The Qumran Paradigm: A Critical Evaluation of Some Foundational Hypotheses in the Construction of the 'Qumran Sect'

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The Qumran Paradigm:

A Critical Evaluation of Some Foundational Hypotheses in the Construction of the 'Qumran Sect'

by

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Abstract

This thesis is a critical study of some of the foundational hypotheses of the Qumran Paradigm. This Paradigm connects the archaeological site of Khirbet Qumran to, on the one hand, the manuscripts from the eleven caves in its vicinity and, on the other hand, the descriptions of the Essenes by Philo, Josephus and Pliny the Elder. Thus, the Qumran Paradigm hypothesises that the Qumran manuscripts reflect the 'sectarian' library of a radical minority group (or 'sect'), which was closely connected to the Essenes and resided at Khirbet Qumran. Part of this group's ideology is thought to be their self-identification as 'the chosen righteous ones', awaiting the eschaton. Their exclusivist self-understanding is perceived to be demonstrated by modes of separatism and dualistic thinking in the manuscripts of the group's 'library'.

This thesis discusses several of the hypotheses that have formed the foundations of this prevalent Qumran Paradigm: the idea of a ' sectarian library'; literary and socio-historical models of textual classification; the use and accurateness of certain terminology to describe particular textual peculiarities (such as 'dualism'); and finally, the implications of conclusions drawn from the perception of ideological coherence in the Qumran texts.

First, this study evaluates the notions of a 'sectarian' library and a 'sectarian' group, and how these notions have influenced scholarly classifications of the Qumran texts. These classifications have constructed chronological models of 'sectarian' development, in the attempt to identify a correlation between text-ideology and social history. The validity of such mirror readings is discussed with regard to a crucially important, yet difficult to categorise, Qumran text, 4QMMT.

The second part of this study focuses on the construction of social reality through the perception of ideological coherence, particularly with regard to the concept of 'dualism'. We evaluate the expansion of its definition into ten types of 'Qumran'-specific dualism. Subsequently, the concept of 'dualism' is discussed with regard to the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* (1QS iii 13 – iv 26), as its dualistically perceived ideas are analysed and compared to similar ideas in other texts.

This study wants to critically evaluate those elements in the foundations of the Qumran Paradigm that prevent scholarship from theorising about possible social realities beyond the scholarly construct of the Qumran 'library' and 'sect'. Hence, it wishes to advocate a more revisionist approach that more fundamentally questions the foundations of the Paradigm, specifically for those texts that do not seem to 'fit'

within the Qumran Paradigm and that allow us to consider whether the texts found at Qumran represent a wider range of social backgrounds and a fuller engagement with the diverse forms of Second Temple Judaism than is normally envisaged.

Statement of Copyright

Declaration

This work has been submitted to the University of Durham in accordance with the regulations for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It is my own work, and none of it has been previously submitted to the University of Durham or in any other university for a degree.

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Acknowledgements

One of the main arguments of this thesis is that texts do not emerge as the result of solitary contemplation, but rather as the reflection of a process in which the active engagement with others is of vital importance. Accordingly, this thesis is a reflection not only of my own thoughts and ideas, but also was shaped by the many conversations and discussions, both academic and leisurely, that I have had with supervisors, colleagues and friends.

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Throughout this process, I have had the good fortune to have one ardent and dedicated supporter, who - very early on in my life - has taught me the importance of education: my father. After 44 years on this earth, I can finally and honestly admit: ‘Dad, this apple has not fallen far from the tree! It is with great love and gratitude that I dedicate this thesis to you.’

Abbreviations

BAAS	Bulletin of the Anglo-American Archaeological Society
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CBR	Currents in Biblical Research
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CQSS	Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
ER	Encyclopedia of Religion
JAJSup	Supplements to the Journal of Ancient Judaism
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSJS	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
NEA	Near Eastern Archaeology
RB	Revue Biblique
RevQ	Revue de Qumrân
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
STDJ	Studies of the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SupVT	Supplement to Vetus Testamentum
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Chapter One: Introduction

"*When I examined the scrolls […] I found in one of them a kind of book of regulations for the conduct of members of a brotherhood or sect. I incline to hypothesise that this cache of manuscripts belonged originally to the sect of the Essenes, for, as it is known from different literary sources, the place of settlement of this sectarian group was on the western side of the Dead Sea, in the vicinity of En-Gedi.*"[1]

E. Sukenik

"*If the writings of Qumran exhibit certain points of resemblance to what is known from other sources about the Essenes, and if the ruins of Qumran correspond to what Pliny tells us about the dwelling places of the Essenes, his evidence can be accepted as true. And this evidence in its turn serves to confirm that the community was Essene in character.*"[2]

R. de Vaux

In the first period of Qumran scholarship (1947-1967) a consensus view developed about the background, theological outlook, function and importance of Qumran and the 'Qumran Community'.[3] For reasons that will be addressed below, the consensus view established Khirbet Qumran as the residence of an all-male celibate ideologically, socially and religiously extreme minority group (or sect), possibly (related to) the Essenes, who had segregated themselves from the majority of the people and were awaiting the eschaton, believing themselves to be the chosen ones. [4]

This consensus view was formed relatively early on, and has profoundly influenced the way scholars have approached various research areas within Qumran Scholarship. Several initial theories have contributed to the coming about of this

[1] Eleazer Sukenik, *Megillot Genuzot* (Jerusalem: Bialik Foundation, 1948) 16.
[2] Roland De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973) 137.
[3] A note on terminology: This thesis consciously uses all terms regarding the group at Qumran (i.e. Qumran Sect, Qumran Community, *yahad* etc.) indiscriminately, realising that each of these terms is limited, incorrect and provokes certain theoretical presumptions. There simply is no correct terminology available. Where scholarly theories of others are described, I have used as much as possible their own terminology; if they speak of 'sect' I use this too, etc.
[4] Maybe the strongest contemporary advocate for the establishment of this consensus view was Edmund Wilson, a popular journalist of the New Yorker, who due to his article 'The Scrolls from the Dead Sea' surprisingly influenced the scholarly field in the direction of a prevalent 'Qumran Paradigm' (The New Yorker, May 14th 1955) 44-131.

'Qumran Paradigm'. Firstly, the paradigm predominantly rests on the establishment of an interconnected 'Qumran Triangle'. This triangle combines (1) the early scrolls from Cave 1 -including the Cairo Genizah's CD, (2) the (contemporary consensus regarding the peculiarity of the) archaeological site of Qumran and (3) information from the classical sources.[5] Hence, the ***perceived textual content*** of the scrolls from 1Q, mainly 1QS and 1QpHab (together with the realisation that the Cairo Genizah CD-text had a somewhat similar outlook to 1QS)[6] and ***the perceived archaeological uniqueness of the site***, which was mainly thought to be unique because of the absence of any comparable geographical and Hellenistic/Herodian contemporary archaeological sites in the Judean desert[7], were interpreted in light of what ***the classical sources told about the Essenes***[8] and these three elements together created the paradigm mentioned above.[9]

Secondly, the Paradigm was reinforced by the proposition that the textual finds were representative of and coherently meaningful to the inhabitants of the archaeological site. Moreover, the Qumran scrolls were not only presupposed to represent accurately the socio-religious reality of a community residing at Khirbet Qumran, but they were also perceived as an accurate and meaningful representation of a once existent and deliberately chosen 'sectarian' library.

Finally, the underlying and therefore less openly acknowledged building block, from which much of the Paradigm was constructed, is the presumed social reality of sect and sectarianism, as put forward by many scholars on the basis of Josephus' account of the four 'philosophies'.[10] To take the notion of sectarianism as

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[5] In her study of 1QS, Alison Schofield warns against the methodological dangers that are attached to the harmonisation of the Qumran texts, the site and the classical sources. Cf. Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule*, STDJ 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2009) 8.

[6] Cf. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 111-119; Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 3rd ed. 1995, or. 1958) 81-85; Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea* (London: SCM Press, 1959) 91.

[7] Cf. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 112.

[8] Philo*, Quod omnis probus liber sit* 72-91, *Pro judaeis defensio* 1-18; Josephus*, War* 2.119-161, *Ant* 18.18-22, also *War* 1.78-80, 2.111-113 (5.144) and *Vita* 10-12; for the geographical location Pliny the Elder is of value, *Natural History* 5.17.4; Cf. Phillip Callaway, *The History of the Qumran Community, An Investigation*, JSPS 3, (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988).

[9] I hereby thank Prof. Jürgen Zangenberg for his comments and willingness to meet and reflect with me. His mentioning of the Qumran Triangle stems from our first talk on March 20th 2012.

[10] In his *War* (2.119, 122, 124, 137, 141, 142) Josephus refers to 'parties' (*haireseis*), which is often translated as the less neutral 'sects'. The translation of '*haireseis*' into 'sects' brings up, sociologically, Christian connotations of sectarianism and provokes a tendency to interpret events in textual worlds in terms of dualistic categories. In Josephus' *Antiquities*, (and in *War* 2.119*)* the term 'philosophies' is used, which in the ancient world is used for groups that try to convert others to their point of view.

the cornerstone of Second Temple Society is not without problems, and creates certain presuppositions about the origin, nature and function, but above all the quality of group formation.

The first tenet of the Qumran Paradigm basically has laid the foundation for various hypotheses with regard to the identification and history of a perceived radical socio-religious organization (or sect),[11] while the second tenet has persisted in maintaining the idea of a characteristic 'collection' or 'library', partly to categorise texts by separating the 'sectarian' from the 'non-sectarian' ones, and partly to demonstrate the uniqueness of the 'Qumran Community' within Second Temple Judaism.[12] The third tenet, the presumed connection between ideology and social reality, which shall be the main focus of the present thesis, is more essential and fundamental for the way scholars have approached the particular peculiarities of the Qumran situation itself.[13] The following sections will discuss each of these tenets in more detail.

1.1. A 'Qumran Community'?

In the history of Qumran Studies a development has taken place from the presumption that the manuscripts found in the Qumran caves reflected a single community, residing at Khirbet Qumran and authoring all hidden manuscripts, to the notion that the manuscripts reflect more than one community and were not all written at or in the immediate environs of Khirbet Qumran. Over the last six decades, scholars have developed several models to explain 'Qumran' of which three hypotheses about the origins of the Scrolls and their preservers seem to be considered most viable within the field. A fourth hypothesis, which argues for 'Sadducean' origins is discussed here as a persistent dissonant proposal that has been thought by some to

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Therefore, there is an inherent tension between the two terms that Jospehus uses not only with regard to the Essenes, but to all mentioned Jewish groups.

[11] Cf. Sukenik, de Vaux and Wilson, fn. 1-4; E.g. Florentino García Martínez, 'Qumran Origins and Early History: A Groningen Hypothesis' *Folia Orientalia* 25 (1988) 113-134.

[12] Cf. Devorah Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance', in Devorah Dimant & Lawrence Schiffman eds., *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness*, STDJ 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1995) 23-57.

[13] The first to use the term 'sect' was Louis Ginzberg, while describing the community behind the CD fragments of the Cairo Genizah: *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1970 transl.of 1922); Critical of this indiscriminate usage of 'sect' is for instance Jutta Jokiranta, ''Sectarianism' of the Qumran 'Sect': Sociological Notes' *RevQ* 78 (2001) 223-239; See also Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 21-33. However, less specifically scholars have addressed the inherent effect of the (historical) usage and connotations of 'sectarianism' over a number of decades.

hold merit.[14] The four hypotheses to be described and evaluated may thus be listed as follows:

1. The Essene Hypothesis
2. The Groningen Hypothesis
3. The Multi-Community (Essene) Hypothesis
4. A Dissonant Opinion: The Sadducean Hypothesis

1.1.1. The Essene Hypothesis

Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the so-called 'Essene Hypothesis' has had a strong influence on Qumran scholarship and basically provided the parameters for the still prevalent Qumran Paradigm. This hypothesis was first proposed by Eleazar Sukenik and André Dupont-Sommer.[15] Based on the idea that the *Rule of the Community* was "a kind of book of regulations for the conduct of members of a brotherhood or sect"[16], Sukenik made the connection between the community behind the rule and what was written in the classical sources about the Essenes. As such, he concluded that the entirety of manuscripts that formed the Dead Sea Scrolls were the main library of an Essene community, a sectarian group which resided "on the western side of the Dead Sea, in the vicinity of En-Gedi".[17] After publication of the first books and articles proposing this Essene identification, also De Vaux's excavations of Khirbet Qumran led him to conclude that the site was an Essene settlement from the middle of the second century BCE.[18] As is well known, the identification of the Qumran group with the Essenes primarily rests on what Josephus, Pliny the Elder and Philo reported about them.[19]

Various scholars have raised critical questions regarding such straightforward identification of Qumran as Essene. For instance, Steve Mason notes that classical

[14] Schiffman himself never really argues for the Qumranites to be Sadducean, but rather follows Ginzberg's model of 'an unknown Jewish Sect'; nevertheless, he argues that Qumran *halakha* has many similarities with Sadducean *halakha*. Cf. Lawrence Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran,* SJLA 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1975); also, *Qumran and Jerusalem: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the History of Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010).
[15] Sukenik, *Megillot Genuzot* (Jerusalem: Bialak Institute, 1948); André Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey* (transl. M. Rowley; Oxford: Blackwell, 1952).
[16] Sukenik, , *Megillot Genuzot*, 16
[17] Sukenik, see fn. 1.
[18] Cf. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*.
[19] Cf. fn. 2.

sources need to be approached with scrutiny, since they might reflect the classical author's own agenda.[20] In particular, according to Mason, Josephus' account of the Essenes is "thoroughly Josephan, part of the historian's rhetorical and apologetic presentation of Judaism".[21] In a comparison of the historical sources, Philip Callaway also demonstrates that, in addition to similarities, these ancient reports are not entirely congruous with the Qumran texts. On this basis, he contests a straightforward identification of the 'Qumran Community' with the Essene Movement.[22] In his article 'Who cares and what does it matter? Qumran and the Essenes, once again!', Albert Baumgarten systematically addresses the question of Essene identification.[23] He compared the descriptions of the Essenes in the aforementioned classical sources to both textual and archaeological evidence (i.e. women buried in the cemetery; the presence of a latrine inside the Qumran walls) from Khirbet Qumran. In his conclusion he pleads that so many discrepancies beg for the Qumran-Essene identification "to be jettisoned as an unnecessary burden" to Second Temple scholarship.[24] Finally, Carol Newsom rightly adds that the word 'Essene' does not occur in the Scrolls. She concludes: "even though there is good warrant for describing the community at least as "Essene-like", it is probably better scholarly practice not to use the terms Qumran and Essene as though they were interchangeable."[25] Nowadays, many scholars are convinced that the original 'Essene Hypothesis' can -in its strict sense- no longer be maintained.[26] These arguments give sufficient reason not to take the Essene Hypothesis as a point of departure.

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[20] Steve Mason, 'What Josephus Says about the Essenes in His *Judean War*', orion.huji.ac.il/orion/programs /Mason00-1.shtml and 00-2.shtml.

[21] John. J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010) 122-124.

[22] Cf. Callaway, *The History of the Qumran Community*, 63-87 for the main discussion between Dupont-Sommer and Driver.

[23] Albert Baumgarten, 'Who cares and what does it matter? Qumran and the Essenes, once again!' DSD 11 no.2 (2004) 174-190.

[24] Baumgarten, 'Who cares', 190.

[25] Carol Newsom, '"Sectually Explicit" Literature from Qumran' in H. Propp, B. Halpern and D. Freedman eds., *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (Winona Lake: Eisenbraun, 1990) 167-187, 168.

[26] Cf. John J. Collins, 'Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls' in Shalom Paul, Lawrence Schiffman and Weston Fields eds., *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003) 97-112 and 'The Yahad and the "Qumran Community"' in Charlotte Hempel and Judith Lieu eds., *Biblical Traditions in Transmission, Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (Leiden: Brill, 2006) 81-96; However, quite recently, the late Edna Ullman-Margalit has reconstructed the 'Qumran triangle' on rational grounds and concludes that the Essene hypothesis is still the best model for explaining the Qumran situation. Cf. Edna Ullman-Margalit, 'Interpretative Circles: The Case of the Dead Sea Scrolls' in Adolfo Roitman, Lawrence Schiffman and Shani Tzoref eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6-8, 2008)* STDJ 93 (Leiden: Brill, 2011) 649-666.

1.1.2. The Groningen Hypothesis

Due to unease with the univocal identification of the Qumranites as Essene as advanced by the 'Essene Hypothesis', some scholars developed modified or new views of the 'Qumran Community' in its pluralistic environment. For instance, Philip Davies argued that the Essene movement is the 'parent movement' to the 'Qumran sect', while others have argued that the 'Qumran sect' gradually parted from the Essene Movement and developed an ideology of its own.[27] Along similar lines, in 1988, Florentino García Martínez published his influential 'Groningen Hypothesis'. His hypothesis marked a coherent attempt "to relate to each other the apparently contradictory data furnished by the Dead Sea manuscripts as to the primitive history of the Qumran Community."[28] Five basic propositions characterise this approach:[29]

1. A clear distinction must be made between the origins of the Essene movement and the origins of the Qumran Community.
2. The origins of the Essene movement lay within the Palestinian apocalyptic tradition (late third - early second century BCE).
3. The Qumran movement originates from a split-off from the larger Essene movement over the teachings of the Teacher of Righteousness. Those who were loyal to the Teacher eventually established themselves at Qumran.
4. The 'Wicked Priest' is a collective term and points to the sequence of Hasmonean high priests in a chronological order.
5. The formative period of the community is placed within a larger perspective, which takes "ideological development, *halakhic* elements and political conflicts" into account to reconstruct the community's split and subsequent settlement at Qumran.

Thus, the 'Groningen Hypothesis' aims to provide a historical framework in which the Qumran 'sectarian' texts and the *yahad* Community can be positioned. Furthermore, it also attempts to explain the dissimilarities between certain core manuscripts, i.e. the *Damascus Document* (CD/DD) and the *Community Rule* (1QS). Moreover, it sketches possible reasons behind the *yahad*'s retreat into the wilderness and provides a model of identity.

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[27] Philip Davies, *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 69-82; Another version of such an off-shoot theory is advanced by Gabriele Boccacini, who roots the Essene movement in 'Enochic Judaism' and sees the Qumran community as a radical split-off group from that movement. Cf. *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).
[28] Garcia Martínez, 'Qumran Origins', 113.
[29] Garcia Martínez, 'Qumran Origins', 113.

For our purposes, it is important to address the core element that takes García Martínez's proposal away from the Essene Hypothesis, i.e. a discordant split-off. The Groningen Hypothesis holds that the 'Qumran community' originated from a discordant 'split-off' from its Essene parent movement. The basis of a 'split off' theory lies in the presupposition that in 1QS and CD/DD different 'sectarian' groups are addressed. According to García Martínez, the main reasons for the alleged 'split-off' (i.e. next to the Teacher's emphasis on eschatology - unknown to the Essenes[30]) are: the cultic calendar, norms of purity in the Temple and Jerusalem, and *halakhot* concerning tithes, impurity and marriage.[31] However, the problem in his analysis lies in the way he explains and interprets the occurrence of differences in and between texts. Some of the arguments in these disputes are important to our evaluation:

Firstly, according to Josephus, two different orders of Essenes - celibate and marrying - 'were in agreement with one another on the way of life, usages and customs' (*War* 2.160).[32] Accordingly, and despite Callaway's emphasis on inconsistencies, Beall has shown that the classical accounts often agree with the *Rule of the Community*.[33] If García Martínez is correct in his Essene identification, these two observations speak against a discordant 'split-off'. Secondly, the idea of a calendrical dispute as a major 'split-off' factor needs to be approached with care. The argumentation depends heavily on the chronological placement of CD/DD, a point that is not always clear in García Martínez's reasoning. Moreover, the classical sources do not report any calendrical disputes and hence do not give us any additional arguments on which García Martínez can base his 'Essene parent and Qumran split-off' theory. A third 'split-off' factor, namely García Martínez's assessment that the Teacher of Righteousness introduced eschatology to Qumran, which "is precisely one of the elements not brought out in the classical description of Essenism", also needs to be evaluated cautiously. This argument seems somewhat in tension with one of the

[30] This might also be evidence against a connection between Essenism and the apocalyptic tradition.
[31] Note that much of García Martínez's argument is based upon two documents, 11QTemple and 4QMMT, both of which he closely links to the Qumran community. The *Temple Scroll* is placed in the sect's 'formative period', while 4QMMT is seen as a document authored after the sect's 'split-off'. However, both documents do not contain any of the typical sectarian terminology that would identify them as *yahadic* texts.
[32] Cf. Collins, 'The Yahad and the "Qumran Community"', 92.
[33] Cf. Todd Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

pillars of the Groningen Hypothesis, namely the notion that both the Essenes and the Qumran Sect are thought to stem from the Palestinian Apocalyptic Tradition.[34]

In conclusion, these uncertainties and contradictions call into question García Martínez's identification of the *yahad* as a split-off group from a larger Essene movement, and thus weaken the Groningen Hypothesis's basic framework of a 'parent & break away-movement'. Moreover, if the idea of a discordant break between the Essene parent movement and the Qumran sect is indeed questionable, we also need to critically re-assess García Martínez's presupposition of a '*formative period*' in the establishment of the 'Community', that highlights the differences and developments between the parent and daughter's ideology. García Martínez finds the textual basis for a split-off in the 'ideological development' from parent to daughter in two documents, namely 4QMMT and 11QTemple. However, the reconstruction of 4QMMT depends heavily on 11QTemple, and both documents have their own problems regarding date, genre and social location.[35] More generally, the criteria by which García Martínez distinguishes between 'formative' writings and '*yahadic*' writings are not always clear, especially in light of the fact that many texts demonstrate redaction and diachronic development and/or are present in various copies, often with textual variants.[36]

It is therefore not surprising that recent scholarship has moved towards more complex theories of assembly. Even though the Groningen Hypothesis has long been helpful as a theoretical framework to further investigate key issues in Qumran Studies, with the steady publication of the Scrolls this hypothesis' basic presuppositions can no longer be maintained.

1.1.3. The Multi-Community (Essene) Hypothesis

Due to the vast publication of the Scrolls since 1991, scholars have developed new theories regarding the identity of the group(s) reflected in the Qumran texts. Recently, Eyal Regev proposed the notion of a larger, more complex movement behind the S and D traditions. Regev suggested an organisational structure, in which

[34] Florentino García Martínez (and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar ed.), *Qumranica Minora I* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) 12-14.
[35] In chapters 2 and 3 I will elaborate on this topic.
[36] Similar methodological remarks are made by Charlotte Hempel, 'The Groningen Hypothesis: Strengths and Weaknesses' in Gabriele Boccaccini ed. *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005) 249-255; also, Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad,* 38-40.

small local groups together form a larger organisation.[37] He distinguishes between the communities of the *yahad* as they occur in the S tradition, which he considers to be "an organisation of autonomous, democratic communities with no definite leader" and the D communities, who lived in camps and were ruled by authoritative leaders.[38] In his analysis, he considers D to be more hierarchical and complex, which leads him to conclude that D has a later origin than S. His conclusion reflects a more radical stance: "D was not a direct continuation or adaptation of S, but an entirely different movement, which adopted certain precepts and concepts from S and revised them extensively".[39] Hence, according to Regev, the *yahad* was a collective of small, local communities, loosely organised by one central governing power, the Many (*haRabbim*).

Also John J. Collins has argued that the Qumran texts give evidence for "multiple small assemblies within a larger umbrella organization".[40] In his understanding of the Damascus Document (D), the Community Rule (1QS, 4QS^{b,d}) and the Rule of the Congregation (1QS^{a}) he reaches the following conclusions:

> The Damascus Document provides for "camps" whose members marry and have children, but also for "men of perfect holiness", with whom these are in contrast. The Community Rule describes a yahad, which is not a single settlement but an "umbrella union" [.....] But the Community Rule also describes an elite group, set apart within the yahad, which goes into the wilderness to prepare the way of the Lord. [....] Finally, the Rule of the Congregation looks to a time in which "all Israel" will follow the regulations of the sect, but still assigns special authority and status to the "council of the community" in the future age."[41]

Hence, Collins, based on his understanding of the relationship between CD/DD and 1QS (plus 1QSb), argues against the "split-off" theory held by the 'Groningen Hypothesis'. Instead, he provides a framework of diversification that attempts to address the issue of textual diversities. His notion of the existence of "two

[37] Eyal Regev, 'The Yahad and the Damascus Document: Structure, Organization and Relationship', *RevQ* 21/82 (2003) 233-262; Also *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (De Gruyter: Berlin, 2007).
[38] Cf. Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad,* 43.
[39] Regev, 'The 'Yahad' and the 'Damascus Document', 262.
[40] Collins, 'Forms of Community', 97-112.
[41] Collins, 'Forms of Community', 112.

orders of Essenes who represented different options within the sect, not dissenting factions" as reflected in the S and D traditions has been met with scepticism.[42] One of the most ardent opponents of Collins' proposal is Sarianna Metso. Even though Metso agrees with Collins that the S and D traditions are harmonised through redaction and bear witness to both a large, complex and a small, more primitive organisation, she firmly stands against Collins' use of 1QS 6:1-8 as a decisive heuristic tool to build his case. Metso argues that this passage, which envisions small, geographically dispersed communities (cp. 1QS 6.2 'all their residences' and 1QS 6.3 'every place where there are ten men [of/from] the community council'), is in fact an interpolation to guide travelling members of the community.[43] Alison Schofield agrees with Metso that Collins "glosses over some of the complexities in the relationship between D and S" by stating that these documents merely represent different forms of community, i.e. two different Essene orders. However, she does not concur with Metso's objections with regard to 1QS 6:1-8, as she holds that even if these lines were an interpolation, it must be an early one as the lines occur in every manuscript. She therefore thinks that these lines might represent the redactor's meaningful and deliberate strategy to make the text reflect the contemporary *yahad* community structure.[44]

Schofield's own textual research on S led her to argue that the S tradition reflects a 'radial-dialogic' model of semi-independent development. According to this anthropological model of the development of traditions, the various S documents reflect sociologically a multitude of decentralised communities, whose rules and regulations rippled out from their ideological centre. Subsequently, the S documents developed in dialogue with or over against the ideology of the central body of the Jewish Other (i.e. the Jerusalem Temple), yet semi-independently from their own ideological centre in order to meet local circumstances. In her proposal for a 'radial-dialogic' model, Schofield attempts to move away sociologically and historically from the previous models of chronological development, such as the Groningen Hypothesis, without neglecting diachronic developments within the S and D traditions, which she interprets socio-geographically.

[42] Collins, 'Forms of Community', 110.
[43] S. Metso, 'Whom does the Term Yahad Identify?' in Paul et al. eds, *Emanuel,* 213-236.
[44] Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 45.

In contradistinction to the satellite proposals of Regev, Collins, Metso and Schofield, Charlotte Hempel has argued that "some of the primitive and small-scale communal scenarios […..] reflect the life of the forebears of the *yahad*".[45] Hempel argues against an umbrella framework or a central organisation. Rather, she reconstructs the D and S traditions chronologically, identifying these texts' multi-layeredness and diachronic development. Instead of the existence of a framework or central organisation to all small-scale "communal scenarios", Hempel proposes to investigate these forms of community in their own right as the forebears of the later *yahad*, who do not (yet) seem to have separated themselves from others. In what Hempel considers later textual material, she identifies an emerging community that is more focused on cultic and priestly ideology, but which nonetheless only holds a moderate dissident perspective.

A common denominator for all these theories is their rejection of previous scholarship's idea of the *yahad*'s singular separation, which is equally challenged by recent archaeological evidence. Recent archaeological studies that focus on the Qumran site have discovered same-type pottery between Qumran and the Hasmonean and Herodian palaces in Jericho.[46] Other archaeological studies have suggested an agricultural, secular function of Qumran.[47] For instance, Yizhar Hirschfeld has argued that Qumran, after being abandoned as a Hasmonean fortress, functioned as a regional agricultural trading estate.[48] Also Yitzhak Magen and Yuval Peleg have recently suggested that Qumran firstly functioned as a Hasmonean military outpost, after which it was thought to function as a pottery-producing site.[49] These archaeological studies provide evidence that Qumran was "an integral part of the regional

[45] Charlotte Hempel, 'Emerging Communal Life in the S Tradition', in Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popović eds., *Defining Identities: We, You and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IOQS in Groningen* STDJ 70 (Leiden: Brill, 2008) 43-61. More recently, Hempel repeated her position as she acknowledges a certain closeness in interpretation with Metso, as she calls her diachronic approach 'temporal' or 'fossil', while addressing to Collins's and Schofield approaches as 'spatially spread-out'. Cf. Charlotte Hempel, '1QS 6:2c-4a – Satellites or Precursors of the Yahad?' in Roitman, Schiffman and Tzoref, *Contemporary Culture,* 31-40.

[46] Katherina Galor, Jean Baptiste Humbert and Jürgen Zangenberg eds., *Qumran, The Site Of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates*, STDJ 57 (Leiden: Brill, 2006); esp. Rachel Bar-Nathan, 'Qumran and the Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces of Jericho: The Implication of the Pottery Finds on the Interpretation of the Settlement at Qumran', 263-277.

[47] Pauline Donceel-Voûte, '"Coenaculum". La sale a l'étage du locus 30 a Khirbet Qumrân sur la mer morte', *Res Orientales* 4 (1993) 61-84;

[48] Yitzhar Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context: Reassesing the Archaeological Evidence* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004).

[49] Yitzhak Magen and Yuval Peleg, *The Qumran Excavations, 1993-2004: Preliminary Report* (Jerusalem: Israeli Antiquities Authority, 2007).

economy".[50] With emerging evidence demanding the need to re-examine hypotheses and assumptions, Jürgen Zangenberg's statement is no doubt true, that "the more archaeological material becomes available, the less unique and isolated Qumran becomes".[51]

1.1.4. A Dissonant Opinion: The Sadducee Hypothesis

From the beginning, one scholar has rejected the straightforward identification of the 'sectarian' Qumran Community with the Essenes. Early on, Lawrence Schiffman correctly noted a tendency of "reverse methodology", i.e. Qumran scholars searched for halakhic evidence to make the Josephan Essene identification, already with "preconceived views on the nature of the sect" in mind.[52] Over the last decades, Schiffman has consistently proposed that the *yahad* was closely related to the Sadducees. On the basis of 4QMMT, which he holds to be a final attempt to convince a 'false Jerusalemite high priesthood', he argues that these (successors of a group of) Sadducees were unable to accept the replacement of the Zadokite priesthood with the Hasmonean dynasty; hence the self-identification 'Sons of Zadok '(in D and S).[53] Schiffman draws his conclusion more specifically from the occurrence of certain *halakhot* in the 'sectarian' documents, which demonstrate great resemblance to Sadducean *halakhot* known from the later Rabbinic Literature. He primarily uses the *Temple Scroll* (11QT) and the *Halakhic Letter* (4QMMT) to build evidence for his case. He explains the dissimilarities by postulating that the Qumran *yahad* diverged from a broader Sadducean group at a later stage in time. Schiffman also thinks that the D tradition "deals with satellite communities, while the *Rule* [*of the Community*] deals with the main center".[54]

[50] Cf. Jean Baptiste Humbert, 'Interpreting the Qumran Site', *NEA* 63 (2000) 140-143; 'Some remarks on the Archaeology of Qumran' in Galor, Humbert and Zangerberg eds. *Qumran, The Site*, 19-39.
[51] Galor, Humbert and Zangenberg, *Qumran, The Site,* 9.
[52] Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran,* 2.
[53] Cf. Philip Davies, who argues against this self-identification, in 'Sects from Texts: On the Problems of Doing Sociology of the Qumran Literature' in Jonathan Campbell, William John Lyons & Lloyd Pietersen eds., *New Directions in Qumran Studies, Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8-10 September 2003*, LSTS 52 (London: T&T Clark International, 2005) 69-82, 79.
[54] Lawrence Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their True Meaning for Judaism and Christianity* (New York: Doubleday, 1995) 274.

Schiffman's theory has found limited support amongst Qumran scholars.[55] Many have brought forward the argument that discussions and disputes about the interpretation of Jewish Law were at the core of Second Temple Judaism.[56] Also, the 'Sadducean positions' in the highly reconstructed legal section B of 4QMMT are few, and according to some not nearly enough to sustain a straightforward Sadducean identification. Moreover, like García Martínez's Groningen Hypothesis, Schiffman's case leans heavily on 11QT and 4QMMT, both of which are unclear in relation to a possible *yahadic* or even a pre-*yahadic* origin.

These four hypotheses were attempts to explain the social world behind the Qumran documents. Socio-historical reconstructions commenced with the Essene Hypothesis, and many other theories have sprung from its basic foundations. Textually, scholars have tried to theorise about the provenance of these manuscripts found in the caves. In the following section, the idea of a 'sectarian library' is discussed.

1.2. A 'Sectarian Library'?

In studying the *yahad*, we mostly rely on information we derive from the 900 manuscripts found in the Qumran caves. The Qumran Paradigm strongly rests upon the way scholars have assessed the function, meaning and coherence of these manuscripts. To arrive at a comprehensive picture of a community on the basis of texts is not only a tricky business laden with a degree of arbitrary decisions, but also demands some sort of categorisation of texts. The notion of a coherent, meaningful and representative collection, which is often referred to as 'the Qumran library' is a cornerstone in the theories of the existence of a Qumran Community.

The first to speak of a 'Qumran Library' were two influential scholars of the first hour: Jóseph T. Milik and Frank Moore Cross.[57] Hence, from the very beginning of

[55] Some scholars have argued for a comparable halakhic approach between Qumran texts (predominantly 4QMMT) and Sadducean legal positions; cf. Jacob Sussman, 'The History of *Halakhah* and the Dead Sea Scrolls – Preliminary Observation on *Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah* (4QMMT), *Tarbiz* 59 (1990) 11-76; Aharon Shemesh, *Halakhah in the Making* (Berkeley: California University Press, 2009) 17-18; Aharon Shemesh and Werman, Cana, 'Halakhah at Qumran: Genre and Authority', in *DSD* 10 (2003) 104-129.
[56] Cf. James VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994) 93-95.
[57] Cf. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (London: SCM Press, 1959) and Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*.

Qumran scholarship, the notion of a 'library' has brought about connotations of a meaningful interrelatedness of the texts found in the caves, which subsequently allow for a 'sectarian' community as their writers, owners, preservers and redactors. Accordingly, in a series of articles, Devorah Dimant has strongly advocated for the coherence of the 'Qumran collection', which according to her, reflects uniqueness "in its size and literary character".[58] Dimant concludes that the Qumran manuscripts form a representative and meaningful collection. Moreover, she seems convinced that the manuscripts known today represent the whole of the manuscripts that once were hidden in the caves, and she considers the 'collection' an intentional, well chosen and uniform 'sectarian' library.[59]

With the connection to the site, *and* the notion of a meaningful coherent library of a particular community presupposed, the Qumran 'collection' needed an inventory with regard to contents. Until recently, the commonplace categorisation of the manuscripts and fragments from the caves took place according to neat oppositional categories: 'biblical' and 'non-biblical', 'sectarian' and 'non-sectarian'. The exact criteria on the basis of which texts were categorised have been object of many debates, the most influential of which will be discussed here.

The first to label certain texts 'sectarian' were André Dupont-Sommer[60] and Géza Vermes.[61] Their early categorisation was uncomplicated: all non-biblical documents found in the Qumran Caves were considered to be 'sectarian'. In 1983, Hartmut Stegemann first outlined criteria to evaluate 'specific Qumran texts' to be 'sectarian'. He only considered a small number of texts to be 'sectarian', namely, those texts that reflected the recognisable authoritativeness of the Teacher of

[58] Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance', 23-57: Devorah Dimant, 'Between Sectarian and Non-Sectarian: The case of the *Apocryphon of Joshua*' in Esther G. Chazon, Devorah Dimant & Ruth A. Clements eds., *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal Texts at Qumran*, STDJ 58 (Leiden: Brill, 2005) 105-134; Devorah Dimant, 'Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts from Qumran: The Pertinence and Usage of a Taxonomy', *RevQ* 24/93 (2009) 7-18; Devorah Dimant, 'The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community', in Anton Hilhorst, Émile Puech and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar eds., *Flores Florentino, Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) 197-207; also, Devorah Dimant, 'Between Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts: The Case of Belial and Mastema' in Roitman, Schiffman and Tzoref, *Contemporary Culture,* 235-256.

[59] Dimant does not seem to give any weight to the fact that over two millennia, texts and other archaeological evidence must have got lost forever, and hence it is difficult to prove that the current assembly of texts is representative of what once was there.

[60] André Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1973).

[61] Géza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (Cleveland: Collins/World, 1977).

Righteousness, which elaborated upon the rules of the Qumran community, or which used distinct terminology tying them to such texts.[62]

In 1995, Devorah Dimant proposed to establish a 'systematic classification' of all Qumran scrolls according to their sectarian or non-sectarian character as well as their content.[63] She first proposed three main categories: (1) Biblical Works, (2) Works containing Community Terminology (CT) and (3) Works Not Containing Community Terminology (NCT).[64] Such classification requires determining criteria for 'Community Terminology'. Dimant recognises four main criteria to signify the CT texts: "(1) The practices and organisation of a particular community, (2) the history of this community and its contemporary circumstances, (3) the theological and metaphysical outlook of that community, and (4) the peculiar biblical exegesis espoused by that community".[65]

The distinction between 'sectarian' and 'non-sectarian' texts has driven scholars to identify 'sectarian features'. Like Dimant, Armin Lange focuses on 'sectarian terminology' to evaluate a text as 'sectarian'. Following the example of Hartmut Stegemann, he sets criteria based on certain features in the text:[66] The absence of the Tetragrammaton (except for quotations from scripture), a specific ideology, a 364-day calendar, strict *halakha* and Torah-observance, cosmic-ethic dualism and eschatology, a critical attitude towards the priestly order in Jerusalem, specificity of genre (i.e. *pesharim*) and finally, distinct terminology. However, Charlotte Hempel has argued that only two of these criteria unambiguously distinguish a text as 'sectarian':[67] Specific terminology (Teacher of Righteousness, Wicked Priest, Man of Lies) *and* literary genres unique to Qumran, and therefore presumably of Qumranic authorship (*pesharim*).

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[62] Cf. Hartmut Stegemann, 'Die Bedeutung der Qumranfinde für die Erforschung der Apokalyptik' in D. Hellholm ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1983) 495-530.
[63] Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 23-58.
[64] Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 26-30.
[65] Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 27-28.
[66] Armin Lange, 'Kriterien essenischer Texte', in Jörg Frey and Hartmut Stegemann eds., *Qumran Kontrovers, Beiträge zu den Textfunden vom Toten Meer* (Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2003) 59-69. Under the influence of the discovery of a large number of so-called 'para-biblical' or 'rewritten Bible' texts, Lange advances a categorisation tool for this body of texts, still on the basis of the foundational distinction between sectarian and non-sectarian texts: cf. Armin Lange, 'From Paratext to Commentary' in Roitman, Schiffman and Tzoref, *Contemporary Culture*, 195-216.
[67] Charlotte Hempel, 'Kriterien zur Bestimmung "essenischer Verfasserschaft" von Qumrantexten' in Frey and Stegemann eds., *Qumran Kontrovers*, 71-85.

Under the influence of the steady publication of the Scrolls, and heavily informed by the desire to explain the origins of a 'Qumran Community', several additional propositions to further differentiate between the different 'non-biblical' manuscripts of the Qumran library were made:

Florentino García Martínez proposed a fourfold classification of non-biblical texts in accordance with his so-called Groningen Hypothesis: 1. Sectarian works, 2. Works of the formative period, 3. Works reflecting Essene thought 4. Works belonging to the apocalyptic tradition, which gave rise to Essenism.[68] Moreover, García Martínez already problematises his own proposition, as he recognises different layers within certain texts. He explains this by proposing a certain 'sectarian' development, raising the idea that the 'Qumran Community' elaborated upon, adapted and 'modernised' texts so as to fit their specific ideology. Another proposal is addressed by Torleif Elgvin, who attempts to honour Emanuel Tov's argument for the existence of a specific Qumran scribal school,[69] and has the following classification: (1) Works copied according to the Qumran scribal system, (2) Works copied for the *yahad*, (3) Works composed by the 'parents' of the *yahad*. i.e. 'Essenes', 'pre-sectarians', 'Enochians' or 'Apocalyptics', and (4) Works of a wider Jewish setting (Non Essene).[70] Gabriele Boccaccini identifies an emerging 'taxonomic consensus' on the classification of three distinct groups of texts: (1) Texts distinct by ideology and style, produced by a single community (sectarian), (2) Texts with only some sectarian features, belonging to either a parent movement or brother/sister movement and (3) Texts where sectarian elements are marginal or completely absent, including 'biblical' texts.[71]

Finally, Dimant calls for a further refinement of her earlier classification, as she realises that some Qumran texts lack "sectarian characteristic nomenclature and

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[68] Florentino García Martínez, 'Qumran Origins and Early History' in García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I,* 3-29.

[69] Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert,* STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004) Tov's proposal that the Qumran manuscripts reflect a specific scribal culture, which ties the Qumran caves together, has influenced the theories of various scholars that claim the 'representativeness of the Qumran collection' as a library. However, Tov's proposal seems to ignore some considerations in the material culture evidence from Qumran that call into question straightforward links between the caves.

[70] Torleif Elgvin, 'The *Yahad* is more than Qumran' in Boccaccini ed., *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 273-279.

[71] Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis,* 57-58.

style but embrace notions shared with the sectarian ideology".[72] Dimant argues that those texts, which lack specific 'sectarian' terminology or style, cannot be simply classified as 'sectarian' or 'non-sectarian'. Hence, Dimant proposes to assign such writings to an intermediate 'in-between' category, i.e. a category in between what she considers to be "sectarian literature proper" and "writings devoid of any connection to the community".[73] According to Dimant, candidates for such an 'in-between' - 'sectarian' and 'non-sectarian' category are texts like the *Temple Scroll* and the *Book of Jubilees*. In general, Dimant recognises Qumranic works that 'rework' the bible -in itself an anachronistic term- as belonging to this 'in between category'.

Scholars like Florentino García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar have lately challenged the categorisation into 'sectarian' and 'non-sectarian' (and also Dimant's 'in-between') texts.[74] After his initial 'Groningen Hypothesis' classification, in which he proposed a fourfold distinction among the Qumran literature,[75] García Martínez now proposes "de abandonar los esfuerzos de clasificación anacrónicos de los manuscritos de la colección qumránica como textos 'bíblicos o no bíblicos' y 'sectarios o no sectarios', y [] de considerar el conjunto de la colección como un conglomerado de textos religiosos más o menos autoritativos para el grupo que los recogió, los conservó y, en determinados casos, los compuso".[76] In his proposal to abandon the 'sectarian/ non-sectarian' dichotomy, García Martínez critically evaluates all earlier attempts to classify the Qumran literature. He convincingly demonstrates that Dimant's classifications are too simplified to do justice to the complexity of Qumran.[77] According to García Martínez, the abandonment of classifications in terms of 'sectarian' or 'non-sectarian' would help us to appreciate how a specific group within its original historical setting in Second Temple times handled religious texts and managed their own unique collection of manuscripts. However, in this new

[72] Dimant, '*Apocryphon of Joshua*', 106.
[73] Dimant, '*Apocryphon of Joshua*', 106.
[74] Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, 'The Dead Sea Scrolls' in John J. Collins and Daniel Harlow eds., *Dictionary of Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010) 163-180; Cf. Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, 'Classifications of the Collection of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Case of *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C*' in *JSJ* 43 (2012) 519-550.Florentino García Martínez, 'Sectario, No-Sectario, O Qué? Problemas de una taxonomía correcta de los textos qumránicos', *RevQ* 23/91 (2008), 383-394.
[75] Cf. García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 9.
[76] García Martínez, 'Sectario, No-Sectario, O Qué?, 393.
[77] For instance in the case of *Aramaic Levi Document*, the Qumran text demonstrates differences from the documents found in the Cairo Genizah. Hence, classification of such a document as sectarian/non-sectarian would be difficult.

proposal the idea of a 'Qumranic sectarian library', a meaningful collection, which can be tied to one community or group is maintained.

1.3. Moving the Foundation Stone: Sectarianism as a Second Temple Phenomenon?

More fundamentally, the concept of sectarianism is commonly used to describe the fragmentation within Jewish society in the Second Temple Period. The use of the term 'sect', which originated in (Christian) Western sociology, was enhanced by translations of Josephus' description of group divisions, which he Hellenistically called 'philosophies' or '*haereseis*'. Consequently, various groups with diverse legalistic and socio-religious ideas were scaled on the basis of their perceived tension with a 'common Judaism' and - to a lesser or larger extent - classified as 'sects'. Also within the field of Qumran Studies, the terms 'sect' and 'sectarianism' are frequently employed. The existence of sociological 'sects' within the Second Temple Period and, more specifically, the 'sectarian' character of the 'Qumran Community' are more or less presupposed. However, in the employment of these terms, their actual meaning is by no means clear. For instance, Schiffman defines a sect as "a religious ideology that may develop the characteristics of a political party in order to defend its way of life".[78] Baumgarten, however, defines sect as "a voluntary association of protest, which utilizes boundary making mechanisms – the social means of differentiating between insiders and outsiders – to distinguish between its own members and those otherwise normally regarded as belonging to the same national or religious entity".[79] Schofield, who clearly acknowledges the complexity of Second Temple society, as she holds a characteristic tenet of 'sects' that they are simultaneously part of and antagonistic to a larger religious community, reaches the following definition: "A sect is a group which identifies with and simultaneously sets up ideological boundary markers against a larger religious body".[80] Joseph Blenkinsopp attempts to assign certain characteristics to the notion of 'sect': "the well-knows sects […] including the Qumran *yahad* […] deviated from

[78] Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 72-73.
[79] Albert Baumgarten*, The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era*, SJTS 55 (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 7.
[80] Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad,* 28.

generally accepted social norms, some of them shared common space, and all of them obeyed a charismatic leader." However, on the basis of sociological notions of sectarianism, he argues that 'being set apart'-ness is the most decisive aspect in identifying a 'sect'.[81] Davies defines a 'sect' as "a social group of like-minded persons that lies within a larger social entity but which, as opposed to a party, does not understand itself as belonging within that larger group, but outside it. Its boundaries exclude members of the larger group and there is no overlap".[82] Davies points out that there are different ways of defining a sect: ideologically, historically and sociologically.[83] The commonality in all these definitions is their sensitivity to the sect's tension with the outside world. However, the various definitions differ rather extensively with regard to the degree of tension, separation and isolation.

Jokiranta has recognised the variety of terminology and criticised the indiscriminate use of the terms 'sect' and 'sectarianism' for different designations in different contexts.[84] Hence, while some scholars consciously choose elaborate definitions – containing all sorts of inherent problems – others have used the term 'sect' casually, presupposing that any reader will implicitly understand what is meant by the employment of the term.[85] Broadening definitions, in which the term 'sect' can easily equal the terms 'group', 'movement' or 'fraction', run the risk of losing their explanatory power altogether, as they complicate the identification and quality of a specific group phenomenon, such as a 'Qumran Community'. Stricter definitions, which contain the sense of 'being set apart'-ness from wider society are equally problematic: First of all, because of their often pejorative connotations (stemming from its Christian roots) and secondly, because they implicitly presuppose a unified

[81] Joseph Blenkinsopp, 'The Qumran Sect in the Context of Second Temple Sectarianism' in Campbell, Lyons & Pietersen eds., *New Directions in Qumran Studies* 10-25, 11.
[82] Davies, 'Sects from Texts', 70. Davies' definition is heavily influenced by Bryan Wilson's work on sects, e.g. B. Wilson, *Religious Sects* (London: World University Library, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1970).
[83] Davies, 'Sects from Texts', 71.
[84] "Thus, for the same groups, one may call them 'parties' or 'factions', the other separates between 'reform movements' and sects', and a third may speak of 'reformist sects' and 'introversionist sects' [….] and we can only guess how readers of Qumran Studies in different countries and cultures understand the term."; Jokiranta, 'Sociological Notes', 224.
[85] This tendency started even before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, when the Damascus Document was discovered in the Cairo Genizah. Cf. Solomon Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries: Vol I: Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge: University Press, 1910); Cf. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect*.

socio-religious outside world, i.e. a 'church'.[86] Hence, by ascribing terms like 'sect' and 'sectarianism' to the social phenomenon of group formation or societal fragmentation, one also opens the door to all sorts of confusion with regard to the diverse semantic fields of these terms.

Partly, this confusion is fuelled by the development of the sociological field of the study of sectarianism itself. Within the sociological field, critique has been uttered about various aspects of the usage of models of 'sect' and 'sectarianism': Models are supposed to be anachronistic and ethnocentric, i.e. they were designed with specific cultural, socio-economic and historical settings in mind. Also, models reflect a specific philosophical history, which limits their compatibility and commensurability in cross-cultural analyses. Furthermore, it is often stated that models are oversimplifications that tend to block out dissonant data.[87] Pieter Craffert argues that "once within the framework of a particular model, it is difficult, if not impossible, to consider viewpoints which do not belong to that framework".[88] Therefore, what he calls a model's 'goodness of fit' is difficult to establish. Even though there might be a 'fit' between the model and the empirical data, in itself this "is not necessarily a confirmation that it is either a good model or an appropriate model for that set [of data]".[89]

Moreover, typologies and models of 'sect' and 'sectarianism' depend heavily upon antagonistic dependencies, and as such on the oppositional concept of 'The Outside World', i.e. a sect's social environment. In describing the Qumran texts as a coherent 'sectarian' library and the Qumranites as 'sectarians', the notion of sectarianism not only drives the perception, classification and interpretation of its contents, but it also presupposes a social context that reflects a diversified or

[86] The first notion of the term 'sect' can be found in the work of sociologist Max Weber. Weber's thoughts on sects can be found throughout his work, but he is nowhere specific. His most important contribution might be *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1925). Weber's student, Ernst Troeltsch, the German sociologist and theologian, placed the terms church and sect in a dichotomous relationship and created an ideal-type of church and an ideal-type of sect, identifiable through oppositional characteristics. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (New York: McMillan, 1931).

[87] Cf. Pieter Craffert, 'An Exercise in the Critical Use of Models: The "Goodness of Fit" of Wilson's sect model' in Pilch ed., *Social Scientific Models for Interpreting the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) 21-46, 23: cf. further Steven Barton, 'Early Christianity and the Sociology of the Sect' in Watson ed., *The Open Text: New Directions for Biblical Studies?* (London: SMC Press, 1993) 144.

[88] Craffert, 'An Exercise', 23.

[89] Craffert, 'An Exercise', 23.

contrasting 'common Judaism'. Even if one wants to cling on to the idea of a sectarian 'Qumran Community' and its 'library', research on group formation has shown that even though socio-religious groups in tension tend to perceive the outside world ideologically as a monolithic stronghold of evil, the socio-historical reality is that these groups develop "as intensified versions of a shared mainstream culture and not as alien movements imported into it".[90] Moreover, in environments where 'sects' are dominant, a binary typological structure seems to lose much of its analytical power and explanatory strength with regard to the cultural complexity of society as a whole.[91]

Thus having evaluated the socio-historical theories of the 'Qumran Community's history, the classification theories with regard to its 'library' and its underlying 'ideological' framework of 'sectarianism', we need to address what we know of the historical world within which Qumran functioned. This historical world, or at least what we can reconstruct of it, will be discussed in broad strokes in the next section.

1.4. Judea and Judaism in Second Temple Times: Power, Privilege and Fragmentation

In order to understand the Qumran situation and its place within the larger contemporary society, we need to obtain information about its larger socio-religious and political context. As we now know – with the help of advanced techniques of Carbon 14 testing, AMS testing, paleography, archaeology and the historical allusions in the Scrolls[92] - all Qumran documents, with the exception of the Copper Scroll from Cave 3, can be dated between the late 3rd/early 2nd century BCE and the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE. Hence, if we can take these dates as a point of departure, we would have to focus on Judaism in the Hellenistic, Maccabean and Roman periods. However, we might also want to consider the historical background against which Jewish groups came into existence. Philip Davies, who considers

[90] Maxine Grossman, 'Cultivating Identity: Textual Virtuosity and 'Insider' Status', in García Martínez and Popović eds., *Defining Identities,* 1-11; Cf. Frederik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 1969).
[91] Cf. Jokiranta, 'Sociological Notes', 31; Barton, 'Early Christianity and the Sociology of the Sect',158; Craffert, 'An Exercise', 24.
[92] For a general overview of these methods, see for instance James VanderKam and Peter Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: HarperCollins, 2004) 3-55.

Judaism multiform in nature, has argued that Jewish group formation has its roots in exilic times and became manifest in the early Persian Period.[93] Similarly, Lester Grabbe holds: "Sects and movements have a long history in Judaic religion, perhaps going back to pre-exilic times but most likely being present already in the Persian period".[94] Even though Grabbe admits that such a pre-exilic origin of sectarianism is hard to prove, Blenkinsopp argues that biblical records of the time of the kingdoms contain evidence for group formation within Ancient Israel.[95] Here, he finds evidence for the 'existence of distinctive subgroups' in the models of charismatic leadership as provided in the description of Elijah and Elisha.[96] With respect to a Persian origin, Blenkinsopp – like Davies – provides more certainty, by pointing to the insider/outsider terminology in Ezra-Nehemiah. Hence, a brief overview of Qumran's socio-religious and political context needs to reckon with pre-existing influences from -at least- the Persian Period (538-332 BCE).

Richard Horsley has researched the origins of the Judean Temple-State under Persian Rule.[97] He finds that the Persian imperial politics of the rebuilding of the Temple and re-instating the high priesthood was decisive in the foundations of the political-religious struggles that eventually led to the coming into being of multiple Jewish sects. He names basically four conflicts that contributed to the rise of Jewish sectarianism:

1. The division between those who remained in the land after the Babylonian conquest and those who returned from Exile, encouraged and reinstated by the Persian ruler;
2. The division between the peasantry and the Jerusalemite aristocracy, who were centred around the high priesthood;
3. Conflicts between various priestly fractions; and
4. Power struggles between local magnates and between local magnates and the Persian ruler.[98]

[93] Philip Davies, 'Sect Formation in Early Judaism' in David Chalcraft ed., *Sectarianism in Early Judaism: Sociological Advances* (London: Equinox Publishing, 2007) 133-155, 143-144.
[94] Lester Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000) 207.
[95] Blenkinsopp, 'The Qumran Sect in the Context of Second Temple Sectarianism', 10-25.
[96] Blenkinsopp, 'The Qumran Sect in the Context of Second Temple Sectarianism', 10-11.
[97] Richard Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries and the Politics of Second Temple Judea* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007).
[98] Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries,* 22-31; Horsley clearly follows Lenski's theory of agrarian society. Cf. Gerhard Lenski, *Power and Privilege. A Theory of Social Stratification* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966) 190-296.

Horsley concludes that, even though the high priesthood might have perceived itself as the functional rulers of the Judean Temple State, in effect they represented a "political-economic as well as a religious institution that served as the instrument of imperial rule in Judea".[99]

Grabbe is very critical of historical reconstructions concerning the Persian Era, simply because the sources are not always reliable, sometimes skimpy and problematic and during certain centuries almost non-existent (esp. 465-404 BCE).[100] He does however acknowledge that the Persian Era has sown the seeds of a decisive religious outlook (including angelology, demonology, eschatology) and has brought about an early formation of what later would become a Jewish canon of scripture.

The Hellenistic Period (332-63 BCE) provides much more information and a much clearer view of the rise of Jewish factions. After Alexander the Great's death in 323 BCE, rivalries between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic empires left Judea in a constant state of war and chaos. Judea was mainly exploited for taxes and Hellenistic influences were considerable. Greek language was widespread and some of the Jerusalemite aristocracy seemed to have evaluated this Hellenisation of Jewish culture favourably.[101] However, the reign of the Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 BCE) and his Hellenising programme initially split the nation into two opposing parties: (1) the Hellenists amongst whom were many from the educated and aristocratic classes and (2) the Devout/Hasidim, who were considered to represent the traditional views of the scribes. It was only Antiochus' attempt to abolish Jewish religion altogether that turned not only the small group of the Hasidim, but also the majority of the people against Hellenisation and ultimately into the Maccabean revolt.

In his study of Jewish society in the Second Temple period, Baumgarten positions the emergence of Jewish sectarianism in these Maccabean times and he basically identifies five 'decisive factors' responsible for the flourishing of 'sects': (1) the encounter with Hellenism, (2) the rising of literacy levels, (3) urbanisation and the loss of 'reference', (4) the inherent eschatological tension within Judaism and its search for redemption and finally, (5) priestly reform resulting in a renewed emphasis

[99] Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries,* 32.
[100] Lester Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period, v.1 Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah*, LSTS 47 (London: T&T Clark International, 2004).
[101] Cf. Emile Schürer, revised & edited by Vermes, Millar & Black, *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, vol 1. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark LTD, 1973).

on the 'correct' observance of the Law.[102] Baumgarten evaluates sectarianism as a relatively minor phenomenon – sects supposedly made up for 6% of the total population. Accordingly, he claims that society's low literacy levels demonstrate that sects were elitist.[103] Moreover, he does not associate these 'sects' with high boundaries, as he asserts a certain openness: people were able to 'check out' several sectarian groups before making a choice for one of them.[104] Finally, Baumgarten postulates that sects were not very different but artificially 'blew up' their legalistic differences in order to attract potential members.[105] In a recent article, Philip Davies – somewhat in line with Baumgarten – has argued that the reasons for sectarianism lay in politics, disguised and legitimized by (religious) ideology.[106] This is certainly true for the Maccabean position: While Mattathias and Judas Maccabeus initially fought for the preservation of Jewish religion against the Hellenising programme of Antiochus IV, Judas's quest changed after Antiochus V Eupator had guaranteed the rights of the Jews in 162 BCE.[107] Now, politics and internal struggles for power between the high priesthood and the political leader(s) became more pronounced, as did the wish to expand the land. Rulers and High Priests sought for alliances with foreign powers to secure their positions over against one another.[108] In 143/2 BCE Simon managed to achieve Jewish freedom in return for his loyalty to the Syrian king Demetrius. At this time the Jews started their own chronology: "Documents and treatises were dated according to the years of Simon, High Priest and Prince of the

[102] Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects,* 7; Grabbe considers Baumgarten's 'decisive factors' for the rise of sectarianism merely hypothetical.
[103] Baumgarten's estimates depend heavily on Josephus and Philo, and are to be addressed with caution. Moreover, there seems to be some tension within Baumgarten's reasoning, as he on the one hand presumes the rise of literacy levels to cause sectarianism, while on the other hand he presumes that low literacy levels cause sectarian groups to be relatively small and elitist.
[104] This observation is based on Josephus, who reports in his *Vita* that he "learned all there was to learn from all schools and sources"; cf. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects,* 52. Baumgarten emphasizes a sect's 'voluntary' character and downplays one of the main characteristics of a sect, i.e. the existence of high social boundaries between insiders and outsiders. However, an example of the existence of such social boundaries can be found in the *Rule of the Community*'s entrance requirements. Cf. Matthias Klinghardt, 'The Manual of Discipline in the Light of Statutes of Hellenistic Associations' in Michael E. Wise et al. eds., *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site. Present Realities and Future Prospects* (New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994) 251-270.
[105] According to Baumgarten legal authority and the explanation of the Law were not decisive factors for sectarianism, neither were calendar and legal practice. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects,* 79-80.
[106] Philip Davies, 'Sect Formation in Early Judaism', 136.
[107] Cf. Schürer et al., *History of the Jewish People*, 125-242.
[108] Cf. Schürer et al. *History of the Jewish People*, 175-188.

Jews". [109] But Simon wanted more and on 18 Elul 140 BCE a popular decree was ordered: Simon should be high priest, military commander and ethnarch of the Jews and he should be 'their leader and high priest forever until a trustworthy prophet should arise' (1 Macc 14:41).[110] Hence, the formerly hereditary post of High Priest was transformed into "a high-priestly and princely dynasty, that of the Hasmoneans".[111]

Lenski has researched agrarian societies and their way of dealing with power and privilege.[112] Especially the reign of the Hasmoneans demonstrates a high degree of congruency with Lenski's findings. Not only do agrarian societies tend to be conquest states,[113] but they also tend to turn to internal struggles if struggles with foreign enemies - mainly over the possession of the land - are lacking. Internally conflicts can persist between (1) the ruler and the governing classes, (2) governing classes amongst themselves, (3) the governing classes and the retainer class, (4) the retainer class and the peasant class.[114] Horsley finds that imperial struggles between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids already gave rise to Judean power struggles between aristocratic groups. And after the foundation of the independent Hasmonean State, these internal tensions between social groups within Jewish society became even more evident. Now, an even closer link between religion and politics was established, since for a period, the High Priest and the political leader were one and the same person. Accordingly, Lenski finds that in most agrarian societies religion is "a matter of concern to state authorities".[115] Like Baumgarten and Davies, he points out that power struggles were hardly ever over principles or religious matters, but "rather they were struggles between opposing fractions of the privileged classes, each seeking their own special advantage, or, occasionally, a small segment of the common people

[109] Schürer et al., *History of the Jewish People,* 190; cf. 1 Macc 13:33-42, 14:27.
[110] Cf. Schürer et al., *History of the Jewish People,* 193.
[111] Schürer et al., *History of the Jewish People*, 194.
[112] Lenski, *Power and Privilege,* 190-296.
[113] "social units formed through the forcible subjugation of one group by another"; Lenski, *Power and Privilege*, 195.
[114] Cf. Lenski with regard to this social stratification, *Power and Privilege,* 190-296, esp. figure 1, 284. The retainer class is considered to be " a small army of officials, professional soldiers, household servants and personal retainers, all of whom served them [the ruler and the governing classes] in a variety of more or less specialized capacities", 243.
[115] Lenski, *Power and Privilege,* 209.

seeking political advantage and preferment for themselves".[116] Hence, the state in itself can be seen as the "supreme prize for struggle", since "gaining power and control over the state was to win control of the most powerful instrument of self-aggrandizement found in agrarian societies".[117] Also, Lenski finds a natural basis for symbiosis between political rulers and the priestly class: Only the priestly blessing would secure and legitimise an abusive political system that took the greater part of the common people's revenues for the elite's enrichment. Since literacy levels were relatively low, the priestly class were often influential in matters of administration and education, i.e. in all matters that required scribal qualities. However, Horsley argues that "power struggle between factions of the Jerusalemite aristocracy [priestly and non-priestly] would have adversely affected the relative positions of Levites, ordinary priests, temple singers, 'scribes of the Temple' and others involved in and dependent on the operation of the temple-state".[118] Hence, political and economic objectives were often religiously legitimised, since identification with the right political and religious group became an individual's resource or obstacle to advancement in society.[119]

Thus, the Hasmoneans played an ambivalent role in these power struggles: They started out on the side of the most devout, but their later political aspirations made them close ranks with the influential nobility (mainly Sadducees), who had a more worldly focus. John Hyrcanus (135/4-104 BCE) even broke with the Pharisees, a break that became even more severe under Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 BCE), as he neglected his high-priestly duties in favour of his worldly rule. His political successor, his wife Alexandra (76-67 BCE), restored the bond with the Pharisees. After her predominantly peaceful reign, her sons Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II fought one another for the rule of the Jewish state, which led to the Roman emperor Pompey's interference: The independent Jewish state came to an end (63 BCE) as Palestine was controlled by the Roman governor of Syria. Only the care of the Temple was left to Jewish (Hasmonean) control. The time between Pompey's arrival in Jerusalem and the end of the Bar Kochba revolt (63 BCE- 135 CE) can mainly be characterised by

[116] Lenski, *Power and Privilege,* 211.
[117] Lenski, *Power and Privilege*, 210.
[118] Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries*, 33-51, 51.
[119] Lenski, *Power and Privilege,* 285.

struggle for influence, power and privilege. In 57-55 BCE Judea was divided into five Roman districts, each with its own Sanhedrin. Finally, it was Herod who seized power (37-4 BCE) by defeating and disposing of his enemies. Herod's allegiance to Rome and Hellenistic culture was strong. Even though he officially did not interfere with the powerful Pharisaic party and seemed to have respect for the Temple cult, in reality he appointed and dismissed high priests to his liking, built a number of pagan temples throughout Palestine, took away most of the Sanhedrin's power and virtually murdered what was left of the Hasmonean family.

Undoubtedly the seeds for Jewish fractionism/sectarianism were planted in exilic and Persian times, but its flourishing is closely connected to external imperial power struggles, to its economic consequences for Jewish society, and to internal struggles that were far more complex than initially thought. Next to the obvious disputes over legal matters, societal divisions, which eventually led to the formation of fractions and groups, were also the result of social tensions between ethnic groups, between classes, between city-dwellers and peasants, and between aristocratic and priestly groups struggling for power. *Hence, I would like to work from the idea that Judaic society in Second Temple times was a multi-faceted and fragmented disunity in a complex cultural area, during a time and age which in modern terms we would call 'globalising', a time, in which internally and externally based threats contributed to an already existing socio-religious identity crisis, which forced Judaism to re-negotiate its boundaries of self-understanding.* These negotiations were influenced by internal and external social, historical, political, and economic factors, and ultimately led to an increasing power-base for scriptural centrality over against the diminishing power of the Temple cult.

It is in this complex and dynamic world that the documents of Qumran find their home. Theories about the meaning and function of Khirbet Qumran and the socio-religious world of the Qumran documents must reckon with this broader societal complexity.

1.5. The Qumran Paradigm: A Persistent Phenomenon?

The preceding sections have discussed the prevalent perceptions of the Qumran 'inside' world and the socio-historical situation of the 'outside' world of Second Temple society. Within these settings, Qumran scholarship has found its

theoretical niche in coming to terms with the textual and material evidence found at Khirbet Qumran. Over the last few decades, the Qumran Paradigm, i.e. the consensus view of a Qumran 'Essene-like' 'sectarian' community that set itself apart from others, has been called into question. Under the influence of the almost complete publication of the scrolls, interdisciplinary research and our better understanding of the history of Judaism, the scholarly field of Qumran Studies has questioned the early parameters of the Qumran Paradigm in all sorts of ways and in all sorts of areas. The areas, on which these questions are focused, can be broadly divided into five recognisable clusters:

(1) *Archaeological questions*, such as: Is the original archaeology technically correct and do its results allow for the conclusions drawn by De Vaux? Does the archaeological evidence reflect a segregated Qumran 'Essene-like' sect? How do the texts and the archaeological evidence relate? Are the texts and the site connected? What is the significance of the cemetery?

(2) *Ideological questions*, such as: Are the Qumranites identical to Josephus' Essenes, and what is the evidence? Are there women in Qumran? Is there such a thing as Qumran Theology? To what degree do the texts have a sectarian outlook? How to determine a 'sectarian' text? Is sect useful as a sociological term? What are the specific characteristics of Qumran 'sectarianism'? How does Qumran 'sectarianism' build its identity and self-definition? Is the concept of dualism a core characteristic of Qumran Theology? Does dualistic thinking occur in all sectarian texts and if so, is the dualistic framework identical in all these texts?

(3) *Literary questions*, such as: How do CD and 1QS relate to one another? How do we assess the occurrence and relationship of the Hebrew and Aramaic Qumran corpus? Does the difference in language signify a different socio-historical provenance? Can the Qumran texts be categorised? Do these categorisations aid or obstruct the analysis? And are there alternative ways to

evaluate the texts? What is the relation between the various categories of texts within the Qumran library? Why does the library contain so many 'parabiblical' works? Do they make a coherent and constructive unity, and how to deal with the oppositional views amongst the texts?

(4) *Socio-historical questions*, such as: What is the meaning of the Qumran library? Are all the texts produced at Qumran? What is the socio-historical origin of the Qumran community, and can we read for history and social location in the 'sectarian texts'? What do we know about the organisational structure of the Qumran situation on the basis of the texts we have? Do the texts give us a clear view of Qumran's social reality? Do the Qumranites reside in Qumran only, or is there a bigger movement?

(5) *Methodological questions* are all those questions that relate to how clusters 1 to 4 work together. But also: Can we use social scientific, particularly sociological models of sect, to open up the texts and broaden our knowledge of Qumran? If we use social scientific methods, which ones do work and which ones do not? How do we read for history in the Qumran sectarian texts?

Many of these questions, that critically reassess the first theories about Qumran, have recently been asked, and I have listed them here in an attempt to implicitly gather together the problems that can be identified on the basis of the discussions on the previous pages of this introduction. These questions, which address the difficulties and discussions regarding various aspects of the parameters of the Qumran Paradigm and its adjustments, have at least woken us up to the complexity of Qumran. However, these critical questions are often asked and answered from within the boundaries of the Qumran Paradigm itself.

The cause for the occurrence of this self-fulfilling prophecy of the Qumran Paradigm and its adjustments might be found in the fact that many of the question marks that have surfaced in recent scholarship relate to theses that have been mirror-

reading ideology onto sociologically definable groups. The foregoing discussion regarding the various approaches to Qumran, has demonstrated enough problems to cast doubt on the assumption that ideas in texts have to be equated with sociological groups. My thesis is an attempt to question such mirror reading between ideology and social identity and to explore whether it would be possible to answer these questions (and other questions of this sort) from another vantage point and hence put Qumran in a different perspective.

The chapters to follow reckon with the possibility that too much weight might have been put on specific peculiarities within a number of Qumran texts in order to identify a group that mirrors these peculiarities sociologically. This thesis questions whether we have not all too easily retrieved from these texts 'distinguishing features' in order to read into them a sociological reality of a radical minority group, a distinctive self-marginalised Qumran sect, which *a.* segregated itself from others and did not partake (anymore?) in the vigorous socio-religious negotiations of its time, *b*. had significantly more extreme or more peculiar ideas than contemporary others, *c.* was placed or placed itself at the margins of Judaism, and therefore *d.* can not be considered to be a representative of the ideological and sociological discourse that re-defined the boundaries and parameters of Judaism in this period.

To put it differently: To what degree do the distinguishing features found among the Qumran texts necessitate the postulate of a 'sectarian' community that segregated itself –socio-religiously, ideologically and maybe even geographically - from others? The material that I will cover in the next chapters explores, in different ways, certain aspects of such a mirror reading connecting ideology and social reality, with this background question in mind.

Chapter Two explores the way in which scholars have classified and categorised the collection of Qumran texts. It focuses on the most influential proposals for the literary and the socio-historical classifications of texts, and questions whether and to what extent such classifications influence and determine the positioning of certain texts in light of a 'sectarian' Paradigm. A deeper look into these classification systems is warranted, because for all the differences in their approaches, similar textual material emerges as critical to their frameworks. Moreover, one of the critical side effects of these classification systems is the notion that these texts – implicitly or explicitly - need to be placed within a framework of chronological

development. Therefore, this Chapter also explores the implications of this notion of chronology, and its relation to the Qumran Paradigm.

Chapter Three is a test case with regard to our analysis of the classification systems and its concept of 'chronological development', as it re-evaluates the text of 4QMMT and its prevalent provenance as a 'foundational document of the Qumran Sect'. As 4QMMT is an example of a text, which has played a major, but difficult, role in both literary and socio-historical classifications of Qumran, this document makes an excellent test case to identify possible problems with classification systems in general and mirror reading of ideology and sociology in particular. Moreover, this Chapter identifies and re-evaluates the text's peculiar and unique elements, on the basis of which scholars have argued for its important provenance. As such, it is interested in the question whether the peculiarities within the text point towards a 'sectarian' or '*yahadic*' provenance or whether they also allow for a wider scala of possible interpretations.

Chapter Four explores another aspect that has proven to be an important contributor to the sustainability of the Qumran Paradigm, i.e. the notion of a recognisable ideological coherence amongst certain Qumran texts. This chapter explores the ideological outlook from a theoretical perspective: it questions the definition, boundaries and Qumran-specific evaluation of the concept of 'dualism'. An analysis of the theoretical foundation for the identification of 'dualism' is a first step in evaluating theories about Qumran dualism. Hence this Chapter provides the groundwork for questions about the relation between a Qumran-specific evaluation of ideological coherence and the prevalent Qumran Paradigm, which will be discussed in Chapter Five.

In Chapter Five, the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* is explored as a test case for the ideological peculiarities of Qumran dualism. It asks whether and to what extent the *Treatise* and other 'dualistically' evaluated 'sectarian' texts might be interrelated on the basis of their 'dualistic outlook', and what the function of such an ideological link might be. Even though the provenance of the *Treatise* as the 'zenith of Qumran theology' has changed over time, and some scholars no longer take the text to be the pivotal expression of the 'sect's dualistic outlook', the 'dualism' in the *Treatise* is commonly taken as an important representative of one of the ideological boundary-

markers of the Qumran Community. As such, this text is worth evaluating in light of its 'dualistic features' and its position and function within the Qumran Paradigm.

Hence, the main thread of my thesis, namely the questioning of the close alliance between ideology and sociology, is signified by the special focus on two test cases, 4QMMT and the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, both of which scholars have regarded as foundational documents, one for the socio-historical blueprint of the 'Qumran Sect's theology' and the other for the ideological basis of the 'Qumran Sect's cosmology and anthropology'. Hence, while these documents have been considered decisive in distinguishing specific characteristics of the 'Qumran Community', neither of these texts mentions a connection to a *yahad* or uses '*yahadic'* terminology. Nevertheless, scholars have domesticated these texts within the realm of a sectarian paradigm.

This study is primarily focused on methodological questions on the meta-level of Qumran scholarship and explicitly does not want to be an exegetical study. The analyses of 4QMMT and the *Treatise* must be seen as illustrative to the main attempt of this thesis to investigate methodological issues and difficulties in mirror reading ideology and social identity, with special attention to the influence of the Qumran Paradigm. This study explicitly wants to leave room for other and more fundamentally revisionist propositions with regard to the provenance of certain Qumran texts, while stabilising the validity of certain aspects of the Paradigm for other specific texts. Therefore, Chapter Six of this thesis will propose that we approach the prevalent Qumran Paradigm with more revisionist scrutiny and content ourselves with the possibility that the Qumran manuscripts might not deal with an isolated community, but with one that actively participated within the shaping of ideas and traditions of Judaism in this period. As such, we might reconsider these texts from a different vantage point, namely from the perspective that they have something to contribute to our understanding of the shaping of Jewish traditions as a whole in the first centuries BCE and CE.

Chapter Two: Textual Classifications of Pre-Sectarianism: On 'In-Between' Texts and 'Formative' Periods

The structure of the Qumran Paradigm, as described earlier, has for many functioned as a driver when investigating the 'Qumran Community', its 'place of residence' and its 'library'. The starting point, then, for studying the Qumran manuscripts has often been their particular relationship with the Qumran 'sect' and their perceived position within a 'sectarian library'. Therefore, this study begins by exploring the way scholars have categorised the collection of Qumran texts, and more specifically how they have attempted to read social history and reality behind those texts. It focuses on two of the most influential proposals for the classification and categorisation of the Qumran documents: a 'literary' classification (Dimant) and a 'socio-historical' classification (García Martínez).[1]

In the introduction, we have already briefly encountered these two scholars' classification systems. The reason for addressing them more closely here lies in the fact that, despite the differences in their approaches, similar issues emerge as critical to the evaluation of their analyses. In what follows I have chosen to reconstruct these two scholars' influential contributions in the area of Qumran classifications, in order to bring out those specific elements within their theories that –to my contention- tie textual information to a sociological model of chronological development that inherently sustains the Qumran Paradigm.[2]

This chapter consists of two structural units that deal with Dimant's and García Martínez's hypotheses in chronological order, with an intermezzo of other scholars' evaluations of these main hypotheses. Part three, titled 'Two Sectarian Sides of the Same Coin', contains, again in alternating sequence, a summative conclusion of the critical elements of each scholars' classification system. It seems best to deal with both scholars in an alternating structure, because it helps to highlight those elements in their hypotheses that are important for our purposes.

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[1] I thank Prof. Eibert Tigchelaar for our lively skype discussion in March 2012 regarding my idea for this topic. As a result, he has also dedicated an article to the subject of classification, with a different focus than this thesis. Cf. Eibert J.C Tigchelaar, 'Classifications of the Collection of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Case of *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C*' in *JSJ* 43 (2012) 519-550.

[2] It is important for me to state that I am not attempting to attack or diminish any of the great scholars, whose theories I criticise in this thesis. Qumran scholarship is deeply indebted to their insights, and will continue to benefit from all their great work on the scrolls. Merely, this thesis attempts to point out that certain elements in these theories reinforce rather than question, adjust rather than openly approach the Qumran Paradigm, and that methodologically some aspects of these theories are inflexible, thereby possibly holding back new avenues of investigation in the fascinating world of Qumran.

First, I will reconstruct and discuss the literary classifications of Devorah Dimant. In her classification system, Dimant introduces categories that distinguish 'sectarian' texts from 'non-sectarian' texts on the basis of the occurrence of recognisable 'Community Terminology'. Texts, which are not biblical and not strictly *yahadic* are considered to be 'non-sectarian'. This 'non-sectarian' category hence contains a variety of texts that have as their common denominator that they are supposed to fall outside of the realm of the *yahad*. Since some of these texts demonstrate ideological affinity with the 'sectarian' category of texts, Dimant later introduces a third 'in-between' category for texts that convey *yahad*-like ideas, but do not reflect specific 'sectarian' terminology. In what follows, Dimant's 'literary' classification will be studied in depth, not only with a special focus on the phenomenon of 'in-between' texts, but also with regard to the 'pre-sectarian' connotation that seems to underlie this particular category.

Secondly, I will turn to the 'socio-historical' classifications advanced by Florentino García Martínez. In this classification scheme, better known as the Groningen Hypothesis, García Martínez attempts to categorise the Qumran texts in terms of their relationship to the strict 'sectarian' or *yahadic* texts. As such, he attempts to sketch the 'sect's ideological pre-history and its early and developed history by positioning the Qumran texts on a line of chronological development. This way, each text has its own place within the (pre-) history of the Qumran group. In García Martínez's model, any text that is not considered to be strictly *yahadic* is perceived to be 'pre-sectarian'. This chapter is interested in this phenomenon and will thus discuss García Martínez's idea of a '*formative period*' of the 'Qumran sect' as an important 'pillar' of the Groningen Hypothesis.

As a third step, I will critically re-assess the weaknesses and inflexible elements in Dimant's and García Martínez's proposals, in order to identify how their classifications find their basis in and function by the parameters of the Qumran Paradigm.

2.1. Dimant, A Sectarian Library & In-Between Sectarian Texts

2.1.1 A Coherent and Representative Library

Before discussing the structure of her 'literary' classification system, it is important to realise that its foundation is based upon Dimant's insistence on the

Qumran texts being a coherent, deliberate, selective and representative 'collection', much like an ancient library. The first scholar who named the Qumran 'collection' of texts a *library* was Jóseph Milik.[3] Milik merely used the term 'library' as a short hand for 'the entirety of manuscripts from the Qumran caves', and thus gives no arguments or criteria for the use of the term 'library'. Around the same time, another scholar, Frank Moore Cross, refers to the Qumran texts as forming an ancient library.[4] Cross, attempting to give an overview of the manuscripts and fragments found in the caves, equally does not provide criteria for qualifying the collective assembly of these manuscripts as a 'library'. Hence, based on her regard for the authoritativeness of Milik and Cross, Dimant is the first scholar who consciously argues for a 'Qumran library'.[5]

Dimant's insistence on the notion of a 'Qumran library' is particularly important, because, differently from Milik and Cross, she attached a set of critical presumptions to the notion of library. In her influential 1995 article, Dimant advocates a *literary* assessment of 'the Qumran collection', whose "size and literary character" she considers to be unique.[6] Methodologically, she presents her reconstruction of the "library as consisting of units of complete manuscripts",[7] in which "individual small manuscripts are given numerical value equal to those of large scrolls", in order to give an idea of the "components which constituted the original collection".[8] On this basis, the conclusion must be drawn that cave 4 determines to a large extent Dimant's assessment of the 'collection' and its evaluation as a 'library', since it represents 75% of its entirety. Even though Dimant demonstrates awareness of the fact that many manuscripts must be lost forever over time, badly damaged, illegible, maybe even too small to be identified or inconclusive as to their connectivity, she nevertheless is

[3] Jóseph T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (London: SCM Press, 1959), esp. Ch II The Qumran Library, 20-41.
[4] Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (3rd ed., Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995, or. 1958).
[5] Dimant argued that Milik and Cross had an overview of all Qumran writings and hence had the authority to label them as forming a 'library'. Cf. Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance', 23-58. It should be noted that she might also have been influenced by de Vaux, who, around the same time assumed that the cave 4 documents were the contents of "la bibliothèque commune qui était normalement dans les batîments centraux" (as an architectural feature) and were hidden in haste: Cf. Maurice Baillet, Jóseph T. Milik and Roland de Vaux, *Les Petites Grottes de Qumrân,* DJD III (Oxford, Clarendon, 1962), 34.
[6] Dimant warns against "the constant confusion between literary considerations and historical evaluations" and hence demonstrates awareness of the methodological dangers of reading social reality from ancient texts (25).
[7] Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 26.
[8] Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 27.

convinced that her method will reconstruct 'the library as an intact collection', which is thought to be an accurate and representative reflection of the original 'Qumran library'.[9]

2.1.2. A Literary Classification of Texts within the Qumran Library

Bearing these observations of a coherent and representative library in mind, we turn to Dimant's attempt to provide a *literary framework of classification* of all known manuscripts and fragments from Qumran. Her initial classification of manuscripts identifies three distinct groups:[10]

1. *Biblical Manuscripts*. This category wants to be understood not to fix a canon, which did not exist at the time; for this reason 'apocryphal' or 'pseudepigraphal' writings are excluded from this category.[11]
2. *Works Containing Terminology linked with the Qumran Community* (CT). While particular ideas and concepts, for instance like eschatology or communion with the angelic world, are in themselves not enough to assign a text to this CT group, they will be if they are combined with specific *yahadic* terminology, such as Teacher of Righteousness, Man of Lies, Seekers of Smooth Things, Men of the Community etc.[12]
3. *Works Not Containing such Terminology* (NCT). Any text that lacks the specific *yahadic* terminology is in principle assigned to the NCT group.

As Dimant does not address the category of 'biblical works' any further, her classification system seems to focus entirely on the distinction between CT and NCT texts. Explicitly identifying 'Community Terminology', Dimant's earliest classification assigns the following documents to the category of *CT* texts:[13]

[9] Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 26, 36.
[10] Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 26.
[11] This reasoning seems rather odd, as the absence of a canon would remove the reason for excluding these other writings.
[12] There has been ample dispute about the exact terminology that would indicate whether a document is *Yahadic*. For instance, Dimant argues that 'Returners from Transgression' is a CT term, while Hempel has argued that the term is derived from Isa 59:20 and as such cannot be seen as specifically 'sectarian'. Cf. Charlotte Hempel, 'The Qumran Sapiential Texts and the Rule Books' in Charlotte Hempel, Armin Lange and Hermann Lichtenberger eds., *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*, BETL 159 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002) 280, fn.12.
[13] In table 1, I have chosen to mention the texts as they occur in Dimant's 1995 article, even though some of them have since been reassigned. For a complete overview, see Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 30-58.

Rule of the Community (1QS = 1Q28; 4Q255-4Q264) + 5Q11
Damascus Document (CD; 4Q266-273; 5Q12; 6Q15) + 4Q265
War Rule (1QM= 1Q33; 4Q471; 4Q491-496) + 4Q471a + 4Q497
Serekh Ha-Milhama (4Q285; 11Q14)
4QMMT (4Q394-399)
Sapiential Work A + B (4Q413; 4Q415; 4Q416-418)
Hodayot (1QH= 1Q35; 4Q427-432) + 4Q433; 4Q440; 4Q434-439
Prayers for Festivals (4Q507-509; 1Q34; 1Q34bis)
Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400-407; 11Q17)
Pesharim (4Q161-173; 1QpHab= 1Q14-16; 3Q4; 4Q174-178; 4Q180; 4Q182; 11Q13; 4Q252-254)
Mysteries (4Q299-301; 1Q27)
Rule of Farmer (4Q423; 1Q26)

Table 1: Dimant's list of CT texts.

In addition, Dimant's NCT category consists of all those documents that cannot be assigned to the biblical or CT categories. Moreover, Dimant finds that with regard to certain types of text, a clear distinction between CT and NCT remains difficult to make. In these cases of doubt, Dimant decides to assign these particular texts also to the NCT category:[14]

1. *Halakhic Texts*: Some halakhic texts contain clear CT terminology. However, other texts have halakhic rules that are identical to *yahadic* halakhic rulings, but do not employ CT terminology.
2. *Calendrical, chronological and astrological Texts*: Some texts also do not contain CT, even though they seem to have the same ideology.
3. *A Special Position Assigned to the Aramaic Corpus*: The Aramaic corpus forms 13% of the collection, and Dimant assigns all Aramaic manuscripts to the NCT category.[15]
4. *Sapiential Texts*: In 1995 insight in the sapiential texts found at Qumran was limited. Dimant does not mention her criteria for their distinction, but expresses awareness of the altering understanding of the 'Community' once these texts become fully understood.[16]

[14] This acknowledgement later in her work leads to the classification of an 'in-between' category, which will be addressed later in this section.
[15] For a fuller understanding of her choices, cf. Devorah Dimant, 'The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community', 197-207.
[16] In her 1995 classification, one can still observe a differentiation between 4QInstruction and Sapiential Work A & B.

2.1.3. Library and Classification Reinforce Each Other

Dimant's 'literary' classification system not only attempts to categorise the entire body of Qumran texts into three exhaustive categories, it also reifies the notion of them reflecting a meaningful and deliberate library. The latter is concluded on the basis of two observations that Dimant makes after categorising all known Qumran documents, i.e. 'the interrelatedness of the caves' and 'the fundamental homogeneity of content and configuration'. These two observations lead Dimant to conclude that the Qumran collection is intentional.

Dimant's argument for the *interrelatedness of the caves* strongly depends on the central role she ascribes to the documents in cave 4. Her argument, of which individual elements demonstrate interdependency, is as follows:

1. Copies of the same works were found in all caves, i.e. most caves (1,2,3,5,6 and 11) contain at least one work of the CT and NCT writing(s) found in cave 4.
2. The other caves connect to cave 4, since they not only reflect the same content, but also the same configuration (see below).
3. And the fact that cave 4 is situated at the outskirts of the site proves that the site and *all* the caves are connected.

According to Dimant, this 'evidence' of *cave-interrelatedness* demonstrates that all the caves housed segments of one and the same collection.[17] This conclusion is subsequently reinforced by the perceived "*fundamental homogeneity*" in the various caves' manuscript collections, both in "content and configuration":[18]

1. *The overall collection consists of three more or less equal proportions of biblical, NCT and CT manuscripts*; a division which is broadly also reflected in each individual cave.
2. *No CT works were transmitted through known channels*. *Of the 190 non-biblical NCT and CT works, only 9 writings were previously known*. These nine manuscripts were all NCT works[19], which were –with the exception of the Book of Giants- handed down by Christians, not Jews.
3. *The CT and NCT works differ in their distinctive genres*: CT works are *Rules* and *Pesharim*, which are concerned with the community. NCT texts are pseudepigrapha, Hebrew and Aramaic, not found amongst the CT texts.

[17] Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 31.
[18] Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 31-32.
[19] I.e. Ben Sira*, Tobit, Letter of Jeremiah, Apocryphal Psalms, 1Enoch, Testament of Levi, Jubilees, Testament of Naphtali*, *The Book of Giants*.

4. *The NCT and CT Qumran manuscripts have a limited number of Styles and Genres*: CT writings consist of rule texts, halakhic rulings, liturgical and poetical compositions and sapiential works, while the NCT works are characterised as narrative, poetic, prophetic and wisdom texts, para-biblical texts, pseudepigrapha in Hebrew, apocalyptic, aggadic and testamentary Aramaic compositions.
5. *The Qumran library is remarkable in its exclusion*: i.e. the library has no Jewish-Greek writings (e.g. Wisdom of Solomon), no remnants of the pro-Hasmonean 1Maccabees or the Book of Judith, and no precursors to the later *tannaitic* literature.

In the figure below, I have tried to schematically draw out Dimant's hypothesis. The circles represent the caves, with cave 4 as the largest one. According to Dimant, this cave connects to most other caves (1,2,3,5,6 and 11), because they contain at least one CT or NCT text that is also found in cave 4. The other caves do not necessarily connect directly to cave 4, but by their similarity in percentages of their content (1/3 of each category). Finally, the figure gives the impression of a web, because in Dimant's theory all caves are interconnected on the basis of both criteria, *and* by the presupposition that since they are all connected *in a literary sense*, and cave 4 is connected to the site, all caves are *archaeologically* connected to the site.

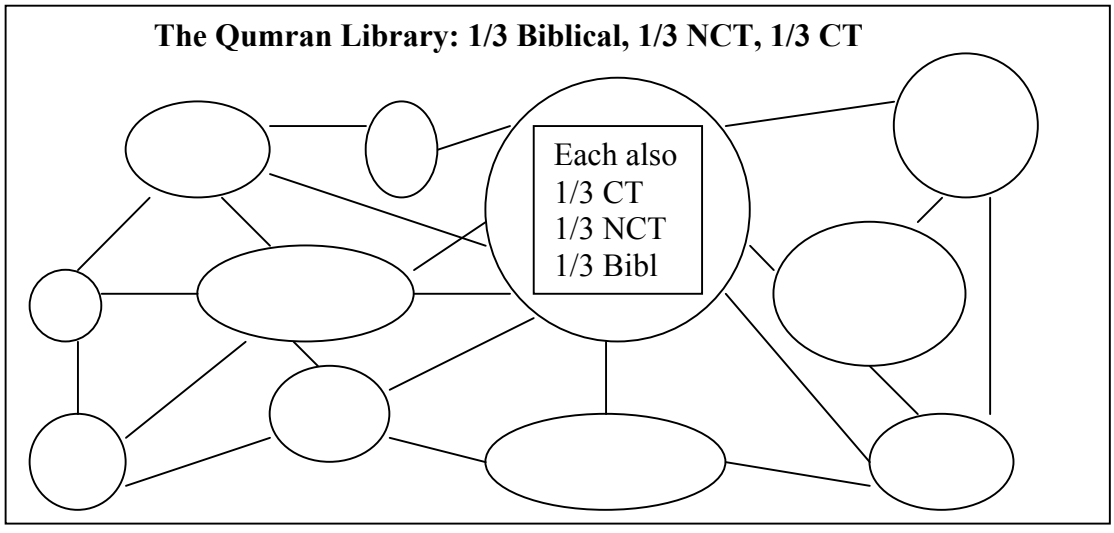


Table 2: Schematic Overview of Dimant's Theory of a Sectarian Library.

In her initial 1995 classification of the Qumran texts, Dimant has two major goals: first, to provide evidence for the theory that these documents represent a coherent library, and secondly, to classify these texts according to them reflecting a 'sectarian group' living at Khirbet Qumran. These two goals are best reflected in the conclusions of Dimant's influential article, which reports on the "uniform character of

the entire collection".[20] Here, Dimant concludes: "The Qumran library is not just any library. Its homogeneous character and its selectiveness define it as a library of a specific circle or school, a school close to but not identical with the community."[21] Possible discrepancies are placed in a formative or parental sphere: "The Qumran Library would then be the specific literature produced by the community together with a body of literary works which they took over from their parent group".[22]

2.1.4. Scholarly Evaluations of Dimant's Literary Classification

Dimant's attempt to classify the Qumran manuscripts and her insistence on the representativeness of the Qumran library have been rather influential with regard to the foundations from which scholars have interpreted the interrelatedness of and the social reality behind the texts. However, Dimant explicitly wants her categorisation to be a *non-historical, literary* classification. Methodologically, such strict literary classification tends not to correlate well to sociologically inspired categories that emphasise a 'community' that can be identified by their 'specific terminology'. It is precisely this connection between ideology and social identity that is questioned later on in this chapter (section 3), but which –in a different way- has also been at the heart of some scholarly criticisms of Dimant's proposal.

Charlotte Hempel is one of those scholars who have argued that Dimant's initial criterion of a Qumran-specific ideology should be approached with caution.[23] Hempel points out that similar ideology might prove no more than a similar socio-religious background, rather than a 'sectarian' provenance. Moreover, Hempel argues that ideological similarities might equally reflect a chronological development, in which the *yahad* has taken over certain ideas from its predecessors. Furthermore, Hempel has methodological objections to the 'black & white' classification of manuscripts in CT and NCT categories. Rather, she holds the possibility of manuscripts having shades of grey: for instance, some manuscripts might reflect parts that can be evaluated as NCT, while other parts of the same document may be regarded as CT. Hence, Hempel argues that any classification system should take the

[20] Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 35.
[21] Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 36.
[22] Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 36.
[23] Charlotte Hempel, 'Kriterien', 71-85.

complexity of tradition- and redaction-historical developments into account.[24] Finally, Hempel criticises Dimant for not providing criteria to distinguish between 'sectarian' and 'pre-sectarian' texts, even though she clearly seems to acknowledge the existence of pre-sectarian documents (or: texts from a parent group) within the 'Qumran library'. The lack of criteria comes however as no surprise to Hempel, who argues that a clear-cut distinction between texts of the Qumran group and texts of its parent movements often cannot be made very easily.[25]

2.1.5. 'In-Between' Sectarian Texts: Dimant's Adjusted Classification in 2005/2009

Under the influence of similar criticisms, but mostly because the steady publication of texts provided scholars with more insight into the Qumran corpus, Dimant's initial classification system became in need of re-adjustment. In 2005, Dimant revisits her original classification system, now with a complete inventory of the Scrolls at hand. Dimant recognises that since the first wave of Qumran studies, several 'facts' have become known that challenge the previous parameters of a 'sectarian library' and re-open the question of 'sectarian' and 'non-sectarian' classifications:[26]

1. A sizeable amount of Hebrew and Aramaic manuscripts lack 'sectarian' or '*yahadic*' terminology.
2. The collection consists of a large body of manuscripts that 'rework the Bible'.
3. Many of these 'para-biblical' or 're-worked Bible' manuscripts were not previously known, but reflect connections to known Jewish literature of the Second Temple era.

Accordingly, and even though she remains steadfast in her assessment of a 'sectarian library' on the basis of her '*cave-interrelatedness*' arguments, Dimant admits to the '*heterogeneous* character of the collection', whose variety "raises questions about the nature and provenance of this library".[27]

[24] Hempel, 'Kriterien', 81; "Dimants Blick auf die Endform der Hauptschriften alleine ist methodologisch nicht differenziert genug".
[25] Hempel clarifies her argument by pointing out Dimant's NCT classification for all calendrical material, while a part of 4QMMT, i.e. 4Q394 contains a 364-day calendar; Dimant classifies 4MMT as a whole to be a CT text, 'Kriterien', 82.
[26] Devorah Dimant, '*Apocryphon of Joshua*' 105-106.
[27] Dimant, '*Apocryphon of Joshua*', 105.

2.1.5.1. Re-Adjusting 'CT': The Introduction of 'In-Between' Texts

Dimant's re-assessment of her initial classification system seems most invested in attempting to stay within the Qumran Paradigm, especially where her evaluation of a 'library' and its 'sectarian' character is concerned. Illustrative of this attempt is her principal definition of CT texts, which is slightly broadened, but remains the same in its focus: "works which display the terminology, style and ideas explicitly connected with the Qumran Community".[28] However, the list of texts that Dimant assigns to be CT works seems to have become smaller: CD, 1QS, 1QM, 1QHa and the *pesharim*.[29] Interestingly, these works *themselves* provide Dimant's criteria "for establishing whether a text does or does not belong to the sectarian literature proper".[30]

Dimant recognises that diminishing the writings of her CT category is not sufficient to sustain her original classification system. Predominantly under the influence of the many manuscripts that 're-work the Bible' amongst the Scrolls, Dimant observes that certain texts cannot be simply assigned as 'sectarian' or 'non-sectarian' on the basis of terminology and ideas, that is, certain texts "lack sectarian characteristic nomenclature and style but embrace notions shared with the sectarian ideology".[31] Therefore, Dimant proposes to add a category to her original three-tiered classification system (CT, NCT, Biblical). This category, for which texts that re-work the Bible like *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll* are thought to be good candidates, Dimant calls 'in between' texts, as they are placed *in- between* the 'sectarian literature proper' and 'writings devoid of any connection to the community'.[32]

2.1.5.2. The Apocryphon of Joshua: Dimant's Test Case

As a test case for her new category of 'in-between' texts, Dimant analyses the *Apocryphon of Joshua* (4Q378-379; 4Q522; perhaps 5Q9), and more specifically three passages in this text. The *Joshua Apocryphon* does not contain 'sectarian terminology', nor does it portray exclusive *yahadic* ideas. However, according to Dimant, the text conveys important analogies with the spheres of influence that eventually determined the Qumranites' ideology and styles: calendrical issues and

[28] Dimant, '*Apocryphon of Joshua*', 106.
[29] Cf. the list in section 2.1.2 of this chapter.
[30] Dimant, '*Apocryphon of Joshua*', 106.
[31] Dimant, '*Apocryphon of Joshua*', 106.
[32] Dimant, '*Apocryphon of Joshua*', 106.

Jubilee chronology as found in the *Book of Jubilees*, priestly vs. kingly leadership as reflected in the *Temple Scroll*, and the use of the *pesher* technique. Also, the text's closeness to 'Qumran sectarianism' is presumed to be visible in the fact that the 'clearly *yahadic*' 4QTestimonia (4Q175) quotes the *Apocryphon*.[33] Since the *Apocryphon* reflects its affiliation both with the *yahadic* works as well as a clearly observable wider frame of thought, Dimant assigns this text thus to her '*in-between*' category.

2.1.5.3. A Reaction to the In-Between Category and the Refinement of CT

The somewhat tentative invention of this 'in-between' category has been heavily criticised by Florentino García Martínez, who argued that this (third) category tries to establish the impossible: it wants to maintain a fundamental dichotomy between 'sectarian' and non-sectarian' texts while creating a third category, for which it is difficult to set stringently defined criteria. Moreover, García Martínez correctly observes that, since the nature of most 'candidates' for the in-between category are texts that 're-work' the Bible, the fundamental taxonomic problems touch upon all categorisations, biblical as well as sectarian and non-sectarian. Therefore, and this proposal will be discussed further in section 2.2 of this chapter, García Martínez advocates that one let go of any categorisations and proposes that we to approach the entire collection as 'authoritative writings' of the Qumran Community.[34]

In her reaction to García Martínez's proposal, Dimant fine-tunes and up-dates her assessment of the different categories in her classification system.[35] Dimant's renewed classification aims for a clearer identification of 'sectarian' texts, in order to be better equipped to categorise what is not 'sectarian proper', but rather 'in-between' or 'non-sectarian'. Thus, the category of CT works is more precisely defined, as these

[33] Both texts, i.e. 4QTestimonia and the *Apocryphon of Joshua*, are disputed texts and considered *yahadic* by some scholars. Also scholars are far from agreement on the nature and chronology of the interdependence between these texts. For instance, Eshel proposes that the *Apocryphon* cites 4QTestimonia. Cf. Hanan Eshel, 'The Historical Background of the Pesher Interpreting Joshua's Curse on the Rebuilder of Jericho', *RevQ* 15/59 (1992) 409-420.

[34] Florentino García Martínez, 'Sectario, No-Sectario, O Qué? Problemas de una taxonomía correcta de los textos qumránicos', *RevQ 23/91* (2008), 383-394.

[35] Devorah Dimant, 'Taxonomy', 7-18: An analysis of these particular indicators is undertaken, with the following methodological assumptions in mind: (1) The analysis limits itself to the sectarian (i.e. non-biblical) literature, (2) The analysis is linguistic and literary: it does not take historical or sociological considerations into account (3) Since many writings are copies and (original) dating has proven difficult, the Qumran manuscripts are considered to form "a single contemporary entity" (4) The manuscripts and fragments are considered single units. Dimant recognises that the layeredness of certain documents pose a difficulty, but considers a dissection of sectarian documents not desirable as long as there is no consensus about the basic taxonomy of 'sectarian' works.

writings are presumed to be "linked by particular *lexical locutions*, *phraseology* and *nomenclature*".[36] These "lexical criteria from a representative group" (i.e. 1QS, CD, 1QSa, 1QSb, 1QM, 1QH[a] and *the Pesharim*), upon which the new classification system bases its CT assignments, fall into thee main categories:

1. Terms related to the organisation of the Community, like '*yahad*'.
2. Locutions alluding to the historical circumstances of the Community, such as the sobriquets 'Man of Lies' and 'Teacher of Righteousness', and,
3. Terms that denote religious ideas, such as dualistic terminology (sons of light/sons of darkness).

Dimant argues that the first two categories are clear-cut, specific and identifiable, but that the third category of theological ideas causes problems, since they might resemble ideas in other 'non-sectarian' documents, which may be adopted and developed by the 'Qumran Community'.[37] Therefore, manuscripts can only be assigned to the CT category if they reflect *all three* criteria *in an adequate frequency*.[38]

2.1.6. A Few Preliminary Remarks Regarding Dimant's Classification System

A more in-depth evaluation of Dimant's classification system is given in the third section of this chapter, but here I want to make some preliminary remarks regarding her assignment of categories.

First of all, and most notably, Dimant seems to divert from systematically checking her own criteria when it comes to the category-assignment of certain documents. For instance, she assigns disputed documents like 4QInstruction and *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q400-407; 11Q17) to the CT category, solely on the basis of terminology and ideas parallel to the 'sectarian texts'.[39] Also, she dismisses the idea that any of the Aramaic works might have a sectarian provenance, on the basis of their 'difference' in language, themes and approach to reworking the Hebrew

[36] Dimant, 'Taxonomy', 8.
[37] Cf. the similar phrasing García Martínez uses for his idea of a pre-sectarian, formative period.
[38] Without quantification. Is frequency a fourth criterion?
[39] See Dimant, 'Taxonomy', n.12&13. Note terminology in 4Q416-418 is compared with 1QS iii 19, iv 23-24, while parts of *Songs of the Sabbath sacrifice* are compared with CD: Hence one may question the 'sectarian provenance' Dimant claims, as 1QS iii 13- iv 26 is mostly accepted as an incorporation of a formerly independent text, and CD as so multi-layered that it remains difficult to assign which parts to consider '*yahadic*'.

Bible.[40] Moreover, two additional texts, 4QMMT (4Q394-399) and the *Genesis Apocryphon* (4Q252; 4Q254), seem to cause Dimant difficulty. In the case of 4QMMT, Dimant refuses to doubt its sectarian provenance and hence classifies the document as '*sectarian*' entirely on the basis of its subject matter, even though MMT has no identifiable sectarian terminology or literary style.[41] In the case of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, Dimant's problem lies in the text's employment of the term '*the Men of the Yahad*' (4Q252 v 5, 4Q254 4 4), a clear indication of Dimant's 'sectarian' provenance. However, since this term occurs only once, Dimant assigns the text to the NCT category, as she argued that a single occurrence "should not outweigh the bulk of the commentary".[42]

A second observation relates to Dimant's notion of 'textual re-working of terms', which inherently seems to contain the notion of ideological development. Moreover, to demonstrate the value of her taxonomy, as well as the worth of the set criteria, Dimant illustrates three 'test-cases' with regard to her 'in-between' category. In one of these test cases,[43] Dimant recognises a typical and unique 'sectarian provenance' in the way the text reworks its biblical foreground into a new combined meaning. On the basis of this demonstrated 'reworking of terms'- phenomenon, Dimant argues for the importance of distinguishing between 'sectarian' and 'non-sectarian' works; she observes a 'characteristic' development in the use of terminology, in which lexical terms, (a) having rather broad semantic fields and (b) being applied with knowledge of surrounding textual witnesses, are restrictively used in the 'undisputed sectarian texts'. That is, Dimant observes that in these *'yahadic'* texts, the same terms are semantically narrowed 'to serve the Qumranites' pre-occupation with themselves, their self-understanding and self-definition'.

It seems that such an assumed development implicitly presupposes diachronic rather than synchronic development and as such an underlying chronological framework. Since Dimant's literary classification does not want to make sociological or historical assessments, her conclusions might be somewhat differently formulated

[40] Dimant, 'Taxonomy', 12.
[41] Dimant legitimates her decision by stating that, since the polemical 'Halakhic Letter' was clearly addressed to outsiders, naturally, the Qumran sectarians would not have written in their sectarian style, but in a rather contemporary literary style. Such argumentation seems rather contrived.
[42] Dimant, 'Taxonomy', 12.
[43] This test case focuses on the term "the Covenant of the Fathers" in CD viii 18 (Ms. A) and xix 31 (Ms. B). The term is only extant in the Genizah manuscripts of CD; we may note that the line in which the term occurs has not survived in the Cave 4 copies.

from García Martínez's idea of a formative period: Nevertheless, her categories come fairly close to establishing a historical timeline.

Dimant's literary framework and subsequent textual diachrony has consistently taken as a point of departure 'a sectarian Qumran library', authored, copied, studied and preserved by the 'Qumran community'. Even though Dimant has had to let go of the authorship and the homogeneity of the 'Qumran collection', and her categorisation is continuously threatened by texts escaping her categories, the single most influential aspect of her classification theories lies in this very idea of a 'representative, coherent and deliberate library', from which categories are defined according to their relation and position to the focal point of the 'Qumran Sect'. In section 2.3, I will return to Dimant's theory and assess these notions of 'library' and 'sect' with regard to their function within the Qumran Paradigm. The next section however, deals with another classification attempt: García Martínez's socio-historical reconstruction of 'sectarian development'.

2.2. García Martínez's Groningen Hypothesis and a Formative Period of the Sect

In the divide between a literary and a history-of-the-sect approach, the most influential protagonist of the latter has been Florentino García Martínez, who – together with his Groningen colleague Adam van der Woude – has launched the so-called 'Groningen Hypothesis' of early Qumran history.[44] García Martínez argues that the Groningen Hypothesis, which partly builds on and partly supersedes the Qumran-Essene Hypothesis, aims to provide a historical framework in which the Qumran 'sectarian' texts and the *yahad* Community can be positioned. Furthermore, it also attempts to explain the dissimilarities between certain core manuscripts by providing a chronological framework of historical development of the 'sect' and its assumed precursors. Thus, the Groningen Hypothesis assigns texts to historical categories of (group) identity. In the original 1988 article, as well as in a recent article that revisits the original hypothesis, García Martínez identifies five essential 'pillars' of his Groningen Hypothesis, which we have already mentioned briefly in our first introductory chapter. This chapter will focus on the fifth pillar of the Groningen Hypothesis, i.e. the notion of the 'Qumran Sect's *formative period*', a period "before

[44] Florentino García Martínez, 'Qumran Origins and Early History; A Groningen Hypothesis', *Folia Orientalia* 25 (1988) 113-134; Florentino García Martínez and Adam Van der Woude, 'A "Groningen" Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History', *RevQ* 14 (1990) 521-542.

its [the sect's] retreat to the desert", in which "the ideological development, the halakhic elements, and the political conflicts" can be identified that resulted in "the break which led to the community's establishing itself in Qumran".[45]

The *formative period* is a significant building block in García Martínez's theory, as its centrality amongst the major assumptions that form the hypothesis' building blocks demonstrates:

1. A theory that works from texts must be limited by paleography and archaeology. Hence, historical reconstructions ought to be limited by material evidence.
2. A period of time (long or short) preceded the break between the Qumran Group and the Essene movement, in which ideological differentiation took place. Hence, García Martínez assumes a "pre-Qumranic phase or formative period, an extraordinarily fruitful period from which were to proceed writings which establish the ideological bases of the break with the Essene movement and during which there develop the conflicts which are to issue in the sectarian group's trek to the desert".[46]
3. The non-biblical Qumran literature is related either to the Qumran sect or to its predecessors. Thus, the writings form a coherent and representative reflection of a 'sectarian' collection and therefore can be assessed as "compatible with its own ideology (and even more important with its halakha), that is as coming from the Essene movement or from the apocalyptic tradition which inspired it".[47] Hence, the Qumran non-biblical writings can be classified as follows:
    i. Sectarian works.
    ii. Works of the formative period.
    iii. Works, which reflect Essene thought (i.e. in accordance with the classical sources).
    iv. Works belonging to the Apocalyptic tradition which gave rise to Essenism.
4. The composite character of the basic works, the presence of different versions of the same document and the clear multi-layeredness within the documents reflect a certain historical evolution. These phenomena reflect an origin in the formative period of the sect and the need for adaptation "to the successive historical, theological and organisational developments in the community […]".[48]

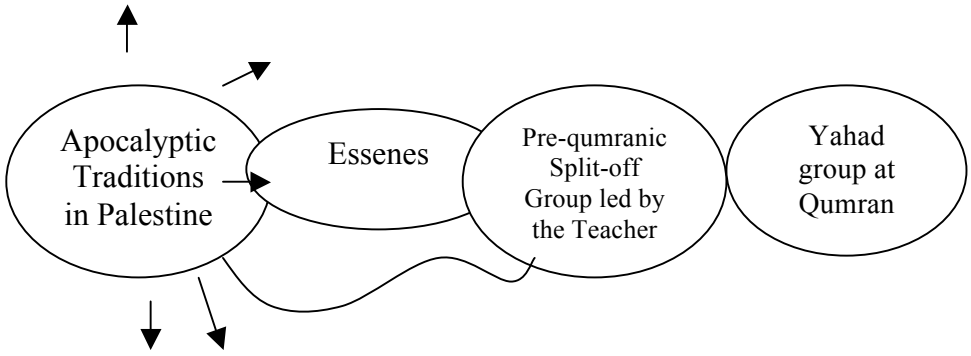
[45] García Martínez, 'Qumran Origins and Early History', 113-134, reprint in *Qumranica Minora I* STDJ 63 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 3-29.
[46] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I,* 8-9.
[47] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I,* 8-9.
[48] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I,* 8-9.

As can be observed from assumptions 2-4 above, the concept of a *formative period* has a pivotal position in the Groningen Hypothesis. The next section deals with García Martínez's theory with regard to this period.

2.2.1. A Formative Period

Within the Groningen Hypothesis, the notion of a '*formative period*' seems of special significance, as it is thought to encompass all those literary expressions of an upcoming ideological 'parting of the ways' between Essenism and the Qumranites. In other words, during this time-wise unspecified period of 'sect' formation the precursory textual witnesses to the later 'Qumran Community' were supposedly still 'recognisably Essene', but already contained elements of future developments, especially where the *halakha* was concerned. Also, this *formative period* supposedly not only explains ideological differences between 'pre-qumranic' documents, it also clarifies the differences in, additions to and later incorporations of ideologically differentiated documents into 'Qumran sectarian' works as developments over time. Hence, the concept of a *formative period* is of vital importance to the explicatory power of the Groningen Hypothesis, which schematically might be sketched as follows:

Table 3: Schematic Table of García Martínez's 'Groningen Hypothesis' I.



*With the curved line I try to indicate García Martínez's notion that eschatology and calendrical problems, which –according to him- are not part of the Essene ideology, were brought into the Qumran sect by the Teacher from apocalyptic traditions.

2.2.1.1. The Chronology of the Framework

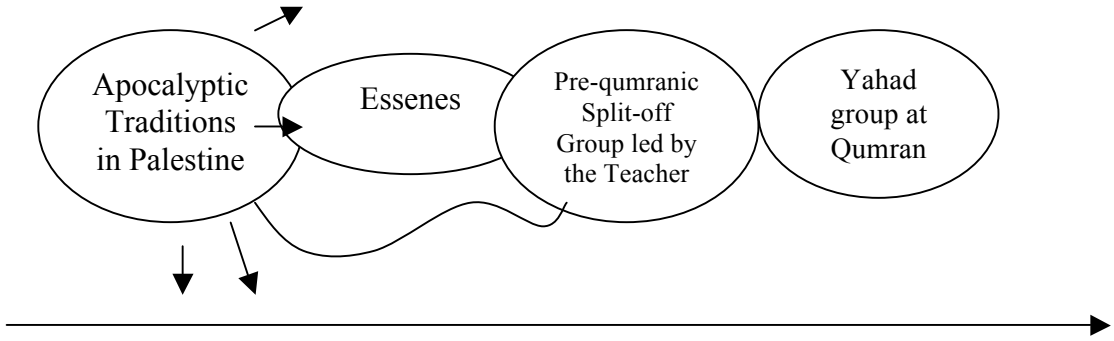
In order to establish a 'framework of development', a chronological Qumranic timeline that runs from 'Apocalyptic' to 'Essene' to 'formative disputational' to 'discordant split-off' to 'Qumranic sectarian', and which hence establishes a textual

terminus post quem or foundation date for the Qumran Community, García Martínez is forced to re-construct an 'early history of the community' on the basis of rather sketchy, vague and inconclusive historical allusions, which he predominantly finds in 1QpHab. His reconstruction consists of the following components:

1. Archaeological periods of occupation (DeVaux/Magness)[49], combined with
2. The notion that the Wicked Priest is an umbrella term for a line of Hasmonean High Priests, which can be historically identified with the help of 1QpHab.[50] In his reconstruction, García Martínez identifies merely Jonathan (161 BCE Civil Governor, but 152-143/2 BCE also High Priest) and Simon (143/2-135/4 BCE) as the two high priests who provoked ideological and political conflict in the formative period of the Qumran sect.
3. The proposed 'discordant split-off' from the larger Essene Movement, which, according to García Martínez, must have taken place under the Pontificate of John Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE). This reconstruction is based upon John Hyrcanus' identification in 1QpHab XI 2-8, in which the Wicked Priest "pursued the Teacher of Righteousness to his house of exile".[51]

On the basis of this reconstruction, the Groningen Hypothesis can now schematically be set in a rather "precise chronological framework for the development of the early history of the Community":[52]

Table 4: Schematic Table of García Martínez's 'Groningen Hypothesis' II.



[49] Cf. Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002) 68. DeVaux distinguishes Period Ia (ca. 130-100 BCE)/Ib (ca. 100-31 BCE)/II (4-1 BCE to 68 CE)/III (68 CE to 73-74 CE) while Magness argues for Ia (Non-Existent)/Ib (Pre-earthquake 100-50 BCE to 31 BCE/ Post-earthquake 31 BCE- 9/8 BCE or maybe until 4 BCE)/ II (4-1 BCE to 68 CE)/ III (same as DeVaux).

[50] Adam Van der Woude, 'Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests? Reflections on the Identification of the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk Commentary', *JJS* 33 (1982) 349-59; Cf. García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 24-29. The idea of a plurality of high priests was first put forward by William H. Brownlee, 'The Historical Allusions of the Dead Sea Habakkuk Midrash' *BASOR* 126 (1952) 10-20 and later in 'The Wicked Priest, the Man of Lies, and the Righteous Teacher: The Problem of Identity' *JQR* 73 (1982) 1-37.

[51] It seems likely that in, his early hypothesis, García Martínez holds Qumran to be this 'house of exile'.

[52] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I,* 26.

Late 3rd –	Pre-Maccabean ???	***Split-off*** under John Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE)	
Early 2nd BCE		***Formative Period*** under Jonathan (152-143/2 BCE) & Simon (143/2-135/4 BCE)	***Retreat to Qumran***

* For some reason García Martínez takes Jonathan's Pontificate to run from 161 BCE, when he was not yet High Priest, but only Governor of Israel.
* In the timeline I have prolonged the 'formative period' beyond the split-off moment, to indicate that García Martínez holds 4QMMT to be a Qumranic post-split-off text, but that he also believes the text still tries to influence the 'leader of the Essenes' to admit he erred. Such an action would indicate the split-off is not yet definite or beyond return. Moreover, CD is another document which García Martínez seems to assign to both the formative period and the time after the split-off (see below).

According to García Martínez's hypothesis, this *formative period* ends at the moment of what he has called 'the discordant split-off' of the Qumran group, which was initiated by the Teacher of Righteousness after his falling out with the Man of the Lie (1QpHab V 9-12). Interestingly, in this early phase of his hypothesis, García Martínez regards the Man of the Lie to be "the Head of the Essene Movement".[53] The schematic chronology of the table above demonstrates that the split-off is thought to have taken place in the early years of John Hyrcanus, while disputes and conflicts already were pregnant under Jonathan and Simon: Thus, even though García Martínez never discusses exact dates, his hypothesis implicitly confines the '*formative period*' of the 'Qumran sect' broadly to ca. 161-125 BCE.

2.2.1.2. The Reasons for the 'Split-Off'

The cut-off point, from which the Qumran group became a separate entity, must therefore be found in the perceived reasons for the split-off. García Martínez argues that the 'discordant split-off' is the result of "the different interpretation of the Law laid down by the sectarian halakhot and […] the strong eschatological expectations of the Teacher of Righteousness".[54] Both these reasons are argued for on the basis of perceived differences between the Qumran position and that of the parent movement, the Essenes.

Ad 1. Eschatology:

According to García Martínez, the Teacher of Righteousness introduced a strong sense of eschatological hope in his message. These eschatological expectations

[53] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 25.
[54] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 24.

are thought to have led to tensions in the broader Essene movement, since "eschatology is precisely one of the elements not brought out in the classical description of Essenism, but in the sectarian writings of Qumran it is prominent and shows a clear development".[55] García Martínez regards the Teacher's eschatological expectations to be reflected in various instances in 1QS, for example in 1QS VIII 12b-16a:[56]

> And when these have become a community (ליחד) in Israel 13 according to these arrangements they are to be separated from the midst of the dwelling of the men of iniquity to walk into the wilderness to prepare there his (אהאוה) path 14 as it is written (*Isa 40:3*): In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord (יהוה cp. Isa 40:3 יְהוָה); Make straight in the wilderness a highway for our Lord. 15 This (highway) is the study of the Torah/Law, which he has commanded through the hand of Moses in order to act according to all that has been revealed from age to age 16 and according to which the prophets have revealed in his holy spirit (*vacat*)….

According to García Martínez, the eschatological expectations of the Teacher reflect the clear influence of the apocalyptic tradition, which similarly influenced *Jubilees* and the *Animal Apocalypse* (1Enoch 85-90).[57] These two writings obviously are not Qumranic in origin, but are influential in Qumran, and therefore considered to be part of the community's *formative period*. García Martínez again places the developments of eschatology in a chronological order, attached to certain textual witnesses:

Prophetic Eschatology	***Apocalyptic Eschatology***	***Formative Teacher Eschatology***
Hebrew Bible	*Jubilees* *Animal Apocalypse*	CD

Table 5: García Martínez's Assessment of the Development of Eschatology at Qumran.

[55] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I,* 17; contra Davies, who holds that the Qumran eschatology is a fulfilment of the Essene eschatology, which can be found in *Jubilees*, CD and 4QDibHam; cf. Philip Davies, 'Eschatology at Qumran', in *JBL* 104, 1985, 39-55; Also Cf. John J. Collins, 'The Yahad and the "Qumran Community"' in Charlotte Hempel and Judith Lieu, *Biblical Traditions in Transmission, Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (Leiden: Brill, 2006) 81-96.
[56] Even though the text does not mention the Teacher of Righteousness.
[57] Cf. John J. Collins, who argues that apocalyptic writings are not well attested for at Qumran: *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997).

Ad 2. Sectarian Halakha

García Martínez holds that the most significant reasons for the split-off, which he sees evidenced in CD I 5b-12,[58] must be found in the "halakhah regulating practical life".[59] The two main documents García Martínez holds to indicate problems concerning legal or halakhic matters are, chronologically, 11QTemple and 4QMMT. 11QTemple is attributed to the *formative period* of the sect, i.e. before the establishment of the Community at Qumran, and is supposed to be authored by the Teacher himself. Therefore, 11QTemple is treated as a witness to the halakhic disputes between the Teacher and 'Greater Essenism' and his disputes "with other elements of the Judaism of the time".[60] García Martínez identifies the major elements of these disputes as:[61]

1. Prescriptions concerning feasts and sacrifices according to a sectarian calendar.
2. Prescriptions concerning the Temple, the city and its related matters of purity.
3. The statute of the King.
4. Various *halakhot* particularly relating to problems of purity, tithes and marriage.

The second witness concerning the development of 'sectarian halakhah', 4QMMT, is especially thought to reflect the causes for the separation of the Qumran sect. Particularly one section of this highly fragmentary text, 4QMMT C 7b-8c,[62] is considered to reflect a manifesto of separation. This passage has played a major role in the interpretation of the document's further contents and halakhic statements.

García Martínez identifies in 4QMMT's supposed 'sectarian *halakha*' four areas of dispute, in which the Teacher's discordant interpretation of the Law might have led to the alleged Qumranic split-off :

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[58] From this famous passage in CD, which narrates on the exile, the raising up of a 'root' many scholars have tried to establish historical reconstructions about the foundation date of the Qumran Community as well as the lifetime of the Teacher.

[59] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I,* 17; Cf. Schiffman, *Qumran and Jerusalem*, 5: "Jewish legal issues must stand at the center of all sectarianism in Second Temple Times". However, as we saw in Chapter One, Davies has argued that underlying the obvious, but often exaggerated, disputes and differences on matters of *halakha* often one finds more profane, economical, political or social reasons. Cf. Philip Davies, 'Sect Formation in Early Judaism', 136.

[60] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I,* 18.

[61] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I,* 18.

[62] Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, Vol 2.* (Leiden, Grand Rapids: Brill, Eerdmans, 1998), 801: "[And you know] we have segregated ourselves from the multitude of the peop[le] [and] from mingling in these affairs, and from associating wi[th them] in these things".

1. The cultic calendar.
2. Prescriptions concerning the Temple, the city and its norms of purity.
3. *Halakhot* relating to tithes, impurity and marriage status.

Struck by the similarity of the halakhic areas of conflict between 11QTemple and 4QMMT, García Martínez argues for - again chronologically placed - a different provenance for both texts. Where 11QTemple is considered to be formative, pre-separation, he places 4QMMT later and regards this text as an open letter written by the Teacher to the religious group from which the Qumranites separated.[63] Hence, he interprets 4QMMT as a 'polemic letter' of an early Qumranic stage.[64] This early stage of separation is assumed since, apparently, the author of the letter still wants to negotiate and discuss matters of *halakha* in order to convince the 'Other' to see the error of his/their ways.

2.2.1.3. Summarising the Theory of a Formative Period

Thus, García Martínez concludes that the *formative period* contains the inceptions of visible differences between the Essene parent group and the Qumran group. Firstly, in contradistinction to the Essenes, whose ideological and socio-religious outlook did not know eschatology, the Qumran group was characterised by the Teacher's apocalyptic influences that brought distinct eschatological expectations. Secondly, according to Josephus, the Essenes were admired by the Jerusalemite establishment and hence most likely accepted their calendar and subsequent festival cycle, while the Qumran group related to the Teacher's concepts of the 'periodisation of history' until the 'end time', which possibly inherently influenced their alternate position on calendrical and festival issues. Hence, under the influence of the Teacher of Righteousness, they supposedly changed their socio-religious Essene make-up, and their *halakhic* positions. García Martínez's hypothesis holds that the roots of these altering positions can be detected in the *formative period* of the 'Qumran sect', which thus consists of the following building blocks:

[63] Interestingly, at a later stage, most scholars hold 4QMMT as a letter addressed to the Jerusalemite High Priestly establishment. García Martínez argues that it is precisely the lacking third component of 11QTemple, the Statute of the King, which proves 4QMMT to be a later development with a more inner-sectarian programmatic character.
[64] 'Qumranic' is used to indicate 'post split-off', not necessarily physically connected to Khirbet Qumran.

Date:	ca. 161-125 BCE
Jerusalem Rule:	Jonathan (161/152-143/2 BCE),
	Simon (143/2-135/4 BCE),
	John Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE)
Qumran Rule:	Teacher of Righteousness (pre-desert)
Split-Off:	Early in John Hyrcanus' rule, ca. 134-125 BCE?
Issues:	Eschatology,
	Apocalyptic influences,
	Calendar & festivals,
	Relation to the Temple and Temple Cult,
	Other halakhic matters regarding purity, tithes and matrimony
Texts:	*11QTemple*,
	4QMMT,
	CD,
	Jubilees,
	Book of Dreams

Table 6: Summary of García Martínez's 'Formative Period'.

2.2.2. Scholarly Evaluations of the Groningen Hypothesis

The socio-historical reconstruction of the Groningen Hypothesis has been received with both support and criticism.[65] These scholarly comments have been directed towards all five of the pillars of García Martínez's proposal. However, for our purposes, it suffices to address concisely only those scholarly opinions related to the various elements that are related to García Martínez's *formative period*.

Hempel argues against the straightforward identification of the Qumran parent group as Essene and the *yahad* as a 'discordant split-off group'.[66] Rather, she advocates for the various 'sectarian' documents being witnesses of a development in 'sectarian ideology', which reflect the rules, regulations and ideas of both the parent group and the *yahad*. Thematically, she recognises a chronological development from 'righteous remnant'-texts such as *Jubilees*, *1Enoch* and CD into the *yahadic* writings that seem to reflect a similar self-designation as 'righteous ones'. Even though she supports the hypothesis of developmental chronology, Hempel rejects the idea of a

[65] Cf. Gabriele Boccaccini ed., *Enoch and Qumran Origins, New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), esp. Part Four: 'The Groningen Hypothesis Revisited', 249-328.
[66] Charlotte Hempel, 'The Groningen Hypothesis: Strengths and Weaknesses', 249-255. Also, Hempel gives several examples why the classical sources cannot be relied upon to identify the parent movement as Essene.

'*formative period*', which confines texts *either* to this precursory period *or* to the Qumranic period. Most importantly, she criticises García Martínez's attribution of 11QTemple and 4QMMT, both of which she considers to be pre-Qumranic, to the authorship of the Teacher. Rather, Hempel argues that 11QTemple and the 'halakhic central section of 4QMMT' belong to the "common halakhic heritage" of both the parent movement and the offshoot.[67] Also, Hempel expresses doubt whether 4QMMT's Epilogue might successfully be referred to as prime evidence for a 'discordant split-off' of the 'Qumran Sect', since the text has a 'conciliatory tone' (often referred to as 'mild polemics') and is very concerned with the fate of all Israel. These observations naturally add to Hempel's critique of the idea of a '*formative period*', which she calls "unrealistic", mainly since criteria for a clear distinction between these 'formative period'-texts and 'original' Essene texts are not or cannot be given.

Baumgarten's point of critique of the Groningen Hypothesis is first and foremost a methodological and theoretical one:[68] He quotes historian Marc Bloch, who argued that discovering origins […] is at best "incidental and makes a minimal contribution to understanding".[69] Moreover, the methodological pitfall of researching 'the idol of origins' is the researcher's wish to reconstruct a for him/her imagined and conceivable history instead of an accurately reconstructed past reality. Therefore Baumgarten argues against simplified reconstructions of history on the basis of perceived similarities and differences. Addressing the possibilities within the Groningen Hypothesis that allow for variety in the Qumran library, he rephrases the idea of the *formative period*, as he states that, because of this 'pre-Qumran phase' "we need not assume the improbable notion of a thought police at Qumran that censored every work to make sure that it conformed perfectly to the law and the ideology of the Community" (contra García Martínez!).[70] However, on the level of textual analysis, Baumgarten - like Hempel - correctly criticises the Groningen Hypothesis' idea of this very pre-Qumran phase (and its subsequent discordant split-off theory): both scholars

[67] Hempel, 'Strengths and Weaknesses', 250; Moreover, Hempel places 4QMMT on the same halakhic level as CD by arguing that both texts' *halakhot* have a common source as their *Vorlage*.
[68] Albert Baumgarten, 'Reflections on the Groningen Hypothesis', in Boccacini ed., *Enoch and Qumran Origins,* 256-262.
[69] Baumgarten, 'Reflections', 257.
[70] Baumgarten, 'Reflections' 258; Contra García Martínez, who holds it "out of the question that it [the Qumran Community] should have preserved and made use of works incompatible with its own ideology", *Qumranica Minora I*, 9.

point out that, if García Martínez is correct in his assumption that the Community's origins lie in the Essene movement, the organisational closeness of the classical sources to the prime 'sectarian' text of 1QS is hard to explain.[71]

Lester Grabbe, who at points wholeheartedly supports the Groningen Hypothesis, asks critical questions about the Essene origins of the Qumranites, and most importantly he doubts the idea of a discordant split-off, for which he sees no solid textual evidence.[72] Grabbe questions García Martínez's 'reasons' for the presumed discordant split-off, i.e. calendar and eschatology, by arguing that, not only do these reasons come from silence, they also do not take the politics behind Josephus' and Philo's writings into account.[73] Moreover, Grabbe wonders how to evaluate the provenance of certain texts such as *1Enoch* and *Jubilees* within the Qumran corpus, if one presumes the Groningen Hypothesis' main reasons for a schism, i.e. calendar and eschatology would be correct. Are these texts to be considered Essene or not? Moreover, as the so-called calendrical texts are rather inconclusive as to their outlook and origins, how are we to evaluate the calendrical material within these pseudepigraphal texts?[74]

Scholars have also criticised García Martínez's proposal regarding the chronology and the proposed dating of the Qumran split-off, as his proposal would lead to an extensive *formative period*. This is a particularly important point, especially since the *formative period* (and subsequently the date of the sect's retreat to the desert) is the centre pin around which the whole hypothesis circles.

One of those critical scholars, Torleif Elgvin, has argued that many documents orthographically, ideologically and rhetorically connect to the *yahad*, but are far removed from its establishment in Qumran on the basis of dating and paleography.[75] He bases his argument on Jodi Magness's archaeological dating of the site's first occupation (ca. 100-31 BCE) in combination with the following four textual arguments:

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[71] Baumgarten, 'Reflections', 256-262; also cf. Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes*.
[72] Lester Grabbe, 'Digging among the Roots of the Groningen Hypothesis', in Boccacini ed., *Enoch and Qumran Origins,* 280-285.
[73] According to Grabbe, the classical sources describe the Essenes from written sources rather than first hand experience and only highlight issues that confirm their writers' preferred outlook, Grabbe quotes *War* 2.159 and *Ant*. 13.311; 15.373; 17.347-348 as possible allusions to eschatology.
[74] Also cf. James VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (New York: Routledge, 1998).
[75] Elgvin, 'The *Yahad* is more than Qumran', 273-279.

1. According to Emanuel Tov's criteria to identify a 'Qumran scribal school', some *yahadic* writings (e.g. 4QQoha and AQDibMeora) date to the mid 2nd century BCE.
2. Stephen Pfann has dated the Qumran cryptic texts 4Q249a-d to 190-140 BCE.
3. Elgvin uses the *Enochic Animal Apocalypse*, witnessing the appearance of a new righteous group, to reconstruct history, which in combination with information from CD leads him to reconstruct the foundation of the *yahad* to ca. 170 BCE.
4. Elgvin also points to various 'righteous planting'-texts, both *yahadic* and 'pre-sectarian': Even though he considers these 'pre-sectarian' planting texts (*4QInstruction* and *1Enoch*) to be less connected to a particular community, Elgvin still thinks that, as textual similarities point to a similar milieu, the *yahadic* planting texts should not be far removed historically from their 'pre-sectarian counterparts'.

Hence, according to Elgvin's reconstruction, the Groningen Hypothesis' historical reconstruction is in tension with paleographical evidence, as the '*formative period*' would thus prove to be unrealistically long, i.e. 50-120 years. Therefore, he argues for an earlier dating of an elite *yahadic* movement within the Essene movement, which later developed a study centre at Qumran. Finally, Elgvin further undermines the Groningen Hypothesis' idea of chronological development, by arguing for a category of 'extra-sectarian' manuscripts amongst the DSS, as certain manuscripts seem not congruent with *yahadic* thought but are nevertheless contemporary according to their dating (e.g. 4Q448, 4QMysteries).

Also, Émile Puech contests the hypothesis' chronology and timeframe, and in his critique of the Groningen Hypothesis, he unintentionally provides us with an interesting methodological criticism regarding the reconstruction of socio-historical reality from rather obscure historical allusions. Puech reconstructs an alternative to García Martínez's early history of the sect and its formative period, while using mostly the same textual evidence. Yet, he changes one single parameter: he identifies the Wicked Priest, who pursues the Teacher of Righteousness to his place of exile in 1QpHab, as Jonathan.[76] This replacement inherently places the birth of the Qumran group and its subsequent retreat to Qumran (and hence the whole historical framework including its parameters of persons, places and events) some twenty years earlier. Moreover, due to his alternative historical reconstruction Puech's chronological dates for 4QMMT and 11QTemple have to be reversed, thus making

[76] Émile Puech, 'The Essenes and Qumran, the Teacher and the Wicked Priest, the Origins', in Boccacini ed., *Enoch and Qumran Origins,* 298-302.

4QMMT the earlier document. As a result of Puech's earlier historical setting, 11QTemple can now *pick up* on the 'Statute of the King' (after the death of Jonathan, in whose reign the kingship and high priesthood were combined in one ruler), where the '*earlier*' MMT was not concerned with these issues. Hence, to Puech, both 4QMMT and 11QTemple are not to be assigned to the sect's 'formative period', but are full-blown *yahadic* documents from Qumran. So, if one compares Puech's and García Martínez's propositions and realises that both theories are based on the same sources and read as similarly convincing, one can observe how appealing, but at the same time how contentious historical reconstructions on the basis of non-historiographical texts can be.

2.2.3. The Groningen Hypothesis in 2011, according to García Martínez himself

In 2011, García Martínez himself addressed his Groningen Hypothesis with Baumgarten's question "Has the Groningen Hypothesis reached the limits of its explanatory power, such that it is ripe for replacement […]?" in mind as a central point of evaluation.[77] He recognises that two fundamental contemporary insights, which were lacking at the first publication of the Groningen Hypothesis, have become important for our understanding of Qumran:

1. After the full publication of the scrolls, the formerly presupposed proportional division of the types of document (biblical, 'para-biblical' and sectarian) has changed, and the importance of 'para-biblical' material has become clear. This so-called 'reworked Bible' material makes up for the same amount of texts as the biblical and sectarian texts taken together.
2. At the same time, it has become clear that these labels are anachronistic, far from neutral and "inadequate to reflect historical reality".[78]

Having observed this, García Martínez implicitly accepts the presence of multiple voices (representing multiple Jewish groups) within the Qumran texts, but he nevertheless -at the same time- holds on to the prime parameters of the Groningen Hypothesis:

[77] Florentino García Martínez, 'The Groningen Hypothesis Revisited', in: Roitman, Schiffman and Tzoref eds., *Contemporary Culture,* 17-30.
[78] García Martínez, 'Revisited', 21.

1. The ‘sectarian’ texts in the Qumran collection reflect a group or groups of Jews that were different from or opposed to the rest of the Jews of their time. These documents now form a minority of the total collection, but they do reflect the ideology and beliefs of the group that produced them.
2. Even though the opposition (or Other) is differently defined in CD and 1QS, these two ‘sectarian’ texts do not only define themselves over against ‘all Israel’, but also clearly give evidence to the existence of a parent and a split-off group. Hence, García Martínez holds on to a split-off group, the ‘Qumran Community’ that has brought together a library of manuscripts.
3. This library is religious in nature and its outlook is sectarian, i.e. it reflects the sectarian group at Qumran. Moreover, García Martínez takes an even more radical stance than when he first formulated his Hypothesis in contextualising the ‘Qumran library’ as evidence of an authoritative ‘canon-like’ collection, i.e. a ‘Qumran Bible’ as it were:

> “Now, we are much more aware that the only historical context we can apply with any certainty to the collection of compositions previously known (some as “biblical” and some as “non biblical”) as well as to the compositions previously unknown (some labelled “sectarian” and others “non-sectarian”) is the Qumran context. For compositions previously unknown it is evident that the only context we can give them is the collection where they have been found, and while this context is independent of their origins it tells us at least that these previously unknown compositions were acceptable to and cherished by the group to a greater or lesser degree, in the same manner that the compositions which later will become “Bible” in Jewish, Christian or Ethiopic canons were acceptable to and cherished by the respective group to a greater or lesser degree.”[79]

4. In his understanding of the Qumran collection being a coherent library of authoritative manuscripts, specific for the Qumran sect, García Martínez moves towards the idea of a ‘Qumran Bible’ and proposes to abandon the taxonomies of ‘biblical’ and ‘non-biblical’ altogether. He proposes to approach all Qumran texts as authoritative for the Qumran sect: “The fact is that the whole collection of manuscripts found at Qumran is formed by

[79] García Martínez, ‘Revisited’, 26.

religious texts (in Hebrew or in Aramaic) whose formation has been influenced by other *preceding* religious texts that were considered as more or less authoritative. And the same authority-conferring strategies are used in all of them."[80]

In a recent article that puts this earlier proposal in practice, García Martínez introduced a new method of analysis, which he calls 'the authority-conferring strategy of the text'.[81] Holding firm to the conviction of a 'representative Qumran library', he proposes to abandon the taxonomy of anachronistic labels, and to replace them by an analysis of how the 'core sectarian texts' (i.e. *Damascus Document, Serekh, Hodayot, Pesharim, Milhamah*) reflect strategies "in order to invest their own compositions with the same authoritative status of the other compositions their authors clearly recognized as authoritative ("Moses" and "the Prophets," but also compositions like Jubilees, Temple Scroll, Apocryphon of Joshua, Aramaic Levi)".[82] He demonstrates how these 'core sectarian texts' attempt to claim authority by using strategies of divine inspiration and revelation (e.g. through the authoritative voice of the Teacher), strategies which were formerly used to demonstrate authority in 'biblical' and other compositions. García Martínez's efforts to break open the anachronistic straight-jacket of categorization and replace it with a more emic approach via a social group's understanding of authoritativeness and holy scripture is a commendable one, and certainly demonstrates sensitivity to some obvious points, though they are often overlooked in Qumran Studies:

1. The writings from Qumran cannot be assumed to be exhaustive and must be treated as partial and coincidental for obvious reasons: (1) many of the Qumran finds are fragmentary scraps of scroll, (2) we do not know what the total contents of the caves around Qumran constituted at the moment the manuscripts were deposited in the caves.

[80] García Martínez, 'Revisited', 28.
[81] Florentino García Martínez, 'Beyond the Sectarian Divide: The "Voice of the Teacher" as an Authority-Conferring Strategy in Some Qumran Texts", in Charlotte Hempel ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context*, STDJ 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2010) 227-244.
[82] García Martínez, 'Beyond the Sectarian Divide', 237.

2. There was no such thing as a canon or a bible, even though there seems to be an early notion of the authoritativeness in a division of the 'Books of Moses' and 'Books of the Prophets'.
3. Therefore, divisions in biblical and non-biblical documents are anachronistic. Instead, the scholarly default setting should be authoritativeness for the community concerned.
4. It recognizes the presence of more than one social group (and possibly more than a parent and a split-off group) in the 'core sectarian texts'.
5. It demonstrates that the strategies and techniques used in the Qumran 'sectarian' writings are not unique, but can be traced in formerly known compositions as well as in what later became the books of the Hebrew Bible.
6. It demonstrates a certain awareness of continuity: Like Moses and the Prophets before them, the contemporary generation of authority-figures might also have been seen as being granted insights through divine revelation. This realization places the 'sectarian' writings from Qumran, at least on a strategic and rhetorical level, in a long tradition, and hence takes them - to a degree - out of their marginality.

However, underlying this newly proposed approach one can still observe the same parameters that uphold the old Paradigm:

1. There is a geographically definable 'Qumran Sect' with specific, rather radical ideas, which reflect the peculiar interpretations of an authority figure called the Teacher, who opposes 'mainstream Judaism'.
2. The writings are a representative collection of authoritative writings of this 'Qumran Sect'.
3. As scholarship has clearly acknowledged the multitude of outlooks and voices in the various 'sectarian' texts, García Martínez attempts to (partly) acknowledge these different groups, whilst holding on to the idea of a chronological development as the prime explanation for these differences in outlook. [83]

[83] García Martínez, 'Beyond the Sectarian Divide', 229-239. The new approach reflects the tension García Martínez is in, since he uses now one and then multiple, yet various groups as being the owners of the Qumran collection. Here are just a few quotes from his article that illustrate how unclear and

4. The 'core sectarian writings' reflect textual multi-layeredness caused by the *chronological* development of the ideologies and beliefs that –from the precursors of the Qumran sect onwards- led to the unique positioning of the *Yahad* in their age and time.

2.2.4. A Few Preliminary Remarks Regarding García Martínez's Classification System

In abandoning the taxonomies, as well as letting go of his strictly historical reconstruction approach and replacing it by an approach of Qumran-centred contextualisation, García Martínez seemingly obscures his Groningen Hypothesis' idea of a *formative period* and subsequent textual chronology. However, he clearly retains the idea of a chronological development in which 'sectarian' texts are influenced by 'preceding texts'. And, since he also holds on to the main elements on which the concept of a *formative period* is based,[84] one may presume that even though the surface level of analysis has shifted - possibly under the influence of the realised importance of the so-called 'para-biblical' texts -, on a deeper level the parameters of the Paradigm are still in place. Therefore it is also safe to presume that the initial texts assigned to the *formative period* (11Q*Temple*, 4QMMT, CD*, Jubilees*, *1Enoch*) are still considered to be 'formative'.

This steady parameter of the original 'Groningen Hypothesis', i.e. the notion of a *formative period,* is an important pillar, not only for García Martínez's

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indecisive García Martínez is, and how confused the reader might be when he/she tries to figure out what exactly is still meant by 'the Yahad' or the 'Qumran Community' or who are these other groups mentioned and how they relate to Qumran: "those core texts have revealed particular groups to us (the yahad group or the mahanot groups)", (229); "they show us a web of relationships among those groups, groups certainly interconnected, but in no way identical"(229); "groups that put together the collection" (230); "Without elaborating here on the complicated matter of the relationship of the Damascus Document and the Serek, and consequently on the development and relationship of the communities for which these documents legislate" (231); "this figure of the past who was all-important for the different groups" (232); "the forming of the group of the Damascus Document" (233); "the activity of "interpreting the law" is one of the basic characteristic of all the yahad groups" (234); "a constant function within the groups that gathered the manuscripts" (235); "divine revelation, produced by God's spirit, is now continuously accessible through exegesis which, within the group, reveals the true meaning of Torah for each age" (236); "The figure who has this function within the group, the "Interpreter of the Torah" (238); "What has been hidden from Israel is precisely those aspects of the Law of Moses that have been revealed to the members of the group" (238); "I think we can conclude that "the voice of Teacher" is used within the collection of manuscripts as an authority-conferring strategy for compositions that expand and adapt the Torah to the needs of the group, and that "reveal" what in the Torah has remained "hidden" from all Israel" (239).

[84] That is: a discordant split-off from a larger Essene body *and* a connection between the Qumran site and a Qumran sect with distinguishable 'sectarian ideas' preserving a 'deliberate collection of authoritative writings'.

hypothesis, but also for many scholarly attempts to trace back historical origins and developments of a social entity called the Qumran Community or *yahad*. Since the Qumran group is perceived to be a split-off group with a particular and distinctive sectarian outlook, the reverse trajectories to uncover the sect's origins and early history seek to identify 'pre-sectarian' sources and entities. Hence, the *formative period* is born to deal with texts that - ideologically and socially - resemble, but are not similar to *yahadic* texts, and as such are believed to provide pre-sectarian views.

In sum: underlying this notion of a '*formative period*' two main presuppositions can be detected:

1. The manuscripts found in the Qumran caves are the remains of a consistent, coherent and meaningful sectarian library, assembled, owned, copied, written and studied by the Qumran sect that lived at Khirbet Qumran.
2. "All the works found in Qumran that cannot be classified as strictly sectarian must have been composed *before* the split that gave rise of the Qumran group, because otherwise they would never have been accepted by the sect."[85]

Thus, the (parts of) writings that typically are assigned to the *formative period* of the sect reflect a certain aspect of the *chronological framework* in which they are embedded, and characteristically are one of the following:

1. Texts that demonstrate Qumran-like sectarian ideologies 'in the making' while still being 'distinguishably Essene'.
2. Some (parts of) 'formative' writings can be found as incorporations in otherwise Qumranic texts.
3. Some manuscripts demonstrate such a long tradition history, that they comprise stages of development, in which Essene, formative and Qumranic layers can be recognised.

A first attempt to summarise the theoretical weaknesses, which are connected to the idea of a *formative period* (and its underlying idea of a split-off), demonstrates the following points of attention:

1. The textual evidence for a discordant split-off is meagre and not persuasive.

[85] Cf. García Martínez and van der Woude, 'A "Groningen" Hypothesis' in García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora*, 31-52, 31.

2. There are no clear criteria of how to distinguish between Essene and formative texts, nor between formative and Qumranic texts.
3. The paradoxes and contradictions within the various classical sources regarding the Essenes, as well as their authors' strategic objectives obscure any sound Essene identification or distinction between Essene and Qumranic.
4. Textual similarities are not always reflected in actual social reality.
5. Qumran might reflect a large collection of wider Jewish writings, in which case extra-sectarian would be better than pre-sectarian.

Some of these observations we have already encountered in the scholarly points of critique that were discussed in section 2.2. Yet, in their various evaluations of García Martínez's theories, most scholars have not attempted to this degree to substantiate their fundamental criticisms by analysing the hypothesis on a meta-level, i.e. on the basis of (the function of) its basic parameters and underlying assumptions. More often they have *either* tried to replace (certain elements of) García Martínez's theory with their own alternative hypothetical elements, *or* they have commented on the content level of the theory. More specifically, there are not many scholars who have systematically analysed the *idea* of a *formative period*, which nevertheless is so essential to García Martínez's entire re-construction of Qumran's early history. Hence, if one focuses and evaluates García Martínez's reconstruction of 'the early history of Qumran' on its content level alone, one runs the risk of establishing variations within the prevailing Paradigm, rather than systematically questioning the Qumran Paradigm itself. In short: We need to look at what is the role and function of the '*formative period*' in the Groningen Hypothesis, and to what extent it has influenced the prevalent Qumran Paradigm. In the next paragraph, I will bring the two sides of the 'classification coin' together and re-assess Dimant's literary classification system and García Martínez's socio-historical classification system in an attempt to evaluate how their construction of 'pre-sectarianism' functions within the reconstruction of Qumran's social reality.

2.3. Two Sectarian Sides of the Same Coin: A Critical Evaluation

The previous sections have dealt with two influential classification systems and their adjustments in detail. The next section critically assesses both systems, while asking whether and to what extent these classifying models tend to create and reinforce a reconstructed social reality in line with the Qumran Paradigm. In the first

part of this section, Dimant's notion of a 'library' and her literary classification system will be discussed, while the second part of the section will focus on García Martínez's socio-historical system. Special attention will be given to two 'pre-sectarian' constructs that have proven to function rather similarly: Dimant's 'in-between' category and García Martínez's 'formative period'.

2.3.1. Dimant, The Qumran Library and Its Textual Classifications

Dimant's classification system is an attempt to categorise all the manuscripts found in the Qumran caves. As she recognises that problems might occur if one attempts to derive socio-historical information from these texts, Dimant explicitly only wants to classify the Qumran manuscripts on the basis of literary criteria. However, her categories reflect sociological connotations, as she arranges them according to their relationship to a confined 'sectarian' community. Moreover, the underlying presupposition that these texts reflect the representative, meaningful and deliberate library of this 'sectarian group' implicitly provokes socio-historical theories of 'sectarian' development. This section of my thesis will attempt to identify the elements within Dimant's theory that demonstrate a certain inflexibility or where, literarily speaking, problems arise in her influential classification system that can only be solved with the help of the Qumran Paradigm. This section basically deals with two parameters of Dimant's theories: her insistence on a deliberate collection (2.3.1.1) and her classification system (2.3.1.2).

2.3.1.1. The Label 'Library' is Void of Criteria and upholds a Specific Social Reality

As early theorists (Milik and Cross) labelled the collection of manuscripts a 'library' without backing this term up with criteria, they implicitly provoked the presumption that the 900 Qumran manuscript belonged together in a 'coherent collection', which hence logically led to the question: *Whose Library*? As in the early days of Qumran, Milik and Cross had to work from limited knowledge of the perceived peculiarities of both the site and the cave 1 literature, they theorised about the library belonging to a scribal 'monastic group' living at Khirbet Qumran. As Scrolls scholarship advanced and more documents became available in the early nineties, the need to re-address the question of these texts' nature and meaning became a central theme.

In her 1995 article, Dimant addresses this need by providing a 'preliminary' literary classification, which builds upon the notion of a 'deliberate library'. However, under the influence of Norman Golb's provocative theory, that challenged the idea of cave/site-connectivity, textual coherence and 'sectarianism' in general, Dimant could no longer use the term 'library' at face value.[86] The criteria on which Dimant builds her case for a deliberate library, are often interlinked, and also seem to contain their fair share of backwards and circular reasoning. These criteria are:

1. Scholarly Authority
2. Connectivity and Caves/Site Interconnectedness
3. Homogeneity in Literary Styles & Genres, Distinctions and Exclusions

Ad 1. Using the Term 'Library' Based on Scholarly Authority

Dimant ascribes the correctness of the term 'library' partly to the *authoritativeness* of the first scholars who used the term, Milik and Cross, even though - as we saw above - these scholars never gave a clear definition or set of criteria for their usage of the term. Early on, Emanuel Tov recognised the possible problems connected to the term 'library', and proposed to use the term in a semantic sense, without drawing conclusions about the collection's contents or provenance.[87] Postponing the question of content, nature and provenance, Tov argued that the term 'library' ceases to be problematic if it is defined as "*all the books, which the community owned and stored, without any implication that they used them or agreed with their contents*" (contra García Martínez).[88] Tov's proposal is attractive as it demonstrates awareness of the connotations attached to the term 'library'. However, his proposal nevertheless sustains and enforces the presence of a sociological entity, a group of 'librarians', who actively assembled, maintained and built this collection of 'books'.[89]

It is precisely the question Tov deliberately postpones, namely the question of the Qumran manuscripts' nature and provenance, which Dimant's classification

[86] Norman Golb had advocated this view firstly in 1980, but defended his position more systematically in *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls? The Search for the Secret of Qumran* (London: BCA, O'Mara, 1995).
[87] Emanuel Tov, 'Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judaean Desert: Their Contribution to Textual Criticism', *JSS* 9 (1988), 5-37; cf. Francesco Zanella, 'Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts: A Possible Semantic Approach' in *RevQ* 24/93 (2009) 19-34.
[88] Tov, 'Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts', 10.
[89] As Tov's later assertion of a 'Qumran Scribal School' clearly demonstrates.

system wants to address. In first using the term 'library' without proof and/or criteria, but on the basis of *scholarly authority*, the stage is set to find evidence to sustain the notion of a library and - often unintentionally - block dissonant data. In using specific terminology before analysing the data one runs the risk that the structure of the model ('a library') becomes normative for the analysis.

Ad 2. A Library Based on Connectivity and Caves/Site Interconnectedness

Dimant is well aware that in order to call the Qumran manuscripts a library, she needs to prove that they form a *deliberate, meaningful, representative and coherent collection*. Therefore, Dimant argued for (a) an *interrelatedness of the caves* and (b) the *homogeneity of the caves' contents*. A third argument, which adds to the notion of a deliberate and meaningful library, springs from arguments (a) and (b), and builds the bridge of (c) *caves/site-interconnectedness*. However, these three arguments do not stand on their own, their validity is interlinked, and therefore, as arguments (a) and (b) might be proven inaccurate, this may also influence the evaluation of (c).

(a) *The Interrelatedness of the Caves*

The supposed '*interrelatedness of the caves*' is based on their similarity in 'content and configuration'. Dimant argues that "the contents of the caves are essentially similar and interlinked", since "most of the caves [..] contain at least one work […] represented by one or several copies in cave 4".[90] However, this observation can only be made if one reasons from the centrality of Cave 4, i.e. it describes the perceived relationship of the other caves to Cave 4, not to one another, and only based on CT and NCT works. In fact, from Dimant's work, the only conclusion that seems valid is the presence of all NCT and CT labelled manuscripts in Cave 4. Even more so, Dimant's table demonstrates that not a single manuscript of all the manuscripts she labels CT and NCT is present in all eleven caves.[91] And since Cave 4 contains 75% of all manuscripts, it is hardly a surprise that most manuscripts from the other caves are found in copy in the much larger Cave 4 collection.

[90] Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 30-33.
[91] Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 31.

(b) *The Fundamental Homogeneity*

The assumed '*fundamental homogeneity*' is based upon several sub-arguments; (i) ratios, (ii) unknown NCT and CT works, (iii) limited styles and genres amongst the CT/NCT works, and (iv) (deliberate) exclusions of certain texts. The first sub-argument of 'ratios' is discussed in this section, since it is entangled with the argument of cave-interrelatedness. The other sub-arguments (ii,iii and iv) are more literarily framed, and are therefore discussed under *Ad 3* (Homogeneity in Literary Styles & Genres, Distinctions and Exclusions).

(i) *Ratios* As Dimant's classification framework delivered a 'more or less equal' 1/3, 1/3, 1/3 division of CT, NCT and Biblical texts, she argues that these ratios provide substantial grounds to assume these texts form a homogenous library. However, Dimant's own research demonstrates that only *some* caves align to these ratios for only *one* of the three textual categories. Moreover, the ratio argument is methodologically dependent on the criteria underlying the CT/NCT/Biblical division. Since these criteria determine the assignment of a text to a category, they also determine the ratios, as these are based on 'types of texts', i.e. CT/NCT/Biblical, not on the actual presence of the same manuscripts. Furthermore, these ratios are based on the caves consisting of "units of complete manuscripts".[92] If we then consider the extreme fragmentariness of many of the Qumran Cave 4 writings, and realise that Cave 4 makes up for 75% of the entire Qumran collection, we might realise the influence this cave exercises on the overall classification.

The fact that Dimant makes no distinction between whole manuscripts, partly preserved manuscripts or fragments, but assigns numerical, equal value to all of them in order to construct an 'intact library', demands the question whether such a decision is methodologically sound. Even if Dimant allows for 10% fall out, her division does not seem to reckon with or evaluate the consequences of unrecognisable fragments, or heavily damaged manuscripts, nor does it take textual differences in various copies, diverse versions of one manuscript, incorporation of texts on one scroll, multi-layeredness and redaction of texts, or the not unfamiliar scholarly debates over various fragments' assignment, connection or/and manuscriptural 'home' into account. Moreover, Dimant's argument also does not problematise the assignment of (parts of) documents to particular caves. It is well known that the Bedouin who found

[92] Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 26.

many manuscripts and the first scholars after them have seriously obscured the original archaeological retrieval, which made the assignment of documents to caves difficult at times. Therefore, the inter-relatedness of the caves, based upon similar ratios, *and* the original contents of the caves, cannot be taken as a method of theorising without extreme caution. Finally, and more generally, more insight into the entirety of the Qumran documents places serious questions on these ratios, particularly as the importance of so-called 're-written Bible' manuscripts has been demonstrated.

(c) *The caves/site-interconnectedness*

A fundamental second step in Dimant's theory of a 'deliberate library' combines (a) and (b) to argue for (c) the cave/site connectedness, i.e. the connectedness of the 'homogenous and textually interconnected caves' and the Khirbet Qumran site. In Dimant's theory, the conclusion of interconnectedness between *all* the caves and the site can only be reached after the interconnectedness of the caves and the homogeneity of their contents is established, as it depends upon the centrality of Cave 4 as a linchpin. In light of the current archaeological insight that access to Cave 4 can only be obtained via the site, the inhabitants of the site are identified as the owners of the 'library'. Dimant arrives at this conclusion because her research has already established a fundamental connection between the caves based upon their textual 'contents and configuration'.[93]

However, if (a) and (b) are not proven, (c) cannot be maintained at face value. What is left is the access route from the site to cave 4, of which its proximity is likely to link this cave to the site. However, as we briefly discussed in Chapter One, the archaeological evidence as to whether the site and the caves (or some of the caves) can be connected, is rather inconclusive. The proximity of some of the caves to the site is of course a case in point, but in light of the current lack of scholarly consensus, it might be better practice to not presume automatically a close relationship between caves and site.

[93] Even though Dimant only stresses this point of access and proximity for Cave 4, Magness rather mentions Caves 7,8 and 9 as otherwise inaccessible, while she only refers to Cave 4's proximity (500 metres) to the site. Cf. Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran*; also Kenneth Atkinson & Jodi Magness, 'Josephus's Essenes and the Qumran Community' in *JBL* 129, no. 2 (2010) 317-342.

Ad 3. A Library Based on Homogeneity in Literary Styles & Genres, Distinctions and Exclusions

At first sight, the subsequent arguments for the Qumran manuscripts forming a 'library' seem more literary in nature, and attempt to prove their homogeneity in character and deliberateness in text-choices: (ii) unknown NCT and CT works, (iii) limited styles and genres amongst the CT/NCT works, and (iv) (deliberate) exclusions of certain texts. However, these sub-arguments seems to be based upon a deeper level of presuppositions that sustain the Qumran Paradigm:

(ii) *Unknown NCT and CT Works*. A second sub-argument for the 'homogeneity of the library' is the high amount of previously unknown CT and NCT works. To argue that 'unfamiliarity by lack of outside sources' is evidence for the homogeneity of these texts, seems rather odd ('we don't know them, so they must belong together'?). However, if one assumes that Dimant theorises from the preconception of an 'unfamiliar (sectarian) community's library', as might be derived from her CT/NCT division, the reasoning for making 'unfamiliarity' an argument becomes clear. From this standpoint, it seems rather logical to give meaning to the fact that many Qumran texts were previously unknown, as the Qumranites were thought to have rather radical and extreme (i.e. at least not mainstream) Jewish ideas and ideologies. Hence, in such a reasoning, it would be no more than logical that their writings were unknown, as they must have been unimportant to Second Temple Judaism as a whole. However, the argument that the Qumran manuscripts demonstrate homogeneity since (1) only 9 out of 190 NCT works were previously known, and (2) "No CT works were transmitted through known channels" is not only an argument from silence, it also denies the general scarceness of textual sources from this period, and it neglects the Cairo Genizah manuscripts, which provided scholarship with the manuscripts of an 'unknown Jewish sect'[94], namely the *Damascus Document* (CD), named by Dimant to be a CT work.

(iii) *Limited Styles and Genres amongst the CT/NCT Works*. This sub-argument of the supposed 'limited styles and genres and clear-cut style/genre distinction in NCT and CT', has not convinced many scholars, since research has demonstrated that many Qumran texts exhibit composite structures and complex

[94] Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries: Vol I Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge: University Press, 1910); Cf. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1922).

multi-layeredness, as well as other textual shades of grey. Moreover, Dimant identifies a large variety of styles and genres amongst the CT and NCT manuscripts. Also, in leaving the category 'biblical' manuscripts out of her analysis, while contemporarily the Hebrew Bible did not exist, Dimant limits the scope of the argument. As such, the abovementioned 'shades of grey' might be seen in another light if one takes the entirety of Qumran manuscripts into account. Most strikingly, what binds all these texts is their religious provenance, and since they use combinations of literary themes, strategies and styles, a true literary classification would assign texts on the basis of literary criteria and themes, rather than in sociologically charged terms like CT/NCT works.

(iv) *(Deliberate) Exclusions of Certain Texts*. And finally, the argument that the collection is deliberate on the basis of the absence of certain writings must be dismissed simply by the archaeological realisation that many manuscripts have been lost in 2000 years of Judean desert, and thus one can never know whether the absence of a text is deliberate or simply a matter of 'worms eating texts'. However, if we address the possibility that Dimant theorises from a presumed framework of Qumran sectarianism, and has a Community with a specific outlook in mind, we might understand her argumentation better. Even though Dimant's argument of deliberate exclusion is seemingly based upon language (Wisdom of Solomon), genre (Book of Judith), and style (1Maccabees), the ideological or rather socio-historical assumptions are hardly hidden under this thin layer of 'literary' qualifications. A first hint to a possible deeper interpretative layer to this argument of exclusion, which in its nature might be more sociological, can be found in the statement that "no precursors to the later Tannaitic literature or to the New Testament" were found at Qumran. As the fact that Qumran is never mentioned in the New Testament is never used as an argument for the 'homogeneity' of the New Testament, one does not expect the absence of (precursors to the) NT material to be used as an argument for a 'Qumran library'. Hence, one suspects this exclusion category is not based upon literary criteria, but is the result of backward reasoning, starting from a presumed sectarian Qumran Community with a particular socio-religious worldview, and matching perception of opponents. In such a sociological framework, the absence of certain texts might be explained as deliberate exclusions of oppositional views. Hence, the absence of Wisdom of Solomon, which in its complex nature might be not the best candidate for a literary argument of exclusion on the basis of language; but sociologically one

might presume a sectarian Jewish priestly community would want to exclude a non-Palestinian, possibly Hellenised Diaspora text. An even clearer case in point is Dimant's suggestion of deliberateness in the absence of the Psalms of Solomon, since this argument surely cannot be made on purely literary grounds: the extant Greek text clearly is translated from a Hebrew original, the literary genre is well-attested of at Qumran and the themes and styles are also most familiar amongst the Qumran literature.[95] Moreover, the already more socio-historical aspects of the text, i.e. its Palestinian origin and its estimated 70-40 BCE 'original Hebrew' date also do not clarify why Dimant finds the text's absence significant for the 'fundamental homogeneity of the library'. Therefore, one suspects that underneath the literary argument lies a more sociological reason to suggest deliberate exclusion, in this case an ideological one, as the text contains Sadducean/Pharisean themes of dispute, and its author takes the position of the Pharisees. Most definitely, Dimant's underlying argument is overtly socio-religious and/or political in the case of 1 Maccabees, which most likely is not believed to be absent because of its literary genre (historiographical narrative), but rather because the text is overtly pro-Hasmonean.[96] In short, the presumption of deliberate exclusion is coloured by sociological presuppositions of the particular religious outlook of a sectarian group in charge of the 'Qumran library', and feeds the idea that our contemporary collection of manuscripts is representative of the original Qumran collection. As such, Dimant's theory leaves little room for natural causes, coincidence or simply unknown reasons for the absence of texts.

Conclusion to this Section: A Library?

As we have established, much doubt can be cast on Dimant's analysis of a coherent, representative and socio-religiously particular library. The conclusion of a 'coherent library' seems to be reasoned backwards from the presupposition that the Qumran manuscripts form a 'coherent library' of a specific group, as - at the out-set - the classification of texts in CT, NCT and Biblical is already based upon the presupposition of 'a sectarian community'. Hence, if one theorises and classifies with a central category of 'sectarianism' already in mind, the notion of a 'coherent library'

[95] Themes such as: suffering inflicted by foreign invasion; desecration of Jerusalem and the Temple; rebuke of "men-pleasers"; recognition of God's justice in rewarding the pious and in punishing the wicked. The author is devoted to the Law, has a bitter hatred of the "wicked", for their unethical lawlessness, and demonstrates great hostility towards the Hasmonean rulers.

[96] Even though most scholars would agree that the Qumran Community was anti-Hasmonean, a few Qumran texts seem to demonstrate another outlook, for instance 'Prayer to King Jonathan (4Q448).

becomes a given framework, in which data is classified to 'fit' the framework. Hence, the classification of texts will be centrally focused on the detection of a 'sectarian' identity, by means of ideology and distinct terminology. From this central focus point, the 'rest of the texts' are assigned their place in the Qumranites' library. Hence, it is the theory of a sociological entity, a 'sectarian community' and its perceived socio-religious distinctiveness that underlies not only the Paradigm of a coherent library, but also the categorisation of texts and manuscripts, which is derived from their closeness and contextual relation to these presupposed central 'sectarian texts of the community'. Therefore, the next section takes a closer look at the functioning of Dimant's classification of sectarian, non-sectarian and 'in-between' texts.

2.3.1.2. Sectarian, Non-Sectarian and 'In-Between': The Story of Escaping Texts

With the notion of a deliberate and 'sectarian' library firmly established, Dimant commits herself to a classification of texts that takes the library's 'sectarian community' as its central focus point. Thus, every Qumran text is classified according to its perceived position in relation to the thoughts, ideas and literary expressions of this perceived Qumran Community. As the category of 'biblical texts', whose presence in any Jewish religious library need not be explained, is regarded as self-evident, Dimant's categorisation system is entirely preoccupied with distinguishing between 'sectarian' and 'non-sectarian' texts. Such a distinction has proven to be difficult, and has led Dimant on a road of backwards reasoning, circular reasoning, escaping texts and failing taxonomies, part of which will be discussed here.

A Non-Historical Literary Classification System Based upon Sociological Phenomena

The hypothesis that the Qumran texts form a 'sectarian library' was proven by Dimant's classification system, for it takes the existence of a 'sectarian community' as its focal point. However, now the 'sectarian library' is firmly established as a framework, it becomes a straightjacket for the same classification system that it was based upon. In this case, circular reasoning worked as a boomerang, which consists of several difficulties:

1. The sociological categorisation of texts cripples the literary analysis.
2. The classification is based upon static criteria of terminology and ideology, and more and more texts do not fit in or escape these categories.

3. The importance of 'non-sectarian' texts that escape all categories, i.e. predominantly the texts that 're-work the Bible' create tension for the whole system of categorisations.
4. Instead of abandoning the system altogether, Dimant proposes an 'in-between' category, the texts in question manage to escape her classification.

As was already evident in the assessment of a deliberate library, Dimant classifies and structures her literary system upon the presumption of a 'sectarian community'. Even though she explicitly wants to stay away from historical evaluations and all their difficulties, her classification system is crippled by specific geographical allocations and perceived socio-religious distinctiveness. In other words, the cave/site (or text/site) interrelatedness-argument provoked the adoption of a concept of a segregated, radical, sectarian, scribal entity. This view underlies the category distinction of Community Terminology/ Non-Community Terminology that helped to provide evidence for the existence of a coherent library. The boomerang that comes back through the notion of this coherent library is not only the terminology attached to the non-literary sociological nature of this classification, but inherently also all the sociological connotations and determinations attached to this terminology of 'sect'.

Thus, Dimant needs to uphold a taxonomy in which the central sociological entity is clearly identifiable on the basis of its texts, which thus are to be recognisably 'sectarian' or 'non-sectarian'. The 'sectarian' category (CT), which is central to the entire taxonomy, is based on circular reasoning, i.e. the texts themselves determine what the criteria for assigning the CT label are. Hence this CT category never reflects the problem of non-fitting or escaping texts, for it simply can - and does! - adjust its own criteria.[97] However, no such flexibility can be ascribed to the NCT (non-sectarian) texts, as they form a broad 'rest'-category, on the basis of no specific criteria other than that they do not fit either the 'sectarian' or 'biblical' profile.

However, Dimant observed that these CT and NCT texts seem to escape their categories for all sorts of reasons.[98] Yet, instead of re-thinking the validity of her classification system, Dimant proposes to add a category 'in-between' the sectarian and non-sectarian texts. This proposal seems to neglect the fact that most of the 'in-between' texts are 'para-biblical' works, which thus cannot be categorised without

[97] We have seen this phenomenon over time, as Dimant adjusted her list of 'sectarian' texts.
[98] Cf. sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.5 of this chapter.

also taking the category 'biblical texts' into account. But more importantly, the texts that receive the 'in-between' label inherently seem to attach themselves to an underlying socio-historical connotation. This needs some explanation: Since the centre from which the entire taxonomy is built, i.e. the notion of a 'Qumran sectarian community', determines what is 'sectarian' from 'the sectarian texts proper', it can also re-define the relationship with the 'outside world', i.e. with the other textual categories (non-sectarian and 'in-between' texts). Hence, the non-sectarian texts are positioned further away from the 'sectarian centre' as they are defined to be 'writings devoid of any connection to the community', while the 'in-between' texts sociologically seem to move closer to the role of 'sectarian' precursors, as they are defined to "lack sectarian characteristic nomenclature and style but embrace notions shared with the sectarian ideology".[99] As Dimant defines the Qumran library as "the specific literature produced by the community together with a body of literary works which they took over from their parent group"[100], this latter definition places these 'in-between' texts in a particular 'pre-sectarian' relationship to the 'sectarian texts proper'. Without wanting to entertain socio-historical reconstructions, Dimant thus arrives at *an implicit chronological framework*, which is developmental in nature: non-sectarian > 'in-between' > sectarian.

This framework retraces the Qumranites' steps, and implicitly holds that the NCT texts were earlier and possibly collected by the Community's precursors, the subsequent 'in-between' texts are 'pre-sectarian' for they already narrow the scope by their shared 'sectarian ideology', and eventually one can observe the Qumran sectarian literature proper. Such underlying chronology, based upon the centrality of a sociological phenomenon, seriously obstructs and obscures a true literary classification.

The Convenient Osmosis of the CT Category's Boundaries

Under the influence of García Martínez's criticism that Dimant does not set distinguishable criteria for the 'in-between' category, Dimant needed to redefine her three categories ('sectarian', 'non-sectarian' and 'in-between') more stringently. Since the 'in-between' and 'non-sectarian' categories are derivatives from the 'sectarian' category, the only possible way for Dimant to reach such stricter definition, is to re-

[99] Dimant, '*Apocryphon of Joshua*', 106.
[100] Cf. Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 36.

define the boundaries of her central – and as we have seen most flexible- category of 'sectarian' texts. Interestingly however, the introduction of clearer CT criteria (*particular lexical locutions*, *phraseology* and *nomenclature*) cannot prevent the recurrent phenomenon of escaping texts from resurfacing. As a result, Dimant seems to need additional, and often text-specific criteria, to make a case for the assignment of a certain text to a certain category. In order to 'close the escape gap' retrospectively, i.e. after applying the three above-mentioned criteria unsuccessfully, Dimant assigns texts to categories as she sees fit. She manages this by dismissing the original criteria on the basis of language (the Aramaic corpus), or by later adding the unquantified criterion of '*adequate frequency*' in the occurrence of certain terminology (the case of the *Genesis Apocryphon*).

The important text 4QMMT is the most eye-catching case in point: Dimant neglects her own criteria entirely and assigns this text to her 'sectarian' category, even though the text contains no CT terminology, nor is it written in "the peculiar style of the sectarian scrolls".[101] Her classification is entirely based upon 4QMMT's perceived subject matter, or rather of the general Qumran scholars' interpretation there of.

Conclusions to the Analysis of Dimant's Classification System

Hence, my analysis of both Dimant's assessment of a 'deliberate, representative and sectarian library' and her classification system demonstrates that:

1. Both rely heavily upon *circular reasoning*.
2. Both betray an underlying pattern of *backward reasoning*, built from the central notion of the existence of a 'sectarian Qumran Community'.
3. The categorisation system may help to provide 'proof' for the deliberateness and coherence of the 'sectarian library', but the idea of a deliberate sectarian library only leaves room within the framework for texts to find a category, and as it seems, *texts keep on escaping the categories*. Hence, the idea of a sectarian library seems to limit and cripple the assessment of the nature and provenance of the individual Qumran texts, for they can only be assessed and classified as part of a coherent library and in relation to the library's assumed 'sectarian' views.

[101] Cf. Dimant, 'Taxonomy', 12.

4. The library as well as the *categorisations force texts into a diachronic (or chronological) framework*, in which not literary but socio-historical qualifications are leading. This not only prevents the possibility of assessing them in their own right, but also enforces the tendency to evaluate each text that is not 'sectarian proper' as a more or less influential precursor to later sectarian thought, and hence to pre-date the Qumran Community. As such Dimant's 'in-between' category is –with respect to its functioning within the larger framework- the equivalent to García Martínez's '*formative period*'.

2.3.2. García Martínez, A Formative Period & Chronological Development

In her 1995 literary classification, Dimant issues a fundamental critique of her colleague Florentino García Martínez's attempt to classify the non-biblical texts from Qumran according to genres and contents.[102] Her main criticism holds that García Martínez fails to make a "systematic distinction between community and non-community works" and that he includes the Aramaic texts "together with the Hebrew ones".[103] Paradoxically, Dimant's most important point of critique, not only of García Martínez, but of any scholar who has attempted to trace back the origins and history of the 'Qumran Community' on the basis of information in the Scrolls, is her conviction that texts can only be assessed on a *literary*, not on a sociological or historical level.[104] She argues that the original idea that these texts can be used to reach reliable historical reconstructions is profoundly flawed. Dimant particularly stresses that historical reconstructions based upon any combination of archaeological evidence regarding the habitation periods of Khirbet Qumran *and* textual evidence regarding the 'origins of the sect', are still heavily debated. Therefore, Dimant argues that no such reconstructed history can be suitable to establish either the dating (pre-sectarian, sectarian) or the classification (sectarian, non-sectarian) of manuscripts.[105]

In this respect, Dimant's position is radically opposed to García Martínez's 'Groningen Hypothesis', whose pivotal point is the establishment of an overall *chronological framework* to explain the history, development and early origins of the 'Qumran Community'. As such, it is a *historically* focussed classification system, which primarily attempts to date and allocate manuscripts diachronically, in order to

[102] Cf. Florentino García Martínez, *Textos de Qumran* (Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 1992).
[103] Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts', 24, n.4.
[104] Dimant, 'Taxonomy', 9; also fn.6.
[105] Paradoxically, as we have seen, Dimant falls into her own pit, only via a different route.

serve the socio-historical purpose of positioning the perceived peculiarities of Qumran within Second Temple Judaism, while at the same time trying to find an overarching explanation for the collection's textual and literary diversity.

Thus, García Martínez and Dimant take very different approaches, but they have the same goal: they wish to classify, categorise and position the Qumran manuscripts in an overarching explanatory framework. In turn however, García Martínez has fundamental problems with Dimant's classification system as his hypothesis is not served by a fundamental dichotomy between 'sectarian' and 'non-sectarian', but rather wants to understand the Qumran manuscripts as witnesses to a diachronic development of a particular Qumran-specific form of sectarianism. As such, García Martínez contests Dimant's assessment that the Aramaic manuscripts should be classified as non-sectarian solely on the basis of their language. More generally, he rejects Dimant's fundamental dichotomy of 'sectarian' and 'non-sectarian' texts and he is critical of her subsequent 'in-between' category: he argues that -in a fundamental dichotomy like Dimant's- texts cannot be 'a little sectarian'.[106] More specifically, he rightly observes that Dimant's 'in-between' category consists mostly of 'reworked Bible' texts and hence, the re-categorisation cannot simply affect non-biblical ('sectarian'/'non-sectarian') texts, but has to have an impact on all Qumran manuscripts, biblical and non-biblical.

However, García Martínez's framework also builds upon Dimant's ground-breaking work, from which it takes its two primary contentions: The assumption of the existence of a 'Qumran Community' (1), that copied, wrote, read, studied and owned a meaningful and deliberate collection of texts, which formed (2) its sectarian religious library.[107] Thus, despite his rejection of Dimant's classification system and his counter-proposition to abandon all taxonomies and textual classifications, García Martínez preserves the Paradigm of 'a deliberate library of a sectarian group'. These two Paradigmatic pillars can even be detected as the foundation stones of his recent analytical concept of authoritativeness, in which recognisable authority-conferring strategies are thought to form the red thread that ties the entire corpus together in a conceptual 'Qumran Canon'. Thus, the notion of a 'Qumran sectarian community' is considered a 'given' in García Martínez's new analytical concept, and therefore central to its framework, in which the Qumran texts are still allocated as belonging

[106] García Martínez, 'Sectario, No-Sectario, O Qué?', 383.
[107] Cf. for instance, García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 31-36.

either to the 'sect' or to their perceived precursors. In the pages to follow, I will discuss the consequences of García Martínez's hypothesis, in order to identify where tension and problems occur and where precisely critical questions need to be asked.

2.3.2.1. Qumran Centrism pushes All Dissonants into Pre-Sectarianism

As Dimant's categorisations seem to suffer from 'escaping texts', which seriously threaten to force her into recurrent re-classification to make them fit the Paradigm, García Martínez's Groningen theory has proven to be much more flexible in its allocation of texts, since it is mostly interested in their historical positioning. Hence, because of its historical purpose, its prime interest is to establish a historically plausible lineage of diachronic developments and perceived spheres of influence. And, even though the Groningen hypothesis is as much tied to the problems of identifying the '*yahadic*' texts, the concepts of diachrony and chronology liberate the framework from the categorisation problems that Dimant encounters, for the simple reason that they implicitly arrange for all non-*yahadic* texts to be '*pre-sectarian'*.

This presumed pre-sectarianism of all non-*yahadic* texts is an implication of the sociological connotations attached to the underlying assumption that the Qumran manuscripts form the 'library of a sect'. Sociologically, sects are perceived to be in tension with the outside world, and as such are likely to self-identify by separation, segregation, and the ideological and social construction of (high) boundaries between insiders and outsiders.[108] Hence, the presumption of a 'sectarian library' *provides* but also *demands* coherence. On the one hand side, the notion of a sectarian library inherently *provides* coherence, since its users are thought to be members of a deviant organisation, who are likely to be interested in preserving a library that accords with their ideology, or at least whose contents can be meaningfully related to their worldviews. On the other hand side, this very presumption *demands* the library's contents to be ideologically coherent. This double-edged sword of coherence thus leads to a 'Qumran Sect centralism', which has far-reaching consequences, as the perceived ideology of the 'sect' becomes the main explanatory tool for the entire library. And, even if we set aside the proven difficulty of setting indisputable and sustainable criteria for the allocation of 'sectarian' texts, the explanation for the

[108] In light of Judaism's multiformity, because we have seen that the usage of the term 'sect' is often loosely defined (Chapter One) and because these very connotations can cripple or overly define the direction of research, it might be better to avoid or at least postpone the terminology and sociology of 'sect' altogether. See also Chapter One.

presence of all 'non-sectarian' texts will be naturally limited by the sociological notions of sectarianism. Hence, their presence can only be meaningfully explained in chronologically based theories, which push dissonant and differing voices into the position of the 'sect's precursors'. As a consequence, these theories are faced with the demand of 'sect centralism' as to construct a chronologically as well as ideologically meaningful lineage.

The weakness of such constructions not only lies in the tendency to downplay paradoxes and inconsistencies (see below), but also in the way it prevents us studying individual texts in their own right. As Qumran Sect Centrism automatically relates texts to the 'Qumran Sect', it limits interpretative horizons and possibilities to open up restricted semantic fields. More importantly, Qumran Centrism seriously tends to block conceptualisations that allow texts to reflect a different or wider social background. Hence, such a sect-centralising concept never thinks of certain texts to be contemporary to the '*yahadic'* texts, or equally authoritative for other social groups, maybe even widely read and studied by various other contemporary Jewish groups. In short, Qumran Centrism prevents theorising more openly about the (possibly wider) provenance of 'inconclusive' Qumran texts, which make up for an important part of the collection. Specifically these texts often lack explicit evidence of specific 'sectarian radicality' and thus might allow for other possible interpretations than their assigned provenance in the early history of a small 'sect' of 200 people.

Thus, Qumran Centrism does also not allow the 'Qumran Community' - if it existed- to be considered as an active participant in a lively discussion on the parameters of Judaism (*halakha*, calendar etc.) at the time, and fixes it in its perceived socially, geographically and ideologically segregated position. Moreover, it negates the possibility that the non-sectarian texts do not or not only reflect Qumran 'sectarian ideas, ideologies and practices in the making', but might provide evidence that these ideas were - in various versions and varieties - much more common and simultaneously developing in many more social settings than Qumran centrism would allow.

2.3.2.2. Formative Period: From Convenient Shelter to Invaluable Preservation Tool

The religious outlook of the 'Qumran Community' is perceived to have "a different theological outlook, a different calendar, a different *halakha* etc. from the 'rest' of Judaism. Moreover, the texts also reveal that this group was a highly

structured and tightly organized community whose members considered themselves to be an elect group, who have consciously *separated* from the rest of that Judaism".[109] In line with this perception, García Martínez argues that the 'sectarian library' has an *exclusivist* character, in which "it does seem impossible that the community should have kept the religious literature of alien or clearly hostile groups".[110]

This assumption forces manuscripts with ostensibly different outlooks, ideologies, *halakhic* positions (and other minor and major differences) in a position in which they cannot threaten the concept of a homogenous sectarian library. As we have seen, one method of achieving this is to place all dissonant, or rather, not 100% 'sectarian' documents *prior* to the formation of the sect.[111] However, the idea of pre-sectarian categories only protects and preserves the uniqueness of the 'Qumran sect' by referring the problems of diversity, difference and (dis)similarity back in time, but cannot entirely explain these phenomena. While the 'pre-sectarian' pushback in time can identify and diachronically explain divergences from the perceived central 'sectarian' position, it nevertheless needs to clarify the *character* of these divergences in relation to the later 'Qumran sectarianism', while at the same time preserve the unity of the entire library. In short, the pre-sectarian categories have three vital functions in the overall framework of 'Qumran Sectarianism':

1. They are recognisable identity-markers, which can contain 'differences and similarities' within their own unit.
2. They establish chronology and hence an explanatory frame of evolution.
3. They keep Qumran Sectarianism 'clean' as they both deal diachronically with difference and provide an explanatory frame for inconveniences within Qumran sectarian texts.

The most flexible asset within these 'pre-sectarian' categorisations has proven to be the extensible '*formative period*', a convenient 'extraordinarily fruitful period' in which the soon-to-be-formed Qumran sect experienced all sorts of influences upon

[109] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 34; This statement in itself raises a multitude of problems, least the generic terminology, such as 'different', and (the assumption of) the existence of an identifiable 'rest of Judaism', a notion that creates the imagery of a 'sectarian' group over against an institutionalised, denominational or church-like religion accepted by the majority of its contemporary society. Disputes regarding halakhic matters, and hence calendrical and festival issues, lie at the heart of Judaism, especially in the multi-group era of the Second Temple. Therefore, I consider the suggestion of Qumran vs. 'the rest of Judaism' unhelpful.
[110] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 34.
[111] García Martínez *Qumranica Minora I*, 31-52, 31: "all the works found in Qumran that cannot be classified as strictly sectarian must have been composed *before* the split that gave rise of the Qumran group, because otherwise they would never have been accepted by the sect."

its later ideological stance. The *formative period* is the linchpin that keeps the whole framework together: it functions not only as a bridge between *all other categories*, it also provides a shelter for *all texts that - for whatever reason - are difficult to position*.

Hence, the *formative period* cleverly turns a weakness into a strength: While in Dimant's classification system, texts like 4QMMT form a threat by their tendency to escape all categories, in García Martínez's proposal, such texts are placed in the *formative period*, in which they form the chronological glue and primary building blocks of the development of 'Qumran Sectarianism'. In an overarching chronological framework of historical development, that wishes to explain the presence of *all* Qumran manuscripts, the notion of a *formative period* functions as a preservation tool for the (re)construction of a unity in what otherwise may look as a rather varied, layered and complexly related corpus of Jewish religious manuscripts.[112]

2.3.2.3. The Bumpy Road to Sectarianism: Inconsistencies in the Developmental Framework

The functionalities of the '*formative period*' that I have discussed above, i.e. pre-sectarisation and the construction of unity, do have their own limitations and are bound to their own implicit criteria. One inherent limitation, which makes the *formative period* more than just a 'convenient rest-category' of inconvenient texts, can be observed once one realises that this category's documents are vitally important for the validity of the entire 'Groningen' framework: Not only do these texts provide the evidence and the reasons for the *yahadic* split-off (4QMMT), they also preserve the 'sect's Essene identification (11QTemple). Moreover, the *formative period* aligns ideological, halakhic and organisational differences and idiosyncrasies in a variety of texts and moulds them into the potentiality to be(come) '*yahadic*'. Finally, the *formative period* fixes the dating and provenance of various difficult-to-place documents by providing their *date* as being between ca. 166 BCE and approx. 125

[112] Moreover, García Martínez uses his historical reconstruction, and more specifically his dating of the 'discordant split-off', as a *terminus ante quem* and guiding tool to date (compositions of) difficult-to-date manuscripts as well as an explanation of why "only some of the so-called Old Testament Apocrypha or Pseudepigrapha, e.g. Ben Sira, Tobit and the *Epistle of Jeremiah* are represented in the caves and not other compositions of the same sort." Cf. García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I,* 36.

BCE,[113] and their *provenance* by positioning them in a chronological order, inherently presuming developmental stages.

As such, the writings of the '*formative period*' together form a framework that is capable of diversity, as they are thought to be witnesses of the sectarian development that eventually led to the Teacher's group's 'discordant' split-off from its Essene parent movement. This diversity is however not without focus: these writings are supposed to provide us with intimate insights into the areas of sectarian development. Logically, the *formative period* ought to consist of manuscripts that provide textual evidence of a growing sectarian discontent with and resistance to certain areas of Essene ideology and practice, while at the same time presenting new developments and ideas already in line with the later 'sectarian' texts.

This understanding of the *formative period* might however be in tension with other assumptions of García Martínez's developmental model. For instance, if the 'Qumran Community' kept an ideologically homogenous library, and it was indeed "out of the question that it [the Qumran Community] should have preserved and made use of works incompatible with its own ideology",[114] why would they preserve the writings of their Essene parent movement, especially since their split-off is thought to be 'discordant'? This is but one of the inconsistencies within García Martínez's reasoning; some others will be briefly discussed below.

As we have seen, the Groningen Hypothesis retraces Qumran sectarianism chronologically, and distinguishes it ideologically from its precursors on the basis of the presence/absence of eschatology and specific *halakhic* disputes. If I understand García Martínez correctly, he proposes a series of building blocks for his thesis:

a. The Qumran sect is a split-off from the Essene movement, which springs from 3rd century apocalyptic tradition.[115]
b. Particular characteristics of the apocalyptic tradition are also found within its predecessors Essenism and Qumran Sectarianism:[116]

[113] The *formative period* is fixed by its ending, i.e. the discordant split-off, which is dated early in John Hyrcanus' rule. Even though García Martínez connects Jonathan, Simon and John Hyrcanus to the activities of the Teacher through 1QpHab, he specifically leaves open the possibility that the period commenced as early as the Maccabean uprising.
[114] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 9.
[115] The Animal Apocalypse (*1Enoch* 85-90) and *Jubilees* 23.36 are thought to witness the birth of Essenism.
[116] Cf. García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 11-16.

- The idea of an '*original sin that antedates history*' transforms in Essenism into '*determinism*', which is taken over by Qumran Sectarianism.
- The *eschatologisation* of the Prophetic Tradition, with the hermeneutical concepts of '*secret books of the Heavenly Tablets*', '*communion with the angelic world*' and the possession of '*secret knowledge*'.
- The closely related idea of an *eschatological Temple*, leading in Essenism to the rejection of the Temple and Temple Cult, which through the 'formative' 11QTemple introduces the idea of an eschatological Temple in Qumran Sectarianism.[117]

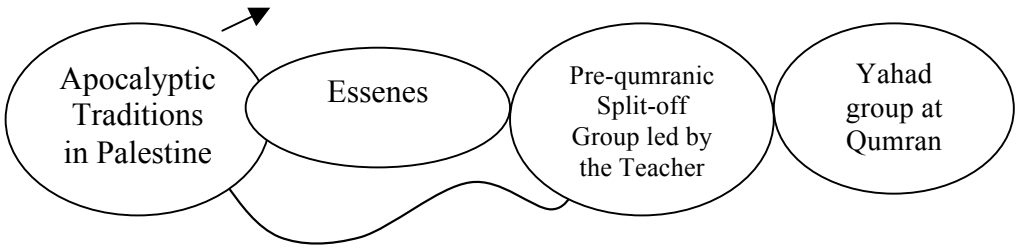
c. The Teacher of Righteousness, who has divine knowledge of the correct *halakhic* interpretation and introduces eschatological hope into the Essene movement, stands at the origin of the disputes between Essenism and Qumran Sectarianism.

d. In contradistinction to the ideas of the Teacher, the Essenes are said to have *no ideology of eschatological expectations*, *nor* were they perceived to have *calendrical or subsequent festival cycle disputes* with 'mainstream Judaism'. Moreover, the Essenes disputed the Teacher's *divine, revelatory or inspired interpretation of particular halakhot* and understanding of the Law.

e. These building blocks are based upon several texts, appropriate for their theme:
   - *Date & Origin of Essenism*: (d) Classical Sources, (o) CD/11QTemple-combination; Animal Apocalypse; Jubilees.
   - *Connection Essenism-Apocalyptic Tradition*: Animal Apocalypse, Book of Watchers, Astronomical Book, Josephus' War 2.176, 142, 159; 2.142, Ant. 18.19, Jubilees.
   - *Connection Essenism-Qumran Sectarianism*: CD, 11QTemple, 4QMMT.
   - *Connection Qumran Sectarianism-Apocalyptic Tradition*: Jubilees, Book of Dreams
   - *Qumran split-off theory & causes*: CD, 4QMMT, 1QpHab.

The various aspects of the Groningen Hypothesis are interconnected, partly overlapping and built upon one another. Moreover, they are mapped out on different levels: an overarching chronological framework, a periodisation of time within this framework, an ideological unity in each period (except in the stormy '*formative period*'), a 'Darwinian' notion of ideological evolution throughout the framework, and finally only a handful of documents to provide the literary evidence to either help construct the *historical* or the *socio-ideological* aspects of the framework. All these levels seem to hold inherent tensions and inconsistencies, which not only jeopardise the entire hypothesis, but also have implications for our analysis of the '*formative period*':

[117] Note that García Martínez holds the starting point to be the ideology of the Temple of Ezekiel.



Eschatology	No Eschatology	Eschatology	
Idea of an Eschatological Temple	Rejection of the Temple & Cult	Idea of an Eschatological Temple	Specific Ideas about the Temple
Issues of Calendar and Festival Cycle	No Calendrical & Festival Cycle Issues	Issues of Calendar and Festival Cycle	No polemics re Calendar, harmonisation of calendars
364-day calendar	Calendar of the 'rest of Judaism', unclear: 167 BCE Seleucid luni-solar calendar? Maccabees switched back? No sources!	Teacher wants 'traditional calendar', i.e. 364-day calendar? 4QMMT	Calendrical texts show variety of calendars, from a solarised calendar like Jubilees to texts in which the 364-day calendar is synchronised with lunar phases.
	Admiration of the Jerusalem establishment		
		Sadducean *halakhot* in 4QMMT	
		152 (161?)-134 BCE	John Hyrcanus pursues the Teacher to his place of Exile (1QpHab XI 2-8), i.e. ca. 134-104
			Qumran first occupation phases: DeVaux 130-100 BCE Magness 100/50-31BCE

Table 7: García Martínez's 'Groningen Hypothesis' with its Inconsistencies.

In Table 7, I have tried to schematically expose some of the inconsistencies and inherent problems within the Groningen Hypothesis.[118] These are a few examples of such inconsistencies, which provoke the question of the validity and hence, the underlying function of a *formative period*:

1. It is hard to imagine that such core Apocalyptic issues as eschatology, its subsequent periodisation of time and the inherent calendrical problems and festival disputes were entirely dropped in their Essene predecessors' ideological make-up, only to be picked up by the Teacher to become the core issues of dispute and reason to split-off and retreat to Qumran.

[118] Overall, there are too many inconsistencies to be exhaustive here. Moreover, the elaborate discussion of these issues falls outside the scope of this thesis.

2. Even if we would accept this, the calendrical issues seem to be completely resolved in Qumran, but the calendrical texts the sect preserves reflect a great variety (4QSe, 4Q394/MMT, 4Q320-330). Moreover, one can observe attempts to "synchronise the widely used lunar calendar with the solar calendar [i.e. 364-day calendar] which these texts consider the right one", "synchronise the solar [364-day] calendar with a six-year cycle of the 24 priestly courses" or to "record which priestly course was in service".[119] García Martínez argues that the Qumranites apparently were aware of 'others' "following a different calendar and accordingly they tried to synchronise both", and he finds that the way these various calendars are presented reflects "no hint of polemic".[120] I find it difficult to relate this obvious leniency and openness towards the views of others to the perceived segregation, radicality and rigor of the Qumran Sect.
3. The same inconsistencies can be detected by García Martínez's perceived developmental theory regarding the attitudes towards the Temple. The –for the *formative period* and split-off theory- vital conclusion, that calendrical issues and eschatology were not in the Essene ideology, is drawn on the basis of the Classical Sources, that state that the Essenes were admired by the Jerusalemite establishment, i.e. the High Priestly and Hasmonean rulers. To sustain this argument alongside the developmental apocalyptic-Essene-Qumran argument of Temple/Cult issues and particularly the ideological Essene 'rejection of the Temple', seems rather hard to sustain.

In conclusion, the *formative period* has the function of pre-sectarianisation and unity-construction, and resolves many of the tensions and problems within the socio-historical framework of the Groningen Hypothesis. The *formative period* functions as a two-way street: On the one hand, the *formative period*'s pre-sectarian character functions to preserve the *yahad*'s unique 'sectarian' position and its library's ideological cleanliness, by keeping potential discussion partners in their fixed posterior position (bottom up). But on the other hand, it functions as a vital funnel for the developmental theory of Qumran Sectarianism (top down).

2.4. Conclusions: Classification Systems and Their Function in the Paradigm

This chapter has dealt with two influential methods of classifying the Qumran documents, namely Dimant's literary classification system and García Martínez's socio-historical reconstruction of the 'Qumran Sect's early history and development'. These two classification systems, which both function within the Qumran Paradigm,

[119] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 72. García Martínez's idea of 'solar' calendar is now considered to be incorrect.; therefore, I have put in between brackets the better term '364-day calendar'. Cf. Jonathan Ben-Dov and Stéphane Saulnier, 'Qumran Calendars: A Survey of Scholarship 1980-2007' in *CBR* 7 (2008) 124-168.
[120] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 76.

approach the Qumran texts very differently, yet the result of their theoretical frameworks asks questions of some of the same documents. Some texts seem to escape the boundaries of their literary and socio-historical classification-constructs, but at the same time they occupy a crucial position in these frameworks. This very phenomenon has caused Dimant and García Martínez to adjust their models of classification, but at the same time has reinforced Paradigmatic constructions of 'pre-sectarianism' and 'formative periods' in both their theories. This convergence in Dimant and García Martínez's proposals calls for a more in-depth look into one of those texts that in each of their approaches turns out to be problematic. The most eye-catching example of such a 'problematic' text, that at the same time is highly important for the overall framework of both classification systems, is 4QMMT. It is therefore this pivotal text that will be the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter Three:

The Provenance of 4QMMT: A Case of Qumran (Pre-) Sectarianism?

In the previous chapter, literary and socio-historical classification systems were discussed, and we have seen that they have played an important role in the assessment of the provenance of certain key Qumran documents. 4QMMT or *Miqsat Ma'aseh Ha-Torah* ('Some Precepts of the Law') is one of those key texts from the Dead Sea. Scholars have throughout assessed this text to be the 'foundational document of the Qumran Community', and as such, the text is thought to give a unique insight into the group's incipient theology. Since 4QMMT plays such a pivotal role in classification systems that implicitly or explicitly reconstruct the social reality behind the Qumran texts, this chapter seeks to re-evaluate this text's position and functioning within the Qumran Paradigm.

Scholarly consensus regarding 4QMMT's provenance as a foundational 'pre-sectarian' or very early '*yahadic*' text has proven to be vitally important to theories concerning the 'uniqueness of the Qumran sect', its split-off from a larger movement, its segregation from the Jerusalemite establishment and society as a whole, its position over against enemies and opponents, its 'radical' and stringent halakhic system, and its 'sectarian' calendar. 4QMMT is thought to provide the reasons for the Qumranites' very existence and to set the ground principles from which later '*yahadic*' rules and regulations of daily 'sectarian life' spring. In this manner, 4QMMT is thought to be a uniquely and exclusively (pre-)'Qumranic' or (pre-)'*yahadic*' document, rather than a pseudepigraphal Second Temple text with a wider audience. 4QMMT thus holds a key-position within the Qumran Paradigm, while at the same time this text tends to escape its confined categories within the classification systems we have discussed earlier. Therefore, this chapter takes another look at its provenance and its inherent function within the socio-historical constructs that form the foundations of the Qumran Paradigm.

3.1. The Task of this Chapter

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the identification of 4QMMT as 'foundational' for the emerging sectarian identity of the 'Qumran Community' is far from straightforward, and cannot easily be reconciled with the specific features of the text. For one, the text lacks 'sectarian' terminology and literary style. Moreover, as we will see, the work is also notoriously difficult to date and its fragmentary state

makes reliable reconstruction difficult. Moreover, the complexity of its structure raises questions about its genre and provenance.

Yet, the scholarly consensus that this text is to be evaluated as a foundational text for the 'Qumran Community' has remained more or less unchallenged. García Martínez strongly advocates that in the '*formative period*' of the Qumran Community, 11QTemple represents the points of conflict between the Essene and the Teacher of Righteousness' halakhic positions, while the chronologically later 4QMMT is a schismatic 'halakhic letter', "which defines the reasons for the separation of the Qumran Sect".[1] Dimant shares this view: for her, 4QMMT is a 'polemical halakhic letter', in which the Qumranites expressed their position to outsiders and as such defined their sectarian character.[2] In addition, Schiffman is convinced that this document is not only important for the understanding of the history of Jewish Law, but in its Qumran context the 'letter' aids in understanding more about the provenance of the Temple Scroll, while -at the same time- it purports to provide insight into the 'early history of the community'. Whereas García Martínez considers 4QMMT to be *pre-sectarian* (i.e. part of the sect's *formative period*), and Dimant calls the text 'undoubtedly *yahadic*', Schiffman seems more careful in positioning MMT as he states: "It still remains to be determined if it [i.e. 4QMMT] is an actual letter, dating to the earliest days of the Qumran group, or if it is an 'apocryphal' text, written some years, or even decades, later to express the fundamental reasons for the break or schism with the Jerusalem establishment."[3] So, even though Schiffman contests the provenance of the document as a contemporary 'foundational' document that witnesses the break between the Essenes and the Qumranites, and reckons with the possibility that this document merely narrates the reasons for the beginnings of the Qumranites' sectarian movement *after the fact*, he still reasons from within the prevalent Qumran Paradigm as he subscribes to the consensus evaluation that 4QMMT reflects the reasons for a 'sectarian schism'.

In this chapter, we re-evaluate on what basis scholars have defined MMT to be the prime witness of the Qumran sect's foundation, and which elements are important in the evaluation of this position. How are the early evaluations of this text assessed, contested, challenged, critiqued and reinforced by later scholarly research with regard

[1] Florentino García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I,* 17.
[2] Devorah Dimant, 'Israeli Scholarship on the Qumran Community', in D. Dimant ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Scholarly Perspective: A History of Research* STDJ 99 (Leiden: Brill, 2012) 237-280.
[3] Dimant, 'Israeli Scholarship', 162; Schiffman, *Qumran and Jerusalem*, 113.

to its peculiarities, sections and themes?[4] This chapter's primary interest lies in the reasons why 4QMMT's position in the Qumran Paradigm has remained so steadfast, especially in the face of scholarly arguments that - so it seems - directly affect the text's provenance and position. Therefore, this chapter seeks to answer the following three-tiered central question: (a) Does scholarly research satisfactorily confirm the provenance of this text as foundational to the Qumran Community; and (b) is there convincing evidence to establish and confirm the text's *unique and exclusive* relationship to the *yahad* as either 'sectarian' (Dimant) or 'pre-sectarian' (García Martínez); and finally, (c) Do our findings under (a) and (b) have consequences for the overall validity of the 'formative' or 'pre-sectarian' pillar of the Qumran Paradigm?

3.2. A History of Controversies

From the very beginning of its discovery, 4QMMT has been the centre of conflict and controversy. Between 1953 and 1959, six manuscripts of the text (4Q394-399) were identified amongst the numerous Cave 4 fragments. From the very beginning, John Strugnell was assigned as the editor of the text's DJD volume, but it was not until 1994 that he and his colleague Elisha Qimron were able to publish their 'composite text' and full commentary on 4QMMT.[5] Throughout the project, much controversy and frustration crippled the investigation and publication of the composite text: Israel's contemporary political situation, problems with regard to funding, illegal publications by frustrated third parties and various disagreements on the reconstruction and provenance of the text have been a constant and integral part of 4QMMT's history.[6] Moreover, the DJD X volume contains several paradoxes and opposing views, which reflect the disagreements between Strugnell and Qimron, who as a result dedicated separate appendixes to their respective views of the text. Their most eye-catching disagreement, on which Hartmut Stegemann was asked to advise,

[4] DJD X and Strugnell's 'Second Thoughts' will be taken as the primary commentaries, while the works of other scholars are considered here as later voices in the overall MMT discussion; cf. Elisha Qimron, John Strugnell et al., *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Ma'aseh Ha- Torah*, DJD X (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); John Strugnell 'MMT: Second Thoughts on a Forthcoming Edition' in Eugene Ulrich and James VanderKam, *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) 57-73.

[5] Qimron, Strugnell et al., DJD X (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

[6] A full overview of these controversial proceedings can be found in Hanne von Weissenberg, *4QMMT: Reevaluating the Text, the Function and the Meaning of the Epilogue*, STDJ 82 (Leiden: Brill, 2009) 2-7.

was concerned with such a fundamental aspect as the positioning of a paragraph (4Q398 frgs 11-13). Subsequently, Strugnell published an elaboration on his views in an article called 'Second Thoughts'.[7] The disagreements between Qimron and Strugnell not only concern such fundamental issues as the text's dating and genre, but also affect the interpretation of 4QMMT's provenance as either a Qumranic or a pre-Qumranic (or rather *yahadic* or pre-*yahadic*) text.[8] These issues have remained topics of lively scholarly discussions. The most important scholarly disputes will, as far as they have consequences for our investigation, be discussed below.

3.3. The Texts

4QMMT comprises six manuscripts from Cave 4, all incomplete and fragmentary (4Q394-399). From these fragmentary manuscripts, the DJD X editors reconstructed a 'composite text', which consists of 130 lines. This composite text tries to follow the most complete manuscript at each occasion, but the fragmentariness and at times the lack of overlap between the reconstructed manuscripts has forced the editors to use other texts and manuscripts in order to complete their reconstruction.[9] According to Qimron, "the reconstruction of approximately 130 extant lines of MMT probably constitutes 40% of the composite text".[10] He therefore warns against the usage of the composite text as a 'stand alone' manuscript and advises others to always consult the individual manuscripts behind the composite text. However, "in spite of this caveat, the composite text of *DJD X* has been regarded almost as the *textus receptus* of 4QMMT, and has remained virtually unchallenged in subsequent Qumran scholarship".[11]

Strugnell and Qimron divided the composite text into three major sections, which are often studied separately: Section A, a 364-day calendar; Section B, a series of halakhic rulings and Section C, a 'hortatory' epilogue. The six manuscripts of

[7] Strugnell, 'Second Thoughts', 57-73.
[8] For an overview of the discussion, see Florentino García Martínez, '4QMMT in a Qumran Context', in John Kampen & Moshe Bernstein eds.,, *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 15-27. Cf. Strugnell, 'Second Thoughts', in which he expresses his doubt regarding the epistolary character of (part of) the text.
[9] For instance, in his reconstruction of the text's halakhic section B, but also in the interpretation thereof, Qimron relies heavily upon the *halakha* in 11QTemple. For an overview of the (at points extremely thin) overlaps between the manuscripts and fragments, see von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 45-47.
[10] Elisha Qimron, 'The Nature of the Reconstructed Composite Text of 4QMMT' in Kampen and Bernstein eds., *Reading 4QMMT*, 9-13.
[11] Von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 26.

4QMMT do not each contain material from all three sections. Quite strikingly, none of the manuscripts contains all three sections. Von Weissenberg has conveniently placed 4Q394-399 in two tables, so as to indicate which manuscript contains (parts of) which section[12].

Table 8: 4QMMT, according to DJD X.

Calendar	4Q394 Fragments 1-2, 3a-4					
Halakhot	4Q394	4Q395	4Q396	4Q397	4Q398 Fragments 1-3	
Epilogue				4Q397	4Q398 Fragments 11-17	4Q399

Table 9: 4QMMT, according to Von Weissenberg (43) and Ben-Dov in DJD XXI.

Calendar	4Q394 Fragments 3a-4					
Halakhot	4Q394	4Q395	4Q396	4Q397	4Q398 Fragments 1-3, 5, 7	
Epilogue				4Q397	4Q398 Fragments 11-17	4Q399

3.3.1. Section A: The Calendar

4QMMT's calendrical Section A is preserved in only one manuscript, 4Q394. It consists of two very different types of fragments, 4Q394 1-2 (= 4QMMT A 1-18) and 4Q394 3-4 (= 4QMMT A 19-21).[13] As the differences between Tables 8 and 9 demonstrate, scholars have questioned the structure of these Section A fragments. DJD X holds that the fragments of an originally independently numbered document,

[12] Cf. von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 41-43, Table 1 & 2; the issues of both tables will be discussed in the respective sections.
[13] The line numbers of the composite text are indicated in between brackets.

4Q327, belong to manuscript 4Q394 and re-number them 4Q394 1-2. In the course of Qumran scholarship, this provenance has been heavily debated: Nowadays, the former 4Q327 (representing lines 1-18 of Section A) is commonly considered *not* to be part of 4Q394, but to represent another composition, *4QCalendrical Document D*.[14] This leaves us with a calendrical section, consisting of three heavily constructed lines, Section A 19-21 (i.e. 4Q394 3-4). These three lines contain the word Sabbath and the completion of the year in a reconstructed, but according to most scholars likely number of 364 days.

The controversy about the calendar is not confined to the allocation of fragments 1-2, but rather comprises the question of whether a calendar can or cannot be considered a part of the 'original' text of 4QMMT. Already in Appendix 3 of the DJD X volume, Strugnell openly raises his doubts with regards to the originality of the calendrical Section A. His doubts are rather fundamental: Strugnell argued that "it is hard to relate the calendar to the rest of the work, whether form-critically or even in terms of subject-matter."[15] He considers the material evidence to link Section A's calendar to Sections B and C rather obscure, as its relation is only ascertained through one manuscript (4Q394).[16] Moreover, Strugnell finds especially Section A's total absence of polemical language difficult to explain in light of what he considers to be the 'highly polemical' Sections B and C. Thus, based on *material, form-critical and content-level* arguments, Strugnell argues that, for reasons unknown, only in 4Q394 the calendrical elements were placed before Section B, and that a calendar was not an original part of 4QMMT.[17]

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[14] A re-assessment of these fragments that has led to scholarly consensus regarding their exclusion is found in: Shemaryahu Talmon, Jonathan Ben-Dov and Uwe Glessmer, *Qumran Cave 4.XVI: Calendrical Texts*, DJD XXI (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

[15] Qimron, Strugnell et al., DJD X, Appendix 3 by Strugnell, 203-4.

[16] The remaining three lines of Section A preserve the beginning words of Section B. On this basis, scholars disagree as to whether a calendar was an integral part of 4QMMT or must be considered to be a 'later sectarian' addition, only occurring in 4Q394. Cf. von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 36-38, 130-133.

[17] In making this distinction between an individual manuscript- in this case 4Q394 – and the 'original' text of 4QMMT, Strugnell opens a rather peculiar door, through which later scholars may presume a 'pure and original' MMT which can be distinguished from its 'diversified' Qumran manuscripts. Since 4QMMT only exists in a highly reconstructed form that is based on the presumption that 4Q394-399 are manuscripts of the same text, and which reconstruction came about with the help of 'similar' contents in texts like 11QTemple, it seems rather confusing and speculative to presume that we are able to distil a 'pure' MMT original or that certain 'inconvenient' parts of individual manuscripts can be discarded on the basis of a non-existent 'Ur-Text'. Moreover, each manuscript ought to be assessed in its own right as to its structure, coherence and order of fragments. If certain fragments are to be excluded from a manuscript, their exclusion should be based upon sound material, paleographical and other methodologically verifiable evidence, not upon a presumed original that it is impossible to retrieve.

Interestingly, unlike a majority of scholars, Strugnell never doubts that fragments 1-2 belonged to 4Q394. Unlike Strugnell, whose most important argument to exclude the entire calendrical section from the 'original' 4QMMT is its absence of polemics,[18] most scholars have advocated on the basis of material, paleographical and other technical arguments, to exclude the first eighteen lines of Section A (4Q394 frgs 1-2).[19] Apart from these technical reasons for excluding fragments 1-2, only García Martínez seems to advance an additional argument, based on the difference in calendrical *content* between 4Q394 fragments 1-2 and 3a-4. According to García Martínez, the former would be merely a festival calendar listing, which enumerates the Sabbaths and festivals of the year without intercalation, while the latter contains a 364-day calendar that includes intercalation.[20] Especially García Martínez's assessment of fragments 3a-4 is problematic, since the fragmentariness of the material hardly allows us to draw any such conclusions, let alone to compare it with other calendrical material.[21] Therefore, García Martínez might have argued from a predisposition of a coherent 'sectarian' document, in which a known 'sectarian calendar' would add to its perceived polemical stance. Indeed, perceiving 4QMMT as the schismatic foundational document of the 'sect', García Martínez advocates not "to exclude the calendar as an original part of the composition, as one of the key elements of the composition, and as one of the elements in which the 'we' group of the composition has separated itself from the others".[22] García Martínez's conclusions are sustained by Kister, who argued that the occurrence of a 'sectarian' 364-day calendar in itself can be observed as a polemical statement. He holds polemics to be the main reason for adopting this 'sectarian' calendar into 4QMMT at a later stage.[23]

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[18] Strugnell includes Section A 1-18, which represents merely lists festivals and priestly rosters in a yearly scheme. This inclusion might have influenced his opinion regarding the 'non-polemical' nature of Section A.

[19] Cf. von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 33-35; According to these arguments, fragments 3-4 remain part of 4QMMT.

[20] Florentino García Martínez, 'Dos Notas Sobre 4QMMT' in *RevQ* 16/62 (1993) 293-298.

[21] Cf. 4Q394 i frgs 3a-4 (Section A 19-21). The most important segments to support García Martínez's argument are reconstructed. The inference of intercalation is based upon the reconstruction of the word 'added' סף[נו] and what Qimron called 'a tentative reconstruction' of line 19. Moreover, the 364-day year ([שלוש מאת ושׁ]שים וארבעה) is also reconstructed "according to the sectarian calendar", cf. DJD X, 44-45.

[22] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 77-79; Interestingly, García Martínez compares MMT to a manuscript of 1QS, 4Q259, to which 4Q319Otot is attached. However, there are many differences, not least since 4Q319 is attached to the end of 4Q259 and is primarily occupied with the priestly rosters.

[23] Menahem Kister, 'Studies in 4QMiqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah and Related Texts: Law, Theology, Language and Calendar', *Tarbiz* 68 (1999) 317-371 (Hebrew).

Von Weissenberg agues that the calendar originally must have been a separate document and "not part of the earliest form of 4QMMT".[24] She thinks that the scribe of 4Q394 attached the calendar for reasons important to the 'Community', i.e. calendrical matters and covenantal theology. The latter is suggested as von Weissenberg argues for the text to follow the literary example of Deuteronomy, not so much on a structural, but on a conceptual level. Hence, just like Deuteronomy, it incorporates a festival calendar into its legal section.[25]

Overall, the scholarly consensus excludes fragments 1-2 from 4Q394, but opinions differ as to the originality of fragments 3a-4 in the 'original' version of 4QMMT. However, notwithstanding Strugnell's first doubts and the many debates that were to follow, the three-section structure of the DJD editors' 'composite' text has survived to this day, and its calendar has played a major role in the 'Qumran sectarianism'- discussion.

3.3.2. Section B: The Halakha

As one can see in Tables 8 and 9, the halakhic Section B, is found in five of the six manuscripts of 4QMMT (4Q394-4Q398). Document 4Q394 consists of Section A, and holds large parts of Section B. Manuscripts 4Q395-396 contain only material from Section B, and documents 4Q397 and 4Q398 contain material from both Sections B and C. The physical nature of many of these manuscripts is very fragmentary. The beginning of Section B, which is only preserved in 4Q394, is badly damaged. There is no material evidence for the transition between Sections B and C. Only one manuscript, 4Q397, has material from both sections B and C. Overlaps between manuscripts are often very small and at times non-existent, which immediately weakens the certainty of the reconstructions. Also the reconstruction of the composite text's *halakha* has been rather difficult, at times speculative, always as a compilation of the various 4QMMT manuscripts and often also informed by scripture or other 'relevant' texts, such as the *Temple Scroll*.[26] As a result, the reconstructions that Qimron proposed for many of the *halakhot* have often not

[24] Von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 133.
[25] Cf. Section 3.3.2. below. Interestingly, von Weissenberg agrees with the scholarly consensus that Section A 1-18 does not belong to 4Q394. The remaining three calendrical lines (A19-21) do not reflect a festival calendar.
[26] Cf. Qimron, 'The Nature of the Reconstructed Composite Text of 4QMMT', in Kampen and Bernstein eds., *Reading 4QMMT*, 9-13, here 11-12.

convinced his co-editor Strugnell nor many others, like Bernstein and Werrett, who seriously question many of his reconstructions.[27]

Von Weissenberg has re-assessed Strugnell and Qimron's evaluation and reconstruction of the text, and has raised various questions on this subject, many of which address the rather speculative placement of certain fragments. Also, she critically points to the level of uncertainty raised by paleographical and material evidence regarding the origin and provenance of certain fragments.[28] Von Weissenberg's study finds that the links between the three Sections are established by only two manuscripts: only 4Q394 preserves a link between sections A and B, and only 4Q397 maintains a connection between 4QMMT's halakhic and hortatory Sections B and C.[29] With regard to 4Q398, von Weissenberg's analysis seriously questions whether fragments 1-9 and 11-17 belong to the same manuscript. Rather, she suggests that fragments 1-9 might not belong to 4QMMT.

4QMMT's halakhic Section B is the most studied part of the document and - for several reasons - plays an important part in its assessment as a foundational document for the Qumran group. According to the DJD editors, Section B, which starts with the words '*these are some of our regulations*', consists of a "long sequence of polemically formulated legal statements."[30] This consensus view holds that the Section's legal statements are set in a particular form, in which the legal position of the author's group ('we') is polemically set over against the halakhic position of another group ('they'). In this supposedly polemical structure, the 'we' group at times appeals - in direct address - to the legal knowledge of yet another group ('you' 2nd person plural), indicating that this 'you'-group knows that the legal position of the 'we'-group is right and that of the 'they'-group is wrong.

In section B the groups 'we', 'they' and 'you' (pl.) occur. With regard to the identification of these groups, several difficulties occur. Firstly, none of the groups are named or historically referenced. Moreover, Strugnell already realised that none of the specific sobriquets of other Qumran texts could be identified in 4QMMT.[31]

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[27] For a critical assessment, specifically regarding Section B, see Ian Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 72 (Leiden: Brill, 2007) 180-209. Also cf. Moshe Bernstein, 'The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture in 4QMMT' in Kampen and Bernstein eds., *Reading 4QMMT,* 29-51.
[28] Cf. von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 38-63.
[29] However, the latter connection is not demonstrated in a visible transition from Section B to C, since the ending of Section B and the beginning of Section C are both lost in manuscript 4Q397.
[30] DJD X, 110.
[31] Strugnell, 'Second Thoughts', 70-71.

Also, the 'they' group seems rather indefinable. Since the 'they'-reference only occurs in section B, scholars have attempted to identify them with the Epilogue's העם רוב (partly reconstructed in C7). However, such straightforward identification cannot be made, since the 'they'-references in Section B seem to point to various different groups. According to von Weissenberg, the references to 'they' occur in less than half of the *halakhot*, and are not clearly related to one specific oppositional group. Moreover, she states that the only clear and certain 'they' occurence in B35 "could refer to anybody".[32] The other occurrences of 'they' point to specific groups, which interestingly also occur in Deuteronomy and Leviticus, like lepers and blind persons. The primary concern of the 'we'-groups with regards to these 'they'-groups seems to be how they should be dealt with in matters of ritual purity in the Temple and the city. The DJD X editors identify the halakhic section's 'they'-group as the Pharisees with the help of Section C. However, von Weissenberg has correctly observed that 4QMMT's halakhic section does not have a clearly identifiable 'they'-group at all.[33] Therefore, a straightforward identification of the 'they'-group(s) of Section B with the Pharisees is problematic, since the presupposed 'oppositional' legal positions can only be deduced from the inference that the 'we'-group's legal positions are Sadducean. These deductions of 'oppositional' priestly and societal conduct may or may not reflect a social reality.

The second person plural 'you' occurs only twice unreconstructed, in both occasions asserting the addressees' awareness of a legal statement (B68-70) and the current praxis of some priests (B80-82). On this basis, no positive identification can be made, as one might even theorise that the 'you' is used as a rhetorical device to focus the reader's attention.

Interestingly, even though the identification of the so-called *dramatis personae* has been a major topic in 4QMMT scholarship, no real attempts have been undertaken to question or challenge the identity of the 'we'-group.[34] From the first evaluations of 4QMMT, the 'we'-group has been uncritically identified as the 'Qumran Sect' or its 'Essene predecessor(s)'. This straightforward identification of the 'we'-group with the 'Qumran Sect' has caused serious difficulties for the Qumran-

[32] Von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 136.
[33] Von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 21.
[34] Rather, scholars have (1) tried to identify the Qumranites as Sadducees (Schiffman) or (2) re-evaluated the history of the Qumran sect with regard to this new Sadducean evidence (García Martínez) or ultimately (3) re-negotiated and challenged the level of Sadducean identification.

Essene Hypothesis, as some of its halakhic positions seemed to concur with the Tannaitic literature's recount of 'Sadducean' halakhic positions. The DJD editors therefore conclude that 4QMMT is "a document emanating from a priestly group related to the early Sadducees, and either identical with, or an ancestor of, the Qumran group".[35] As one of the first scholars, who was given access to 4QMMT, Schiffman was so convinced that the 'we'-group's *halakha* reflected what was later described by Tannaitic literature as the Sadducean position, that he advocated for the Qumranites to be Sadducees rather than Essenes.[36] As we have seen in Chapter One, this Sadducean identification of the Qumranites has never been taken over by Qumran scholarship, but the recognition that some of the legal rulings expressed by the 'we'-group in 4QMMT are similar to known Sadducean legal interpretations, has made scholars like García Martínez, Sussman and Shemesh posit a Sadducean influence on the Qumran group. As a result, García Martínez's Groningen Hypothesis now argues that the Qumranites' Essene parent movement is a split-off movement from the Sadducees.[37]

Thus, the identification of the *dramatis personae* is closely related to the scholarly perception that 4QMMT ought to be understood as a polemical halakhic text. The interconnectedness of the identity of the text's proponents and Section B's *halakha* importantly influenced scholarly perceptions of the 'typical' phrasing of the *halakha*, from which the 'uniqueness of Qumranic *halakha*' was deduced. Again, like in the case of the *dramatis personae*, this 'uniqueness' is established by considering Section B in light of Section C. In Section C, commonly referred to as the Epilogue, scholars find the 'underlying principles' of 4QMMT's *halakha*: The exact study of scripture is called הבין בספר and its exegetical method resembles rabbinic *midrash*. Moreover, in Section C, the author of 4QMMT distinguishes between 'clear' and

[35] DJD X, 116-117. In their later work, Strugnell and Qimron take a different stand on this matter: Strugnell holds MMT to be pre-sectarian on the basis of its dissimilar theological outlook, and places the text in a developmental stage of the Qumran sect. However, Qimron remains convinced that the text is Qumranic.

[36] Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 83-112; also, in moderate form, *Qumran and Jerusalem,* 15-43.

[37] Cf. García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 67-103, esp. 81-82; García Martínez criticises Schiffman's 'Sadducean Hypothesis'as he finds only a small amount of halakhic positions concur with Sadducean *halakha* (e.g. the purity of the persons preparing the red heifer, and the purity issues surrounding liquid streams). More generally, García Martínez argues that it is not inconceivable for specific groups to agree with some groups on a number of halakhic positions, while agreeing with others on different matters. Finally, and interestingly with regard to the overall positioning of 4QMMT, García Martínez points to Section A's 'sectarian' calendar to indefinitely discard the Sadducean Hypothesis.

'hidden' laws, on which basis Schiffman arrives at a later 'sectarian *halakha*'[38], containing the "two specific Qumranic characteristics" of *nigleh* and *nistar*.[39]

The chosen halakhic topics have puzzled scholars, as at first glance they seem rather arbitrary and certainly not exhaustive. As purity issues, and more particularly the purity of the Temple, city and priesthood seem to stand at the heart of 4QMMT's 'collection of laws', scholars have argued that Section B reflects an inner-priestly dispute. However, the fragmentary state of the halakhic section, and hence its uncertain reconstructed composite text, make it difficult to assess a clear understanding of its content and function. Recently scholars have challenged the 'polemical' and 'sectarian' nature of Section B's *halakha*, as they argued that an independent reading of Section B demonstrates no polemical stance. Rather than assuming a polemical argument against known opponents set out in twenty odd halakhic statements, Werman and Shemesh have proposed that these ostensibly particular halakhic topics might together form the explication of exegetical difference, in which case the topics might correlate according to a '*a is like b as c is like…'*-formula instead of being individually significant.[40] However, Bernstein finds that, even though some of the language in 4QMMT is biblical, much of its content is too far removed from the biblical text to presume it to be biblical exegesis. Rather, Bernstein argues that many laws in 4QMMT are not scripturally based.[41] He also questions the "invariable position" of the DJD editors "the impetus for restoration" that 4QMMT "must be polemicising on all points".[42] And indeed, Fraade observed that the 'opposing practice of the addressees' cannot be identified in *any* ruling in Section B.[43] Moreover, Shemesh has argued that some halakhic rulings in MMT differ from the Qumran sectarian legal statements as they, contrary to Qumran *halakha*,

[38] Schiffman, *The Halakha at Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1975); also, *Qumran and Jerusalem*. 63-80, 112-142.
[39] Schiffman identifies Qumran halakha by its categorisation in *nigleh* (revealed Law/Torah/open and known to all) and *nistar* (hidden Law/only the 'sect' has the correct interpretation, through inspired biblical exegesis). Also, Schiffman argues that, next to the phenomena of *nigleh* and *nistar*, 'Qumran *halakha*' is characterised by a unique combination of halakhic views and particular sectarian regulations.
[40] Cf. Shemesh and Werman, 'Halakha at Qumran: Genre and Authority', 104-129; Bernstein, 'The Employment', 29-51.
[41] Bernstein, 'The Employment', 32, 46, 50-51.
[42] Bernstein, 'The Employment', 43.
[43] Steven Fraade, 'To Whom It May Concern: Miqsat Ma'aseh Ha-Torah (4QMMT) and Its Addressees' in *Legal Fictions*, JSJS 147 (Leiden: Brill, 2011) 69-91, here 73; Fraade states of the rules in Section B "not one identifies an opposing practice of the opponent".

explain how they reach their halakhic or exegetical conclusions.[44] More generally, Hempel has recently observed Section B's lack of 'sectarian outlook' as she has argued that "if we leave behind the comfortable theory of MMT's key role in Qumran origins and contemplate instead a broader halakhic context, the text's significance may go far beyond the confines of a particular group".[45] Moreover, von Weissenberg, who has studied the fragments of the individual manuscripts of Section B, finds hardly any meaningful variants or signs of redaction. On this basis she concludes: "The lack of virtually all traces of redactional activity could reflect the nature of the halakhic section as non-communal Jewish legislation which is directed for all Israel in contrast to laws pertaining to community organization needing regular updating."[46] And indeed, section B is interested in the correct halakhic observance for *all Israel*, as it demonstrates concern for the people and the holiness of Israel. Here, von Weissenberg's conclusions implicitly point to another interesting feature, namely that 4QMMT differs from commonly considered '*yahadic*' texts, in the sense that these texts tend to have organisational rules and regulations, rather than halakhic ones.[47]

Despite all these elements of uncertainty, in general, scholarly consensus tends to read 4QMMT's section B in conjunction with Section C, and holds the halakhic section to reflect a polemical outlook, phrased in oppositional legal positions, from which insight can be obtained into (the development of) the 'Qumran Sect's *halakha*'. Moreover, the 'they'-opponents are commonly believed to be Pharisaic. The second person plural 'you'-group (which needs to be distinguished from the second person singular 'you' in the Epilogue) is hardly given attention, but is commonly believed to be a group 'related to the Qumran Sect'.

Later in this chapter we shall return to these elements of Section B and evaluate their role and function within the Qumran Paradigm.

3.3.3. Section C: The Epilogue

4QMMT's Epilogue, or Section C, can be found in three manuscripts, namely 4Q397-399. The transition between Section B and Section C is lost. However one manuscript, 4Q397 contains material from both Sections B and C, on the basis of

[44] Cf. Shemesh, *Halakha in the Making*, 35, fn. 31.
[45] Charlotte Hempel, 'The Context of 4QMMT and Comfortable Theories' in Charlotte Hempel ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context*, STDJ 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2010) 275-292, here 291.
[46] Von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 79.
[47] That is, with the exception of the complex and multi-layered CD/DD.

which the text's unity is decided.[48] Von Weissenberg has elaborately studied the overlaps and textual variants in mss 4Q397-399. She concludes that 4Q397 and 4Q398 have surprisingly little overlap, while even in the overlaps she records variant readings. She finds some textual variations and differences in wording and text-forms between the two manuscripts, to the extent that these readings "cannot easily be combined into a single reliable composite text".[49] 4Q399 is the only manuscript that preserves text from the ending of the Epilogue, even though it partly overlaps with 4Q398.[50] Von Weissenberg finds a considerable amount of difference between the two manuscripts and suggests that they contain important textual variants.[51]

Von Weissenbeg also addresses the long dispute between the editors of DJD X about the placement of fragments 4Q398 11-13 in relation to 4Q397. The lack of agreement with regard to these fragments is well known. Since there is no parallel text or part overlap with these fragments in other manuscripts, the placement of 4Q398 frgs 11-13 is difficult.[52] Strugnell proposed to place the fragments at the beginning of the hortatory section, i.e. before fragments 14-17. Qimron rather places them below the right parts of fragments 14-17. This position is reflected in the DJD 'composite text' where fragments 14-17 correspond with C9-16 and 25-32 while fragments 11-13 comprise C18-24.[53] Von Weissenberg favours Strugnell's proposition for material reasons, but her extensive re-examination of the Epilogue's textual material leads her to conclude that the entirety of the Epilogue's 'composite' text is problematic and at times materially impossible.[54]

The most notable example of the composite text's untrustworthiness is what von Weissenberg observed in lines C 10-12a. According to von Weissenberg, the composite text here harmonises the two textual witnesses from 4Q397 and 4Q398, while the extant fragments (in 4Q397 14-21, lines 10-12a and 4Q398 14-17 col i, lines

[48] According to Strugnell and Qimron, the resemblance between B 1 and C 26-30 establishes "a formal link" between the two. Indeed 4Q394 3-7 col i line 4 and 4Q398 14-17 col ii line 6 both have דברינו מקצת (some of our words), while 4Q398 14-17 col ii line 3 has מעשׂי מקצת התורה (some works of the Torah). The question is whether these resemblances are enough to compensate for the missing junction between B and C, and 4Q394 is the only manuscript preserving B1.
[49] Von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 91.
[50] The ending of the document is lost in 4Q398, even though a vacat after the last word preserved might indicate that the text ends.
[51] Von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 85.
[52] Qimron even regards its placement as "physically unknown": 'The Nature of the Reconstructed Composite Text', 12.
[53] Cf. DJD X, Appendix 2; Florentino García Martínez, '4QMMT in a Qumran Context', in García Martínez and Tigchelaar ed*., Qumranica Minora I*, 91-103; von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 87-90; Qimron, 'The Nature of the Reconstructed Composite Text of 4QMMT', 12-13.
[54] Cf. von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 90-95.

2-4) demonstrate variant readings, which cannot be easily reconstructed, let alone harmonised.[55] Hence, von Weissenberg argues that "the reconstructed composite text of the epilogue is relatively uncertain because of the variant readings and the rather small amounts of common material".[56] This conclusion is sustained by the editors of DJD X, who state: "Because of the fragmentary nature of the manuscripts and the uncertainty about the order of the text, the sequence of thought, the significance of the references to biblical historical figures and the linkage with section B are all far from clear."[57]

The subject matter of the Epilogue is different in character from the halakhic section. The latter seems to place great emphasis on priestly responsibilities (cf. B12-13, 26-27), while Section C does not reflect any of those central priestly concerns. Also, while the halakhic section has many references to Leviticus and Numbers, the Epilogue contains "language and terminology that is rich with allusions to Deuteronomy, a scriptural text which is significantly less interested in priestly matters and purity".[58] In contrast to the halakhic concerns in Section B, the Epilogue exhorts its addressees to learn from Israel's past through its scripture, in the realisation that it is the end of days. Moreover, the author and his group seem to want to convince the addressee that "some of our words are true" (C 30) and to do right by both 'you' and Israel (C 31-32). The references to scripture and Israel's past are eye-catching, as well as the author's exhortation to his addressee(s) to learn from history. The language of (implied) curses and blessings points to a covenantal structure, which indicates the author's "concern for covenantal faithfulness".[59]

Also, with regard to the Epilogue, a fair amount of scholarly attention has been given to the identification of the *dramatis personae*. Like in Section B, the 'we'-group is univocally regarded as the 'Qumran group' or its predecessor. As the 1st person plural 'we' occurs in both Sections B and C, it is evaluated by many scholars

[55] Von Weissenverg's conclusion is disputed by Puech, who holds that her reading, based on DJD, for the section in which she claims there is no composite text (4Q397 14–21 10ff.; 4Q398 14–17 i 2ff.), is untenable. Puech argues that the sections reflect mere variants within a generally common text. Cf. Émile Puech, 'L'Épilogue de *4QMMT* Revisite', in Eric F. Mason et al. eds., *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, SJSJ 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2012) 309- 339; here 313ff., 322–25.
[56] Von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 93.
[57] DJD X, 111.
[58] Von Weissenberg, *4QMMT* 117; Cf. 121-122 where she nuances this distinction, as to the important reference to Deut. 12:5 in the halakhic section, thereby emphasising the importance of Jerusalem and the Temple for the author(s) of 4QMMT.
[59] Cf. von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 127-129; who thinks that 4QMMT in its entirety is modelled after the framework of biblical legal material in a covenantal pattern.

as a "unifying feature, […] despite some differences in the applied verb forms resulting from the shift in topic and genre of the two sections".[60] Von Weissenberg finds two comparative models for 4QMMT's identification of the 'we' group in the Epilogue: Deut 1-3 and Neh 9-10, both of which stress the importance of a close connection between covenant and law. Moreover, in Deut 1-3, 'we' *includes* the people of Israel, who are addressed in the second person singular and plural ('you').[61]

In the Epilogue, the third person plural 'they'-group does not occur. Qimron has initially tried to argue that 'the majority of the people' in Section C refers to the 'they'-group in Section B, who in turn were - as we saw earlier - thought to be (connected to) the Pharisees. Also, Strugnell identified the 'they' of the halakhic section with this רוב העם in the Epilogue.[62] Nowadays scholars have abandoned such a neat and simplistic solution.[63] As we have seen, the 'they'-group identification is far from clear in Section B. Moreover, the use of the 3rd person plural 'they' in Section B seems not to be oppositional, but merely stating a general practice, the conduct of certain groups or the implied state of being of others.[64] Also, the absence of the 'they' group in general in Section C warn us against the straightforward identification of Section B's 'they' with Section C's only candidate for 'they', the *multitude of the people*.[65]

Similarly, the identification of the 'you' (2nd person singular *and* plural) in the Epilogue is far from straightforward. The plural 'you' occurs twice in the halakhic section, B68 and B70 (both in 4Q396), and once in the Epilogue (C8, 4Q397) where we merely find the independent pronoun אתם, while the verb is reconstructed. Instead, the Epilogue introduces a second person *singular* 'you', who functions much more like a direct addressee, i.e. rather than being used in a general manner like the 2nd person plural in B68, 70 and C8. Strugnell suggests that this use of a second person

[60] Von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 134.
[61] See below.
[62] DJD X, 111.
[63] Cf. Hempel, 'Comfortable Theories', 287-288.
[64] For instance, von Weissenberg finds that the few straightforward 'they' references (e.g. B35) are only found in rulings about slaughter and sacrifice, and are clearly directed towards the proper execution of priestly duties.
[65] Nevertheless the Epilogue's 'multitude of the people' play another important role in the overall assessment of 4QMMT, namely as an important argument for the presumption of polemics. In the sentence C 7-8 (4Q397 frgs 14-21) "[And you know that] we have segregated ourselves from the multitude (יודעים שפרשנו מרוב העם) of the pe[ople and] from mingling in these affairs, and from associating wi[th them] in these things". On the basis of this text, scholars have argued for the 'split-off of the Qumran Sect on halakhic grounds'. This topic will be discussed later in this chapter.

singular addressee is an indication of 4QMMT being a letter sent to a ruler of Israel.[66] This proposal rests upon the following three textual references: the author's exhortation in C23 (*Think of the kings of Israel and contemplate their deeds*) in combination with C 28 (*You have wisdom and knowledge of the Torah*) and C31-32 (*You will be doing what is righteous and good for you and for Israel*). Of course such identification implicitly reads Section C in light of the priestly overtones in Section B, and hence, searches for a time in which both strands of power were united in one man's hand: the Hasmonean Period.

Scholars have recently challenged this consensus. For instance, Steven Fraade has pointed out that "it is commonplace in hortatory speech to switch between plural and singular forms of the 2nd person address" and "this can most clearly be seen in the very section of the book of Deuteronomy (30-31) upon which so much of Section C is dependent for its scriptural language and allusions."[67] Fraade, who reads 4QMMT as an 'intra-mural' educational tool, thus suggests that the singular and plural 2nd person usage in the Epilogue might be a rhetorical device to maximise the effect of the exhortation as if it were addressed personally to every single member of the receiving audience.

Of course the text's last direct address, '*for your good and that of Israel*' (לטוב לך ולישראל), is considered decisive in those evaluations that take the addressee to be an influential spokesperson, possibly a ruler in Israel. Interestingly, von Weissenberg stresses that, if the abovementioned connection to Deuteronomy is correct, both 4QMMT's focus on priestly concerns and its address to 'all Israel' need to be considered when evaluating the function, meaning and positioning of this important text.

These subsections 3.1-3.3 have demonstrated that the provenance of 4QMMT is difficult to establish with certainty for material as well as literary reasons. These difficulties are equally well attested to when it comes to establishing the text's genre, date and social setting, three important issues which will be dealt with in sections 4,5 and 6 below.

[66] Also, the references to certain specific kings of Judah and to David have led scholars to believe that the second person singular addressee of Section C was a king or ruler of Israel.
[67] Cf. Fraade, 'To Whom It May Concern', 69-91.

3.4. Genre

4QMMT is commonly referred to as a 'polemical halakhic letter'. However, from its earliest publication onwards, the evaluation of the text's genre has proven difficult, due to the fragmentariness of the text, its lack of formal features and the absence of comparable outside sources.[68] In the DJD X edition, Qimron argued that the presence of an explicit author and (an) addressee(s) strongly indicates that the genre of the text is that of a (personal or corporate/public) letter or a treatise.[69] Scholarly opinions with regard to the text's 'epistolary features' are divided. Already in Appendix 3 of the DJD volume, Strugnell points to the inconsistencies between 4QMMT's structure and character and the formal features of the genre 'letter'.[70] Scholars like Baumgarten and Hempel have pointed out that the perceived 'epistolary' features in 4QMMT are much in line with later Tannaitic methods and formulae introducing legal statements.[71] In Appendix 3 and later in 'Second Thoughts', Strugnell suggests that 4QMMT might be a legal code: Section B is a collection of laws and Section C is its hortatory conclusion.[72] Bernstein and Kampen contest Strugnell's view, as it is thought to "disregard the combative aspect of section B". They argue that 4QMMT's halakhic section is not simply "a collection of laws but part of an argument".[73] Hence, much of the debate regarding the 4QMMT's genre evolves around the perception of the text's peculiarities. As we shall see, many of the issues regarding 'genre' resurface, once one starts to ask critical questions about the evaluation of MMT as 'polemical'.[74] Currently, most scholars accept that 4QMMT is characterised by some epistolary features, amongst which rhetorical devices play a

[68] It remains difficult to tie the three rather different sections of the text together in an overarching framework, because its beginning is lost, its ending does not have any formal epistolary features, and the junctions between the sections are lost.
[69] Qimron suggests 4QMMT might be a treatise, which is rejected by Strugnell. Cf. DJD X, 113-114, 204.
[70] DJD X, 204-205.
[71] Charlotte Hempel, 'The Laws of the Damascus Document and 4QMMT', 69-83; Baumgarten, 'The laws of the Damascus Document- Between Bible and Mishnah', 17-26; both in Joseph Baumgarten, Esther Chazon and Avital Pinnick eds. *The Damascus Document*, STDJ 34 (Leiden: Brill, 2000).
[72] Strugnell, DJD X, Appendix 3, 204: Strugnell's evaluation of a legal code is based upon his comparison with covenant formulae in Deuteronomy. In his final assessment in 'Second Thoughts', Strugnell takes a 'minimalist view', stating that MMT is a legal document that was sent to someone, possibly an accepted ruler. Cf. 'Second Thoughts', 57-73.
[73] John Kampen and Moshe Bernstein, 'Introduction' in Kampen and Bernstein eds., *Reading MMT*, 6.
[74] Cf. Fraade, 'To Whom It May Concern', 73: "Of the approximately twenty extant rules in Section B of the composite text, *not one identifies an opposing practice of the addressees* (contrary to the impression gained from the characterizations of the text by scholars stressing its polemical nature)". Other scholars who have questioned the text's polemical nature are Maxine Grossman, 'Reading 4QMMT: Genre and History', *RevQ* 20/77 (2001) 3-22; and Hempel, 'The Laws of the Damascus Document and 4QMMT', 69-83, here 70-71; Hempel, 'Comfortable Theories', 275-292.

certain strategic literary part, but that the idea that this text is a *personal* letter is largely abandoned.[75]

3.5. Date

Strugnell and Qimron date the oldest manuscript of 4QMMT to 75 BCE and the latest to 50 CE.[76] The origin of the document is generally thought to be older. In general, a date as early as 150 BCE is suggested. This early or 'pre-sectarian' dating is largely based upon a socio-historical interpretation of information in the text, i.e. upon 4QMMT's perceived role and function within the early history and development of the 'Qumran Sect'. The presupposition of the Qumran Paradigm ensures the highlighting and interpretation of some specific elements, which together form the basis for arguing such early dating. These elements are:

1. The 'mild' polemics of the text, specifically poignant in the respectful and friendly manner in which the 2nd person singular of the epilogue is addressed.[77]
2. The 'we' group is still in negotiation with its opponents.
3. Polemical discussions with outsiders were thought to be allowed only during the Qumran sect's foundational years, i.e. in the time of the Teacher of Righteousness. After the Qumran group's final segregation, polemics ceased to exist and were even forbidden (1QS 9:16-17).[78]
4. Inner-Qumranic 'evidence' of 4QMMT in 4QPsa, which supposedly recalls that the Teacher of Righteousness had sent 'precepts and laws' to the Wicked Priest.[79] Such 'evidence' fixes 4QMMT in the perceived '*formative period* of the sect', at the time the Teacher was in active leadership.
5. 4QMMT's famous line "we have segregated ourselves from the majority of the people" (C7) is thought to be evidence of Qumran sect's segregation.[80]
6. The text is said to demonstrate a clear 'sectarian' outlook that has similarities with the Qumranites' theology.[81] However, 4QMMT is thought to be "theologically less developed

[75] Von Weissenberg remains rather inconclusive as she states that the text is a mixture of genres at best, and that it is easier to dismiss the 'personal' letter- genre than to come up with a suitable alternative; Cf. 167; Also, see a recent re-evaluation of 4QMMT's genre in Lutz Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters and the Beginnings of Christian Epistolography*, WUNT 298 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2012) 194-214.

[76] They primarily base their evaluation on paleography: the manuscripts demonstrate late Hasmonean to early Herodian handwriting.

[77] Cf. von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 15.

[78] DJD X, 115.

[79] 4QpPsa (=4Q171) col iv frag. 3 ii lines 8-9, which is a *pesher* on Ps 37:32-33 and states: Its interpretation concerns the Wicked [Pri]est, who sp[ie]s on the ju[st man and wants to] kill him [….] and the law (התורה) which he sent him. The generic 'Law/Torah' seems rather far off from MMT's ברינו אלה מקצת.

[80] This seems in tension with point 3 and 4.

than the standard [sic!] Qumran theology in its lack of dualistic language, typical community descriptions, apocalyptic ideas, and 'apocalyptic conscience".[82] Therefore, it is considered earlier.

7. 4QMMT's choice of halakhic topics contrasts with and is quite contrary to popular topics in the Qumran 'sectarian' literature.[83]

On the basis of these factors, Strugnell and Qimron date 4QMMT 'early in the history of the sect', at a time when the Qumranites formulated their 'theology'. In line with the Qumran Paradigm, and socio-historical reconstructions thereof, they date 4QMMT as originating between 159 and 152 BCE.[84]

Most scholars have more or less followed the editors in their assessment of this date. However, it is almost entirely based upon circumstantial evidence and the presupposition of certain socio-historical circumstances. Fraade, who assigns a completely different provenance to the text, raised an important question with regard to the early dating of 4QMMT: If the relatively many copies of 4QMMT that were found at Qumran may be taken as an indication that the text was important to the Qumranites, how did it function within the community, if the text clearly "represents an early (pre-Qumranic) stage in the development of Qumran sectarian law and ideology"? Why then is 4QMMT still copied and studied more than a century after it originated, especially since the sect's theology and sociological outlook has further developed over time?[85] Were they not aware that the text was hopelessly outdated, or are *our* presuppositions and assumptions of the text in need of revision?

The problems with 4QMMT's dating and its subsequently historical setting are notorious, and the DJD X volume is full of circular reasoning to make the text fit its purpose of 'foundational document'. This commonly accepted back-tracing of evidence knows many examples, like the following: "*If we assume that the work is to be explained as reflecting the history (or the prehistory) of the Qumran Community, we must look for a time when the 'we' group, i.e. the writers, were in 'eirenic'*

[81] At the same time, Strugnell and Qimron acknowledge that 4QMMT does not have any 'sectarian' terminology or literary style, nor does it reflect any 'organisational' rules and regulations that were found in 'sectarian' texts like 1QS.
[82] DJD X, 121.
[83] The editors mention for instance 4QMMT's pre-occupation with priestly matters of purity and its concern for the sanctity of the Jerusalem Temple; Cf. DJD X, 120-121.
[84] Their dating seems also based on the obscure break in the high priestly lineage over which Josephus and 1Macc seem to disagree. Cf. *Ant*. 12.10, *War* 5.408-412 and 1Macc 10:18-20.
[85] Fraade, 'To Whom It May Concern', 70-71. Fraade makes a case for 4QMMT's intramural use as a document of the sect's foundation and therefore an important text for its self-understanding and identification.

discussion with the 'you' group – a group not so different from themselves as to be incapable of being won over to the writers' positions and practices…"[86]

3.6. Historical Setting

4QMMT has very little indications as to its historical setting, and hence the *presumed* historical setting of the text is part of the presupposed character of the text as a foundational (pre-) Qumranic document. This assessment is predominantly carried by the conviction that the text witnesses the separation of the Qumran group from the wider society in Section C: "*We have segregated ourselves from the multitude of the peop[le] [and] from mingling in these affairs, and from associating wi[th them] in these things*" (C 7-8; 4Q397 frgs 14-21 i lines 7b-8). In this presumed setting 4QMMT is often seen as a document that is addressed to outsiders, most possibly the Jerusalemite establishment. Based on C32's '*for your good and that of Israel*' together with the references to various kings in Israel's history, the text is thought to be addressed to a Hasmonean ruler. According to such reasoning, the most likely candidates would be Simon and John Hyrcanus, as they held both the political and priestly powers. However, the Qumran Paradigm, which takes the presupposed dates of the Qumranites' foundation and the Teacher of Righteousness' leadership into account, favours Jonathan as the most likely addressee.

The identification of the addressee as a Hasmonean ruler is thought to concur with textual references in 1QpHab, particularly its statement that the Wicked Priest was 'loyal at the start of his office' (cf. 1QpHab viii 8b-11a). Both Kampen and Brooke suggested that the addressee and the author of 4QMMT have a similar background, highlighted in the genuinely courteous tone of the letter with its emphasis on the addressee's wisdom and knowledge of the Law (C28).[87] From the presupposition that 4QMMT originates in the time of the Teacher's leadership, and its second person singular addressee is thought to be an Israelite ruler with both priestly and kingly powers (i.e. a Hasmonean), *together with* the idea of 'mild polemics' and respectful address *and in light of* presumed comparable evidence about the Qumran Sect in 'sectarian' texts like 1QpPs^{a}, 1QpHab and DD, the date for the 'original' manuscript of 4QMMT is fixed to a time of around 152 BCE, the year in which

[86] *DJD X*, 114.
[87] John Kampen, '4QMMT and New Testament Studies', in Kampen and Bernstein eds., *Reading MMT*, 129-144.

Jonathan ceased the high priesthood alongside his already established political powers.

As we have seen above, this early date does not however concur with the much later physical material of the extant manuscripts. Especially the amount of later copies (at least six, maybe seven) begs the question of why the Qumranites would preserve and copy an ancient, and in many respects archaic 'halakhic' letter. Therefore, Fraade has suggested that 4QMMT might play an important role in the sect's self-understanding, and hence might be used as an educational tool to remind the Qumranites of their beginnings. He hypothesises that the extant manuscripts of 4QMMT might have been used as 'intramural' pedagogical material, with the aim to reinforce the sect's choice of social separation.[88] Schiffman has argued that the Qumran manuscripts of 4QMMT might not be copies of an actual letter "dating to the earliest days of the Qumran group", but rather a much later 'apocryphal' text, written to express and commemorate the reasons for the Qumranites' schism from the Jerusalemite establishment.[89] Schiffman thus seems to harmonise the two options of an older 'original' and a later written commemorative document by focussing on the alleged socio-historical reality of which the text narrates. As such he defines the social world of MMT as reflecting "the earliest, pre-Teacher stage in the offshoots of intra-priestly contention" in which Sadducean halakhic views were held by those who later formed the Qumran Sect.[90]

These proposals attempt to explain the presence of later manuscripts of 4QMMT, without losing the initially presupposed socio-historical parameters along which the text is evaluated as a 'formative' document. Maxine Grossman has demonstrated quite convincingly how changing the presupposed parameters of the text with regard to genre influences our conceptions of 4QMMT's historical setting. Moreover, she demonstrates that proposed historical reconstructions on the basis of the text's perceived genre and function subsequently determine its date, authorship, addressees and audience.[91]

Factually, without the help of socio-historical presuppositions with regard to 4QMMT's setting, the content of the text itself gives us very little to go on. Its tri-

[88] Cf. Fraade, 'To Whom It May Concern', 69-91.
[89] Schiffman, *Qumran and Jerusalem*, 112-113.
[90] Schiffman, *Qumran and Jerusalem,* 121-122; Possibly under the influence of García Martínez's Groningen Hypothesis, Schiffman has recently placed 4QMMT's origin in the 'sect's *formative period*', 138-139.
[91] Grossman, 'Reading *4QMMT*, Genre and History', 3-22.

partite frame; its emphasis on Numbers, Leviticus and Deuteronomy; its interest in halakhic positions, which is thought to partly coincide with later Tannaitic sources' account of Sadducean *halakha* over against Pharisaic *halakha*; its exhortation to learn from Israel's history; and, its clear conception to have reached 'the end of days': They are all elements that contribute to the text's social setting, but they are certainly not enough for the solid identification of 4QMMT as a (pre-) Qumranic document.

3.7. From 4QMMT as (Pre-) Sectarian Tool to 4QMMT in its own Right

Investigations into 4QMMT have often chosen their point of departure from within the boundaries of the Qumran Paradigm. Scholarly consensus holds 4QMMT to have played a distinct and crucial role in the foundation, theological formation and subsequent social position of the 'Qumran Community'. Thus, most debates have focused on the question whether this text belongs to either the *early history* of the 'Qumran Community' or to its '*formative period*', i.e. whether the text is 'sectarian' or 'pre-sectarian'.

The text of 4QMMT itself hardly gives any reason to closely link it to a 'sectarian community' at Qumran at all:

1. 4QMMT differs in style, themes, outlook and terminology from the 'undisputed *yahadic*' texts. Moreover, the text does not refer to a '*yahad*'.
2. The text contains no data to establish a reasonably grounded sense of its date, historical setting or the identity of its proponents.

Moreover, the textual evidence of 4QMMT in general is difficult to assess because of the state and character of its manuscripts:

3. The lack of comparable sources, its fragmentary state and complex structure have caused many technical, literary and socio-historical problems, which have proven to be a serious threat to the overall reliability and stability of the text's reconstruction.
4. Hence, this 'composite' textual reconstruction depends upon inner-textual interpretations and similarities to outside sources such as 11QTemple and CD/DD.

These uncertain features and factors importantly diminish our capability to draw stable conclusions with regard to 4QMMT's provenance, and hence should be a cause for caution. This caution is equally warranted as some of the features of

4QMMT demonstrate that the text might allow for a provenance that is broader and sometimes even independent from 'Qumran'. Because of 4QMMT's peculiar tri-partite structure (incomparable with any outside sources), questions can be asked as to the textual coherence of the three Sections. Moreover, such questions implicitly touch upon evaluations regarding the originality of (each of the sections within) the structure as well as its specific function and meaning. Also, and closely related to these issues of coherence are the observations of 4QMMT's literary style and language. Many scholars agree that in its style 4QMMT is unique, and hence difficult to compare with other known texts. Bernstein argues that "in its style 4QMMT resembles neither 11QTemple [….] nor other Qumran legal texts".[92] He observes that the differences predominantly lie in the formulation of MMT's laws, its dealing with biblical texts and its use of idiom.

However, the language of MMT in itself does not provide a specific provenance for this text, since –as we already stated- it lacks specific 'sectarian' terminology and other '*yahadic*' features. Moreover, 4QMMT reflects a complex language structure, which combines a Biblical Hebrew (BH) style with grammatical features that resemble Mishnaic Hebrew (MH). This language structure obscures the allocation of the text. On the basis of his thorough investigation of the multiplex language features that occur in the MMT manuscripts, Qimron concludes that the text predominantly "reflects the Hebrew spoken at Qumran", and that its dissimilarity with Qumranic Hebrew might be explained by the idea that MMT is a very early (pre-) Qumranic document.[93] However, this assessment is rather misleading as the term Qumranic Hebrew (QH) does not implicitly connect a text to Qumran or the 'Qumran Sect' on a socio-historical level.[94] On the contrary, the term QH is used for the entire period between late Biblical Hebrew and early Mishnaic Hebrew, and as such its usage only determines that a text written in QH dates between approximately 200 BCE and 70/100 CE.[95]

Interestingly, instead of causing caution, many of the text's features and peculiarities have been used to serve the overall purpose of moulding 4QMMT into its important key-position within scholarly theories about Qumran. Von Weissenberg has

[92] Bernstein, 'The Employment', 33.
[93] DJD X, 108.
[94] Qimron seems to hint at such a connection as he makes no distinction between the term QH and "the language spoken at Qumran".
[95] I thank Prof. Eibert Tigchelaar for his kind help and patience in explaining Qimron's analysis of the language of MMT.

addressed this problem quite openly and concluded that the scholarly assessments and evaluations regarding 4QMMT's function and meaning suffer from "the uncertainty of the assumption they are based on, namely, an understanding of 4QMMT as a letter sent to a high priest in Jerusalem, as well as of the development of the Qumran movement and its relation to other Jewish groups. If these assumptions are abandoned or revised, the arguments for the dating of the document need to be reconsidered." Moreover, she recognises the scholarly tendency of circular reasoning and concludes: "The presumptions of both the genre and the historical setting of the document have an impact on our reading and interpretation of this text. Similarly, our reading and interpretation of the text influence our decision about its genre and historical setting.…The fact is that our reconstructions of the history of the Qumran community together with the assumptions we make concerning their theological and ideological development, affect the way we date, and how we understand the setting and function of the documents we read".[96]

The early assessment of 4QMMT has burdened the text with its (pre-)sectarian provenance and thereby shaped and influenced scholarly avenues of research. Without denying or forgetting the obvious fact that these manuscripts were found at Qumran (and of course this fact needs to count for something), one wonders how 4QMMT would have been assessed without its Qumranic burden. And more interestingly, what information one might retrieve from this intriguing text with regard to its provenance within a wider Second Temple context, if 4QMMT were evaluated in its own right, without presuming or presupposing its currently perceived function of 'polemical halakhic foundational letter of the Qumran Sect'.

The former sections have dealt with the material and literary issues of the text, as well as its problems with regard to date, genre and historical setting. The next section deals more specifically with those peculiarities in 4QMMT on which the scholarly evaluations of its provenance are predominantly based.

3.8.The Parameters of 4QMMT's Status as 'Foundational Document'

The former sections have attempted to gather up the difficulties that surface when researching the provenance of 4QMMT. As we have seen, these difficulties are numerous, and hence they provoke the question: How is it that, in the face of all this

[96] Von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 16-17; 24-25.

literary controversy and material instability, and with full recognition that only few things are certain with regard to this text, scholarly views have remained steadfast in their evaluation of the authorship and provenance of 4QMMT as belonging to the realm of the 'Qumran Sect'? Throughout the years, scholars have acknowledged 4QMMT's lack of 'sectarian' terminology, its lack of typically 'Qumranic' style and ideology, and its discrepancies with perceived *yahadic* language, organisational and theological outlook. Interestingly, these observations have not resulted in the abandonment of 4QMMT's overall assessment as a (pre-) Qumranic document, maybe even the Qumran Sect's '*foundational* document'; Rather surprisingly, these precise difficulties in 4QMMT seem to have become valuable assets with specifically allocated functions within the Qumran Paradigm. These issues will be discussed in 3.8.1-8:

3.8.1. The Identification of the 'Dramatis Personae'.

Much of the discussion regarding the provenance of 4QMMT has evolved around the identification of the so-called '*dramatis personae*'. As we have seen in sections 3.3.2. and 3.3.3. the inference of polemics and the identification of the 'we', 'they' and 'you' - groups and individuals are closely related. If we however consider the halakhic Section B in its own right, without a presupposition of polemics or in connection with Section C, the text does not contain the clear polemical stance that the DJD editors (and later scholars) read into it. Moreover, in the actual text fragments (before reconstruction), the author(s) and/or 'we'-group in 4QMMT's halakhic section merely express their *own* position forcefully, pointing out their convictions regarding the proper conduct and praxis of Jewish Law.[97] Of course, the 'we'-group implicitly has a clear criticism of the contemporary legal practice and conduct. However, this criticism cannot simply be explained if merely the Jerusalemite priesthood is being addressed. Quite to the contrary, the 'we'-group seems more concerned with the moral decline (especially in matters of purity) of a larger range of society. Of course, the authors hold the priests partly responsible for the perceived societal decline, for the priests are seen as the guardians and overseers of Israel's relationship with God, and hence responsible for the correct conduct of His people

[97] The 'we'-group is particularly concerned with matters of purity and impurity regarding sacrifice, the Temple, its cult and the holiness of Jerusalem, matters of marriage and how to deal with specific groups.

("*The priests ought to watch over all these things so they do not lead the people into sin*" B 12-13, 26-27) [98]. In 4QMMT's halakhic section, the conduct of the priesthood is certainly inherently criticised, but it is set within the bigger picture of purity concerns. These purity concerns certainly seem most pressing where the Temple and Jerusalem are concerned, but they ripple out from the sanctuary into the surrounding society.[99]

The descriptions of what the 'we'-group perceives as wrong conduct leading to impurity, are described in a rather matter of fact manner, as the stress lies on the group's own legal position. The second person plural 'you' addressee only occurs at the end of Section B (B 68, 80), in both instances phrased non-polemically. Qimron and Strugnell have heavily reconstructed line B68 after the author's direct address to the 'you'-group to imply that the author and the 'you'-group share a common outlook. Others however, have worked with the extant fragments, and have refrained from inferring such a conclusion.[100] The second occurrence of the 'you'-group in B 80 merely attests that the addressees know of the things that occur in contemporary society, namely the practice of intermarriage. The author of 4QMMT is clear about his opinion regarding these matters, but we cannot infer from this section to have any knowledge about the 'you'-group's position. Hence, the clear-cut establishment of the text's polemical stance cannot be concluded on the basis of Section B.[101]

Qimron and Strugnell's inference of polemics, then, is reached only by reading the halakhic section with a presupposition of oppositional groups and interpreted in conjunction with Section C: "this question [who are 'we', 'you' and 'they'] is best postponed until we have looked at the evidence of section C".[102] Moreover, Qimron and Strugnell use Section C to identify the groups in Section B, and -in accordance with the presupposed parameters of the Qumran Paradigm- they

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[98] Translation according to García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition.* DJD X, 48, 86 comments on this as a biblical expression, cf. Lev 22:16 "to make them bear guilt / punishment" (requiring a guilt offering). Either translation however, places responsibility for the wellbeing of the people in the hands of the priests.

[99] A good example of the fact that purity issues are thought to be a concern of others in society and not only of the priesthood, can for instance be found in the Book of Tobit 2:9, where a pious Jew is concerned with his ritual purity and observed *tebul yom* after touching a corpse.

[100] Cf. Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, vol. 2 (Leiden/Grand Rapids: Brill/Eerdmans, 1997/1998) 797; They chose not to reconstruct the passage after 'you know' in 4Q397.

[101] Cf. Hempel, 'The Laws of the Damascus Document and 4QMMT', 70-71. Hempel concludes that 4QMMT's halakhic section B has a non-sectarian, rather general outlook.

[102] DJD X, 111.

subsequently determine the dating and historical setting of 4QMMT.[103] Hence, since this presupposition precludes any identification of the 'we'-group other than the 'Qumran Sect', the other positions follow this prime identification. And for instance, whereas in Section A Strugnell expresses doubt about the calendar being part of 4QMMT at all, this same 'sectarian' calendar now is regarded as an important piece of evidence in the identification of the 'we'-group as the 'Qumran Sect'.

Like in the halakhic Section B, a fair amount of scholarly effort has been given to the possible identification of the '*dramatis personae*' in the Epilogue. Equally un-investigated as in Section B, the 'we'-group is presumed to be the 'Qumran Sect' or their predecessor(s), and is thus perceived as a 'unifying feature' that ties Sections B and C together. Von Weissenberg argues that the presence of the first person plural in both the halakhic section and the Epilogue is rather unique, as she considers the use of a first person to be an indication of the author's consciously shaped group-identity and specific set of rules. However, such group-identity does not necessarily point to a sectarian provenance. Group differentiation often portrays images of self-understanding, which are built through defining oneself over against others, but in itself this does not imply sectarian exclusivism.[104]

As we have seen, the they-group does not occur in Section C, and earlier scholarly attempts to identify Section B's 'they' with 'the multitude of the people' (C7-8) are now largely abandoned.[105]

In contradistinction to the plural 'you'-group in Section B, the 'you'-addressee in Section C occurs most often in the second person singular.[106] Various questions can be asked with regard to this 2nd person singular direct address: (1) questions of identity in light of the positive and respectful terminology used, (2) the possibility of the 'you' being included in the 'we'[107], (3) questions regarding the section's social location and (4) the possible rhetorical function of using a direct address. The classic proposal holds that the second person singular 'you' can be identified as a Hasmonean ruler, based upon three textual references (C23, C28 and C31-32). Of course such an

[103] Cf. DJD X, 110-111.
[104] For instance, Goodman has pointed out that matters of halakhic dispute lie at the heart of Second Temple Judaism and do not necessarily need to be interpreted as causes for sectarianism. Cf. Martin Goodman, 'Josephus and Variety in First Century Judaism' in *Judaism in the Roman World: Collected Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) 33-46.
[105] See section 3.3.3.
[106] The 2nd person plural 'you' occurs only in the reconstructed text.
[107] Cf. von Weissenberg and Fraade, who both think that the text is modelled after Deuteronomy, and argue that in Moses's speech 'we' and 'you' are inclusively used.

identification implicitly reads Section C in light of the priestly overtones in Section B, and hence, searches for a time in which both strands of power were united in one man's hand: the Hasmonean Period. As we have seen, scholars have recently challenged this consensus. For instance Fraade, who reads the text 'intramurally' accordingly believes the addressee to be an insider. However, Hempel has argued that, in order to establish ground for such a radically different reading, one also needs to provide evidence for the existence of 'walls' between the inside and the outside. Indeed, in order to read 4QMMT 'intramurally' and evaluate the addressee as an insider, one would have to prove 'sectarian features', which is precisely what is lacking if one reads 4QMMT without its background in the Qumran Paradigm.

Specifically for Section C, and closely related to the problem of identifying the proponents, is the rather unpolemical and respectful manner in which the 'you'-figure is addressed. This almost kind and inclusive way of speech seems unfitting with what scholars have identified as '*yahadic*' texts, that demonstrate dualism and harsh polemical rebuking and cursing of opponents. The impression of mild persuasion on the part of the 'we'-group to convince the 'you'-group or –individual to do the right thing, might indeed point towards perceptions of inclusion rather than polemics.

The absence of 'harsh polemics' and the politeness of address is supplemented by the notion that the Epilogue has no clear sectarian features, ideas or provenance. Moreover, the text seems directed to an established person of power and is obviously concerned with the fate of all Israel. Recently, scholars have challenged the consensus view that the important passage in C7-8 points to a schism of the 'Qumran sect', or any other sectarian schism (see section 3.8.6). Scholars who hold on to the notion of a schismatic 'Qumran sect' supply other explanations of the text, i.e. as 'an intramural pedagogical document' in which the 'we' is used as a rhetorical collective which includes the 'you' (Fraade) or as 'a document-after-the fact' which remembers the reasons for separation (Schiffman). In any case, just like Section B, Section C does not provide us with any significant or concrete boundary markers that distinguishes a radical sectarian group like the Qumranites from the remainder of society, but rhetorically exhorts the addressee to remember Israel's communal past, thereby stressing socio-historical communalities rather than differences.

3.8.2. Turning Absence into Asset: 'Mild Polemics'

The general scholarly opinion holds that 4QMMT demonstrates polemics, but that the polemics are 'mild'. This assessment of 'mild polemics' commonly refers to perceptions of 'non-aggressiveness' in the author's explication of the 'we'-group's halakhic position in Section B and the respectful manner in which the second person singular 'you'-opponent is addressed in Section C. As we saw above, some scholars have argued for the lack of polemics in both Sections A and B, while others see in the use of a 364-day calendar a clear polemical 'reason for sectarian schism' and in the *halakha* 'the early manifestation of the particular sectarian halakhic position of the Qumranites' and the topical reasons for the sect's segregation.

Several arguments are used to read Section B polemically: (1) Section B's polemics are clear when read in connection with Section C's 'underlying principles', (2) Section B's *halakhot* lean towards stringency (and thus 'sectarian radicality'), (3) Section B is pre-occupied with matters of purity and (4) is ostensibly critical with regard to the tasks and responsibilities of the contemporary priesthood. However, these observations are in themselves not enough reason and provide no clear textual evidence to justify the label 'polemical'. With regard to Section C, scholarly opinions can equally be placed on a continuum from polemical to non-polemical. Against an evaluation of polemics speaks the courtesy that is expressed towards the Epilogue's addressee. The Epilogue most eye-catchingly praises the wisdom and knowledge of the 'you'-proponent and expresses concern for his well-being and the well-being of all Israel.

In short, the assessment of polemics in Sections A and B is difficult to establish, while the respectfulness of Section C's address tuned down the scholarly evaluations of 4QMMT's polemical stance into the observation of '*mild polemics'*. This new term has taken on a matter-of-fact afterlife and is used in many scholarly articles without definition or critical assessment. More importantly, the notion of 'mild polemics' has had its effect on the presumed provenance of the text. Because of its specific features (unfamiliar *halakhot*, the famous 'separation' clause in C 7-8) 4QMMT quickly became a blueprint for the study of 'sectarian halakha' and a witness to the Qumranites' sectarian schism, while the tensions with such a *yahadic* provenance were explained from within the Paradigm as frictions were turned into assets: the lack of Qumran terminology and the absence of Qumranic polemics became unique indicators for 4QMMT's position within the 'history of the Qumran

Sect'. The perceived 'mild polemics' were interpreted to reflect the nascent sect's '*formative years*', in which its ideas were not yet fully developed and they still sought reconciliation with their parent movement (and/or the Jerusalemite establishment). Hence the obvious discrepancies with full-blown '*yahadic*' texts thus helped to provide the basis for 4QMMT's prominent and influential position of 'foundational document' within the Qumran Corpus.

From a methodological point of view, a more fundamental question is in order: what is actually meant by 'polemics'? And more importantly, does the term 'polemics' allow for it to become mild? Moreover, when do we consider oppositional views, discussion, disagreement etc. to be 'polemical'?

According to most dictionaries, the word 'polemics' is used for the engagement in a controversial argument or dispute with rather strong and aggressive terminology. These are three current meanings: (1) a strong verbal or written attack on someone or something, (2) an aggressive attack on or refutation of the opinions or principles of another, or (3) a controversial argument, especially one refuting or attacking a specific opinion or doctrine.[108] And indeed, if we speak of a 'polemical' text, normally we understand the text to comply with certain common denominators and criteria such as the name-calling of opponents, assigning negative characteristics to one's opponent and portraying his views as ridiculous, despicable or wicked, or an aggressive rebuke and strong denunciations of the other. 4QMMT meets none of these criteria: the calendar (if originally part of 4QMMT) is rather descriptive, as is Section B, which is critical of the Temple Cult and the Jerusalemite priesthood, but nowhere does the author renounce or aggressively rebuke these institutions. Of course, the author's critical stance towards the priesthood reflects tension with the established rule and execution of halakhic practice, but discussion regarding *halakha* stood at the centre of Jewish religious and socio-political life. As argued earlier in this chapter, the tasks and duties of the priests can be scrutinised as they carry a responsibility for the people's (socio-religious) well-being. Moreover, as we have seen, the supposedly 'oppositional' views of the opponents can only be reached through a process of deduction. Bernstein is critical of many of the reconstructions that Qimron suggests in the halakhic section, as "the impetus for the restoration seems to be the invariable position of the editors [of DJD X] that the author of MMT must be polemicising on all

[108] Cf. Oxford English Dictionary (2012), Collins Dictionary (2013), and van Dale Groot Woordenboek (1986).

points to which he alludes, a posture which I believe is open to question".[109] If Bernstein is correct and the perception of polemics has influenced and thus made uncertain the restoration of the 'we'-group's halakhic positions, then the insistence on a 'mild' polemical outlook has not only had consequences for the document's dating, but also for our evaluations and understanding of its *halakha*. Finally in Section C, the many features of concern, friendliness, and respect contradict the notion of polemics.

Hence, the function of an assessment of 'mild polemics' can most likely be found in 4QMMT's assigned provenance in the Qumran Paradigm. A non-polemical text would simply be difficult to relate to the notion of 'Qumran sectarianism'. However, the use of the term 'polemics' denotes connotations of judgement, denunciation, rebuke, aggressiveness and confrontation, and does not make use of the more subtle strategies like reasoning, persuasion, appeal to common knowledge, flattery, and expression of concern regarding the fate of others. By allowing a rather confrontational term like 'polemics' to become 'mild', scholars have taken away much of its original meaning and subsequent explanatory power. Hence, it is my contention that there is no such thing as 'mild' polemics, and that the use of this terminology solely serves the objective to retrospectively maintain 4QMMT's (pre-) sectarian status.

3.8.3. The Absence of Sectarian Terminology

Part of the difficulty in connecting 4QMMT to the Qumran group lies in the fact that the text does not demonstrate any of the terminology that scholars have identified as 'sectarian' or '*yahadic*'. Scholars have found various explanations for this absence, such as:

1. The text is written for outsiders; therefore the Qumranites chose to write in the non-sectarian language that was contemporarily used in society.
2. The text is a polemical document, written for outsider opponents, and therefore the Qumran author used the opponents' language.
3. The document is an intramural pedagogical tool, to teach and reinforce the Qumranites' ideological foundations and self-understanding.
4. 4QMMT is a sectarian document from the earliest stage in the Qumran Sect's development, a time in which they were caught up in an intra-priestly halakhic discussion, but had not yet segregated from the Temple worship and still hoped to be reconciled. Frustrated after

[109] Bernstein, 'The Employment', 43.

4QMMT's reception, they radicalised and developed a sectarian ideology of abandonment and rejection with its subsequent terminology.

These explanations more or less explicitly presume 4QMMT's Qumranic provenance and they all stay well within the framework of the Qumran Paradigm. Whichever explanation one chooses for the absence of 'sectarian terminology', it transforms an inconvenient friction into a functioning asset, thereby –in one way or another- preserving the (pre-)sectarian classification of the text. Surprisingly, hitherto no Qumran scholar has openly argued for the most obvious and simplest explanation for the lack of sectarian features, namely the distinct possibility that 4QMMT is not a (pre-)'*yahadic*' or 'sectarian' or 'Qumranic' text, but that its provenance needs to be found either elsewhere or in a much wider social setting. Instead, from its discovery onward, and later formalised in the DJD X edition, in which Qimron placed 4QMMT "prior to or very early in the organized existence of the Qumran Movement"[110], the text has kept its (pre-) sectarian function within the Paradigm.

3.8.4. The Early Glimmers of 'Unique' Halakha and Reasons for Separation

One of the most persistent arguments in all evaluations concerning 4QMMT's presumed provenance in the Qumran Paradigm is the notion that its halakhic section not only reflects those areas in which the 'Qumran Sect' differs from its opponents, but also highlights the reasons for the Qumranites' schism from their parent movement. Therefore, 4QMMT's halakhic Section B is said to reflect the polemics between the 'sect' and its opponents by focussing on their halakhic differences. The contribution of Section B and its *halakha* to the overall evaluation of 4QMMT as a 'foundational document' consists of several arguments and observations, which are:

1. 4QMMT is clearly related to 11QTemple, which reflects the same principles and concerns regarding ritual purity and the Temple cult, calendar and festivals and issues like tithes and marital status. Both texts are part of the pre-sectarian *formative period* of the Sect.
2. Because developments can be observed from the positions expressed in 11QTemple, 4QMMT clearly reveals the topics of fundamental dispute and the 'sect's reasons for breaking away from its parent movement.

[110] DJD X, 113.

3. The halakhic section of 4QMMT demonstrates early traces of the 'Qumran Sect's dualistic worldviews as the 'we'-group's halakhic positions are polemically set over against the positions of its opponents.
4. The halakhic positions of the 'we'-group reflect the later halakhic system of the 'Qumran Sect', and its discrepancies can be explained by 4QMMT's early date.
5. When read in conjunction, the halakhic section B is supplemented by the hortatory section C, which provides its underlying principles. As such, 4QMMT is an early witness to the unique Qumranic *halakha*, which relies on the concepts of *nigleh* and *nistar* and characteristically consists of a combination of halakhic views and particular Qumranic regulations.
6. Finally, in the *halakha* of 4QMMT we find the early traces of Qumranic radical sectarianism as the 'we'-group's halakhic position demonstrates a tendency towards stringency.

Together, these arguments have significantly contributed to 4QMMT's position in the Paradigm. However, each of these convictions contains elements that need to be approached with scrutiny.

Firstly, the relationship between 11QTemple and 4QMMT is far from straightforward. Because they are both notoriously hard to date, and both lack clear historical information, scholars differ in their assessment of which document is earlier. This fact alone should caution us with regard to any theory that places these two texts in a chronological or developmental sequence, or attempts to use them in historical reconstructions. Another, related problem arises from Qimron's usage of 11QTemple to reconstruct halakhic positions in 4QMMT. Based on a comparison of their *halakha*, Schiffman argued that both documents sprang from within a Sadducean tradition, but that they cannot be "linearly related".[111] Such evaluation is problematic in light of Qimron's reconstructions, many of which were recently challenged by Ian Werrett.[112] One cannot help but wonder whether the fact that Qimron relies extensively on 11QTemple to reconstruct 4QMMT, has contributed to the commonly presumed halakhic resemblance between 11QTemple and 4QMMT.

Secondly, the specificity and presumed peculiar choice of the halakhic topics needs to be re-evaluated without the presupposition of a Qumranic context for 4QMMT, for -as already stressed by Strugnell and Qimron in DJD X- the text simply seems occupied with the most central topics of dispute between various fractions within Second Temple Judaism.[113] The lack of clarity with regard to the 'opponents'

[111] Schiffman, *Qumran and Jerusalem*, 121.
[112] Werrett, *Ritual Purity,* 180-209.
[113] Cf. DJD X, 131.

halakhic positions', *together with* the absence of polemics *and* the neutral and unidentifiable use of pronouns for the text's proponents, highly problematises the view that 4QMMT reflects a (pre-) sectarian setting (or identifies specific disputes with another party). Moreover, Schiffman's contention that 11QTemple and 4QMMT reflecting a common Sadducean past problematises the uniqueness of Qumranic *halakha* and threatens a straightforward Essene identification. However, several scholars have recently challenged the Sadducean origin of the 'we'-group's halakhic positions, as they only find two (out of 20!) examples of known Sadducean halakhic positions. But maybe most importantly, the absence of polemics in combination with the centrality of the topics as matters of debate in Second Temple Judaism and the text's central concern for *all* Israel do not point towards the notion of a schism.

Thirdly, the contention that 4QMMT reflects the early developments of 'unique Qumranic *halakha*' deserves a series of critical remarks: Firstly, as we have seen above, most undisputed '*yahadic*' sectarian texts, like the so-called *Serakhim* or Rule-texts (1QS, 4QS fragments, 1QSa, 1QSb)[114], do not contain clear halakhic material, as they are predominantly preoccupied with internal matters of organisation and conduct. Therefore, scholars consider the *yahadic* texts less suitable for the establishment of a 'Qumranic *halakha*', which is commonly reconstructed and assessed from the following four building blocks: 11QTemple, 4QMMT, the Cave 4 fragments of CD and a disparate collection of Qumran fragments referred to by Schiffman as 'Remaining *halakha*' (i.e. DJD XXXV's *Halakhic Texts*, e.g. 4Q251, 4Q265, 4Q414). Interestingly, the presumed 'unique' Qumranic sectarian halakhic position is based upon documents, none of which can be designated '*yahadic*' beyond a reasonable doubt. Most interestingly, Schiffman's unique sectarian marker for Qumranic *halakha*, namely the distinction between *nigleh* and *nistar* (or any other allusion to 'secret revealed knowledge' regarding the correctness of the 'we'-group's halakhic interpretations) is lacking in 4QMMT. On the contrary, the text presumes a certain openness and accessibility as to how it reaches its halakhic positions, which is reflected in the fact that its addressee is supposed to have a certain awareness of common rules and practices. Moreover, the author of 4QMMT even appeals to the addressee's wisdom and knowledge of the Torah. Also, Shemesh finds that, in contradistinction to the 'Qumranic' lack of exegetical explanation for reaching its

[114] I exclude the *War Scroll*, as I do not consider M an undisputed *yahadic* text.

halakhic positions, 4QMMT's author explains his exegetical considerations.[115] One cannot help thinking that the argument of 'uniqueness' and not-yet-fully-developed halakhic argumentation is quite seriously undermined by the amount of circular reasoning that is needed to construct Qumranic *halakha* in the first place.

Finally, scholars have argued that 4QMMT reflects early traces of the Qumranites' radical sectarian stance, as its *halakha* leans towards stringency. Hence, 'stringency' is obviously - rightly or wrongly - associated with the notion of the Qumranites' sectarian radicality and religious extremism. Elman has objected to stringency as a criterion for the identification and positioning of halakhic statements. He argues that "once we assert that Qumranic halakha represents a 'systematic and fully consistent' stringency, which applies 'to all details and aspects of any given halakha', we are asserting that the *only* consistency is one of stringency, despite the direction in which the legal or ritualistic or exegetical logic may tend…"[116] He warns against the presupposition of consistent stringency on the part of the perceived Qumranic 'we'-group, as it implicitly presupposes an equally consistent more lenient position on the part of its opponents, especially since 4QMMT is considered to reflect the polemics between both groups with regard to the text's specific topics. Finally, Elman finds several instances in Qimron's reconstruction of 4QMMT's halakhic section that impress him as being driven by the conviction of systematic polemics in conjunction with this obligatory stringency, rather than by the most likely or closest physical reconstruction or parallel text.[117] If Elman is correct and these presumptions of polemics and stringency have influenced the text's reconstruction, they may equally have influenced the subsequent evaluation of 4QMMT's social world and relation to Qumran. As Bernstein has eloquently put it: "Theories about the legal system of the authors, about their attitude to Scripture and halakha, as well as the identity of their opponents have an effect on both the reconstruction and interpretation of the fragments".[118] No one will deny that Qimron has done a tremendous job in reconstructing a coherent text from such fragmentary manuscripts. However, Elman and Bernstein stress the importance of caution as to the possible discrepancies that are

[115] Shemesh, *Halakha in the Making*, 35, cf. fn. 31.
[116] Yaakov Elman, '4QMMT and the Rabbinic Tradition', in Kampen and Bernstein eds., *Reading 4QMMT*, 99-128.
[117] E.g. Elman, '4QMMT and the Rabbinic Tradition', 102-103.
[118] Bernstein, 'The Employment', 30.

often found between what we have and what we wish, presume or presuppose. By and large, these discrepancies are reflected in the story and the life of 4QMMT.

3.8.5. The Evidence of 4QpPs[a]: Written Communication of the Sect's Precepts of the Law

Another parameter for positioning 4QMMT in the early history of the 'Qumran Sect' is the suggestion that an undisputed Qumranic text, the *pesher* on Psalm 37 (4QpPs[a]), refers to the 'halakhic letter'. This suggestion is build upon two presumptions. Firstly, in DJD X, Qimron connects Sections B and C through the expression 'Precepts of the Law' by interpreting the term מעשׂים of B2, C23 and C27 as meaning 'precepts' or 'commandments'. Moreover, for Qimron, מעשׂים signifies a Qumranic setting as he attributes this peculiar usage and meaning, i.e. differential to its traditional meaning 'works' or 'deeds', to the realm of the 'Qumran Sect': "In MMT laws are not called halakhot, מצוות [..] but rather מעשׂים (B2) and מעשׂי התורה (C27), [..] in this sense also found in some other Qumranic works (4Q174, 1-2 I 7, 1QS 6:18)".[119] Having established this inner-MMT connection, he suggests that a phrase in 4QpPs[a] iv 8c-9a, which speaks of the Teacher of Righteousness having sent to the Wicked Priest "a document of precepts and law"[120], may be an inner-Qumranic reference to 4QMMT, which can establish its provenance. This very sentence, along with the harmonisation of the term מעשׂים in 4QMMT itself, has thus significantly shaped the text's overall evaluation.

Qimron's evaluation of מעשׂים in the meaning of 'precepts' as 'Qumranic' has been criticised by García Martínez, who especially disagrees with the presumed implication of this observation, namely that 4QMMT is a '*yahadic*' document. He argues that, not only in other Qumran writings, but also in 4QMMT itself, מעשׂים needs to be translated according to its traditional meaning of 'works' or 'deeds'.[121] In B2, the restoration of the text is difficult, but García Martínez seems correct in his evaluation that here the term מעשׂים needs to be connected with, but not necessarily taken as a synonym for B1's 'our rulings' (דברינו), as the use of both terms in one sentence clearly points to their different meaning. Moreover, in DJD's C23, the term is translated traditionally: 'Remember the Kings of Israel and contemplate their deeds

[119] DJD X, 139.
[120] DJD X, 119.
[121] García Martínez, '4QMMT in Qumran Context', 15-27.

(מעשיהם)'. The employment of the same word, reflecting both its new distinctly 'sectarian' semantic field and its traditional meaning within one document, seems rather unlikely. Moreover, García Martínez concludes that Qimron's other examples of the 'Qumranic' usage of the term מעשים also need to be translated according to the traditional meaning of 'deeds' or 'works'.[122] Interestingly, García Martínez demonstrates that the term can have its traditional meaning in C27's מעשי התורה, which currently provides the manuscript with its title. Even though García Martínez's opinion is grounded in his investment to assign a 'pre-Qumranic', i.e. *formative* setting to 4QMMT, his proposal is convincing, and has its implications for our evaluation of the perceived 'inner-Qumranic' tradition pointed out by DJD X.

As we have seen, the proposed 'inner-Qumranic tradition' refers to the phrase in 4QpPs[a] iv 8c-9a, which reflects a *pesher* on Ps 37:32-33 interpreted as follows: "the Wicked [Pri]est, who sp[ie]s on the ju[st man and wants to] kill him […..] and the law (התורה) which he sent him".[123] The presumption that this passage refers to 4QMMT is probably partly based on the fact that the DJD edition constructs a lexical connection between the two texts by suggesting that the 4QpPs[a] text reads "precepts and the law which the latter sent to the former".[124] As such, 4QpPs[a] is thought to establish the identification of 4QMMT's author as the Teacher of Righteousness and its addressee as the Wicked Priest. Of course, such an identification would firmly put 4QMMT within the realm of the 'Qumran Sect'. However, even though the English translation in DJD X does not indicate restorations, its suggestion that the *pesher* reads '*precepts* and the law' is entirely based upon the text's reconstruction. Also, even the reconstructed text, which is abandoned in the Study Edition's translation used above, does not use the connecting term מעשים but the more common term for 'precepts', דברים.[125]. Hence, what we have in 4QpPsa is a reference to the '*Torah*' that the Teacher supposedly has sent, a term that -as Schiffman has pointed out correctly- 4QMMT employs frequently but never in reference to itself. According to Schiffman, the MMT text itself demonstrates an awareness of distinction between the Mosaic Torah and its own halakhic writings, a point that would concur with García Martínez's evaluations concerning the meaning of מעשים. Furthermore, the term תורה is

[122] García Martínez, '4QMMT in Qumran Context', 24-25.
[123] Cf. Tigchelaar and García Martínez eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* vol. 1, (4Q171) 347.
[124] Cf. DJD X, 120.
[125] The reconstruction thus reads "[על דברי החו]ק והתורה אשר שלח אליו"; however, the ק is uncertain, and the simultaneous usage of תורה and חוק both indicating 'law' seems odd.

so frequently used that it can hardly function as a reference to a specific document. Moreover, the presumed identification of 4QMMT's proponents through the 'reference' in 4QpPs[a] is problematic, as the former does not contain any historical data.[126] Nowadays, most scholars have abandoned the straightforward identification of the Psalm *pesher* passage with 4QMMT, but some still maintain this view; a view, that in the Paradigm certainly has had its influence on the evaluations regarding 4QMMT's position within the Qumran corpus.[127]

3.8.6. The Evidence of Segregation and Separation from Society

The most important parameter for the evaluation of 4QMMT as the 'foundational document of the Qumran Sect' is its famous passage of separation in C 7-8 (4Q397 fr 14-21 line 7-8): "[And you know that] we have segregated ourselves (פרשנו) from the multitude (רוב) of the pe[ople and] ([ה]ע[ם]) from mingling in these affairs, and from associating wi[th them] in these things". Classically, this phrase is taken as evidence for the physical, social and possibly even geographical separation of the 'Qumran Sect'. Before discussing the individual elements of the passage proper, a general observation must be made regarding this passage's overall evaluation. On the one hand, if we follow Strugnell and García Martínez in their conviction that 4QMMT is a pre-Qumranic text, how can we perceive their 'segregation from the multitude of the people' at such an early stage? Moreover, if one places 4QMMT in García Martínez's *formative period*, would the group not firstly need to deal with the split-off from its parent-movement, define its own identity while still struggling with the schism, before even considering a possible retreat to Qumran?[128] As such, a physical and geographical separation from "the multitude of

[126] Cf. Strugnell, 'Second Thoughts', 70-71; von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 17; also Eyal Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran,* 107.
[127] Cf. Hanan Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008) 46-48.
[128] In his Groningen Hypothesis, García Martínez, seems to want to have his cake and eat it too. On the one hand, 4QMMT is used to prove his theory of a 'discordant split-off' from the Essene parent movement over the halakhic and calendar issues mentioned in the text, while at the same time the text is ascribed "as coming from the parent group of the Qumran Community". He states: "This pre-Qumranic group had already adopted the calendar, followed the halakha we know from other Qumran compositions". According to García Martínez, the Essenes had no calendrical issues, while halakhic disputes and calendrical issues were the main reasons for the split-off. Moreover, according to Josephus, the Essenes lived everywhere and not 'separated from the multitude of the people'. Hence, García Martínez either conceives another, third sectarian group chronologically in between the Essene parent movement and the Qumran Sect, or he simply moulds the 'evidence of MMT' to the necessary parameters of his theory dependent on the question asked. In any case, who exactly separated from the

the people" seems unlikely. On the other hand, if we follow Qimron (and Dimant) and consider 4QMMT a document of the 'Qumran Sect', the separation passage would make sense, but then an explanation needs to be found for all the discrepancies that the text demonstrates with what scholars consider '*yahadic*' texts.[129]

Recently, several scholars, while re-investigating this important clause from various perspectives, have challenged the designated identification of C7-8 as a witness to the 'Qumran Sect's separation'. The scholarly debate highlights several issues, which are more or less interconnected. These issues are discussed below (3.8.6.1-3).

3.8.6.1. The Meaning of 'These Things' (דברים האלה) (C8)

Fernandez, Sharp and -to a certain extent- Schiffman have argued that the C7-8 passage still deals with the preceding subject of intermarriage.[130] An important indication as to whether they are right lies in scholars' ability to clarify the meaning of 'these things' in C8. The use of the plural (twice in C8) indicates that the 'things' in which the 'we'-group wishes to distance itself from [ה]עם, are plural too, and hence extend beyond the issue of intermarriage. Recently, Hempel has suggested that 4QMMT's separation clause might indeed point to a separation between the 'we'-group and the people and their 'inappropriate' practices.[131] If she is correct, 'these things' may refer to the halakhic rules and corresponding practices, in which the 'we'-group disagrees with the contemporary observance and practical execution of the law in Israel. Indeed, if read in conjunction with Section B, as Hempel does, such a 'summary' at the beginning of a new section would be conceivable. Unfortunately, the extreme fragmentary state of 4Q397, and the facts that (1) the junction between Sections B and C is not preserved and (2) the Section C lines 1-8 are only preserved

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multitude of the people, and how to interpret this separation- ideologically, physically or even geographically, remains rather unclear. Cf. García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 3-52.

[129] Also, and even though many linguistic features do not fit with the *yahadic* sectarian texts, Qimron seems to assess the text as 'written by the Qumran Sect' on purely linguistic grounds, without considering the implications of this evaluation for the other socio-historical parameters assigned to the text.

[130] Miguel Perez Fernandez, '4QMMT: Redactional Study' in *RevQ 18* (1997) 191-205; Carolyn Sharp, 'Phinean Zeal and Rhetorical Strategy in 4QMMT' in *RevQ* 18 (1997) 82-91; Lawrence Schiffman, 'Prohibited Marriages in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Rabbinic Literature' in Steven Fraade, Aharon Shemesh and Ruth Clements eds., *Rabbinic Perspectives: Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls, STDJ 62* (Leiden: Brill, 2006) 113-126, 121.

[131] Hempel, 'Comfortable Theories', 19.

in this one manuscript, make it difficult to establish whether the lines preceding C7-8 function as a bridge or summary of Section B.[132]

In her reconstruction of 4QMMT's Epilogue, von Weissenberg offers an alternative placement of the fragments, which places composite text C7-8 in the middle of the epilogue (as lines C14-15). Hence, in von Weissenberg's reconstruction, 'these things' need not necessarily refer to or provide the bridge for the halakhic issues discussed in Section B. Moreover, it allows for an independent reading of Section C, in which case 'these things' not only connects with the 'we'-group's historical awareness of what caused blessings and what caused curses in Israel's past, but more precisely with their recognition of such causes for cursing in their contemporary social environment (and hence their conviction to separate themselves from such practices). Accordingly, von Weissenberg suggests reading C 7-8 more along these lines than as a declaration of segregation from wider society.

Read independently, section C can hardly shed light on the precise or detailed matters to which 'these things' refer, as the candidates, i.e. deceit, violence, and fornication are the prototypical accusations of transgressions known from numerous other biblical and non-biblical texts. Hence, whether 'these things' refers to the halakhic concerns of section B *or* it being an independent Section C-reference to the not specified transgressions collected under 'deceit', 'violence' and 'fornication', is hard to tell. Both options certainly seem possible and weaken the theory of C7-8 being the declaration of the 'Qumran Sect's total segregation from society.

3.8.6.2. The Use of פרש *in C7:* פרשנו

Another important issue involves the use and meaning of the word פרש ('to separate oneself'). According to Qimron, 4QMMT attests to the earliest manifestation of this meaning of פרש.[133] In DJD X, Qimron notes that the term does not occur in Biblical Hebrew, but rather in Mishnaic Hebrew, where it can have several meanings, one of which is "the act of leaving the community because of differences of opinion over halakha".[134] More importantly, he notices that פרש is not used in other Qumran sectarian writings like CD/DD (which uses סור מדרך), when discussing the group's separation. Hence, he explains away this important disparity by suggesting an early

[132] Also, there is considerable dispute regarding the correct placement of the fragments. Cf. 8.1.
[133] Interestingly Qimron openly demonstrates his surprise about 4QMMT's "neutral, or even positive, use of the verb פרש to describe the creation of sects", most notably its own group. Cf. DJD X, 111.
[134] DJD X, 99.

date for 4QMMT or - in line with Dimant - the sectarians using their opponents' terminology. Both suggestions seem to denote Qimron's contention of the text's social location within the Qumran Paradigm, rather than being comments based on textual evidence.[135]

Siegal is critical of Qimron's assessment that the occurrence of פרש in MMT is "the earliest attestation of the use of פרש for 'depart, secede'.[136] Philologically, Siegal argues, such an evaluation on the basis of one occurrence of a lexical term is suspect, and more thorough investigation of the term's root and previous meanings is needed in order to establish whether a 'new' meaning is justified. Moreover, he suggests that, if Qimron were correct and the term needs to be translated 'to separate oneself', one would expect the term to be complemented by 'path/way (דרך).[137] Hempel also recently challenged the conclusions Qimron draws from his overall assessment of the usage of פרש in C7, questioning whether the presupposition of a 'discordant sectarian schism' concurs with 4QMMT's textual evidence.[138] Even though von Weissenberg's translation and reading of the Epilogue still concurs with the traditional readings that a 'separation from the multitude of the people' is indicated in C7-8, she believes the passage to reflect the 'we'-group's need to distance themselves from what they perceive as 'impure practices', rather than "signify an irrevocable and irreconcilable separation from all Jews or a complete abandonment of the Temple".[139] Moreover, she argues that the separation clause, which is so important for the Qumran Paradigm can hardly be seen as the central point of the Epilogue, whose "main focus is on the repentence and reformation of the Jerusalem Cult".[140] If von Weissenberg is correct, 4QMMT's investment in the Temple Cult might reflect a genuine engagement with and deep concern for the fate of 'all Israel', rather than a move towards a radical exclusivist and separatist positioning on the part of its author's movement.

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[135] Cf. DJD X, where Qimron notes that the Qumran sect uses the 'biblicising' סרי מדרך העם. Interestingly, if we would follow diachronic theories of evolutionary linguistic and semantic development with regard to the history of the Qumran sect, their characteristic biblicising terminology seems rather in tension with an early date for MMT, which seems to rely on the later MH terminology when it comes to describing the 'we'-group's separation.

[136] Cf. DJD X, 58; Elitzur Bar-Asher Siegal, 'Who Separated From Whom and Why? A Philological Study of 4QMMT' in *RevQ* (2011) 229-256; Interestingly, Siegal convincingly establishes connection between פרש and the biblical בדל, but his philological investigation does not find any relationship between פרש and the root סור which is used in Qumran sectarian literature for the act of the sect's separation.

[137] Siegal, 'Who Separated', 245.

[138] Hempel, 'Comfortable Theories', 284-286.

[139] Von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 203.

[140] Cf. von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 235.

3.8.6.3. The Reconstruction of [ם]העּ

An important and often overlooked issue is the restoration of העם, the people. In only some Hebrew reconstructions, the restoration of the *mem* is indicated, while no issue is taken over the fact that also the *ayin* is only partly visible.[141] Recently, Siegal has challenged the reconstruction of העם and suggests to read רוב העמים, which would be a well attested reference to the holiness of Israel and its separation from the nations. Moreover, Siegal finds references for his proposal in Deut 7, Ezra 9-10 and numerous examples in the Targumic and Rabbinic literature connecting the use of פרׁש to העמים. He thinks that the restoration of העמים also allows for an alternative reconstruction of the beginning of the sentence and a reflexive meaning of פרׁשנו as he translates: "And we were set off and apart from the multitude of the nations and we were prohibited from mingling with them".[142]

As we have seen above, some scholars have argued that the C 7-8 separation clause refers to 4QMMT's halakhic position on intermarriage in Section B. In favour of Siegal's reconstruction speaks the fact that the abovementioned passages in Deuteronomy and Ezra also specifically address the prohibition of intermarriage between Israel and the nations.[143] If Siegal is correct, this leaves open the possibility that in 4QMMT, like in these scriptural references, the separation-clause concerns *all* Israel and the nations, instead of reflecting a sectarian schismatic event. Recently, Hempel has pointed out another inconsistency with regard to the traditional opinion of a 'sectarian' separation from 'the multitude of the people': She suggests that the people (העם) cannot be the problem, as they are not an active (or mentioned) party in the Epilogue. Moreover, several passages (B 26-27, C27 and C31-32) seem genuinely concerned with their well-being.[144] If Siegal is correct, and the C7-8 clause is preoccupied with the preservation of Israel's holiness and purity over against the nations, we may see Section B line 75-82 regarding the holiness of the seed of Israel in an entirely different light. In any case, his suggestions are intriguing and at times convincing enough to put warning signs on an all too convenient interpretation of this passage in light of the Qumran Paradigm.

[141] Cf. Hempel, 'Comfortable Theories', 17-18.
[142] Siegal, 'Who Separated', 244.
[143] However, as we have seen, Section C's reference of 'these things' seems to involve other issues as well.
[144] Cf. Hempel, 'Comfortable Theories', 21-22.

3.8.7. The Curious Case of the 'Sectarian' Calendar

A less highlighted, but nevertheless important part of 4QMMT's (pre-) sectarian status involves scholarly assessments regarding the text's calendar. As we have seen, scholars early on have evaluated 4Q394 frgs 1-2 as not belonging to 4QMMT, and hence were left with only three calendrical lines, which partly seem to reconstruct a 364-day calendar. Moreover, we have discussed how some scholars have even expressed their doubts about the originality of the calendrical section A to the text. Nevertheless, the fragmentary evidence of a 'sectarian' 364-day calendar has been used as a valuable asset in 4QMMT's overall evaluation as a (pre-)sectarian Qumranic text.

While some scholars have argued that the presence of a calendar is rather unpolemical in nature, others have seen it as an important indicator of sectarianism and thus inherently polemical. Also, some scholars have argued that the fact that the calendar was preserved only in the single manuscript (4Q394) is an indication that a calendar is 'extraneous' to 4QMMT, while at the same time claiming that the calendar clearly was an integral reason for the 'Qumran Sect' to segregate from 'the multitude of the people'.[145] Two more arguments are used to make the calendrical Section A function within the Qumran Paradigm: (1) the calendar is used to establish 4QMMT's connection to the 'Qumran Sect' solely on the basis of their presupposed usage of a 364-day calendar. And (2) the calendar is used to imply a textual *yahadic* characteristic, as the *yahad* is presumed to be quite familiar with the unusual attachment of a calendrical manuscript to their rulings, as the attachment of 4Q319Otot to one of the copies of 4QS (4Q259) seems to indicate.[146] These - often contradictory - arguments demonstrate that the issue of a 'sectarian' calendar has played an important role in the evaluation of 4QMMT's provenance.

No-one will contest the fact that the calendar was an important topic in Second Temple Judaism as it regulated daily life in general and religious life in particular. Amongst the Qumran finds, many calendrical texts and texts containing calendrical sections have been found, attesting to this affect.[147] However, the calendars found at Qumran are not identical, i.e. they do not have the same focus (priestly courses,

[145] For these various scholarly opinions, see sections 3 and 8 of this chapter.
[146] In section 3.3.1, I have argued that these two instances of 'calendar-attachment' are better not compared for material and textual reasons as well as with regard to their subject matter.
[147] Cf. DJD X, 131: "MMT deals with the three topics [calendar, ritual purity with regard to the Temple cult and marital status] that stood at the centre of the controversy between the Jewish religious parties of the Second Temple Period".

festivals, days of the Sabbath etc.). Some of them reflect a 364-day calendar, while others describe a schematic 354-day luni-solar calendar, that "was brought into alignment with the solar [i.e. 364-day] calendar by regular intercalations".[148] According to VanderKam, none of the calendrical texts found at Qumran indicate that this luni-solar system was in any way considered inferior to a 'pure' 364-day calendar. The variety of calendars found at Qumran therefore cannot be used as an indicator for 4QMMT's provenance. Moreover, even though the general opinion that the 364-day calendar was a 'sectarian' calendar is taken over by most scholars without critical assessment, possibly on the basis that this calendar is attested for in *Jubilees*, *1Enoch*'s *Astronomical Book*, and at Qumran, scholarly debate as to the common calendar used in the Temple has not yet ceased.[149] And even if we presume that the 364-day calendar in general, and its occurrence in 4Q394 in particular, is 'sectarian', we still cannot use this assessment as evidence to establish 4QMMT's (pre-) Qumranic setting.[150] Similarly, *Jubilees* and *1Enoch* advocate strongly for a 364-day calendar, without being evaluated as 'Qumranic' in origin. The fact is that the calendar in 4Q394 is only preserved in three highly reconstructed lines and gives us little secure information. Without the presumption of a Qumranic setting already in mind, the calendar cannot be attributed to the scholars' evidence kit to establish 4QMMT's provenance as a 'foundational document of the Qumran Sect'.

3.8.8. The Final Straw: Evidence of Presence

Of course, I am not the first one to notice the multitude of questions, uncertainties and circular reasoning that has characterised scholarship with regard to 4QMMT. When all else fails, the sheer fact that many versions of 4QMMT are found amongst the Qumran manuscripts is often the only remaining argument to presume the text's (pre-) sectarian or (pre-) Qumranic provenance. This argument of *presence*, which reasons from the presupposition that the Dead Sea Scrolls reflect the religious library of the 'Qumran Sect', regards the number of preserved 4QMMT manuscripts

[148] Cf. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 110-112.
[149] See VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 113-115.
[150] More importantly, it is uncertain whether calendrical issues can at all be used to make a case for schisms. Both Goodman and Stern have argued that differences in calendar occurred throughout Jewish history and are in themselves no reason for separatism or sectarianism. Cf. Sacha Stern, 'Qumran Calendars and Sectarianism' in Timothy Lim and John J. Collins eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) 232-253; Martin Goodman, 'Josephus and Variety in First-Century Judaism' and 'A Note on Qumran Sectarians, the Essenes and Josephus', both in *Judaism in the Roman World: Collected Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) 33-46 cf. 137-143.

as evidence for the document being an authoritative text with near-canonical status at Qumran. This argument, which can be found in many scholarly publications as the last straw in an attempt to secure the text's pivotal position in the Paradigm, inherently expresses the reluctance of scholarship to part with its original evaluation of 4QMMT's provenance, and to open up the possibility of re-evaluating this important text with fresh eyes. Instead, scholarship holds on to what Hempel has called the 'relic' of a specific phase of research.[151] A good example of this 'last resort' argumentation we find in von Weissenberg's thorough study of 4QMMT's Epilogue and its relation to halakhic Section B, in which she concludes that both sections have "nothing particular Qumranic or sectarian". Although she successfully deconstructs many of the pillars that hold up 4QMMT's firm position as a 'foundational document of the Qumran Sect', she - like others - does not follow through on her own conclusions and firmly retreats into the comfort of the prevalent Paradigm, as she states: "Several copies of 4QMMT found in Cave 4 at Qumran witness the importance of this document to those who compiled the Qumran library: the community living at Qumran. Therefore, even though 4QMMT could originally have been composed either at Qumran or elsewhere, it certainly was of considerable significance for the community".[152]

3.9. Conclusions

4QMMT is a difficult document to assess. The many peculiarities have made it one of the most fascinating documents amongst the Qumran texts. However, the many problems that we have encountered and laid bare in this chapter, demonstrate that the straightforward identification of this document as the 'foundational document of the Qumran Sect' can no longer be maintained. In Chapter Two, we have already unravelled the problems that are attached to classifications of 'pre-sectarianism' and the notion of a 'formative period'. This chapter has attempted to demonstrate that - at least in the case of 4QMMT - these classifications are invested in sustaining the Qumran Paradigm, rather than in evaluating the textual evidence on its own merits. As a test case, this re-evaluation of 4QMMT has created awareness of the fact that if textual evidence does not fit, an all too stringent model of social reality might hold

[151] Cf. Hempel, 'Comfortable Theories', 285.
[152] Von Weissenberg, *4QMMT,* 234-235.

back new interpretations or different possible interpretive horizons. Thus, rather than pigeonholing 4QMMT in its Paradigmatic position, we need to realise that there are simply too many unanswered difficulties at this point in time to comfortably proceed within the existing interpretative framework of the Qumran Paradigm.

Chapter Four:

Ideology as Cohesive Strategy: The Development of Qumran Dualism

The perception of the 'Qumran Sect's antagonistic thought in rather radical forms has been part and parcel of Qumran scholarship from its inception. As we saw earlier, in the case of 4QMMT, the presupposition of this text's provenance and the idea of sectarianism have dominated scholarly investigations in its perceived 'mildly' polemical stance over against (the halakhic positions of) the Qumran Sect's perceived opponents. The characteristics of sectarianism as an assumed model, made to explain the 'Qumran Community and Library' in general, and its main identifier of 'tension' with or 'antagonism' against the outside world in particular,[1] not only determined the way scholars evaluated texts with regard to style, language and terminology. It also influenced scholarly evaluations with regard to the conceptualisation of an overall uniquely Qumranite 'sectarian' worldview and ideology, containing its own specific and identifiable characteristics.

A 'sectarian' model presumes an irresolvable 'tension' with the outside world of 'mainstream religion'. Accordingly, the conceptualisation of a Qumran community from the vantage point of a 'sectarian' paradigm undergirds and reinforces a reading of texts as radical, in language, style, thought and practice. This perception of the 'Qumran Sect's radicality' is commonly reflected in (1) their specifically sectarian terminology, (2) applied in a concealed, but for insiders recognisable web of meanings and particular style (as for instance in the *Pesharim*). These 'sectarian' texts are thought (3) to reflect not only identifiable deviant ideological concepts and beliefs (such as a deterministic worldview and dualistic thinking) but also (4) the tendency towards stringency in their *halakhic* positions, and (5) a salvific understanding of themselves as 'elected'. This 'elected status' is perceived to be (6) supplemented by the ideological creation of high boundaries between themselves, i.e. 'good' insiders, and the 'evil' outside world.

In short, the label of sectarianism provokes the search for textual evidence of such an irreducible oppositional framework and/or tempts us to read texts accordingly: it facilitates - rightly or wrongly - a tendency to evaluate and interpret opposition or difference in terms of antagonism, polemics, dualism and Otherness.

[1] Cf. for instance Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion,* New York: Peter Lang, 1987), or for Qumran Studies, Jutta Jokiranta, *Identity on a Continuum: Constructing and Expressing Sectarian Social Identity in Qumran 'Sekharim' and 'Pesharim'* (Diss. University of Helsinki, 2005).

Thus, this and the next Chapter will primarily focus on the ideological side of Qumran's sectarian purported radicality, and will investigate the value and function of identifying the concept of 'dualism' as a prime characteristic of the Qumran group's theology.

4.1. Dualism as a Qumran Characteristic

Dualistic thinking has long been perceived as one of the main characteristics of the Qumranites' theological outlook. For instance, in her essay on 'Qumran Sectarian Literature', Dimant argues that the Qumran 'sectarian' writings attest to a "system of strict predestination", in which "powerful dualistic notions are introduced".[2] In the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, Dimant finds the "sect's dualistic ideology" at work in "all levels, in the world at large and 'in the heart of men'".[3] Similarly, García Martínez identified dualistic thought as "one of the trademarks of the thought of the Qumran community" and also believes that the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* (1QS iii 13- iv 26) is "the most systematic exposition of the dualistic thinking of the community".[4]

4.1.1. First Research into the Development of Qumran Dualism

Amongst the first scholars who investigated the perceived dualism in the Scrolls was Peter von der Osten-Sacken. Von der Osten-Sacken finds that "einen wesentlichen Bestandteil der Lehre der Gemeinde von Qumran bildet die dualistische Vorstellung, daß die Welt unter zwei einander befehdende Mächte geteilt ist".[5] Instead of merely presenting a phenomenological overview of dualistic elements in the Qumran manuscripts, von der Osten-Sacken attempts to lay bare a chronological development within the 'Qumran Sect's dualistic thinking'. Working from the hypothesis that 1QS iii 13- iv 26 is the Qumran Sect's most centralised and explicit representation of dualistic tradition, he presumes a diachronic element in its usage of specific sayings and imagery, consecutively supplementing the basic dualistic struggle of eschatological war (cf. 1QM) in representations of various levels of duality in the struggles between (1) God and Belial, (2) the Prince of Light and the Angel of

[2] Devorah Dimant, 'Qumran Sectarian Literature' in Michael E. Stone ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984) 483-550, 532-540.
[3] Dimant, 'Qumran Sectarian Literature', 535.
[4] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 202-206.
[5] Peter von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial, Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran,* SUNT 6 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969) 12.

Darkness, (3) the Spirits of Truth and Iniquity, and (4) The Spirits of Light and Darkness. Von der Osten-Sacken retraces the origins of such a Qumran dualism to the dualistic tradition not only of the motif of 'Israel and the Nations' and the book of Daniel, but also in the early Maccabean period, during which he thinks the experience of war and oppression created the environment for the development of so-called 'Endkampfdualismus' or 'Eschatological-War Dualism'.[6] This 'Endkampfdualismus' is supposedly reflected in the first Qumran phase of dualism, as represented by the eschatologically orientated 1QM. Eventually, it is thought to have developed into an ethical dualism for 'present-day' conduct (as found in 1QH), *and* a more generalised anthropological dualism (as found in 4Q186).[7] According to von der Osten-Sacken, all three stages of dualistic development correspond to three distinctive layers of textual development in the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* (1QS iii 13- iv 14/ iv 15-23a/ iv 23b-26), which he holds to be representative of the most developed or end-phase of the Qumran Sect's dualistic thinking.[8]

In an important study published in 1987, Duhaime strongly objects to von der Osten-Sacken's analysis, claiming that the latter's thesis depends "too heavily on the assumption that the earliest type of dualism is the eschatological dualism of 1QM i, and that any form of dualism which departs from it is the result of a later transformation".[9] In turning the developmental scheme around, Duhaime argues by contrast that the most original form of dualism found in the Qumran manuscripts is an *ethical* dualism, namely the opposition between the two antagonistic groups of the righteous and the wicked, which he considers to have been a development from the late wisdom tradition. He furthers his argument by proposing that 'dualistic reworking' has resulted in secondary additions to the original texts of –for instance- 1QM, 1QS and CD, introducing *cosmic* dualism by the addition of 'two supernatural

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[6] Von der Osten-Sacken also mentions the so-called 'Jom-Jahwe' and Holy War traditions in the Hebrew Bible as sources, *Gott und Belial,* 28-41, 239; cf. Jörg Frey, 'Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library: Reflections on Their Background and History' in Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez and John Kampen, *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organisation for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten, STDJ 23* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 275-335, 285.

[7] Von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial,* 28-41, 123-169, 185-189; On the comparison of the *Treatise* with 4Q186, see below and Mladen Popović, 'Light and Darkness in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* (1QS III 13-IV 26) and in 4Q186' in Géza Xeravits ed., *Dualism in Qumran*, LSTS 76 (New York: T&T Clark, 2010) 148-165.

[8] In his conclusion, von der Osten-Sacken is unclear about other factors of influence on the development of his 'Qumran dualism', but mentions possible Persian/Zoroastrian influences on 1QS iii 13 – iv 26; cf. *Gott und Belial,* 239-241.

[9] Jean Duhaime, 'Dualistic Reworking in the Scrolls from Qumran', *CBQ* 49 (1987) 32-56.

opponents' (resp. the Prince of Light and Belial, the Angel of Truth and the Angel of Darkness, and Michael and the Prince of the Domination of Ungodliness).[10] Hence, Duhaime argues against von der Osten-Sacken's unilinear chronological development, but he nevertheless likewise advocates one '*Ur*'-type of dualism, closely related to biblical wisdom literature, from which "various types of dualism have merged".[11]

In his important study into the Qumran Sect's anthropology, Hermann Lichtenberger argues against the tendency to evaluate the variety of outlooks in the Qumran texts as an indication of a chronological development, nor does he encourage efforts to harmonise these varieties into one coherent cosmological and anthropological outlook.[12] Moreover, he warns against the centralisation of 1QS iii 13- iv 26 as the ultimate guideline for the establishment of Qumran's ideology, and instead advises that one devote research to the Qumran manuscripts' various images and ideas concerning anthropology and cosmology in their own right. As such, he finds significant differences in the forms of dualism expressed in 1QS, 1QM and 1QH. Moreover, Lichtenberger finds "nebeneinander eines dualistischen (1QM, 1QS) und eines undualistischen (1QH) Welt- und Menschenverständnisses, wobei auch die dualistische Vorstellungen untereinander verschiedene Ausformungen aufweisen und auf verschiedene Art dem theologischen Denken integriert sind und die anthropologischen Vorstellungen bestimmen".[13] Lichtenberger concludes that many of the Qumran manuscripts that reflect a dualistic outlook seemingly seek to overcome the discrepancy between the traditional belief in an omnipotent Creator on the one hand and the dualistic worldview in which humanity is divided into two antagonistic groups of 'righteous' and 'wicked' ones on the other hand. The various sub-types of dualism and their relations to one another are, according to Lichtenberger, reflections of how the Qumran authors attempted to solve this fundamental problem.

[10] Duhaime, 'Dualistic Reworking', 32.
[11] Duhaime, 'Dualistic Reworking', 36.
[12] Hermann Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck/ Ruprecht, 1980) 174-175.
[13] Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild,* 196.

4.1.2. A Growing Variety of Types of Qumran Dualism.

The diversity in dualism(s) to which Lichtenberger refers, has not gone unnoticed in Qumran Scholarship. Apart from attempts to uncover a chronological development or multiple textual layers in dualistic texts, many attempts have also been made simply to categorise and classify the dualisms phenomenologically. Accordingly, Charlesworth distinguishes seven 'Qumran-specific' types of dualism: (1) psychological (two oppositional inclinations within man), (2) physical (matter/spirit), (3) metaphysical (God/Belial), (4) cosmic (two opposing celestial beings, or a distinct division of the universe into two divisions), (5) ethical (division based upon virtues/vices), (6) eschatological (present-day vs. future creation) and (7) soteriological (division of humanity according to faith or disbelief).[14] Gammie adds two more to the list: (8) spatial (heaven/earth or mundane/supramundane) and (9) theological (God/Man or Creator/creation) dualism.[15]

However, the question of dualism in Qumran has been most thoroughly addressed by Jörg Frey, who discusses and defines his variety of 10 'dimensions' of dualism in light of Qumran:[16]

1. *Metaphysical dualism*: The opposition of two dominating causal powers of equal rank as for instance in Zoroastrianism. Frey holds that in Judaism no such dualism exists.
2. *Cosmic dualism*: According to Frey, this is Judaism's form of metaphysical dualism, which "denotes the division of the world (κόσμος) and of humanity into two opposing forces of good and evil, light and darkness".[17] This form of dualism Frey holds to be an umbrella for a variety of dualistic worldviews, expressed in varying language, terminology and style.
3. *Spatial dualism*: this form of dualism reflects the world being divided into two spatially divided parts such as heaven and earth. Frey stresses that the opposition of these realms does not necessarily always convey dualism, i.e. in the Biblical tradition the mentioning of these spatially divided realms might signify creation as a whole.

[14] James C. Charlesworth, 'A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS 3:13-4:26 and the 'Dualism' contained in the Gospel of John' in *John and Qumran* (London: Chapman, 1972) 76.
[15] John Gammie, 'Spatial and Ethical Dualism in Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature' *JBL* 93 (1974) 356-359.
[16] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 283-285.
[17] Frey states that in contrast to the earlier mentioned 'metaphysical dualism', these oppositional forces are neither causal nor co-eternal, and thus this form of dualism cannot be seen as strictly dualistic.

4. *Eschatological dualism*: the rigid division of the world into two temporarily divided parts, for instance this world and the next. However, Frey correctly denotes that the presence of eschatological expectations, a last judgement, a final annihilation of evil or the perception of an eschatological war do not necessarily reflect dualism. Moreover, he states: "we should restrict our use of the term 'eschatological dualism' to the idea of two opposed עולמים or αἰώες".[18]
5. *Ethical dualism*: "the bifurcation of mankind into two mutually exclusive groups according to virtues and vices", which is often expressed in ethical terms such as good and evil, righteous and wicked.[19]
6. *Soteriological dualism*: "the division of mankind caused by faith (acceptance) or disbelief (rejection) in a saviour" or by the participation or not in a certain salvific act. Faith is the dividing principle, and the division between believers and non-believers equally causes the division between saved and lost.
7. *Theological dualism*: Frey recognises that others (i.e. Charlesworth, Gammie) have identified this type of dualism as the division between God and humanity, or the Creator and his creation, but since this division is "fundamentally present in Biblical thought"[20] and does not deal with two causal principles, he wishes to avoid labelling this type of opposition 'dualistic'.
8. *Physical dualism*: The absolute division between matter and spirit.
9. *Anthropological dualism*: The opposition between body and soul as distinct principles of being. Frey therefore relates this form of 'dualism' to the former 'physical dualism'.
10. *Psychological dualism*: The internalized contrast between good and evil, which can be evaluated as the opposition between two principles or impulses waging battle within the human being, such as the good and bad *yeser* (inclination).

Even though Frey resumes many of these earlier established dualistic categories, he is predominantly interested in uncovering the 'different patterns in

[18] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 284; As we will see in section 4.3.1., this definition does not correspond with Udo Bianchi's definition of eschatological dualism, for whom not the division of two worlds, but the final overcoming of one causal principle over the other 'at the end' is the defining criterion.
[19] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 284 fn.40.
[20] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 284.

dualistic thought' in the Qumran manuscripts.[21] His seminal article on these 'different patterns of dualism' has functioned as the background and starting point for many further investigations into 'Qumran dualism'.[22] Because of its crucial influence on these later investigations into the subject of 'Qumran dualism', Frey's main theses will be discussed at length below.[23]

4.1.3. A Synthesis: Frey's Systematic Analysis of Qumran Dualism

Next to evaluating the Qumran texts with regard to each of these ten types of dualism, Frey wishes to research them also in light of their possible combinations, in order to "develop a more precise view of the differences and developments within the Qumran literature".[24] According to Frey, early research on Qumran dualism was primarily preoccupied with either the socio-religious origin of the dualistic phenomenon -possibly Persian/Zoroastrian - or how Qumran dualism related to the New Testament. Therefore, research into other aspects of Qumran dualism, such as its history and development, (conceptual) interrelatedness, similarities and dissimilarities has been marginal. Hence, upon the final publication of the Cave 4 manuscripts, Frey recognises the need for a renewed discussion on Qumran dualism, based upon the following three observations:[25]

1. Dualistic thought and terminology can be detected in only a limited number of Qumran manuscripts.
2. The texts, which scholars have evaluated to be 'dualistic' demonstrate considerable differences in outlook and terminology. Moreover, the terminology is often not unique to Qumran, nor does it necessarily always need to be dualistic in its meaning, such as for instance the occurrence of 'light' and 'darkness'.
3. Since scholarship has moved away from the view that all non-biblical manuscripts from Qumran are sectarian and the origin of many important documents containing dualistic features - such as 1QM and the Aramaic corpus - is debatable, not all Qumran manuscripts containing dualistic thought can "actually be considered as a witness to the thought of the Qumran-people".[26]

[21] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 283-284.
[22] Cf. the various essays mentioning Frey's work in Xeravits ed., *Dualism in Qumran*.
[23] This chapter will deal with Frey's theoretical framework, while in Chapter Five one of his 'patterns of dualism' will be evaluated in detail.
[24] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 285.
[25] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 277-280.
[26] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 280.

In his evaluation, Frey is critical of both von der Osten-Sacken and Duhaime's approaches, as he argues that "obviously the failure of the two theories lies in their presupposition of an entirely unilinear development of dualism in the Qumran documents".[27] Therefore, he proposes a more complex, non-linear development, and sets out to distinguish "different patterns of dualistic terminology and thought at the beginning of the Essene movement which subsequently conflate in the thought of the community and undergo further development".[28] His analysis of Qumran dualism recognises at least two dimensions, "a sapiential type of multi-dimensional, ethically oriented cosmic dualism" (for example in 1QS iii 13- iv 14) and a "priestly type of sheer cosmic dualism dominated by the opposition of two angelic powers" (as in 1QM).[29] Moreover, to this second type of 'cosmic' dualism as recognised in the *War Scroll*, an "originally pre-Essenic" non-priestly strand of elaborated demonology is added. This third strand is thought to be observable in *1Enoch*'s Book of the Watchers and the equally pre-Qumranic 11QApocrPs.[30] Frey does not consider the two main strands of dualism (or the communities behind them) to be strictly separated. However, he holds that, even if interrelations between them might be detected, the two "different patterns of dualistic thought are clearly visible, especially in the pre-Essene texts".[31] Frey's hypothesis holds that "in the texts originating in the community, they [i.e. the two types of dualism] blend together, but traces of the formerly independent types are nevertheless discernible. So there is not one uniform type of Essene dualism, nor a unilinear development of thought, but a complicated web of different threads of dualistic thought", possibly originating "in the different precursor groups of the Essene movement" and "adopted in the texts of the community, mixed and modified according to the development and experiences of its sectarian existence".[32]

He tests this thesis, *firstly* on the *locus classicus* of Qumran dualism, the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* (1QS iii 13- iv 26), which Frey considers to be the most impressive example of the multi-dimensional type of dualism originating from

[27] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 288.
[28] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 288-289.
[29] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 287-288.
[30] In Frey's article still referred to as 11QApPs^{a}.
[31] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 288; It is not entirely clear to which texts Frey specifically refers. Also, on the confusing use of 'Essene' and 'Sectarian' in resp. German and Anglo-Saxon scholarship see Hempel, 'Kriterien', 71-85.
[32] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 288.

sapiental literature. And *secondly*, he probes it on the *War Rule* (1QM and 4QM^{a-g}), which he holds to be the most prominent example of cosmic dualism of which the earliest manifestations are not yet *yahadic*. *Thirdly*, in light of his view that these documents not only demonstrate the pre-stage for the intermingling of dualistic ideas at Qumran, but also reflect the subsequent patterns of development towards a particular Qumranite dualistic thinking, Frey attempts to rediscover those staged patterns with the help of other Qumran manuscripts, which he considers to contain dualistic thought. These texts are the following:

- Parts of 1QS, mainly 3:13 – 4:26, but also 1:1-2:18 and 11:2b-22
- Parts of CD, chiefly 2:2-13 and 4:12-6:11
- The War Rule, not as a whole, but chiefly 1QM 1, 13 and 15-19
- A few passages of the Hodayot, perhaps 1QH^{a} 11:20-37, 12:6-13:6 and 7
- A few passages of the Pesharim: 1Q^{p}Hab 4:17b-5:12a and 4Q^{p}Ps 37 2:1-4:18
- Some sapiental texts such as 4Q184, 4QSapiential Work A, the Book of Mysteries (1Q27 1:2-2:10 with textual parallels in 4Q299 and 4Q300) and a small fragment from 4Q413
- The Aramaic Testaments ascribed to Levi, Qahat and Amram
- A Pseudo-Moses text documented in 4Q390 and some other manuscripts
- The apotropaic incantation poems of 11QApPs^{a} (i.e. 11QApocrPs) and the exorcistic Songs of the Maskil of 4Q510 and 4Q511
- The 'pesher on the periods' (4Q180) and the related text 4Q181
- The Melchisedek text from Cave 11 (11QMelch)
- The so-called Midrash on Eschatology (4Q174 and 4Q177)
- Some of the blessings and curses from 4Q280, 4Q286 and 4Q287
- The physiognomic text 4Q186 (4QCry) with an Aramaic parallel in 4Q561
- Some passages where Belial or another angelic figure appears (4QMMT^{e} 14-17 ii 5; 11QTemple 55:3; 4Q386 (4QpsEzek^{b}) 1 ii 3; 4Q175 (4QTestimonia) 23: 4Q253

Table 10: Frey's List of Dualism in Qumran (according to Different Patterns')[33]

The next three sections will address the 'patterns' that Frey suggests have eventually formed the entirety of 'Qumran dualism' (4.1.3.1-3).

4.1.3.1. Frey's Analysis of the Dualisms in 1QS iii 13- iv 26

Frey holds that the *Treatise* demonstrates multi-dimensional dualism, but that the document is basically cosmic, with a strong ethical dimension and distinctive psychological aspects.[34] His starting point is that the *Treatise* has to be evaluated as an independent document that was later inserted into 1QS. As such, he argues against scholars who believe that the *Treatise* is the zenith of Qumran Theology. Rather, he

[33] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 277-278.
[34] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 289.

holds the *Treatise* to be pre-*yahadic*, and thus takes its dualistic ideas to represent "the beginning of dualistic thought of the community".[35] Frey finds that the three levels of dualism (cosmic, ethical and psychological) are interlinked. Even though he argues that the *Treatise* is basically cosmic, he also concludes that "the teaching of ethics and anthropology presumably reflects the most urgent problems of the group addressed". He finds that the "teaching of anthropological issues is presented in the framework of cosmological and eschatological thought".[36] This fundamental focus on urgent problems threatening the author's community, such as the occurrence of sin or evil amongst the pious, and the experience of affliction, might thus have instigated solutions and reassurances on a cosmic and eschatological level. Frey thinks the tradition-historical background of the *Treatise* can be found within late wisdom literature, where similar oppositional thinking between 'the righteous' and 'the wicked' occurs. Moreover, he finds evidence for the *Treatise*'s possible background in the wisdom tradition in Ben Sira, where the structure of oppositional pairs is connected to the order of creation, and given an ethical dimension (Cf. Sir 42:24; 33:9,14-15). He states that 1QS iii 13- iv 26 reflects a further development in line with Ben Sira's teachings on the predestined order of creation, which can - in slightly altered form - also be found in the "pre-Essene" Qumran documents 4Q417 (4Q*Instruction*^{c}) and 1Q27 (*1QBook of Mysteries*).[37] Thus, Frey detects a development that originates from wisdom literature and its idea of a predestined order of being and history, into a more cosmically expressed 'dualism', in which metaphors like 'darkness' and 'light' and angelic beings make their entrance. Frey thinks that in the *yahadic* reception of the *Treatise*, the essentially ethical-oppositional line of thought not only serves to explain the occurrence of sin and evil in the community, but that its cosmic dimension also reflects the group's fundamental interest in the concept of eternal election. Frey's analysis of some "other sectarian texts which cite or allude to the instruction on the two spirits" (1QH^{a} 6:11-12; 4Q181 1 ii 5; CD 2:6-7; 4Q280 2 4-5) finds that they lack the idea of 'two spirits' and the concept of an internal struggle in the heart of man.[38] Therefore, Frey thinks that the multi-dimensional ideas in the (earlier) *Treatise* are modified and simplified in the later

[35] The arguments for this evaluation will be discussed in Chapter 5.
[36] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 291.
[37] Frey's observation seems to be informed by Armin Lange's *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* STDJ 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1995) esp. 128-135, whose findings regarding the *Treatise* will be discussed in the next chapter.
[38] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 302.

'sectarian' texts. Hence, Frey concludes that the 'Qumran Community' was probably less interested in the *Treatise*'s dualistic terminology and the idea of two spirits, than in a cosmic reassurance of eternal election.

4.1.3.2. Frey's Analysis of the Cosmic Dualism of the War Scroll

The second type of dualism from which Frey believes a pattern can be deduced is what he considers to be the 'purely cosmic' dualism of the *War Scroll* (1QM). Recognising two main layers in the 1QM/4QM manuscripts, Frey argues that the oldest layer is strongly nationalistic, but has not yet any sectarian features, and notably centralises the leadership of the priests and ritual purity in eschatological wars.[39] 1QM i is the document's most dualistic part, and still contains a pan-Israelite, non-sectarian outlook, as it not only describes the author's Jewish adversaries as 'violators of the covenant', but also focuses on Israel's classical gentile enemies (1QM i 2). Frey holds the *War Scroll* to originally be "a non-sectarian priestly rule of eschatological warfare".[40] He argues that the war dualism in the *War Scroll* needs to be distinguished from the sapiential type of dualism as expressed in the *Treatise*, even though it has common elements, such as the self-designation 'sons of light'; the idea of a struggle between two opposed spiritual beings (and their respective groups), characterised by light/darkness terminology; the expectation of the final extinction of evil; and the occurrence of 'angels of destruction'.[41] He finds the following differences in the usage of terms and the pattern of the dualistic thought:[42]

1. The mutual relation between the opposed forces and their description is significantly different: in 1QM, the opposing forces are of equal strength, and the war is not easily won, while the *Treatise* is not mainly concerned with the struggle proper, but is rather occupied with the explanation of the occurrence of sin and evil, while maintaining the conviction of a predestined, preordained order of creation.
2. The concept of the angels of destruction is worked out very differently in each text: in the *Treatise*, the angels serve God voluntarily in executing punishment, while in 1QM they share Belial's devious plans.

[39] Cf. Philip Davies, 'Dualism in the Qumran War Texts' in Xeravits ed., *Dualism in Qumran,* 8-19.
[40] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 316.
[41] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 311.
[42] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 311-312.

3. Belial is very prominent in 1QM, but absent in the *Treatise* and in any of the other sapiential texts Frey connected to it.[43]
4. The overall pattern of dualistic thought is different: 1QM's cosmic dualism lacks the multi-dimensionality of 1QS iii 13-4:26. Moreover, 1QM lacks ethical dualism, as a notion of virtues and vices, sin and justice is completely absent. Also, no psychological dimension can be detected.
5. The eschatological extinction of evil is viewed as a complete annihilation of Belial and his lot, not as an act of purification like in 1QS.

Tradition-historically, Frey thinks 1QM has links to the Book of Daniel, with which it shares the idea of holy war, the representation of human armies by heavenly leaders, the notion of Michael as a heavenly warrior, and the terminology of 'violators of the covenant'.[44] Moreover, Frey suggests that the basic structure of 1QM is possibly influenced by the Zoroastrian Myth of Ahura Mazda and Ahriman, which might explain its thoroughly dualistic outlook. Finally, Frey thinks that this *cosmic* type of dualism springs from 'pre-Essene' priestly circles, as he traces back the idea of opposed heavenly beings to Aramaic texts found at Qumran, which may originate as early as the 3rd century BCE (e.g. *Testament of Levi, Testament of Qahat, Visions of Amram*). Particularly, 4QAmram^{b} (4Q544), dating to the first half of the second century BCE, describes Amram's vision of two angelic beings, who belong to the Watchers, and who hold a contest over him. Amram learns that these beings claim to rule over the world and every human being. Their rule is described in terms of light and darkness.

Hence, Frey describes the *War Scroll*'s dualism as "a strongly expressed cosmic dualism with the notion of opposed heavenly powers and the strict division of humanity into two opposed groups dominated by their respective leaders and facing opposite eschatological fates".[45] He distinguishes this strand of 'dualism' from the *Treatise*'s dualistic thought, because it lacks ethical classifications and because its light/darkness - or truth/lie - terminologies are quite unspecified.

[43] Hence, it is important for Frey to distinguish the *Treatise* from other parts of 1QS which refer to Belial.
[44] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 313.
[45] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 321.

4.1.3.3. A Second Strand of Cosmic Dualism: Demonology in 11QApocrPs, Jubilees, and 4Q390

Frey recognises a second strand in the developmental pattern of cosmic dualism in Qumran, i.e. an originally 'pre-Essenic' strand which develops a rather elaborate demonology (and corresponding angelology). Especially the "apotropaic songs of 11QApPsa" (11QApocrPs 5:3-14) are mentioned, since they reflect an elaborate demonology, seemingly dependent upon the Book of Watchers and a thoroughly dualistic outlook with angel/demon terminology. These occurrences reflect (1) Belial and his host of evil spirits and demons against God and a powerful angel, (2) evil spirits that cause illness versus Raphael who heals them, (3) Satan as the accuser at the time of judgement versus the angel who supports the just, and finally (4) God who judges the demons and incarcerates Belial.[46] However, Frey notes that the text lacks a priestly outlook.

Frey recognises a further development of demonology in the 'pre-Essene priestly thought' in *Jubilees*, which –even though its 'dualistic outlook' is disputable- reflects a division within the angelic world and a corresponding division within humanity (between Israel and the Gentiles). Moreover, the *Book of Jubilees* contains terminology that reflects a connection to later dualistic thought, such as (the spirit of) Belial and (the spirit of) Mastema. Hence, Frey concludes that "even if there is no mention of an eschatological war (as in 1QM) or of directly opposed heavenly leaders (as in 4QAmram), the book [*Jubilees*] attests to the basic elements of a growing cosmic dualism and the reception of an elaborate demonology (depending on the Book of Watchers and related to 11QApPsa) within the context of pre-Essene priestly thought".[47] Finally 4Q390, which Frey believes is dependent on *Jubilees*, uses the term 'angels of Mastemot', angelic beings that apparently mislead the Israelites and make them violate the covenant. Dimant, who has extensively worked on this text, considers it to have originated out of a priestly parent-group of the Qumran Community, which "did not yet have the peculiar community-ideology, or the specific ideas about dualism".[48] Frey takes 4Q390 as a document that reflects an early stage in the development of Qumranite ideas regarding dualism and demonology.

[46] Cf. Frey, 'Different Patterns', 323.
[47] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 325.
[48] Cf. Frey, 'Different Patterns', 326; Devorah Dimant, 'New Light on Jewish Pseudepigrapha – 4Q390' in Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner, *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, STDJ 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1992) 405-448.

Moreover, Frey finds evidence for such a development in 'sectarian' texts such as 4Q280 2 2; 1QS 2:4-25; 4Q286 7 ii 1-13; 4Q510 1 4-6; 11QMelchizedek and 4Q174/4Q177's Midrash on Eschatology, which - according to Frey - do not only reflect the reception of certain names and other related terminology, but also the reinforcement of strict cosmic dualism.

These three sections (4.1.3.1-3) together are intended to reflect Frey's idea of the development of dualism at Qumran. The next section addresses his conclusions, which attempt to lay bare the detectable 'patterns' in the various texts we have discussed above.

4.1.3.4. Frey's Conclusions and Their Implicit Model of Development

As we have seen, Frey concludes from his analysis that Qumran dualism basically developed out of two major strands of 'dualistic thinking', which can be observed within the Qumran manuscripts, "a sapiential type of multi-dimensional, ethically oriented cosmic dualism", which is mainly represented by the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, and a "priestly type of sheer cosmic dualism dominated by the opposition of two angelic powers",[49] whose main representative is the *War Scroll*. Moreover, to the 'cosmic' dualism of the *War Scroll*, an elaborated demonology is added, as can already be observed in 1Enoch's *Book of the Watchers* and the equally pre-Qumranic 11QApocrPs. These strands influenced one another, mixed and mingled and developed further within the *yahad*, where they became an intrinsic and recognisable part of the Qumranites' ideology. Importantly, Frey characterises the Qumranic reception of these strands of dualistic tradition as 'the radicalisation process of the *yahad*'. During this process, the *yahad* supposedly adopted the sheer cosmic dualism of 1QM without any specific ethical precepts, while at the same time it modified and simplified the complex dualistic outlook of the *Treatise* without the notion of two spirits or an internal struggle in man's heart. Hence, while the strand of 'cosmic dualism' is strengthened, the '*yahadic*' reception of the sapiential strand of dualism reflects a development from complex to simple, from multi-layered dualism to radical good/evil categories, in which a clear sociological conceptualisation of insiders and outsiders can be observed.

[49] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 287-288.

Before returning to Frey's evaluation of Qumran dualism in section 5 of this chapter, we need to address the milieu in which the concept of 'dualism' arose. The next section deals with dualism as part of larger socio-religious conceptualisations.

4.2. Dualism as an Aspect of Larger Socio-Religious Phenomena

The term dualism is traditionally used to describe the phenomenon of fundamental oppositions in ancient Persian Zoroastrianism, which perceives existence and history "to be a struggle between the forces of good and evil, between the powers of light and darkness".[50] Hence, the study of dualism as a concept in the religious development of Judaism predominantly consisted of heated scholarly debates about whether or not, and to what extent, Jewish thought was influenced by Zoroastrianism.[51] For the purpose of this chapter however, not the search for the origins and (pre-)history of dualism is of interest in itself, but rather the implications of this search, i.e. how the concept of Jewish dualism is perceived to be part of or tied to other –related- concepts and ideas, and as such functions within a web of relations, which influences and determines not only the boundaries of its semantic field, but also scholarly evaluations of its social background and milieu. In other words, is the perceived dualism at Qumran indeed a core characteristic of the 'Qumran Sect', the development of which can be traced in the manner suggested by Frey, or does dualism function as an aspect of larger socio-religious phenomena,[52] and as such covers a much broader Jewish spectrum than just the Qumran situation?

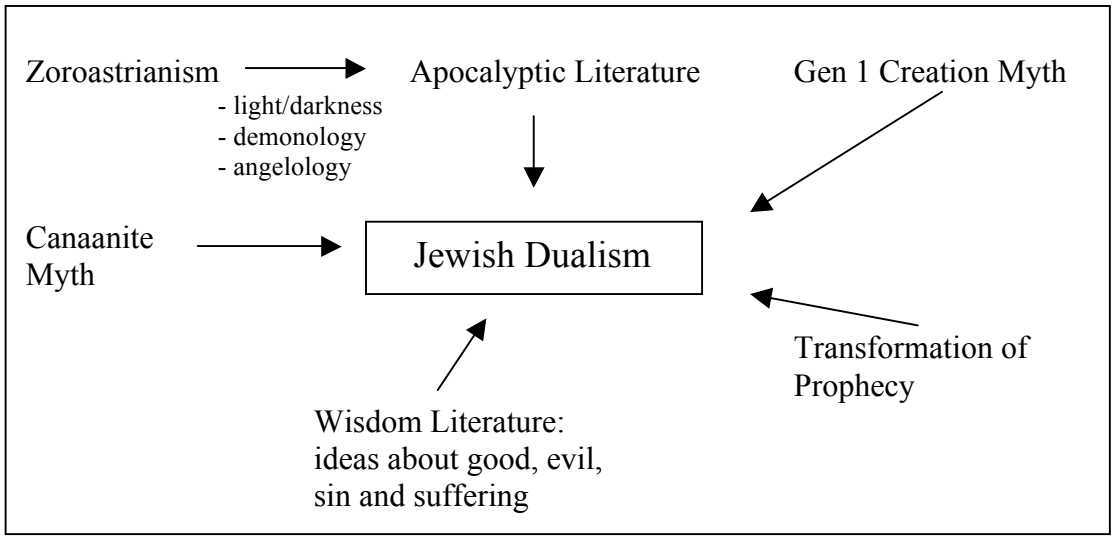
4.2.1. A Conglomerate of Influences?

Many scholars have argued that the development of Jewish dualism most probably needs to be seen against the background of a multitude of internal and external socio-historical, religious and political influences and events. For instance, Meyers argues that the beginnings of Jewish dualism ought not to be ascribed to influences from either the Persian tradition or more exclusively from within the

[50] Eric M. Meyers, 'From Myth to Apocalyptic: Dualism in the Hebrew Bible' in Armin Lange, Eric M. Meyers, Bennie Reynolds III and Randall Styers eds., *Light Against Darkness,* JAJSup 2 (Göttingen: VandenHoeck & Ruprecht, 2011) 92-106.
[51] This discussion falls outside of the scope of this chapter, and is rather avoided, as it often seems to reflect political and ideological elements, especially of those scholars who wish to keep Judaism devoid of foreign influences.
[52] This seems to be suggested by Jacob Licht, Cf. Licht, 'An Analysis of the Treatise on the Two Spirits in DSD', *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 (1958) 88-100.

Jewish tradition, but rather in a combination of various sources. He argues that, already in the Hebrew Bible, dualism's early development can be detected within "early modes of Israelite thinking".[53] Meyers calls these early influencing factors "incipient dualism", early myths in biblical literature in which God finds worthy foes.[54] Meyers argues that the development of Jewish dualism can be retraced through specific elements in the Creation myth of Gen 1, the influence of the Canaanite myth on biblical literature, a transformation of prophecy (Isa 24-27, Ezek, Zechariah), ideas about good, evil, sin and suffering in wisdom literature (cf. Qohelet 3:1-8, Ps 44), apocalyptic literature (*1Enoch* and Daniel), which brings in Zoroastrian elements (Avesta), such as light/darkness terminology and the presence of angels, demons and other forces that challenge God's order of creation.[55] Schematically, Meyers' proposal can be sketched as follows:

Table 11: Overview of Meyers' Assessment of Influences on 'Jewish Dualism'



According to Meyers, all these elements had the chance to develop in a socio-religious milieu that was characterised by oppression, trauma and human tragedy. Against this background, dualism might be seen as a characteristic aspect of larger contemporary phenomena that developed as a result of socio-historical circumstances.

[53] Meyers, 'From Myth to Apocalyptic', 93.
[54] Cf. Meyers, 'From Myth to Apocalyptic', 92, 95-99, 105-106.
[55] Meyers thinks that already deutero- and trito Isaiah demonstrate Persian influences, especially in introducing the ideas of messianism and eschatology, 99-103.

4.2.2. The Power of the Semantic Web: Apocalypticism Dualism and Determinism

The retracing of the complex development of dualism as a concept seems rather closely associated with the development and rise of apocalypticism. Just like in the case of the concept of 'dualism', the study of apocalyptic literature and the phenomenon of apocalypticism are characterised by heated debates regarding its origins: early scholarly opinions have viewed apocalypticism as a development of prophecy, of wisdom, as a mixture of (Canaanite) Near Eastern mythology and prophecy, or as derived from 'Persian dualism'. Collins has pointed out that – even though the question of sources is important- most apocalypses seem to draw from a diversified and wide-ranging set of sources. Moreover, he attacks the idea of apocalypticism as a derivative phenomenon as "theological prejudice", since such evaluations are often made to undermine its inherent value and authenticity as a phenomenon in Judaism.[56] Furthermore, he distinguishes between "the apocalypse as a literary genre, the phenomenon of apocalypticism as a social ideology and apocalyptic eschatology as a set of ideas and motifs that may also be found in other literary genres and social settings".[57] Thus, the term 'apocalypse' does not need to reflect a sociological entity, but rather gives information about and sets criteria with regard to literary style, language, terminology and narrative form and content. Of major importance is the revelatory character of the apocalypse, either through visions or otherworldly journeys, interpreted or guided by an angelic figure, and often "supplemented by discourse or dialogue and occasionally a heavenly book".[58] Other characteristics of the apocalypse are a final judgement, the destruction of the Wicked and some form of retribution beyond death, i.e. some form of eschatology. Literary aspects of the genre are authorial pseudonimity, -more or less elaborate- exhortations and admonitions, and allusive language adding to the 'mystery'. Generally, one can distinguish between 'historical apocalypses', which contain visions and 'otherworldly journeys', which seem to engage in 'cosmological speculation'.[59] Collins stresses that the genre 'apocalypse' reflects a specific worldview, as "it provides a framework for viewing the problems of life".[60]

[56] Cf. John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998, 2nd ed) 20.
[57] Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 2.
[58] Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 5.
[59] Cf. John J. Collins, 'Introduction: Apocalypse, The Morphology of a Genre', *Semeia* 14 (1979).
[60] Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 8.

Therefore, apocalypticism as a sociological phenomenon may go beyond the literary criteria of the apocalypse, since apocalyptic ideas about cosmology and anthropology are also found outside the strict literary genre of the apocalypse.[61] In fact, Collins points out that in the case of Qumran, only a small number of texts can be labelled 'apocalypse', even though scholars generally agree that the Qumran 'sectarian' writings demonstrate an underlying apocalyptic worldview, in which the opposition between good and evil is worked out in a wider 'dualistic' scheme.[62] Hence, "a movement might reasonably be called apocalyptic if it shared the conceptual framework of the genre [apocalypse], endorsing a worldview in which supernatural revelation, the heavenly world, and eschatological judgement played essential parts".[63] Moreover, even though this definition sets the basic conceptual structure, the social reality might be that social groups with an apocalyptic worldview may differ quite considerably, just like the exponents of the literary genre do. As its literary and social matrix is complex, Collins has attempted to trace the various signifiers of apocalypticism back to their sources. In part, he is able to make a convincing case in tracing various culturally specific elements that, under the influence of the contemporary socio-political reality, merge into the 'apocalyptic imagination'. However, it remains difficult to distinctly separate or clearly distinguish between the various influences and backgrounds that gave rise to the ideas, which we now recognise as characteristics of apocalypticism. In his attempt to do so, Collins recognises the following strands of development that make up what he calls 'the matrix of apocalypticism' (which in the Table below I have organised schematically):

Influence	***Ideas***	***Texts & Social Setting***
Traditional (Ugaritic-Canaanite) Mythology	- Various Near Eastern mythological imagery - Canaanite Myth: Baal vs. Mot (Death)	
Wisdom Literature	- idea of 'inclination' - good and evil expressed in 'paths' - double-heartedness - early tones of determinism; 'the order of God's creation'	Sir 11:16; 15:11,14; 16:16; 33:11-15; 42:24-25 Qoh 3: 1-8 Ps 44:24-25 Prov. 1-9

[61] For instance in oracles and testaments; Cf. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination,* 9.
[62] Cf. John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Routledge, 1997) 30-51, 150-153; *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 153-155; García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 195; Of course, such evaluation depends upon the presupposition that the Qumran texts are to be taken as the coherent library of a 'sectarian' movement, and as such reflect a 'sociological' entity and its comprehensive ideology.
[63] Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination,* 13.

Post-exilic Prophecy	- A new creation, new heavens and a new earth - Biblical antecedents to and use of mythological language: 'Death swallowed up' 'punish Leviathan', 'slay the dragon that is in the sea' - Metaphorical use of 'destruction of death' and 'resurrection of the dead' in Isa 25-26 - increasing use of cosmic imagery to express the hope for social change *But lacking*: Interest in the heavenly world Eschatology does not present as 'other-worldly', but rather distinctly 'this-worldly'	Haggai: Presentation of the hierocratic party Zechariah: Visions interpreted by an angel Ezekiel 40-48 Isaiah 24-27, 56-66
Babylonian Influences	*Similarities to Divination*: - Interpretation of mysterious signs and symbols - Overtones of determinism *Akkadian prophetic influence*: - 'predictions of the past' - 'the cryptic manner of presenting these predictions' *Akkadian Dream Visions*: - Ascent of a visionary to the divine throne *But lacking*: Revelation in the form of a heavenly tour Indications of eschatology	Affinities with the 'Mantic wisdom' of the Chaldeans 'Enmeduranki', Babylonian guild of barus, diviners Marduk and Shulgi prophetic speeches Akkadian Dream Visions: 'Vision of the Netherworld' Similarities with divination techniques.
Persian Influences	- Dualism of light and darkness - Eschatological woes - Wisdom of all-knowledge: divine revelation to an authoritative human being (Zoroaster) - Sequence of the Four Kingdoms (cp. Daniel) - Idea of the final renewal of the world - Periodization of history - Determinism - Ongoing dualistic supernatural struggle between the forces of good and evil. - In the end, good conquers evil, which will perish forever - Idea of resurrection - Destruction of the world by fire - Ascent of the Soul - Possibly: visions of hell and heaven, attended by interpreting angels	Avesta, Gathas, Stutkar Nask Pahlavi literature: Zand-I Vohuman Yasn, Vohuman Yast, Bahman Yast Oracle of Hystaspes Bundahisn A brief early account of Persian Religion in Plutarch's: On Isis and Osiris
The Hellenistic Milieu	Influences from widespread Hellenistic ideas which can be detected in two clusters of texts: 1. Otherwordly journeys, which deal with personal eschatology of life after death 2. Eschatological prophecy: 'ex eventu prophecy' provides a base for politically based apocalyptic texts narrating a state of oppression followed by cosmic renewal and national restoration.	Hellenistic culture inspired not only the easy 'floating around' of ideas, it also set similar political and social circumstances in the cultures that developed the ideas that developed into apocalyticism as a social ideology.

Table 12: Overview of Collins' assessment of influences on the development of Apocalypticism

Collins concludes that the rise of apocalypticism can best be explained by the 'globalising effect' of Hellenism, which "changed the political and social circumstances of the Near East" and an overarching "sense of a *Zeitgeist*, of a

common atmosphere of ideas and attitudes", in which "similar circumstances produced similar effects in traditions that had considerable similarity to begin with".[64]

For our purposes, the retracing of sources is of particular interest, as it demonstrates socio-cultural clusters of themes, ideological concepts and ideas, which give content to the semantic field in which the concept of dualism functions. In fact, it provides us with the hypothesis that certain concepts and ideas might inherently contain the roots for the formation of a seemingly dualistic worldview, but are in themselves not dualistic in nature. These ideas and themes, which provoke division, are predominantly preoccupied with the origin and experience of evil, the reality of oppression and the hope for relief and salvation from this oppression. Therefore, dualism as a concept might prove to be an ancillary factor to the essential preoccupation of apocalypticism to find an eschatological solution to evil, rather than functioning as a concept or ideology in itself. Moreover, closely related concepts such as *determinism* and *eschatological expectations of the 'end'* in which evil and the wicked will perish are not necessarily dualistic, even though they might provoke oppositional imagery.

Hence, if this hypothesis has merit, and dualism - or at least the tendency to view the world in oppositional forces - might be seen as the by-product of apocalypticism or of its related concepts, the independence of 'dualistic thinking' as a characteristic ideology must be re-evaluated. Moreover, then, the concept of dualism cannot be seen as simply or exclusively 'Qumranic', nor as a characteristic solely of the social groups associated with the 'Qumran Sect'. Rather, and in line with Collins' investigation, the umbrella term of apocalypticism, under which 'dualistic thinking' often might shelter and in which many concepts related to 'dualism' fall together, reflects trends and tendencies of socio-religious thought within a large, complex, geographically dispersed, but socio-culturally connected web of relations built over an extended span of time.

4.2.3. Opposites Attract: Dualism as The Radicalised Wisdom of Appointed Time

A second and similar sort of argument can be made for the influence of wisdom literature on the development of 'Qumran dualism'. Early research, such as von der Osten-Sacken's 'Gott und Belial', Duhaime's 'Le dualisme de Qumrân' and

[64] Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 37.

to a certain extent Frey's synthesis of these theories into various 'patterns of dualism', has placed a variety of building blocks of the 'Qumran Sect's dualistic thinking' within the biblical wisdom tradition.[65]

Frey mainly identifies Proverbs and Ben Sira as the tradition-historical background to the sapiential type of Qumran dualism (cp. Prov. 29:27; Sir 33: 14-15; 39: 16, 24-34; 42:22-25). He argues that these sapiential texts further develop the concept of God's created order and its organisation, reflected in pairs of opposites. Furthermore, Frey thinks that within Qumran, the dualistic outlook of the originally non-*yahadic Treatise* is further developed within the early 4Q*Instruction* (cp. 4Q417 2 i 15-18) and 1Q*Mysteries* (1Q27), and is cited, recognised and re-worked in *yahadic* texts such as 1QH^{a}, 4Q181, CD, and 4Q280.[66]

For our purposes, it is of interest to investigate whether dualism can be seen as an ancillary aspect of developing concepts within the wisdom tradition. The most exhaustive study into the perceived sapiential background of 'Qumran dualism' was undertaken by Armin Lange, who argues that the sapiential idea of "eine präexistenten Seins- und Geschichtsordnung[…] wird in den Texten des *yahad* auf unterschiedliche Weise funktionalisiert und weiterentwickelt."[67] Lange's most important presupposition is that the 'Qumran library' certainly reflects a heterogeneous, but at the same time complete and coherent collection of documents, which demonstrate literary dependencies amongst the non-biblical texts. Moreover, he thinks that the 'library' can - by the confined context of its location - shed an undisturbed light on a 'sociologically and culturally separable' phenomenon [i.e. the Qumran Sect], whose documents build upon, develop in light of, and are dependent upon one another.[68] Thus, the developmental model, so characteristic for the explanation of differences between documents or/and ideologies at Qumran, is firmly established within Lange's conceptualisation: "Dabei werden nicht in jedem Text alle mit diesem Theologumenon [i.e eine präexistenten Seins- und Geschichtsordnung] verbundenen Vorstellungen adaptiert. Es läßt sich vielmehr eine schrittweise

[65] Some scholars remain of the opinion that the origins of apocalypticism must be sought in the wisdom tradition. As such, the semantic fields of apocalypticism and wisdom text might demonstrate considerable overlap. My objective is not to solve the puzzle of origins, but rather to demonstrate that dualism as a concept does not function in total segregation from related ideological concepts.
[66] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 296-300; this theory will be evaluated in more detail in Chapter 5.
[67] Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination,* 297.
[68] Cf. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination,* 305.

Integration des Gedankengebäudes feststellen".[69] Hence, Lange suggests that a variety of imagery and concepts is attached to the umbrella concept of a '*pre-existent divine order of creation and existence*', and that different individual Qumran texts might provoke and address a different combination of concepts and imagery. For instance, $1QH^a$ uses wisdom imagery and terminology, and reflects the concepts (related to the concept of 'God's pre-existent order of creation') of (1) human humbleness in the face of God's omnipotence and (2) divine revelation as the only possibility for humans to gain knowledge of God's created order. In CD, which Lange thinks is directly influenced by the *Treatise*, the 'umbrella' concept of a 'predestined order of creation' provokes an ethical dualism, which develops cosmic overtones when the text discusses eschatological matters, such as the annihilation of evil at the end of time. Moreover, in CD, Lange finds not only this dualistic framework of creation divided into righteous and wicked, but also the related principles of pre-determined election, periodisation of time, the idea of secret knowledge and divine revelation, and the imagery of heavenly tablets. Thus, Lange retraces CD's roots within the wisdom tradition "an der weisheitlichen Form von CD II_{2-13} (weisheitliche Lehrrede), dem Zitat eines Spruches in CD $II_{3f.}$ und der spruchartigen Struktur des ersten Teil dieses Textes (CD II_{3-7})".[70] Finally, in 1QpHab, Lange sees the idea of a pre-destined order reflected in the eschatological expectations of the 'Last Days', the obvious periodisation of time, and its recounting of history on heavenly tablets. He argues for a background in the wisdom tradition on the basis of the text's esteem for the ערמתו רזי, ('*the mysteries of his wisdom*', 1QpHab vii 14) reflecting the "wunderbaren, dem Menschen verborgenen, Ordnung Gottes".[71]

Interestingly, many of Lange's recognised 'wisdom' elements under the umbrella of 'präexistente Seins- und Geschichtsordnung' can equally be recognised as indicators of apocalypticism. However, Lange argues that the 'Qumran Sect' cannot be defined as an apocalyptic movement, because its literature not only lacks the typical apocalyptic imageries of visions, heavenly journeys and dreams, but also their interpretation by an angelic figure. Furthermore, Lange argues that no documents of the genre 'apocalypse' can be detected amongst the '*yahadic* writings' (cf. Collins). Hence, Lange places the development of 'dualism' within the development from a

[69] Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination,* 297.
[70] Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination,* 298.
[71] Lange *Weisheit und Prädestination,* 299.

biblical '*Urordnung*' into a cloaked 'pre-existent order of creation', which was only penetrable through divine revelation.[72] In the 'pre-existent order of creation', human deeds are fixed and run their course in history, according to the dualistic nature of existence. Even the occurrence of cosmic dualism (as for instance in the *Treatise*) is grounded, experienced and realised in the ethical aspects of life, in humans as well as in history itself.[73]

Without subscribing to Lange's 'pre-destination' theory of an 'air-tight' linear development of wisdom principles, which inherently carry the notion of a 'dualistic worldview', one can clearly observe certain concepts and ideas within the wisdom tradition, which might in some way relate to the ideas reflected in the Qumran manuscripts. Also, others have reflected on the similarities between known wisdom texts and the perceived 'dualistic' thought at Qumran:

In his research on the 'interiorisation' of dualistic thought in the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, Loren Stuckenbruck chooses to focus on similar language of oppositions in other texts, without presuming 'dualistic thought'.[74] In Ben Sira, Stuckenbruck finds the categorical division of humanity, which sits in a framework that reflects the basic conviction that God created a cosmos consisting of 'a principled opposition' between the 'righteous' and the 'sinners':

> All things are twofold, each over against one another; and he has not made anything lacking (42:24)[75]

Humanity is clearly part of God's order of creation, and as such human beings are intended to function according to their appointed ways (Sir 33:10-15):

> All human beings come from the ground, and humankind was created out of the dust. In the fullness of his knowledge the Lord distinguished them and appointed their different ways. Some he blessed and exalted,

[72] As such, Lange sees 'cosmic' dualism, the idea of a pre-existent order and the necessity of divine revelation to gain knowledge of God's order as primary 'wisdom' elements in the build-up towards Apocalypticism. Interestingly however, Lange not only ignores the significance of the presence of multiple manuscripts of *1Enoc*h, *Jubilees* and Daniel (and also the Aramaic corpus) amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls, but also the occurrence of many apocalyptic elements within the very texts he studies, possibly because he defines them as subsidiary to his central concept of the 'pre-existent order of creation' as the primary driver in these texts (cf. Frey, 303-306).

[73] Cf. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination,* 169.

[74] Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 'The Interiorization of Dualism within the Human Being in Second Temple Judaism: *The Treatise of the Two Spirits* (1QS iii 13 – iv 26) in its Tradition-Historical Context', in Lange et al., *Light against Darkness*, 145-168.

[75] Cf. Stuckenbruck, 'Interiorization', 148. Translation from Pancratius C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira* SVT 68 (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

> and some he made holy and brought near to himself; but some he cursed and brought low, and turned them out of their place. Like clay in the hand of the potter, to be moulded as he pleases, so all are in the hand of their Maker, to be given whatever he decides. Good is the opposite of evil, and life the opposite of death; so the sinner is the opposite of the godly. Look at all the works of the Most High; they come in pairs, one the opposite of the other.[76]

Interestingly, Ben Sira's conception of humanity's natural division is not as clear-cut as these words assume. Rather, the text demonstrates numerous tensions with regard to human agency and responsibility, free will and ethical behaviour. So for example: 'From the beginning He made man, and left him in the power of his freedom of choice' (Sir 15: 14). Moreover, while the text allows for sinners to repent and be forgiven (cf. Sir 21:6), the godly are capable of sin (cf. Sir 23:2-3). The behaviour of the 'sinners' is described in moral categories: they ignore the Torah, lack wisdom and misuse wealth. In contrast, the 'godly' seek forgiveness for their sins and the removal of evil from their lives. Interestingly, Ben Sira acknowledges the possibility of man walking 'on two paths' (Sir 2:12) or being 'double-hearted' (Sir 1:28), but both are seen as characteristic behaviour of 'sinners'. Ben Sira's wisdom is set in overtones of ethical behaviour (some in the form of virtues and vices) and advice for daily life, which Stuckenbruck calls socio-ethical dualism. Moreover, he thinks that, while in Ben Sira conceptual tensions (derived from the notion that sinners can do good) eventually are harmonised by perceiving such good behaviour to be 'hypocrisy'. These fundamental sapiential ideas might have influenced the evaluation of ethical dualism in the *Treatise*, in which humans and their behaviour is viewed less dualistically. That is, in the *Treatise*, double-heartedness and 'being in two paths' are no longer seen as fundamentally characteristic for sinners like in Ben Sira. Rather, "the Treatise [….] has given way to a polarizing framework that explains inconsistent behaviour as an inevitability for human beings".[77] Moreover, in 4QInstruction, Stuckenbruck finds that good/evil are connected to the concept of the righteous/the wicked, but without entertaining the possibility that the righteous only engage in good deeds, while the wicked might only display bad deeds and behaviour. This idea, along with the text's ethical advice to 'be humble' and 'not to overlook transgressions' comes close to Ben Sira's ideas of human ambiguity, conduct and

[76] Translation from John G. Snaith, *Ecclecsiasticus or The Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach* (Cambridge: CUP, 1974).
[77] Stuckenbruck, 'Interiorization', 165.

experience.[78] Hence, Stuckenbruck, who is careful not to label all oppositions 'dualistic', finds that the late wisdom literature demonstrate "a wide variety of approaches to antitheses" and hence, might have been a source for the polarised conceptualisations of human behaviour as reflected in some of the Qumran manuscripts.[79]

Contrarily, in his search for a 'sapiential source' for the dualism in the *Treatise* (and 4Q*Instruction*), Matthew Goff attacks the idea of a perceived development from certain oppositional concepts in the wisdom tradition to a full-blown dualism in the Qumran 'sectarian writings'. Although he recognises the explicit and rigid division between right and wrong in Proverbs, he argues that this basic polarity is frequently found in numerous other biblical and non-biblical texts, and therefore it seems "gratuitous, if not impossible, to distinguish a purely ethical dualism rooted in the Wisdom tradition from the […] conception of the natural order".[80] He stresses that Proverbs encourages the reader to "perceive the natural and social order and act accordingly".[81] As such, Proverbs draws sharps distinctions between right/wrong, righteous/wicked and wise/foolish, each ethically correlated with its corresponding results in daily human life. These ideas feed into a deterministic ideology closely related to man's understanding of the created order. However, Goff argues that presuming a direct influence of Proverbs (or even Ben Sira) on Qumran dualism in general and its 'core document' 1QS 3:13-4:26 in particular is highly problematic, since 'moral dualism' is in itself not distinctively or exclusively sapiential. Therefore, Goff investigates the deeper characteristics of sapiential texts in relation to 'dualistic thinking'. In the case of Proverbs, he studies the specific characteristics of 'dualism', such as the representation of Wisdom and Folly as female figures, a theme with which several Qumran manuscripts seem familiar (4Q184; 4Q185; 4Q525 and 11QPs col. xviii and xxi). As a result, Goff finds that "the dualistic opposition of personified wisdom and folly is not found in any text from the Dead Sea Scrolls".[82] Moreover, Goff argues that, even though for instance the *Treatise* uses language reminiscent of the sapiential tradition, and 1QS iv 23-24 narrates about the 'spirits of truth and injustice feuding in man's heart as they walk in

[78] Cf. Stuckenbruck, 'Interiorization', 159.
[79] Stuckenbruck, 'Interiorization', 168.
[80] Matthew Goff, 'Looking for Sapiential Dualism at Qumran', in Xeravits ed., *Dualism in Qumran*, 20-38, 24.
[81] Goff, 'Sapiential Dualism', 25.
[82] Goff, 'Sapiential Dualism', 29.

wisdom and in *folly* [emphasis mine]', the text lacks both the linguistic characteristic of Proverbs and "the practical advice regarding specific areas of ordinary life".[83] Finally, Goff regards the wisdom tradition (as well as apocalypticism) as a potential source of influence on the development of Qumran texts such as the *Treatise*, 4Q*Instruction* (4Q415-418, 4Q423, 1Q26) and 4Q*Mysteries* (4Q299-301, 1Q27). This possible influence, he regards predominantly to be reflected in connected themes/terminology and the presence of 'eschatological dualism' – which developed within the wisdom tradition from the second century BCE. He however concludes that, since these features are widespread in early Jewish literature, and dualism is neither prominent in nor characteristic of the Qumran *wisdom* texts, the presumption of the sapiential tradition being an important source for Qumran dualism in general and for the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* in particular, is rather unwarranted for lack of evidence.

4.3. Dualism as a Concept in Religious Systems

From the preceding sections, the complexity with regard to the concept of dualism in Qumran seems rather clear. The cause of this complexity is partly methodological: the label 'dualistic language' carries a variety of different meanings and appearances with regard to the Qumran texts, and not all recognised instances of 'dualism' seem equally dualistic. This variety in outlook amongst individual texts and the eagerness amongst scholars to employ a seemingly univocal term like 'dualism' have implicitly led to the identification of a seemingly inexhaustible number of different sorts of dualism. Thus, in order to meaningfully evaluate the question of 'dualism' at Qumran, we need to revisit the definition of dualism as a concept in religious systems. Subsequently, and in light of this definition, its meaning and usage at Qumran needs to be investigated in order to establish to what extent ' the concept of dualism' is used within the boundaries of its definition, and to what extent it is used as a synonym or substitute for related concepts and terminology, such as antagonism, opposition, polemics, alterity, exclusivism, the occurrence of Insider/Outsider strategies etc. Before turning to the evaluating of Qumran's 'types of dualism' in section 4, the remainder of this section (4.3.1 and 4.3.2) will deal with matters of definition.

[83] Goff, 'Sapiential Dualism', 33.

4.3.1 Dualism: A Flexible Concept? Or Not?

As we have seen above, within Qumran scholarship no less than ten types of dualism have been developed and discussed, not all of them exclusive to, but some of them distinctive for the Qumran situation. The dualisms as defined by Gammie, Charlesworth and later Frey at times demonstrate overlap, inclusiveness and partial 'fit', while some of them are not conceived to be problematic, but rather programmatic for the nature of the Jewish religion in general and the Qumran situation in particular.[84] This sheer amount of types of dualism in Qumran scholarship has caused some confusion, and at times creates the impression that for every occurrence of opposition a new dualism type is used. As such, the various types of dualism perceived in the Qumran manuscripts might have departed quite substantially from the initial meaning of the term dualism, as firstly used by Hyde in 1700 CE to describe the ancient Persian religion, and later fine-tuned by Bianchi, whose definition of and work on religious dualism set the stage for all research on this phenomenon.[85]

Bianchi observed that the term dualism was used interchangeably with related but differing concepts like duality, polarity, pairs and oppositions. In order to prevent further dilution of the term, and restricting himself to dualism understood as "a category within the history and phenomenology of religion",[86] Bianchi defines dualism as "the doctrine of the two principles", i.e. "dualistic are all those religions, systems, conceptions of life according to which two principles, coeternal or not, cause the existence, real or apparent, of that which exists or is manifest in the world."[87] Bianchi distinguishes between three pairs of dualism:

1. *radical* versus *moderate* dualism: In radical dualism the two fundamental principles are thought to be coeternal and coequal, i.e. both principles "exist and act from the very beginning" without hierarchy or final destiny. Moderate

[84] Cf. Jutta Leonardt-Balzer, 'Dualism' in Collins and Harlow eds., *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010) 553-556.
[85] Cf. Udo Bianchi, 'Dualism' in Eliade ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: MacMillan, 1987), 4506-4512. Or in the new edition co-authored with Yuri Stoyanov; cf. Lindsay Jones ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 4 (New York: MacMIllan, 2005) 2504-2517.
[86] Udo Bianchi, 'Il dualismo come categoria storico-religiosa' in *Selected Essays on Gnosticism, Dualism and Mysteriosophy* (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 49-64.
[87] Translation mine from Bianchi, 'Il dualismo come categoria storico-religiosa', 50: "Sono dualistiche quelle concezioni che ammettono una dottrina dei due principii…Sono dualistiche le religioni e le concezioni della vita secondo le quali due principii - concepiti o meno come coeterni - fondano l'esistenza, reale o 'apparente', di cio che esiste e si manifesta nel mondo." Cf. also Frey, 'Different Patterns', 281.

dualism recognises only one primordial principle, while the second principle is a derivative from the first, coming into existence "under particular circumstances at a particular moment in time".[88] "The second principle is usually negative and caused by an incident on a metaphysical level, on the margins of the heavenly realm".[89] Importantly, a Creator is responsible for the totality of existence.

2. *dialectical* versus *eschatological* dualism: The difference between dialectical and eschatological dualism is that in the former the two fundamental principles function eternally and often in recurrent cycles, while in the case of eschatological dualism one principle (the evil one) will be overcome at the end of history. Dialectical and eschatological dualism conceive the two principles as good and evil, "both in the ethical and metaphysical sense".[90] Bianchi stresses that, while dialectical dualism is always also radical dualism (both principles exist coeternally), not all radical dualism necessarily has to be dialectical.[91] For example, Zoroastrianism reflects a radical dualism, but the evil principle will be eliminated in the end, which reflects eschatological dualism.
3. *pro-cosmic* versus *anti-cosmic* dualism: Pro-cosmic dualism is recognised by a positive evaluation of the cosmos, that welcomes creation and the visible world. Anti-cosmic dualism reflects the opposite: the cosmos and creation are perceived to be intrinsically evil. Therefore, created matter, such as the earth or the human body, is thought to be essentially negative or delusive.[92]

Bianchi argues that rather than the first category (radical versus moderate dualism), the second is the most important, i.e. the distinction between dialectical and eschatological dualism, since these types of dualism function on a metaphysical level, and conceptualise a religion's cosmology and anthropology. The third category, pro-cosmic and anti-cosmic dualism, comes second as it importantly determines our conceptualisation of life and life experience.[93]

[88] Bianchi, 'Il dualismo', 50.
[89] Cf. Bianchi, 'Il dualismo', 59.
[90] Bianchi and Stoyanov, 'Dualism', 2508.
[91] Bianchi, 'Il dualismo', 60.
[92] Cf. Bianchi and Stoyanov, 'Dualism', 2509.
[93] Bianchi, 'Il dualismo', 61-62.

Moreover, Bianchi stresses the fact that "dualism is more specific than either simple duality or polarity. Not every duality or polarity is dualistic- only those that involve the duality or polarity of causal principles. Thus, not every pair of opposites (such as male and female, right and left, light and darkness, good and bad, spirit and matter, and sacred and profane) can be labelled as dualistic, even when their opposition is emphasized. They are dualistic *only when they are understood as principles or causes of the world and its constitutive elements".*[94] Thus, according to Bianchi and Stoyanov, there is no dualism *"where there is no account of the principles responsible for bringing the world and humans into existence".*[95] In fact, they argue that "the simple contrasting of good and evil, life and death, light and darkness, and so on is in fact coextensive with religion itself and cannot be equated with the much more specific phenomenon of dualism".[96]

4.3.2 Sociological Strategies: Dualism as a Means of Social Stratification

In different research fields within the social sciences and humanities, predominantly in sociology, psychology and anthropology, the term 'dualism' is often used in a much broader sense, for the simple reason that outside the religio-historical realm, dualistic thinking is described as less conceptual, but more as a socio-culturally based human strategy of social stratification. In short, in these disciplines language and praxis reflecting dualism, opposition, dichotomy, antagonism and alterity etc., are often simply seen as human strategies that help groups build their social identity and distinct self-definition.

The social anthropologist Needham, who investigated social classification and the functions of 'dual' or 'oppositional' language, argues that such language must be seen in light of the need for humans to classify and categorise their existence. He finds that the need for order, and additionally the need for clarity about rights and duties, drives people towards a system of categorisation. Also, he argues that metaphysical speculation can urge people to divide the existing world into different spherical and spatial categories, thereby symbolically classifying seemingly different ontological principles into the same category. In an encompassing way, in which the symbolic classification of ontological principles plays a major part, he identifies two

[94]Bianchi and Stoyanov, 'Dualism', 2505.
[95] Bianchi and Stoyanov, 'Dualism', 2505; emphases n 37/38 mine.
[96] Bianchi and Stoyanov, 'Dualism', 2505.

major types of 'dualism' that function to establish a system of classification.[97] According to Needham, one way of dualistic classification establishes two major categories under which *everything* is divided. His description of this first type of 'dualism', which often extrapolates into a cosmic or metaphysical level and defines existence into two mutually exclusive categories or principles, is much in line with Bianchi's strict definition of 'dualism'. However, in Needham's other type of 'dualism' –which is distinctively different from the former type- "classification is seen not in two great classes, whether metaphysical or social, but in the symbolic linking of categories by pairs. This does not mean that each individual category is in an absolute sense of either one type or another, i.e. what is right in relation to one category can be left in relation to another".[98] In this second form of 'dualism', in which categorisation is flexible according to context, each pair consists of one category that in some respect is considered superior to the other. Needham concludes that this second type of 'dualism' is the most common form of human categorisation, which he calls 'classification by partition', and which he believes inherently creates hierarchy and separation, even though the basis of its distinction is not absolute.

Hence, viewed on a sociological or anthropological level, not all dualisms are equally dualistic, and categorisations must be investigated carefully in order to establish which type of 'dualism' they reflect and/or which function they serve. As such, anthropological or sociological research is interested in all categorisations of human life, whether language reflects 'dualism' proper or merely paradoxes, tensions, oppositions, without being strictly dualistic. In other words, the different forms of 'dualistic' or 'oppositional' thinking are of interest in order to help analyse the strategies of self-identification of those who use it. As categorisations of difference and similarity are intrinsic to human life, and oppositions and affinities are used all the time to establish identity and self-designation over against others, the mere occurrence of 'dual' or 'oppositional' concepts can, however sociologically interesting, not be seen as evidence for 'dualistic thinking'.[99] As Fontaine has stated "in cases of dualism, it is no longer possible to reduce the terms of the opposition more or less to each other; there are no longer intermediate terms. The opposition has

[97] Rodney Needham, *Symbolic Classification* (Santa Monica: Goodyear Publishing Company, 1979) 7-9.
[98] Needham, *Symbolic Classification,* 8.
[99] Such sociological perceptions of the various strategies of self-designation *and* the problem of discrepancy between We/Other language in texts and Otherness in social reality falls outside the scope of this chapter and shall be addressed elsewhere.

become unsolvable."[100] Therefore, Needham's second type of 'dualism' cannot be identified as 'dualism', but merely as a categorisation tool for sociological research into social stratifications and social processes of identification and alterity. What dualism has in common with other notions of oppositionality and duality is its inherent implications of disruption and division, which makes 'dualistic thought' ideally suited as a characteristic of a radicalised sectarian group, thought to self-identify as the only 'righteous' element in a world of evil. However, if one wants to determine whether a wide variety of written expressions have a specifically 'sectarian' ideology of 'dualistic thinking' in common, or at least reflect a diachronic development towards such a recognisable 'dualistic' ideology, dualism as a concept needs to be strictly defined and cannot be used in the sociological sense of a social stratification tool.

4.4. Revisiting Types of 'Dualism' at Qumran

In the preceding sections, the boundaries and environment of 'dualism' have been explored. In the search for coherence in the Qumran 'library', scholars have long identified a tendency towards 'dualistic thinking' as part of the theological ideology of the Qumran sect, which is believed to have gathered precursory material that fitted their contemporary ideology as well as documents that reflect their own ideas and beliefs. Hence, 'dualism' at Qumran has long been seen as a core principle of the 'Qumran sect' and as such –to an extent- holds an important scala of Qumran manuscripts meaningfully and coherently together. However, the sheer amount of dualisms that scholars have identified in these manuscripts seems somewhat bewildering and has taken us away from the original definition and meaning of the term as defined by Bianchi. Bianchi distinguishes between radical and moderate, dialectical and eschatological, and pro-cosmic and anti-cosmic dualism. Dualism in the strictest sense, i.e. radical dualism, according to which two causal principles function in opposition coeternally and coequally without hierarchy, does not occur in Judaism, as God is thought to be the omnipotent creator, who is responsible for the totality of existence. Several Qumran texts have clear statements to this effect, e.g. 1QS iii 15; "From the God of Knowledge stems all there is and all there shall exist" or 1QS xi 11; "By his knowledge everything comes into existence, and all that does exist

[100] Petrus Fontaine, 'What is Dualism, and What is it Not?' in Lange et al., *Light Against Darkness*, 266-276.

he establishes with his calculations and nothing is done outside of him". In 1QM, certain passages seem to place God against Belial (cf. 1QM i 5; 1QM xiii 1b-7), but in its context God's omnipotence becomes clear: he 'aids the righteous' by appointing "the Prince of Light to assist" and apparently he "made Belial for the pit" (1QM xiii: 10b-12b). Hence, all possible instances of dualism in Judaism in general and Qumran in particular should be evaluated as '*moderate dualism*'.

Bianchi's second distinction of dualism, which he considers the most important one, is between dialectical and eschatological dualism. Even though some of the Qumran texts recall other instances in Israel's history in which evil and iniquity occurred, none of them perceive two causal principles in opposition in recurrent cycles for eternity. Rather, most of them - with the exception of texts that narrate a different theme, like 4Q184 - portray their contemporary time and age as a period of wickedness leading up to the end times, often envisioned as a final battle or an intervention of God, destroying all evil. Hence, the Qumran texts, in as far as we would evaluate them as dualistic, would reflect Bianchi's '*eschatological dualism*'.[101]

Thirdly, Bianchi distinguishes between pro-cosmic and anti-cosmic dualism, which is thought to establish a religion's basic conceptualisations of life and life experience. It seems rather difficult to establish whether the Qumran texts convey a pro-cosmic or anti-cosmic outlook. Obviously, most texts reflect a negative view of the contemporary era and are concerned with the level of perceived 'evil, wickedness and iniquity' in their socio-religious environment. However, many texts also marvel at the greatness and mercy of God, his mysteries, and the wonder of his creation, which is thought to be exactly as he intended, but beyond human comprehension. Moreover, they reflect confidence in the future as they believe God will bring an end to all that is evil. In fact, many texts seem to struggle with this exact question of evil and hardship, a question that seems hardly related to the more fundamental question whether creation is intrinsically good or intrinsically evil. Therefore, since God created the world, why would man doubt his provenance?

In sum, if dualism can be found amongst the Qumran texts, it has to be moderate, eschatological dualism. Importantly, Bianchi has stressed that not all forms of duality or opposition can be evaluated as dualistic, only those that involve the

[101] Importantly, Bianchi stresses that this level of dualism is the most important level, as it functions on a metaphysical as well as an ethical level, thereby conceptualising a religion's cosmology and anthropology.

duality or polarity of causal principles. In other words, there is no dualism "where there is no account of the principles for bringing the world and humans into existence".[102] Hence, in order to evaluate dualism at Qumran, we now need to evaluate the ten types of dualism identified by Frey in light of Bianchi's understanding of dualism. As we have seen, Frey himself has already excluded two of types of dualism (metaphysical and theological) from his list. Metaphysical dualism is excluded because this strict type of dualism does not occur in Judaism, and theological dualism because it does not deal with two causal principles and therefore cannot be evaluated as 'dualistic'. This leaves eight types of dualism to evaluate: cosmic, spatial, eschatological, ethical, soteriological, physical, anthropological and psychological dualism.

Ad 1. Cosmic dualism: According to Frey, cosmic dualism "denotes the division of the world and of humanity into two opposing forces of good and evil, darkness and light". Frey states that "in contrast to metaphysical dualism, these forces are viewed as neither coeternal nor strictly causal", the latter of which would make this category an unsuitable candidate to be called 'dualistic'. However, Frey's description makes clear that his 'cosmic dualism'-category is rather an umbrella-category for all sorts of oppositional constructions, from the "metaphorical use of light/darkness terminology" to the mentioning of "hosts of human or spiritual beings", while "in some texts we find heavenly leader figures such as Michael, Belial, the Prince of Light and the Angel of Darkness, and so on". Frey seems to be aware of the fact that his 'cosmic dualism'-category contains a variety of rather different concepts and suggests that it "may allow for further distinction".[103] However, the assembly of rather different concepts under the one category of 'cosmic dualism' not only obscures the category, it also might falsely establish a sense of coherence amongst texts that in their content and outlook are rather different. If we assume that Frey's 'cosmic dualism' implicitly recognises the one primordial principle of God (even though this is not mentioned in his definition), we might hold on to its category, as long as and to the extent of 'cosmic dualism' equalling Bianchi's 'moderate dualism'. This way, the opposition between heavenly leaders and hosts of spiritual beings (possibly reflected by their human counterparts) can be maintained under this category. However, non-causal or ethical oppositions, such as the use of

[102] Bianchi and Stoyanov, 'Dualism', 2505 n37/38.
[103] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 283.

light/darkness terminology in a text, ought not to be part of this category, and moreover, are in principle not dualistic in nature. Therefore, in the evaluation of Frey's analysis of dualism at Qumran, one should be aware that his important category of 'cosmic dualism' is actually a non-uniform container for a multitude of quite different forms of opposition, not all of them dualistic in nature.

Ad. 2 Spatial Dualism: The division of the world into two spatially divided parts, such as heaven and earth, below and above etc. Frey himself is quite aware of the awkwardness of the category, as these spatially divided spheres in general do not oppose one another dualistically, but together form the totality of creation. Moreover, the spatial categories are not causal to existence but merely representatives of the same system, with assigned (not opposing) purposes. In fact, Frey himself notes that there are many correspondences and mutual influences between these spatial spheres, and often they are used to express the wholeness of God's creation. Texts like *1Enoch* seem especially interested in geography and spatial divisions of creation, but always in order to demonstrate the deliberate appointment of their function and purpose by God. Hence, Frey's spatial dualism is not causal and often not oppositional either; therefore, it cannot be evaluated as 'dualism'.

Ad 3. Eschatological Dualism: Frey's definition of eschatological dualism does not equate to Bianchi's 'eschatological dualism' of two causal principles of which one (i.e. evil) will be overcome at the end of history. In Frey's definition, eschatological dualism, for which he finds the term 'temporal dualism' more fitting, denotes the division of the world into two temporally divided parts, i.e. "the rigid division of time between the present aeon and the future one".[104] In contradistinction to Bianchi's definition of eschatological dualism, Frey states that "not every expectation of last judgment or of a final extinction of evil can rightly be called 'eschatological dualism', nor can we speak of an 'eschatological dualism' if the opposition of (cosmic) powers is only thought to be manifest or acted out in an eschatological struggle (e.g. in 1QM)".[105] Instead, Frey considers only those occurrences 'eschatological dualism' that reflect two opposing עולמים or αἰώνες, in the sense of 4 Ezra 7:50 ('The Most High has not made one world but two').[106] Apart from the difficulties surrounding the complexity of eschatological visions in 4Ezra,

[104] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 283; especially fn.39.
[105] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 284.
[106] Translation from B.M. Metzger, *The Fourth Book of Ezra*, in James C. Charlesworth ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1 (New York: Doubleday, 1985) 538.

and the uncertain meaning of the passage mentioned by Frey, the two spheres, this age and the age to come, are not conceived as causal principles. Moreover, they do not oppose one another, as they do not exist within the same time frame, but are following upon one another. Hence, as Frey removes the eschatological struggle, the final judgment and the extinction of evil from his definition, and chooses to focus on two different perceptions of the world that chronologically are following upon one another, but in themselves are not causal to existence, his 'eschatological dualism' cannot be seen as dualistic. Therefore, in evaluating Frey's analysis of the Qumran texts, one should be aware that his 'eschatological dualism' differs from Bianchi's, and accordingly, some texts might reflect Bianchi's 'eschatological dualism' while they do not reflect Frey's. As dialectical and eschatological dualism are Bianchi's most important pair for the ideological conceptualisation of a religion's cosmology and anthropology, the sheer difference in definition might have consequences for our overall evaluation of this type of dualism at Qumran.

Ad 4. Ethical dualism: Frey quotes Charlesworth as he defines ethical dualism as "the bifurcation of mankind into two mutually exclusive groups according to virtues and vices".[107] Frey adds that this division between groups is usually expressed in ethical terms like good and evil, righteous and wicked. As already can be deduced from Bianchi's definition of dualism, the mere existence of 'good' and 'evil'-opposition in the world does not equal the concept of dualism. In his work on dualism in 1QS 3:13-4:26, Stuckenbruck reads the text's multi-dimensional oppositional character as symbolic classifications of day-to-day experiences.[108] Like Bianchi, who holds that "the simple contrasting of good and evil, life and death, light and darkness, and so on is in fact coextensive with religion itself and cannot be equated with the much more specific phenomenon of dualism"[109], he argues that opposition, tension and paradoxes are part of the human experience and as such can be evaluated as intrinsic to human life. If the Qumran texts reflect a strict *irreducible* division between two oppositional groups, which do not only reflect a strict division in ethical terms, but also in metaphysical terms, they need to be considered as expressions of Bianchi's eschatological and/or moderate dualism.[110] This is also the case if, as Frey suggests, "it may be combined with a supreme cosmic dualism" (cf. 'cosmic dualism'

[107] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 284 fn.40.
[108] Stuckenbruck, 'Interiorization', 145-168.
[109] Cf. Stuckenbruck, 'Interiorization', 145-168.
[110] As we have already established that dialectical dualism does not occur at Qumran.

above). However, if the opposition is purely expressed in ethical terms (as through a list of virtues and vices), the label 'dualism' should not be used as its usage with regard to ethical categories is problematic: the "mere ethical dualism, stressing the moral opposition between good and evil is not properly dualistic in the religio-historical and phenomenological sense".[111]

Ad 5. Soteriological dualism: Frey again quotes Charlesworth, who defines this type of dualism as "'the division of mankind caused by faith (acceptance) or disbelief (rejection) in a saviour' or by participation or not in a certain salvific act".[112] Firstly, this category is not concerned with the opposition of two irreducible causal principles and is therefore not to be considered 'dualistic'. Secondly, this category is only concerned with human behaviour, and does not convey any metaphysical and/or ethical cosmology or overarching anthropology. Moreover, the division of the world according to believers or non-believers depends upon one's standpoint, is not exhaustive, exclusive, irreducible or unchangeable, nor is the mere notion of faith a substantial criterion that in itself causes the world or brings human beings into existence. Moreover, it does not in itself provoke dualism: the opposition believers/non-believers might –from the emic point of view of the believers- subsequently develop or go together with dualistic tendencies, which naturally do not come forth from faith in itself, but from the components with which a religion is built, such as dogmas, doctrines, and systemic connotations of election, ethical behaviour and salvation. Hence, faith as a signifier for dualism needs to be discarded, and the category of 'soteriological dualism' needs to be abandoned.

Ad 6. Physical dualism: Frey defines this type of dualism as the division between matter and spirit. He does not elaborate on this type of dualism, but he relates - though not equates - this category to the following one,

Ad 7. Anthropological dualism, which he considers to be "the opposition between body and soul as distinct principles of being".[113] In the cases of both physical and anthropological dualism, the 'label' dualism seems difficult to maintain. Even within those philosophical strands in which matter/spirit and body/soul are oppositional, they do not reflect two fundamental and causal principles that bring the world into being. Perhaps exceptions can be made with regard to the notions of *atman*

[111] Cf. Goff, 'Sapiential Dualism', 24; Bianchi and Stoyanov, 'Dualism', 2506.
[112] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 284 fn.41.
[113] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 284-285.

and *maya* in Hinduism, which possibly reflect a radical, dialectical dualism, or to Plato's ideas of the cave. However, in the Judaism of Qumran, such notions are not found, and it is uncertain whether creation and mankind could even be divided as such. Moreover, elsewhere, Frey investigates the Pauline opposition of 'spirit' and 'flesh', and he concludes that even though 'flesh' does occur in a negative connotation within some of the wisdom texts of Qumran (e.g. 4QInstruction and 4QMysteries), "there is no fixed antithesis between 'flesh' and spirit' in early Jewish thought, neither [……] nor in Qumran".[114]

Ad 8. Psychological dualism: In this type of dualism, "the contrast between good and evil is internalized and seen to be an opposition not between two groups of people, but between principles or impulses waging battle within man", "e.g. the opposition of יצר הטוב and יצר הרע".[115] Thus, Frey himself already mentions the idea of good and bad inclination (*yeser*) as can be found in Ben Sira and later in the Rabbinic Two Impulses theory. Hence, the idea of two impulses or inclinations within human beings does not reflect two irreducible causal principles, nor do they bring the world or mankind into existence. Moreover, since the *locus* of conflict is the human being, one can hardly deduce a cosmology or anthropology from it. Moreover, the only Qumran text that reflects such a 'battle in the heart of man' is the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* (1QS 3:13-4:26) and as such, this 'psychological dualism' seems to be modelled upon this one text, rather than being a distinct, objective and recognisable category. Finally, as the *Treatise* perceives that the Two Spirits 'walk to and fro' in the heart of man according to God's mysterious plan, we might perceive this battle a unifying rather than a dividing characteristic of human life. Hence, Frey's 'psychological dualism' does not meet the criteria of 'dualism' and needs to be treated as simply recognisable oppositional forces congruent to the everyday experiences of human life.

In conclusion: Before evaluating the Qumran texts that Frey has identified as 'dualistic', we have considered the definitions and criteria of 'dualism' and compared those to Frey's dualistic categories. The above-mentioned enquiry into the definition of 'dualism' has not only revealed that the term is often used rather loosely, but also has raised awareness with regard to the different meanings behind similar

[114] Jörg Frey, 'Flesh and Spirit in the Palestinian Jewish Sapiential Tradition and in the Qumran Texts' in Hempel, Lange and Lichtenberger eds., *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran,* 367-404.
[115] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 285.

terminology. Moreover, our evaluation of the classification system that has become commonplace within Qumran studies has demonstrated that not all categories can be considered 'dualistic', and that some categories contain a variety of different appearances, which cannot be compared.

Firstly, Bianchi's definition establishes that any form of dualism within Judaism is not radical, but moderate dualism. Moreover, most Qumran texts reflect a notion of the end and/or of eschatology, which makes them more likely to reflect Bianchi's eschatological dualism, than his dialectical dualism, in which the dualities are eternal. Finally, because of the ostensible hardship of the end times, and in combination with the notion that God has created everything there is and will be, the question of pro-cosmic or anti-cosmic dualism seems impossible to answer, simply because the texts do not seem to have an opinion on the matter.

With regard to Frey's categories of dualism, we find that spatial, soteriological, physical, anthropological and psychological dualism as categories do not reflect irreducible oppositional causal principles, and do not meet Bianchi's criteria. Therefore, these categories need to be abandoned as 'dualistic'. Frey's 'cosmic dualism' is an umbrella term for various, very different terms and ideas, some of which cannot be considered 'cosmic' nor 'dualistic'. Assuming Frey's definition of 'cosmic dualism' perceives the one primordial principle of God, those varieties of opposition that coincide with Bianchi's 'moderate dualism' can be maintained within this category, i.e. the opposition between heavenly leaders and hosts of spiritual beings (possibly reflected by their human counterparts). However, Frey's evaluation of 'cosmic dualism', which importantly builds his case for the chronological development of 'Qumran dualism', needs to be approached with caution as it contains elements that do not meet the criteria of this category and/or are not properly dualistic. As such, Frey's umbrella-term of 'cosmic dualism' might create a false sense of unity and development amongst the various Qumran manuscripts. Frey's 'eschatological dualism' does not equate to Bianchi's understanding of 'eschatological dualism', and since it also does not meet the criteria of dualism as the opposition of causal principles, it must be dismissed as 'dualistic'. There is cause to re-evaluate the Qumran texts with regard to Bianchi's definition of 'eschatological dualism', which can be seen as much more suitable. However, in re-evaluating Frey's analysis, we need to take into account that his 'eschatological dualism' is in fact not dualistic at all. Finally, and most problematically, Frey's category of 'ethical dualism'

cannot be considered 'dualistic' if it only describes opposition in ethical terms or behaviours. If, however, the Qumran texts reflect a strict *irreducible* division between two oppositional groups, which do not only reflect a strict division in ethical terms, but also in metaphysical terms, and/or perceive an eschatological end of history, they might be considered as expressions of Bianchi's moderate and/or eschatological dualism.[116] Schematically, we can now reduce the types of dualism and recombine some of Frey's loose sub-categories into Bianchi's scheme:

Frey	**Prerequisite:**	**Sub-type that fits criteria**	**Bianchi**
'Cosmic Dualism'	the one primordial principle of God	The opposition between heavenly leaders and hosts of spiritual beings (possibly reflected by human counterparts)	Moderate Dualism
'Eschatological dualism'	Re-definition according to Bianchi		Eschatological Dualism
'Ethical dualism' in combination with 'supreme cosmic dualism'	Re-evaluation of those texts that combine these two forms, providing they meet the citeria of Bianchi's 'moderate and/or eschatological dualism'		Moderate and/or eschatological dualism

Table 13: Frey's vs. Bianchi's Definition of Dualism(s).

Interestingly, this re-shuffling of categories demonstrates that only two types of Frey's 'dualistic categories' (cosmic and ethical dualism) contain elements that might be considered dualistic, while a third category (eschatological dualism) needs to be re-defined altogether. Even more importantly, it demonstrates that these elements within these three categories can be more easily defined within Bianchi's clear categorisation of moderate, eschatological dualism, which is often characterised by overtones of a principal and hierarchical distinction between good and evil, both in a metaphysical and in an ethical sense. With these methodological conclusions in mind, section 5 returns to Frey's 'patterns of dualistic thought'.

4.5. Revisiting Frey's 'Patterns of Dualistic Thought' and Their Developments

Frey's analysis of 'Qumran dualism' has proven to be rather influential in its afterlife and is often taken as a roadmap into the scholarly evaluations of dualism as a Qumranite phenomenon. The preceding section has made clear that not only the

[116] Frey suggests that certain texts reflect ethical dualism combined with 'supreme cosmic dualism'. Since both categories are problematic in Frey's definition, the instances in which this combination occurs needs to be re-evaluated, as they might fit the criteria of Bianchi's eschatological dualism.

majority of the ten 'types of dualism' as identified by Frey cannot be evaluated as dualistic, but more importantly, the three remaining types (cosmic, eschatological and ethical) need to be re-shuffled, re-defined according to Bianchi's standards and re-evaluated with regard to the 'dualistic' value of their sub-types. Moreover, since these three types of dualism play an important part in Frey's overall analysis of the Qumran texts in general and his establishment of 'patterns of dualistic thought' in particular, such re-evaluation might have an important impact on Frey's overall assessment of Qumranic dualism. Most importantly, a re-evaluation of Qumran dualism in light of our findings regarding the definition of 'dualism' certainly will affect Frey's idea of two patterns of 'dualistic thought', which in a complex, non-linear development mix and mingle into Qumran dualism, as both patterns consist of 'cosmic' and 'ethical' dualisms, the very categories that need re-shuffling and re-defining.

If many of the dualistic categories need to be discarded as not 'dualistic', the impact on Frey's conceptualisation of a cohesive model of 'dualistic development' from multi-plex/complex to simple might be considerable. However, even before such evaluations can be made, another rather important point of caution needs to be addressed with regard to Frey's original analysis. Even though Frey did not intend to create a developmental model of dualistic thought, the fact that he places all non-*yahadic* texts in the 'Qumran Sect's' historical past implicitly presupposes such a diachronic and developmental model. The table below demonstrates schematically Frey's analysis of the various sources of influence and the developmental stages of his perceived two major strands of dualism:[117]

Table 14: Frey's Two Patterns of Dualism Schematically Described.

Development of Sapiential Type of Dualism		
Early Influences	Pre-Yahadic/Early Yahadic	Yahadic
Prov 29:27 Sir 42:24; 33:14-15; 39:16, 24-34; 42:22-25	**1QS 3:13- 4:26** 4Q417 2 I 15-18 1Q27	1QHa 6:11-12 4Q181 1 ii 5 CD 2:6-7 4Q280 2 4-5 4Q502??

[117] The next chapter will address Frey's analysis of these strands of development in more detail.

Development of Priestly, Cosmic Dualism		
Early Influences	Pre-Yahadic/Early-Yahadic	Yahadic
Sapiential/Laic influences: Book of Daniel Zoroastrian Influences _____ *Priestly Influences*: 4Q Testament of Levi 4QTestament of Qahat 4QVisions of Amram _____ *Demonology:* Book of the Watchers 11QApocrPs Jubilees	**1QM** 4Q390	4Q280 2 2 1QS 2:4-25 4Q286 7 ii 1-13 CD 16:3-4 4Q510 1 4-6 11QMelchizedek 4Q174/4Q177 Midrash on Eschatology

Such an implicit diachronic framework not only creates the opportunity to explain linguistic and ideological differences between texts in terms of developmental stages in the 'sect's theological formation', it also provides the opportunity to interpret different texts in light of one another.[118] Frey's 'patterns of dualism' thus implicitly take the presumptions of the Qumran Paradigm (a Qumran Sect and its library) as their starting point, and attempt to meaningfully relate Qumran manuscripts that are thought to reflect opposition or 'dualistic' terminology into a cohesive whole. Thus, Frey's conclusion that the 'dualistic' texts from Qumran demonstrate 'the radicalisation of the Qumran sect' might reflect no more than a tendency to interpret differences in and the absence of 'dualistic thinking' as indicators for the dating and ideological positioning of individual documents within their presumed chronological order. As such, developmental explanations can become powerful tools to harmonise tensions in the Paradigm. As many of the Qumran manuscripts are notoriously hard to date, give little information regarding their social background and have multi-layered, multi-faceted redaction levels, the invocation of inherent tendencies to inter-link documents chronologically on the presupposition of thematic or ideological relatedness (and development) might not be the best way to analyse the variety of 'dualistic' outlooks at Qumran. Moreover, if Frey's analysis of 'Qumran dualism' is correct in its identification of the many above-mentioned precursory influences that,

[118] Frey's 'patterns of dualism' will be discussed and analysed in chapter 5.

put together –over time- developed into a 'uniquely and recognisably Qumranite ideological outlook of rather specific dualistic thinking', this very analysis undermines the idea of the sect's 'radicality' over against other groups, as it recognises 'threads of dualistic thought' in many contemporary writings, thereby proposing dualism to be a more widespread phenomenon in the Second Temple Period prior to the 'Qumran sect'.

4.6. Revisiting Dualism in its Socio-Religious Milieu: Aspect or Core?

The concept of 'dualism' seems to be an aspect of larger socio-religious phenomena, which developed within specific politico-historical circumstances, like apocalypticism and a '*weisheitliche*' preoccupation with God's order of creation. The two Qumran manuscripts that Frey identified as the core documents from which his two patterns of dualistic thought develop, i.e. 1QM and 1QS 3:13-4:26 both –in their own specific way- seem to be interested in *eschatological expectations of the End* and the *pre-existent divine order of history and being.* As such, dualism might be an indicator for the detection of these larger socio-religious phenomena being thematised in certain texts. If this view has merit, dualism can merely be seen as an aspect of these larger phenomena and cannot be seen as an isolated and independent ideology in itself.

Interestingly, in his evaluation of apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls, García Martínez makes use of the same textual evidence to make his case as Frey does to prove 'dualism' at Qumran.[119] This feeds into the above-mentioned observations that related elements of apocalypticism, such as a deterministic idea of God's order of creation, the problem of evil therein, and its eschatological solution, but also linguistic features such as light/darkness terminology, mythological/cosmic imagery and the use of allusive and symbolic language, might implicitly –but not necessarily correctly- be taken as indicators of dualistic thinking. Moreover, many scholars have recognised the good/evil-, virtues/vices- and 'appointed time'- concepts in late wisdom literature as an influence on the 'dualistic' tendencies in the Qumran manuscripts. As apocalypticism might partly have its roots in the wisdom tradition as well, the perceived concept of 'dualism' at Qumran does not necessarily need to have developed out of one or the other, but might demonstrate a complex synthesis of both

[119] Cf. Frey, 'Different Patterns', 277 ff.; Florentino García Martínez, 'Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls' in *Qumranica Minora I*, 195-226.

traditions. Such an evaluation would be in line with Lange's theory of '*weisheitliche Prädestination*', according to which the ethical aspects of Qumran dualism relate closely to late biblical wisdom texts, which grapple with the realisation that, in the socio-political reality of Israel, good conduct does not always lead to a good life. These texts often reflect the idea of a predestined order of creation, which, according to Lange, under the influence of apocalyptic elements is creatively further developed in the 'wisdom'-related Qumran sectarian texts (such as the *Treatise*, 4QInstruction and 1QMysteries) and possibly inspired their 'dualistic' outlook.[120]

Apart from dualism possibly being an integral part of larger socio-religious phenomena, the core concepts within these phenomena might linguistically provoke the style and imagery of opposition. The idea of eschatological expectations of the end, end-time war and ethically expressed ideas of God's predestined world order are likely to create imagery of opposition, which do not necessarily need to be dualistic. Moreover, from a sociological point of view of social stratification, authorial sociological strategies to define one's group-identity over against others, such as antagonism, opposition, polemics, alterity, exclusivism, the occurrence of Insider/Outsider language etc. are quite common. As these strategies do not necessarily negotiate irreducible causal oppositions, but are mere human strategies to classify and categorise existence, they cannot be taken to be synonymous with dualism in a religio-historical sense. In return, the occurrence of larger socio-religious phenomena like 'weisheitliche Prädestination' or apocalypticism, should not be taken indiscriminately as 'evidence' for the presence of an underlying dualistic worldview in the Qumran documents.

4.7 The Cohesive Ideology of Dualism: Building Block of the Qumran Paradigm?

This chapter has preoccupied itself with the concept of dualism in general and the perception of 'dualistic thinking' as a characteristic of the Qumran Community in particular. We have established that the growth of typologies of dualism in Qumran have obscured the concept of dualism, and we have re-evaluated them in light of Bianchi's understanding of religious 'dualism'. This re-evaluation has led to the conclusion that only two types of Frey's dualism-categories can be maintained

[120] Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination,* 296-299.

partially, while a third one needs to be thoroughly re-defined and Frey's analysis of its occurrences re-analysed.

These findings might also have an impact on Frey's overall analysis of dualism at Qumran, and in particular on his evaluation of 'patterns of dualistic thinking'. Moreover, we have detected that Frey implicitly created a model of chronological development, which is based upon the paradigmatic assumption of a coherent Qumran library and a Qumran sect. That is, Frey's evaluation of 'the patterns of dualistic thinking' present a model in which 1QS 3:13-4:26 and 1QM are the 'pre-*yahadic*' chronological linchpins that bind assumed 'precursory' documents (containing various forms of early indicators to dualism) together through 'elements of dualism' and which set the stage for a '*yahadic* radicalisation process', combining and mingling various of their dualistic elements. Because of our re-evaluation of the boundaries of dualism's definition, and in light of our question whether the notion of 'dualism' might function as an ideological building block for the Qumran Paradigm, in which perceived 'dualistic' variety and differences are thought to reflect chronology, a new evaluation of the texts that Frey has identified as 'dualistic' is needed.

Moreover, we have suggested that dualism might not function as an independent ideological concept, but might merely be an aspect of a larger phenomenon, which found a wide audience within Second Temple Judaism, and hence, might have provoked many textual witnesses negotiating human history and existence.

In conclusion, there seems to be a tendency in Qumran Studies to evaluate all sorts of perceived oppositions as 'dualistic', thereby creating new 'types of dualism' of which many in fact do not meet the criteria of 'dualism'. Moreover, the perception of 'patterns of dualistic thought' implicitly creates a model of chronological development, placing very different texts in a cohesive and coherent chronological order, thereby sustaining the underlying Qumran Paradigm, this time on the basis of a perceived ideological development. If however, many identified instances of dualism might not meet the criteria of its definition, or need to be evaluated differently, the parameters of this model consisting of 'patterns' might shift.

The concept of 'dualism' sits well in the perception of the Qumran Paradigm, as dualism fits well with the notions of radicality and sectarianism. However, we have seen that there are good reasons to presume that dualism might not function as an

independent ideology, but rather as an integral aspect of larger –and widespread- socio-religious phenomena, such as apocalypticism and wisdom traditions.

The next chapter will come back to these issues, as it investigates the chronological development of 'dualism' in one of Frey's core 'patterns of dualistic thought', the multi-dimensional sapiential dualism strand. To do so, Chapter Five is constructed as a test case that focuses on the 'dualistic core-text' of this pattern, the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*. Not only will this chapter re-evaluate the various types of 'dualism' that scholars have identified in the *Treatise*, but also the idea of its growth and chronological development within the 'sectarian' realm. Underlying this investigation is the question of the possible presence or absence of dualistic thought in light of the stricter definitions of dualism, but also to see whether and to what extent the notion of 'dualism' functions as a cohesive ideological concept to mirror read into certain texts the social reality of a radical 'Qumran Sect'.

Chapter Five:

The 'Zenith of Qumran Thought': The Case of Dualism and 1QS iii 13 - iv 26

In the preceding chapter, we have discussed the concept of dualism as a perceived characteristic of the Qumran *yahad*. We have seen that the insistence on the 'dualistic' outlook of the 'Qumran sect' has burdened us with a bewildering amount and variety of 'dualisms' in the various Qumran texts, which often seem to obscure and divert from the principle definition of 'dualism' (i.e. the doctrine of two irresolvable principles that cause existence). Also, and most importantly, we have seen that these perceived examples of 'dualism' have implicitly opened the backdoor to enforce well-known models of chronological development of the 'Qumran sect' and its theology, based upon the coherence and representativeness of its 'library', as scholars have attempted to trace back the various stages of development within and between those Qumran manuscripts that are thought to express a dualistic worldview. Where 4QMMT seems to have a crucial function in the Paradigm as the 'linking pin' for the categorisation of texts as pre-sectarian or *yahadic*, even though the text itself seems to successfully escape all categories, the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* (1QS iii 13 – iv 26) seems similarly to have played a crucial role in models attempting to trace a chronological 'sectarian' development on the basis of assumed ideological coherence in the form of dualistic thought.[1] Moreover, like 4QMMT, the *Treatise* is nowadays recognised by many as a virtually unique document at Qumran, with the following points regarded as distinctive: (1) its combination of three perceived 'dualisms' (cosmic, ethical and psychological) is found nowhere else amongst the Qumran manuscripts; (2) it demonstrates some unique linguistic features and themes; and (3) it also lacks some of what scholars have identified as specific Qumranite terminology. Hence, whether we agree with Frey that "the dualistic section 1QS 3:13-4:26" can no "longer be considered the definite summary of the community's ideology"[2], or we take Dimant's view that the presence of the *Treatise* in 4QS[a] (the oldest copy of the *Community Rule*) proves that "dualism seems to have been part of the Qumran community's outlook from the initial phases of its existence"[3] and that the text reflects the "most systematic exposition of the dualistic thinking of the community"[4],

[1] Whether it be unilinear models like von der Osten-Sacken's, or a 'web of relations' a la Frey.
[2] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 290.
[3] Devorah Dimant, 'The Composite Character of the Qumran Sectarian Literature as an Indication of Its Date and Provenance', *RevQ* 88 (2006) 615-630.
[4] García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 202.

one thing seems to be certain: the *Treatise* seems to hold a central position in all scholarly discussions on the topic of Qumran dualism. This chapter, in taking the *Treatise* as its point of departure, investigates the degree to which the function of ideology as a cohesive strategy can sustain the Qumran Paradigm. It shall be argued here that the perception of dualism in various Qumran texts not only creates a false sense of cohesion and coherence between these texts, but also implicitly generates the same developmental literary models and their subsequent (and/or underlying) sociological presumptions of reality that we have already seen in the case of 4QMMT. Hence, while cohesion creates coalescent forces, developmental models tend to be more or less linear in character; nevertheless, either way, at the centre of the question of the function of Qumran dualism, we find the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* (1QS iii 13 – iv 26), which makes this text the natural starting point of this chapter.

5.1. The Text: The *Treatise of the Two Spirits*

In its current form, the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* (1QS iii 13 – iv 26) is part of 1QS (1Q28) or the *Rule of the Community*, which is taken to provide much information about the 'Qumran sect's ideology and praxis'. Other copies of (parts of) the *Serekh* (S) are found in 11 further manuscripts, namely 4Q255-264 (4QS4QS^{a-j}) and 5Q11. The *Treatise* is preserved in its entirety in 1QS, while the 4QS manuscripts demonstrate only sporadic evidence of the *Treatise*'s presence. According to Frey and Lange, 4QS^{c} (4Q257) is the only text, which undoubtedly preserves parts of the *Treatise* (i.e. parallels to 1QS iv 4-10; 12-15; 23-25). [5] Recently, however, Tigchelaar has proposed that two fragments, which were previously ascribed to other compositions, i.e. 4Q502 fr.16 and 4Q487 fr. 37, might also belong to the manuscript of 4QS^{c}.[6] Moreover, Metso has argued that also 4QS^{a} (4Q255) contains a fragment that "has no direct parallel in 1QS but which forms a part of the doctrine".[7] Accordingly, Dimant regards this manuscript of S as evidence for the originality of Qumran dualism.[8] In order to avoid basing observations on too much speculation, Hempel warns that the fragmentary preservation of this text does not "allow for any

[5] Cf. Frey, 'Different Patterns', 289-299; Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 120-126.
[6] Cf. Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, '"These are the Names of the Spirits of…": A Preliminary Edition of 4QCatalogue of Spirits (4Q230) and New Manuscript Evidence for the Two Spirits Treatise (4Q257 and 1Q29a), *RevQ* 21/83 (2004) 529-547
[7] Metso, *Textual Development,* 135.
[8] Metso, *Textual Development*, 106.

firm conclusions".[9] Metso also suggests that the content of the reconstructed text of 4QS^{b}, as well as a fragment in 4QS^{h}, might indicate that the *Treatise* was included in these manuscripts.[10] No other scholar, however, seems to have provided evidence or support for this suggestion. On the contrary, Lange considers the *Treatise* to be lacking in 4QS^{b}, which he conceives to be particularly significant as he holds it to be the only S manuscript that contains parts of both 1QS i 1 – iii 13 and 1QS v – xi.[11] Lange's observation is informed by evidence provided in 4QS$^{d\text{-}e}$ (4QS 258-259): in these two manuscripts of the *Community Rule* not only the *Treatise* is lacking, but also the entire first four columns (1QS i-iv), an absence of material that has strengthened scholarly arguments that these first four columns of S were attached to columns v-xi at a later stage.[12] This discussion regarding the textual development of S is particularly relevant in light of scholarly discussions about the origin and provenance of the *Treatise*; discussions which in turn have an impact on overall scholarly opinions on the topic of dualism and its perceived 'Qumranic' development. Indeed, scholarly opinions rather vary with regard to not only the incorporation of the *Treatise* into S, but also the issue of the possible growth and redaction of both the *Community Rule* and the *Treatise*. In addition to the consideration of evidence from the manuscripts, the tradition-historical theories regarding the *Treatise* as an independent text and the possible direction of its development are being researched. Also, the background and timing of the *Treatise*'s incorporation into S, its redaction history and the perceptions regarding the *Treatise*'s '*yahadic*' reception are being considered. Various scholarly views on these matters, which are relevant to our central question of dualism, will be discussed below.

5.1.1. An Independent Document?

Over time, and based on its terminology and linguistics, an increasing number of scholars have become convinced that the *Treatise* used to be an independent document, which at some stage was incorporated into the *Rule of the Community*. While some specialists remain convinced that the *Treatise* reflects the community's main theology, Metso for example, has advocated that the *Treatise* should rather be

[9] Charlotte Hempel, 'The *Treatise of the Two Spirits* and the Literary History of the *Rule of the Community,* in Xeravits ed., *Dualism in Qumran,* 102-120*,* 108.
[10] Cf. Metso, *Textual Development,* 106, 135.
[11] Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination,* 126.
[12] See 5.1.2-5.1.3 of this chapter.

evaluated as a document in its own right, which is likely to have had an independent existence.[13] At the same time, Metso also argues that the *Treatise* has undergone some degree of redaction, as it demonstrates certain assimilations, possibly in order to "provide a better context for the insertion" into the Community Rule. Moreover, she argues that this 'insertion' took place at a relatively late stage. [14]

Stuckenbruck also proposes a separate, independent evaluation of the *Treatise*. He finds that certain vocabulary and essential features of the *Treatise* relate better to other sapiential compositions of the Second Temple Period than to the 'unambiguous' *yahadic* texts. This argument is most elaborately studied by Lange, who argues that "es sich 1QS III_{13}-IV_{26} um einen eigenständigen Text handelt, der an die liturgische Bestimmung von 1QS I_1- III_{13} angehängt wurde. [….] Das Verknüpfen der Zwei-Geister-Lehre mit dieser Liturgie [….] läßt es möglich erscheinen daß es sich bei ihr um einen nicht vom *yahad* verfaßten Text handelt, der gleichwohl für Essener von großer Bedeutung war".[15] Lange finds evidence for the *non-yahadic*, independent origin of the *Treatise* as he lists a series of differences between the *Two Spirit Treatise* and texts 'more evidently produced by the Qumran Community':[16]

1. Lack of Community terminology: words like יהד, עצה, חוק and תודה, which are considered to be typical *Yahadic* words, are missing from the text. Also, the self-identifying word יחד occurs sporadically, but is only used adverbally.
2. In 1QS iii 24, the divine name אל ישראל is used: this name is used almost exclusively in non-sectarian texts.
3. In other parts of 1QS, Belial (בליעל) is used as the name for the evil power, but this name is lacking in the *Treatise*, which uses names such as 'spirit of deceit', 'spirit of injustice', and 'angel of darkness'.

[13] For instance, García Martínez calls the *Treatise* "the most systematic exposition of the dualistic thinking of the community". Cf. Florentino García Martínez, 'Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls' in García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I,* 195-226, 202. For arguments to treat the text as a document in its own right see: Metso, *Textual Development*, 90-91, 135-140, 145; Metso also points to preliminary research by Jerome Murphy O'Connor and Hartmut Stegemann, cf. 107 fn. 1; Also, Stuckenbruck, 'Interiorization', 145-168. Stuckenbruck holds that the fragmentary remnants of 4Q255/257 are not enough to demonstrate the *Treatise*'s prominence for the Qumran Community.
[14] Metso, *Textual Development,* 19, 113-114, 145; Interestingly, although Metso holds the *Treatise* to be best evaluated as an originally independent document, she rejects the suggestion that in its incorporated form, the *Treatise* is a literary unity; see 1.2. For her evaluation about the text's redaction process see 1.3-4.
[15] Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination,* 126-127, also fn.35.
[16] Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination,* 127-128.

4. The *Treatise* does not focus on the correct interpretation and observance of the Torah, a central theme for the *yahad*.
5. The covenant is central in the theology of the *yahad* and much is concerned with its entry requirements. However, in the *Treatise*, ברית only occurs once (iv 22) and is not used in a 'sectarian manner'.[17] Moreover, in the *Treatise*, being part of the covenant seems a matter of predestination, and will become clear in the eschaton.
6. The sectioning and structure of the *Treatise* is different from the structure (indicated by _____ and *vacat*) of 1QS, which Lange holds to be an indication that the *Treatise* is redacted to 'fit' in with the purpose and meaning of 1QS.
7. Moreover, and possibly in addition to Lange's list, Popović, Tigchelaar and Hempel have pointed out that there is a remarkable absence of light and darkness terminology in the remainder of 1QS/4QS.[18]

Hence, as the *Treatise* is considered to be rather unique, both in content and form, most scholars who have studied the text closely now hold the view that the *Treatise* should be treated as a formerly independent document that at some stage was incorporated into the compilation of the *Community Rule*. As a result, the *Treatise* is often studied as if it were an independent document.[19] However, the matter of its incorporation into S has caused many debates and has raised questions regarding the veracity of the text's literary unity, the process of insertion and the level of inner-*Treatise* and outer-*Treatise* redaction.

5.1.2. A Literary Unity or A Layered Composition?

Many scholars regard the *Treatise* as a literary unity, and some even tend to treat it as if it were an untouched independent text. In his 1958 article, Licht describes the *Treatise* as a "harmonious whole", which sets forth "a continuous and logically

[17] Cf. Frey, 'Different Patterns', 296.
[18] Popović, 'Light and Darkness in the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* (1QS III 13-IV 26) and in 4Q186' and Hempel, 'The Treatise', both in Xeravits, *Dualism in Qumran,* 148-165 resp. 102-120; Cf. Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction, STDJ 44* (Leiden: Brill 2001) 194-207.
[19] A good example one finds in Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), in which the *Treatise* is divorced from the *Community Rule* and placed in a separate volume (e.g. Vol. 1 Text concerned with Religious Law and Vol. 4 Calendrical and Sapiential Texts).

constructed argument, combining several notions and ideas into a single chain of reasoning". Accordingly, he expresses his admiration for the text's "continuity of thought" and "unity of structure".[20] According to Licht, this unity of structure is demonstrated by the central theme of a pre-ordained existence and history of mankind, subdivided in three logically interwoven main themes: predestination, dualism and eschatology.[21] Licht further based this conclusion of literary unity on his perception of the *Treatise*'s chiastic form, a conclusion that subsequently was adopted by Dimant.[22] Lange also seems to subscribe to the *Treatise*'s literary unity as he calls it "ein kunstvoll komponierter Text" with its own literary structure and sectioning.[23] In his tractate on Qumran dualism, Frey equally argues for the literary unity of the *Treatise*, based on his evaluation of a clear correspondence between the *Treatise*'s heading and its overall structure.[24] In DJD XXVI, Alexander and Vermes state even more boldly: "The Sermon on the Two Spirits (III 13-IV 25) is indubitably an autonomous unit with no internal links either with what precedes or with 1QS Vff".[25]

Despite this bold evaluation, there is reason to believe that the *Treatise* cannot be straightforwardly regarded as a complete independent and discernable literary unit, especially in light of its relation to and incorporation in 1QS. The following sections, which mainly deal with tradition-historical and redaction-critical issues, will attempt to evaluate whether and to what extent the hypothesis of the *Treatise*'s coherence and independence can be sustained.

5.1.2.1. Source-critical Evaluations of the Treatise

On literary grounds, the *Treatise* is generally subdivided in various sections, the boundaries of which are - more or less - commonly accepted by scholarly consensus. The basic structure of the *Treatise* in 1QS - even though subdivided into smaller sections - reflects a basic threefold scheme: (1) introduction, (2) main body (containing three sub-sections) and (3) summary and conclusion. In more elaborate form, scholars more or less recognise the following subsections:

[20] Licht, 'An Analysis' 88-89, 99.
[21] Licht, 'An Analysis', 88-89.
[22] Licht, 'An Analysis', 88-89, also see his schema on page 100; Dimant, 'Qumran Sectarian Literature', 501.
[23] Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination,* 140.
[24] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 290.
[25] Philip Alexander and Géza Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4.XIX, Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts, DJD XXVI* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) 10.

- *iii 13-15*: Introduction (and overview).
- *iii 15-18*: Introductory paragraph, which in hymnic form praises creation and the pre-existent order of history.
- *iii 18 – iv 1*: explanation of the nature of the spirits.
- *iv 2-14*: passage on their respective virtues and vices.
- *iv 15-23 (or iv 15-18, 18-23)*: human actions according to their divisions, and current and future visitations.
- *iv 23-26*: resumé of the main topics and conclusions.

In their source-critical research of the *Treatise*, scholars have identified different sections within the text, the differences of which were explained in various ways. For instance, von der Osten-Sacken distinguishes between 1QS iii 13 – iv 14 and iv 15-26 on the basis of differentiating terminology and stylistic-syntactical differences.[26] The latter, i.e. iv 15-26, is seen as a development of the *Treatise*'s primary 'cosmic dualism' (in iii 13 - iv 14) into a more 'ethical dualism', which is subsequently subdivided into an eschatological part (iv 15-23a) and an anthropological part (iv 23b-26), both of which von der Osten-Sacken considers to be later additions to the *Treatise*.[27] The basis of von der Osten-Sacken's theory lies in his perception that the *Treatise* combines the earliest form of 'cosmic' dualism as presented by the *War Scroll* (1QM) with the ethical teachings of the *Hodayot* (1QH). Lange has argued against this evaluation, as section iv 15-23 seems to correspond really well with the introduction (iii 13-15). Moreover, he argues that iv 23-26 cannot be evaluated as secondary, since iii 15 is discussed and taken up in iv 25.[28]

Duhaime subdivides the *Treatise* into a five-fold scheme: (1) iii 13-18a, (2) iii 25b-26a and (3) iv 1-14, which are thought to form the earliest stages of the document, while (4) iii 18b-23a and (5) iii 23b-25a represent a secondary layer. In contradistinction to von der Osten-Sacken, who considers 'cosmic' dualism (related to 1QM) to form the *Treatise*'s primary structure, Duhaime believes that the 'ethical' dualism between the Righteous and the Wicked forms the basis of the *Treatise*'s

[26] Von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial,* 17-18.
[27] Von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial,* 17-27.
[28] Cf. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination,* 131; it remains unclear from Lange's work whether he argues against a source-critical division of sections in the *Treatise* in general (as he does indeed advocate for the *Treatise* being a literary unit), or whether he simply disagrees with von der Osten-Sacken's evaluation.

dualistic thinking, while every mention of the two spirits needs to be assessed as secondary.[29]

Tigchelaar, whose source-critical evaluation reveals a common source between 4QInstruction and the *Treatise*, holds that the latter consists of two groups of text: (1) iii 18- iv 14 and (2) iii 13-18 and iv 15-26, i.e. the first group's preceding and subsequent parts of the text. Moreover, Tigchelaar argues that within the first group (i.e. iii 18 – iv 14) iii 18- iv 1 can be discerned as the first layer of text, to which a list of virtues and vices (iv 2-14) is added. According to Tigchelaar, these two pieces of text were later put into a new framework (iv 15-23, iii 13-18 and the résumé iv 23-26). Also, even though Tigchelaar conceives that redaction and editing took place in a more complex manner, he basically holds on to the two groups of text, which can be discerned by different vocabulary and terminology. For instance, he finds that the text's 'later additions' lack the eye-catching 'light and darkness' terminology.[30].

Next to these source-critical remarks, that question the unity of the *Treatise*'s composition and the possible developments within the text, scholars have lately asked redaction-critical questions about the *Treatise*'s internal development process and its insertion into S.

5.1.2.2. The Redactional Process of S and Outer-Treatise Redaction

The above-mentioned earlier research in the *Treatise*'s unity consisted of attempts to retrace sources and reveal the text's history of traditions. Recently, Hempel has argued to look more closely at the redaction process that might have taken place when the *Treatise* was incorporated into 1QS.[31] Hempel has pointed out that, next to the *Treatise*'s distinctiveness in content and language, also a remarkable continuity can be observed between the *Treatise* and the remainder of S. Hempel proposes that this ostensible contradiction between distinctiveness and communality might be explained by the work of a redactor, who created an editorial framework, which encompasses both texts.[32] She also thinks that such a *redactor* not merely

[29] Duhaime, 'Dualistic Reworking' 32-56.
[30] Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction,* STDJ 44 (Leiden: Brill, 2001) 194-207.
[31] Hempel, 'The Treatise', 102-120.
[32] Hempel holds the typical Maskil-headings to be an example of the presence of such an editorial framework. Cf. Metso, *Textual Development*, 112; Metso thinks the Maskil heading of iii 13 is a secondary addition in order to help insert the *Treatise* into the Rule. Also Duhaime, 'Dualistic Reworking' 32-56.

incorporated the *Treatise* into the *Community Rule* (both 1QS and 4QS materials), but also must have given both texts their final integrating redaction.[33] Based on the peculiar absence of light and darkness terminology in 1QS v-xi, Hempel suggests that the *Treatise* might not have been important or even known to the authors of the 1QS vff/4QS.[34] She suggests that a redactor might have been struck by the *Treatise*'s suitability for the *Rule* and that he therefore compiled, redacted and "artfully connected forwards" both texts into one document that suited the author's contemporary community.[35] If Hempel is right, and the *Treatise* was "certainly not incorporated wholesale, but adjusted at the point of its inclusion into S",[36] it might be difficult to establish what exactly can be ascribed to this redactor and what are the *Treatise*'s original ideas and ideology.[37]

5.1.2.3. Inner-Treatise Developments and Redaction

Another redaction-critical argument to consider with regard to the question of the *Treatise*'s literary unity, is advanced by Metso, and concerns the evidence from the 4QS manuscripts. Metso argues that the 4QS manuscripts not only demonstrate textual differences, but also contain fragments of the *Treatise* that have no parallel in 1QS.[38] Hence, she not only suggests that the *Treatise* has undergone redaction due to its incorporation into S (cf. Hempel), but also that these issues possibly are evidence of *inner-Treatise* redaction. Hence, Metso argues that "the scribe of 4QS^{a} is hardly likely" to be responsible for creating the *Treatise*, so the textual differences between this fragmentary manuscript and 1QS iii 13-iv 26 might best be explained if "the text has undergone redaction".[39] That is, if one discerns between different layers of textual development *within* the *Treatise* itself.

Metso's proposal is difficult to evaluate as it is unclear whether she indeed points to *redaction* within the *Treatise*, or whether she merely wants to make a *source-critical* observation, as Metso seamlessly involves the source-critical

[33] Hempel, 'The Treatise', 102-120; The idea of a final redaction of S is supported by Metso, who on this basis argues that the *Treatise* cannot be treated as a literary unit, Cf. 1.1 & 1.2.2.
[34] Cf. Hempel, 'The Treatise', 118.
[35] Hempel, 'The Treatise', 119.
[36] Hempel, 'The Treatise', 120.
[37] For a good example of such difficulty cf. the discussions regarding the originality of the occurrence of the *Maskil* in iii 13. Cf. Hempel, 'The Treatise', 114; von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, 18-21.
[38] Cf. Metso, *Textual Development,* 137. Metso bases this idea of redaction on her conviction that 4QS^{a} and 4QS^{h}, contain textual material without direct parallels with but clearly 'related' to the *Treatise*.
[39] Metso, *Textual Development*, 137.

evaluations of Licht and von der Osten-Sacken into her argument for redaction within the *Treatise*'s early manuscripts. Metso's theory works from the assumption of an 'original text', which through editing and redaction has gone through various stages (4QS), of which the *Treatise* in 1QS is the end-form. Therefore, she needs to deal with the fact that these 4QS older 'hold-over forms' are paleographically often later than the 1QS 'end-form'. She somehow does not address the question of why the 'Qumran Community' would keep on copying archaic text-forms. Moreover, if one entertains the possibility that earlier forms of the *Treatise* are contained in later manuscripts, it becomes problematic to sustain the idea of a fairly coherent social unity like the construct of the Qumran Paradigm.[40]

However, if Metso is correct, and at least one more layer of redactional activity can be detected within the *Treatise* before it was incorporated into 1QS, the text would be more difficult to evaluate with regard to its basic ideas and peculiarities. Moreover, it would make an evaluation of textual unity difficult to sustain.

In conclusion, the questions of outer- and inner-*Treatise* redaction and the process of incorporation into S are part of a careful and complex evaluation of the literary status and perceived (pre-)*yahadic* ideology that the *Treatise* might represent. Even though the *Treatise* might have undergone some development (tradition-historically or redaction-critically), scholars have noticed the impossibility of clinically dissecting the various sections of the current text (1QS iii 13- iv 26) source-critically. For instance, Tigchelaar denotes that, even though he might be able to distinguish between sections on the basis of their form and content, at the same time these sections cannot be separated or isolated, as 1QS iii 17-19 makes clear.[41] Von der Osten-Sacken has also recognised this entanglement, as he calls iii 19 "eine wohlüberlegte Verklammerung", designed to connect the two oppositional pairs עול/אמת and אור/חושך.[42] Also, Hempel suggests that, even though "some of the distinctive cosmic and ethical elements may well have originated separately", in their present state these elements cannot be disentangled.[43] Finally, Stuckenbruck has focused more specifically on the various forms of 'dualism' in the *Treatise*, and

[40] Cf. Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, solves this problem in her 'radial-dialogical' model; however, the model does not explain the copying of various forms within a supposedly 'sectarian', i.e. ideologically stringent organisation.
[41] Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 202.
[42] Cf. von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, 144.
[43] Hempel, 'The Treatise', 107.

concludes similarly that apart from the ethical antitheses in iv 2-14, the additional oppositional structures are not able to stand on their own without them mutually contextualising and modifying each other.[44] Hence, even though clear indications can be given for the assumption of different sources behind the text and/or even inner-*Treatise* redaction, these arguments of entanglement advocate for treating the *Treatise* as a literary unity, while at the same time cautiously realising that the process of incorporation possibly provoked a certain level of redaction in both the *Rule* and the *Treatise*.

5.1.3. The Relationship with S: the Direction of Growth and the Question of Insertion

The evaluation of the *Treatise*'s independent origin and the process of editing and redaction in both 1QS/4QS and the *Treatise* are closely related to the question of the direction of literary development and the moment of the *Treatise'*s insertion into the *Rule*. The preceding sections demonstrate that both texts and their integration were still in fluidity. The question of insertion is closely related to the dating of the original version of the *Community Rule*, its direction of growth/shrinking and the positioning of the *Treatise* as an originally independent document within this process. The fact that not all the 4QS documents, in their preserved form, contain the *Treatise*, or even 1QS i-iv, has been reason for debate about the direction of the textual development of S. Some scholars argue that the *Community Rule* was originally shorter than 1QS (i.e. without 1QS i-iv), while others argue that some 4QS manuscripts are shorter versions of an originally longer document.[45]

The point of insertion not only has consequences for our overall evaluation of the *Treatise*'s provenance, it also has impact on the conceptual and ideological framework it came to represent: that of a crucial witness to and linchpin of socio-historical models that attempt to trace a chronological 'sectarian' development on the basis of perceived 'dualistic thought'. As such, evaluations regarding the *Treatise*'s point of insertion in 1QS contribute to scholarly conceptualisations of the *yahad*'s ideological foundations and development (and vice versa). Thus, the problem of insertion is closely related to the question of date, which is an important building

[44] Stuckenbruck considers the three conceptualisations of dualism – cosmic, ethical and psychological – as progressions, bound up in the *Treatise*'s antitheses; Cf. 'Interiorization', 162.
[45] Cf. Metso, *Textual Development*, 147; Philip Alexander, 'The Redaction-History of the Serekh ha-Yahad: A Proposal', *RevQ* 65/8 (1996) 437-453; Géza Vermes, 'Preliminary Remarks on Unpublished Fragments of the Community Rule from Cave 4', *JJS* 42 (1991) 250-255.

block in models that sustain the Qumran Paradigm. Therefore, the problem of insertion and the problem of date will be discussed together in the next section.

5.2. Dating the *Treatise*

The dating of the *Treatise* is often connected to the paleographical dating of the manuscript of which it is now part: the *Community Rule*. This manuscript (1QS or 1Q28) is mostly dated to 100-75 BCE.[46] Lange holds that the incorporation of the *Treatise* into the *Community Rule* must have taken place a while after the independent text was created, and therefore he establishes as *terminus ante quem* for 1QS iii 13 - iv 26 the mid-end of the second century BCE. Moreover, Lange establishes as *terminus post quem* the end of the third, beginning of the second century BCE, based on linguistic criteria, such as the use of Persian loanwords.[47] Hence, Lange believes the original independent document of the *Treatise* was created between approximately 200 and 150 BCE.

Metso argues, however, that 1QS is the result of a compilation of an original *Rule* document that is not attested for in the Scrolls with two additional traditions, represented by resp. 4QS^{d} and 4QS^{e}, in which the former in a later stage (represented by 4QS^{b}) took up the material we now known as 1QS i-iv, including the *Treatise*.[48] Hence, Metso believes that the original version of the *Rule* lacked columns i-iv. She can only reach the conclusion of 1QS being a compilation of earlier (b,d,e) traditions if she establishes these documents to be earlier than 1QS. While acknowledging that 4QS^{b,d} are paleographically later than 1QS, Metso follows Milik, who believes that 4QS^{b-d} preserve an earlier version of the *Community Rule*. In the case of 4QS^{e} she adheres to Milik's judgement, and dates it as the paleographically oldest document (150-100 BCE). However, the editors of DJD XXVI point out that due to the re-naming of several of the documents, Milik's 4QS^{e} is actually 4QS^{a}, which they indeed acknowledge as the oldest version of S amongst the scrolls (125-100 BCE).[49]

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[46] Cf. DJD XXVI. Two related texts – 4Q255 and 4Q257 - possibly contain parts of (earlier?) versions of the *Treatise*, but due to their fragmentary nature nothing can be stated with certainty. Moreover, Tigchelaar suggests that 1Q29a might preserve an alternative version of the *Treatise*. If he is right, 1Q29a and 4Q257 preserve alternative 'lists' in the *Treatise*'s section on the Two Ways (1QS iv 2-11). Cf. 'These are the Names of the Spirits of…' *RevQ* 21/84 (2004) 529-547.

[47] These linguistic criteria are based upon the linguistic criteria that were used to help dating two related Qumran texts: 4QInstruction and 4QMysteries. Cf. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination,* 130-131.

[48] Cf. Metso, *Textual Development,* 147.

[49] DJD XXVI, 25.

Moreover, the editors contest Metso's theory that 4QS[d] and 4QS[b] can be viewed as unilinearly developed copies within the same traditional line. They argue that, based on the orthography of both documents "it is not easy to postulate a direct stemmetic relationship" between the two.[50] If these observations are correct, Metso's theory regarding the textual development of S is highly questionable.[51] Moreover, such evaluation has severe consequences for our evaluation of the origin, insertion and date of the *Treatise*, since 4QS[a] is thought to contain parts of the *Treatise*.

In Table 15, I have attempted to give an overview of the S manuscripts according to their date, with special attention to the presence of column i-iv and more specifically to the presence of (parts of) the *Treatise*:[52]

Table 15: Overview of S documents and their dates (according to DJD XXVI).

Document	**Date**	**Treatise?**	**Columns i-iv?**
4QS[a] *(4Q255)*	125-100 BCE	unparalleled parts	i 1-5; iii 7-12
1QS (1Q28)	100-75 BCE	Yes	yes
4QS[c] *(4Q257)*∗	100-75 BCE	iv 4-10, 13-15, 23-25	i 2-3; ii 4-11,26; iii 1-10 Perhaps: 4Q502 fr.16 and 4Q487 fr. 37
4QS[e] *(4Q259)*∗∗	50-25 BCE	**No**	**no**
4QS[j] *(4Q264)*	50-25 BCE	**No**	**no**
4QS[g] *(4Q261)*	50-1 BCE	**No**	iii 4-5
4QS[b] *(4Q256)*	30-1 BCE	**No**	i 10 (?), 15-19, 21-23; ii 4-5, 6-11
4QS[d] *(4Q258)*∗∗	30-1 BCE	**No**	**no**
4QS[f] *(4Q260)*	30-1 BCE	**No**	**no**
4QS[i] *(4Q263)*	30-1 BCE	**No**	**no**
4QS[h] *(4Q262)*∗∗∗	1-50 CE	**No**	iii 4-5

∗ 4Q257 only has material from 1QS i-iv and some scholars believe it never contained columns v-xi.
∗∗ Metso argues that, despite the later dating, 4Q258-259(4QS[d-e]) are more original than 1QS, and they both do not contain the *Treatise*. Metso argues that b,d,and e represent two older traditions that were brought together in 1QS by a compiler.[53]
∗∗∗ Metso argues that 4Q262 might not be a copy of the *Rule*, but rather contains material that might be reminiscent of the *Treatise*. Hempel states that the fragmentariness of the text (five words) does not allow for firm conclusions.[54]

[50] DJD XXVI, 11.
[51] Recently, Schofield has argued that the complex textual development of S is better explained by multiple scribal circles and different socio-historical backgrounds, which together are responsible for the 'semi-independent radial-dialogic' development of S. Cf. Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 274-275.
[52] The table is my assessment of the 'dating' section in DJD XXVI.
[53] Metso, *Textual Development*, 147.
[54] Hempel, 'The Treatise', 109.

As Table 15 makes clear, on the basis of all the available information, and with the restriction in mind that the 4QS texts are often so fragmentary that solid conclusions regarding the presence or absence of certain elements are difficult to draw, Lange's estimate of the *Treatise*'s date would thus appear to be rather accurate. However, Lange does not take the evidence of the 4QS fragments into account, as he bases his date entirely on 1QS itself. Moreover, Lange's evaluation seems to have a high investment in proving the *Treatise* to have a specific place in the development of *yahadic* ideology. He holds the *Treatise* to be of a 'proto-essenisch' (i.e. pre-*yahadic*) character, closely linked to - but further developed in its dualism than - 4QInstruction and 4QMysteries, and a main influence on later '*yahadic*' thought, as can be observed in 1QH and CD.[55]

Interestingly, one needs to rethink the insertion and positioning of the *Treatise* in light of the paleographically latest document of the 4QS fragments, 4QS^{h}: its highly fragmentary state leaves no *material evidence* for the presence of the *Treatise* in this document, but the small amount of material of column iii obliges us to reckon with at least the *possibility* of the *Treatise*'s presence in this document. Moreover, Table 14 demonstrates that (a) both early and late Qumran S documents might have either contained or lacked the *Treatise*, that (b) identification is extremely difficult due to the fragmentariness of the evidence, and (c) that - since earlier versions of S than 1QS have existed - the evaluation of a date of origin is extremely speculative and often tied to socio-historical perceptions of Qumran. These socio-historical perceptions are subsequently connected to the evaluation of the *Treatise*'s position and relation to other Qumran manuscripts, which will be discussed below.

5.3. Textual Correspondences and Socio-Historical Setting

The original setting and socio-historical background of the *Treatise* is often evaluated from the perspective of its position within the development of the Qumran *yahad*. Naturally, once the *Treatise* is incorporated in 1QS, the document has become a part of a bigger whole and as such it contributes to the overall representation of the outlook and practice of the authors and audience of the *Community Rule*. As we have seen above, most scholars believe the *Treatise* to be a 'pre-sectarian', i.e. 'pre-

[55] Cf. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination,* 131-134; Also Frey, 'Different Patterns', 301-308.

yahadic' document. As for this contemporary 'pre-*yahadic*' setting, Lange has suggested that the *Treatise:*

1. Has close ties to two other documents found amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls, i.e. 4QInstruction (4Q415-418, 4Q423, 1Q26) and 4QMysteries (4Q299-301, 1Q27), and
2. Subsequently has had a tremendous influence on the theology of the *yahad*, as he thinks can be demonstrated in $1QH^a$ vi 22f., CD ii 6f., ii 7f. , 4Q181, 4Q511 and 4Q280.[56]

Indeed, 4QInstruction and 4QMysteries contain various similarities with the *Treatise*, predominantly in certain specific terminology and themes. However, whether the *Treatise* originated in the same community that was responsible for 4QInstruction and 4QMysteries is an entirely different matter and is very difficult to establish, especially since all three texts tell us little about the social world in which they originated. Moreover, various communities that exist in a relatively small geographical area may share common thoughts and ideas and have knowledge of the same traditions, but they might nevertheless have as many differences as similarities. The question of social background is only vaguely answered by the *Treatise* itself, as the text states that it provides insight "into the history of all the sons of man, concerning all the ranks of their spirits, in accordance with their signs (cf. iii 18- iv 1), concerning their deeds in their generations (cf. iv 2-14 and iv 15-18) and concerning the visitation of their punishment and the periods of their salvation (cf. iv 18-23)."[57] Hence, the viewpoint of the *Treatise* is thereby much defined in anthropological terms: human beings are the subjects of concern. Frey considers the *Treatise* to be written to address the most "urgent questions and troubles in the circles of addressees":[58] "the occurrence of sin even within the community of the pious (3:21-22), the experience of present affliction and hostility (4:6-8) and the reality of struggle in the world, even in the heart of every human being".[59] According to Frey, the inherent tension of the text lies in its wish to balance "the fundamental thought of the

[56] Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination,* 127-135. This chronological developmental idea is consistent with Frey's 'Patterns of Dualism' and will be further discussed in paragraph 5 below.
[57] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 290.
[58] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 295.
[59] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 291.

unity of God and his sole responsibility for creation" with the ostensible presence of evil.[60] Frey argues that the community behind the *Treatise* clearly perceives that the explanation for their contemporary troubles needs to be found in 'God's plan with creation'. Therefore, Frey seems to argue that the *Treatise* functioned as a soothing and pastoral device to encourage its readers not to despair, but to obey and uphold the precepts of God. Also, he considers the text's dualistic tendencies as an elaboration of Ben Sira's emphasis on the perfection of creation (cf. 39:16, 24-34; 42:22-25), which he thinks is characterised by a certain 'determinism' in the idea of a predestined order of being and history. Frey also argued that the *Treatise* combines and develops this theological interest in creation, by attaching the ethical oppositions of the wisdom tradition with the ontological principles of light and darkness, creating thus a clear connection to Genesis 1 (cf. Newsom below). Even though Frey believes the *Treatise* to have originated in a pre-Essene environment, his analysis does not elaborate upon its recipients' social location, which he inherently interprets intra-communally, i.e. the text is thought to be mostly concerned with the pressing problem of sin and apostasy *within the community of addressees itself*. Therefore, Frey's analysis presupposes some sort of sectarian background, as it presumably addresses the possibility to leave or sin against (the rules of) a recognisable community. Even though this interpretation is certainly valid in light of the *Treatise*'s current incorporated occurrence in S, it does not reckon with the possibility that this text originally might have been non-sectarian or even written for 'all Israel'.

In her study of the conception of knowledge in the *Treatise*, Newsom clearly reckons with this possibility.[61] Newsom argues that the *Treatise* might have a political subtext that is concerned with 'concrete historical and political realities'. Interestingly, she ascribes a significant function to the *Treatise*'s use of "balanced pairs, especially antonyms":[62] In a sense they simplify complexity. In other words, they enhance one's understanding/knowledge of the totality of things, because they categorise everything imaginable into two opposed categories.[63] In this respect,

[60] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 295.
[61] Carol Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), more specifically chapter three 'Knowing as Doing', 77-90.
[62] Newsom, *Symbolic Space*, 80-81.
[63] Cf. Needham, *Symbolic Stratifications*, 7-9. Needham holds that this 'dualistic' division simply reflects a human strategy of categorisation. Even though the pairs are oppositional and exclude 'shades of grey', their 'classification by partition' is not absolute. Moreover, the symbolic linking of categories by pairs is flexible by context and helps to build social identity. Cf. Lawrence Wills, *Not God's People, Insiders and Outsiders in the Biblical World* (Plymouth: Rowman &Littlefield, 2008), who argues that

Newsom also points to the frequent use of כול (all) and the use of temporal expressions for great quantities of time (עד, נצח, עולם) as devices to make the incomprehensible and un-graspable understood and known.[64] Moreover, Newsom argues that this need for knowledge and understanding [of God's plan and creation] is syntactically signified by the creation of a web of meaning, i.e. in order to understand one thing on one level, one also needs to develop knowledge of other things on other levels and of the relationships between these levels. Newsom demonstrates that the *Treatise* is not only interested in God's plan (atemporal divine level) but also in Israel's genealogy and history (temporal human level). Moreover, she reads the *Treatise* as a pre-text to Genesis 1. In doing so, she finds that "the allusions, echoes and parallels between 1QS 3-4 and Genesis 1 […] often link different levels or aspects of reality (e.g. luminaries/humankind) by associating each with the same keyword."[65] In short, these different levels or aspects of reality make clear that temporal and atemporal levels of knowledge both stem from the same source: God's plan with creation. It is precisely in this 'field of tension' that Newsom finds the grounds to read the *Treatise* as a political text.[66] The explanation of history and genealogy, the periodisation of history, predetermination, opposing angelic powers, the reflection of those powers in human behaviour and eschatological resolutions; all are elements of this alleged political subtext. Read or positioned as a pre-text to Genesis 1, the *Treatise* adds a dimension to the creation account; it is no longer a mere account of the organisation of creation, but it now reveals God's plan with creation and it teaches reading the physical world as a sign of this plan.[67] Hence, Newsom reads the *Treatise* as a symbolic narrative of Self, underneath which lies the concern about the ideological incomprehension of the historical fact of Israel's suppression by Gentile powers. According to Newsom, the *Treatise* thus moves out of the 'priestly/scribal mode of knowledge', and explains Israel's history of observance and transgression in a more intellectual mode of knowledge, expressing a fundamental understanding of human nature. This intellectual exercise attempts to resolve

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such categorisation of the world enhances the constructs of We/They by what he calls 'the Law of the Excluded Middle', i.e. every individual, group, behaviour or belief, which does not belong to the Self or Other needs to be categorised and allocated to one or the other.

[64] Newsom, *Symbolic Space*, 81.

[65] For how this works exactly, see Newsom, *Symbolic Space,* 87.

[66] Cf. The idea of 'hidden transcripts', i.e. the possibility of the repressed to protest in a hidden, yet for insiders recognisable manner through the use of certain subtexts. Cf. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

[67] Newsom, *Symbolic Space,* 86-87.

problems of sin, evil and subjugation in the temporal reality by explaining Israel's conflict situation with imperial powers in light of the atemporal plan of God.

According to Newsom, the text's strategy to transform its political and historical subtext into a text about anthropology serves to provide "imaginary solutions for irresolvable social contradictions".[68] If Newsom is right, and the text is concerned with the reality of Israel's subjugation to foreign powers, she thereby implicitly argues that its concern is for 'all Israel'. Such a conclusion would invite the interpretative possibility that the recipients of the *Treatise* originally also might have been 'all Israel'.[69] At least, Newsom reckons with the fact that the text universalises the nature of the conflict into a conflict between Israel and Gentile powers, which might indicate a non-sectarian background. Moreover, Newsom thinks the text provides its audience with a reason not to act politically (e.g. in uprising), but - by its use of special language and special knowledge - helps to postpone direct action in favour of the symbolic construction of Self as the 'sons of light'.[70] Logically, such a stance will only be taken by a group or a people that is powerless over against its opponents. Hence, both a small nation (Israel) and a sectarian group (the 'Qumran Community') would recognise the text's ability to make sense of their suppressed position and might be helped by its explanation of God's plan regarding life and human nature.

In contradistinction to Newsom's evaluation of an oppressed and powerless audience, Stuckenbruck thinks that the socio-religious background against which the *Treatise* was written was not necessarily one of instability or poverty. Sociologically, so he argues, a document like the *Treatise* "presupposes an established, though not necessarily 'sectarian' community and takes the luxury of indulging in the sort of reflection that takes a certain degree of vulnerability for granted".[71] Moreover, Stuckenbruck perceives that the *Treatise* has a hortatory function, while at the same time demonstrating a level of realism in explaining "inconsistent behavior as an inevitability for human beings".[72] He proposes that, rather than in an unstable 'sectarian setting', the text might have originated within "a community that has had a

[68] Newsom, *Symbolic Space,* 90.
[69] The *Treatise* itself mentions Israel once: Cf. *The God of Israel*, 1QS iii 24.
[70] However, since Newsom reads the *Treatise* in light of 1QS and the Qumran Community, her interpretation of this obtaining of special knowledge through language establishes a sectarian realm to her analysis. Below, I will come back to this.
[71] Stuckenbruck, 'Interiorization', 166.
[72] Stuckenbruck, 'Interiorization', 166.

history of ups and downs, that has had the sort of longevity and social stability as a group that can contemplate such tough questions".[73] In its contemporary 1QS setting, Stuckenbruck thinks the *Treatise*, which is best read in proximity to 1QS i 1- iii 12, functioned similarly as in its original environment, i.e. to explain the experience of sin (or hypocrisy) within the righteous group of addressees and exhort them to walk on righteous paths.

The evaluations of these various scholars demonstrate a range of possible social settings. This ambiguity with regard to the text's social world can be seen as an indication that the socio-historical information of the *Treatise* is rather scarce. Nevertheless, it is interesting to observe that scholarly opinions do not unanimously perceive a sectarian setting with regard to this text. Even though Lange and Frey seem to take a 'sectarian setting' as their point of departure without much consideration, Newsom and Stuckenbruck clearly seem to reckon with the possibility that the *Treatise* did not originate in nor was written for a segregated sectarian group.

The next section, which deals with the perceived dualism(s) in the *Treatise*, will therefore approach the text without any presupposition of a sectarian social setting. Our point of departure is the evaluation of the *Treatise*'s 'multi-dimensional pattern of dualism' as advanced by Frey, and already briefly discussed in Chapter 4. Firstly, we return to Frey's conceptual framework of development, as it has proven to be extremely influential in scholarly evaluations of Qumran dualism. In fact, some of the arguments that Frey advanced, and which will be re-considered here, have been taken for granted and are uncritically used as points of departure. The next section will look at these arguments with regard to the *Treatise* in more detail.

5.4. Dualism in *The Treatise*

As mentioned in Chapter 4, Frey distinguishes three levels of dualism in the *Treatise*: cosmic, ethical and psychological dualism. The *cosmic* dualism is thought to consist of the opposition between two spiritual beings, as well as their linkage to truth/light and wickedness/darkness, especially signified by, respectively, the Prince of Lights and the Angel of Darkness. Also, human beings are brought into this realm as they are thought to be under the influence of either cosmic spirit. The ethical dualism is represented by the virtues and vices, that seem to divide the deeds and

[73] Stuckenbruck, 'Interiorization', 165-167.

actions (and nature) of human beings into two groups. In this form of dualism, Frey thinks "all humanity is divided up".[74] Finally, Frey argues that on the level of 'psychological' dualism, the author of the *Treatise* arrives at the pivotal question that he wants to be answered, i.e. why evil and sin occur amongst the righteous. Hence, the 'psychological level of dualism' portrays the two spirits to both be present within the heart of humans. The Table below is a schematic overview of the three levels of dualism that Frey recognises in the *Treatise* and the elements he distinguishes as dualistic:

Table 16: Frey's three levels of dualism in the Treatise.

	Central Element	+	-
Cosmic Dualism	Two Spiritual Beings	Spirit of Truth Prince of Lights Angel of his Truth Light Terminology Humans share in their lot	Spirit of Wickedness Angel of Darkness Darkness Terminology Spirits of his Lot Dominion of his Enmity Humans share in their lot
Ethical Dualism	Two Classes of Human Beings Participation in the two spirits:	Virtues Truth/ justice Metaphor of source Term Dominion Spatial: 'Walk in'	Vices Wickedness Metaphor of foundation Term Dominion Spatial: 'Walk in'
Psychological Dualism	Central question of the commitment of sin amongst the pious	God assigns fate Humans share in both spirits 'in their heart'	God assigns fate Humans share in both spirits 'in their heart'

Frey's analysis of the *Treatise* seems to be not entirely coherent, as on the one hand he states of its pattern of dualism that 'though basically cosmic, it includes a strong ethical dimension and distinctive psychological aspects"[75], while on the other hand he holds that "the teaching of ethics and anthropology presumably reflects the most urgent problems of the group addressed".[76] This teaching of anthropological issues, Frey believes to be "presented in the framework of cosmological and eschatological thought".[77] Hence, if we are to understand from Frey's analysis that the core of the *Treatise* teaches us about ethics and anthropology, which merely presents

[74] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 293: a statement that is contradicted by the fact that the 'sons of light' are described to 'stumble' (1QS iii 24).
[75] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 289.
[76] Frey, Different Patterns', 291.
[77] Frey, Different Patterns', 291.

itself in a cosmological frame, how can he at the same time advocate the centrality of 'cosmic dualism'?

Part of the answer to this question needs to be found in the Frey's unclear definitions of dualism, as we have seen in the previous chapter. Firstly, his 'cosmic dualism' is an umbrella term for various dualistic and non-dualistic terms and ideas, and needs to be maintained only if it reflects Bianchi's 'moderate dualism'. Secondly, Frey's 'ethical dualism' cannot be considered dualistic if it only negotiates oppositions in ethical terms or behaviours, but might be considered dualistic if these ethical oppositions are expressed as a part of Bianchi's moderate or eschatological dualism. Thirdly, even though the 'struggle in the heart of man' is an interesting and unique element of the *Treatise*, Frey's conception of its 'psychological dualism' has to be dismissed as they unite rather than irreducibly divide creation and humanity, and are therefore non-dualistic expressions of human nature and experience.

Hence, before turning to the question of the development of Qumran dualism, which will be discussed in section 5, we need to re-evaluate carefully the question of dualism with regard to the *Treatise*. According to the text, the *Treatise* is a teaching for the Sons of Light:[78]

> - about the *natures* (תולדות) of all the sons of man,
> - concerning all sorts of their spirits by means of their (astronomical) signs,
> - and concerning the works in their *generations* (דורותם),
> - and concerning the visitation of their plagues and the times of their peace.
>
> (1QS iii 13-15a)

In short, the *Treatise* is an attempt to explain human history and human conduct. The text seemingly embraces the entirety of (the nature of) humankind and envisions 'all the sons of man' to be characterised by a variety of 'spirits', which apparently are in accordance with their astronomical signs.[79] So far, this variety of 'spirits', as indicated in the text, does not point to a 'dualistic' division of humanity into two opposing groups, but rather envisions the various astronomical signs to play an important part in the 'make-up' and subsequent behaviour of humans. Moreover,

[78] The translations of the *Treatise* used in this section are mine.

[79] Cf. P. Wernberg-Møller, 'A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (1Q Serek III,13-IV,26)', *RevQ* 3 (1961) 413-441, 419; who has argued that תולדות in iii 13 is likely to mean 'natures' instead of generations and hence, the variety of spirits ought to be seen as its further explanation. Cf. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 197.

the text indicates that it wants to explain humanity's history in terms of this astronomically assigned human behaviour, and it envisions the consequences of this behaviour as periodically visible through bad times ('visitation of their plagues') and good times ('times of their peace'). As such, the text wishes to offer a complete cosmology with an inherent and implicit anthropology.

The totality of its explanation becomes clear, as the *Treatise* now introduces the reason why human history and human conduct can be explained exhaustively and recognisably, i.e. because of the existence of an omnipotent and wise creator with an overarching pre-ordained design/plan of creation (1QS iii 15-17):

> From the God of knowledge all exists and shall exist.
> Before they existed he ordained all of their plans/thoughts/designs.
> And when they come into being at their appointed times according to the plan of his glory, they shall fulfil their work and there is no change/perversion.
> In his hand are the laws/judgements of all and he provides them with all their pleasures.

This background information corresponds neatly with 1QS iii 13-14. Therefore, it becomes clear that, even though human actions coming forth from 'natural' behaviour according to the various spiritual-astronomically influenced human inclinations might result in and become visible through good and bad periods throughout human history: God has not only created the world and humans this way, but even these good and bad periods in history are the result of God's ongoing interference in and control over his creation. As such, these lines do not necessarily stress the idea of predestination or determinism. Rather, they might glorify God's ongoing interest in and control over the world, as they attempt to reassure as well as explain that times of affliction and hardship are also part of God's plan of creation.[80] Moreover, these first sentences seem to embrace the tension between God's providence and humans' free will, while ultimately stating God's supremacy over the entirety of his creation.

Once the author of the *Treatise* has established God's omnipotence, knowledge of and control over the whole of creation, he turns to the creation of humans, reminding his audience of man's biblical task to 'rule over the earth' (Gen 1:26-28; cf. Ps 8:7). As Newsom has convincingly shown, the *Treatise* has a clearly marked inter-textual relation to Genesis 1. Newsom thinks that, where Gen 1 is

[80] As Frey has noted, the *Treatise* seems importantly concerned with the question of sin, affliction and apostasy amongst the pious.

concerned with creation, the *Treatise* is concerned with God's מחשבת (plan/design) that "grounds creation".[81] If Newsom is right, and the *Treatise* sees itself as an explication or pre-text to the Biblical creation story of Genesis 1, and intends to transform this rather organisational account of the cosmic creation in order to create the possibility of a 'hidden reality' (warranting a sense of mystery and secret knowledge), according to which the physical world is informed by spiritual structures and their 'signs', *then* the complexity and difficulty that mankind experiences in the execution of its biblical task to 'rule the world' can confidently be explained by such a subtext:

> And he created mankind for the domination of the world/earth and he made for him two spirits in order to walk back and fro in them until the appointed time of his visitation.
> (1QS iii 17c-18)

Many scholars think that these introductory sentences (iii 13-18) function as to form an eschatological framework, in which the author of the *Treatise* introduces a deterministic worldview that culminates in a 'cosmic dualism' through the introduction of "two spiritual beings".[82] However, the actual text of the *Treatise* does not provide such a straightforward explanation. Firstly, as Lichtenberger has correctly noted, the text restricts the influence of the spirits, partly through its statement that both spirits are created by God and partly by placing them in a time-restricted eschatological setting.[83] Hence, if the spirits would reflect a form of dualism, this can only be a moderate one, as God remains in control. Secondly, our evaluation of the nature of the two spirits influences not only our understanding of the text's perceived 'dualistic worldview', but also its presumed outlook of 'determinism' or 'predestination'. In fact, the text gives little useful information with regard to these ideologies: Neither does it indicate whether or not humans can choose in which of the two 'spirits' they might walk, nor whether human beings are influenced by either one of the spirits or by both spirits simultaneously. The verb הלך (hitpael), which is often used in scripture to accompany ethical behaviour, provides no indication as to man's capability to choose or his free will to act with regard to both spirits placed before

[81] Newsom, *Symbolic Space*, 86-87.
[82] Cf. Frey, 'Different Patterns', 291.
[83] Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild',* 127.

him.[84] Such a tension between divine providence (or a pre-destined order of creation) and human free will is part and parcel in many theological writings that deal with theodicy and evil, and thematically not necessarily attached to a 'deterministic' or 'dualistic' outlook or a concept of rigid predestination (cf. for instance Augustinian and Lutheran contemplations regarding these themes).[85]

Due to their closeness to the scriptural reminder that 'man's task is to rule the world', we might consider the introduction of the spirits to function as a specific and purposeful elaboration upon God's intention with regard to man's rule, and the author's subsequent solution to the problematic social reality of the occurrence of sin and evil in the world. As such, the 'spirits set before man' cannot be seen as separate cosmic entities, but rather resemble the idea of good and evil 'inclinations' or 'dispositions' (cf. Ben Sira 15:11-20; 21:10-11; 33:10-15). Hence, their place and function in the text seems likely to be more psychological and anthropological in nature. A similar argument has been made by Wernberg-Møller, who perceives the text to envision the 'dual nature in which humans were created', a nature that obviously has an impact upon their manner and capacity to rule the world. Wernberg-Møller suggests that the conceptualised dual nature of humans functions to answer the question of theodicy and the apparent social reality of hardship and evil that lie behind the text.[86] Thus, the text finds an explanation in the fact that humans were given a dual nature and thus were placed under the influence of oppositional forces: "They are spirits of truth and iniquity" (iii 19).[87]

The concepts of truth (אמת) and iniquity (עול) are closely linked to the observance and/or transgression of the law, visible in human conduct and behaviour, but in Second Temple Judaism equally disputable with regard to its perceived 'correct interpretation'. Consequently, the fact that the two 'spirits of truth and iniquity' are described in ethical overtones makes the evaluation of dualism rather problematic. As we have argued in the preceding chapter, and in concurrence with Bianchi's framework of dualism, the mere contrasting of ethical terms is an inherent characteristic of religion or, even more so, an inherent and common way to describe human experiences and human understanding of selfhood and alterity. Therefore, this

[84] Cf. Wernberg-Møller, 'A Reconsideration', 423.
[85] E.g. Augustine, *On Free Choice of the Will;* Luther*, On the Bondage of the Will*.
[86] Wernberg-Møller, 'A Reconsideration', 422.
[87] If Wernberg-Møller is right, lines iii 17c-18, and iii 19 (which defines the two spirits as "the spirits of truth and iniquity") correspond with iv 23, which states that […] "the spirits of truth and iniquity will strive in the heart of man".

ethical oppositionality cannot be equated with the much more specific cosmological conceptualisation of dualism. Hence, with regard to the character and function of the two introduced spirits, there is no reason to presume that they exist as independent entities inside or outside the human body. Rather, as Heger has correctly stated, the focus is predominantly anthropological as the texts proves to be "relevant to humans, instructing them about human nature, not about the cosmos". As such, the oppositional forces described as 'spirits of truth and iniquity' reflect, "rather than dualism", "the rational idea that every concept in human life has its opposite".[88]

However, scholarly evaluations of the *Treatise*'s dualism are possibly not only reached by the interpretation of the two spirits in iii 18-19 as independent 'spiritual beings', but also by the translation of תולדות in iii 19 as "generations", which - together with the notion of the two spirits - thus provokes the idea of strictly oppositional groups of people. Hence, much depends on the meaning and reference of תולדות in iii 19 and how the use of the term here corresponds to its usage in iii 13 and iv 15. Fierce scholarly debates have taken place regarding the correct translation of תולדות in the *Treatise*. Licht has argued that the use of two very dissimilar or even oppositional translations of תולדות in one textual unity is 'unadvisable'.[89] However, most scholars use two or sometimes even three variant translations for the occurrences of this term in iii 13, 19 and iv 15.

In 1QS iii 13, Licht, Wernberg-Møller, Tigchelaar and others have translated תולדות as 'natures' or 'characteristics', which is a significant alteration of its traditional meaning. Licht has pointed out that the root meaning of תולדות must be 'things originated', and from there translations such as 'generations', 'secondary rulings', 'development', 'chain of preordained events', 'characteristics' and even 'natures' can be derived.[90] In Biblical Hebrew, the term almost exclusively is used in genealogical accounts, where it fittingly translates as 'generations'. Licht has suggested that the *Treatise* might refer to 'זה ספר תולדות אדם' of Gen 5:1, which would simply translate traditionally as 'generations', but which in Rabbinic *midrashim* demonstrates "a wealth of speculation about "the book in which the destiny of all human generations is written beforehand".[91] He even finds evidence in early mediaeval treatises on

[88] Paul Heger, 'Another Look at Dualism in Qumran Writings', in Xeravits ed., *Dualism in Qumran*, 39-101, here 51, 55.
[89] Licht, 'An Analysis', 90 fn.5.
[90] Licht, 'An Analysis', 90 fn.5.
[91] Licht, 'An Analysis', 90 fn. 5.

physiognomy, in which the phrase from Gen 5:1 needs to be translated as 'natures'. Of course, these later meanings of תולדות might indicate that the term had the potentiality for the widening of its original meaning, but it remains rather uncertain whether reasoning backwards in time can be sufficiently legitimised.[92]

Another, possibly closer connection might be found in Gen 2:4, which demonstrates a more metaphorical usage of the term; תולדות השׁמים הארץ (lit. 'the begetting of heaven and earth), introducing "the account of heaven and earth and which proceeded from them".[93] This passage introduces, in a similar manner to 1QS iii 13-15, the account of creation and mankind's place in it. Next to its usage of תולדות, Gen 2:4-9 reflects, just like the *Treatise*, God's activities in a combination of ברא (to create) and שׂים (to place).[94] Ultimately God 'put' (וישׂם) the man he had formed in the same space with 'the tree of knowledge of good and evil' (Gen 2:8-9), in a very similar manner as he puts in front of man "two spirits to walk in" (iii 18). If the assumption, that Gen 2:4-9 plays a role in the background in the *Treatise*, is correct, and the text indeed intends to shift from the overarching cosmological focus of the creation account towards its own more anthropologically urgent questions of theodicy and the presence of evil, תולדות might need to be translated in close proximity to its more metaphorical usage in Gen 2:4.

The argument that תולדות - at least in iii 13 - ought to be translated differently from its original meaning of 'generations', is furthermore strengthened by the observation that in iii 14 another term for 'their generations', namely דורותם is used. A similar contrasting of תולדות and דורות occurs in the other instance, in which תולדות seems hard to translate, namely in 1QS iv 15. Here, many scholars resolve the difficulty by translating 'history', which might equally cover the expansion of its meaning, embracing its larger context as 'an account of mankind'. Hence, if we agree with the scholarly consensus that the traditional meaning of תולדות, i.e. 'generations' does not apply in 1QS iii 13, nor in iv 15, but that its translation rather needs to reflect 'an account of the creation of mankind and what proceeds from them', the translation 'natures' seems rather accurate and certainly within the scope of its larger semantic field. However, in 1QS iii 19, recent scholars have resisted alternative translations of

[92] Interestingly, 1QS iii 18 perhaps intentionally avoids this connection as it uses אנוש instead of אדם.
[93] Brown, Driver Biggs Hebrew and English Lexicon, 11th edition (2007) 410.
[94] Contra von der Osten-Sacken, who sees the *Treatise*'s use of שׂים instead of יצר as key evidence that the spirits should not be considered to be 'inclinations' in the Rabbinic sense, but rather independent spiritual entities; *Gott und Belial*, 142-143.

תולדות, generally translating 'generations'. In light of the other occurrences of the term in the *Treatise*, there is however no compelling reason to assume that such traditional translation is accurate. Earlier scholars, like von der Osten-Sacken and Lichtenberger used translations like 'Herkunft' and 'Ursprung', which are well in line with the translation of תולדות in iii 13 and iv 15: "Ging es dort [1QS iii 13] um die Herkunft der Menschen, so hier um den Ursprung von Wahrheit und Frevel".[95] Hence, a traditional translation might mostly be informed by the scholarly presupposition of the *Treatise*'s dualistic outlook, rather than by the more logical proposition that such a small text is unlikely to use three variant meanings for one word *and* two variant terms for 'generations' twice in one sentence. Hence, it seems not inconceivable to translate תולדות in 1QS iii 19 in line with iii 13 and iv 15:

> "In the source of light (מעין אור) lie the originated things/natures of the truth, and from the source of darkness (מקור חושך) are the originated things/natures of the iniquity".

As von der Osten-Sacken has already noted, 1QS iii 19 is "eine wohlüberlegte Verklammerung" of many elements, which have played a crucial role in scholarly assessments of the text's 'dualistic' outlook. Firstly, the text cleverly builds a bridge between the notions of 'truth-iniquity' and 'light-darkness'. Secondly, by using two variant terms for 'source' or 'fountain', i.e. מעין and מקור, iii 19 contrasts the 'natures' or 'beginnings' (תולדות) of truth and iniquity. Subsequently combined with a traditional translation of תולדות as 'generations', thus provoking the interpretation of a strict division between two human groups, many scholars have evaluated these two linguistic strategies as evidence for the strict 'cosmic' dualism of the text, interpreting the light/darkness terminology as a metaphorical 'cosmic' expansion of the human dualistic realm.

Perhaps the variant usage of 'source', i.e מעין and מקור (lit. 'spring') has a further function, and might provide us with information regarding the author's intention in contrasting them. In only two instances in the Hebrew Bible do we find the two terms mentioned together. Firstly, in Prov. 25:26, where it negotiates the theme of good and evil: "A righteous man tottering before the wicked is as a troubled fountain (מעין), and a corrupt spring (מקור)". And secondly, in the more eschatological

[95] Von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, 19, 142; Lichtenberger, *Menschenbild*, 127-128.

context of Hos 13:15 ("An Eastwind from the Lord will come, blowing in from the desert; his spring (מקורו) will be dry, his well (מעינו) will dry up"), indicating Israel has fallen through its iniquity. Whereas מעין is generally used in its literal meaning of 'spring', the biblical use of מקור is often metaphorical, e.g. the Lord is called "fountain of living waters" (Jer 2:13; 17:13), and He possessed "the fountain of life" (Ps 36:9). Elsewhere, this fountain is recognised as Israel (Ps 68:26), while the Book of Proverbs states that the "fountain of life" is "the mouth of the righteous" (Prov. 10:11), "the law of the wise" (Prov 13:14), "wisdom and understanding" (cf. Prov 16:22, 18:4) and finally the "fear of the Lord" (Prov 14:27). At Qumran, both terms are predominantly used metaphorically. Von der Osten-Sacken finds that in the *Serekh* and the *Hodayot*, both terms are used to describe qualities of God: In 1QS x 12, God is a source of knowledge (מקור דעת) and a fountain of holiness (מעין קודש). Also, He is considered a source of righteousness (מקור צדקה, 1QS xi 3-6), a spring of life (מקור חיים, 1QH^{a} xvi 15), an eternal spring (מקור עולם, 1QH^{a} x 31, cp. 4Q418 f 81/81a 1) and finally a source of light (מעין אור, 1QH^{a} vi 17).Von der Osten-Sacken concludes that this usage of both 'sources' indicates that in 1QS iii 19 "Gott selbst ist als Quelle des Lichts Ursprung der Macht der Wahrheit", a conclusion that poses him with a problem of finding a suitable origin for the 'source of darkness'. He finds the solution to this problem in the Urzeitliche Chaos of תהום. He proposes that God's creation of the light out of the darkness over the תהום in Gen 1 connects not only the discernment of both sources, but also explains their connection to the light/darkness terminology.[96] The function of 1QS iii 19 would thus be to establish an ethical connection between God's discernment of light/darkness in Gen 1 and the human conducts of truth/iniquity. However, although von der Osten-Sacken's argument might have some merit in the discussions regarding the background, meaning and function of the light/darkness terminology, it hardly explains the variant terms that are used for 'source'. In fact, the indiscriminate usage of both terms מעין and מקור in scripture and in other Qumran texts, *and* their close connection to or even synonymity with God, not only reinforce the *Treatise*'s earlier statements that "from the God of knowledge all exists and shall exist", but also creates an interpretative context in which the creation story of Gen 1 can be connected to human ethical behaviour.

[96] For a fuller account, see von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, 143-147.

Hence, rather than the concept of dualism, the usage of מעין and מקור creates a bridge of unity in which God is the source of creation of all.[97]

This conclusion might be slightly in tension with what we find in 1QS iii 20-21, in which we finally might encounter the first notions indicating that the *Treatise* might convey a layer of moderate dualism:

> In the hand of the Prince of Lights is the dominion over/of all the sons of righteousness; in the paths of light they shall walk to and fro.
> And in the hand of the Angel of Darkness is all dominion of the sons of iniquity and in the paths of darkness they shall walk to and fro.

Many scholars have evaluated this passage as thoroughly cosmic-dualistic. However, as we have seen above, most studies of the *Treatise* regard this part of the text, i.e. iii 18b-23a and possibly iii 23b-25a, as representing a secondary layer to the text.[98] And indeed, interestingly, the eye-catching light/darkness terminology of this section is absent from the rest of the *Treatise*.[99] Nevertheless, this 'cosmic' layer seems to convey a certain investment in extrapolating the human/ethical division into a 'supportive' cosmic layer, thereby perhaps creating a limited human responsibility for sinful behaviour. In contradistinction to the preceding notion of two spirits or inclinations with which humans need to reckon in their daily conduct and behaviour, these lines seem to envision a cosmic division between two angelic beings, that rule over two respective groups of humans, 'the sons of righteousness' and 'the sons of iniquity'.[100] Even though God has created all, and therefore radical dualism does not exist, this rather thorough division of creation into two opposed realms certainly provokes the impression of a moderate dualistic scheme.

However, some scholars have pointed out that these lines of perceived 'cosmic' opposition need not necessarily be interpreted dualistically. For instance, Wernberg-Møller, who has analysed these lines together with 1QS iii 19, argued

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[97] Cf. Isa 45:7: "I form the light and create darkness, I make peace and create evil; I the Lord create all these things."
[98] Cf. Duhaime, Frey, and maybe Hempel. Contra Tigchelaar, but cf. also, von der Osten-Sacken, who emphasises the *Treatise*'s ethical concerns, but on a structural level holds the 'cosmic' part of the *Treatise* to be the oldest.
[99] Cf. Hempel, 'The Treatise', 119. Hempel points out that the light/darkness terminology is entirely absent from the legal and organisational material in 1QS v-ix.
[100] Cf. Charlotte Hempel, 'The Community and its Rivals according to the Community Rule from Cave 1 and 4', *RevQ* 81 (2003) 47-81. Hempel regards the 'Sons of Injustice' as opponents to the author's community.

against a strict dualistic interpretation of this passage, as he perceived an inherent hierarchy in the terms שׂר and מלאך. On this basis, he also argued that the contrasting terms of light and darkness cannot be interpreted in such a way that they would function as representatives of two cosmic equally powerful principles. Wernberg-Møller's argument is fourfold:

1. The fact that the text contrasts מעין and מקור, the former of which he translates as 'dwelling' and the latter as 'well', is thought to demonstrate their inequality, presumably even geographically representing a divine force (high up in the light) and a wicked force (down in the dark ground).[101]
2. The use of שׂר (prince) over against מלאך (angel) demonstrates the former one's superiority over the latter.
3. The fact, that the Angel of Darkness and the spirits of his lot are paralleled by God and his Angel of Truth (iii 23-25), equally demonstrates the presence of a hierarchy. (No 'host of spirits' seems to be accompanying God and His True Angel.)
4. The position of כל: Not only does the Angel of Darkness guide the Wicked, he also influences the Righteous, being responsible for their sins and iniquities. This demonstrates that the domains are fluid and not strictly and irreducibly divided.

Indeed, the scheme as laid out in 1QS iii 20-21 turns out to be not thoroughly antithetical or symmetrically oppositional. On further reading, the text narrates a less straightforward dualistic image of creation, as the sphere of influence of only one of the angelic beings, i.e. the Angel of Darkness, extends beyond its clear-cut division line (1QS iii 21c-25a):

> And with the Angel of Darkness is the error of all the Sons of Righteousness, and all their sins and their iniquities and their offences and the transgressions of their

[101] The mere fact that מעין mostly means 'spring of water', and only translates as 'dwelling' in Isa 12:3, weakens this part of Wernberg-Møller's argument. Cf. 425. Von der Osten-Sacken's insistence on contrasting these two terms might be informed by him reading מעון (dwelling) instead of מעין. The former term is rather rare in scripture, where it is not used in connection to 'light', but on occasion in reference to God's dwelling; cf. מעון קדשׁך (Deut 26:15) and מעון קדשׁו (Jer 25:30). However, the term מעון can be found in equally negative imagery in Jer 9:10; 10:22; 49:33 and 51:37, where מעון תנים ("lair of jackals") refers to desolate cities.

> deeds are in his dominion in accordance with the mysteries of God until its/his appointed time.
> And all their afflictions and the periods of their distresses are within the dominion of his hatred.
> And all the spirits of his lot make the Sons of Light stumble.
> And the God of Israel and the Angel of his Truth is/are a help to all the Sons of Light.

Obviously, the text is not interested in the 'Sons of Iniquity' doing good deeds, but rather wants to explain the occurrence of sin and evil in the world and especially when it happens amongst the righteous. Therefore, we do not learn whether the Prince of Lights attempts to influence the wicked to do good. However, the asymmetrical schema of the *Treatise* demonstrates that this section of the text cannot be evaluated as thoroughly 'dualistic', as the two oppositional realms have contact and do not seem to be 'stuck' in irreducible oppositions: the sons of righteousness experience the influence of the Angel of Darkness and "all their sins, their iniquities, their offences and the transgressions of their deeds are in his authority". Moreover, they apparently experience "afflictions and periods of distress" while being subjected to the dominion of the Angel of Darkness.

Finally, the cosmic division of these forces might be part of the author's strategy. The author might extrapolate into the cosmic realm such a division, because on a human level he cannot control sin and iniquity amongst righteous people and thus, in his experience, a clear-cut division is not perceived to be existent. As such, the sublimation of human difficulties into a much clearer division of right/wrong on a divine level demonstrates the author's wish to divide things that in reality are not so easily separated.

The next section seems to function as a summary of the former statements. Licht has denoted that lines iii 25- iv 1 "re-state the main focus" of the *Treatise* upon the two spirits, while at the same time drawing in the newly obtained detailed information from the preceding section.[102] As such, these lines seem to create a conscious analogy with iii 18, simultaneously connecting (yet another time) the notions of light/darkness with truth/iniquity:

[102] Licht, 'An Analysis', 93; cf. Wernberg-Møller, 'A Reconsideration', 428.

> And he created the spirits of light and darkness and upon them he established every deed and on their [path/foundation] is every deed and on their path is every [deed/visitation].[103] One God loves for all eternal ages and with all her deeds He will be pleased until forever. One He abhors, her secret counsel and all her paths He hates forever (iii 25b-iv 1).

For Wernberg-Møller, the re-enactment of iii 18 in iii 25 is an indication that the author is still addressing ethical issues without the usual evaluation of this section in terms of dualism and predestination. Indeed, the contrasting of righteousness and injustice is a rather common theme in wisdom literature and Jewish writings from the Second Temple period, without necessarily invoking connotations of either ideological concept (cf. Prov. 29:27; Ben Sira 15:11-20; 33:14-15; *1 Enoch* 91:3-4; 18-19; 94:1-5 – the Exhortation and Epistle of Enoch – and underlying the *Apocalypse of Weeks* in *1 Enoch* 93:1-10, 91:11-17).[104] Furthermore, the passage also functions to reinforce earlier statements that God has created all.[105] Finally, this passage functions as a bridge to the next section (iv 2-14), in which the realms of light/darkness (resp. truth/iniquity) are further described in concrete and recognisable behaviour through a list of virtues and vices. In the Table below, I have attempted to schematically describe the various components of this list:

Now these are their paths in the world:	
to give light in the heart of man[106] *to* straighten before his face the paths of righteousness of truth and *to* cause his heart to fear the ordinances of God	
	And to the spirit of falsehood there is:
• a spirit of humility • patience • multitude of compassion • everlasting good • insight and understanding • mighty wisdom, trusting in all God's deeds and depending upon the multitude of his mercy and the spirit of knowledge in all plans of deeds • zeal for the ordinances of righteousness and plans of holiness with firm inclination	• a wideness of soul/breadth of self, • a sloughiness of hands in the service of justice, • wickedness and vanity, • pride and arrogance, • a lying heart and cruel deceit • much ungodliness, • impatience and • a multitude of folly, • a zeal for pride, • deeds of abomination in a spirit of

[103] The brackets indicate that the text is reconstructed at this instance. Here, the two alternative readings follow García Martínez/Tigchelaar and Accordance (Abbegg). Eye-catchingly, the reconstruction of the former demonstrates a repetition.
[104] Such connotations are also found in other parts of the *Community Rule*, cf. 1QS1:1-2:18. As to the evaluation of dualism in these instances; see paragraph 5of this chapter.
[105] Cf. Wernberg-Møller, who compares ברא in iii 18 with יסד in iii 25; also von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, 149 n.2: "יסד ist bereits im AT dann auch in Qumran terminus technicus für Gottes Schöpfungshandeln".
[106] cf. Gen 1:15,17 האיר.

• abundance of loving-kindness upon all sons of truth • purity of glory, abhorring all idols of impurity • walking humbly in discernment of everything • to hide the truth, the mysteries of knowledge	fornication/harlotry • paths of impurity in the service of uncleanliness/impurity • a slanderous tongue, • blindness of eyes • heaviness of ear, • hardness of neck • heaviness of heart • to walk in all the paths of darkness • craftiness of evil.
These are the secret counsels/foundations of the spirit of the sons of truth (in) the world	
And the visitation of all walkers in it is:	*The visitation of all walking in it is:*
• healing • a multitude of peace in the length of days • fruitful seed with all blessings of eternity • everlasting joy in eternal life • an ornament of glory with measure of honour in everlasting light.	• a multitude of plagues at the hand of all the angels of destruction • eternal destruction with the anger of God's avenging wrath • everlasting terror and reproach with the disgrace of complete destruction by fire of those who make dark. • And all their times of their generations are with agonising sorrow/mourning and wickedness of bitterness in the threat/catastrophe of darkness until their complete destruction, for there is no remnant or escape for them.

Table 17: Schematic Overview of the List of Virtues and Vices in the Treatise iv 2-14.

As Table 17 makes clear, this section, containing the 'list of vices and virtues' does not reflect a symmetrical structure. It is therefore unclear whether the first three infinitive constructs in iv 2 (to shine, to straighten, to be fearful) are only connected to the spirit of light/truth or whether both spirits are envisioned. Wernberg-Møller argues that, since every human being is endowed with both spirits, no parallelism of introduction or content is needed.[107] The two lists then represent the behaviour and conduct that are recognisably part of each realm. The text also describes the punishments and rewards that are attached to this variety of behaviours, and thus inherently exhorts its audience to choose for or remain on the paths of righteousness. As Licht has pointed out: "The two lists in themselves do not express any extreme dualistic theory: the juxtaposition of the righteous and the wicked, of deeds and rewards, could be used in any homily without predestinational tendencies".[108] Moreover, as we have already established that a mere contrasting of ethical terms is inherently part of religious theorising, the list's oppositional language cannot be

[107] Cf. Wernberg-Møller, 'A Reconsideration', 429-431.
[108] Licht, 'An Analysis', 94.

regarded to be dualistic. Only if the ethical terminology would be connected to eschatological and/or cosmic dualistic layers, it does become part of a larger dualistic realm. However, our preceding analysis of the *Treatise* seriously poses doubt on such a straightforward reading. Also, the notion that the spirits convey a variety of behaviours, in which humans are inclined to 'walk to and fro', prevents us from such an interpretation. Moreover, the strong emphasis on the eschatological punishments of the 'spirit of falsehood' possibly points to the author's preoccupation with the problem of sin and evil, and reflects an exhortatory attempt to convince the righteous not to 'walk in the spirit of iniquity'.[109]

The next passage, 1QS iv 15-26, returns to the author's main message:

> In these (אלה) are the natures (תולדות) of all the sons of man, and in their divisions (ובמפלגיהן) all their hosts will inherit for their generations.
> And in their paths they shall walk and every work of their deeds is in their divisions (מפלגיהן) according to the inheritance of man, great or small, for all eternal time (iv 15-16a).

The complexity of this passage has induced many scholars to evaluate lines iv 15-26 as *the* example of Qumranite dualism. For instance, von der Osten-Sacken regards iv 15-18a as the portrayal of "das Verhältnis zwischen Wahrheit und Frevel und die Stellung des Menschen zu ihnen in der Gegenwart".[110] Being the introduction to the last section of the *Treatise*, these first lines set the tone in which the remainder of the passage is interpreted. Even though this section is generally understood to (further) describe the sharp dualistic division between two classes of humans, Wernberg-Møller correctly denoted that the actual word 'two' only occurs once in the entire *Treatise* (cp. iii 18) and thus is implied everywhere else.[111] Therefore, the plural forms in these lines do not necessarily need to be interpreted as dual and oppositional, but might merely point to a plurality or variety, in accordance with the variety of behavioural manifestations as described in iv 2-14.

[109] Cf. Wernberg-Møller, 'A Reconsideration', 429-430.
[110] von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, 170.
[111] Cf. Wernberg-Møller, 'A Reconsideration', 431; For instance in García Martínez andTigchelaar's *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* the word 'two' is added in between brackets with regard to iv 15, 79.

The difficulty of translating and interpreting this passage lies in the various interconnected aspects of these sentences:

1) The reference of 'these' (אלה) in iv 15.
2) The translation of תולדות.
3) The use of the peculiar term מפלג.
4) The use of the 3rd feminine plural suffix in מפלגיהן in iv 15.

'These' in line iv 15 corresponds either with 'these' in line iv 2, in which case they embrace the entirety of the virtues/vices-catalogue, or –as many scholars have claimed- with the two spirits. Licht regards אלה as a reference to the 'ways': "'in these' enumerated 'ways' are contained the *toladoth*, - the pre-ordained nature and destiny- of all men".[112] Von der Osten-Sacken translates: "In diesen (sc. Geistern) ist der Usprung aller Menschen". He argues that iv 15 functions to tie both earlier sections together, while at the same time ensuring that the succeeding passage clearly continues to emphasize the two spirits, "auch when ihr Gegensatz ab iv 17 ff. begrifflich durch die Abstrakta 'Wahrheit' und 'Frevel' ausgedrückt wird.[113] Wernberg-Møller more or less combines these views by arguing that in the virtues-and-vices catalogue of 1QS iv 2-14, רוח is used to describe "a great variety of moods and manifestations of the two 'spirits' mentioned in col. III".[114] He argues that אלה in iv 15 refers to that variety. In this elegant way, Wernberg-Møller can connect אלה with the succeeding terms ובמפלגיהן, ובדרכיהן, and במפלגיהן, which he takes as parallel terms, syntactically connected by the preposition –ב. In such a way, the interpretation of אלה is connected to the interpretation of the 3rd pers. plural feminine suffixes of these succeeding terms. Most scholars regard the gender of the suffixes to point exclusively to the 'two spirits', thus forming the foundation for a further dualistic interpretation of the passage.[115] However, if Wernberg-Møller is correct, the feminine plural suffixes in this passage point both to the two spirits *and* to the variety of behavioural manifestations that colour their ways. Moreover, if 'these' (אלה) describe

[112] Licht, 'An Analysis', 94-95.
[113] Von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, 170.
[114] Wernberg-Møller, 'A Reconsideration', 431.
[115] Only in 1QS iv 17 we find a masculine suffix attached to 'divisions'; however the suffix is in superscript and hence might possibly be a later scribal 'correction', which might even be attributed to whomever incorporated the *Treatise* in 1QS and found a masculine suffix more appropriate for his purposes, thereby changing the original reference.

'the natures (תולדות) of all the sons of man', and hence can be taken as symbiotic terms, the feminine suffixes might just as well refer to the rich variety of human behaviour covered by תולדות. Therefore, and in line with my argumentation regarding the meaning of תולדות above, the passage might simply recapture what is learnt from the former two sections, i.e. the explanation of human nature as consisting of a variety of 'inclinations'.

In this light, the term מפלג (division) is more likely to refer to the variety of behaviour within the two spiritual paths (truth/iniquity resp. light/darkness) than to a strictly dualistic division between two classes of humans.[116] As such, "the word MPLG, as applied to the spirits, is most naturally taken as referring to the various good and bad inclinations just enumerated [in iv 2-14] in which all mankind, 'all the hosts of their generations', have their share."[117] The biblical language alluded to by the usage of terms, which in scripture are used to describe God's ordering of creation (מפלג) or his division of the land (נחל), might serve the author's purpose to once again demonstrate, once again, that "from the God of knowledge all exists and shall exist", a theme to which he will return shortly.[118]

Finally, it is important to notice that the humans are doing the walking, and as such, we might deduce that they are held accountable, as their every deed can be subscribed to the enumerated divisions in iv 2-14. As such, this part of the text leaves open the possibility to 'walk on both paths' (cf. Ben Sira 2:12). The next passage sets the spirits and their recognisable human behaviours over against one another:

> For God set them in equal portions, great to small, until the last time and he put eternal enmity between /their/ divisions.[119]
> An abomination of truth are the deeds of injustice and an abomination of injustice are all the paths of truth.
> And zealous dispute is upon their judgements/ordinances because they do not walk to and fro together (iv 16b-18a).

The declaration of 'eternal enmity' is taken by most scholars as the ultimate evidence of the 'radical dualistic worldview of the Qumran sect'.[120] However, this

[116] Von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, 171.
[117] Wernberg-Møller, 'A Reconsideration', 432.
[118] Cf. Von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial,* 171. Also, he points out that in *1 Enoch* 72-82 and *Jubilees*, the term מפלג is used to describe the cosmological order of creation.
[119] The verb שים has again a feminine suffix, but מפלג has a masculine suffix in superscript. Cf. fn. 111

viewpoint can only be maintained if the divisions that oppose one another are interpreted as human divisions, which - as we established above - is precluded by the feminine suffixes.[121] Rather, the divisions refer to the two spirits, and hence, this section of the *Treatise* still envisions the rather abstract concepts of 'Truth' and 'Iniquity', and their respective behavioural conducts as visible in human beings. A certain amount of tension between this section of the *Treatise* and the earlier classification of humankind into two oppositional groups, the Sons of Righteousness/Light and the Sons of Iniquity/Darkness, cannot be denied. Where, in the first part of the *Treatise* a fundamental distinction is being made between these two groups of humans, this part envisions both spirits to be active within every human being 'in equal portions'. This concept is repeated even more clearly in iv 23b-25a:

> Until this point the spirits of truth and iniquity will strive in the heart of man.
> They will walk to and fro in wisdom and in folly.
> And corresponding to the inheritance of man in truth, he will be righteous and thus he shall hate injustice, and according to his possession in the lot of iniquity, he will act wickedly and thus he shall abhor truth.
> For God has set them in equal portions until the deciding time and the making of something new.

The idea of man being ruled by 'portions' of both spirits has almost univocally been connected to 4Q186, a text that is also often referred to as an example of the Qumranites' dualistic ideology. Recently, Mladen Popović has challenged this commonly held view, provocatively arguing that 4Q186's idea of 'portions' of light and darkness reflects an astrological provenance, completely unrelated to the (ideology of) the *Treatise*.[122] Popović argues that the 'spirit' (רוח) in 4Q186 does not refer to the human spirit, but rather reflects a zodiacal spirit. Moreover, he thinks that, unlike in the case of the *Treatise*, the terminology of 'portions of light/darkness' is not meant metaphorically in 4Q186. Rather Popović holds the portions to function in a literal sense, namely in an astrological framework, in which they are combined with the zodiacal term 'house' (בית) to indicate the cosmological areas above and below the horizon. Therefore, he advocates that the terms light and darkness in 4Q186 should

[120] E.g. Licht, 'An Analysis', 95, Frey, 'Different Patterns', 293.
[121] Cf. Also Wernberg-Møller, 'A Reconsideration', 431-432.
[122] Popović, 'Light and Darkness', 148-165.

not be interpreted as dualistic, and the text's presumed ties to the *Treatise* need to be dissolved.[123]

If Popović is correct, and we disconnect the *Treatise's* idea of portions within the human being from 4Q186, this passage might -again- touch upon the tension between the themes of free will and predestination. Indeed, Wernberg-Møller has argued that both 1QS iv 16 and 1QS iv 24 have the same person in view, and speak about his position towards the various parts of his behaviour. As such, he argues "man was created with the two inclinations in perfect balance and equally strong".[124] There is no need to deny the existence of oppositional moral forces and/or behaviour in every human being, leading to the (societal) evaluation of a 'good' or 'bad' person. Moreover, the theme of Righteousness and Wickedness's mutual hatred is not uncommon in scripture, especially in wisdom literature (cf. Prov 29:27). Such a juxtaposition of ethical terms and behaviour has elsewhere not been evaluated as dualistic, and there is no need to do so in this text.

A final statement against an evaluation of a thoroughly dualistic outlook, is the *Treatise*'s eschatological description of the end of Iniquity in 1QS iv 18-23:

> And God, in the mysteries of his knowledge/understanding and in the wisdom of his glory has given a time to the being of injustice and on an appointed time of visitation he will destroy it forever.
> And then the truth of the world shall go out forever because she polluted herself on the paths of wickedness in the dominion of injustice, until the appointed time of the deciding judgement.
> And then God will purify, with his truth, all the deeds of man and he will refine for him the sons of man to end all spirit of injustice from the inner self of his flesh, cleansing him with the holy spirit from all deeds of wickedness.
> And he shall sprinkle upon him the spirit of truth like sprinkling waters, from all abominations of falsehood and its wallowing in the spirit of impurity, to instruct those who are upright in the knowledge of the most high and the wisdom of the sons of the heavens in order to instruct those of the perfect way.
> For God chose them for an eternal covenant and to them is all glory of Adam.
> And there is no injustice; all acts of deceit will be a shame.

[123] Popović states that "4Q186 is not an example of a dualistic text from the Qumran community.[…] it most probably is not even a sectarian composition", 'Light and Darkness', 164.
[124] Wernberg-Møller, 'A Reconsideration', 433.

Rather than the destruction of the perceived wicked people (for instance the Sons of Iniquity), God will 'purify all the deeds of man', i.e. he will end the existence of sin and injustice altogether. The text is almost impersonal in its purpose: wickedness rather than the wicked will be destroyed.[125] Since both spirits reside within every human being, and the spirit of Iniquity is destroyed by God in the end-time, no radical nor moderate dualistic opposition that causes existence can be detected in this passage. Rather, the text is interested in the purification of humanity and creation, in order to restore God's created world according to the 'glory of Adam'.

Conclusion: Dualism in the Treatise

When read on a superficial level, the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* demonstrates a rather stringent oppositional outlook, which at times tends to justifiably resemble Bianchi's definition of 'moderate dualism'. And indeed, in its cosmological description of two oppositional angelic beings and their earthly counterparts, the text might easily be evaluated as dualistic. From this first section, many scholars have interpreted the entirety of the *Treatise* in dualistic terms, even though syntactically and structurally many elements speak against such a straightforward evaluation of dualism.

Upon a closer investigation of the text's main purpose and primary focus, we detect that the author of the *Treatise* was predominantly occupied with the question of sin and transgression amongst 'good' people. Like in every tractate that concerns itself with the tension between free will and predestination, the omnipotence of God and the occurrence of sin and hardship, an explanation needs to be found for the presence of evil in the world. Moreover, the author finds such a solution in the oppositional, but variable inclinations belonging to the 'spirits' of 'Truth' and 'Iniquity', which are 'put' within the very structure in which God has created man. This concept is not dualistic. Equally, the moral and ethical terms and behaviours that are attached to both oppositional forces can also not be evaluated as dualistic, for the simple reason that (a) they are united within every human being and (b) they do not consist of irreducible causal principles which create existence. Also, to attach the oppositional terms 'Light' and 'Darkness' to the moral concepts of 'Truth' and

[125] The only personal element the text seems to envision is the special treatment of those who have been elected by God to be instructed in his special knowledge.

'Iniquity' can hardly be evaluated as dualistic, as it is a commonly known phenomenon in scripture to use the concepts of Light and Darkness as metaphors (cf. Isa 5:20, 9:2, 42:16, 45:7, Ps 18:28, 37:6, Eccl 2:13-14). To my knowledge, this metaphorical use of 'light/darkness' in those instances has never led to an evaluation of 'dualism'. Finally, those cosmological opposites which are often read dualistically are not perceived as impregnable: a) the realm of the Prince of Darkness stretches out into the realm of the Righteous (and perhaps vice versa) and b) redemption is possible as God will purify all the works of man at the appointed time.

In this section, we have evaluated the common scholarly opinion that the *Treatise* is a dualistic text, and have found that much of its oppositional language has an exhortatory function to forcefully persuade its audience to 'walk the right path'. Moreover, we have seen that the author of the *Treatise* is preoccupied with the question why good people do bad things. Hence, our evaluation of the Treatise leads us to conclude that the text is better not regarded as having a 'dualistic outlook'.

Nevertheless, because the text has long been understood as the pinnacle of Qumran dualism, the *Treatise* has been given a pivotal position in the perceived development of the 'sectarian dualistic thought'. As we already saw in Chapter 4, scholars like Frey and Lange have placed the *Treatise* in a chronological framework that forms a 'pattern of multi-dimensional sapiential dualism'. This conceptualisation of an 'ideological development' from sapiential oppositionality to sectarian dualism has had an important influence on scholarly evaluations of oppositionality in certain texts. Also, it has introduced 'dualism' as a cohesive force to link ideology to a 'sectarian' social reality. For these reasons we return to Frey's 'pattern of dualism' to look at his argument in further detail.

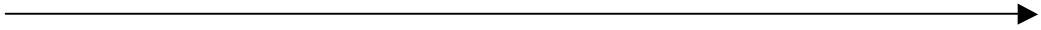
5.5. The *Treatise* and its Position in the 'Sapiential Pattern of Qumran Dualism'

An important presupposition that underlies the evaluation of dualism as a key-concept of the 'Qumran sect' is the notion of ideological development. As we have seen, Frey's evaluation of 'the patterns of dualistic thinking' presents a model in which 1QS iii 13- iv 26 and 1QM are the 'pre-*yahadic*' linchpins, that bound assumed 'precursory' documents together through recognisable rudimentary elements of dualistic thinking. Moreover, they also are thought to have influenced the formation of a recognisable Qumran 'sectarian form of dualism' that was primarily focused on

sheer cosmic dualism and eternal election.[126] This pattern, reflecting a chronological development from late wisdom literature (e.g. Ben Sira) via multi-dimensional dualistic teaching (*Treatise*) into sheer cosmic dualism (various *yahadic* documents) is described as the 'Qumran Sect's ideological radicalisation process'. Table 18 below schematically describes this pattern of development:

Table 18: Overview of Frey's Pattern of Sapiential Dualism.

Proverbs	Ben Sira	4QInstruction 4QMysteries	*Treatise*	Yahadic Reception in: 1QS 1:16-26; 2:2-10 1QH^{a} 6:11-12 4Q181 1 ii 1-5 CD 2:2-13 4Q280 2: 4-5 (4Q502 frg. 16)



5.5.1. The 'Precursors': Ben Sira, 4QInstruction, and 4QMysteries

Frey thinks that tradition-historically, the *Treatise* can be connected with early wisdom literature's "pronounced ethical dualism by the antithetical opposition of the scoffer and the wise or the wicked and the righteous with a mutual antipathy….between the members of the respective groups (Prov 29:27)".[127] Frey also argues that, in the later wisdom text of Ben Sira this notion of righteousness and wickedness is combined with the notion of a predestined order of creation, and "the ethical dualities are interpreted in the context of the whole creation structured in pairs".[128] In this interpretation, Ben Sira is regarded as a possible precursor of the *Treatise*, as it does "not teach any determinism of the destiny or even of the acts of human beings", but instead firmly advocates the freedom of the human will.[129] Hence, as we have seen, Ben Sira's predestined order of creation is thought to be the ideological background of the teaching in 1QS iii 13- iv 26, which reflects this concept in a more developed form.[130]

As we already briefly discussed in Chapter 4, two other sapiential texts from Qumran, 4QInstruction and 4QMysteries are thought to be closely related to, but

[126] Frey follows to a large extent Lange's *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 127-129, 167-168.
[127] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 297; cf. Gammie, 'Spatial Dualism', 372.
[128] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 297; Frey also thinks that Ben Sira connects his idea of a predestined order of creation with the created division between light and darkness (Gen 1:4).
[129] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 297 fn. 89.
[130] Cf. Frey, 'Different Patterns', 298.

developmentally earlier than the *Treatise*.[131] Frey has argued that the 'mystery of existence' (רז נהיה) in these documents - to which the wise can gain special, revealed knowledge - is a further development of Ben Sira's predestined order of creation. He further thinks that, because these texts do not reflect 'two spirits' or an antagonism of cosmic powers, they are to be considered earlier than the *Treatise*. In short, 4QInstruction and 4QMysteries are chronologically placed in between Ben Sira and the *Treatise*.

Hence, ideas and conceptualisations in Ben Sira, 4QInstruction and 4QMysteries are thus thought to have influenced the development of early *yahadic* sapiential dualism in the *Treatise*. The next sections (5.1.1-3) will re-evaluate Frey's conception of such a 'sapiential' pattern of chronological development, by studying those ideas in these texts that reflect the negotiation of oppositionality and/or dualism.

5.5.1.1. Ben Sira

The similarities in outlook between the *Treatise* and Ben Sira are indeed eye-catching, as many scholars have pointed out. However, to place Ben Sira earlier in a direct developmental line to the *Treatise* brings up a series of difficulties. Firstly, there is simply the matter of dating. Most scholars agree that Ben Sira was composed somewhere in the early part of the second century BCE and translated into Greek by his grandson towards the end of that same century. If Lange (see above) is right, and the *Treatise* originates in the first quarter of the second century, both documents are of similar age, which makes it seemingly impossible to establish a chronological development between them, in which the *Treatise* is perceived to be a modification of certain ideas in Ben Sira.[132]

In fact, Frey's argument that the *Treatise* is a later modification of ideas in Ben Sira, because the former conveys a deterministic outlook that the latter lacks, cannot be maintained in light of our analysis of the *Treatise* above. Instead of reflecting a deterministic outlook, we find that the *Treatise*, in a similar way to Ben Sira, reflects an inherent tension between human free will and God's predestined

[131] Frey boldly states that these two documents "clearly represent the line of dualistic thought which can be found –somewhat more developed- in the Instruction on the Two Spirits", 'Different Patterns', 299.

[132] A similar argument can be made with regard to 4QMysteries, which is commonly dated between 200-150 BCE. Moreover, scholars have implied that 4QInstruction might have a date in the early third century BCE, which makes the text unsuitable as a chronological 'buffer' in between Ben Sira and the *Treatise*.

order of creation, predominantly revolving around the question of the occurrence of sin in the world.[133]

Ben Sira seems to express a rather clear opinion as to where sin and evil belong: God gave man free will and hence, sinfulness belongs to the human realm: 'When he made man in the beginning, He left him free to take his own decisions' and 'He has commanded no man to be wicked, nor has he given licence to commit sin' (Sir 15:11-20; cf. 37:18).[134] In Ben Sira 17, the earlier declaration of free will and humans' capacity to discern between 'good' and 'evil' is, just like in the *Treatise*, firmly connected to Gen 1 (cf. Sir 17: 1-8). However, the discernment between good and evil is not always easy to establish, as a person can operate 'with a double heart' 'full of deceit' (Sir 1:28,30) and 'sinners can walk on two paths at once' (Sir 2:12). Similarly to the *Treatise*, the possibility of being in two realms simultaneously (i.e. 'to walk on two paths' or 'to approach the Lord with a double heart' in Ben Sira), interferes with the neat division between sinners and godly and makes the oppositionality less symmetrical. Hence, sinners are not regarded as fully sinful, as they can 'walk on two paths' and thus are envisioned to also do good. As a solution to this problem, Ben Sira might understand double-heartedness as hypocrisy; it nevertheless leaves room for crossover. In a creation in which humans can choose to live 'according to God's ways' or choose 'the path of evil', they must be held fully accountable for their own conduct, behaviour and actions. However, the human accountability of which the text narrates seems to be in tension with Ben Sira's statement that "Before the world was created, each man's deed was known to God" (Sira 23:20, cp. 1QS iii 15-16). In Ben Sira 39, one can encounter tension or an intrinsic struggle between the conviction that God's creation is 'good', as Genesis tells us, and the more implicitly described experienced reality that the world is full of wickedness and evil. Ben Sira tries on the one hand to hold on to the old biblical notion of 'Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang', i.e. the notion that good will lead to good and bad will lead to bad. On the other hand he realises that in the experienced social reality such causality is obviously not always the case. Possibly, Ben Sira attempts to explain the inexplicable by deferring the problem to some 'appointed time', implicitly stating that man cannot comprehend God's plan. Hence, he expresses that all things

[133] Contra Frey, who claims Ben Sira univocally claims human free will.
[134] Both passages, i.e. 15:16-17 and 37:18, might reflect Deut 30:15-20, which might also stand in the background of the *Treatise*.

will happen 'in due time' (Sir 39:16) and 'at the(ir) proper time' (Sir 39:17; 34). Such notions of primordial eschatology and the mystery of God's plan are very similarly negotiated in the *Treatise*.[135]

Just like in the *Treatise*, Ben Sira's account of what will happen to the wicked is inconsistent with his earlier statement that everything is good for the good and bad for the bad. The text seems most interested in the fate of the wicked over time, in judgement and retribution, and again Ben Sira treats the 'righteous' and 'wicked' divisions a-symmetrically. Moreover, the 'spirits' or 'winds' of retribution seem to be created exclusively for the wicked (cf. Sir 39:16-34). Hence, just like in the *Treatise*, a complete antithesis is not achieved: the author simply does not seem to be interested in such a thoroughly oppositional scheme of creation. More, the question behind Ben Sira's solution of judgement and retribution 'over time' is, just like in the *Treatise*, how to evaluate the occurrence of sin and how to explain to the 'god-fearing' that the wicked will not prosper, even though they probably do in the author's contemporary social reality.

The full scale of Ben Sira's problem regarding God's order of creation and his control over man in the face of man's sinful behaviour leads him to insert a doctrinal passage regarding the 'contradictory nature of God's world'. In a similar manner as in the *Treatise*, Ben Sira finds a 'solution' for the existence of sin and evil, as he conceives God having deliberately created the world in carefully balanced opposites:

> All man alike come from the ground.
> Adam was created out of earth.
> Yet in his great wisdom the Lord distinguished them,
> And made them go various ways.
> Some he blessed and lifted high,
> Some he hallowed and brought near to himself,
> Some he cursed and humbled,
> And removed from their place.
> As clay is in the potter's hands,
> To be moulded just as he chooses,
> So are men in the hands of their maker,
> To be dealt with as he decides.
>
> Good is the opposite of evil, and life of death;
> Yes, and the sinner is the opposite of the godly.

[135] Ben Sira 39:28 even has 'Spirits/Winds of Retribution'; Unfortunately, we only have the Greek of this passage, as in the Hebrew fragments this passage is lacking. Moreover, the notion that God's plan is predestined, and only He knows beginning and end, is firmly established in both the *Treatise* and Ben Sira (cf. 23:20**, "**Before the universe was created, it was known to him. And so it is since its completion").

> Look at all the works of the Most High;
> They go in pairs, one the opposite of the other.
> (Sir 33: 10-15)[136]

In Ben Sira's praise of creation (Sir 42), God's foreknowledge of his creation and the manner in which God has created the universe are intrinsically connected: "All things go in pairs, one the opposite of the other. He has made nothing incomplete. One thing supplements the virtues of the other" (Sir 42: 24-25).

Moreover, the order of creation is now conceived as 'naturally oppositional' in character and hence, oppositionality becomes a characteristic of 'completeness' or 'perfection', which again forms a solution for the occurrence of sin and evil in the world. Indeed, one can now correlate the occurrence of sin and evil with the glory of God and the mystery of his creation. All ideas regarding God's plan of creation, man's free will, the incomprehensibility of God's purpose, the exhortation for man to be trusting, faithful and law observant, and the idea of a final judgement of the wicked are now drawn together. In addition, God is recognised as the God of full knowledge, which remains a mystery to all of his creation (Sir 42:17-25).

Interestingly, and even though the similarities of themes and ideological outlooks between the Book of Ben Sira and the *Treatise* are most pronounced, I have not found any publication that characterises Ben Sira's cosmology and anthropology as dualistic. Rather, Ben Sira's 'doctrine of opposites' is often thought to explain the notion of "the antinomies or polarities or opposites that are found in creation".[137] Recently, Goering has argued that Ben Sira "bases his anthropology not on the notion of oppositions, but rather on the idea of Israel's election, a notion he derives from his observation of the cosmos."[138] He argues that, rather than evaluating Ben Sira's distinctions between anthropological and cosmological categories as oppositionality, they should be regarded from a viewpoint of 'set apart'-ness. That is, he regards the contrasts in Ben Sira not as oppositional, but rather as expressions of election that are natural and visible in God's created world.[139] If Goering is correct, his observations demonstrate that the idea of binary oppositions in Ben Sira are not to be evaluated as strictly oppositional.

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[136] Translation from the Greek in Snaith, *Ecclecsiasticus* (Cambridge: CUP, 1974).
[137] Cf. Patrick Skehan and Alexander di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (New York: Doubleday, 1987).
[138] Gregg Smidt Goering, *Wisdom's Root Revealed,* JSJ 139 (Leiden: Brill, 2009) 50.
[139] Goering thinks that the distinction between righteous and wicked is similar to the distinction between 'festival days' and 'normal days', sun and moon etc. Cf. Goering, 49-68.

Even though my evaluations and Goering's stem from different perspectives, we both agree that the perceived oppositionality in Ben Sira can, for various reasons, not function as a cradle for dualism. Moreover, the similarities in outlook and date of Ben Sira and the *Treatise* suggest that the ideas in both documents might possibly be more widespread in Second Temple society. Thus, similar ideas regarding God's plan with creation and the occurrence of sin can possibly be found in more or less modified forms in other contemporary documents. Such an observation might be preferred over the stringency of a chronological development scheme and the subsequent ideological straightjacket of 'dualism' at Qumran.

5.5.1.2. 4QInstruction and 4Q Mysteries

Two other texts that are thought to be precursors to the *Treatise* are 4QInstruction and 4QMysteries. As we have already briefly discussed in Chapter 4, Frey considers these two texts to 'fit' ideologically in between Ben Sira and the *Treatise*, thus forming the chronological trajectory of the sapiential pattern of dualism that eventually made up for part of Qumran dualistic thought. In his evaluation of these two 'closely linked' documents, Frey follows Lange, who argues that the *Treatise*, 4QInstruction and 4QMysteries demonstrate rather eye-catching correspondences: [140]

1. They share a significant amount of rather typical terminology.
2. The term מחשבה is used in both 4QInstruction and 1QS iii 13-iv 26 for the pre-existent order of the cosmos and history, i.e. God's Plan.
3. All three text refer to 'the God of Knowledge'.
4. The term תולדות is used in 4Q418 77 2 and in 1QS iii 13 in its particular meaning of 'human history'.
5. The dualism in the *Treatise* is comparable to the implicit oppositions in 4QInstruction, the *Treatise* and 4QMysteries share the "Theologenon von der eschatologischen Offenbarung der Weisheit".

On the basis of these similarities and correspondences, Lange concludes "daß die Zwei-Geister-Lehre aus den Kreisen stammt, die auch 4QSapA und Myst hervorgebracht haben. Jedoch stellt sie zumindestens gegenüber 4QSapA eine

[140] Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 127-129.

Weiterentwicklung dar, die die schon in diesem Text angelegten dualistischen Tendenzen stärker betont und das eschatologische Moment von Myst ausbaut."[141]

The editors of DJD XXXIV, who discuss 4QInstruction without specifically comparing *Instruction* to the *Treatise*, tend to agree with this idea of ideological development, as they hold *Instruction* to have a theological framework that is "not developed to the level of sophistication found in the 'Instruction on the Two Spirits' (1QS III-IV); it could however, fit an early stage of development that led to such thinking".[142] However, the editors also extensively stress how 4QInstruction is different from the *Treatise*, while they are at the same time convinced of its 'direct link' with 4QMysteries through the important term רז נהיה ('the mystery of existence'), a term that is not found in the *Treatise*.[143] For instance, the editors point out that *Instruction* has "references to the 'evil inclination', without any talk of a corresponding 'good inclination' and without the psychological and metaphysical development of a dualism as found in the 'Instruction of the Two Spirits' in 1QS III-IV".[144] Furthermore, in *Instruction*, "God is the creator and sustainer of all" and there are no "subordinate figures such as the Prince of Light or the Prince of Darkness (see 1QS III-IV) involved."[145] Even though the editors think these differences might possibly be signs of development, they demonstrate caution with regard to assumptions of dependency, as they hasten to state that 4QInstruction's combination of "wisdom instructions with theological material is paralleled in many other Jewish and early Christian works". [146] Moreover, sociologically, 4QInstruction does not reflect a sectarian outlook, nor does it provide information regarding a specific community of addressees. Rather, the text seems concerned with the correct instruction of a junior 'sage'.[147] Finally, 4QInstruction is notoriously hard to position, both with regard to its date and its socio-historical position, on both of which the text displays no concrete information.

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[141] Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 130.
[142] John Strugnell, Daniel Harrington and Torleif Elgvin eds., DJD XXXIV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 33.
[143] The term רז (mystery) occurs three times in the *Treatise*: cf. רזי אל (the mysteries of God; 1QS iii 23), רזי דעת (the mysteries of knowledge; 1QS iv 6) and ברזי שכלו (in the mysteries of his understanding; 1QS iv 18).
[144] DJD XXXIV, 33.
[145] DJD XXXIV, 33.
[146] DJD XXXIV, 33.
[147] Cf. DJD XXXIV, 36.

Tigchelaar has argued that the correspondences between the *Treatise* and 4QInstruction are indeed conspicuous, but he thinks correspondences predominantly are found in those specific textual layers of the *Treatise*, that he recognises as *later* additions (i.e. 1QS iii 13-18, iv 15-23 and iv 23-26). Hence, according to Tigchelaar, 4QInstruction has few correspondences with 1QS iii 18- iv 1 "which describes the basic spiritual protagonists in terms of light and darkness".[148] If Tigchelaar is correct, both documents may have a common background or 4QInstruction was influenced by the *Treatise*.

Hence, all these observations place serious doubt on Lange's straightforward identification of chronological development, in which the *Treatise* is thought to represent a further ideological development of ideas, already present in crude form in 4QInstruction.

5.5.1.3. The Omission of 1Enoch and Jubilees

Another feature of Frey's developmental analysis is his omission of two documents that ideologically and thematically demonstrate similarities with the *Treatise: 1 Enoch*, esp. chapters 91-105 and *Jubilees*.

Even though the *Treatise* never explicitly mentioned the myth of the Watchers as the origin of evil, the document has numerous points of reference with the Enochic writings. Within the Enochic writings themselves, tension can be observed between the *Book of the Watchers*, that explains the existence of evil on earth as a result of the fall of the Watchers, and the *Epistle of Enoch*, that takes a firm stand against an extraterrestrial origin of evil: "Sin was not sent upon the earth, but men created it by themselves" (*1Enoch* 98:4).[149] In the eschatological framework of *1Enoch* a strict division is made between the righteous and the wicked. In the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*1Enoch* 93:1-10; 91:11-17), we find the designation 'Sons of Righteousness' (*1Enoch* 93:1-3). Also, in *1Enoch* 94:1-5, which is often referred to as '*Enoch's Instruction on the Two Ways*' we find the juxtaposition of walking in 'paths of righteousness' or 'paths of iniquity' as well as the respective fates of those who choose either path (91:18-19, cp. 92: 3-5, 99:10). Moreover, *1Enoch* envisions the possibility for someone to "draw near the truth with a double heart" instead of

[148] Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning,* 201.
[149] For an integrated view on this ostensibly irresolvable contradiction within the Enochic tradition, see Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *1Enoch 91-108* (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2007) 345-346.

"walking in righteousness" (*1Enoch* 91:4). Moreover, the *Epistle of Enoch* negotiates the ethical notions of righteousness and iniquity with the abstractions of light and darkness (cf. *1Enoch* 92: 5). Finally, the *Epistle* places the distinction between the righteous and the wicked in an eschatological frame that perceived the destruction of sin 'forever' (Cf. *1Enoch* 91:8-10, 12-14, 18-19; 92:5).

Similarly, the *Book of Jubilees* reflects certain ideas and concepts that resemble ideas within the *Treatise*. Von der Osten-Sacken has already pointed out the similar way in which *Jubilees* 2:2 and the *Treatise* thematise a connection between God's creation act, especially the division of light and darkness (Gen 1:4) and the idea of a predestined order of creation in the division of the spirits:

> For on the first day he created the heavens, which are above, and the earth and the waters and all the spirits which minister before him:
> The angels of the presence,
> The angels of sanctification,
> The angels of the spirit of fire,
> The angels of the spirit of the winds,
> The angels of the spirit of the clouds and darkness and snow and hail and frost,
> The angels of resoundings and thunder and lightning,
> The angels of the spirits of cold and heat and winter and springtime and harvest and summer,
> And all the spirits of his creatures, which are in heaven and on earth.
> And he created the abysses and darkness - both evening and night - and light - both dawn and daylight - which he prepared in the knowledge of his heart.
> (*Jubilees* 2:2)[150]

In addition, in the *Book of Jubilees*, we encounter the idea of spirits, connected to righteousness and iniquity (cf. *Jub* 1:2). Moreover, *Jubilees* 19:28 has the name 'the spirit of Mastema' (cf. 1QS 3:23), while in other instances 'prince Mastema' seems to represent the ultimate evil leader (cf. *Jub* 11:4-6; 17:15-16 and 48:1-3). Also, *Jubilees* 7:26 envisions persons, who might 'walk in righteousness', but have chosen to 'walk on the paths of corruption'. Finally, in Jubilees 10:6 the 'sons of the righteous' are mentioned, who are to be kept safe from the ruling of evil spirits, who are said to be able to corrupt them (cf. *Jub* 10:4-5).

The *Treatise*'s closeness to these writings, which both negotiate similar ideas in their own particular way, cannot be ignored, and therefore should be taken into account when considering the position of the *Treatise* within the larger body of Second Temple Jewish writings.

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[150] Translation from O.S. Wintermute, 'Jubilees' in Charlesworth ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* vol 2, 35-142.

5.5.2. The 'Yahadic' Reception: Radicalisation and Rigidification

In the previous sections, we have dealt with texts that were thought to have influenced the sapiential 'dualistic' pattern of the *Treatise*. According to this scheme, the ideological outlook of the *Treatise* has influenced later '*yahadic*' writings, as they developed ideas further and demonstrate a clearly more radical 'dualistic thinking'. It is therefore important that in this section we take a closer look at those texts that are commonly evaluated as *'yahadic'* developments beyond the *Treatise*.

With regard to the *Treatise*'s presumed influence and '*yahadic*' reception, Frey makes a sequence of observations, which he based on its incorporation into 1QS and the various citations of and allusions to the text in other 'sectarian' documents:

1. The position in which the *Treatise* is incorporated into 1QS, i.e. after the liturgy of the renewal of the covenant, and its clear declaration of two opposing groups (1QS ii 2-10) following either God or Belial (1QS i 16-26), reveals "a notion of sharpened cosmic dualism in the terminological framework of the community".[151]
2. The *yahadic* reception of the *Treatise* is also established by it being cited or alluded to in other '*yahadic*' texts: 1QH^{a} 6:11-12 and 4Q181 1 ii 5 are thought to reflect the idea in 1QS iv 26 of 'God's throwing of the lot'; CD 2:6-7 is perceived to cite the *Treatise* twice (cf. 1QS iv 14-22); 4Q280 2 4-5 apparently has a curse formula that cites 1QS iv 14's phrase concerning the extinction of the wicked 'without a remnant'; and finally, Frey mentions (with a question mark) a citation of the *Treatise*'s virtues catalogue in 4Q502 frg. 16, a fragment, which Tigchelaar has recently identified as belonging to 4QS^{c}. Frey's analysis concludes that none of these texts contains the idea of two spirits or adopts the notion of their internal struggle within every human being. More so, they seem predominantly interested in the idea of eternal election, rather than in dualistic terminology regarding two spirits or angelic beings. Therefore, Frey concludes that the *Treatise* is only adopted in these *yahadic* texts in a "deeply modified and simplified form".[152]
3. With regard to the *Damascus Document*, Frey observes that the spiritual teaching of CD 2:2-13 expresses the *Treatise*'s ideas merely in ethical terms,

[151] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 302.
[152] Cf. Frey, 'Different Patterns', 303.

without any notion of angelic leaders. Rather than focusing on a fundamental opposition between the righteous and the wicked, the text divides people into those who have repented and joined the covenant (CD 2:2) and those who turned aside from the path and denounce the precepts (CD 2:6). Thus, an internal struggle within the human being has no place in this text, that uses language reflecting a strong sense of sociological division between insiders and outsiders. Frey observes that CD integrates this sense of ethical division into a larger framework of "a dualistic conception of history". Moreover, he argues that the text interprets ethical oppositions in terms of cosmic dualism (for instance Prince of Light vs. Belial; cf. CD 4:13). As such, Frey regards CD as reflecting a developed ideology of the *Treatise*, since "any notion of internal ambivalence has been dropped" in favour of "a framework of reinforced cosmic dualism".[153]

4. Frey thinks that 4Q181 ii 1-5 adopts the *Treatise*'s "dualistic worldview of a predestined division of human and angelic beings into two strictly opposed classes".[154] Again, Frey concludes that in 4Q181 the ethical dualism is reduced in favour of a cosmic level of dualism, and a reinforcement of rigid lines between 'the elect righteous' and 'the wicked'.

Based on his observations with regard to these references and in view of the manner in which they represent the perceived 'dualisms' in the *Treatise*, Frey concludes:[155]

1. The *psychological* dualism of 'struggling spirits within the heart of every human being' is unique and not adopted in any other Qumran text.
2. The *ethical* opposition of good/wicked and their corresponding virtues/vices become rigidified into sociological notions of insider/outsider groups. Hence, the ethical dimension that the *Treatise*'s dualism inherited from the wisdom tradition becomes less important and "undergoes a transformation into a sheer cosmic dualism".[156]

[153] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 305.
[154] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 306.
[155] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 306-307.
[156] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 307.

3. However, even this *cosmic* dualism is expressed in terms that are significantly different from the terminology in the *Treatise*. For instance, the notion of the 'spirits' is dropped in favour of the name of Belial. Hence, also the *Treatise*'s *cosmic* terminology undergoes a "thorough change in interpretation" in the sectarian writings.[157]

Frey's conclusions have serious implications for the overall evaluation of 'dualism' at Qumran. Many of his conclusions can be seen as interpretations of the evidence, that reflects a rather incongruent use of ideas and imagery with regard to the 'dualistic' expressions in those *yahadic* texts that are perceived to be related to the *Treatise*. Since Frey holds the *yahadic* texts to significantly change the 'dualism' of the *Treatise*, we need to retrace his steps and evaluate how he finds and interprets his evidence and reaches his conclusions. This will be the topic of the next section.

5.5.2.1. An Evaluation of Frey's 'Yahadic Reception' of Dualism

The basis on which Frey's analysis reaches its conclusion, i.e. that these documents can be chronologically structured within a later *yahadic* setting and thus form a pattern of development from the multi-dimensional sapiential dualism as witnessed in the *Treatise* into a more simplified and sharpened 'cosmic' dualism, is questionable at best for the following reasons:

If we apply the definitions of dualism as we have determined in Chapter 4, neither 1QS i 16-26 nor ii 2-10 demonstrate signs of dualism. The proposed citation of the *Treatise* (1QS iii 22) in 1QS i 23 leans on a similarity of only three words (חטאתם, ואשמתם and ופשעי), while the context of these words is entirely different. Moreover, 1QS i 16-26 envisions 'all the children of Israel', including the new initiates into the community, as sinful (cf. 1QS i 24), while in 1QS iii 22 the sins and transgressions point exclusively to the stumbling acts of the Sons of Righteousness. In 1QS i 16-26 the term 'the dominion of Belial' is almost used as a technical term in its own right, a term that could be commonly referred to as -for instance- our 'Age of Aquarius'. Hence, in this passage, Belial does not necessarily point to an anthropomorphic angelic being, but might function on a higher level of abstraction. Finally, in contrast to the *Treatise*, both 1QS passages are concerned with the

[157] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 307.

initiation rituals of a community, and hence represent an entirely different genre, which makes comparison rather difficult. In fact, both passages seem most concerned with marking sociological boundaries between members and non-members, which inherently leads to (often oppositional) language that enhances the positive self-presentation of the We-group over against the (exaggerated) otherness of the They-group(s). Such insider/outsider language does not necessarily represent a social reality, nor does it guarantee an accurate reflection of the in-group's actual cosmology and anthropology.

In the 'citations' of the *Treatise* in the other texts identified by Frey, similar problems occur. Frey himself already notes that none of these texts (1QH^a 6:11-12; 4Q181 1 ii 5; CD 2:6-7; and 4Q280 2 4-5) contain the notion of either two spirits or a struggle between them within the heart of man.[158] Recently, Philip Davies has argued that "the presence of an explicit dualistic doctrine is confined to the S and M texts".[159] His arguments to exclude documents that are commonly thought to reflect dualistic thought, like 1QH^a, CD and other parts of 1QS, generally revolve around the lack of a clear unsolvable division between two opposite but equally powerful forces. For instance, in 1QH^a, Davies finds terminology such as רוח and בליעל, but these terms are used in a totally different syntactical manner and have significantly different meanings. Also, Davies finds 1QH^a's light/darkness terminology not congruent with a dualistic framework: "the reference is to the periods of daylight and darkness, and though they can be metaphorically applied or can even inspire a dualistic opposition, this conception is not present".[160] Moreover, he asserts that, even though CD reflects Belial as an individual figure, he only occurs as a figure of temptation or destruction not as one of two equally powerful oppositional entities. Also, CD asserts a sense of predestination of the elect and the idea of the dominance of evil in the present age; both concepts obviously flirt with dualism, but according to Davies, CD does not describe them in a dualistic manner.[161]

With Davies' evaluation in mind, we turn to the perceived citations of 1QS iv 16-22 in CD 2:6-7, and the perceived 'progression of Qumran dualism' in CD 2:2-13

[158] In 1QH^a 6:11-12 the word רוחות occurs close to the concepts of good and evil, but the text is highly reconstructed and partly illegible. Cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, vol I, 153.
[159] Philip Davies, 'Dualism in the Qumran War Texts', 8-19.
[160] Davies, 'Dualism in the Qumran War Texts', 9.
[161] Davies, 'Dualism in the Qumran War Texts', 9-10.

(cf. 4QD[a] 2 ii 1-13a).[162] The inclusion of CD/DD in Frey's list of influenced *yahadic* documents is interesting: Frey seems to unambiguously define CD as a *yahadic* text, which he apparently places later than the *Treatise*, and possibly even later than 1QS. Scholars have debated fiercely over the priority of these documents without having reached consensus. Hence, if we entertain the possibility that the sequence of these documents needs to be reversed, CD (and possibly also 1QM) might have influenced 1QS. In any case, Frey himself observes that CD speaks predominantly in *ethical* terms without any notion of two spirits or angelic beings and no mention of an internal struggle within the human heart. Moreover, the ethical criteria of good and evil are thought to be "firmly related to definite social groups".[163] According to Frey, the insider/outsider language therefore seeks to provide a reason for unambiguous belonging, and thus can leave no room for *psychological* dualism that reflects an internal struggle within the human being. In order to evaluate Frey's reasoning, we need to revisit the passage in CD that he considers to be 'dualistic'. Revisiting CD 2:2-13, we suspect that Frey might possibly have interpreted the following as being dualistic:

3-7a	God loves knowledge; he has established wisdom and counsel before him; prudence and knowledge are at his service; patience is his and abundance of pardon, to atone for those who repent from sin	However, strength and power and a great anger with flames of fire by the hand of all the angels of destruction against those turning aside from the path and abominating the precept, without there being for them either a remnant or survivor.
11-13	He raised men up of renown for himself, to leave a remnant for the land and in order to fill the face of the world with their off-spring. He taught them by the hand of the anointed ones with his holy spirit and through seers of the truth, and their names were established with precision	But those he hates, he causes to stray

Table 19: Possible 'Dualistic' Elements in CD (following Frey).

The entirety of this passage explains the coming about of the community for which this text is written. It does not consciously reflect a dualistic worldview, but it merely explains God's order of creation and His system of election. Moreover, it contains the possibility of repentance, and the chance to come back into God's mercy. As Davies has already argued, nowhere does this text reflect a dualistic worldview.

[162] The 4QD[a] (=4Q266) text is very fragmentary and reconstructed with the aid of CD-A. Cf. also Charlotte Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, CQSS 1 (Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 2000) 28.
[163] Frey, 'Different Patterns', 304.

Another text that, according to Frey, holds a thoroughly dualistic framework, is 4Q181. The fragmentariness of this text makes interpretation rather difficult: the intended verse, 4Q181 1 ii 5, merely reflects one word (גרל) from which Frey wishes to establish an identification with the *Treatise*. Moreover, the extant text of 4Q181 clearly refers to the fallen angels of the Enochic *Book of the Watchers*. In the *Treatise*, the myth of the Watchers is not mentioned. Rather, the text seems to strongly support the view that iniquity and sin was created by God, and was not the result of the angels' rebellion.

Also, 4Q181 seems to preoccupy itself with the theme of divine election, rather than envision the irreducible opposition of two classes: From a world of evil and wickedness, God has "approached some amongst the sons of the world….so that they can be considered with him in the com[munity of] the Gods" (4Q181 1 ii 3-4).[164] Hence, I fail to detect any dualistic worldview in 4Q181, and moreover, any unambiguous relationship to the *Treatise*.

Finally, in 4Q280 2 4-5, the words 'without a remnant' (לאין שׂרית) are thought to be a citation of 1QS iv 14. However, this passage is followed by the words "you are damned, without survivor" (cf. 4Q280 2 5), which makes the entire passage much closer to 1QM 1:6 (cf. 4Q496 frg 3 6).[165] And since Frey considers 1QM to belong to a different pattern of dualism, i.e. the pattern of 'sheer cosmic dualism', 4Q280 cannot be attributed to a developmental phase within the 'multi-dimensional sapiential' pattern of the *Treatise*. Finally, the text uses rather eye-catchingly different terminology: Where the *Treatise* uses the 'Angel of Darkness' and other texts frequently use a form of Belial, 4Q280 has 'Melchiresha' as the evil source. Such a difference in terminology might well indicate a different social milieu. Finally, and most importantly, 4Q280 does not convey a dualistic worldview, as it seems only interested in cursing its enemies, i.e. those who decline to enter the covenant. Most likely, the author sees his group as the righteous ones with exclusion of all others. The exhortatory and accusatory tone of the text rather points to a literary strategy than that it is likely to contain any usable information about its author and audience's worldviews.

[164] The sister text of 4Q180 has a closer reference: "An Age to conclude […] and all that will be. Before creating them, he determined [their] operations". This text seems preoccupied with the predestined order of creation.
[165] See also CD 2:3-7a.

In sum, when considering Frey's own evaluation of the *yahadic* texts that he ascribes to the sapiential multi-dimensional pattern of dualism, we find his conclusions to be rather at odds with the proposed existence of such a pattern. He himself already observes that:

1. These texts do not have any notion of the two spirits, of oppositional angelic beings or of an internal struggle within the heart of every human.
2. Their 'dualisms' are sometimes deeply modified and simplified;
3. Some texts have heavily rigidified their dualistic outlook.
4. The ambivalence of an internal struggle or emotional distress regarding good/bad conduct is simply dropped.
5. Each one of Frey's three categories of 'dualism' identified in the *Treatise* (i.e. cosmic, ethical and psychological dualism) is either no longer existent or is severely modified in these *yahadic* texts.

These observations need subsequently to be evaluated in light of our earlier findings in both Chapter 4 and in this chapter, which can be recapitulated as follows:

1. Frey's three levels of dualism are inaccurate: two of them (psychological and ethical) can actually not be regarded as dualistic, while the third one (cosmic dualism) needs to be uncluttered of non-dualistic elements (such as light/darkness) and brought in line with Bianchi's moderate dualism.
2. The *Treatise* turns out to be almost void of dualistic ideas, and in fact seems to stay rather close to other late wisdom texts, such as Ben Sira and 4QInstruction, while it may reflect influences of apocalyptic texts such as the Book of Watchers at *1Enoch* 9 and (to a lesser extent) *Jubilees*.
3. Upon secondary evaluation, none of the 'precursors' or 'successors' of the *Treatise* convey a coherence of 'dualism' that ties them to each other or to the *Treatise*.

Hence, our conclusion simply must be that the establishment of dualism in the *Treatise* and in the other -supposedly related- Qumran documents, as well as the presumption of a chronological development reflected in a 'pattern of sapiential dualism' cannot be maintained without self-critical reflection. Rather, we might want to entertain the idea that the *Treatise* was part of a development and modification of ideas and traditions within the Judaism of the Second Temple. As such, the assessment of 'dualism' with regard to this text might prevent us from openly evaluating the various negotiations regarding those ideas reflected in contemporary

texts. The next section briefly deals with one of these ideas, the imagery of 'Two Ways', in order to demonstrate how a text like the *Treatise* can be evaluated as part of a long tradition of shaping, negotiating and modifying Jewish ideas, without necessarily holding on to its perceived 'dualistic outlook'.

5.6. Two Ways: A Case Study

The imagery of two ways or two paths is considered to be one of the most distinctive features of the forms of 'dualism' that scholars have identified in the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*. The idea of two strictly separated 'walks' of life is thought to be extrapolated into the cosmic sphere as two angelic beings supposedly guide their respective two divisions of humans on their path of Truth or Iniquity. Moreover, the two paths are also thought to be internalised, as the two spirits, that represent the paths, struggle within the heart of every human being. In short, the imagery of the two ways is closely connected to scholarly evaluations of the *Treatise* as dualistic.

However, the imagery of the Two Ways is not uncommon within Jewish (and later Christian) writings, without necessarily being evaluated as reflecting a dualistic outlook. The idea of Two Ways or paths, in which an individual can choose to walk, is already encountered in Deut 30:15-20, which promises those who 'walk in the ways to the Lord' (i.e. those who keep his commandments) life and prosperity, while predicting a fate of death and destruction for those 'who turn their hearts away'. Nickelsburg has argued that Deut 30:15-20 connects the imagery of Two Ways with the observance and disobedience of the Mosaic Torah. Also, he thinks that the terms 'life' and 'death' in this passage are constructed in order to connect the Two Ways to the already mentioned blessings and curses in Deut 28-29.[166]

These passages might have influenced Jer 21:8, in which the choice between life and death is taken quite literally, as the prophet proclaims that the Lord has 'set' before the people two ways, the way of life and the way of death. The idea of Two Ways frequently occurs in the Psalms (cf. 1:1, 6; 119: 29-30; 139: 24). In Ps 119, the connection between a man's 'ways' and his obedience to God's commandments is found again, as it ties the moral categories of righteousness and deceit to their respective paths (cf. Ps 119: 1, 7, 9, 15, 21, 29-30, 32, 104).

[166] George W. Nickelsburg, *1Enoch 1* (Fortress Press: Minneapolis, 2001) 455.

Later, in the Book of Tobit, such a moral categorisation has taken the forefront, implicitly bringing the notion of observance and all its behavioural manifestations under the banners of 'righteousness': "I Tobit have walked all the days of my life in the ways of truth and righteousness" (*Tobit* 1:3, cf. 4: 5-6, 10, 19).

The imagery of the Two Ways is also prominent in the first eight chapters of the Book of Proverbs, where both 'ways' are associated with wisdom and folly. For instance, Prov 2:12-22 envisions 'wisdom' and 'understanding' to be decisive factors in humans' ability to choose the righteous path and stay out of the realm of the 'ways of wicked men' and paths of death. Hence, in Proverbs the moral categories of 'righteousness' and 'wickedness' are expanded into the social categories of 'wise' and 'foolish' people.

Wisdom and knowledge also play a crucial part in the way the *Epistle of Enoch* negotiates the two paths, as it ties the 'ways of righteousness' closely to the divine knowledge of the righteous chosen ones (*1Enoch* 94:1-5). *1Enoch*'s 'Two Ways Instruction' exhorts its audience to "love righteousness and walk in it; for the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptance, but the paths of iniquity will quickly be destroyed and vanish" (*1Enoch* 94:1). Interestingly, the paths of righteousness are not the focal point, but rather 'to certain people the paths of violence and death will be revealed', so they can avoid them (cf. *1Enoch* 94:2). Moreover, the instruction stresses the ability of the righteous (and perhaps all human beings?) to choose: "And now I say to you O righteous, walk not in the paths of evil, nor in the paths of death….but seek and choose for yourselves righteousness and an elect life, and walk in the paths of peace so that you may live and flourish" (*1Enoch* 94:3-4).

Other texts extend the imagery of the Two Ways to the realm of cosmological notions of light and darkness. For instance, Proverbs associates the Two Ways with light and darkness, attaching moral categories to these otherwise neutral cosmic phenomena: "The path of the righteous is like the first gleam of dawn, shining ever bright till the full light of day. But the way of the wicked is like deep darkness; they do not know what makes them stumble" (Prov 4:18-19; cf. Prov 2:13). Also, Ps 112:4 has "unto the righteous the light arises in the darkness". In the *Epistle of Enoch* (*1Enoch* 92:4), it is said of the righteous that "they shall walk in eternal light". Also, light and darkness terminology is frequently used in connection to 'walking' in the Book of Job. In Job 38:19-20 the paths are obscured and only known to God, who

asks: "what is the way to the abode of light? And where does darkness reside? […] Do you know the paths to their dwellings?" (cf. Isa 42:16).

Outside of the scope of this section fall the later occurrences of the Two Ways, reflected not only in Rabbinic literature, but also in early Christian literature, like for instance the *Didache*, *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Epistle of Barnabas*. Scholars have especially noticed the closeness of the *Treatise* to the *Didache*, and some have even suggested that the texts have a common source.[167]

In short, the imagery of Two Ways in which humans can walk, is a rather widespread phenomenon in Judaism. Many of the texts, that reflect the imagery of Two Ways, negotiate oppositions without being evaluated as 'dualistic'. Moreover, it is important to realise that an author's motive for contrasting the Two Ways often serves an exhortatory purpose, as to strategically advocate ethically correct behaviour. Therefore, instead of looking for dualistic constructions, it might be more fruitful to evaluate the *Treatise* against its Jewish background, in which it represents one of the possibilities to negotiate the complexity and ambiguity of human life.

5.7. The Cohesive Function of 'Dualism' at Qumran

These scholarly enquiries into various aspects and examples of Qumran dualism leave us with rather devastating conclusions regarding theories of the (development of the) 'Qumran Sect's characteristic dualistic thinking'. In Chapter 4, we have already seen that the definition of 'dualism' was obscured by scholarly attempts to define perceived oppositions as various types of dualism. Moreover, these types of dualism have been perceived as developing within 'patterns of dualism'. This Chapter has evaluated one 'pattern of dualism' and the perceived developments of its 'dualistic' elements, by analysing not only the pattern, but particularly its core text, the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*. In this regard, this Chapter has brought the following critical points to light:

1. The *Treatise* cannot successfully be used as a representative of 'Qumran dualism', because of its problems regarding sources and redaction, which makes it more difficult to separate out what parts of the text do not 'originally' belong.

[167] Cf. Huub van de Sandt and David Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Assen: Royal van Gorcum/Fortress Press, 2002) esp. 140-155.

2. Moreover, the question of tradition also touches upon the problem of date. The traditional dating of the *Treatise* prevents this text to be the pivotal linchpin within a developmental chronology, especially if the text is considered to be reflecting a modification of certain ideas in contemporary wisdom texts like Ben Sira.
3. The *Treatise* is often perceived as 'dualistic', because scholars start with the presupposition of a sectarian social reality, and with dualism as their fitting 'radical' ideology. However, the text itself conveys many ideas that speak against such a straightforward social setting. For instance, to allow every human being to be the battleground for good and evil can hardly be harmonised with the ideology of a sect.
4. Furthermore, on evaluation, the *Treatise* reflects many ideas that are not 'dualistic' and/or concur with similar ideas in contemporary Second Temple writings, such as Ben Sira, *1 Enoch* (Book of the Watchers /Epistle of Enoch) and to some extent *Jubilees*.
5. Moreover, scholarly research has revealed that the ethical component in the *Treatise* is probably the central focus of the text. Therefore, there is no reason to centralise the 'cosmic' component in the text, but rather to evaluate that the *Treatise* is concerned with why 'good people do bad things'.
6. Also, the section on the Two Ways has demonstrated that ideas such as this can have a long tradition in Judaism, and that they might occur in texts that have never been regarded as 'dualistic'. Surely, a concept like the 'Two Ways' could only be considered 'dualistic' if the two ways had an existence in themselves, i.e. if they were endemic to the fabric of the universe. The usage of the 'Two Ways'-imagery has however demonstrated enough ambiguity to discard such a construction of reality. Rather, the 'Two Ways'-imagery can be perceived as exhortational, as a strategic device to induce ethical behaviour.

In conclusion, the concept of dualism is better not used for the *Treatise* or as a means to tie a variety of texts together in a coherent ideological framework. Moreover, there is no denying that oppositionality can be observed in various texts, but the oppositions are often described and worked out in very different ways. Because of those differences, and because the evaluation of 'dualistic thought' in

many of those text is incorrect, the concept of dualism is not suitable to tie all these texts together.

In his edited volume titled 'dualism in Qumran', Xeravits recognises the inevitable fact that the notion of an 'eye-catchingly dualistic thinking of the Qumran Sect' can no longer be maintained, but that re-evaluation might cause problems for the larger theoretical framework of our understandings of Qumran. Therefore, he concludes that the perceived complexity of the material supports "the conviction that one cannot postulate compelling doctrines in the 'theology of Qumran'" and that "the group did not want to develop a sophisticated doctrinal system". Moreover, his subsequent conclusion "rather, they [the Qumran group] collected and mediated various aspects of the theology of their times without so much as being champions of several infallible dogmas" [168], seems to invest more in the preservation of the Qumran Paradigm, than it does justice to the richness of the Qumran manuscripts.

Xeravits' remarks are conspicuous but rather a sign of the times: they are one step short of stating that a radical group like the *yahad* had no doctrine or ideology of its own, but rather copied popular or appealing ideologies that floated around in Second Temple Judaism. Of course, such a theoretical framework might provide a solution for the perceived problems of variety and diversity within the framework of 'dualism', but hardly complies with the very nature of a religious sectarian group. Again the Qumran Paradigm of a community and a library is leading the theorising and is preserved at all costs, even in the face of diversity.

[168] Géza Xeravits, 'Introduction' in Xeravits ed., *Dualism in* Qumran, 3.

Chapter Six: The Qumran Paradigm: Towards a Revisionist Approach

The notion of a segregated, ideologically radical 'sectarian' organisation that maintained a 'sectarian' library has been part and parcel of the scholarly theories of Qumran since the very beginning. Within this Qumran Paradigm, certain documents have been positioned within an interpretative framework, thus sustaining a theoretical ideology and a constructed social reality, rather than being evaluated on the basis of the information these texts can provide themselves. Thus, there is a tendency to take as a point of departure a conceptual and constructed social reality, and to impose this 'social reality' on the (interpretation of) Qumran texts to the extent that their 'social world' is not questioned but rather reified. Even though this thesis is set up as a critique of such reification, in many ways it wants to engage with the Qumran Paradigm as a dialogue partner, worthy of critique, while at the same time proposing a way forward that is more fundamentally revisionist with regard to its foundations.

In the preceding chapters, this thesis has laid bare some of the persistent building blocks that form the foundations of the Qumran Paradigm: (1) the assumption of a coherent and meaningfully related library, (2) models of classification, that imply (3) models of chronological development of the Qumran texts, and (4) the lack of clear definition of certain textual peculiarities, resulting in (5) presumed ideological coherence.

We have identified the problems attached to classifications and categorisations of texts, and have recognised their inherent tendency to place texts in a framework of 'chronological development' thus positioning documents according to their presupposed place in early theories of Qumran. Such 'fixed' positions then become the driver from which further theorising takes place, and perceived ideological peculiarities are linked with the text's presumed 'social reality'. Another issue regarding the presupposition of a chronological development is that it encourages Qumran centrism, i.e. each text needs to be meaningfully related to the 'Qumran Sect', even if the textual evidence does not 'fit'. In practice, such Qumran centrism often pushes certain texts into a 'pre-sectarian' or 'formative' realm. We have encountered a good example of this tendency in 4QMMT and its esteemed position as the 'foundational document of the Qumran sect'. As we have seen, 4QMMT throws up so many difficulties and problems that we cannot comfortably use this text as the pinnacle of Qumran theology. Moreover, we have questioned the ideological connection of 'mild polemics' as a contributing factor to its classification, since we

have found no ground for any polemical reading of the text. In fact, there is nothing in this text that would prevent us from investigating other avenues of interpretation, or from proposing to attempt interpreting 4QMMT from a different vantage point or within a broader perspective.

The other building block in my thesis that questions an all-too-straightforward mirror reading of ideology and social reality, is the presumption of the 'dualistic outlook of the Qumran Sect'. As we have seen, the broadening of the conceptual framework of 'dualism' has permitted Qumran scholarship to recognise 'dualistic' tendencies in documents that reflect paradoxes, oppositionality, contrasts and authorial strategies of ethical or social stratification. More so, many of the documents that reflect oppositionality reflect author strategies to define the Self over against the Other. Authorial strategies often negotiate the human experience of ambiguity and/or serve exhortatory purposes, rather than attempting to reflect an irresolvable oppositional worldview. Moreover, it must be questioned whether those concepts and occurrences in the Qumran texts to which the label 'dualism' is applied can be divorced from their wider socio-cultural concepts, such as apocalypticism and wisdom tradition. Also, we have shown that many Second Temple texts demonstrate similar oppositional ideas, without them being evaluated as dualistic. For instance, our test case, the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, has its closest analogies with Ben Sira, a text that has never been evaluated as dualistic. Thus, even though oppositionality can be observed within various texts within and outwith Qumran, 'dualism' is not a suitable concept to tie these texts together, as their oppositionality is often negotiated non-dualistically, in a very different way and with very different purposes. And moreover, the *Treatise* cannot be used as a representative of all those texts that contain oppositionality. Finally, it must be concluded that ideology, in this case 'dualism', cannot be used as a sociological boundary marker. Therefore, we have to dissolve the cohesive forces of the Qumran Paradigm that try to tie sometimes very different texts together within a notion of ideological sameness.

Having evaluated classification and ideology as building blocks of the Qumran Paradigm, a broader perspective of theorising needs to be addressed. These two investigated building blocks often ultimately and implicitly reconstruct social reality

as well as working from presupposed assumptions of 'social reality'. [1] As a result, these theories become self-fulfilling prophecies as they are built out of a fair amount of circular and backward reasoning. Such reasoning can only lead to the reinforcement of the Qumran Paradigm and its adjustments, as the foundations of 'a sectarian group and library' remain untouched.

6.1. The Pyramid Structure of the Qumran Paradigm

There is no reason why scientific research should 'invent the wheel' over and over again. Building upon the results of former research often brings further insight to the materials at hand. However, the foundations of research need not become unmovable objects or impregnable dogmas. In many ways, the foundations of the Qumran Paradigm have become the unspoken 'rules' from which scholars depart. Such an inherent set of rules resemble what Foucault has called the 'archaeology of knowledge': those systems of regularities within the scientific discourse that function outside the customary boundaries, but which are so profoundly dominating that they have become the informal structures that partly determine the scholarly discourse.[2] In other words, the informal structure of Qumran scholarship dictates that research departs from within the prevalent Qumran Paradigm and hence reinforces the finding of results that sustain this Paradigm.

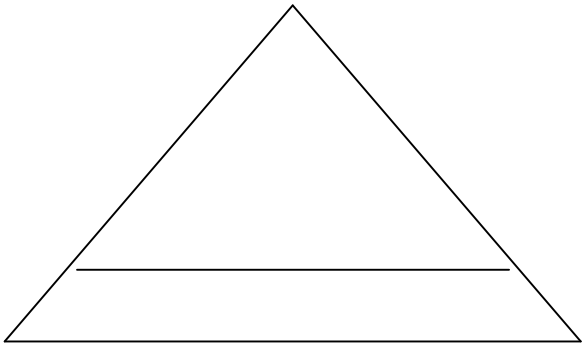

Table 20: The Pyramid Structure.

To use an image: Qumran scholarship has erected a *pyramid structure*, which has a foundation upon which all further research is constructed. This foundation has proven to be so broad, that it has become very difficult to back away from, even in the face of evidence that does not fit. Hence, what happens is that one can play with and

[1] Cf. P. Berger and T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality; A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Penguin, 1966).
[2] Cf. M. Foucault, *The Order of Things* (London: Routledge, 2010, 13th English edition of the French work *Les mots et les choses*, 1966).

form theories at the top of the pyramid, but the base will remain untouched, simply because it is the structure that provided the foundation for the Paradigm. In this thesis, it is not my aim to categorically dispense with the Qumran Paradigm, but rather to question whether the descriptions of its social world that stem from its foundation - its parameters of sect and sectarian library - do justice to the complexity of Qumran.

This thesis has demonstrated that we cannot comfortably proceed on the basis of the Qumran Paradigm to evaluate the evidence. We might come to that conclusion once again, and we need to allow for certain parameters of the Paradigm to prevail, but currently there are just too many unanswered difficulties that prevent us from maintaining an inflexible interpretative framework.

6.2. The Proposed Alternatives: Protest Reinforces the Paradigm

Over the years, there have been scholars who have attempted to discard the Qumran Paradigm and its adjusted theories altogether. The most famous one of these attempts is the theory of Norman Golb. Golb, whose ideas have been received with great criticism and ardent opposition, denied the relationship between the Qumran site and the Scrolls in its entirety, and argued that all Qumran manuscripts came from different Jerusalemite libraries and hence were representative of Judaism as a whole.[3] Golb, however, was not the first one to propose that the Scrolls originally came from Jerusalem. In 1960, Karl Heinrich Rengstorf published a theory in which he argued that the Qumran manuscripts had no connection to the Essenes (or any other sect) but were part of the library of the Jerusalem Temple, brought to Qumran as a precaution before the Jewish Revolt.[4]

Golb and Rengstorf's theories were not the only ones to deny the validity of the Qumran Paradigm. From the side of archaeology, we have already discussed scholarly theories that disconnect the site from the caves and/or pose alternative destinations for the Qumran site, such as a 'villa rustica', a fortress or a commercial centre.[5] Recently, Rachel Bar-Nathan has argued that the ceramics found at Qumran do not point to a sectarian occupancy, as similar pottery has been found on other sites

[3] Cf. Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls.*
[4] Cf. K.H. Rengstorf, *Hirbet Qumrân und die Bibliothek vom Toten Mer* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1960)
[5] These proposals were respectively made by (1) Donceel and Donceel-Voûte, (2) Golb and (3) Hirschfeld, Magen & Peleg.

in the Jericho region.[6] The most ardent critic of the Qumran Paradigm from an archaeological point of view might be Jürgen Zangenberg, who argues that the collection of Qumran manuscripts *we have now* cannot and should not be regarded as representative of the original 'collection', but rather as a incidental remainder of an original collection. According to him "der ursprüngliche Charakter des ehemaligen Corpus [ist] unerreichbar vergangen" and therefore he regards it as methodologically unwise to make the 'library or collection' "zum Kennmerkmal der Schriften insgesamt". He therefore warns against comfortably inferring conclusions about these texts' common social world.[7] Moreover, Zangenberg doubts whether Qumran can be connected to the Essenes, even if some of the manuscripts might have an Essene origin. He argues that even though there is a certainty that Jews inhabited the Qumran site, doubt should be cast as to whether they were Essene 'sectarians'.[8]

The methodological questions that are inherently raised within the theories of critics like Golb and Zangenberg are invaluable to the progress of Qumran scholarship, but their alternative theories tend to emphasise that they were born out of protest and resistance. To put it in an image, they attempt to overturn the pyramid structure altogether and alternatively create an *anti-pyramid* structure.

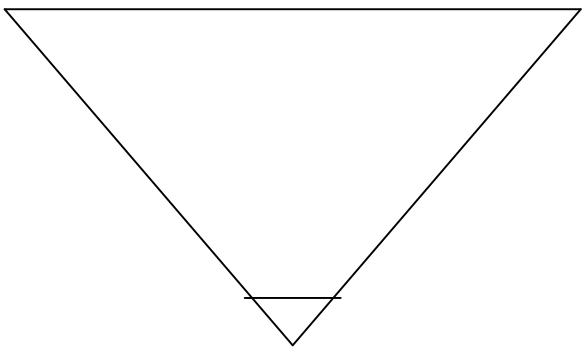

Table 21: The Anti-Pyramid Structure.

Not only does an *anti- pyramid* structure have a very skimpy base to hold and ground its alternative explanations, such a structure often also provokes an unwanted side effect, namely the reinforcement of the established *pyramid* structure. In the case of Golb, we have seen that not so much his critical questions, but rather the radicality

[6] R. Bar-Nathan, 'Qumran and the Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces of Jericho: The Implication of the Pottery Finds on the Interpretation of the Settlement at Qumran' in *Qumran, The Site*, 263-277.
[7] Cf. Zangenberg, 'Zwischen Zufall und Eigenartigkeit', 129.
[8] Cf. Zangenberg, 'Zwischen Zufall und Eigenartigkeit', 145-146.

of his resistance has provoked negative reactions. The radical discarding of the prevalent Paradigm in its entirety and the protest-induced alternative proposals have often contributed to the Qumran Paradigm, as they deny the probability that part of the Paradigm might provide scholarship with valuable information about these texts.

The strength of the critical questions that both Golb (from a literary point of view) and Zangenberg (from an archaeological point of view) have posed, lies in their hesitation to combine and categorise texts and material evidence in order to establish a clear-cut history of origins. Indeed they inherently question whether a precise and more accurate analysis of sources might speak against conflating various social groups and socio-historical circumstances too swiftly. Thus, perceived similarities between texts with regard to social backgrounds or ideological outlooks might often be explained by similar and contemporary socio-cultural circumstances, but they cannot be comfortably used to draw conclusions about possible dependencies and affiliations of social groups. With such caution in mind, this thesis not only points to the weaknesses of the Paradigm, but also attempts to 'unhook' certain documents from an all too stringent interpretative framework.

6.3. What We Can Learn from 4QMMT and the Treatise?

The two case studies of this thesis, 4QMMT and the *Treatise*, have demonstrated how certain documents have become domesticated by the prevalent Paradigm, and hence interpreted accordingly. The analysis of these texts has demonstrated that, even though scholarship has linked 4QMMT and the *Treatise* to similar phases of development in relation to a '*yahad*', there is nothing in those documents themselves that suggests such provenance without the presupposition of the Qumran Paradigm. Neither of these texts refers to a '*yahad*' and neither of them contains terminology that is commonly associated with a '*yahad*'. Rather, through classifications systems and perceived inceptions of 'ideological boundary-markers', scholars have domesticated these texts within a sectarian paradigm. Even more so, there is nothing in either 4QMMT or the *Treatise* that suggests that these two documents should be linked to each other, even though scholars proceeding on the assumption of a Qumran Paradigm want to assign them to an analogous period of chronological development in the making of a 'Qumran Community'. However, these very different documents have nevertheless become 'linked through the back door', because scholars have treated them from the same interpretative framework of the

Qumran Paradigm. Through this framework, both documents are not only linked within a certain time frame and provenance, they are similarly made to fit the Paradigm's presumed social world.

On the content level of these documents, a certain deregulation of ideological definitions has taken place. In the case of 4QMMT, scholars speak of 'mild polemics'; while in the *Treatise* a 'multi-dimensional dualistic outlook' is perceived. In this thesis, we have seen that both concepts need to be questioned with regard to (1) the way they are perceived and defined within the context of these texts and (2) the socio-historical reality that they are perceived to reflect. The ideas of 'mild polemics' and 'dualism' serve the Paradigmatic notion of sectarianism well, because they support the idea of tension and radicality. Within current scholarship, the perceived sectarian tensions within these texts are thought to reflect a socio-historical reality. However, within the world of the text, perceived oppositionality does not necessarily need to reflect a conflictual social reality. Texts create symbolic worlds that have their own coherence, rather than reflecting an external order of reality. Literary strategies might convey authorial attempts to make sense of a 'messy' world by describing reality in terms of a reversal of power or a hyperbolic dividing of things that in real life are not so easily separated. Moreover, ambiguities, paradoxes and contradictions are part of everyday life; this thesis has shown that these texts –in very different ways – try to negotiate, change and complement these experiences.

Another problem this thesis has detected is the widening of definitions. If we deflect from our definitions and broaden concepts like 'polemics' and 'dualism' to such an extent that they can be applied to almost every occurrence of 'discussion' or 'contrast', these concepts lose their explanatory power. Moreover, the broadened definition of 'polemics' and 'dualism' might stand in the way of investigating particular or unique information within these texts about the way the ancient authors negotiate the human experience of ambiguity and their conceptualisation of and interaction with the larger socio-historical reality. Indeed the broadening of definitions and the conflating of concepts serve the purpose of reiterating the notion of sectarianism and high social boundaries in these texts, in order to make them fit a certain theoretical framework of reality. In this constructed reality of segregation and sectarianism, texts are not perceived as contributing to developments in larger society. Letting go of such a construct of social reality might open up some of these texts – 4QMMT and the *Treatise* amongst them - to the possibility that they contributed to

the negotiations and transformations of the larger contemporary Jewish society, as their symbolic worlds negotiated various forms of ambiguity in real life: In the case of 4QMMT, a more formal legal approach might be detected to try and inform, influence and participate in the larger society. In the case of the *Treatise*, the focus might be more on answering eternal questions of theodicy and ethical behaviour, maybe even in a hortatory or persuasive fashion.

Importantly, textual symbolic worlds are not the direct result of real social worlds and hence cannot be read as such. Thompson has observed that scholars "make a sharp distinction between social, institutional entities on the one hand, and symbolic literary entities on the other". Moreover, they perceive the socio-historical situation as given, and this "situation 'causes' or 'occasions' religious and literary expressions. Causality is seen as flowing uni-directionally".[9] This uni-directional model from reality to text is even more blurred at Qumran, as we only have our Paradigmatic theories of social reality. Therefore: it would not only be wrong to model the world of the text on the constructed model of Qumran reality, and thus come up with the self-fulfilling prophecy of a 'fitting' social world; it would also be wrong to combine peculiarities in various, often very different texts in order to make them fit the Qumran Paradigm without questioning how, to what extent and for what purpose their individual symbolic worlds were constructed. Additionally, one needs to question how these symbolic expressions relate to these texts' individual social worlds. If on such basis some texts should be linked, that is valuable, but we need to let go of theories that link up texts that are not obviously linked, be it through categorisations or ideology.

Realising that the question of relationship between ideology (or symbolic, textual reality) *and* social reality needs to leave room for flexibility and complexity, the test cases of 4QMMT and the *Treatise* make clear that we need to rethink the whole question of library, the question of sectarianism, the question of chronological development and the question of ideology. In short, we need to rethink what sort of Paradigm we are working with, what to maintain and what to leave behind.

[9] Cf. Thompson, 'A Sociological Analysis of Tribulation in the Apocalypse of John', in *Semeia* 36 (1986) 147-174, 163; Rather Thompson advocates that the text and the social world mutually transform one another, and that they both participate in a "myriad of qualities, behavioural traits, religious commitments, psycho-social understandings, and social and political interactions"

6.4. Towards a Revisionist Approach: Proposals for Future Research

The Qumran Paradigm has demonstrated its tendency to create large theoretical umbrellas to shelter very different documents and link them together in an inceptive or formative period. Moreover, it has created a 'sect'-based framework, in which all Qumran texts need to be meaningfully linked to the social history of this 'sect', thus creating a framework of chronological development and coherent ideology.

In order to prevent circular and backward reasoning, and in light of the many questions and difficulties we have detected throughout, this thesis advocates not to link the Qumran documents together, but rather to push them apart and evaluate them with an open perspective that appreciates their differences and often unique outlooks. Also, theories that sustain the validity of the Qumran Paradigm might gain strength if they were reduced to apply to a much smaller number of texts. Moreover, scholars should be aware that they have created a social reality that might not have been so bounded and well defined. This thesis therefore advocates a more fundamentally revisionist approach; it proposes to 'unhook' the paradigmatic anchors that trap certain texts into some perceived 'sectarian' ideological frameworks, and investigate the possibility that these texts participated more broadly in the shaping of ideas and traditions in Judaism in this period. Such re-evaluation should be undertaken without the imposing *pyramid structure* of the Qumran Paradigm (or its foundations), but also without 'swinging to the other side' of the *anti-pyramid structure* that either denies any probability of a connection or attempts to make certain texts mainstream or central to Judaism.

This fundamentally revisionist approach should be an attempt not only to question the parameters of the Qumran Paradigm more thoroughly; it should also be an attempt to de-reify some of the points of departure that have been taken for granted in most of the theories of Qumran. As such, I am calling for a kind of reasoning that is prepared to start closer to the foundations of Qumran theories. This thesis demonstrates that –for a certain amount of texts- scholarship needs to take a step back from the Qumran Paradigm and make space for the possibility that these texts functioned in a larger social environment than previously thought, possibly even with various notions of audience and readership. For such a fundamentally revisionist evaluation, we need to take the individual texts, their peculiarities and their symbolic expressions as our point of departure, and hence investigate how they might 'fit'

within the larger picture of what we know about the Second Temple Period. As such, this fundamentally revisionist approach leaves behind the constructed social reality of a 'sectarian' Paradigm, and attempts to recover the complexity of Judaism in this period by advocating a re-evaluation of the Qumran texts as a rich assemblage of varied witnesses to such a complexity.

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