3 col. 2, fr 4 col. 1 and col. 2. Even less applicable for Metso's suggestions are the Midrašim in 4QS D fr 1 col. 1 // B fr 5 etc. (see already through *FragmVerw* S. 35 ff.).

prevailing in the community, as attested in 1QS, are absent.^[13] The line of 4QS^e does not contain the modernizing changes which are to be detected through a comparison with 1QS.^[14] The text of Otot, which provides a list of the weekly service of the priestly families in the temple, is included in 4QS^e, but it was no longer relevant in a community which had rejected the temple as defiled.^[15] In 1QS the text of Otot is replaced by a final psalm containing a calendrical section at the beginning.^[16] The tendency towards modernization is also apparent, when 1QS VIII,14-15, which is attested in both 4QS^e and 1QS, speaks about the study of the Law as 'preparing the way', while 1QS IX,9-10, which is included only in 1QS,^[17] warns about

¹³ Apart from the fact that the omission holds true for the passage of Is 40:3 in 4QS D fr 2 line 7 - whereas 4QS E fr 1 col. 3 has this verse in 4 end f. -, Metso's conclusion that the biblical references were supposed to serve as "legitimation for the regulations already prevailing in the community" not needed at the time when 4QS E and other allegedly elder pieces did originate or were composed or written does not convince and is sheer speculation, presumably being based on Stegemann's suggestions like this: "Ein Vergleich der Damaskusschrift mit 1QS zeigt, dass CD - wie wohl erst nach der Gemeindespaltung in der 'Lehrer'-Gemeinde entstanden - im wesentlichen noch die alten Ordnungen aus der Zeit vor dem 'Lehrer' erhalten hat, während 1QS eine Weiterbildung darstellt und stärker Eigenarten der 'Lehrer'-Gemeinde zum Ausdruck bringt" (*Stegemann Diss* p. 220), yet, as he still suggests in his *Essener* p. 159, "eine regelrechte 'Gemeindeordnung' ist dieses Werk <i.e., 1QS> ... nie geworden, so sehr auch die späteren Zufügungen zu der ursprünglichen Disziplinarordnung die Tendenz zeigen, sie zu einer umfassenden Gemeindeordnung auszugestalten.... Die älteste wirkliche Gemeindeordnung der Essener" was 1QSa. "Sie stand in den Kolumnen XII und XIII der Schriftrolle 1QS und umfasste hier nur 51 Textzeilen. Später ist sie nicht mehr benutzt worden...." (o.c. pp. 159 f.). See, further, following note 14.

¹⁴ Also in this regard Metso follows Stegemann's claim: "Weitere hier folgende Zusätze fehlen noch im ältesten Exemplar der Disziplinarordnung (4QS^e)" (on p. 158 of *Essener*). How does Metso then explain the presence of the citation of Is 40:3 in E fr 1 col. 3 lines 4 end f.? For a different assessment of the situation see both *FragmVerw* S. 24-26 and vol. 1 pp. 213-215 (= current no. 16).

¹⁵ Why should it not have been? It was still relevant for the Herodian and later times. -

Further: The presence of different texts on one leather scroll or parchment is not unusual regarding Dead Sea Scrolls, especially, when such texts had been copied by scribes. Nor has such combination any significant relevance for the age of the texts involved. -

Moreover, the replacement (sic!) of worship in the Jerusalem temple is a trait typical for all Qumran texts as far as they are reporting or alluding to this matter.

¹⁶ For the function of the final psalm in 1QS see *ISD I* pp. 81 f. and *WidHell* vol. 2 through p. 355 (index), and hereof esp. vol. 1 p. 189 (n. 1), vol. 2 p. 236. Whether this exemplary psalm which had certainly been added to the main body of QS really replaced the Otot or the Otot were to fill vacant space on a scroll containing parts of QS must remain an open question for the time being. At any rate, the presence of parts of the final psalm in 4QS B, D, also older texts by Metso's assessment, F, and J is evident.

¹⁷ Based on an accidental lacuna another *argumentum ex nihilo* is used!

departing from it, and emphasizes the importance of keeping 'the first rules'.^[18]¹⁹

While I am inclined to agree with Metso's assertion²⁰ that "the manuscripts 1QS, 4QS^{a-j} and 5Q11 [if this has really offered a QS text or one closely related thereto] were transmitted over a period of more than one hundred years", her parsing of 1QS, in particular, does not convince. In my view which I have advanced in the two volumes of *WidHell* relating to the text of 1QS as well as to the 4QS texts I cannot concur at all with Mrs/ Ms Metso's conclusion that "on the basis of the comparison between the manuscripts of the Community Rule found in Caves 1, 4 and 5 it is clear that there never existed a single, legitimate and up-to-date version of the Community Rule."²¹

Surely, one can say with Metso that "the idea of a sole legitimate version is not supported by the internal indicators in the text,"²² and the alterations in the course of the history of QS are tangible, but - here I repeat myself²³ - at the time when 1QS was put down it must have referred to the imagined or real observations, views, thoughts, beliefs, and visions of those responsible therefor. Moreover, the Qumran Association - not "community"²⁴ - did not merely "continue copying the older and shorter form of the text even when a more extensive version was already available" as Metso has it.²⁵ While she admits not to be able to fully answer in her study, whether "different pictures of the organization of the community" are reflected, this may have been so in some of the minor respects. In others the human inclination towards simplification seems to have played a role, minor alterations were also due to oversight, error, misconceptions and prejudice, and, last not least, the Midrašim in 4QS D fr 1 col. 1 etc. may have served in their condensed form as comprehensive 'pocket-versions' to be carried around where and when the more extensive eleven columns of 1QS (or another similar text, such as the *sēper hahēgā*²⁶) were too cumbersome.

Through the transcript and translations of 1QS and the 4QS texts in *WidHell*

¹⁸ See the different interpretation in the course of and as a result of the re-arrangement suggested in this commentary vol. 1 p. 74 *et al.*

¹⁹ Metso pp. 152 f.

²⁰ O.c. p. 154.

²¹ Metso *ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Cf. *WidHell* vol. 1 pp. 7 f. (n. 7) and 12 (n. 19).

²⁴ So again and again also Metso.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Cf. *ISD I* pp. 121 f.

vol. 1 and the commentary thereon one should recognise how closely the language of QS at its various levels followed - on the one hand - the traditional patterns known from the younger layers of the Old Testament, and - on the other hand - how surreptitiously, so to say, Greek elements of both vocabulary and syntax - not so much of the Aramaic vernacular - have made their way into the Hebrew idiom. This goes hand in hand with the impact of Greek thought and institutions that was noted again and again, foremost in the course and as a result of the investigations offered in *WidHell* vol. 2.

It is here that the examination of the numerous designations of the Qumran Association by the community of scholars, i.e., 'community', monastery, 'sect', etc. leads to the comparison of the Qumran Association (in accordance first with 1QS and then also 4QS) with Greek and Hellenistic socio-religious groups.

In general, I cannot but withspeak Metso and all others who are of the impression that "it is evident that the picture given by the document <sc. QS> and the historical reality behind it do not dovetail."²⁷ Surely, the manuscripts attest to varying, not necessarily "contradictory"²⁸ practices, and "it is not always clear which practice was followed at any particular time."²⁹ The more surprising is Metso's further statement "For us to reconstruct the history of the Essene community, we need to extend our study to include a larger number of documents, and they would require extremely thorough analysis."²⁹

Here Metso is back to the imperturbable position and dogma of Stegemann and his school or 'team' and other representatives of the Essene hypothesis. While all our efforts - and presumably those of Metso likewise - must be directed towards a clarification who and what types the people of the Qumran Association have been, what they believed and what they did, what use is there in the investigation of a 'document' or rather source, if the result sought after turns out to be what was known as 'fact' beforehand and had served as presupposition from the outset?

B

Maier Tempelrolle was published in 1978 in the first edition by the same company as now in its third, yet then without the appended section on "The

²⁷ O.c. p. 155.

²⁸ So Metso *ibid.*

²⁹ Metso *ibid.*

New Jerusalem".³⁰ Now, in the current form, it has been provided by Maier as editor and translator with extensive commentation and ample bibliographic references and discussions. Notwithstanding individual matters here and there and his principal assessment, Maier is congratulated for his piece of useful workmanship. It is this sort of products of painstaking labour that helps to interpret, identify and determine the contents and origin of ancient texts and the character of the social bodies who used and preserved them. One notices quite well from Maier's work that he spent considerable effort and time with the 'Temple Scroll' (hence: TS) = TS^a, i.e., 11Q19a, 11Q19b, and = TS^b, i.e., 11Q20.

A different matter is his unwarranted addition of "The New Jerusalem" (= NJ) a composition of 1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q454-455, 5Q15, and 11Q18 which will be briefly mentioned again further below.

Of greater significance is, however, that Maier accepted the unity of TS, even though he acknowledged its composition of several parts of different natures and origins.³¹ Yet he noted:

"Im Herbst dieses Jahres <i.e. 1967> publizierte Y. Yadin einen Bericht^[32], der bereits die Grundzüge der *später weitgehend* bestätigten^[33] Forschungserkenntnisse enthielt: Paläographische Datierung der Rolle ans Ende des 1. Jh. v. Chr. bzw. ins frühe 1. Jh. n. Chr., eine entsprechend frühere Abfassung *mit Zuordnung zu der hinter den Qumran-texten stehenden Gruppe der 'Essener'*^[33]. er hat auch danach weiterhin den Lauf der Forschung *entscheidend*^[33] mitbestimmt."³⁴

It appears to be idle for the time being, however, to seek connections of the TS with early Jewish texts,³⁵ other than through citations of such of Biblical background or by direct references or allusions thereto. Its language and palaeographic aspects, though, point to the New Testament era. Maier noted in this regard:

[1] "Sprachlich-stilistische Merkmale variieren je nach dem Thema der

³⁰ The second edition of 1992 remained unchanged from the first. In 1995 Maier had another annotated translation published on pp. 370-441 of his *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer* vol. 1 (see *Qumranologica III*).

³¹ Maier *Tempelrolle* pp. 8-35.

³² "The Temple Scroll" in *Biblical Archaeologist* 30 (1967) pp. 135-139; "Un nouveau manuscrit de la Mer Morte - 'Le Rouleau du Temple'" = *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 1967 pp. 607-619; cf. Yadin again in *המדרש* מגילת vol 3 (Jerusalem 1977) p. 304.

³³ The emphasis is mine.

³⁴ Maier *O.c.* p. 4

³⁵ *O.c.* pp. 35-40.

Textbestandteile, auch wenn diese nicht unbedingt auf literarisch selbständige Einheiten zurückgehen. Sprache und Stil sind aber nicht nur durch die wechselnden Inhalte bedingt, sie wurden in alter Zeit bis heute in hohem Mass durch Schultraditionen geprägt, die natürlich in technisch akzentuierten Stücken besonders zum Tragen kommen, in diesem Fall ganz deutlich in den architektonischen und in den gesetzlichen Passagen.

- [2] Lexikographisch und stilistisch hebt sich vor allem die 'Tempelquelle' sehr markant als selbständige Überlieferung ab. Die Bauanweisungen sind ziemlich stereotyp formuliert und professionell gruppiert..... Das Vokabular ist ausgesprochen fachspezifisch, enthält auch bisher unbekanntes Material oder Fachausdrücke, die erst in späteren Quellen wieder belegt sind. Leider fehlt noch immer eine gründliche Untersuchung der hebräischen und aramäischen Fachterminologie des Bauwesens mit Vergleich zur vorderorientalischen, ägyptischen und griechisch-hellenistischen Tradition. Jedenfalls wäre es voreilig, vom Vorkommen eines Ausdrucks, der sonst nur in rabbinischer Literatur bezeugt ist, etwa wie *robād* (Sockel- bzw. Terrassenstufe), auf eine 'späte' Sprachstufe schliessen zu wollen, denn gerade fachspezifische Sprachtraditionen haben ein zähes Fortleben, bedürfen aber eines entsprechenden Kontextes, der naturgemäss nicht häufig gegeben ist. Handelt es sich um ein Fremdwort, wie bei dem ursprünglich persischen *prbwr* / *prwr*, eventuell auch bei *'adshak* ist das natürlich ein Datierungskriterium, und dementsprechend ist auch das Fehlen von fachspezifischen Lehnwörtern aus dem Griechischen ein gewichtiges Datierungsindiz."³⁶
- "Im Fall der Tempelrolle handelt es sich teilweise um ausgesprochene Fachterminologie aus Traditionen, die biblisch nicht oder kaum dokumentiert sind."³⁷

While, for clarity's sake, the text of the TS in its translation should have been presented as before (still in the second edition) in larger sections and the comments be offered in marked notes, the particulars of its language and style can be explained in ways different from Maier's understanding, however.

- (1) The variations need not be due to the causes offered by him and cited in foregoing paragraph [1]. Especially, the claim does not convince that 'traditions of schools' would show, in particular, in 'technically accentuated sections'.

³⁶ *O.c.* pp. 41 f.

³⁷ *O.c.* p. 43.

(2) Whereas a specific terminology may have belonged, in fact or possibly, to literary traditions in a certain span of time yet it is not attested otherwise, it may or need not be assumed to have been 'old'. The only reasonably safe conclusion one may draw pertains to a time or periods whence it is known better. Thus, for definitions of contents and their age one would have to set out from the period closest to a text laden with technical terms so, in this case, the TS, and this was the rabbinical age.

(3) Thus, Maier's conclusions, if they should come close to reality, would seemingly have to be supported by further indications in form and / or contents of the TS.

This is not so.

1. Surely, the intention to have the TS understood as a unit - so also by Maier - is obvious, first of all, from the fact that in the versions of 11Q19 and in 11Q20 the text has been laid in the mouth of Moses.³⁸

2. Maier has noted that

"Der Endredaktion der Tempelrolle lag offenbar daran, einen Teil der als 'Torah' geltenden Überlieferungen^[39] zu ordnen, und so entstand ein bis zu einem gewissen Grad *systematisch eingeteiltes Buch, die einzige Schrift aus Qumran, die eine derart klar durchschaubare Struktur aufweist*.^[40] Es handelt sich um das Ergebnis von Bemühungen, die auch an den biblischen Gesetzessammlungen ansatzweise zu beobachten sind: gesetzliche Vorschriften nicht bloss zu sammeln, sondern auch nach bestimmten Gesichtspunkten zu ordnen. Bei der Redaktion der Tempelrolle standen kultisch-priesterliche Gesichtspunkte im Vordergrund, doch ist gleichzeitig der Trend zu einer ansatzweisen Kodifizierung zu beobachten, einer Anordnung der Gesetze nach Gesichtspunkten juristischer Logik. Illustrative Beispiele für solche Verfahrensweisen - wenn auch anderer Tendenz - findet man bei Philo von Alexandrien (frühes 1. Jh. n. Chr.), vor allem in seinem Werk 'De specialibus legibus', und gegen Ende des 1. Jh. n. Chr. bei Flavius Josephus in dessen Wiedergabe der biblischen Gesetze in den 'Antiquitates Iudaicae' und in seiner Kurzbeschreibung der Pentateuchgesetze in der Schrift 'Contra Apionem II, 190-219. Gerade letztere zeigt mit ihrem Rahmen auch ein ähnlich progressives, wenn auch anders geartetes Ordnungsprinzip, nämlich nicht räumlich nach den heiligen Bereichen von innen nach aussen orientiert, sondern ein theologisch

³⁸ Whereas in *NJ* - supposed the composition of this text as hitherto proposed is correct - the assertions resemble the style of Ezek 40-48.

³⁹ Here Maier has "nach diesem Grundmuster" which refers to his foregoing text on p. 9

⁴⁰ My emphasis.

und soziologisch bestimmtes von Gott ausgehend über die kleinste gesellschaftliche Einheit (Familie) zu den grösseren und zuletzt zur Tierwelt fortschreitend. Die Tempelrolle ist also nicht bloss wegen ihrer Einzelinhalte, sondern auch wegen ihrer Struktur, wegen der Art der Darstellung und Komposition, ein gewichtiges rechtsgeschichtliches Zeugnis, das zwar einer bestimmten innerjüdischen Tendenz entspricht, aber darüber hinaus einen aufschlussreichen Einblick in die Dynamik und Systematik des frühen jüdischen Rechts überhaupt vermittelt."⁴¹

- (a) In *WidHell* I have shown the systematic structure of the QS texts. Maier's claim to the singularity of the TS in this respect cannot be sustained.
- (b) It is questionable whether the location of Cave 11, if the TS texts were really found there,⁴² would suffice to call TS a "Schrift aus Qumran".
- (c) "Anordnung der Gesetze nach Gesichtspunkten juristischer Logik" or even attempts to introduce such have been no novelty after Hammurabi's Code and sources of even earlier as well as later times. To relate to such for evidence to date the TS is obviously untenable.
- (d) Valuable is Maier's and others' recognition that the compilation of very different elements to one body has been successfully achieved, even though the individual parts are still visible. In this respect TS and the QS texts resemble each other.
- (e) To consider TS "ein gewichtiges rechtsgeschichtliches Zeugnis" which "einer bestimmten innerjüdischen Tendenz entspricht" and "einen aufschlussreichen Einblick in die Dynamik und Systematik des frühen jüdischen Rechts überhaupt vermittelt", appears to be rather exaggerated. One ought to be cautious lest one generalises. A priori, it should be emphasised that the regulations laid down in TS, i.e., in all minor parts thereof as well as in its major sections⁴³ need not have been acceptable to major groups or parts of the Jewish populace, and the work rather provokes the impression to have been an extract and supplement produced by some authorities to remind its recipients and readers or the audience thereof of what appeared specially important to them, a situation being somewhat similar to that reflected in 4QMMT.⁴⁴

⁴¹ *O.c.* pp. 9 f.

⁴² Cf. Maier *Tempelrolle* p. 3.

⁴³ See the survey in Maier *Tempelrolle* pp. 10-20, in the preceding 2nd ed. thereof [cf. above n. 30] pp. 14-24.

⁴⁴ See, in particular, *ibid.* C 9-34 (translation by B. W.W. Dombrowski in "4QMMT after DJD X Qumran Cave 4 Part V" = *QChr* 5,2 (1995) pp. 151-171), here 168-170.

There is a basic difference between 4QMMT and the TS, however. While those responsible for the former⁴⁵ and other Qumran texts⁴⁶ considered the social group involved a / the sanctuary and in some of the texts, such as QS, cultic requirements and performance had been replaced to a very large extent by doctrines valuing and appreciating ethical behaviour unusually higher than levitic purity by cultic rites,⁴⁷ the Temple Scroll is intended to help traditional concepts of worship with emphasis on cultic cleanliness and ethical propriety as considered right by "Moses", or rather the circles being responsible for it. In view of their paramount differences, *the Temple Scroll* and what has become known as the most important bequest of the Qumran Association, namely *IQS and texts parallel or related thereto had nothing to do with each other*.⁴⁸ *They are remnants of different groups*.

Already in 1993 I have tried to classify the so-called *Dead Sea Scrolls*, and adduced two major groups of such with sub-divisions, i.e., "texts produced by members of the Association" and "texts produced by others than members of the Association, possibly copied or adapted by members thereof".⁴⁹ Accordingly, the scrolls 11Q19 and 11Q20 appear to belong to the sub-group G [= 2 (d) such «preserved on the grounds of 'bibliophilistic' or 'antiquarian' interests»],⁵⁰ less likely, to H [= (4) «texts hidden in the area of Qumran without any involvement of the Association whatsoever»].⁵¹

A different matter of interest are individual sections and points in the law of the TS and some linguistic similarities or coincidences. It is here that its text can contribute to our knowledge. So it is rewarding, to read Maier's summation of the contents and treatment of 11Q19 col. 64.⁵²

As critical supplement to Yigael Yadin's commentary in English of 1977

⁴⁵ See 4QMMT B 65 and others; see also next n.

⁴⁶ Cf. B. W. W. Dombrowski *Ideological and Socio-Structural Developments of the Qumran Association as suggested by Internal Evidence of Dead Sea Scrolls* [= ISD] Part I in *Qumranica Mogilanensia* [= QM] 11 (Kraków 1994) pp. 120 and 146 (Anm. 407 and 447), *WidHell* vol. 1 p. 101 (n. 71).

⁴⁷ See *WidHell* vol. 2, ch. IV and II, and other references.

⁴⁸ Maier knows of the critical views of Baruch Levine who thought it possible, however, that what became rabbinic interpretation might have been even older than the halachic Midrash. This need not have been so, however.

⁴⁹ "Preliminary Remarks on Ideological and Socio-Structural Developments of the Qumran Association as suggested by Internal Evidence of Dead Sea Scrolls" in *QM* 13 (1993) pp. 31-43, here 33 f., and again in *ISD I* pp. 31 f.

⁵⁰ Although 11Q20 has possibly been copied by the same scribe as 1QpHab (cf. Maier *Tempelrolle* p. 294), it cannot be considered part of categories (2) (a) - (c) = D, E, or F.

⁵¹ Such scrolls might support the hypotheses of K. H. Rengstorff and N. Golb only virtually.

⁵² O.c. pp. 274-282.

and 1983 offering in its volume three for the Hebrew text photographic tables with transliteration⁵³ Maier *Tempelrolle* collecting and discussing the results of research until 1996, approximately, will establish itself similar to Yadin's achievement as preparatory work for further research and possibly a valid assessment of the authorities and the social body behind the Temple Scroll.

Regarding *NJ I* I can only express my hope, that more intact sections will be found which might make work on the available fragments worthwhile.

C

In *Sellin-Vouga* eleven scholars, mainly of the post World War II generation representing various disciplines, i.e. Biblical Studies,⁵⁴ Jewish Studies,⁵⁵ Ecclesiastical History,⁵⁶ the Classics,⁵⁷ Comparative Literature and German Philology,⁵⁸ have joined ranks to muse over the interrelation of *Logos and Letter*, i.e. of oral and written communication and the transmission thereof.⁵⁹

Since the student of texts from Qumran, namely of such that were produced by members of the Association and such completely alien to them not only by their origin and contents but also in their use, can scarcely discover any meaningful differences between written assertions and oral expressions,

⁵³ Y. Yadin (ed. and commentator) *The Temple Scroll* 3 vols. (Jerusalem 1977 and 1983).

⁵⁴ G. Sellin "Das lebendige Wort und der tote Buchstabe · Aspekte von Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit in christlicher und jüdischer Theologie" pp. 11-31; I. Willi-Plein "Spuren der Unterscheidung von mündlichem und schriftlichem Wort im Alten Testament" pp. 77-89; P. Müller "Was ich geschrieben habe, das habe ich geschrieben · Beobachtungen am Johannesevangelium zum Verhältnis von Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit" pp. 153-173; S. Alkier "Der 1. Thessalonicherbrief als kulturelles Gedächtnis" pp. 175-194; F. Vouga "Mündliche Tradition, soziale Kontrolle und Literatur als theologischer Protest · Die Wahrheit des Evangeliums nach Paulus und Markus" pp. 195-209.

⁵⁵ M. Fishbane "Orally Write therefor Aurally Right · An Essay on Midrash" pp. 91-102; H. Marks "Schrift und Mikra" pp. 103-126. See also Sellin through n. 53.

⁵⁶ W. A. Löhr "Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Christentum des 2. Jahrhunderts" pp. 211-230.

⁵⁷ D. Frede "Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit: Von Platon zu Plotin" pp. 33-54; W. Kullmann "Der Übergang von der Mündlichkeit zur Schriftlichkeit im frühgriechischen Epos" pp. 55-75.

⁵⁸ T. Cramer "Der Buchstabe als Medium des gesprochenen Wortes · Über einige Probleme der Mündlichkeits-Schriftlichkeitsdebatte am Beispiel mittelalterlicher Lyrik" pp. 127-152.

⁵⁹ Accompanied are the essays by an extensive interdisciplinary "Bibliographie Mündlichkeit-Schriftlichkeit" compiled by S. Alkier and A. Cornils on pp. 235-265.

the topic of *Sellin-Vouga* would seemingly be non-applicable. Surely, there are references to both written and spoken words, single words, sentences and passages. Yet a lesser appreciation of one or the other is not noticeable. Consequently, no dichotomy between *Logos and Letter* has occurred for the members of the Association. They were living with their written treasures; they even amassed a *bibliothèque* of considerable quantity and quality,⁶⁰ and when peril was threatening they hid these stocks to preserve what they considered of extraordinary value. This valuation is obvious from the variety of topics still recognisable from the remnants of scrolls found as the residue of what once must have existed.

For the members of the Association written texts, particularly such being central to their doctrines, could even serve as means of God's revelations,⁶¹ while, according to confessions of the members of the Association, God has spoken through his mouth with Moses and their fathers⁶² and the members of the Association themselves.⁶³ God has still another way of communication, namely to enlighten the members of the Association so that he is seen "eye to eye in" their "midst".⁶⁴ They are "Sons of Light".⁶⁵ Thus, in their opinion, there were even *three* ways of communication between God and his people, all having the same effect. Consequently, the alternative 'Theologie der Mündlichkeit und Theologie der Schriftlichkeit'⁶⁶ respectively *λόγος καὶ γράμμα*, i.e., **Willi-Plein's** 'Spuren der Unterscheidung von mündlichem und schriftlichem Wort im Alten Testament' cannot be ascertained in the literary bequest of the Qumran Association.

⁶⁰ This library induced *K. H. Rengstorf* and *N. Golb* to assume its proper place to have been in Jerusalem, possibly even in the temple.

⁶¹ What has been said in *WidHell* 2 ch. III (esp. pp. 109-114) regarding the Association according to 1QS is - not withstanding variations in their contents - confirmed by other texts; see, e.g., 1Q28b col. III 23-25, 1Q34 col. II, esp. line 7, ≈ 4Q509 fr 97-98 col. I, esp. lines 9 f., 4Q503 fr 54 lines 3 and 7 f., 4Q504 fr 4 = *DJD* p. 154 esp. line 8. See, further, *ISD II* (in preparation).

⁶² 4Q504 recto fr 1 col. II line 8, fr 2 col. V, esp. lines 13 f., fr 3 col. II lines 7 f. and 17, *et al.*

⁶³ 4Q504 recto fr 3 col. II line 8, 1QS X 13a, 1QH I 21, *et al.*

⁶⁴ 4Q504 recto fr 3 col. II line 7.

⁶⁵ See on *בני אור* / *בן* *WidHell* 2 ch. III and through index on p. 371.

⁶⁶ So in *Sellin* p. 22.

D

ולוא עזבתנו בגוים ותחון את עמכה ישראל בכול [ה]ארצות
אשר הדחתם שמה להשיב אל לבכם

לשוב עודך ולשמוע בקולכה [ב]כול אשר צויתה ביד משה
עבדכה "... and you have not forsaken us among the heathen,⁶⁷ but you have been gracious to your people, Israel, in all countries where you expelled them to have them turn to their heart to do penance in your presence and listen to your voice in all you have ordered through Moses, your servant"⁶⁸

... והצילה את עמכה ישראל [אל מכול]

הארצות הקרובות והרחוקות א[שר הדחתם] שם כול הכתוב

בספר החיים] [לעובדכה ולהודות ל[שם קודשכה]

"and rescue your people, Israel, out of all countries near and afar where you have expelled them, everyone who is listed in the book of the living for your worship⁶⁹ and to praise your holy name"⁷⁰

These passages in the confession apparently adopted by members of the Association⁷¹ are of great importance for the assessment of their historical and theological standing *vis à vis* the so-called Diaspora of Jewry as described and characterised in *van Unnik - van der Horst*. Van Unnik noted:

"Wenn wir uns in diesen Vorlesungen⁷² mit der Diaspora des Judentums in seiner hellenistischen Ausprägung befasst haben, so geschah das, weil hier eine historische Erscheinung von höchster Wichtigkeit vorliegt, die durch ihre geographische Ausbreitung, ihren historischen Einfluss und ihre geistesgeschichtliche Bedeutung für das Judentum, seine Umgebung und die Nachwelt von grosser Bedeutung gewesen ist.

Mit dem Begriff 'Diaspora' hat das Judentum für diese Erscheinung nicht einen in der Profangräzität geläufigen Ausdruck für geographische Ausbreitung aufgegriffen, sondern ein ziemlich ungewöhnliches Wort, das

⁶⁷ Cf. *ISD I* pp. 119 f. and 151 (n. 403, 405, and 460 [Group (b) β]).

⁶⁸ From 4Q504 recto fr 1-2 col. V lines 10-14 (= *DJD* VII p. 145 and plate li).

⁶⁹ See לעבדא in *J. Levy Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim* (repr. Cologne 1959) vol. 2 p. 196, and in his *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*....(repr. Darmstadt of 1963) vol. 3 p. 606, here on account of the following ולהודות with one of the meanings of Hebr. עבדא; cf. *ibid.* p. 740b re. עבדא and עבדא.

⁷⁰ 4Q504 recto fr 2 recto col. VI from lines 12-15 as restored in *DJD* VII on p. 148.

⁷¹ Provided 4Q504 represents a unit, as appears likely. Cf. 4Q216 col. II 13 ff. See, further, the discussion in the forthcoming *ISD II* through its index.

⁷² "Vorträge ..., die er zwischen Weihnachten 1966 und dem 21. März 1967 geschrieben und in den ersten 10 Tagen von April 1967 am Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem gehalten hat." (From the preface by *van der Horst* [on p. 7]).

die Auflösung, die Aufspaltung in kleinste Einheiten andeutete. Mit dem Substantiv διασπορά wurde die Welt, in die das Judentum zerstreut war, angedeutet. Es hat sich gezeigt, dass diese merkwürdige Andeutung aus der LXX ihre Erklärung erhält διασπορά bedeutet nicht nur das Land, über das man zerstreut ist, sondern auch die Tat des Zerstreuens sowie die Leute, die zerstreut sind. ...

Bei dieser Untersuchung hat sich folgendes gezeigt: Erstens Zweitens trat dieser Begriff immer in einem ziemlich feststehenden Kontext auf. ... διασπείρειν⁷³ geht zusammen mit 'Sündigen', 'Bekehrung', 'Zurückführung', und dabei ist es meistens Israels Gott, der das Subjekt des Zerstreuens und Zurückführens ist (oder aber Menschen, die Werkzeuge in seiner Hand sind). Die Zerstreung gilt als Strafe Gottes für die Sünde des Volkes. Das schon in der Profangräzität verwendete Wort διασπείρειν ist in einen religiösen Kontext aufgenommen und gehört dadurch zu der Sprache nicht der jüdischen Geographie, sondern der jüdischen Religion.

Drittens hat in dieser Anschauung eine starke Kontinuität bestanden, die durch Jahrhunderte gleich blieb.

Viertens löst die Zerstreung die Existenz des Volkes so stark auf, dass sie diese fast vernichtet dass immer wieder gesagt wird, dass es ein Zerstreuen ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ist, und das sind hier bestimmt die Nicht-Israeliten, die Heiden.

Die Diaspora ist das grösste Unglück für das Volk."⁷⁴

Thus, van Unnik has characterised the main aspect in the employment of διασπορά, and it is obvious that the author(s) of 4Q504 fr 2 col. V and VI have felt likewise at the time when 4Q504 was composed, i.e., that διασπορά was a great misfortune having been caused to serve for the betterment of his people and to be brought to its end by God.

Different is the count of persons living in Palestine together with such having spread in other countries, in other words, the διασπορά appears to have comprised Jews of alien *and* the Palestinian regions other than such in Jerusalem. It is of important significance, since it shows the cohesion of the members of the Qumran Association with fellow Jewry notwithstanding the strong contrast evidenced in other writings of the Association. This is shown, as has been recognised before, through the Association's position *versus* cultic worship and its emphatic insistence on ethical behaviour considered by its members (according to the QS texts and others), the "return to the Law of

⁷³ The verb complementary to διασπορά.

⁷⁴ van Unnik - van der Horst pp. 148-150.

Mosis" and, further, through their thought to be themselves the true substitute of the temple in Jerusalem.⁷⁵

Van Unnik has recognised in his commendable book⁷⁶ that, notwithstanding deviating views, the principle and usual doctrine among Jews has been to acknowledge their own defection from God's ways, and that therefore "Das Volk widersetzt sich nicht, klagt seinen Gott nicht an, sondern gibt ihm recht. In der Diaspora wird die Strafe empfunden und angenommen, aber wie sehr auch die völkische Existenz durch diese Auflösung bedroht wird, man darf doch auf Gottes Gnade hoffen..."⁷⁷ As much as this holds true for the Qumran Association (in accordance with the QS texts and others), for its members, the motive of their separation and their wish to stay so appears to have been much stronger than the desire to return to the fold of their Jewish kin. This was balanced by their belief to have been dignified of God's choice and his grace to have them with the "sons of heaven" and to accept them to the category of "the living" who would see him in the light of his glory.⁷⁸

Van Unnik's and van der Horst's interesting and illuminating book is strongly recommended to someone willing to revise it and to take into consideration the information provided by *Dead Sea Scrolls*.

⁷⁵ See, in particular, chapters II and IV (pp. 17 ff., 120 ff.) in *WidHell* vol. 2.

⁷⁶ Unfortunately, it is marred by an extraordinarily great number of typographical errors and Hollandisms.

⁷⁷ O.c. p. 164.

⁷⁸ See through B. W.W. Dombrowski "Zur Bedeutung und Eigenart von להביט באור in 1QS III,7 im Vergleich mit ähnlichen Formulierungen aus der Antike" = *QChr* 5 (1995) pp. 233-261, and *WidHell* vol. 1 pp. 92 f. (n. 8).