An Analysis of 4QInstruction

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'Doctor of Philosophy'

by
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# Table of Contents

1. Introduction 5  
1.1. Aim and scope of dissertation 5  
1.2. The textual remains of 4QInstruction 9

2. Reconstruction of 4QInstruction 11  
2.1. Physical description of the 4Q copies. Reconstructed location of the major fragments 11  
2.1.1. 4Q416 and 4Q417 11  
2.1.1.1. 4Q416 (4QInstruction* 13  
2.1.1.2. 4Q417 (4QInstruction*) 16  
2.1.1.3. Calculation of the length of the scroll 19  
2.1.2. 4Q418, 4QInstruction* 19  
2.1.2.1. The two hands of 4Q418 representing two copies of 4QInstruction 19  
2.1.2.2. 4Q418a (4QInstruction*) 20  
2.1.3. 4Q423 (4QInstruction*) 24  
2.1.4. 4Q415 (4QInstruction*) 26  
2.2. Summary 27  
2.2.1. Distribution of the preserved fragments of the various scrolls 29  
2.2.2. Survey of contents 29  
2.3. Excursus: To reconstruct a scroll from scattered fragments 32  
Plates 35

3. Genres, Style, and Redaction History 36  
3.1. Literary genres 36  
3.2. Style and literary devices 48  
3.2.1. Addressee(s) 48  
3.2.2. Poetic elements in the discourses 49  
3.2.3. Literary devices used in the admonitions 50  
3.2.4. Other literary devices 51  
3.3. Redaction history 53

4. Main Themes of 4QInstruction 58  
4.1. Wisdom and Revelation 58  
4.1.1. The transformation of 'Wisdom' 59  
4.1.2. Revelation of God's wisdom in 4QInstruction and in the writings of the yahad 63  
4.1.3. Apocalyptic motifs 66  
4.1.4. Revelation given to Noah 67  
4.1.5. Eschatological knowledge: Adam reinterpreted 71  
4.1.6. The Mystery to Come 75  
4.1.7.1. The heavenly Book of Hagi, 4Q417 IX 83  
4.1.7.2. The identity of the Book of Hagi 92  
4.1.7.3. Links with Jewish liturgy 94  
4.2. Eschatology 97  
4.2.1. The universal judgement, 4Q416 VII 97  
4.2.2. The ultimate fate of the ungodly and the righteous, 4Q18 69  
4.2.3.1. Summary 107  
4.2.3.2. Afterlife 111  
4.2.3.3. Realized eschatology 113  
4.2.3.4. Josephus' statements about the Essenes' predicting the future 117  
4.2.3.5. 4QInstruction and early Jewish liturgy 119

4.3. The Remnant Community 123  
4.3.1. The concept of a remnant 123  
4.3.2. The glorious portion of the elect, 4Q418 81  
4.3.3. The concept of remnant in 4QInstruction 125  
4.3.4. Excursus: Divine sonship in early Jewish tradition 138

4.4. Creation, Man and Providence 146

4.5. Admonitions for Various Areas of Human Life 151
5. Provenance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1. Relation to Other Writings</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1. Relation to the Qumran sectarian literature</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.2. Relation to the Books of Enoch</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.3. Relation to other early Jewish writings</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2. Time of Composition and Milieu. Sitz im Leben</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.1. The circles behind 4QInstruction</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.2. Use by the yakad</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1. Palaeography, orthography and scribal marks</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1. An edition of fragments in accordance with the sequence suggested above</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.2. 4Q423. Some additional fragments</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix. Texts: transcription and translation</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Introduction

1.1. Aim and scope of this study

In the early inventory of Qumran compositions, most of the works numbered 4Q408-426 were considered sapiential writings, as were 4Q184-185, 4Q298, 4Q307-308, 4Q472-476, 4Q486-487, 4Q498. The largest preserved writing received the preliminary and general designation Sapiential Work A; others were designated Sap. Work B (4Q415), Sap. Work C (4Q425), Sap. Work D (4Q420/421), and Sap. Work E (4Q423), while some minor compositions carried the designation ‘sapiential work’ (4Q408, 410-13, 422, 424, 426, 472, 474-76). D. Harrington and J. Strugnell have proposed to designate Sap. Work A ‘kerja’, while we have proposed the English title ‘Instruction for the Knowledgeable’ with the abbreviation ‘l Q/4QInstruction’. It was recently decided to use the designation ‘4QInstruction’ in the forthcoming DJD publication, and we will therefore use that title.

The aim of the present study is to provide a systematic analysis of 4QInstruction. To provide a basis for the study we want to define the textual material of 4QInstruction, determine the number of extant copies of this composition found in Qumran, and suggest a sequence of the major fragments within the composition as well as the length of the original scrolls (chs. 1-2). Secondly we want to understand the literary character of 4QInstruction and to get a first impression of its contents through an investigation of the literary and stylistic


1
means used (ch. 3). Thereafter we will examine some main themes in the religious and philosophical attitude reflected in the composition (ch. 4). Through a comparison with other early Jewish writings we want to determine the provenance of 4QInstruction and bring forward some preliminary suggestions as to its time and milieu of origin (ch. 5). A text edition of the major fragments follows (ch. 6).

Various methods will be used in the analysis. In ch. 2 we are guided by H. Stegemann’s methods for reconstructing scrolls from scattered fragments. If we can determine the sequence of the major fragments within the original composition, conclusions can be drawn about its literary structure and progression of thought. In ch. 3 form-critical tools developed for the understanding of biblical texts are used to determine the various genres represented in 4QInstruction. Sections 4.1-4.3 are dedicated to the interrelated themes of ‘Wisdom and Revelation’, ‘Eschatology’, and ‘The Remnant Community’. In these sections selected discourses are studied in their contexts. We analyze the structure of the texts and concentrate upon the theme under discussion. Then other texts from 4QInstruction are brought to bear on the subject. Parallels within early Jewish literature are pointed out; at times such parallels are helpful in the interpretation of the text. Some of these parallels lead us to bring forward suggestions on the relation between apocalyptic and liturgical traditions in early Judaism.

Considerations of space compel us to keep sections 4.4 and 4.5 more brief; these sections introduce some themes for further scholarly discussion. 4.4 deals with creation and providence, while 4.5 outline the various fields of life covered by the wisdom admonitions of 4QInstruction. In ch. 5 we compare 4QInstruction with other works from the second century BCE in order to achieve a preliminary understanding of its historical background.

By way of introduction, our use of the terms ‘Essene’ and ‘sectarian’ should be explained. Basically we subscribe to the so-called Groningen hypothesis of Qumran origins, according to which the Essenes are an offspring of apocalyptic circles in the land of Israel of the third and early second centuries BCE. The yahad and the settlement at Qumran should be seen within the framework of a wider Essene movement emerging by the mid-second century BCE.

We regard it as beyond doubt that the settlement at Qumran was connected with the Essene movement, and that the ‘ancient library of Qumran’ (the scrolls found in the caves close to the settlement) represents some kind of an Essene library. This library contained books composed within the Essene movement and among its

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4 Cf. Pliny’s reference to the Essenes at the shores of the Dead Sea above Ein Gedi, *Natural History* V.xv.73. For the similarities between the Essenes described in the ancient sources and the communities reflected in the sectarian writings, see especially T.S. Bealt, *Josephas’ Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Cambridge 1988; J.C. VanderKam “The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Essenes or Sadducees?”, *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls* (H. Shanks, ed.), New York 1992, 50-62. For a criticism of viewing Qumran as an Essene settlement, see A.D. Crown, L. Cansdale, “Qumran. Was it an Essene Settlement”, *BAR* 5/1994, 24-35, 73-8. N. Golb argues that the scrolls have no close connection with the settlement, but rather represent a library brought to the caves from Jerusalem: *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls*, New York 1994. This theory cannot easily explain the fact that the same type of pottery was found in the settlement as well as the caves.
precursors, as well as books reflecting a wider Jewish context. Tov's assertion that a certain percentage of the scrolls were copied within 'the Qumran scribal school', while others were not, offers additional evidence.

The fact that in a few cases the halakha of 4QMMT resembles halakhic rulings ascribed to the 'Sadducees', by the talmudic writings, does not invalidate the presumed connection between the Qumran library and the Essenes. The terminology of 4QMMT does not reflect the structure of the yahad. MMT's use of the term הָיָֽהָד הַאָדָם 'the end of days' (4QMMT C 14, 21) stems from Deut 4:30; 31:29, and does not reflect the apocalyptic view of the periods of history shared by the yahad. 4QMMT might reflect a more peripheral Essene group than the yahad. One should possibly date its composition to a time much later than the mid-second century BCE, as is asserted by the editors of 4QMMT and the majority of the scholars.

In contrast to García Martínez and van der Woude, we do not identify the yahad with those living in the settlement at Qumran. If the commune at Qumran indeed was the center of the yahad, we would have expected to find membership rosters, financial records and documents relating to disciplinary procedures. With one exception, such documents have not been identified. Stegemann is probably correct in his view that Qumran was a study and book producing center for the wider Essene movement in Judea. The archaeological evidence indicates that the main center at Qumran (phase 1b) together with its offshoot at Ein Feshka was established towards the end of the second century BCE, while the Righteous Teacher and the Wicked Priest usually are

According to Cross and Eshel, the ostraca found at Khirbet Qumran in 1995 records the transfer of a property to the yahad: F.M. Cross, E. Eshel, "Ostraca from Khirbet Qumran", IEJ 47 (1997) 17-28. If their reading (יָהָד מְסֹכִּיָּה "when he fulfills his oath to the Community!") is correct, the ostraca proves that the commune at Qumran was related to the yahad. However, the reading has been disputed, i.a. by J. Naveh and A. Jardeni. Jardeni proposes to read lines 7-8 כִּשֹּׁאֹר יָהָד, which fits better in the context (see Ha'ares, 15.08.97, her readings will be published in a forthcoming issue of IEJ).


8E. Qimron sees MMT as a treatise deriving from the Qumran group or one of its antecedents, probably the group of the Teacher, between 159-152 BCE: DJD X, 109-21, cf. J. Strugnell, "MMT: Second Thoughts on a Forthcoming Edition", The Community of the Renewed Covenant, 57-73. Other scholars have argued for a 'presaictarian' provenance of MMT: it would then belong to a priestly antecedent of the Qumran community, before the Teacher emerged as leader of the community. Thus papers presented by L.H. Schiffman, D. Schwarz and F. García Martínez at SBL Annual Meeting, 22.11.94. For the discussion on the provenance of MMT, see the various essays in Reading 4QMMT. New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History.

9S. Talmon views the commune at Qumran as the spearhead of a much larger movement, the 'Community of the Renewed Covenant': 'Qumran Studies: Past, Present, and Future', JQR 85 (1994) 1-31, p. 6.


12Cf. R. de Vaux, Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls, London 1973, 3-5; Stegemann, Die Essener, 77. A more precise dating of the pottery of phase 1b can probably be done when the Hasmonean pottery from the
An Analysis of 4QInstruction
dated to the middle of this century. This means that the establishment of the center at Qumran post-dates the
foundation of the yahad. According to Philo and Josephus, there were four thousand Essenes in the land of
Israel (and this number only includes adult males, not their families). The number of Essenes living at Qumran
should be calculated to somewhere between 50 and 150. 13
Garcia Martínez and van der Woude may be right in seeing the yahad as a splinter group within the Essene
movement, comprised of those who followed the Teacher of Righteousness, but the relations between the yahad
and the Essene movement as a whole are, at the present stage of research, still open to different interpretations.
It should, however, be regarded beyond doubt that the yahad was an elite group within the wider Essene
movement, which subscribed to higher standards of ritual purity. 14 The core of the staff of the center at Qumran
were probably members of the yahad, but the yahad was not restricted to this settlement.
We use the term 'sectarian' in the meaning 'related to the yahad', as the yahad had separated itself from the
main body of the people of Israel. We define the Community Rule, the Hodayot, the pesharim and the
Damascus Document as the main 'sectarian' writings, as they demonstrate a clearly 'sectarian' terminology and
thought. 15 Although CD might not be a work of the yahad, it is clearly somehow related to it. CD and the
Qumran copies of D seem to be a corpus of laws and rules reflecting different sub-groups of the Essene
movement, or different stages in its development. The Qumran copies of D clearly share the dualistic world-
view and deterministic concept of God's preordination, which is typical of the writings of the yahad. In
the following we therefore use terms such as 'Essene', 'sectarian' and 'yahad', but not 'the Qumran covenanters',
'Qumranic', etc.
Jericho excavations has been analyzed. The central tower of Khirbet Qumran can perhaps be ascribed to a
Hasmonean fortress, but the main phase of occupation is related to a community with specific religious ideas.
The peculiar form of the graves, which secures that the corpse should not be crushed, points strongly in this
13 Stegemann proposes 50-60 inhabitants, this is the number that could prostrate themselves (fall down on
their faces) together in the largest room in the settlement, the dining hall (oral information). He also suggests
that most of the inhabitants lived in the settlement itself (apart from a small staff at Ein Feshkah), an option
which restricts the possible number of inhabitants: Die Essener, 60, 70-75. The same position is upheld by J.
Patrich, "Khirbet Qumran in Light of New Archaeological Explorations in the Qumran Caves", Methods of
Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site, 73-95. On the other hand, R. de Vaux
proposed that the majority of community members lived outside the central quarters: Archaeology and the Dead
Sea Scrolls, 56-7. During the excavations at Qumran from December 1995 to February 1996, H. Eshel and M.
Broshi discovered a path leading north from the settlement to caves which served as habitation, as well as
remnants of a makeshift house alongside the path. Eshel proposes that the community had c.100-150 inhabitants
(oral information, as well as report in Jerusalem Post, 05.04.96).
14 See e.g. E. Qimron, "Celibacy in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Two Kinds of Sectarians", Proceedings of
the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21 March 1991 (J. Trebolle Barrera, L. Vegas
Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times", ibid., 83-166.
15 For criteria for what should be considered 'sectarian', see C. Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature
from Qumran", The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters (W.H. Propp, B. Halpern, D.N. Freedman, eds.), Winona
Lake 1990, 167-87; E.G. Chazon, "Is Divret ha-me'orot a Sectarian Prayer?", The Dead Sea Scrolls. Forty
Years of Research (D. Dimant, U. Rappaport, eds.), Leiden, Jerusalem 1992, 3-17; D. Dimant, "The Qumran
Manuscripts: Contents and Significance", Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness. Papers on the Qumran
Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989-90 (D.
The writings of the *yahad* testify to a merger of a priestly group with apocalyptic lay circles. We will later argue that 4QInstruction derives from such lay circles in the early Essene or pre-Essene movement, before the emergence of the *yahad* under the leadership of the Teacher.

### 1.2. The textual remains of 4QInstruction

According to the inventory of Qumran compositions in 1991/1992, 4QInstruction is represented by four copies, 4Q416/417/418/419, while 4Q415 and 4Q423/1Q26 were considered separate literary works (overlapping passages had demonstrated that 1Q26 and 4Q423 were copies of one and the same composition). The affinities between 4Q415, 4Q423/1Q26 and 4QInstruction seemed to indicate a genre of admonition writings.

However, our presentation of some of the sapiential compositions at the New York Conference on the scrolls in December 1992 suggested that the textual material should be interpreted differently. Our conclusions of 1992 can be outlined as follows:

4Q419 is not another copy of Sap. Work A. It has some phrases in common with the latter composition, but does not represent the same textual tradition. 4Q419 frg. 1 is concerned with the status and duties of the Aaronite priests, a theme not covered elsewhere in 4QInstruction (in fact, we suggest that 4QInstruction reflects non-priestly circles, see ch. 5). It seems therefore more reasonable to consider 4Q419 a separate composition.

Further, there are passage in 4Q423 and 4Q415 which also are found in 4Q418 (4QInstruction). Thus, 4Q423/1Q26 and 4Q415 do not represent separate compositions, but rather additional copies of 4QInstruction. The text of two different fragments from 4Q423 duplicates the text of two fragments from 4Q418: 4Q423 8 overlaps the text of 4Q418 81 2-4, and 4Q423 9 that of 4Q418 188. The text of 4Q415 11 is found in two or three 4Q418 fragments. The possibility that 4Q415 11 could have been wrongly attributed to 4Q415, can be discarded. All 4Q145 fragments reflect the same hand and come from a scroll where another composition (4Q14 Baptist Liturgy) was written on the verso, which means that all fragments definitely derive from the same scroll.

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17Tov, “The Unpublished Qumran Texts from Caves 4 and 11”.

184Q423 3 overlaps with the text of 1Q26 2, 4Q423 4 overlaps with the text of 1Q26 1.

19“Admonition Texts from Qumran Cave 4”. John Strugnell has later remarked that he earlier arrived at similar conclusions, and referred us to his report in “Le travail d’édition des fragments des manuscrits de Qumrán”, *RB* 63 (1956) 49-67, p. 64. However, in this report he states that there is a 4Q copy of the work represented by 1Q26 (probably referring to 4Q423), and that a group of four mss from Cave 4 possibly can be identified with 1Q26. He does not identify these four mss, but was probably referring to 4Q146-4Q19.

20The phrase (אֱלֹהִים יַעֲשֶׂהוּ מַעֲשֵׂה, "if He shut his hand and the spirit of all flesh be gathered in", appears both in 4Q419 8 ii 7 and 4Q416 IV 2 (4Q416 2 ii 2), but the context in 4Q419 is different from that of 4Q416.
Further, 4Q418 preserves remnants not of one, but of two copies of Sap.Work A, possibly written by the same scribe.\textsuperscript{21} In three cases a certain passage is found in two different 4Q418 fragments (see section 2.1.2.1 for details).

This analysis implies that 4QInstruction is represented by six copies from cave 4, in addition to one copy from cave 1, 1Q26. The different copies can thus be designated as following:

- 1QInstruction (1Q26),
- 4QInstruction\textsuperscript{a} (4Q418a),
- 4QInstruction\textsuperscript{b} (4Q416),
- 4QInstruction\textsuperscript{c} (4Q417),
- 4QInstruction\textsuperscript{d} (4Q415),
- 4QInstruction\textsuperscript{e} (4Q423),
- 4QInstruction\textsuperscript{f} (4Q418b).

Two of the copies (4Q415 and 4Q416) were rolled the less usual way with the beginning on the inside of the scroll when they were deposited in the cave, a fact which probably indicates that these scrolls were in active reading use by 68 CE (see below, section 2.1.1.1).

Five copies display early Herodian scripts (30 - 1 BCE),\textsuperscript{22} while two (1Q26, 4Q423) represent middle Herodian hands (1 - 30 CE). The large number of copies and the fact that this composition was copied until a late stage in the history of the Qumran settlement show that it was highly regarded within the Essene Community. Furthermore, probably only copies of the most important books were hidden in Cave 1, the first hideout used by the Qumran inhabitants in June 68 CE.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{21}By December 1995 Strugnell and Harrington noted ("contra Elgvin") that the evidence is inadequate to judge that there were two manuscripts of this work in the hand of 4Q418 (draft introduction to 4QInstruction for DJD). In a paper written in the first part of 1996, Harrington counts "six Hebrew manuscripts": "Two Early Jewish Approaches to Wisdom", 123. By July 1996 Strugnell concluded that there are at least seven copies represented, and added about 4Q418b: "We discovered that one late in the process": "The Sapiential Work 4Q415ff.". However, we already reached this conclusion in our lecture in December 1992 (see note 2).

\textsuperscript{22}Strugnell dates 4Q416 somewhat earlier than the other copies.

\textsuperscript{23}Stegemann, \textit{Die Essener}, 89-90.
2. Reconstruction of 4QInstruction

For a reconstruction of scrolls from scattered fragments, a careful analysis of the original fragments and the photographs is needed. A main aim is to determine the location and sequence of the major fragments within the original scrolls and thereby discern the structure of the composition, and further to calculate the length of the scrolls. H. Stegemann's methods for reconstructing scrolls from scattered fragments provided the starting point for the reconstructions proposed below. Stegemann's methods were further refined during the analysis of the fragments and the photographs (see the excursus, section 2.3). In his article on reconstruction Stegemann noted the deplorable lack of description of the physical characteristics of many of the Qumran scrolls. This chapter fills in a small part of this lacuna, and provides a physical description of the 4Q copies of 4QInstruction. This chapter is by nature very technical. The technical discussion is necessary to reach defendable conclusions as to the location and sequence of the fragments in the original scrolls. When the sequence of the major fragments has been determined, we can better understand the progression of thought within 4QInstruction. Furthermore, the structure of the book seems to point towards different stages in the literary history of this composition. The technical discussion is summarized in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2.

2.1. Physical description of the copies of 4QInstruction.
Reconstructed location of the major fragments

2.1.1. 4Q416 and 4Q417

Four larger fragments and a few smaller ones of 4Q416 (4QInstruction) and 4Q417 (4QInstruction) are analyzed in this section. All these fragments were probably located in the first half of the composition, with the exception of the first two (respectively 1 3/4) columns, which are not represented by any major fragment from these two scrolls. Through 4Q416 and 4Q417 we have preserved major segments of text from the original cols. III-VIII (plus the last five lines of col. II) and X-XI of 4Q416, which originally had c.23 columns. C.65% of the text of the original cols. III-VIII and X-XI of 4Q416 has been preserved.
The following sequence of the major fragments of 4Q416 and 4Q417 is suggested here: 4Q417 frg. 1 = cols. III-IV, 4Q417 frg. 2 = cols. IX-X of that scroll. 4Q416 frg. 2 cols. i and ii overlap with 4Q417 frg. 1 i-ii, and thus represent cols. III-IV of 4Q416 (the first five lines of 4Q417 frg. 1 equals the last five lines of 4Q416 col. II, which are not preserved in 4Q416). The following two columns, 4Q416 2 iii-iv, represent cols. V-VI of 4Q416, followed by 4Q416 frg. 1, which preserves one third of col. VII (the text of this column can be further reconstructed with a number of minor fragments from 4Q418a and 4Q418b). Since the columns of 4Q416 contain c.20% less letter-spaces (hereafter ls) than those of 4Q417, the text of most of cols. III-VII, col. IX and part of col. X (respectively col. X and part of col. XI) from two of the copies of 4QInstruction, has been preserved. The reconstruction of these two scrolls also enables an approximation of the length of 4Q417 and thus of 4QInstruction.

All these passages overlap with smaller fragments of 4Q418, which facilitate the reconstruction of the original text and provide alternative readings. The following synopsis shows the location of the main fragments of 4Q416 and 4Q417 within the first half of 4QInstruction, including overlapping between these two scrolls and fragments from 4Q418.

**Synopsis of the first half of the composition**

<table>
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6 Frg. 1 of 4Q417 has columns with c.1450 ls altogether, frg. 2 with c.1650 ls. As for 4Q416 frg. 2, col. i has c.1350 spaces, cols. ii and iii c.1300 spaces, and the narrower col. iv c.900 spaces. If each scroll had columns of roughly the same size, the first eight columns of 4Q416 would have contained c.10200 ls altogether, the first eight columns of 4Q417 c.12400 ls. If this approximation is correct, cols. IX-X of 4Q417 would correspond to cols. X-XI (or possibly XI-XII) of 4Q416.

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column in the original scroll. The text edition, section 6.2.1, uses both this system and the numbering of the Preliminary Concordance, followed by Wacholder/Abegg.
2.1.1.1. 4Q416 (4QInstruction^b)

In the 1950s or 60s the large fragment 2 was treated with castor oil. This treatment caused it to shrink in the folds, and made the surface dark and glossy.7 The main colour is now very dark brown. The skin of the 4Q416 fragments is relatively thick. This is particularly true of frg. 2, which preserves the major part of one sheet with four columns (frg. 2). Another large fragment (frg. 1) is preserved, as well as 16 minor ones.

Of the smaller fragments, frgs. 7, 18 and 20 preserve lower margins, and frg. 4 the bottom right corner of a column. Frg. 5 preserves a left margin, frg. 17 both a left margin and the left edge of a sheet (traces of stitching are visible, the margin is 1.5 cm). Frg. 3 is medium/dark brown with some lighter areas, frgs. 4, 5, 17 and 18 light brown (frg. 4 darkened on the right edge), frg. 7 dark brown. The verso is light brown with sections of medium brown. Frg. 7 has shrunk more than the other fragments.

4Q416 frg. 2 (see plate 1) preserves the major part of one sheet with a length of 37.5 cm. Preserved are parts of the left and bottom margins of col. i, approximately one half of col. ii including bottom and left margin, most of col. iii, and the upper right part of col. iv. Both col. ii and the left part of col. iii are broken or cracked in the middle. Such damage was often caused by the thong that was bound around the scroll. This fragment derives from the inner part of a lengthy scroll which was rolled in the less usual way with the beginning of the composition on the inside (see below). The damage pattern could therefore have derived from cracks caused by the thong in a previous stage when the scroll was rolled in the usual way.8 The colour is very dark brown on the upper half, lighter on the bottom, especially on the bottom of cols. 1 and 2 (which also on the verso is lighter brown than the rest of the fragment). The rear side of frg. 2 is glued to paper tissue, and its colour is medium brown.

Only a couple of scholars have discussed why some scrolls were rolled the less usual way (with the beginning on the inside) when they were deposited in the caves. The reason is probably simple: when somebody was reading in the latter part of a long scroll, it was more convenient to continue rolling the scroll (loosely) to the end and leave the scroll like this until the next reading session, instead of rolling it all the way back to the beginning, and then unrolling it again before the next session. A comparison with the way the Torah scroll is rolled in the synagogues of our time supports this suggestion.

Our proposal would explain why some scrolls were rolled this way when they suddenly had to be hidden because of the approaching Roman armies in June 68 AD,9 and carry decomposition patterns which reveal that

7We are indebted to conservator Lena Liebman for this explanation. In contrast, Strugnell remarks that the glossy surface of 4Q416 2 derives from Kando’s sweat: according to Strugnell, Kando smuggled this fragment to the Rockefeller Museum wrapped around his chest. We suggest that Strugnell might have confused this glossy fragment with another one. The glossy surface is the same all over the fragment, including inside the cracks. Kando’s sweat would not have been spread evenly all over the fragment, and not have permeated into the cracks.

8We are indebted to S.J. Pfann for this proposal. The Rule scroll reveals such a pattern: when the scroll was found it was rolled in the less usual way with the beginning on the inside. But 1QS cols. I-II (= the innermost part of the scroll) clearly show the horizontal imprint of the thong from a previous stage when these columns constituted the external layers of the scroll (at an early stage these columns were preceded by a handle sheet). See S.J. Pfann, “4Q298: The Maskil’s Address to All Sons of Dawn”, JQR 85 (1994) 203-35; p. 211, n. 11.

9Cf. Stegemann’s description of how he envisages the last days of the Qumran commune: Die Essener, 88-93.
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

they were loosely rolled with the beginning on the inside of the scroll. If wear patterns indicate that a scroll was rolled the less usual way (like 4QInstructionb), there is good reason to believe that the work in question was a lengthy one which was in active reading use in the Qumran community in the final time of its existence. If our explanation holds true, the presence in the caves of scrolls rolled this way shows that the Qumran settlement with its library served as a center of reading and study also in the last period before its destruction by the hand of the Romans.10

Column i has 22 lines, cols. ii and iii have 21.11 The height of the writing block of col. iii was 13.1 cm (col. i with 22 lines was somewhat higher), and its length (cols. i-iii) 11.5-12 cm with 54-77 ls per line.12 Most lines have c.60 ls per line. Col. iv is substantively shorter and must have been the last one on this sheet: the reconstructed length of the writing block is c.7.8 cm, with 40-42 ls per line.13 The margin between the columns is 0.8-1.1 cm. If the beginning of this sheet had a margin like the one on fig. 1 and col. i was the first one on the sheet, the sheet would have measured c.50 cm. The text of the four columns of fig. 2 is partly covered by a number of fragments from 4Q417 and 4Q418.

If a photocopy of this fragment is rolled, one easily discovers wear patterns and is able to measure the turns of the scroll (see plate 1).14 This test ascertains that the scroll was rolled with the beginning of the composition on the inside when it was deposited the last time. At the beginning of the fragment the turn of the scroll is c.8.9 cm, at the end c.11.5 cm. The increase in circumference per turn is c.10 mm, which fits well with a scroll of thick skin rolled this way. When the scroll was rolled so loosely, it is difficult to calculate the exact distance from the beginning of the scroll in the edge of this fragment,15 but fig. 2 must be close to the beginning of the

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10S.J. Pfann (oral communication) suggested another explanation which might supplement our proposal above: after some years of active use, the external sheets of a scroll started to deteriorate (usually due to the pressure of the thong). In order to be able to use the scroll for a longer period of time, one started to roll the scroll in the less usual way for the rest of its "lifespan". If this explanation holds true for some scrolls, one should not expect that these scrolls were rolled more loosely than those rolled in the usual way, as Stegemann has observed ("Methods of Reconstruction", 196). We therefore prefer our explanation above. According to Stegemann, in the hectic "packing period" of June 68 members of the commune unrolled some scrolls to check their quality (without rolling them back in the normal position), before deciding which scrolls deserved the most careful treatment and the safest hiding places: Die Essener, 89-90. If this suggestion is sound, a scroll rolled with the beginning on the inside would have been considered important, since it was reviewed among those book scrolls which deserved the best safekeeping.

11The photographs show that the writing block of col. i goes one line further down than the following columns (see plate 1). For the same phenomenon, see 4Q418 frg. 103 cols. i-ii. It is suggested below that the first column of the following sheet contained only the 19 lines which still are preserved (4Q416 frg. 1, which had larger distance between the lines than frg. 2). Such a difference in the number of lines is unusual in a given scroll, cf. Stegemann, "Methods for Reconstruction", 198.

12A comparison between the partly preserved col. i and 4Q417 i shows that 4Q416 i had 53-65 ls per line.

13No left margin is preserved. However, an easy-flowing text is restored when one adds four reconstructed letters at the end of line 6, and one letter at the end of line 7 as well as line 8. See section 6.2.1. The length of the writing block can therefore be calculated well.

14Some examples: the crack in ii 8-9 which has split the words הרשנ and תּ יָ הֵ יֵ הֵ יֵ הֵ יֵ הֵ יֵ הֵ יֵ הֵ יֵ הֵ יֵ הֵ יֵ הֵ יֵ הֵ יֵ הֵ יֵ הֵ יֵ H which deletes parts of the word תּ יָ הֵ יֵ הֵ יֵ H and fits the hole in iii 9 which deletes parts of the word תּ יָ הֵ יֵ הֵ יֵ H; the hole in iii 8-9 alongside תּ יָ H of 1.8 fits the hole in iv 8-9 below תּ יָ H. The three lowest reaching points of the fragment, of which the first two preserve the original lower edge of the scroll, also fit this pattern.

15Larger scrolls rolled in the normal way are tightly rolled: the innermost turn of such a scroll usually measures c.3 cm, and there is a constant increase in circumference per turn as one proceeds outwards. Stegemann ("Methods for Reconstruction", 196) observes that the scrolls which were rolled with the beginning on the
scroll, with only one or two columns preceding frg. 2 col. i. A comparison with 4Q417 frg. 1 col. i, which preserves the same passage as 4Q416 frg. 2 col. i, makes it probable that both these corresponding columns represent the third column in their respective scrolls. Thus, 4Q416 frg. 2 cols. i-iv represent cols. III-VI in this scroll. Col. i of 4Q417 frg. 1, which preserves the same text as 4Q416 col. i, represents col. III of that scroll.

4Q416 frg. 1 (see plate 2) preserves the right part of a column from the beginning of a sheet. A substantial part of the right margin with the length of 3.3 cm is preserved. Shrinking at the edge of the margin and the remnant of a small part which hangs on to the edge indicate that another sheet has been attached, so that the fragment does not preserve the beginning of the scroll. The text overlaps with two sets of fragments from 4Q418. The lower part of frg. 1 (ll. 11-19) which, according to the earlier photographs, was detached from the upper part when it was brought into the scrollyery, is very dark brown and must have been exposed to more light than the upper part which is medium/dark brown. The verso is medium brown. This column, like the first three columns of frg. 2, probably had an average of c.60 ls per line with a length of the writing block of c.11.5 cm.

Line 12 with one reconstructed word (ט"ע) had 56 ls, and line 11 at least 59 ls (according to a tentative reconstruction it had 64 ls, see the text edition, section 6.2.1).

Neither the top nor the bottom margin of 4Q416 frg. 1 has been preserved. The distance between the lines is a little larger in frg. 1 (7.1 mm) than in frg. 2 (6.6 mm), and the height of the 18 visible lines is 12.4 cm. When this calculation is compared with the column height of 13.1 cm in frg. 2 col. iii, it is probable that this column had only 19 lines.

inside were loosely wrapped (this observation is consistent with our 'library user' explanation for the scrolls having been rolled the less usual way), and that the circumference of such a scroll in its innermost turn can be quite large (lQS 5 cm, lQH 7 cm, lQM 9 cm). Such loosely rolled scrolls have no constant increase in circumference per turn as one proceeds outwards (an examination of the Rule scroll shows great variation in the increase in circumference per turn, from 1 to 5 mm).

16 From the physical evidence of 4Q416 frg. 2 alone, col. i could well be the first column of a loosely wrapped scroll. Line 1 of this column corresponds, however, to 4Q417 i 17. The first line of this column in 4Q417 is preserved, and cannot be the beginning of the composition. 4Q416 frg. 1 col. i is probably the first column of a sheet, and 4Q417 frg. 1 does preserve the beginning of a sheet. It is unlikely that both scrolls opened with a sheet of only one column (an extremely rare phenomenon in the Qumran scrolls: lQS col. XI, and one sheet of 4QDeut, cf. Stegemann, "Methods for Reconstruction", 214, note 77). Therefore we suggest that in both scrolls the fragment in question was preceded by a sheet of two columns (although sheets of two columns are also quite rare): it is difficult to 'squeeze in' more than two columns from the beginning of 4Q416 to col. i of frg. 2: the circumference of the scroll was c.7 cm at the beginning of col. i. Five more turns inwards with a decrease in circumference of 7 mm per turn would total 24 cm with a circumference of the last turn of 33 mm. This would give space for two columns c.10 cm long plus a small opening margin. Space for three columns would only be possible if the decrease in circumference in the last sheet was as small as 4.5 mm (8 turns would then yield a sheet of 39 cm with a circumference of the last turn of 34 mm). The conclusion that the preceding missing sheet had two columns fits the reconstruction of 4Q418 frgs. 7-10 (see below): the first sheet of the 4Q418+ scroll would then have five columns of 10 cm length, and measure c.60 cm.

17 Only if the attached sheet was a blank handle sheet could this column be the opening column of the scroll and thus of the composition. D. Harrington, "Wisdom at Qumran", The Community of the Renewed Covenant, 137-52, p. 140, states that this fragment is the beginning of the composition, while Harrington/Strugnell, "Qumran Cave 4 Texts: A New Publication", JBL 112/3 (1993) 491-499, p. 493, are more careful but less clear: "4Q416 frg. 1 must have come from near the first column, since it preserves the very wide margin characteristic of first columns". The margin at the left end of the sheet of frg. 17 is indeed narrower, 1.5 cm from the leftmost letter to the seam, which could indicate that the wide opening margin of frg. 1 represents the beginning of the composition. But the fact that the text of 4Q416 12-4 is found in 4Q418 frg. 73 (bottom lines of one column) and 4Q418 frg. 201 (top lines of the following column) proves that the text of 4Q416 frg. 1 cannot be the beginning of the composition.
We have seen that frg. 2 preserves the second sheet of this scroll. Since frg. 1 preserves the beginning of a sheet but not the beginning of the scroll, it must have been located in the beginning of one of the sheets following frg. 2. When only a few larger fragments of a scroll have been preserved, they usually were located close to each other. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that 4Q416 frg. 2 represents the beginning of the sheet coming immediately after frg. 2, and thus represented col. VII of 4Q416. This assumption is confirmed when one continues the test of rolling a photocopy of the fragments. If the beginning of frg. 1 is placed 4 cm after the end of frg. 2, frg. 1 fits the wear patterns of frg. 2 when it is rolled on this ‘scroll’ (see plates 1 and 2). The juxtaposition also indicates that frg. 1 preserves lines 2-19 of this column, out of a total of 19 lines. The preserved lines of frg. 1 are henceforth numbered 2-19 (numbered 1-18 by Wacholder/Abegg).

Location of the smaller fragments of 4Q416

Probably most of the smaller fragments of 4Q416 were located close to frgs. 1 and 2. Since frg. 17 preserves the left edge of a sheet, there is good reason to locate it as the left edge of the sheet represented by frg. 2. These four lines would then belong to the lower half of col. VI of 4Q416 (below 4Q416 2 iv), among the lines 11-20. In the text edition we tentatively locate this fragment on lines 12-16 of this column. Some thematical similarities with 4Q416 2 iv add further support for this proposal (see section 6.2.1).

Frg. 4, which contains the bottom right corner of a column, should probably be located in the same column, col. VII, below 4Q416 2 iv, and it is tentatively placed as such in the transcription. Alternatively it could have been located in col. VIII. It seems that this fragment opens a lengthy discourse on God’s end-time judgement, which continues in cols. VII (= 4Q416 frg. 1) and VIII (= 4Q416 frg. 3, see below).

Since frg. 3 cannot satisfactorily be located in the same column as frg. 1, it probably belongs to the following column, col. VIII. The shape of frg. 3, which resembles the left tongue of frg 1 (which belongs to the preceding column, col. VII), indicates that this fragment probably preserves lines 9-15 of col. VIII (see plate 8). As the turn of the scroll at the end of col. VII was 11 cm, the next turn is 12 cm. Accordingly, there were c.6 cm between the end of frg. 1 (col. VII) and the beginning of frg. 3, so that frg. 3 was located in the left part of the column, close to the left margin.

After an interval of 1-2 columns the text known from 4Q417 IX (= 4Q417 2 i) would have followed, probably as col. X of 4Q416.

2.1.1.2. 4Q417 (4QInstruction*)

Preserved are two large fragments, each containing the major part of one column and the right part of the following column, as well as 30 minor fragments. The two larger fragments are presented below.

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19The top of the fragment which is slanting down towards the left fits the left end of frg. 2, and the tongue sticking out at the left edge of frg. 1 fits remarkably a similar tongue at the end of frg. 2 col. iii, two turns inwards. A transparent copy of frg. 1 put on top of a copy of frg. 2 col. iii shows this clearly. This test excludes the option that the sheet of 4Q416 frg. 2 had another (narrow) column after col. iv, which might have been a possibility.
The skin is relatively thin. The distance between the lines is 6.3 mm in frg. 1, and 5.9- 6.0 mm in frg. 2. 4Q417 frgs. 1 and 2 preserve the beginning of two different sheets. The stitching and some shrinking due to the stitching is clear on the right edge of frg. 1. The right edge of frg. 2 also shows the beginning of a sheet. The form of the edge seems to indicate previous stitching. On the photograph no shrinking after stitches is visible. A study of the original fragment, however, reveals shrinking along the edge. The small frg. 29 preserves part of the left edge of a sheet, and traces of twisting due to the stitches can be discerned at the verso of the fragment. Since the beginning of two sheets is well preserved (frgs. 1 and 2), there is good reason to assume that this fragment comes from the end of one of the two sheets which were attached to frgs. 1 and 2. Two of the words of frg. 29 (ןוֹמָה and תִּזְהָבָה) recur in 4Q417 2 i, and we therefore suppose that frg. 29 comes from the end of col. VIII, the column which preceded 4Q417 2 i.

4Q417 frg. 1 varies from grey/greyish-brown and lighter brown colour to very dark brown. The skin has occasionally lost its surface, leaving a very light brown layer. 4Q417 frg. 2 is basically dark brown, with shades to light brown. The rear side of fragment 1 is partly glued to paper (this method of preservation was used in the 1970s), and its colour is light brown with sections of dark brown (the bottom piece of col. i i is dark brown). Frg. 2 has recently been mounted between nets of silk, a fact which makes a close examination of the fragment by microscope difficult. The verso of fragment 2 is basically dark brown, with light brown sections where the surface has been abraded (especially where the right margin of col. i i is located). Some of the smaller fragments are light brown, while others are very dark brown. On the verso they are dark brown, and light brown where the external layer has been abraded.

Frg. 1 col. i has 28 lines with top and bottom margins partly preserved. There are c.50-54 ls per line (49 ls in line 9, 53 in line 10, 54 in line 22). The height of the writing block is 17.7 cm and the length 12 cm. The margin between the columns is 1.9 cm. A horizontal crack above line 15 might be due to the thong around the scroll (this fragment preserves cols. III-IV and belonged to the external layers of the scroll, see below).

27 lines have been preserved of frg. 2 col. i, with 57 to 61 ls per line. The bottom margin is partly preserved. The length of the writing block is 12.5 cm, the height of the 27 visible lines 16.5 cm (the distance between the lines is smaller in frg. 2 than in frg. 1), and the margin between the columns 1 cm. Some dark spots on the photographs (e.g. lines 3 and 9) look like ink imprinted from another layer, but an examination of the fragment itself reveals that these spots are small holes in the skin.

It stands to reason that the writing block had approximately the same height in both fragments. Therefore frg. 2 probably had two lines above the first preserved line, so that the columns of frg. 2 had 29 lines and a height of the writing block of c.17.8 cm (frg. 1 had a height of 17.7 cm and 28 lines). The lines of frg. 2, col. i are henceforth numbered 3-29 and those of col. ii 5-18 (numbered 1-27 and 3-16 by Wacholder/Abegg).
Wear patterns and location of frgs. 1 and 2.

When a transparent copy of col. ii of frg. 1 is placed on top of a photocopy of col. i of the same fragment, the recurring wear pattern is obvious (see plate 3). The length of the turn at this place of the scroll is 13 cm. If the photocopy is rolled with col. i on the outside, one notes that the left part of col. i is not covered by the more fragmentary col. ii. This part of col. i is darker because of more exposure to light. The test thus confirms that col. ii originally was located on top of col. i in the scroll, and the scroll was rolled with its beginning on the outside. The fragment was broken in the margin between the columns because of the seam between the sheets which was exactly below this point when the scroll was rolled.

Similar wear patterns are visible in frg. 2 (see plate 4). The lower part of col. i which is not covered by the smaller remnant of col. ii is darker because of more exposure to light. The length of the turn in frg. 2 is 9.9 cm. Frg. 2 thus derives from a more internal part of the scroll than frg. 1. As is shown in the following, the decrease in circumference per turn in this scroll was maximum 4 mm. If one presupposes a decrease in circumference of 4 mm per turn as one proceeds inwards, the distance between these two fragments in the original scroll was c.58 cm. This implies that there were four columns between frg. 1 col. ii and frg. 2 col. i in the original scroll of 4Q417. Large segments of the text of the first three of these missing columns are known from 4Q416 frgs. ii-iii, and 4Q416 frgs. 1 and 3. The text of 4Q417 frg. 2 thus comes after the text of 4Q416 frg. 1, probably with 1 1/2 - 2 columns in between. As 4Q417 frg. 1 represents cols. III and IV in the scroll (the text of these two columns duplicates that of 4Q416 cols. III and IV), 4Q417 frg. 2 represents cols. IX and X of the same scroll. We suggest below that 4Q418 69 ii should be located between 4Q416 3 and 4Q417 2 (equalling col. VIII of 4Q417 and col. IX of 4Q416).

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20 The right margin of col. ii should be located 3 mm left of the margin of col. i. At this point the top edges of the two columns have a similar shape. Furthermore, the hole in 4Q417 i i13-14 will be juxtaposed with the one in 4Q417 1 ii14-16.

21 The shapes of the two tongues protruding from the fragment resemble each other; the vertical crack in i 18-19 (which divides the word ארק in line 18) was located on top of the seam between the sheets and was caused by this.

22 At the end of frg. 1, the length of the turn is 128 mm, at the beginning of frg. 2, 104 mm. Five turns of 124, 120, 116, 112, and 108 mm would yield 58 cm between these two fragments. If the decrease was 5 mm per turn, the distance would be 46 cm, which would leave room for only three columns between frgs. 1 and 2 (three columns would need c.3 x 13 cm, while the missing left part of frg. 1 col. ii and a margin at the end of the sheet would make a total of c.46 cm). A decrease in circumference of more than 5 mm would leave space only for two columns between frgs. 1 and 2. This option must therefore be discarded, as we know from 4Q416 that there are at least three columns of text between these two fragments. Also a decrease of 5 mm per turn can be ruled out: if the length of 4Q417 is calculated based on a decrease of 5 mm, the reconstructed scroll would plainly not have the length needed to include all the material known from 4Q418. If the scroll was rolled more tightly with a decrease of only 3 mm per turn, the distance between these two fragments would be c.81 cm, which would give space for five columns between these two fragments. With this option frg. 2 would represent cols. X and XI of 4Q417 in stead of cols. IX-X.

23 Four columns of the same length as frg. 1 would need 4 x 13 cm. To this we must add the five cm which are missing on the left part of frg. 1 col. ii, and the margin at the end of the sheet, yielding a total of 59 cm. According to this suggestion there would have been six columns (probably two sheets, each 40 cm long and containing three columns) from the beginning of frg. 1 to the beginning of frg. 2.
2.1.1.3. Calculation of the length of the scroll

The reconstructed sheet of the missing cols. I and II together with an opening margin would measure c.28 cm. With a supposed decrease in circumference in this scroll of 4 mm per turn, there would have been c.133 cm from the external beginning of the scroll to the end of col. X (4Q417 2 ii (this fragment preserves the right part of that column). At this point of the scroll the circumference would have been 9.5 cm. If we calculate another sixteen turns inwards (with the last one having a circumference of 3.1 cm), the length of the scroll from 4Q417 2 ii to the end would have been c.98 cm. With an average of 13 cm length calculated per column including margins, there is room for 7 more columns, bringing the total reconstructed length of 4Q417 to c.231 cm with approximately 17 columns.

Alternatively, with a supposed decrease in circumference of 3 mm per turn, 4Q417 2 ii would have represented col. XI, and there would have been c.156 cm from the external beginning of the scroll to the end of this column. A calculation of twenty-one more turns inwards (with the last one having a circumference of 3.2 cm) would imply that the length of the scroll from this fragment to the end of the text was c.130 cm. This calculation leaves room for 9 more columns, bringing the total length of the scroll of 4Q417 to ca. 286 cm with 20 columns.

These calculations imply that the scroll of 4Q417 would have measured somewhere between 231 and 286 cm, and that the scroll contained a minimum of 17, and a maximum of 20 columns with an average of 1550 ls per column (the composition would have contained between 26,350 and 31,000 ls). In the above synopsis we have tentatively chosen the minimum option based on a decrease in circumference of 4 mm per turn.

Since the columns of the scroll of 4Q416 were smaller, this scroll would, with an average of 1250 ls per column, have contained between 21 and 25 columns. With an average length of 12 cm per column (including margins) and an opening margin of 5 cm, this scroll would have measured between 257 and 300 cm.

For a comparison, the eleven columns of the Rule of Discipline measure 190 cm. This scroll contained at least 9 more columns, and it also contained the Messianic Rule and the fragmentarily preserved Benedictions.

2.1.2. 4Q418 and 4Q418a (4QInstructiona-f)

2.1.2.1. The two hands of 4Q418 representing two copies of 4QInstruction

The Preliminary Concordance (hereafter PC)\(^24\) records 295 fragments of 4Q418 (4QInstructiona). The plates of the Rockefeller Museum show a few more fragments which are not recorded in the PC.

A number of factors indicate that 4Q418 preserves remnants of two copies of 4QInstruction, possibly written by the same hand:\(^25\) (1) In three cases a word occurring in a certain text passage is found in two different 4Q418 fragments. Strugnell's readings from the late 1950s are reflected in A Preliminary Concordance to the Hebrew and Aramaic Fragments from Qumran Caves II-X, including especially the unpublished Material from Cave IV, vols. I-V (eds. J. Strugnell et al.), Göttingen 1988. We quote from Wacholder/Abegg's A Preliminary Edition, which is based upon the concordance.

\(^{25}\)Our suggestion is now accepted by other scholars. See ch. 1, note 21.
20 An Analysis of 4QInstruction

fragments. The fragments we ascribe to 4Q418b cannot derive from other copies of the work from the same cave (4Q415, 416, 417, 423), as the script of 4Q418b is different. (3) The fragments ascribed to 4Q418b have thicker skin than those of 4Q418a (the sheets sown together in a specific scroll usually have approximately the same thickness). (4) The fragments which can be ascribed to 4Q418b are also darker (medium/dark brown) than those of 4Q418a. (5) Horizontal ruling can be discerned on two of the relatively few fragments preserved of 4Q418b (4Q418 1 and 2). Among the more than 300 fragments of 4Q418a ruling can be discerned only in three fragments (in margin and vacats of frgs. 69, 103 and 159).

Only a few of the recorded fragments clearly derive from 4Q418b. At the same time a number of fragments from another plate can be ascribed to 4Q418b. Plate 511, PAM 43.687, with c. 21 minor fragments, is in the inventory listed as "4Q418 Sap. Work A?" While the photograph is of good quality, the fragments are in a poor state of preservation and so darkened that they are not legible any more. Therefore it is less probable that they derive from 4Q418a - the fragments from this scroll are well preserved and easily legible. The fragments are not listed in the PC, and at least two of them derive from a copy of 4QInstruction, probably 4Q418b: frg. 18 on this plate overlaps with 4Q417 III 12-16, frg. 10 overlaps with 4Q417 IX 20-24 = 4Q418 43 14-16. One word, וֹם, is found both in 4Q418 43 14 and frg. 10, line 2. This fact confirms the assertion above that 4Q418 preserves remnants of two copies of 4QInstruction. 4Q418 43 has the typically thin, light brown skin which characterises 4Q418a. It is therefore reasonable that plate 511 represents a group of fragments from 4Q418b.

The orthography of 4Q418b does not differ significantly from 4Q418a. 4Q418b uses the forms וֹמָה and וֹמֶה, while 4Q418a alternates between וֹמָה and וֹמ, often in the same fragment. In 4Q418a וֹמָה is the usual form, but וֹמ does occur. A possible difference from וֹמ used in 4Q418b can be noted in the form וֹמ of 4Q418a (4Q418 126 4; 254 3).

2.1.2.2. 4Q418a (4QInstruction*)

The skin of 4Q418a is very light brown on the front side. Only a few of the fragments are dark brown due to exposure to light. The ink is well preserved and the letters are easily readable on the light-coloured skin. The skin is relatively thin. The distance between the lines differs substantially between various fragments, from 5.7 to 7.5 mm, which demonstrates differences between various sheets of 4Q418a. Three fragments (9, 81, 190)
have guide dots in the margin at the beginning or end of a sheet which indicate the base lines from which the letters are suspended. The margin between the columns is c.16 mm.

The scroll was rolled with its beginning on the outside. With a few exceptions it has decomposed into small scraps, so that wear patterns are difficult to determine. S. J. Frum proposed (personal communication) that due to the chemical treatment the skin of this scroll became so brittle that already at an early stage it broke into small pieces, and henceforth did not decay in the form of a scroll. As shown below, some wear patterns from the ‘scroll stage’ can still be discerned.

With the possible exception of frg. 81 which shows most of a column and has 20 preserved lines, no fragment from 4Q418 preserves the full height of a column. A careful analysis of frgs. 7, 8, 9 and 10 indicates that these fragments derive from a section of the scroll which had columns of 20 lines. According to Stegemann the number of lines in a given scroll is relatively constant: either all columns have the same number of lines, or some of the columns differ slightly by one or two lines at the most. It can therefore be asserted that the columns of 4Q418a contained between 19 and 21 lines.

Frgs. 7, 8, 9 and 10 derive from four consecutive columns, probably cols. IV-VII of 4Q418a. The text of these columns is almost completely preserved by 4Q416 frg. 2 and 4Q417 frg. 1. As will be shown below, frgs. 7-10 come from columns of 20 lines with a height of 13.3 cm, a length of c.10 cm and an average of c.54 ls per line (see plate 5, the last of these four columns was probably slightly longer than the others). Frgs. 7 and 8 come from the last two columns of a sheet, frgs. 9 and 10 from the first two columns of the next one.

The first line of frg. 8 comes from the line following the last line of frg. 7b. Frg. 7b has 14 lines, frg. 8 has 12. As this scroll did not have columns with as much as 26 lines, these two fragments must derive from two consecutive columns: frg. 7b shows the left margin of the last 14 lines of what is probably col. IV, and frg. 8 the first 12 lines of col. V. A comparison with the consecutive text in 4Q416 2 ii demonstrates that the columns of frgs. 7 and 8 had respectively 53-62 and 52-57 ls per line.

Frg. 9 preserves right, left and bottom margins of a column, and preserves the last 18 lines of col. VI. This fragment is the first on its sheet (traces of the stitching can be discerned with a microscope). The writing block is 10 cm long with 46-58 ls per line. The 18 visible lines provide a height of 13.2 cm.

The last word of frg. 8, שמא, overlaps with the parallel text of 4Q416 2 ii 13. The first preserved word in the following column of 418a (frg. 9) is probably המלך, which is the beginning of 418b 2 iii 3, (below the remnants of this word a new line starts with 들어ה). Since the average columns in 4Q418 are smaller than those in 4Q417, two and a half columns of text in 4Q417 would equal three columns in 4Q418. This calculation locates frg. 7a in the beginning of col. IV of 4Q418a.

A small fragment of two lines, in the PC recorded as the beginning of frg. 8, rather belongs at the bottom of frg. 7, it is a perfect join (see plate 5, col. IV).

440 ls from שמא to the end of 4Q416 2 col. ii, c.123 ls from the beginning of col. iii to המלך, the second line of col. iii: the column of frg. 9 has an average of 50-55 ls per line. If we presuppose columns with 20 lines and an

\[\text{28Stegemann, “Methods for Reconstruction”, 198.}\]

\[\text{29Frg. 7a which derives from lines 3-4 in a certain column (see below), corresponds to lines 15-16 in 4Q417 III. Since the average columns in 4Q418 are smaller than those in 4Q417, two and a half columns of text in 4Q417 would equal three columns in 4Q418. This calculation locates frg. 7a in the beginning of col. IV of 4Q418a.}\]

\[\text{30A small fragment of two lines, in the PC recorded as the beginning of frg. 8, rather belongs at the bottom of frg. 7, it is a perfect join (see plate 5, col. IV).}\]

\[\text{31A small fragment of two lines, in the PC recorded as the beginning of frg. 8, rather belongs at the bottom of frg. 7, it is a perfect join (see plate 5, col. IV).}\]

\[\text{32A small fragment of two lines, in the PC recorded as the beginning of frg. 8, rather belongs at the bottom of frg. 7, it is a perfect join (see plate 5, col. IV).}\]
interval of 10 lines between frgs. 8 and 9, the physical relation between frgs. 8 and 9 is easily explained: frg. 8 preserves lines 1-12 (see above), and frg. 9 lines 3-20 of their respective columns. The calculation is not possible if we presuppose two columns of 21 lines.

A similar analysis shows that the join seen on PAM 41.907, which attaches frg. 7 to a small fragment of three lines of text known from 416 2 iii 15-16, must be discarded.

The exact location of frg. 10 vis-à-vis frgs. 8 and 9 can be ascertained through a comparison with the running text known from 4Q416 and 4Q417. Fragment 10 consists of two pieces. The first word of frg 10a, תַּֽנְהּ, belongs to the first line of the column following frg. 9, and starts 36 ls from the right margin. The interval between the two pieces of frg. 10 is c.120 ls (slightly over two lines of text); the second piece thus preserves lines 5-11 of the column and should be located in the right part of the column. A comparison with the text of 4Q416 V-VI indicates that the column of frg. 10 had 53-66 ls per line.

Frg. 7b preserves the left margin of the column preceding frg. 8. The last word of the lower line of frg. 7 (and thus of the column) is יָֽנַי. The interval up to the first fully preserved word of frg. 8 (in the first line of the following column), וָֽנ, is 29 ls, and indicates that frg. 8 preserves the centre/left part of its column. A comparison with the text of 4Q417 III shows that there were c.182 ls between frgs. 7a and 7b, which equals a little more than 3 lines of c.57 ls. Frg. 7a therefore preserves lines 3-4 and was located in the middle of this column.

Frg. 55 preserves the last twelve lines of a column with bottom and left margins. An obvious wear pattern can be discerned, which indicates a circumference at this point of the scroll of 5.1 cm at the right part of the fragment, and 4.9 cm at the left part (see plate 6). The length of the turn thus decreases by c.2 mm as one proceeds inwards (this decrease would be the same all through the scroll). This fragment should be located a few columns from the inner end of the scroll. If the circumference of the last turn of the scroll was c.3 cm, the

32 From יַֽנְהּ to the end of line 12 c.20 ls, lines 13-20 (8x54) total c.432 ls, lines 1-2 of the next column c.104 ls. This gives altogether 556 ls, very close to the c.563 ls we counted between the same words in 4Q416.

33 This would require 9 1/3 lines of text from the last word of frg. 8 to the end of the column, and 3 lines from the beginning of the next column to the first word of frg. 9. 12 1/3 line would equal c.666 ls, and the text in this interval had only c.563 ls.

34 Wacholder/Abegg accept this (incorrect) join (A Preliminary Edition, 79). The running text requires c.33 lines between the last word of frg. 7 and the words placed at the bottom of the column following frg. 7 on this photograph. The three lines in question must be placed with frg. 9 as the bottom right corner of col. VI, as is done on PAM 43.487 and recorded by the PC. See plate 5.

35 The distance from the margin to the first visible letters of ll. 5-8 is probably 4-5 ls. The lacking words (one word per line) which are known from 4Q416 can easily be filled in.

36 We lack the left margin of the corresponding column in 4Q416, but the reconstruction of most of the lines in 4Q416 2 iv is quite certain. One line does not fit in the comparison: between the corresponding letters of lines 2 and 3 of frg. 10b there should be c.85 ls compared with the reconstructed text of 4Q416. This difference could derive from a scribal error in one of the scrolls or a vacat in the original text of 4Q416.

37 A transparent copy put on top of a photocopy of the fragment shows this clearly: when the transparent is moved 4.9 cm to the right, the right edges of the two protruding tongues cover each other. The horizontal crack above line 3 in the left tongue will cover the top edge of the right tongue. The vertical crack through lines 10-12 (which goes through the word יִנַּה of line 10) covers the right edge of the fragment. The left one of the two protruding tongues is c.4.7 cm wide, which probably is the circumference of the next turn as one proceeds inwards (note the vertical crack which continues downwards exactly below the right edge of the tongue, through the words יִנַּה and יִנַּהוּ of lines 9-10, parallel to and 4.7 cm from the left edge of the fragment). These vertical cracks are possibly caused by a seam in an adjacent layer of the original scroll.
length of the scroll from this fragment to the end of the text would have been 35 cm, which would give space for three more columns. Frg. 55 should therefore be located to the fourth last column of this scroll.

Three columns further to the left we can locate frg. 127 as the top of the last column. The wear pattern of the top edge reveals a circumference of 3.7 cm (see plate 6).

Some fragments of 4Q418 show columns which are longer than those of frgs. 7-10. Frg. 81ab preserves the major part of a column with top and right margins as well as a separate piece which preserves the upper left corner of the column. The 20 visible lines of frg. 81 have a height of 13.5 cm. Since frgs. 7-10 derive from columns with a height of 13.3 cm and 20 lines there is high probability that the last line of frg. 81 is the bottom line of the column. The writing block is 12.5 cm long (c.2.5 cm longer than the columns of frgs. 7-10); lines 1-3 have 67-70 ls per line. The column is the first on a sheet (the right edge of the fragment shows traces of the stitching). The seam between the sheets has left wear patterns which indicate a circumference of the scroll at this point of 7.8 cm (see plate 7). Based on a decrease of 2 mm per turn (cf. our observation on frg. 55 above) the length of the scroll from frg. 81 to the end of the text can be calculated to c.114 cm. With an average length of 12.5 cm per column including margin, this leaves space for nine columns after frg. 81. Frg. 81 was thus located somewhat after the middle of the scroll, as approximately col. XVII of a total of c.26 columns (see below), and comes after the text represented by 4Q417 frg. 2.

Frg. 69 preserves the last 15 lines of a column which in part is preserved in its full length. This column has 69-72 ls per line, and the writing block is 13.2 cm long. There are no clear wear patterns which could indicate its location in the scroll. The fragment preserves a lengthy eschatological discourse which elaborates the lots of the unjust and the righteous. Due to its contents we suggest this fragment be located after the eschatological discourse of 4Q416 VII-VIII (see below).

Frg. 103, the longest preserved fragment of 4Q418 (15.8 cm) shows another column with a length of 13.3 cm (plus the end of the last two lines of the preceding column). The only line which can be reconstructed with certainty, line 7, had 69 ls. The left part of this fragment is much darker than the right one, and this is another indication that the scroll was rolled with its beginning on the outside: during the fragmentation stage the left

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38Turns of 47, 45, 43, 41, 39, 37, 35, 33 and 31 mm yield a total length of 351 mm from this fragment to the end of the scroll.
39Five more turns of 47, 45, 43, 41, 39 mm yield 215 mm from the end of frg. 55 to the beginning of frg. 127, which gives space for two narrow columns between these two fragments. Frg. 127 probably derives from the right part of this last column of the scroll.
40The shape of the top edge recurs after 3.7 cm. The right edge of the fragment which slants down to the left, is paralleled by a crack 3.7 cm to the left.
41The join of these two pieces is confirmed by 4Q423 (4Q4Qlnstruction) frg. 8, which preserves the same passage as lines 2-5 of frg. 81. Eisenman/Wise refer to "Line 1 of Fragment 1 of this text, as we have reconstructed it" (p. 242), and give the incorrect impression that the juxtaposition of these two fragments is their discovery. Strugnell had juxtaposed these two fragments in the 50s, as is proven by the later PAM photos and the PC.
42There is a vertical crack through lines 3-7 in a distance of 7.8 cm from the seam - the vertical left edge of frg 81b is located c.7.5 cm further to the left (the length of the next turn as one proceeds inwards). Lines 14-20 are broken off c.7.8 cm from the place of the seam.
part would be located on top of the right one and thus be more exposed to light. The text of this fragment deals with the farmer and his crops, and contains a warning not to mix different kinds in commerce.

The analysis has shown four consecutive columns (cols. IV-VII=frgs. 7-10) with a length of c. 10 cm (with an average of c. 54 Is per line) and three separate fragments (69, 81, 103) which stem from longer columns with a length of 12.5-13.3 cm (with an average of c. 70 Is per line). Since the first case comes from four consecutive columns located on two different sheets, it is probable that the 'standard column' of this scroll was c. 10 cm long. The fragments with longer columns probably represent the first or the last column of their sheets. With columns of 20 lines and an average of 54 Is per line, an average column in the 4Q418a scroll would contain 1080 Is, substantively less than the columns of 4Q416 and 4Q417, and the scroll must have been longer than these, c. 3.2-3.5 m with c. 25-27 columns.

2.1.3. 4Q423 (4QInstruction*)

4Q423 preserves only minor fragments of 4QInstruction. The text of frgs. 3 and 4 overlaps with 1Q26 (4QInstruction*) frgs. 2 and 1, the text of frg. 8 overlaps with 4Q418 (4QInstruction*) frg. 81, and the text of frg. 9 with that of 4Q148 frg. 188. Frgs. 1-2, 3, 3a, 4, 5, 5a, and 12 relate to the agricultural sphere (including allusions to the Garden of Eden) and contain instruction for the farmer: a reminder that God is the giver of the crops; an admonition against pride when the fields are fruitful; commands to remember the set time for harvesting and to redeem the firstborn of the livestock before God, etc. These fragments probably derive from a lengthy section of 4QInstruction which dealt with the life of the farmer. This section must belong to the second half of the book which is not covered by the main fragments of 4Q416 and 4Q417, since there is no overlapping with these fragments, all of which derive from the first half of the book. Frg. 8 was located slightly after the middle of the scroll, as it overlaps with 4Q418 (4QInstruction*) frg. 81.

The skin is of medium thickness. The colour is light brown, the verso is light to medium brown (darker sections on frgs. 1, 4b and 5b). The lower edge of frg. 1 has shrunk and darkened due to deterioration. Horizontal ruling lines can be discerned at the bottom of frg. 1 and more clearly on frg. 2 (this fact supports the proposal that these two fragments were located alongside each other and represent the same column, see below). The upper layer of skin has occasionally lost its surface, particularly on frg. 5. The distance between the lines differs between various fragments from 5.3 to 6.3 mm. Frg. 8 preserves the bottom left corner of a column which is

43 When a transparent copy is put on top of a photocopy of the fragment, one can possibly discern wear patterns which would indicate a circumference of the scroll at this point of 4.5 cm: let the vertical crack through the word 'יאַשַּׁע' in the bottom line cover the vertical left edge of the right part of the fragment, possible wear patterns of the bottom edges can then be discerned. This would locate frg. 103 between frgs. 55 and 127 as the third last column of the scroll. This option must be discarded, however, as frg. 103 preserves the end of the last two lines of the preceding column, and frg. 55 (which was the fourth last column) does preserve the bottom left corner of its column. The wear patterns are more obvious on frgs. 55 and 127. The text of frg. 103 addresses the farmer. Some fragments of 4Q423, 4QInstruction*, which have a similar addressee, seem to come from the last section of the book (see below).

44 Frg. 81 does represents the first column of a sheet, frgs. 69 and 81 can represent last columns. The first or last column of a sheet can differ substantively in length from the others. Cf. Stegemann, "Methods for Reconstruction", 198.
also the end of the sheet (the stitching is preserved). Traces of ink can be seen on the verso of fragments 1, 3 and 5b.

The length of the writing block of the column represented by frg. 8 can be approximated by a comparison with the overlapping text known from 4Q418 frg. 81. Lines 2 and 3 of 4Q418 81 have respectively 67 and 70 Is. Frg. 8 represents a column with ca. 5 Is less pr line, i.e. c.62-67 Is. The column represented by frgs. 1 and 2 probably had c.60 Is per line (see below). A comparison with the overlapping text from 1Q26 frgs. 1 and 2 shows that the columns represented by these two fragments had approximately the same number of Is per line as 4Q423 frgs. 3 and 4. The same is true for frg. 9 vis-à-vis 4Q418 188. The proposed reconstruction in frg. 5 line 4 (see section 6.2.2) yields a line of 70 Is and a column width of 12 cm.

It is difficult to detect wear patterns that would indicate how these fragments were positioned in relation to one another in the original scroll. However, frg. 1 and possibly frg. 5 display wear patterns which make it possible to ascertain the circumference of the section of the scroll where they were located. When a transparency of frg 5 is put on top of a photograph of the same fragment, a recurring pattern can be discerned45 which would mean that the turn of the scroll was 6.8 cm at this point. Frg. 1 clearly shows a turn of 4.7 cm (see plate 2).46 So small turns must derive from the internal part of the scroll, with frg. 1 being located not far from the innermost end of the scroll. It was noticed above that frgs. 1 and 5 derive from the second half of this work. Since these fragments were located in the inner part of the scroll, the scroll must have been rolled the usual way with the beginning of the composition on the outside.

Further, frg. 2 was located in the layer above frg. 1: the left edge of the hole in the empty upper margin of frg. 1 (above the word יאמ) exactly fits the right edge of frg. 2 at the same distance from the preserved top edge of the scroll. Since frg. 1 testifies to a turn of the scroll of 4.7 cm, frg. 2 can only be located to the left of frg 1 (if one puts frg. 2 one turn to the right of frg. 1, it would be located on top of frg. 1). A decrease of c.3 mm per turn can be assumed as the scroll is unwound.47 With a turn of c.4.4 cm from the hole above the word יאמ to the right edge of frg. 2, there is a lacuna for lines 1-5 of only a few millimetres between the left edge of frg. 1 and the right edge of frg. 2 (see plate 2). These two fragments thus represent the same column. The themes of lines 6-7 of these two fragments can fit together. Based on the reconstruction of frg. 1 lines 1-2, the length of the writing block of this column can be calculated to c.12 cm consisting of c.60-63 Is. Col. ii of frg. 2 was probably the last column of the scroll: with a decrease per turn of 3 mm, the distance from the beginning of this column to the end of the scroll would be c.15.8 cm, which provides space for one column c.12 cm wide.48 If

45The left edge of the left tongue which sticks down has the same shape as the left edge of the right tongue, see especially lines 6-9.

46The two parts of the top edge, which is divided in the middle by a small indentation, display the same shape. When a photocopy of the fragment is rolled, the wear pattern of the top edge is obvious. Between lines 4 and 5 there are two tongues sticking out to the right (below the first letter of הל in line 4 and below הל in line 3) with 4.6 cm in between.


48Turns of 41, 38, 35, 32 and 29 mm yield a total of 175 mm from the end of col. i of frg. 2 to the end of the scroll. If one alternatively supposes a decrease of only 2 mm pr turn as one proceeds inwards, the distance from the beginning of this column to the end of the scroll would be 27 cm, which would leave space for two columns, 12 cm long.
frg. 5, indeed, demonstrates a turn of 6.8 cm, this fragment was located approximately four columns before frg. 1.49

2.1.4. 4Q415 (4QInstruction4)

4Q414 (4QBapt. Lit) is written on the verso of 4Q415. The scroll was turned over when it was rewritten, so that the direction of writing is the same on both sides. Both sides represent early Herodian scripts.50 We have not been able to ascertain which composition represents the first stage of use. The 4Q415 side is the hair side of the skin, which normally is the side used for writing, so that 4Q415 may represent the first stage and 4Q414 the second one.

When a scroll is reused in this way, the composition copied in the second stage cannot be longer than the earlier one. A reason for reuse could be that one or more sheets of the original scroll had been damaged, or more probably that one had lost interest in the earlier composition. Through the other copies of 4QInstruction we know that this book was in active use all through the Herodian period. It therefore seems more probable that one had lost interest in the Baptism Liturgy and reused this scroll to make another copy of 4QInstruction. In this case, the Baptism Liturgy must have been at least as long as 4QInstruction.

The skin is extremely thin and the fragments are in a poor condition. On the 4Q414 side the fragments are either light or medium brown. On the 4Q415 side, they are usually medium or dark brown. Fgs. 9 and 11 are light brown, and frgs. 1, 2 and 6 have darkened substantially (1 and 6 are the darkest ones). On frgs. 8, 9 and 11 the horizontal base lines can be discerned. The distance between the lines is 6.2-7.1 mm. When few fragments are preserved from a scroll, they have often been located close to each other. It is thus probable that frgs. 8, 9 and 10 preserve the same seam between two sheets. Frgs. 8 and 10 should be located above frg. 9 (frg. 9 preserves the bottom of a column, see below), and preserve small parts of the left margin of the column which preceded frg. 9.

To a large degree frgs. 9 and 11 have the same shape, and they represent a wad (stack) from the fragmentation stage (see plate 8). This can be demonstrated if a photocopy of frg. 9 is put on top of a copy of frg. 11.51 Frg. 11 is lighter in colour and was located below frg. 9 in the wad. Both fragments preserve the right margin of a

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49Turns of 50, 53, 56, 59, 62, 65 and 65 mm yield a total of 34.5 cm from the right edge of frg. 1 to the left edge of frg. 5, which would leave space for three columns.

50We are indebted to A. Yardeni for the following observations (personal communication): both scripts are early Herodian. Further, the script of 4Q415 is very similar to that of 4QD, which on palaeographical grounds is dated to the early first century CE. The open samek of 4Q415 could place this script a little before 4QD. S.J. Pfann notes that 4Q414 employs cryptic ‘ayin (7x) as a scribal mark which indicated a liturgical response, and that such scribal marks ceased to be used from the last part of the first century BCE onwards: “4Q298: The Maskil’s Address to All Sons of Dawn”, JQR 85 (1994) 203-35, pp. 233-5. If Pfann’s analysis is correct, the use of scribal marks in 4Q414 could indicate that this composition represents the first stage (mid-first century BCE?) and 4Q415 the second (exl of first century BCE).

51The bottom right corner has the same shape in both fragments. When the right edges of the two fragments cover each other, the hole through 1.3 of frg. 9 fits the inlet between lines 2 and 3 of frg. 11. The shape of frg. 2 (=4Q414 frg. 2) is somewhat similar to frg. 9, so that frg. 2 possibly can be placed as the third one, on top of this wad. If this is correct, frg. 2 would have preceded frg. 9 in the scroll, col. ii of frg. 2 would be the last one on a sheet and somewhat shorter than the column represented by frg. 9.
column. The right margin on frg. 11 is located 1 cm to the right of the corresponding one on frg. 9 in the wad. These fragments must represent the beginning of two consecutive columns. If frg. 9 can be located before frg. 11 (see below), the distance between the corresponding points in these two adjacent layers of the original scroll would have been the length of a column (with margin) plus 1 cm (which indicates a circumference of the scroll at this point of 12-15 cm). The seam preserved at the beginning of frg. 9 caused the vertical break at the right edge of frg. 11 in the layer underneath.

This wad cannot derive from the inner part of the scroll where the turns were short, so that it must have belonged to the external part of the scroll. Since neither of these fragments overlap with the major fragments of 4Q416/4Q417 which cover most of the first half of the composition, the wad most likely belongs to the second half of the scroll. Since the text passages represented by these fragments can be located both to the external part of this scroll and to the second half of 4QInstruction, it seems probable that 4Q414/415 was rolled the less usual way with the beginning on the inside, as was the case with 4Q416. Thus, frg. 9 was located on top of frg. 11 in the scroll, and preceded it in the running text. Both fragments relate God’s ‘scales of righteousness’ (cf. 4Q418 127) to man and woman: God has meted out the conditions of male and female in the world. Some of the lines of frg. 9 seem to deal with the husband’s authority over his wife (cf. 4Q416 VI).

The wad preserves a section of the lower part of the scroll. The bottom margin is visible on frg. 11, but not on frg. 9. Since frg. 9 was located on top of frg. 11, we can conclude that the lowest visible line (line 12) on frg. 9 is the second last line of the column. An examination of the 4Q414 side of the fragments confirms that these two fragments were together in a wad. The 4Q414 side of the fragments is lighter, which was therefore probably the bottom side of these fragments (which was less exposed to light) after the fragmentation of the scroll.

2.2.1. Summary

We have located most of the major fragments in their original sequence within the original scrolls, and calculated the length of the composition to be between 26,000 and 31,000 Is: 4Q417 measured c. 260 cm, and this scroll contained between 17 and 20 columns.

Wear patterns of the large sheet of 4Q416 2 show that 4Q416 (4QInstructionb) was rolled with its beginning on the inside of the scroll when it was deposited in the cave. We therefore calculated the distance from the innermost end of the scroll to the beginning of frg. 2, and suggested that this sheet, which covers four columns, represents cols. III-VI of the original scroll.

52 Since frg. 9 represents the beginning of a sheet with the seam it is unlikely that frgs. 9 and 11 preserve the first two columns of the composition which are not covered by the preserved fragments of 4Q416/4Q417. It is unlikely that these two fragments could represent the one or two columns of text which are ‘missing’ between 4Q416 frg. 3 and 4Q417 frg. 2.

53 The sequence is the same on the 4Q414 side, frg. 10 (= 4Q415 9) preceded frg. 12 (= 4Q415 11). 4Q414 frgs. 10 and 12 derive from the second half of 4Q414, and both fragments preserve the top right corner of a column (the top margin is visible only on frg. 12, but the comparison with 4Q415 shows that the first visible line of 4Q414 10 also is the first line of a column).
This sheet overlaps with 4Q417 (4QInstruction) 1, which preserves large parts of two columns. Together 4Q416 2 and 4Q417 1 preserve most of the text of cols. III-VI of both scrolls. The wear patterns of 4Q416 1 and 3 are similar to the left part of 416 2, and indicate that these two fragments represent the next two columns (VII-VIII) of that scroll (the contents of these two fragments are similar, both deal with eschatological matters, which would fit the presupposition that they represent consecutive columns). The wear patterns of 4Q417 2 show a circumference at that point of the scroll (9.9 cm) which enabled us to approximate the distance between 4Q417 frgs. 1 and 2. Thus, frg. 2 probably represents cols. IX-X of 4Q417.

The wear patterns of 4Q417 show that this scroll was rolled the usual way with its beginning on the outside. We could therefore calculate the distance from the end of col X (4Q417 2 ii) to the innermost end of the scroll, and thus determine the length of the scroll and of the composition.

4Q417 measured between 231 and 286 cm, and the scroll contained a minimum of 17, and a maximum of 20 columns, with an average of 1550 ls per column. Since the columns of 4Q416 were smaller, this scroll would, with an average of 1250 ls per column, have contained between 21 and 25 columns. With an average length of 12 cm per column (including margin) and an opening margin of 5 cm, this scroll would have measured between 257 and 300 cm.

Frgs. 7, 8, 9 and 10 of 4Q418 come from four consecutive columns, probably cols. IV-VII of 4Q418a. Each of these columns contained 20 lines. These columns were relatively short (c.10 cm, with an average of c.54 ls per line). Three 4Q418 fragments (69, 81, 103) derive from larger columns with a length of 12.5-13.3 cm (with an average of c.70 ls per line). Since frgs. 7-10 represent four consecutive columns located on two different sheets, it is probable that the ‘standard column’ of this scroll was c.10 cm long. The fragments with longer columns probably represent the first or the last column of their respective sheets. With columns of 20 lines and an average of 54 ls per line, an average column in 4Q418a would have contained c.1080 ls, substantially less than the columns of 4Q416 and 4Q417, and the scroll must have been longer than these other ones, c.3.2-3.5 m with c.25-27 columns.

The wear patterns of 4Q418 81 indicate that this fragment was located somewhat after the middle of the scroll, as approximately col. XVII of a total of c.26 columns. Fig. 81 is the only one which shows the full height of this scroll (20 lines). The wear patterns of frgs. 55 and 127 show that these two fragments represent respectively the fourth last column and the last column of this scroll.

Some of the larger 4Q418 fragments do not display wear patterns which could enable us to determine their position in the composition. This is true for frg. 103 (the farmer should be careful not to mix different kinds of crops in his commercial dealings); and frg 126 (God’s preordination of the ways of men, an assurance of the end-time lot of the elect, parenetic advice on business dealings with one’s neighbour).

As for 4Q423, frgs. 1 and 2 (olim frgs. 2 and 1) preserve the right and left parts of the same column. Wear patterns indicate that this column was the second last one of the scroll.

4Q415 was likely rolled the less usual way. Two fragments (9 and 11) represent a wad. They preserve the beginning of two consecutive columns, probably located somewhere in the second half of the scroll.
2.2.2. Distribution of the preserved fragments of the various scrolls

We have seen that most of cols. III-VII of 4Q416 has been preserved, and probably also a part of col. VIII. This scroll was rolled with its beginning on the inside. The innermost two-and-a-half columns have disappeared, as well as the external 60% of the scroll. This fits well with Stegemann's description of how scrolls usually are worn down.\(^{54}\)

The beginning of two sheets of 4Q417 we have preserved, in addition to a number of minor fragments. The first large fragment preserves cols. III-IV, the second one probably cols. IX-X.

Smaller and larger fragments of 4Q418a have been preserved from most sections of this scroll: minor 4Q418 fragments duplicate the text of all the columns represented by the major fragments of 4Q416 and 4Q417 (the only exception is the small part preserved of 4Q417 X) throughout the first half of the scroll, and some fragments of 4Q418a have been located to the second half of the scroll. Therefore it stands to reason that also the first two columns of the scroll (which are missing in 4Q416 and 4Q417) are represented among the 4Q418a fragments, but at the present stage of research we cannot decide which 4Q418 fragments should be assigned to these first columns of the scroll. Thus, the contents of the first two columns of the composition cannot be ascertained.

Only minor fragments have been preserved of the last four copies of 4QInstruction (4Q418b, 4Q415, 4Q423, 1Q26). Two fragments of 4Q415 have been stuck together in a wad that belonged to the second half of that scroll, which was rolled with the beginning on the inside. Some of the 4Q423 fragments have been located to the second part of the scroll, and a few of these deal specifically with the farmer.

2.2.3. Survey of contents

Based on the location of the various fragments as suggested above, a survey of the contents of 4QInstruction can now be outlined. Fragments whose location has not been determined are not included (with the exception of 4Q418 69). For purpose of convenience 4Q416 is used as basis for the survey. The relative position of passages from other scrolls is calculated with regard to their respective columns in 4Q416, which is assumed to have contained 23 columns. Compare the synopsis on p. 12.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RELATIVE POSITION IN 4Q416</th>
<th>MAIN TEXT, LOCATION IN SCROLL</th>
<th>GENRE</th>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>117-21</td>
<td>4Q417 III (1 ii) 1-5</td>
<td>Admonitions</td>
<td>Argument with a neighbour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-21</td>
<td>4Q417 III (1 ii) 5-28</td>
<td>Admonitions with doxology</td>
<td>Position of elect toward God and neighbour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rhetorical question</td>
<td>The uniqueness of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Separate from the ungodly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{54}\)"Methods for Reconstruction", 194.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>4Q416 References</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8-12</td>
<td></td>
<td>Study</td>
<td>God’s mysteries and your eschatological hope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-13</td>
<td></td>
<td>Argument</td>
<td>Property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-17</td>
<td></td>
<td>Niedrigkeitsdoxologie</td>
<td>God’s might, man’s humble state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-21</td>
<td></td>
<td>God provides for your needs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-27</td>
<td></td>
<td>Repay your loans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III 22 - IV 3</td>
<td>4Q416 2 i 22 - 2 ii 3</td>
<td>Hymnic description</td>
<td>God provides for every living thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 3 - VI 15</td>
<td>4Q416 2 ii 3 - 2 iv 13</td>
<td>Admonitions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 3-18</td>
<td>2 ii 3-18</td>
<td>Business ethics: surety, relation to superiors and subordinates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 18 - V 3</td>
<td>2 ii 18 - 2 iii 3</td>
<td>Decent and humble lifestyle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V 3-6</td>
<td>2 iii 3-6</td>
<td>Restore a deposit in full</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V 6-8</td>
<td>2 iii 6-8</td>
<td>The hope of the righteous through death</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V 8-15</td>
<td>2 iii 8-15</td>
<td>Study God’s mysteries and praise His name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V 15 - VI 15</td>
<td>2 iii 15-2 iv 13; 4Q416 17</td>
<td>Family matters: relation to parents, wife (specifically: her oaths) and children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI 17 - VIII 15</td>
<td>4Q416 4; 1; 3</td>
<td>Discourse</td>
<td>Universal judgement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI 17-20</td>
<td>4Q416 4</td>
<td>Exhortation</td>
<td>Rejoice, the elect is not under God’s wrath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII 2-7</td>
<td>4Q416 1 2-7</td>
<td>Announcement of judgement</td>
<td>God will judge all iniquity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII 8-10</td>
<td>4Q416 1 8-10</td>
<td>Hymnic description</td>
<td>The Creator established the heavenly hosts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII 11-19</td>
<td>4Q416 1 11-19</td>
<td>Theophany report with announcement of judgement and salvation</td>
<td>God will judge in heaven and on earth, every creature will acknowledge His sovereignty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII 9-15</td>
<td>4Q416 3</td>
<td>Exhortation, prayer, praise</td>
<td>God has given each one his portion, and will prevail over all evil. Praise Him for His mercies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 2. Reconstruction of 4QInstruction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IX (7)</td>
<td>4Q418 69 1-15</td>
<td>Trial speech</td>
<td>The judgement of the ungodly, the glorious portion of the elect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>4Q417 IX (2 i) 3-29</td>
<td>Wisdom instruction</td>
<td>God’s mysterious plan for creation and history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>4Q417 X (2 ii) 4-18</td>
<td>Biblical paraphrase (?), narrative with exhortations</td>
<td>Apocryphal story about Noah (?), with parenthesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV</td>
<td>4Q418a XVII (4Q418 81) 1-20</td>
<td>Wisdom instruction</td>
<td>The portion of the elect and his community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4Q418 81 1-6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Praise the angels and God who has given you a glorious portion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4Q418 81 6-9</td>
<td></td>
<td>You have received insight, walk according to your calling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4Q418 81 10-14</td>
<td></td>
<td>The elect community, God’s eternal planting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4Q418 81 15-20</td>
<td></td>
<td>God will sustain you. Use your insight and skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX</td>
<td>4Q418a XXIII (4Q418 55) 1-12</td>
<td>Rhetorical dialogue</td>
<td>The God-given portions of man: the elect heed His will, the ungodly did not seek wisdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII</td>
<td>4Q423 1-2 1-9</td>
<td>Biblical paraphrase and exhortation</td>
<td>The garden of God: the eschatological community and its knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIII (last column)</td>
<td>4Q418 127 (last column of 4Q418a) 1-7</td>
<td>Warning</td>
<td>The disobedient will see trouble and death, God will test each one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The composition gives the first impression of a random collection of different kinds of literary material. Based on the contents of 4Q418 69 ii we suggest that this discourse on the end-time judgement should be located to col. IX of 4Q416, after the first eschatological discourse. This suggestion allows for an understanding of the structure of the better preserved first half of the composition can be perceived: four columns of wisdom admonitions (II 17 - V 13) are followed by a lengthy discourse on the end-time judgement of the world, which is framed by passages which assure the elect of God’s mercy toward him (V 17 - VIII 15). Then follows another discourse (col. IX) which elaborates on the fate of the ungodly and the righteous ones - Sheol and annihilation.
vis-a-vis eternal bliss. Cols. X - XI preserve a wisdom instruction on God's revelation of the mysteries of history to the elect community, followed by exhortations. These exhortations may refer to Noah, the one to whom were revealed the secrets of the end-times (see section 4.1.4), and offers his advice for the generations to come.

4Q415 and 4Q418 preserve a number of minor fragments containing fragmentarily preserved wisdom admonitions. All these sections of text cannot be fitted into the first two columns of the compositions (which are not preserved by 4Q416 and 4Q417). Most of these fragments must therefore be located somewhere in the second half of the composition. Thus, also this part of the composition contained wisdom admonitions as well as discourses. Col. XV preserves a wisdom instruction on the community as God's eternal plant and the glorious portion of the elect. Col. XX refers to God's preordination of the ways of men: the elect heeded the will of God, while the ungodly did not. Towards the end of the composition (col. XXII) the story of the Garden of Eden is used to illuminate the portion of the elect: the member of the end-time community has been given the wisdom of Adam, the gift of discerning between good and evil. The last column of the scroll (XXIII) opens with a warning against disobedience: God, who shared out to everybody their portions in life, will also test them with scales of righteousness. It certainly would seem fitting to close a didactic book with a section which included warnings.

We note the contrast between the shorter wisdom admonitions of cols. II - V and the longer discourses and wisdom instructions of cols. VI - XI. In section 3.3 we will see that the discourses and instructions probably should be ascribed to a later stratum within 4QInstruction than the wisdom admonitions.

2.3. Excursus: To reconstruct a scroll from scattered fragments

In the wake of the aforementioned analysis, a few general remarks may be needed. Editors of Qumran scrolls have usually published separate fragments of a certain scroll, starting with the larger ones, without devoting much space to the original sequence of the fragments. Hartmut Stegemann has made some suggestions as to how the fragments should be organized.55 Likewise, some scholars have published their suggestions on how previously published scrolls should be reconstructed.56 But even some recent text editions show a remarkable lack of interest in the physical side of the fragments.57

57An example is 4Q228 (4QText with a Citation of Jubilees), published in DJD XIII, 177-85. The editor, J.C. VanderKam, notes that the large frg. 1 "contains a sizable blank section, lined by the scribe, at the bottom of the second column". He does not elaborate on this point. An examination of the photograph (plate XII), however, reveals wear patterns which make it clear that we are close to the innermost end of the scroll. Frg. 1 thus represents the end of the scroll, which was rolled the usual way with the beginning of the composition on the outside. The text of frg. 1 contains an end-time scenario. The physical analysis therefore has implications for
2. Reconstruction of 4QInstruction

Stegemann's pioneering article from 1990, "Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments", provides a good starting point for work on reconstruction of Qumran scrolls. In our work with reconstructing scrolls, we have discovered some 'tools' for this process which are not sufficiently described in his article. These 'tools' are outlined below. Our discussion of the reconstruction of 4QInstruction provides a number of illustrations for the reconstruction process outlined here.

Even if the material is too meagre for the reconstruction of lengthy parts of the original scroll, many fragments demonstrate wear patterns which indicate where they were located in the scroll. When these secrets of various fragments from the same literary work (whether from one or more copies of the composition) have been uncovered, their internal sequence can be decided. When the sequence of a number of fragments is known, details of literary structure and line of argument in the composition can be detected.

The purpose of the investigation of scattered fragments from a specific scroll is to detect wear patterns both from the scroll stage and the time after fragmentation. The different steps in this process are outlined below (some of them are described, but in a less systematic way, in Stegemann's article).

The first step is to make a transparent photocopy (use a transparent overhead sheet) of the photos of the fragments. When one moves the transparent copy of one fragment above the photographs of others, similar wear patterns can be detected.

Second, one cuts photocopies of the fragments carefully (with edges and holes). Copies of fragments which are large enough to display possible recurring patterns, should be experimentally rolled. Through a 'scroll test' ideas from the previous stage can be confirmed or new ideas come to the surface. If it is not known whether the scroll was rolled with its beginning on the outside or the inside, one must try rolling the copies in both directions. The direction of rolling of the scroll when it was deposited the last time might thus be revealed.

Some wear patterns are revealed only when one rolls the photocopy (only in this way did we discover the wear patterns and the direction of rolling of the large fragment 4Q416 2, see 2.1.1.1 and plate 1). This is particularly true for less obvious patterns of fragments which preserve top or bottom edges of the scroll [some examples: on 4Q423 1-2 (plate 8), see section 2.1.3; on 4Q418 127 (plate 6), see section 2.1.2.2; on 4Q416 2 (plate 1), see section 2.1.1.1].

58 Very useful for understanding the processes of deterioration and the work of reconstruction is S.J. Pfann, "4Q298: The Maskil's Address to All Sons of Dawn", JQR 85 (1994) 203-35. E.D. Herbert shows other paths in his recent work on reconstructing a (reworked?) biblical scroll. He concludes that the text which were located in the lacunae of 4QSam⁴ frequently deviated from the masoretic text: Reconstructing Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Method Applied to the Reconstruction of 4QSam⁴ (Leiden 1997, forthcoming). For a summary, see "A New Method for Reconstructing Biblical Scrolls", Tyndale Bulletin 47 (1996) 177-80.

59 A good example is 4Q422 (4QParaGenExod), in which three sets of fragments carry wear patterns which reveal that they belonged to three different wads from the fragmentation stage (see the PAM photo 42.820). Each wad represents three or four layers of a particular part of the original scroll. The wear patterns enabled us to decide the sequence of all the major fragments as well as the full length (c.70 cm) of this small scroll, which originally contained four columns. We could determine that col. 1 of this pentateuchal paraphrase dealt with Genesis 1-4, col. II with the flood story, while col. III contained a poetical description of the plagues of the Exodus. See T. Elgvin, "The Genesis Section of 4Q422 (4QParaGenExod)", DSD 1 (1994) 180-96. For a revised version with the plates, see DVD XIII, 417-41, plates XLII-XLIII.
Sometimes two or more fragments display the same shape (partly or altogether): they represent a wad, a stack of fragments which were located above each other in adjacent layers of the original scroll, and carry similar decomposition patterns. If possible wads are detected, one should make 'test wads' of the photocopies to see which sections of the fragments are not covered by others. These particular sections of the original fragments will often be darker due to more exposure to light in the stage after fragmentation. One should also make a 'test roll' (unite the fragments with tape, or paste them on a transparent sheet or on a long paper 'scroll'), to confirm preliminary ideas and ascertain the distance between these fragments in the original scroll. Column margins which are preserved on the different pieces can sometimes confirm or disprove the presence of a wad, the distance between the fragments in the reconstructed scroll must suit a normal pattern of columns [on 4Q415 9 and 11 (plate 8), see section 2.1.4].

Third, one should look for vertical cracks, breaks and edges, which often are caused by a seam in the adjacent layers of the original scroll. If a fragment preserves the beginning or end of a sheet, one should look for such patterns parallel to the place of the seam [some examples: on 4Q417 1 (plate 3) and 4Q417 2 (plate 4), see section 2.1.1.2; on 4Q418 81 (plate 7), see section 2.1.2.2; on 4Q415 9 and 11 (plate 8), see section 2.1.4]. S.J. Pfann has noticed the impact of the thong around the original scroll. The external layers of a scroll will often be cracked or fragmented along a horizontal line in the middle of the scroll due to the pressure from the scroll's thong. Fragments which seem to have been decomposed in such a pattern usually derive from the external layers of the scroll, and should be located above and below the horizontal center line in the scholar's puzzle.

Fourth, one should examine the original fragments (usually located in the Rockefeller Museum) on both sides to note lighter and darker sections. Sections of fragments which were covered by other fragments after the fragmentation of the scroll are usually lighter than those which were uncovered, due to less exposure to light. One should have in mind that fragments and wads after fragmentation were lying either with their recto or their

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60 4Q422 is a good example, see note 60.
61 The seam between sheets normally leaves an imprint which often causes vertical cracks or breaks in the layer(s) below and above, cf. Stegemann, "Methods for Reconstruction", 195, note 44.
62 Some examples: the photographs of 1QIsa show a clearly visible horizontal line caused by the thong, which went through all the external layers until col. XXVII. The scroll now shows signs of disintegration along this line. At the point of two seams [between cols. XIX-XX and cols. XXV-XXVI] the line 'jumps' a few mm upwards, probably because these two seams between different sheets at some stage had to be redone.

In the Temple Scroll the thong is a main reason for the decay of the upper half of the external layers of the scroll. 1QIsa shows signs of deterioration along the horizontal line in the best preserved latter part of the scroll. But the wear pattern clearly indicates that this part was the inner part of that scroll when it was deposited in the last time: the distance between the points which display the same shape decreases towards the end of the scroll. The only explanation we can bring forward which would account for such a peculiar deterioration pattern, is the following: after some years of active use the external sheets of the scroll (from ch. 1 onwards) started to deteriorate (probably due to the pressure of the thong). In order to 'save' the scroll for a longer period of use, one then rolled the scroll the less usual way (with the beginning on the inside) for a certain period, during which the thong set its stamp on the last, now external part of the scroll. For some unknown reason the scroll was again rolled with its beginning (Isaiah 1) on the outside when it was deposited the last time, and carries wear pattern accordingly: with a few exceptions, only the last third of the scroll has been preserved, and these columns are broken or cracked in the middle.

On the impact of the thong, see S.J. Pfann, "4Q298: The Maskil's Address to All Sons of Dawn", 209-12; G.J. Brooke, "The Genre of 4Q252: From Poetry to Peshar" DSJ I (1994) 160-79, p. 162. For an example, see above on 4Q416 2 (note 8).
2. Reconstruction of 4QInstruction

verso sides upwards (exposed to light). Sometimes a fragment has left a lighter 'imprint' on the recto or verso side of its 'neighbour' where the first covered the latter after fragmentation, or one part of a larger fragment has left its imprint on another part of the same piece (to its left or right) which was located one turn further inwards or outwards [on 4Q417 1 (plate 3), see section 2.1.1.2]. This part of the examination will often reveal which direction the scroll was rolled. One should also note the thickness of the skin. When scrolls are rolled the usual way, scrolls with thicker skin will have a larger increase in circumference from one turn to the next than thinner ones. Stegemann notes that scrolls of medium or large length usually have an increase in circumference of 2-3 mm from one turn to the next. Smaller scrolls can be more loosely rolled: 4Q422 which was 70 cm long shows an increase in circumference of 6 mm from one turn to the next.

The verso of a fragment can carry imprints of letters from the underlying layer in the original scroll. Such imprints (which might be visible on PAM photographs of the verso) will indicate how this fragment was located in the scroll vis-a-vis the fragment which produced the imprint.

Fifth, one should check the scale of the photographs for the sake of exact measurements and calculations. Most of the recent photographs from Israel Antiquities Authority are not reproduced in an exact 1:1 scale.

The various stages of the physical reconstruction are described above. The content analysis should be used to confirm the juxtaposition of adjacent fragments as well as the position of fragments which preserve the beginning or end of corresponding lines of a column.

63 4Q421 frg. 1ab provides a good example: these two pieces preserve the right and left part of the same column (the text of this passage is known from the parallel manuscript 4Q420). A similar wear pattern can be observed at the right edge of both pieces, and frg. 1b has left its imprint on the rear of frg. 1a: the verso of frg. 1a is darker exactly on the section where it was not covered from below by frg. 1b (these two fragments were probably lying with their verso sides upwards after the fragmentation of the scroll). This observation shows that frg. 1a was located one turn further inwards than frg. 1b, and that the scroll was rolled in the less usual way with its beginning on the inside. Based on these observations the circumference of the original scroll at this point can be decided, and hence that the section in question comes from the first part of the scroll. See T. Elgvin, "Wisdom in the yahad: 4QWays of Righteousness", RevQ 17 (1996) 205-32; DJD XX, 183-4.

64 "Methods for Reconstruction", 195.


66 For a good example, see our analysis of 4Q422 col. II (DJD XIII, 418-24 and plate XLIII). The physical reconstruction positioned frg. 5 at the left margin of this column (preserving lines 6-10), and suggested that frg. 2 could preserve the right margin of the same column, but did not indicate how far up frg. 2 should be located. This column dealt with the flood story, one of the lines of frg. 5 ending בְּמֵלָהְוָה יָם הָֽיִםְּלֹא וְחָיָֽה יִשְׁתָּוָה וּלִבְּקָשָֽה יַסְפִּֽד. Frg. 2 had been located in a wad between frgs. 1 and 3, this observation thus helped to determine the exact location of these three fragments in cols. I-II.
3. Genres, Style, and Redaction History

This chapter examines the literary genres and stylistic means represented within 4QInstruction, and presents some preliminary suggestions about the redaction history of the composition. Form-critical tools from biblical research are utilized. During the analysis we compare 4QInstruction with biblical texts and some sapiential and apocalyptic works from the Second Temple period.

3.1. Literary genres

The following analysis examines the literary genres (Gattungen) represented in 4QInstruction. As is common in form-critical analysis both formal characteristics and matters of contents will be used to define a genre. The identification of the various genres used will help us to perceive the nature of this composition, and will provide a basis for the thematical discussion in ch. 4. The Sitz im Leben of 4QInstruction will be discussed at length in section 5.2, but some observations are made already at this stage.

Collins distinguishes five broad types of sapiential material in the Bible and early post-biblical literature: (1) wisdom sayings (in our terminology: wisdom sentences), (2) theological wisdom (like Proverbs 8 and the Book of Job), (3) nature wisdom (like Job 28, 38-41), (4) mantic wisdom (which is concerned with dreams and omens), (5) higher wisdom through revelation (including apocalyptic revelations). While Collins’ type 1 is a formal category, types 2-5 more refer to contents. Among these types, (1), (2) and (5) are represented in 4QInstruction.

Seen as a whole, 4QInstruction is a didactic collection. Several genres, well-known from the Bible, are to be found within this composition. Many of these can be counted to the general genre parenesis (parenesis includes admonition, exhortation, command, prohibition and instruction). Large sections contain collections of shorter wisdom admonitions. We also encounter longer text units, theological discourses, which represent different genres. 4QInstruction can be compared with other sapiential or apocalyptic works which contain a number of

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1In the scholarly discussion 'genre' is used either on small textual units or whole literary works. For our part we follow the traditional concept of 'Gattung' from German scholarship, and use 'genre' in the sense of a small textual unit characterized by specific formal elements and matters of contents (some authors use 'form' instead of 'genre' in this sense), not about whole literary works such as gospels or epic works. On the definition of genre, see L. Hartman, “Survey of the Problem of Apocalyptic Genre”, Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East (D. Hellholm, ed.), Tübingen 1983, 329-43, D. Hellholm, “The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre and the Apocalypse of John”, Semeia 36 (1986) 13-64.

2There is no full consensus on literary terminology in the analysis of sapiential material in the Bible. We have utilized form-critical analysis of the biblical wisdom books by W. Richter, H-J. Herrmann, P.J. Nel, R.N. Whybray, and B. Lang, but also work by C. Westermann, J. Jeremias, K.A. Tångberg and M.A. Sweeney on non-sapiential material. With a few exceptions we use the terminology from the survey of biblical genres in M.A. Sweeney, Isaiah 1-39. With an Introduction to Prophetic Literature (FOTL 16), Grand Rapids 1996, 512-47.

literary genres, such as Proverbs, Sirach, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs (hereafter Test. 12 Patr.), and I Enoch. We first discuss the shorter wisdom admonitions and thereafter the discourses.

In ancient Near Eastern literature the wisdom sentence (našāl) can be divided into the separate forms of wisdom admonition (Mahnwort) and wisdom saying (Weisheitsspruch) on form-critical grounds. While wisdom sayings are formulated in the indicative mood, wisdom admonitions are formulated in the imperative (or relevant mood) and are characterized by a subordinate motive clause. Nel defines the wisdom admonition as follows:

The admonition consists of an admonitory element, in the grammatical form of an Imperative, Jussive, Vetitive or Prohibitive and a motive element, which might vary in grammatical form, length and explication. The introductory particles of the motive clauses vary and cannot necessarily be connected to the positive or negative character of the admonitory element.

Those sections of 4Qinstruction which give concrete advice related to specific fields of life usually consist of wisdom admonitions, short sentences formulated in the imperative, vetitive, or prohibitive. In most cases the sentences contain a motive clause and can be categorized as full-fledged admonitions. Some sentences lack the motive clause, leaving a command or prohibition. In these cases the motivation is to be found in the context of the sentence. For sake of convenience, we will refer to all three categories (admonition, command, prohibition) under the common designation ‘admonitions’. We often encounter a combination of sentences about related topics. Such a systematic combination of sentences into ‘wisdom teachings’ (Lehrred) in the Bible is

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4Cf. R.E. Murphy’s classification of Proverbs: “As a book, Proverbs belongs to the genre of collection. In fact, there are several genres to be found: Saying, Instruction, Acrostic Poem, etc.”: Wisdom Literature. Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther (FOTL 13), Grand Rapids 1981, 50.

5The Book of Sirach includes a wisdom speech (24:1-22), a number of wisdom instructions, descriptive wisdom sayings, commands and admonitions, beatitudes, hymns, prayers, a thanksgiving song (51:1-12), a narrative (50:1-21), and the praises of the fathers (chs. 44-49).

6Test. 12 Patr., includes narratives, retellings of biblical passages, admonitions speeches, wisdom instruction, historical allegories, and announcements of judgement and salvation. See below, notes 42 and 43.

71 Enoch includes a variety of genres: theophany report (1:3-9), announcement of judgement and salvation (1:7-9; 2:4-9; 9:17-10; 102:4-104:13), discourse on the ways of nature (chs. 2-5) or the luminaries (chs. 72-79; 82), narrative retelling of biblical passages (chs. 6-11; 106-107), allegorical narrative (chs. 85-90; 93:1-10; 91:11-17), vision report (chs. 17-36; 108:4-15), hymn and prayer (84:2-6), introduction to a testament (91:1-2); wisdom speech (91:3-10; 94:1-5), woe oracle (94:6-98:6; 99:11-16; 108:7-9); judgement speech (98:7-102:3).

In this survey we exclude the later Book of Similitudes.


10Vetitive is the negated jussive, a jussive form preceded by the negating particle ْلا. Prohibitive is the long form of the imperative preceded by the negating particle ْلا. There are some examples of injunctive as well (the long form of the consecutive perfect or the imperfect used to express a command): 4Q416 V 10, 14-15 ‘وَلَّا تُرَبِّصُوا’ (do not stand still). For the proposal to designate this form ‘injunctive’, see W. Gross, Verbsform und Funktion, St. Ottilien 1976, 31; K.A. Tångberg, Die prophetische Mahnrede. Formen und traditionsgeschichtliche Studien zum prophetischen Umkehruruf, Göttingen 1987, 41-2.

11E.g. 4Q417 III 13 “Speak your judgements like a righteous ruler”; 4Q416 IV 6 “In your affairs do not compromise your spirit for any riches”.

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supposed to originate in sapiential schools. A lengthy section with wisdom admonitions, approximately four consecutive columns, is preserved by the overlapping fragments 4Q417 1/4Q416 2 (probably cols. III-VII in both scrolls, see section 2.1.1.1, note 16). Section 4.5 will describe more in detail the various fields of life covered by the wisdom admonitions. At this stage of the discussion we will give some examples:

Be not proud in your soul about yourself in your lowly estate, for what is more insignificant than a poor man? Do not rejoice when you are in grief, lest you suffer in your life. (4Q417 III 9-10)

If you are in need, borrow what you require, but not in money, for [His] storehouse will not be lacking. Upon His word everything will happen, so eat what He gives you, but do not take more lest you sicken your life. If men lend you riches when you are in need, do not [sleep] day or night, and do not let your soul rest until you have paid back to your lender. Do not lie to him, lest you bear guilt, and also from shame you would not escape. (4Q417 III 19-23)

[Do not compromise your spirit for any riches when you are engaged in business]. Do not barter your holy spirit, for no price is worth your soul. Seek him who is in charge of your assets, willingly seek his face, speak accommodating to him, and then you <can again be able to> do your business. [Do not sell?] him [your inheritance], do not forsake your laws, and keeping your secrets guard yourself. If he entrusts you with a task of his, do not rest in your soul and do not let your eyes slumber until you have completed what he requested, but not anything more. (4Q416 IV 6-10)

Similar wisdom admonitions are to be found in some sapiential works that are more or less contemporary with 4QInstruction: Sirach, and the Egyptian Papyrus Insinger and Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy. The two Demotic compositions contain descriptive wisdom sayings as well as admonitions. Plinsinger is a well-organized composition, while Ankhsheshonqy is a collection without any overall order. In Qumran literature the closest parallels to the admonitions of 4QInstruction are found in 4Q424 (4Qsapiential work) and 4Q420/421 (4QWays of Righteousness). 4Q420/421 and 4Q424 contain wisdom sayings and admonitions.

12The ‘Sitz im Leben’ of this genre is the educational situation (school) ... This genre was definitely a didactic device and occurs relatively late in Biblical literature (after the stabilization of the school)”: Nel, The Structure and Ethos, 74.

13Underline or boldface type in transcription, and underline in translation, indicates parallel text in other copies of 4QInstruction. In chs. 3-5 we usually indicate such parallel text only where there are lacunae in the primary text. For complete information on parallel texts, see the text edition in section 6.2.1.

14There was contact between wisdom circles in Judea and Egypt in Ptolemaic times. Ben Sira for one, shows knowledge of Demotic traditions. The many parallels between Sirach and Plinsinger led J.T. Sanders to propose that Ben Sira knew Plinsinger (in an edition somewhat different from the surviving ones) and borrowed from it: Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom, Chico, CA 1983, 69-103. On these Demotic works, see especially M. Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature. Vol. III. The Late Period, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1980, 159-217; idem., Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context: A Study of Demotic Instructions, Fribourg and Göttingen 1983. The script of Ankhsheshonqy is late Ptolemaic, while the main copy of Plinsinger dates from the first century CE. A. Volten proposed a possible pre-Ptolemaic date for Plinsinger (Das demotische Weisheitsbuch, Copenhagen 1941, 123), while Lichtheim demonstrates that both works belong to the Hellenistic age, and proposes an early Ptolemaic date for Ankhsheshonqy, and a late Ptolemaic one for Plinsinger: Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature, 184-6; Ancient Egyptian Literature, 159, 184. The links with Sirach rather points toward an early Ptolemaic date also for Plinsinger. Thus, the admonitions of 4QInstruction probably belong to the same period as Ankhsheshonqy and Plinsinger (we tentatively date the admonitions of 4QInstruction to c.200 BCE, see section 5.2.1).

15Sanders notes that Ben Sira’s tendency to organize his practical advice into groups of proverbs is paralleled by Amenemope and the chapter divisions of Plinsinger, and that both Plinsinger and Sirach use series of wisdom admonitions (Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom, 88-9). To some degree 4QInstruction demonstrates the same patterns.

164Q421 1 i 12-17 (par. 4Q420 1 i 1-6) “A man of [ ... will know ]to walk in the ways of God, to do righteousness as follows: he will not answer before he heals, and not speak before he understands. In great patience will he give answer, and by studying righteousness he will understand their consequences. A man who is humble and meek in mind will not turn away until [ ... A man who is trustworthy will not turn aside
but not commands and prohibitions, while 4QInstruction contains admonitions, commands and prohibitions, but not descriptive wisdom sayings.

4Q16 IV 14-21 contains a chain of admonitions in the vetitiv, starting with וראית, which functions as a minor divide. The joining of admonitions with related themes, keywords or common formal elements in a chain reflects conscious redactional work. 18 One of the motive clauses is introduced by the traditional formula ...

Do not prostrate yourself, lest you carry hateful feelings toward the other.

Do not watch over your creditor, [then you] would be his servant in all things?.

Also, do not humble yourself before someone who is not your equal, otherwise you will be his servant(?).

Do not strike someone who does not have your strength, lest you stumble and be put greatly to shame.

Do not sell yourself for money. It is better for you to be a servant in the spirit, so that you serve your hard employer without payment.

For a price do not sell your glory, and do not pledge your inheritance for money, lest this dispossess your body in slavery.

Do not fill yourself with bread when you lack clothing.

Do not drink wine when there is no food.

Do not request luxury when you lack bread.

Do not boast about your lowly estate - you who are poor - lest you bring your life into contempt.

Furthermore, do not dishonour the organ of your bosom, from ways of righteousness. He will set his heart to truth(?), and his bones and his hands to righteousness(?); He will set his heart to truth(?), and his bones and his hands to righteousness(?);

4Q24 3 7-8 “A man of understanding will accept instruction. A knowledgeable man will find wisdom. A man of honesty will rejoice in righteous judgment”.

174Q21 11 2-4 “reliable(?), to eat and drink from it all [..._] counted(?), and it will be in vain. Let him not draw from it [..._] for a right[eous] deed it is. Let him not wait!”; 4Q24 1 4-7, 8-10 “With a dissembler do not take up a lawsuit, and with a shaky fellow do not go into the furnace, for like lead will he be melted and will not resist the fire. Do not entrust assets to a slothful man, for he will not be careful with your business. Do not send a message to a dullard, for he will not smooth out your affairs. Do not trust in a man devious of lips [to pronounce] the judgement if you are involved in a dispute. Surely he will be devious in his speech and not run after the truth, [evil will be] the fruit of his lips. Do not appoint a greedy man as steward over riches, for he will not mete out your residue to your satisfaction”.

18See Tångberg, Die prophetische Mahnrede, 159. Similar chains of admonitions formulated in the vetitiv are to be found in Prov 3:25-32 (as part of the wisdom instruction 3:21-32) and Sirach chs. 4-5 and 7-8. We will suggest that the chain in 4Q16 IV 14-21 existed as a separate unit before it was inserted into a larger framework of admonitions by a carefully working editor (see below, section 3.3).

19The traditional form is ‘better A (negative) with B (positive) than C (negative) with D (positive)’. See Hermission, Studien, 155-6, and Prov 8:11; 16:16, 19, 32; 19:1, 22; 22:1; 28:6; Qoh 49; 6:9; 7:5; 9:4, 16; Sir 30:14-17; PInsinger 3.21 “Better the small (deed) of him who is quick than the large one of him who delays”;

9.15; 13.10; 23.5; 27.3, Ankhsheshonqy 21.20 “Better a statue of stone than a son who is foolish”; 21.21-22.
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

After this discussion of the wisdom admonitions we turn to the revelatory discourses. In 4QInstruction, theological wisdom and higher wisdom through revelation are primarily presented through longer text units, that we for sake of convenience choose to designate discourses. These discourses, that deal with eschatology and the revelation of God’s mysteries, employ various genres, primarily wisdom instruction (weisheitliche Lehreden), trial speech, rhetorical dialogue, announcement of salvation (Heilswort), announcement of judgement, and theophany report. The contents of the larger discourses will be analyzed in sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3. We will here give an initial presentation of the discourses and the genres they display.

Wisdom instruction is the foremost genre in Proverbs 1-9, and is found also in the ‘Words of the wise’ (Prov 22:17-24:22) and the ‘Words of Lemuel’ (Prov 31:1-9). In contrast to the shorter wisdom sentence,20 the wisdom instruction is a longer text unit where the teacher invites the student to appropriate the lessons he has to offer.21 The instruction is characterized by direct address (‘my son(s)’), and consists of calls to attention, imperatives, prohibitions, motive clauses, etc. (wisdom admonitions can thus be integrated into a larger instruction). The instruction communicates clearly and authoritatively, and it sacrifices the imaginative language characteristic of the wisdom sentence in order to avoid its ambiguities and achieve a pedestrian clarity.22

Wisdom instructions are found in Sirach (2:1-6; 3:1-16; 4:1-10; 6:18-37; 14:11-19; 23:7-15; 38:16-23; 41:14-42:8); 1 Enoch (91:3-10; 94:1-5); Test. 12 Patr. (T. Levi 13); 4Q525 (4QBea) 14 ii (this composition probably included more than one wisdom instruction, cf. frgs. 8-9 and 13); and 4Q185 (4Qsap. work) 19-ii 8. The wisdom instruction is supposed to originate in the school.23 Ben Sira, as one example, had his school in Jerusalem (Sir 50:27; 51:23-28; 24:32-34). The ascription of the wisdom instruction to the sapiential school has implications for the Sitz im Leben of 4QInstruction. We will return to this question in section 5.2.1.

Wisdom instructions are a prominent feature in 4QInstruction. A lengthy instruction on the revelations of God’s mysteries and the heavenly Book of Hagi is followed by a fragmentarily preserved exhortation to praise the God who provides knowledge (4Q417 IX-X). The student is addressed as ‘knowledgeable (son)’ (4Q417 IX 3, 16), (4Q417 IX 20), and (4Q417 IX 27). These designations are preceded by מַדְּה (4Q417 IX 3, 15, 20, 26 (reconstructed)).24 Recurring catchwords and phrases deal either with knowledge or meditation upon divine mysteries. The instruction

20The shorter wisdom sentence should be distinguished from the longer instruction, in its form as well as the question of origin and Sitz im Leben. The wisdom sentence is a complete entity by itself: W. McKane, Proverbs. A New Approach (OTL), London 1970, 10, 413-14; R.N. Whybray, Proverbs (NCBC), Grand Rapids 1994, 15.

21“Jede Lehredre dürfen wir als kunstvolle Unterrichtseinheit verstehen; sie galt es niederzuschreiben und zu memorieren”: Lang, Die weisheitliche Lehredre, 39. On the characteristics of the wisdom instruction, see ibid, 27-46, 100-102.


23McKane sees the wisdom instruction as an international genre having its setting in a court school where officials were trained for public life. This genre was probably adopted in Israel during the Solomonic era. In Israel the instruction became a vessel for broader teaching for the community at large and especially for its younger men. It inculcates both general ethics and Yahwistic piety: Proverbs, 3-10, 19, 22-3. See also Murphy, Wisdom Literature, 50-53.

24See below, section 3.2.4, on this use of מַדְּה.
includes some wisdom admonitions, but also these relate to the overarching theme of knowledge of mysteries, not to specific fields of life. The addressee is exhorted to meditate upon the mysteries of creation and history, and is promised spiritual discernment and understanding of the ways of men. The main part of this discourse runs as follows:

3 And you, understand one, [...] Look[k] at [His wonjrous mysteries,] for He is the awesome God. Get knowledge about the beginnings of ... your ... Look[ at the mystery to come and the deeds of old, to what was and what comes into being and to what will be, and at all] eternal mystery[es] with the [everlasting] secrets(?), then you will see(?) what was and what comes into being with what will be, in all [the periods of eternity(?)] upon deed and deed, day and night. Meditate on the mystery to come, and search always. Then you will know truth and evil, wisdom and simplicity.

[ ] understand(?) the creatures [of God(?)] in all their ways with their destiny throughout all the periods of eternity as well as the eternal visitation. Then you will discern between [good and evil in their deeds,] for the God of knowledge is the foundation of truth.

By the mystery to come He designed its foundation, <and> its creatures with [all wisdom.] According to all cunn[ing] He fashioned it, and the domain of its creatures according to [all] understanding(?) To you He will assign [all] ... with ... According to their understanding [He ordained for every creature] to walk in the inclination of his understanding.

And He interpreted for the p[oes] all her ..., and with proper understanding [the hidden] things of His thought are known, when one walks [b]lesslessly in all [one's] deeds. These things seek always, and meditate on all that results from them. Then you will have knowledge of [eternal] glory with [His wondrous mysteries and mighty deeds.] And you understand the origin of your own doing when you remember the styles. For with it was the decree engraved, and decreed is the entire visitation. For the engraved is decreed by God against all iniquity of the sons of perdition, and written in His presence it is a book of memory of those who keep His word. It is the Vision of Hagit and a book of memory. He gave it as inheritance to man with a spiritual people, [their] inclination is after the likeness of the holy ones. He had not before given the Hagit to the spirit of flesh, for it of the sons of Israel(?), and said 'My riches(?) and My favour I will give you'. Is not His goodness yours? <So> walk always in His faithfulness ...

4Q418 81 1-14 contains another wisdom instruction, which stands out among the preserved parts of 4QInstruction with its lofty, poetic language. Elements of hymnic style can be discerned. Phrases and catchwords recur, especially related to the root הַרְפָּא, inheritance and the images of fountain and planting. The inheritance of the remnant community is described in different ways. The addressee is exhorted to praise the angels and God who has allotted him a glorious portion, now and eternally. In lines 3, 7, 9 and 15 (the beginning of the following paragraph) הרפַא is used as call for attention and minor divide.

For He[ ] opened your lips as a fountain to bless the holy ones. And you, as an everflowing fountain praise [ ... He separated you from all the spirit of flesh. <Hence> you shall separate from everyone He hates and keep apart from all abominations of the spirit. [For] He made everyone and bequeathed them, each man his inheritance, and He is your portion and your inheritance among the sons of Adam. [In] His inheritance He gave you authority.

And you, honour Him in this: in sanctifying yourself to Him. As He set you to sanctify the holy ones[ for all ], and among all[ ... He cast your lot and greatly increased your glory, and set you as His firstborn among the sons of Israel(?), and said 'My riches(?) and My favour I will give you'. Is not His goodness yours? <So> walk always in His faithfulness [ ... ] your deeds.

And you, seek His judgements from the hands of every adversary of yours, all [ ... He acts in ... toward all who love Him, and in mercy and kindness toward all who keep His word, but His zeal [is upon all who hate Him(?).]
And for you He opened insight,[h] gave you authority over His storehouse and entrusted [you] with an accurate ephah[... ] are with you. It is in your hands to turn aside wrath from the man of <His> favour and punish[the men of Belial]... ] are with you. Before you take your portion from His hand, honour His holy ones, and before you... ] He opened[ a fountain] for all the holy[ies], all who by His name are called holy ones... they will be] for all the ages the splendid of His sprout, an [eternal planting [... ] earth(?), in it it will walk all those who inherit the land, for by [His] name[ are they called.

And you...

(4Q413 81-15).

A discourse on the coming judgement and the fate of the elect and the ungodly occupies two full columns of the book (4Q416 VI 17 - VIII 15 = 4Q416 frags. 4, 1, 3). This discourse uses the genres announcement of judgement and salvation and theophany report, both known from the Bible. A hymnic description of God’s act of creation is also included (second paragraph below). Recurring catchwords and themes are ‘flesh’, ‘iniquity’, ‘truth’, ‘heaven’, and the fear and trembling of God’s opponents. The main section runs as follows:

[He comes to execute judgement on all, to destroy all the wicked and convict(?)] all the spirit of flesh for their works of wickedness which they have committed(?) and establish His will over all evil. He made known to Noah what was(?) He come, period upon period, set time upon set time. [He will shut up all the sons of evil, and visit all flesh(?)] according to their hosts, [hein upon him, generation upon generation, city upon city(?), kingdom] upon kingdom, province upon province, man upon man [... ] according to the needs of their host[ and the judgement upon all, to [... ]

The host of heaven He established from the beginning..., He set stars(?) and luminaries as their signs and as symbols of [their] set times, ... each one in its order(?), each one in relation to the other, and all their order and[ set times] were counted[ before Him ... ]

In heaven He will judge the work of iniquity, and all the sons of truth will be pleased by[ the appointed time(?)] of its period, and all those who have defiled themselves by it will fear and wait, for the heaven will shoul[the kingdom of iniquity(?) will tremble,] the water and the depths will fear, all the spirit of flesh will be stripped naked and the sons of heaven[ will rejoice on the day of its judgement. And all iniquity shall be consumed when the period of truth is completed] and He will reign(?)] in all the ages of eternity, for a God of truth is He and [His] years from the days of old [... ], and God will appear] to establish justice between good and evil(?), so that everyone should know the judgments of God, and every creature will understand(?) that it is a [creature of flesh, and [its] understanding ... ] when He sees that man is but(?) ... and] He knows[ their nature(?)]

(4Q416 VII 2-17).

We encounter the main elements of the theophany report, the appearing of God, the reactions of nature, reactions of fear and awe. The prediction includes both judgement for the ungodly and salvation for the elect. This duality is typical for many biblical announcements of salvation (Heilsworte), see e.g. Isa 65:1-16.

Another eschatological discourse (4Q418 69 ii 4-15, which we have tentatively located closely after the first one) elaborates on the future judgement of the wicked and salvation of the righteous. This discourse can be characterized as a trial speech. Two rhetorical dialogues (the first addressed to the ungodly, the second to the...

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26For similar hymnic descriptions of the creation, see Job 38:4-7; Isa 40:12; 42:5; 45:18; 48:13. Another hymnic passage that praises God who provides for every living thing, is to be found in 4Q416 III 22-IV 3 (see below, section 3.3).

27The first two lines are tentatively reconstructed on the basis of 1 Enoch 1:9.

28Cf. Jeremias, Theophanie, 15; Sweeney, Isaiah, 541. For similar theophany descriptions, see Isa 24:18-19; Ps 77:14-17; 97:3-4; 1 Enoch 1:3-9.

29Cf. C. Westermann, Prophetische Heilsworte im Alten Testament, Göttingen 1987, 167-72, 188-93. The preserved parts of this discourse do not include some of the main markers of a prophetical announcement of salvation, the formulas הוהי אבּ, השם יהוה, and ויהי הוהי השם הוי."

30Also called the ‘ria pattern’ or ‘covenant lawsuit’ form, a pattern well known from the biblical prophets. Characteristic elements of the trial speech are call to attention, appeal for a legal proceeding, appeal to heaven...
3. Genres, Style, and Redaction History

elect) frame a reference to God's parousia.\(^31\) This middle section employs theophany terminology and includes a prediction of judgement. The first dialogue includes accusation, rhetorical questions and announcement of judgement. In its form the address to the elect is a rhetorical dialogue, in its contents it can be characterized as another announcement of salvation. The trial speech functions here in a parenetic context, as is common in post-biblical texts.\(^32\) Catchwords are "foolish of heart", "sons of iniquity", "those who support evil", contrasted by "all who love righteousness", "the elect of truth, those who pursue righteousness", "pursue knowledge", and further 'toil' and 'tire'.

And now, you foolish of heart, how can there be goodness which was not demonstrated(?), and how can there be) peacefulness which never existed, and how can there be righteousness if it were not established, and how will the dead groan because of their judgement? [For Sheol] you were formed, and your return will be eternal damnation, for [ ] your sins], the dark places will shine on your multitude and all that ever came into being.

The seekers of truth will wake up to the judgement[s] of God(?) All the foolish of heart will be destroyed, the sons of iniquity will not be found any more, and all those who support evil will be ashamed at your judgement. The foundations of the firmament will shatter, all the hosts of God will thunder, [and all] who love) righteousness will rejoice.

But you are the elect of truth, those who pursue righteousness according to the judgement[s of God(?) watchful]) according to all knowledge. How can you say "We toiled for understanding and have been awake to pursue knowledge". Righteousness is he in all [His deeds] and he has not tired during all the years of eternities. Does He not delight in truth forever? Knowledge and understanding will minister to Him. And even the sons of heaven, whose inheritance is eternal life, will they not say "We toiled in the deeds of truth and have to[red] during all the ages"? - will they not walk in eternal light? [ ] also you will inherit glory and abundant honour.

Another rhetorical dialogue, more fragmentarily preserved, is found in 4Q148 55 5-12. Catchwords include 'understanding', 'knowledge', 'be awake', and 'truth'.

They did not seek understanding, and knowledge they did not choose. Did not [the] God of Knowledge [ ] on truth, to establish every [creature by <His> un]derstanding? He portioned out to the heirs of truth [ ] will He do. Is not peace and tranquility [ ] Did you not know, or have you not heard that the angels of God's holiness in heaven [are in your midst(?)?] of truth.

They will pursue all the roots of understanding, and will be awake regarding [ ] according to their knowledge every man shall receive honour from his fellow, and according to his understanding his glory shall be magnified [ ] Are they <not> like men - for he is lazy, and <like> a son of man - for he is silent? Are <they> not [ ] eternity? - they will inherit an eternal portion. Did you not see [ ]

The last column of the composition contains a warning in the form of an announcement of judgement:

[ ] your fountain, and you will not find what you lack, your soul will languish for want of all good things unto death[ ] your spirit(?) will be embittered all day, and your soul will yearn to come into her gates, and your(?) grave will be covered[ed(?)] [ ] your cor[p]se, and you will be a tooth for food, and <there will

and earth, declaration of God's righteousness, accusation, rhetorical questions, and announcement of judgement. See Sweeney, Isaiah, 541-2; L. Hartman, Asking for a Meaning: A Study of Enoch 1-5, Lund 1979, 39-95, and e.g. Isa 1:10-20; Jer 2:5-37; Hos 4:1-10. In the Scrolls one finds exhortations in the rib pattern in CD II-IV (see P.R. Davies, The Damascus Covenant. An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document", Sheffield 1983, 53-104); 1Q34\(^30\) II 1-7; the non-canonical psalms 4Q381 frgs. 69 and 76-77; 4Q502 (4Qmap Pamphlet of the Tree); and 4Q443 (4Qprayer). It also occurs in E Enoc 2-5. 4Q300 (4QMap)\(^9\) 2 refers to רַבִּים שֵׁם) the day of dispute) for those who did not understand the heavenly secrets.

\(^{31}\) This passage is probably inspired by a similar dialogue in the Epistle of Enoch, 1 Enoc 103:1-104:6 (see section 4.2.2).

\(^{32}\) The biblical prophets commonly use rib in the context of speech of judgement. Combined with confession of sins rib can be used in a call to repentance. Hartman notes that a number of post-biblical texts adds an eschatological perspective to the trial speech. The literary context of the trial speech in post-biblical times can vary. One finds accusation speech, hortatory speech, haggadic midrash, or liturgical prayer. But most commonly the trial speech is used in a parenetic context: Asking for a Meaning, 49-63.
be consuming pestilence against [ ... and (di)ose who seek pleasure you have oppressed in their lives. But also you will ]
(4Q418 127 1-4)

4Q423 1-2 preserves some kind of paraphrase of Genesis 2-3. The paraphrase is clearly placed in a parenetic context. A number of positive terms related to the garden image contrast others that deal with man’s burdensome conditions on earth. Some catchwords relate to knowledge and discernment.

and every fruit that is good, pleasing to give knowledge. Is [it] not a delightful garden [and pleasant] [give great knowledge]? He set you in charge of it to till it and guard it. An enjjoyable garden( ... the earth,) thorns and thistles will it sprout forth for you, and its strength it will not yield to you, [ ... ] in your being unfaithful [ ... ] her child, and all the compassion of her that is pregnant( ... ]lyou [...]ed all your resources(?) [ ... ] in all your business(?), for everything it causes to sprout forth[for you ] always not to [ ... ]and in a planting[ ]them [ rejecting(?)] the evil and knowing the good, [ ... , beween his way and the way of [ ... ]

At times, the wisdom admonitions are interspersed with eschatological statements, referring to the end-time appearance of God or the salvation of the righteous. In their contents these statements (indicated by italics in the example below) belong together with the discourses, not with the admonitions.

Be not proud about yourself in your lowly estate, for what is more insignificant than a poor man? Do not rejoice when you are in grief, lest you suffer in your life. Gaze upon the mystery to come, understand the birth-times of salvation and know who will inherit glory and corruption. Will it not be garland for the poor ones(?) and eternal joy for their sorrows? Guard your business matters with zeal, and nobody[ accuse you(?) for any crooked matters of yours(?). Speak your judgements like a righteous ruler. Do not receive[ve any bribe(?), ] and do not overlook your transgressions. In a legal quarrel be like a humble man[ and the judgement <in the matter( > you shall) receive. Then God will appear, His anger will subside and He will overlook your sin. For before His wrath nobody can stand, and who can be deemed righteous in His judgement, and how can the poor one [stand] without forgiveness?

As for you, if you lack food, [He will give( ... )] what you need and even a surplus, and you will have surplus of produce to the harbour of His desire. Receive your portion from Him, and do not add thereeto ... If you are in need, borrow what you require, but not in money, for [His] storehouse will not be lacking. [Upon] His word everything will happen, so eat what He gives you, but do not take more lest you shorten(?) your life.
(4Q417 III 9-21)

We will also point to some minor literary forms, which cannot qualify as separate genres, 4QInstruction does not include any sapiential hymns like Sir 51:13-22 or 11QPsCreat, but exhortations to praise are scattered throughout the book, interwoven with parenetic material (see below, section 3.3, on the hymnic passage in 4Q416 III 22-IV 3):[34]

walk blaimles(sly) ... bless His name ... in your joy ... great are the mercies of G[od] ... praise God, by every affliction bless His name ... according to His will did it happen, and He conveys understanding of[35]
(4Q417 X 7-12)

If He restores you to your honour, walk according to the mystery to come and inquire His birth-times. Then you will gain knowledge of His inheritance and will walk in righteousness, for God is elevated. Praise Him(?) in all your ways, give glory to Him who has honoured you, praise His name always. For He lifted your head from poverty, seated you among nobles and gave you authority over a glorious inheritance. Seek His will always.
(4Q416 V 9-12)

for from Him is the inheritance of every living being and in His hand lies the destiny of everyone formed(?). ... Do not be silent until the consumption of evil, for wrath is upon all the periods of eternity(?)

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[33] Compare 4Q222 (4QParaGenExod), which can be characterized as a homiletic paraphrase on selected passages of Genesis and Exodus. See T. Elgin, “The Genesis Section of 4Q222”, 195-6.

[34] Both biblical and post-biblical sages exhort to praise and give thanks to God. Sapiential compositions contain psalms and hymns: Ps 19; 52; 34; 73; 119; Sir 39:12-35; 51:1-12; Sap. Sal. 9; 10:20-21; 16:28-29; 18:9.

[35] This passage perhaps contains Noah’s exhortations for the generations to come, see below and section 3.3.2.1.
In 4Q17 III 15-17 we encounter the form Niedrigkeitsdoxologie,\textsuperscript{36} common in the Hodayot. A Niedrigkeitsdoxologie contrasts man’s lowly state as creature and sinner with the might of God.

We note the poetic form with three parallel members. The common markers of this form are clearly displayed: members of a Niedrigkeitsdoxologie regularly begin with question words such as רַע, זָר וַתְּרֵעַ, and the root קָרֶע 'be righteous' is commonly employed. This doxology includes a free rendering of Nah 1:6

Some literary forms or genres known from other wisdom compositions are not found in 4QInstruction; lists of virtues or vices,\textsuperscript{37} the wisdom speech,\textsuperscript{38} the beatitude,\textsuperscript{39} the parable,\textsuperscript{40} the allegory, the fable, the riddle, the numerical saying.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{36}This term was coined by H-W. Kuhn, see Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil. Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeleitern von Qumran mit einem Anhang über Eschatologie und Gegenwart in der Verkündigung Jesu, Göttingen 1966, 27-29. See also S. Tanzer, The Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the Hodayot (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1987) 20-24. Niedrigkeitsdoxologie is related to the biblical genres confession of sins, doxology and Gerichtsdoxologie. For related biblical texts, see Exod 9:27; Amos 7:2, 5; Ps 51:6; Ezra 9:14-15; Neh 9:33; Lam 1:18; Job 4:17-21; 15:14-16; 31:14; Dan 4:34-37; 9:7, 14. For parallels to this text in the Hodayot, see section 6.2.1.

\textsuperscript{37}For such lists in the Qumran scrolls, see CD II 14-21; 1QS V 25 - VI 1; 4Q421 (4QWays of Righteousness)\textsuperscript{b} I ii 10-17 “A man who is knowledgeable and has understanding will lift them up(?)” A man of ... will receive the admonition of the knowledgeable. A man of [ ... ] go walk on the ways of God, to do righteousness as follows: he will not answer before he hears, and not speak before he understands. In great patience will he give answer, and by studying righteousness will he understand their consequences. A man who is humble and meek in mind will not turn away until[ ... ] A man who is trustworthy will not turn from ways of righteousness. He will set [his heart to truth(?), and his [bol]nes and his hands [to righteousness(?)];

4Q24 (4Qsap. work) 3 7-10 “A man of intelligence will accept instruction. A knowledgeable man will find wisdom. A man of uprightness takes delight in justice ... A man of substance will be zealous for [the law of God, and he] is an adversary to all who move the boundary. [A man of generosity will perform] charity to the poor[ ... ] He will take care for all who lack property. The sons of righteousness[ ... ];” and further T. Rub. 5:5-7; Sir 40:5, 8-9; PInsinger 55.1 “Violence, want, insult and unkindness are never, never at rest”.


\textsuperscript{39}For the beatitude in the Scrolls, see 4Q525 (4QBeatitudes) 2 i 1-3; 4Q185 II 8, 13. Cf. also Sir 14:1-2, 20-27; 50:28.

\textsuperscript{40}For the parable in the Scrolls, see 4Q185 19-13; 4Q302 (4Qap. Admonitory Parable) 2 ii 2-4 שָׁלוֹם לַחַד יְהֹוָה "If a man possesses a good tree that towers unto the sky ... and it produces the best fruit". 4Q500 (4Qap. Ben) 1 uses vineyard imagery to describe the temple: “may Your [mul]berry trees blossom ... Your winepress [bull]it with stones ... to the gate of the holy height ... Your planting and the streams of Your glory ... the branches of Your delights ... Your vineyard”. See G.J. Brooke, “4Q500 1 and the Use of Scripture in the Parable of the Vineyard”, DSD 2 (1995) 268-94. Cf. also Sir 33:16-19.

\textsuperscript{41}For the numerical saying, see Sir 23:16-18; 25:1-2, 7-10; 26:28; 50:25-26.
Finally we will discuss the affinities of 4QInstruction with the genres testament and apocalypse. 4QInstruction does not present itself in the literary genre of testament (where a biblical sage at his deathbed is given heavenly knowledge),\(^\text{42}\) although its mixture of apocalyptic and parenetic material has much in common with the

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Introductory and concluding formulas are used to characterize a literary work as the testament of a biblical sage, who at his deathbed is granted prophetic knowledge and visions of the other world. The testaments contain both apocalyptic and ethical material, as well as blessings and curses. Some testaments contain the request for a specific burial place, quote and support controversial books like the Enoch literature, or foresee that descendants will be disobedient to their father’s command after his death. Kolenkow, "The Genre Testament", distinguishes the ‘ethical testament’ from the ‘blessing-revelation testament’. The blessing type includes authority for revelation history (often a trip to or vision of heaven), the revelation itself, and an urging to righteousness (blessing and curse). The life experience of the sage serves as illustration and authority for the ethical teaching. Both types assume reward and punishment. According to H.-J. Michel, Die Abschiedsrede des Paulus an die Kirche Apg 20 17-38. Motivgeschichte und theologische Bedeutung, Munich 1973, 47-57, a fixed structure [presentation of the dying speaker, calling together of the hearers, and the ending (farewell and death)] conveys the framework for admonition and apocalyptic prophecy. The testament is a genre of difficult times, and allows the present generation to relate both to the present hard times and to the relevance of God to that present. P.H. Aschermann, Die paränetischen Formen der 'Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen' und ihr Nachwirken in der frühchristlichen Mahnung (Ph.D. diss., Humboldt-Universität), Berlin 1955, 7-10, finds a fourfold scheme in the exhortatory sections of Test. 12 Par.: an introduction (mostly with the imperative, followed by ἐρµύς), a description of particular virtues or vices, an example and a final exhortation. A. Hultgård, L'eschatologie des Testaments des douze Patriarches. Vol. 2, Composition de l'ouvrage: textes et tr aductions, Stockholm 1982, 137-58, distinguishes three constitutive haggadic elements: legends connected with the birth of the patriarch, biographical summaries and biographical exhortatory haggadah. Particularly the last type of material is closely connected with homilies. On the relation between apocalyptic and parenesis in the testaments, see note 43.

The Bible contains a number of 'testaments'. The blessings of Isaac and Jacob in Genesis 27:27-29 and 49 foretell future history. More parenetic are the testaments in the deuteronomistic corpus: Deuteronomy itself, which is shaped as a farewell speech of Moses shortly before his death, and the 'testaments' of Joshua (Joshua 23), Samuel (1 Samuel 12), and David (1 Kgs 2:3-4). This form has antecedents in Egyptian wisdom instructions. See M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy 1-11. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary (AB 5), New York 1991, 4-6, idem, From Joshua to Jostah (Hebrew), Jerusalem 1993, 196ff.

At one stage of its redaction, 1 Enoch was probably shaped as a testament. See A.B. Kolenkow, "The Genre Testament and Forecasts of the Future in the Hellenistic Jewish Mišlu", 62. G.W.E. Nickelsburg suggests an original Enoch testament consisting of chs. 1-36 and 92-105, with chs. 81-82 and 91 serving as a narrative bridge: Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah, Philadelphia 1981, 150-51. Recently he suggested another possibility (personal communication): a shorter testament, with only ch. 91 and the end of ch. 104 added to the Book of Watchers (see section 5.1.2). R.A. Argall ("Reflections on 1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment", SBL SP 34 (1995) 337-51) outlines the structure of the Ethopian version from the perspective of a testament as follows:

Opening passage 1-5

The body of the composition

Background to biographical elements 6-11

Aspects of Enoch's biography 12-16

Ascent 17-19

Journey I 20-32

Journey II 81:1-4

Astronomical Torah as Testament 33-36; 72-80
testaments. The biblical sage Noah is mentioned (4Q16 VII 3/4Q18 201 1) as recipient of revelation about the eschaton and the annihilation of the ungodly; "He made known to Noah [what was] to come, [period upon period], set time upon set time". However, this passage neither refers to Noah's death nor to any foreseayings he should have passed on to his offspring. Another passage, 4Q17 X 5-17, could refer to Noah's righteous life and contain his advice to future generations (see section 4.1.4). If this interpretation is correct, at least this column has affinities with the testament genre.

Although the discourses abound with apocalyptic motifs, the book does not present itself in the form of an apocalypse. The wisdom of this book is not revealed through angels or a sage from Israel's early history (although Noah is portrayed as recipient of divine revelation, see section 4.1.4). The revelations are not transmitted within a narrative framework, and there is no reference to any heavenly journey in connection with the revelation of secrets. Visions or auditions are probably not a central feature in the revelation of divine wisdom (although 'charismatic' visions and prophecies probably belonged to the cirrcles behind 4QInstruction.

43Some scholars hold that apocalyptic is the primary focus of the testament genre, while others see ethics as the main scopus: The first view is held by E. Cortés, Los discursos de Adiós de Gn 49 a Jn 13-17: Pistas para la historia de un género literario en la antigua literatura judía, Barcelona 1976; the latter by E. von Nordheim, Die Lehre der Alten. Vol. 1, Das Testament als Literaturgattung im Judentum der Hellenistisch-Römischen Zeit, Leiden 1980. Cf. A.B. Kolenkow, "The Literary Genre Testament". In his analysis of Test. 12 Patr. J.H. Ulrichs concludes that the Urschrift from c.200 BCE was purely parenetic, while prophetic-apocalyptic passages represent later strata, added between 160 and 53 BCE: Die Grundschrift der Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen. Eine Untersuchung zu Umfang, Inhalt und Eigenart der ursprünglichen Schrift, Uppsala 1991, 255-345. His conclusion on different strata in Test. 12 Patr. parallels ours on 4QInstruction.

44Stegemann characterizes apocalypses as literary works which claim to be divine revelations. He adds the following criteria: (1) the main theological locus of the work is presented as divinely revealed; (2) the problem of authority is solved by immediate access to the will of heaven; (3) the book is usually ascribed to a sage from Israel's history; (4) the contact between man and heaven is attained by vision, audition, or an ascent to heaven; (5) the right understanding of what is seen or heard is provided by a heavenly mediator; (6) the heavenly knowledge is characterized as 'hidden' or 'secret'; (7) innovative teachings deal with doctrine (calendar, dualism, determinism), the meaning of history, cosmology, angelology or future salvation; (8) revelations are transmitted within a narrative framework; (9) the apocalypses reflect specific educational levels (priests, teachers) and (10) a situation of religious crisis, (11) and have as their aim the bringing of divine order into a disordered world; (12) the authors viewed the writing of apocalypses as the best way of achieving their aim; "Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde für die Erforschung der Apokalyp tik", Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East (D. Hellholm, ed.), Tübingen 1983, 495-530. On the characteristics of apocalypses, see also J.J. Collins, "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre", Semeia 14 (1979) 1-20; A.Y. Collins, "Introduction: Early Christian Apocalypticism", Semeia 36 (1986) 1-11; Hellholm, "The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre and the Apocalypse of John".
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

In contrast to Daniel, dreams and their interpretation are not mentioned at all. There are no signs of a situation of crisis as background for 4QInstruction.

Summary: form-critical categories employed in biblical research have been useful for the analysis of 4QInstruction. This composition uses a large number of genres and literary forms known from the Bible, which now are integrated in a larger parenetic context. The analysis has proved our initial classification of 4QInstruction as a composite didactic collection. The wisdom admonitions have formal parallels in sapiential biblical books, primarily Proverbs. In contrast, the discourses of 4QInstruction draw inspiration from a variety of biblical texts, especially prophetic books. As a didactic collection 4QInstruction can be compared with Sirach and 1 Enoch (see above, notes 5 and 7). We will see that the apocalyptic nature of the discourses locates 4QInstruction closer to 1 Enoch than to Sirach. To understand the distinctive theological features of this writing, we need to analyze the apocalyptic theology of its discourses.

3.2. Style and literary devices

While 'style' is a concept frequently referred to, it is rarely defined. A genre is characterized by certain stylistic and literary devices. One can further speak of 'collective style' connected to a specific group, or 'individual style' characteristic of a particular author. In section 3.1 we discussed stylistic forms typical of the various genres represented in 4QInstruction. Here we continue the examination of the stylistic features and literary devices used by the author and his sources.

3.2.1 Addressee(s)

Throughout the book the wise and understanding individual is addressed. The address is primarily kept in the 2nd person singular (some passages address not the wise but the ungodly, in the 2nd person singular). There are some exceptions to this rule. The 1st person plural occurs once. One of the rhetorical dialogues, 4Q418 69 (see text above), addresses both the ungodly and the faithful in the 2nd person plural. This irregularity is probably due to the dependence of this discourse upon a similar dialogue in the Epistle of Enoch, 1 Enoch 103:1-104:6 (see below, section 4.2.2). Some further passages use the 2nd person plural. At the end of the eschatological discourse 4Q416 VI-VIII, words of praise are directed to God in the 2nd person (4Q416 VIII 13):


4Q418 162 12 נברק עליך נבלוך "it will be for you eternal damnation"; 4Q423 5 10 מחבבי תמי לבך דומם חכמים "Did you not know, or have you not heard that the angels of God’s holiness in heaven [... He will trust in all our ways]."

4Q423 3 32 יברק עליך ממלכת יושב עליך דומם "he will make your hearts understand" or: "that your hearts will understand"; 4Q417 IX 7 וברק עליך ממלכת יושב עליך דומם כיוון קדש יושב עליך דומם "between great and minor, and in your counsel") occurs in the middle of a section addressed in the second person singular. A few lines below, 4Q417 IX 29, the word נברק עליך is found in a biblical quote.
3. Genres, Style, and Redaction History

3.1. "Your name be praised greatly". Descriptive sentences can use the 3rd person plural or the 3rd person singular.50

More noteworthy in a sapiential didactic work is an instruction addressed to the wife in the 2nd person fem. singular (4Q415 2 ii). The context of this passage is not preserved. Either the addressee was admonished to exhort his wife with these words, or this parenesis on the marital covenant would have been addressed directly to the wife:

like a father you shall honour ([your husband/father in law(?)) ... ] you shall not remove
(משהו למקס) from your heart so that [evil will overtake you ...] all day long, and by the laws of the covenant ...
[... lest you neglect (לעוסהי וליעז)] and what you will despise
(לעוסא ולעוסהו) and [... stay with] her hus[ba]nd forever ...
) in the house of [your origins. In your covenant
(קריס) ... ] you will be a subject of praise in the mouth of all men [... ] from the house of birth.

The address "you who are poor" is frequent; 4Q415 6 2; 4Q416 V 8, 12; 4Q418 9 6 (cf. 4Q418 177 5
4Q418 254 3 ריבסא א"א מדרס). This phrase introduces a new paragraph, in 4Q416 V 8, 12 it follows a vacat. These words could point to the social conditions of the addressee, or only refer to his humble state before God. The more precise designation "you are a man of the earth" is found twice, 4Q423 5 7; 5a 2.

3.2.2. Poetic elements in the discourses

Poetic elements are found, especially in the eschatological discourse in 4Q416 VI-VIII. The central passage of this discourse contains poetic devices which could reflect liturgical traditions.51

He will shut up all the sons of evil according to their hosts, him upon him, [generation upon generation, city upon city(?), kingdom] upon kingdom, province upon province, man upon man,

(4Q416 VII 5-6)

This text displays a number of parallelisms:

- The host of heaven [He established from[ the beginning] - He set stars(?) and luminaries as their signs and symbols of [their] set[times (lines 8-9)];
- so that everyone should kn[o]w the judg[ements of God , - and every creature will understand(?) th[at it is a creature of flesh, - and [his] understand[ing ...

(4Q416 VII 16-17).

The statement "In heaven He will judge the work of iniquity" is followed by seven subordinate clauses, five negative members are framed by two positive ones:

In heaven He will judge the work of iniquity,
* and all the sons of truth will be pleased by [the appointed time(?)] of its period;
- and all those who have defiled themselves by it will fear and wail;
- for the heaven will shou[l

4Q418 55 9 -12 "They will pursue all the roots of understanding, and will be awake ... Are they <not> like men ... they will inherit an eternal portion".

4Q418 254 3 "They will pursue all the roots of understanding, and will be awake ... Are they <not> like men ... they will inherit an eternal portion".

- the kingdom of iniquity will tremble; 
- the water and the depths will fear; 
- all the spirit of flesh will be stripped naked; 
* and the sons of heaven will rejoice on the day of its judgement. (4Q416 VII 11-14).

The eschatological discourse in 4Q418 69 ii contains a number of parallelisms, both in the rhetorical addresses and in the judgement scene:

"- Will they not walk in truth [with all their sorrows?] - and in knowledge with all their joys?" (lines 3-4); 
- "how can there be goodness if it was not demonstrated?" - how can there be righteousness if it never existed? - how can there be righteousness if it was not established? - and how will the dead groan because of their judgement?" (lines 4-5); 
- "[For Sheol you were formed, - and your return will be eternal damnation" (line 6); 
- "We have toiled for understanding, - and we have been awake to pursue knowledge" (line 11); 
- "We have toiled in the deeds of truth, - and have travailed during all the ages" (lines 13-14); 
- "All the foolish of heart will be destroyed, - the sons of iniquity will not be found any more, - and all those who support evil will be ashamed at your judgement" (lines 8-9); 
- "The foundations of the firmament will shout, - all the hosts of God will thunder, - and all who love righteousness will rejoice" (line 9).

3.2.3. Literary devices used in the admonitions

We now turn specifically to the wisdom admonitions. The motive clause is commonly introduced by the particle יִנְכָּר, יִנְכָּר occurs twice. The motivation can also be a paratactic sentence introduced by the conjunctive particle וי. Conditional clauses are introduced by וַיְכֹל or וַיִּכְפָּר. The negative motive clause is often introduced by אך (also occurs), and the positive clause by אם. 4Q416 V 3-8 provides a good example: two wisdom admonitions with three members including a warning, "..." and, and another one with a positive result clause, ... "..." and, and... 4Q416 V 18-19 etc.

If someone entrusts you [money for business], do not stretch out your hand toward it lest you be burned and your body be consumed in its fire. What you received return to him with joy.
If you declare yourself free from him or from any man you do not know, do not accept money lest it add to your poverty.
If he put it upon your responsibility even until death, then give it over, and do not act badly against him.
Then you will rest with the truth, and in your death your remembrance will blossom for ever, and in the end you will inherit joy.

52 This sentence demonstrates a 3+1 pattern which gives weight to the final and contrasting question.
53 4Q416 V 18-19, 21, 23; 4Q416 IV 2, 9, 10, 12; 4Q416 V 3 (reconstructed). 5, 6, 9, 19.
54 E.g. 4Q416 IV 18-19, 20, 4Q416 V 7, 9.
55 Result clauses are well-known from the biblical material. Such sentences imply the sapiental action consequence theme (Tun-Ergehen). Cf. Hermisson, Studien, 162; Nel, The Structure and Ethos, 87.
As a minor divide functions רָדָה 'furthermore', which introduces a sub-unit within a larger section; 4Q417 III 3; 4Q416 III 20/4Q417 III 28; 4Q416 IV 15, 21; 4Q418 127 4 (in some cases רָדָה has the plain meaning 'or'; 4Q416 2 V 5; 4Q417 III 7, 23; 4Q418 103 ii 8; 126 ii 5).

Some admonitions demonstrate a distinctive poetic structure with parallelisms:

Bend your shoulder to all discipline, with all [knowledge]e purify your heart and with abundant understanding your thoughts. Investigate the mystery to be, meditate upon all the ways of truth, and upon all the roots of evil you shall look.

Then you will understand what is bitter for a man and what is sweet for a fellow.

Honour your father in your poverty and your mother while you walk.

For as God is to man so is his father, and as masters are to a guy so is his mother, for they are the furnace that conceived you. (4Q416 V 13-17)

3.2.4. Other literary devices

We continue with an investigation of other stylistic elements used throughout the composition, elements that cannot be ascribed exclusively to the discourses or to the admonitions. The form call to attention (Aufmerksamkeitsruf) is frequent:60 4Q418 81 20 "every wise of heart, receive insight"; 4Q418 177 4 "Receive understanding, listen to me!". Further, יִשְׁלָח and יִשְׁלָחַי are used as calls for attention and minor divides, both in the discourses and the sections with wisdom admonitions: 4Q416 IV 14; VI 5, 20; 4Q417 III 17; IX 3, 15, 20, 26 (reconstructed); 4Q418 68 5; 69 ii 15; 4Q418 81 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 15; 87 14; 123 ii 5; 126 ii 11, 12; 168 4. The use of יִשְׁלָח as a minor divide is known from the Bible, see e.g. Ps 22:4; Jer 30:10; 46:27; Ezek 2:6 passim. In this form can also function as a relative clause "if you/while you are ...": 4Q416 IV 19 "as he will teach you/while you are poor".

Trial speeches and rhetorical dialogues employ rhetorical questions as part of the argument, as well as imaginary counter arguments:61

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60Call to attention is frequently used in prophetic and sapiential literature in the Bible. For call to attention in the Qumran scrolls, see CD I 1; II 2, 14; 4Q266 (4QDo) 1-5; 4Q270 (4QDo) 2 ii 19-20. 4Q418 81 20 "every wise of heart, receive insight"; 4Q418 177 4 "Receive understanding, listen to me!". Further, יִשְׁלָח and יִשְׁלָחַי are used as calls for attention and minor divides, both in the discourses and the sections with wisdom admonitions: 4Q416 IV 14; VI 5, 20; 4Q417 III 17; IX 3, 15, 20, 26 (reconstructed); 4Q418 68 5; 69 ii 15; 4Q418 81 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 15; 87 14; 123 ii 5; 126 ii 11, 12; 168 4. The use of יִשְׁלָח as a minor divide is known from the Bible, see e.g. Ps 22:4; Jer 30:10; 46:27; Ezek 2:6 passim. In this form can also function as a relative clause "if you/while you are ...": 4Q416 IV 19 "as he will teach you/while you are poor".

61Biblical prophets use rhetorical questions (see e.g. Hos 6:4, Am 3:8; 5:25-26; 6:12; 9:7), this device is frequent in Job and Proverbs. Rhetorical questions are also a common feature in Sirach, the Epistle of Enoch and 1Q4QMysteries. For the latter, cf. 1Q27 1 i 8-11 "And from this you will know that it will not be reversed: Do not all the peoples hate iniquity? But it nevertheless goes on at the hands of all of them. Does not the truthful report issue from the mouth of all the nations? But is there a language or a tongue which really upholds it? What
Will it not be garland for the poor ones? and eternal joy for their sorrows? For before His wrath nobody can stand, and who can be deemed righteous in His judgement, and how can the poor one [rise] without forgiveness? (4Q417 11-12, 16-17)

Will they not walk in truth with all their sorrows? And now, you foolish of heart, how can there be goodness which was not [demonstrated,?] how can there be] peacefulness which never existed, how can there be righteousness if it was not established, and how will the dead groan because of their j[udgement]? How can you say "We have toiled for understanding and we have been awake to pursue knowledge"? Righteous(?) is He in all [His works(?)], and He has not tired during all the years of eternity. Does He not delight in truth forever? Knowledge[ and Understanding ]will minister to Him. And even the sons of heaven, whose inheritance is eternal life, will they <not> say "We have toiled in the deeds of truth, and have t[ired] during all the ages"? - will they not wall[k] in eternal light? (4Q418 69 ii 3-5, 11-14)

Did not [the ]God of Knowledge ... on truth, to establish every [deed with un]derstanding? ... Is not peace and tranquility [...] Do not let the cunning of the evil inclination tempt you[ ...] seek truth. Do not let the [ ... ] lead you to err[ ... Do not] reckon [...] Do not say 'I am poor and will not seek out knowledge' (4Q416 V 12-13).

4Q417 X 4-13 contains narrative elements. We tentatively interpret these lines as an apocryphal story about Noah (see section 4.1.4).

This passage is followed by six short-cut prohibitions in the vetitive (4Q417 X 14-17). Such a compressed style is unusual within the framework of 4QInstruction (similar accumulations of prohibitions are rare also in the Bible): 4Q417 12.5; 4Q18 55 5; 7, 11, 12; 69 ii 3, 12, 14; 81 6; 211 3; 4Q423 1-2 1. Similar to biblical usage, consistently introduces a rhetorical question where one expects an affirmative answer.

Different from the more elaborate wisdom admonitions which deal with specific fields of social life, these lines convey in condensed form general parenesis about the virtuous way of life. In section 4.1.4 we argue that these lines may represent Noah's advice to the generations to come.

Biblical verses are either alluded to or freely integrated in the running text, not introduced with quotation formulas.

nation is there which has not stolen property?"; 4Q299 2 ii 2-7 "How shall we call the[ person with his ... and] his deeds? And every deed of the righteous, is it impure? And how shall we call a man wise and righteous? For to a [stupid] man was not given hidden wisdom, [but] only the wisdom of evil cunning and the devices of Belial ... But what is it that a man shall do".

62The rhetorical questions use the interrogative particles/pronouns איה, איה, איה, איה, איה or -ה. Most frequent is איה: 4Q417 III 11: 12.5; 4Q18 55 5, 7, 11, 12; 69 ii 3, 12, 14; 81 6; 211 3; 4Q423 1-2 1. Similar to biblical usage, איה consistently introduces a rhetorical question where one expects an affirmative answer.
3.3. Redaction history

The shorter wisdom sentence and the longer wisdom composition are quite distinct forms of expression which existed simultaneously in ancient Israel and the Ancient Near East. There are links between these two types, as an author of longer wisdom compositions could find it useful to incorporate examples of sentences into his own work. We therefore raise the question of the literary unity of 4QInstruction: do the shorter wisdom admonitions represent another literary stratum than the larger discourses? 4QInstruction could be a random collection of various kinds of material. If, however, the discourses reflect a consistent theological view, we may ask whether their author also operated as an editor who incorporated existing wisdom admonitions into his work, and chose such admonitions that were relevant for his audience. We start this discussion by taking a closer look at a passage quoted in section 3.1 (in the two texts quoted below eschatological statements are emphasized by italic typeface).

Be not proud about yourself in your lowly estate, for what is more insignificant than a poor man? Do not rejoice when you are in grief, lest you suffer in your life. Gaze upon the mystery to come, understand the birth-times of salvation and know who will inherit glory and corruption. Will it not be garland for the poor ones? Do not rejoice when you are in grief, lest you suffer in your life. Gaze upon the mystery to come, understand the birth-times of salvation and know who will inherit glory and corruption. Will it not be garland for the poor ones? Do not rejoice when you are in grief, lest you suffer in your life.

In this passage admonitions and eschatological statements follow closely upon another, but it is difficult to see any clear logical line between them. We encounter a similar interweaving of different kinds of material in 4Q418 126 ii 1-16:

A likely explanation would be to postulate two literary layers: an editor has loosely bound together older wisdom admonitions and texts which stresses eschatology and revelation. Other ways of investigation lead to similar results.

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63 Thus Whybray, Proverbs, 15; cf. McKane, Proverbs, 3, 19, 413-14.
64 There might be a play on words between וָאֵשׁ ‘lowly estate’ and וָאָשה ‘poor man’ in the first line quoted, and וָאֵשׁ ‘the poor one’ who can stand before God, in the second eschatological exhortation.
65 The vacat indicates a new paragraph at this point.
A linguistic examination of the texts leads to the following conclusion: both in terminology and theology the discourses are more closely related to the writings of the *yahad* than the wisdom admonitions. The admonitions contain more unusual and difficult grammatical forms than the discourses. The consistent imperative/vetitive/prohibitive style of the admonitions is more rare in the discourses.

We will see in sections 4.1.7.3 and 4.2.3.5 that the discourses not only demonstrate distinctive poetic features, but also show links with the liturgical traditions of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. A similar connection cannot be shown for the admonitions. We have above noted that the wisdom admonitions have formal parallels only in sapiential biblical books, while the discourses draw upon a variety of biblical texts.

One of the admonitions uses the word *raz* radically different from the discourses: while *raz* in the discourses refers to the mysteries of God, 4Q416 IV 8-9 uses the word in a secular meaning: "and keeping your secrets guard yourse[lf]" (i.e. do not reveal all your cards in business matters, but you take care of your own interests, see section 6.2.1). It is not likely that the author of the discourses suddenly should use the word *raz*, which is essential in his apocalyptic vocabulary (see section 4.1.6), in a strikingly different manner. This admonition should therefore be ascribed to another literary stratum than the discourses.

Together these observations point to the presence of two literary layers: a writer (which we later will locate among the precursors of the Essene community) has adapted older wisdom admonitions and compiled them with material of his own. It is this second literary layer which deals with God's mysteries and revelation as well as eschatology.

At times the two layers in 4QInstruction are closely integrated, even though the exact categories cannot be defined well, as in a section about a humble attitude and the fifth Commandment, 4Q416 V 8-21:

> Be humble, do not long for anything but your own inheritance, do not get confused by it, lest you move your own boundary. If He restores you to your honour, walk according to the mystery to come and investigate His birth-times. Then you will gain knowledge of His inheritance and will walk in righteousness, for God is elevated. Praise Him(?) in all your ways, give glory to Him who has honoured you and praise His name always. For He lifted your head from poverty, seated you among nobles, and over a glorious inheritance He gave you authority. Seek His good will always. Be humble, do not say 'I am poor and will not seek out knowledge'. Bend your shoulder to all discipline, with all knowledge purify your heart, and with abundant understanding your thoughts. Investigate the mystery to come, meditate upon all the ways of truth, and upon all the roots of evil you shall look. Then you will understand what is bitter for a man and what is sweet for a fellow.

Honour your father in your poverty and your mother while you walk. For as God is to man so is his father, and as masters are to a fellow so is his mother, for they are the furnace that conceived you. As He appointed them over you and (appointed) the inclination (to rule) over the spirit, so you should serve them. And as He opened your ear to the mystery to come, so you should honour them for the sake of your own honour, and in[ ] reverence for the sake of your life and the length of your days. If you are in need, when [...] unlawfully.

When you take a wife in your poor estate, investigate her birth-times[ [...] from the mystery to come. In your company together walk with the helpmate of your flesh[ in , for a man should leave his father [and] his mother and cleave[e to his wife, and they shall be one flesh.]

On formal grounds, these lines cannot be easily categorized as either admonitions or discourse (and admonitions can indeed be integrated into a larger wisdom instruction, see section 3.1). Some sentences display the structure of the wisdom admonition:

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66 See section 6.2.1 for details. For difficult forms and constructions, see e.g. 4Q417 III 1-2, 12-13, 14, 17-18, 19; 4Q416 IV 4, 14; V 6; V7 18 (= 4Q416 41).
1) Be humble, do not long for anything but your own inheritance, do not get confused by it, lest you move your own boundary. (lines 8-9)

2) Walk according to the mystery to come and investigate His birth-times. Then you will gain knowledge of His inheritance and will walk in righteousness. (lines 9-10)

3) Investigate the mystery to come, meditate upon all the ways of truth, and upon all the roots of evil you shall look. Then you will understand what is bitter for a man and what is sweet for a fellow. (lines 14-15)

4) Honour your father in your poverty and your mother while you walk. For as God is to man so is his father, and as masters are to a fellow so is his mother, for they are the furnace that conceived you. (lines 16-17)

5) When you take a wife in your poor estate, investigate her birth-times from the mystery to come. (lines 20-21)

Examples 1, 4 and 5 deal with themes typical of the wisdom admonitions of 4QInstruction; humbleness and family matters. At the same time, this section displays terminology characteristic of the discourses of 4QInstruction: ‘the mystery to come’ (lines 14, 18, 21), “investigate His birth-times” (line 9), “investigate [her] birth-times” (line 20), “the roots of evil” (line 14). “Then you will gain knowledge of His inheritance” (lines 9-10), “over a glorious inheritance He gave you authority” (lines 11-12). The fifth Commandment is here intrinsically connected with the meditation on raz nihyeh, ‘the mystery to come’, the main revelatory concept in the discourses of 4QInstruction (see section 4.1.6). If the author of the second stage indeed reworked earlier material dealing with humility and the fifth Commandment, he has recast it into an easy flowing unit without obvious seams.67

Further, these two layers appeal to different sources of authority. The wisdom admonition (both in the Bible and in 4QInstruction) mediates reasonable knowledge. Nel asserts that “the answer (to the question of authority) is to be found in the admonition itself and especially in the motive clause connected to the admonition . . . the authority originates in the truth of the wisdom expressed in the admonition”.68 The discourses of 4QInstruction, in contrast, appeal to the mystery to come, the divine mysteries revealed to the elect circle, as authority.

One can perceive theological tensions between the two literary layers postulated in 4QInstruction.69 The admonitions reflect traditional Near Eastern and biblical wisdom which moves on the horizontal level: the exhortations will help the addressee relate to the challenges of his daily life, and thereby gain success and prosperity in this life: “If you are in need, borrow what you require, but not in money, for [His] storehouse will not be lacking” (4Q417 III 19); “Seek him who is in charge(?) of your assets, willingly seek his face, [speak] accommodatingly <to him>, and then you can <again be able to> do your business” (4Q416 IV 7-8). These sentences are not incited by any expectation of the eschaton; they deal with behaviour among men without appealing to what is beyond.

The discourses, in contrast, move the perspective to the vertical dimension, to divine mysteries and the end-time restoration of the righteous. One could counter that other sapiential writings, among them Test. 12 Patr.,

67A similar pattern can be observed in Pinsinger and Sirach. These works often close a thematic section with “a religious expression” or other: “concluding thoughts” [W. Fuss, Tradition und Komposition im Buche Jesus Sirach (Ph.D. diss., University of Tübingen, 1962), 278-9; cf. Sanders, Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom, 90].
contain a similar mixture of eschatological material and ethical parenesis. But we conclude that the total evidence does suggest two separate literary layers.

Do other sapiential writings support this assertion? In section 3.1 we discussed parenetic material in the form of sentences (descriptive wisdom sayings, admonitions, commands and prohibitions) in three works found in Qumran: 4Q424 (4Q sapiential work), 4QWays of Righteousness and 4QInstruction. The sentences in these compositions do not reflect the structure or theology of the yahad and seem to derive from presectarian sapiential milieus. Two of these compositions reveal another literary stratum: 4QWays of Righteousness has undergone sectarian editing. The first part of this work deals with the organisation of the yahad and inclusion of new members into the community. The second part (probably an older stratum) consists of wisdom sentences about the righteous man, and towards the end of the scroll comes a section dealing with temple issues. If we turn to 4QInstruction, the discourses contrast the sentences of the same composition both in form and contents. They consist of longer textual units which display a variety of literary forms and genres we do not encounter in the shorter sentences. The apocalyptic and eschatological theology of the discourses has much more in common with the thinking of the yahad (see sections 4.1 - 4.3 and 5.1.1). Both 4QWays of Righteousness and 4QInstruction thus demonstrate that earlier parenetic material could be adopted and edited in the yahad or circles close to it.

In 4Q424 (4Q sapiential work) we find descriptive wisdom sayings as well as wisdom admonitions with motive clauses, but no discourses. In contrast to the discourses of 4QInstruction (see section 5.1.1), 4Q424 does not demonstrate any links with sectarian vocabulary. A link between the admonitions in these two compositions is the peculiar word ~1~~ (~ 'assets', 'resources'?). ~1~ is frequently used in the admonitions of 4QInstruction, occurs once in 4Q424, but not elsewhere in the Qumran corpus. The comparison with 4Q424 supports our suggestion that we should seek different authors or milieus of origin for the admonitions and the discourses in 4QInstruction.

A special case is a hymnic passage in 4Q416 III 22-IV 3:

For He opens His mercy [towards every creature?] ... to fill all those needing His resources, to provide food for every living being, and nobody [ ... ] If He closes his hand will the spirit of all flesh be withdrawn.

The text is framed by wisdom admonitions (4Q417 III 21-27, on paying back loans; 4Q416 IV 3-6, on surety), but cannot be classified as such. Similar to biblical psalms it describes the merciful God who gives life and sustenance to every living being. Therefore it would be difficult to ascribe it to the author of the discourses, whose main themes are revelation to the elect group and the end-time judgement. We note that this passage uses

70 Ulrichsen has argued convincingly for the presence of two literary layers in Test. 12 Patr. (see above, note 43): "Wir folgern, dass die Patriarchtestamente zwei ganz verschiedene Vergeltungsvorstellungen enthalten. Die ethisch-didaktischen Teilen kennen nur eine diesseitige Vergeltung. Der Gedankengang ist vom Talionprinzip beherrscht. In der Parlaine wird niemals mit jenseitigen Strafen gedroht. In den prophetisch-apokalyptischen Abschnitten ist die Vorstellung eines eschatologischen Gerichts vorherrschend" (Die Grundschrift, 245). In the New Testament one and the same writing can combine apocalyptic and parenetic material, but these texts combine the vertical and the horizontal dimension in one world-view. This is the case with the synoptic gospels, the Pauline letters, 2 Peter and Revelation.

71 For the wisdom sentences of 4Q420/421, see note 37. Cf. T. Elgvin, "Wisdom in the yahad: 4QWays of Righteousness".

72 4Q424 16 spells the word defectively (~), while 4QInstruction uses the spelling ~~.
the word המ, which is found almost exclusively in the admonitions of 4QInstruction. On this point we tend to postulate an early stage of redaction history: an editor of wisdom admonitions was inspired by the description of God’s care for man’s sustenance some lines earlier (4Q417 III 17-21), and added this passage to provide a more theocentric perspective to the admonitions. The editor of 4QInstruction included this large section as he found it.

The context of the chain of admonitions in 4Q416 IV 14-21 (see section 3.1) provides some indications of an editorial process. Surety is mentioned in one of these admonitions (line 18) as well as earlier in the same column (lines 3-6), a fact that indicates that an editor included the chain as it was without worrying about the duplication of the same topic. The chain itself is a carefully composed unit, but it is now thematically linked to the preceding and following sections. The preceding passage (4Q416 IV 3-14) deals with surety and working for a creditor or superior, themes recurring in the first three admonitions in the chain (lines 14-16). The continuation (4Q416 V 2-3) reminds the addressee of his struggle for his daily bread. These lines function as a conclusion to the last admonitions (lines 18-21) that address the need for humble living and decent table manners. The editor probably added המ as a minor divide at the beginning of the chain, a stylistic means he also uses elsewhere.

Summary: both formal criteria and matters of contents suggest that 4QInstruction represents a conflation of two literary layers. An editor with a strong interest in divine revelation and eschatology combined a number of longer discourses with older wisdom admonitions representing traditional sapiential viewpoints, and thus created a larger, composite didactic work. In some cases he reworked earlier admonitions, in other cases he interspersed existing admonitions with exhortations dealing with eschatology.
4. Main Themes of 4QInstruction

4.1. Wisdom and Revelation

Chapter 3 demonstrated the presence in 4QInstruction of shorter admonitions representing traditional sapiential viewpoints as well as a later literary layer consisting of more eschatologically-oriented discourses. In sections 4.1 - 4.3 we investigate more closely the apocalyptic theology of these discourses. As in 1 Enoch and Jubilees there is in 4QInstruction a close relation between revelation and the eschatological community of the chosen. Section 4.1 is therefore closely related to 4.2 that deals with the eschatology of this composition, and to 4.3 that analyzes the theology of the remnant community. Some themes recur throughout the discussion in these sections. What we learn from the discourses on revelation, eschatology, and community will have implications for the identification of the socio-religious milieu of the addressees of the final version of 4QInstruction.

In section 4.1 we investigate the concept of wisdom in 4QInstruction, and study the relation of raz nihyeh, 'the mystery to come', to the idea of divine Wisdom, neson. A short description of the biblical and post-biblical tradition of (hypostatic) Wisdom and its reinterpretation in apocalyptic circles will therefore provide a background for a presentation of apocalyptic motifs in 4QInstruction. Some questions may clarify the relation between wisdom and apocalypticism in 4QInstruction: is there any tradition of hypostatic wisdom or wisdom's descent to find a home on earth? What is the relation between wisdom and Torah, and between wisdom and salvation? Is there a concept of esoteric wisdom revealed to a limited circle, and is salvation available only for insiders? What is the concept of inspiration? Is the teaching of this book considered inspired, or does it refer to authoritative books apart from the Bible? Are particular biblical sages portrayed as recipients or mediators of divine revelation? Are typical apocalyptic motifs such as cosmological maps, calendrical matters, dreams and angelology to be found? We will further compare the concepts of wisdom and revelation in 4QInstruction and the writings of the yahad. If parallel ideas can be demonstrated, we will have a first indication of the provenance of 4QInstruction. We also discuss in detail a wisdom instruction that deals with meditation upon God’s mysteries and the revelation of a heavenly book, and give attention to motifs common to this text and the liturgies of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

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4.1.1. The transformation of ‘Wisdom’

‘Lady Wisdom’ is presented in the discourses in Proverbs 1-9, often in contrast to ‘Lady Folly’. According to Prov 3:19, God laid the foundations of the earth by (His) Wisdom, תִּבָּנָה הָאָרֶץ בְּדַיָּן. In Prov 8:23-31 לְמָה בֵּית הָאָרֶץ is described as the preexistent partner of God in the act of creation. The discourses admonish man to seek Wisdom, God’s voice and teacher on earth. He who seeks, shall find her.

Qohelet and the Book of Job (according to most interpreters) have a different view of wisdom: man cannot obtain understanding of the order of creation and the wisdom of God [the same view is found in Deut 29:29 “The hidden things belong to the Lord our God, but the things revealed (i.e. the words of this law) belong to us and to our children forever”]. God alone possesses divine wisdom. This theme is elaborated in the poem on Wisdom in Job 28, an addition to the original composition: “Wisdom is hidden (תנון) from the eyes of every living thing, concealed (תנון) even from the birds of the air ... God understands the way to it, He alone knows where it dwells” (vv 21, 23). The only wisdom for man is to fear the Lord and shun evil (v 28). The speech of God in Job 38-41 describes how God’s wisdom penetrates creation. Job acknowledges that he cannot attain full understanding of the ways of God (42:2-6).

Attention should, however, be paid to Job 4:12-20, some words of Job which probably have been misplaced in the middle of a speech of Eliphaz. Against his friends, Job asserts that man cannot expect justice from God, and this, he claims, is the contents of a nightly revelation (vision and audition) he has received, of (hidden) wisdom from the divine council. Eliphaz refers to this claim of Job, which in his eyes distorts true fear of God, in 15:2-16: “Did you listen in on God’s council (תנון רוח), did you (only) seize wisdom?” (v 8) - the council is probably identical with God’s ‘holy ones’ (לָשׁוֹן, v 15). Job is convinced that God is the One who “reveals the deep things of darkness” (תנון רוח, 12:22). Also Job 5:1 and 6:10 refer to supernatural revelation Job has received from ‘holy beings’ (angels). Thus, according to these traditions, Job did experience direct revelation from the heavenly council, he had access to wisdom from above. Chs. 38-41 do not reproach Job for these claims.

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3For this understanding of these passages from Job, see H. Torczyner, Das Buch Hiob. Eine kritische Analyse des überlieferter Hiobtextes, Wien, Berlin 1920; H.L. Ginsberg, “job the Patient and the Impatient”, VTSup 17 (1968) 98-102; M. Weinfield, “‘Read-wall! hear me’ - Leak of Information from the Divine Council”, Beer-Sheva III, Linguistic Studies in Memory of Moshe Held (Hebrew), Beerseheva and Jerusalem 1988, 63-8. Even some recent discussions of Job can be unaware of this crux interpretum (see e.g. L.G. Perdue, Wisdom and Creation. The Theology of Wisdom Literature, Nashville 1994, 137, 154-7).

4Prov 30:2-4 reflects the same tradition of the heavenly wisdom of the angels, cf. especially v 3 ילומדים כהנים את אנשי צדקה.
Job’s appeal to divine revelation parallels those of biblical prophets who based their prophecies of doom upon revelations from the heavenly council, Amos 3:7; 1 Kgs 22:19-23; Isaiah 6; cf. Gen 18:17.5 Jer 23:18, 22 is difficult to interpret, but could represent a polemic against prophetic dreams and those who claim access to the council of God.6 7

Sirach 1:1-20 and 24 continues and elaborates the tradition of Wisdom from Proverbs 1-9. Prov 8:23-31 plays particularly in the background. Wisdom was created first, she penetrates the universe and finally finds her abode among Israel in Zion. Sir 24:23-28 equates Wisdom with the Torah, the Books of Moses: the Torah is the preexistent order of creation which is given to Israel alone as inheritance.

The poem on Wisdom in Baruch 3:9-4:4 interprets the tradition from Proverbs, Job and Sirach. If we follow Goldstein and Steck’s dating of the Book of Baruch, this poem could be contemporary with 4QInstruction.8 Similar to Proverbs, Baruch exhorts Israel to “learn where knowledge is!” (3:14). Like Job 28 he states that men did not “find the way to where she lives, or entered her treasure house” (3:15). “No one knows the way to her, no one can discover the path she treads” (3:31). Finally he concludes similarly to Sirach: God alone grasps the whole way of knowledge. He has found Wisdom and conveyed her to Israel as the Book of the commandments of the Torah, which can be seized and understood by the people of Israel alone (3:37-4:4). Neither the giants nor the gentiles have grasped Wisdom, which only has been revealed to the elect people, God’s beloved servant. Through the Torah the people of Israel know Lady Wisdom. In contrast to Sirach, Baruch does not see Wisdom as penetrating the world and ruling the peoples. Wisdom is, however, related to the omnipresent ways of the Creator (3:29-35).9 The connection of Wisdom and Torah in Sirach and Baruch draws upon Deut 4:6-8, which

5. Mesopotamian traditions refer to similar revelations conveyed in dreams (see also section 4.1.4 on the ‘leak of information’ from the divine council to the hero of the flood story).

6. So Weinfeld, “Read-wall! hear me”.

7. The Targum to these verses, that represents later tradition, uses apocalyptic terminology and refers positively to supernatural revelation of divine secrets: יִשָּׂרָאֵל בֵּית יְהוָה נַחֲלַת יְהוָה לְבֵית יְהוָה יְהוָא יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל הַיִּשְׁרָאֵל הַיִּשְׁרָאֵל הַיִּשְׁרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל הַיִּשְׁרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל הַיִּשְׁרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל הַיִּשְׁרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל הַיִּשְׁרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל יְוָא מִן יִשָּׂרָאֵל Yisra’el Ba’al M Schwartz, A Reconstruction and Analysis of the Original Hebrew Text of Baruch 3:9-5:9, Chico, CA 1982, 26-32 (Burke concludes with 180-100 BCE); W. Harrelson, “Wisdom Hidden and Revealed according to Baruch (Baruch 3.9-4.4)”, Priests, Prophets and Scribes (Fs. J. Blenkinsopp; E. Ulrich, J.W. Wright, R.P. Carroll, P.R. Davies, eds.), Sheffield 1992, 158-71; cf. Steck, Das apokryphe Baruchbuch, 285-303.


9. Harrelson overstates his case when he asserts that in this poem “Torah arises out of the mystery of Creation itself”: “Wisdom Hidden and Revealed”, 159.
4.1. Wisdom and Revelation

equates wisdom and understanding with the commandments of the Law. The Law gives Israel a wisdom higher than that of the gentiles.

We have seen two contrasting views of Wisdom and revelation in the sapiential tradition. According to Proverbs 1-9, some passages in the Book of Job as well as Sirach and Baruch, God does reveal His Wisdom to man, and man can attain the wisdom he needs. For Sirach and Baruch, God’s Wisdom has been revealed to Israel through the Torah. In contrast, Qohelet and other traditions included in Job assert that man cannot achieve full understanding of creation, the conditions of life and the wisdom of God.

In Qumran the tradition of hypostatic Wisdom is found in a number of compositions. 4Q184 (4QWiles of the Wicked Woman) and 4Q185 (4Qsap. work) portray Lady Folly and Lady Wisdom, and elaborate these motifs from Proverbs 1-9 and Job 28. The addressees are exhorted to keep away from Lady Folly and hearken to Lady Wisdom and follow her ways. According to 4Q185 1-2 10, Wisdom has been revealed and given to all the people of Israel: “for God gave her [Wisdom] to Israel, and with a good measure He measures her out, and all His people He will redeem”. We encounter hypostatic Wisdom also in 4Q525 (4QBeat) 2 ii 2-9; 4 6-13; 11IQPs* 154:5-15, 11IQPs* Create; 11IQPs* Sirach; 4Q420/421 (4QWays of Righteousness), as well as I Enoch 42. Apart from 4QWays of Righteousness, none of these compositions reveal signs of sectarian authorship. Similar to Sirach 24 and Baruch, 4Q525 and 11IQPs* 154 explicitly connect Wisdom and Torah: 4Q525 2 3-4 “Blessed is the man who attains Wisdom and walks in the Torah of the Most High”; 11IQPs* 154:14 “their meditation is on the Torah of the Most High”. The pres sectarian 11IQPs* 154 refers to the revelation of God’s wisdom in a non-apocalyptic manner; cf. וַיְבָאָה תּוֹרָה חֹזֵה לְשׁוֹנֵךְ וְזַעְמֵךְ רֹאֲשֵׁךְ לְעֵדֵךְ וְגִבּוֹרֹת הָעָם לְמִרְכָּבָתָהּ (for to make known the glory of the Lord is Wisdom given, and for recounting His many deeds: She is revealed to man)” (11IQPs* 154 5-6).

‘Lady Wisdom’ does not figure clearly in 4QInstruction or the writings of the yahad: God’s wisdom and power are intrinsically connected to God himself and not related to any derived hypostatic figure (see e.g. 1QH* IX 16-17 “there is no power to compare with Your might). There is no [bound] to Your glory, and to Your wisdom, no measure”). It is argued below (section 4.1.6) that in 4QInstruction and sectarian writings ‘Lady Wisdom’ has been replaced by the apocalyptic concept raz or raz nihyeih, the unfolding mystery of God. Thus, the yahad knew the tradition of hypostatic Wisdom as a means of revelation through books they had inherited and copied. In their own writings, however, they reinterpreted this concept.

On this point the yahad belong with the apocalyptic circles that, from I Enoch onwards, interpret and transform the tradition on divine wisdom. In contrast to the views of Sirach and Baruch, for the apocalypticists the...
ultimate wisdom of God is not what is revealed to all Israel through the Torah. Seen in eschatological light, the statements of Job 28:20-21 that wisdom is concealed and "hidden from the eyes of every living thing", and Deut 29:28 "the hidden things belong to the Lord our God, but the things revealed belong to us", are not sufficient any more (see below, section 4.1.2, on the reinterpretation of this verse in the *yahad*). Late biblical traditions proclaim that God is the one who reveals hidden and deep matters (Job 12:22; Deut 29:28). Thus, there are secrets which were made known to pre-Mosaic sages; to Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham (but also Moses himself and post-Mosaic figures such as Daniel, Ezra and Baruch can be connected to apocalyptic revelations), and are again revealed to the elect of the end-time community. According to the Enochic *Apocalypse of Weeks*, by the completion of the seventh week of history "there shall be chosen the e[lect] ones as witnesses of righteousness from the e[ternal p]lant of righteousness, [to whom] shall be give[n] sevenfold wisdom and knowledge" (*1 Enoch* 92:10, *4QEnoch*). The socio-religious location of these pseudepigraphic authors should be sought precisely in such 'end-time circles' as are described in the foresayings of their literary heroes.

To a large degree the early apocalyptic writings represent an 'Eschatologisierung der Weisheit'. The expectance of the approaching end and the perception of Israel at large as disobedient caused apocalyptic circles to reinterpret biblical promises about God’s end-time renewal of His people: the promised renewal will be for the elect circles only (identified with the ‘remnant’ expected by the prophets, cf. e.g. Mic 4:7; 5:6-7; Jer 23:3; 31:7). The apocalyptists connected these promises with the tradition of divine wisdom: wisdom from on high is now revealed to the elect remnant, and is a condition for eschatological salvation. Also non-apocalyptic writings can speak of revelation of wisdom to the knowledgeable, but the connection between revelation of divine mysteries and salvation is an important *novum* by the apocalyptic circles. As we shall see,

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14Nickelsburg comments on *1 Enoch*: “The relationship of Enoch’s wisdom to the Mosaic Torah is ambiguous. His revelations preceded those of Moses by millennia. At least in the Animal Vision, the giving of the Torah is deleted from the account of the Sinai experience (89:28-35) ... Especially striking is the use of the wisdom myth in 81:1-82:4, where, in contrast to Sirach 24 and Baruch 4:1, it is Enoch’s books rather than the Mosaic Torah that are the earthly repository of heavenly wisdom”: “Wisdom and Apocalypticism in Early Judaism: Some points for Discussion”, SBLSP 33 (1994) 715-32, p. 720.


16The perception of the people at large as disobedient and lacking understanding would be supported by scriptures such as Mic 4:12, Jer 23:20 probably functioned as a source of inspiration for this end-time reinterpretation of Scripture; cf. *1 Enoch* 58:8; 99:6, 9; 93:10. “The claim to revelation ... is essential to its world-view ... The (Enochic) authors’ revelations are the salvific means by which the reader bridge and overcome the dualism that are the very nature of reality as they understand and experience it”: G.W.E. Nickelsburg, “The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality of 1 Enoch”, *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium* (J. Collins, J.H. Charlesworth, eds.), Sheffield 1991, 51-64, p. 62. Cf. idem, “Revealed Wisdom as a Criterion for Inclusion and Exclusion: From Jewish Sectarianism to Early Christianity”, *To See Ourselves as Others See Us: Christians, Jews, and Others in Late Antiquity* (J. Neusner, E.S. Frerichs, eds.), Chico 1985; 73-91; Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 3-28. According to Dan 11:33 and 12:3, the wise make the common people righteous by instructing them and will themselves shine like the splendor of the firmament. Teaching and receiving instruction are thus the means of salvation (see J.J. Collins, *Daniel. A commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Minneapolis 1993, 393).
4QInstruction views the wisdom of Adam and Solomon as *typoi* of the eschatological gift of understanding which is conveyed to the elect.

In its thinking of wisdom and revelation the Wisdom of Solomon, written in the first century BCE, occupies a position between traditional wisdom and the apocalyptic writings. Wisdom is equated with the Spirit of God which “fills the earth” and “holds all things together” (1:5-7). It is Wisdom which conveys righteousness and salvation to man. She dwells only with the friends of God and reveals to him divine mysteries and understanding of secrets of the heavenly realms, unknown to the ungodly (2:22-3:4; 7:21, 27-28; 9:16-11:4).

After this survey we turn to the concept of revelation in 4QInstruction, which we also compare with the views of the *yahad*.

### 4.1.2. Revelation of God’s wisdom in 4QInstruction and in the writings of the *yahad*

Revelation of divine mysteries is a main theme in the discourses of 4QInstruction. The *Epistle of Enoch* is a main source for the compiler of 4QInstruction (see section 5.1.2). It is likely that this author identifies *raz nihyeh*, ‘the mystery to come’, with the ‘sevenfold instruction’ which in the end-time will be given the righteous elect from the eternal plant of righteousness (*1 Enoch* 93:10). The designation of the sevenfold instruction (= divine wisdom) as ‘*raz*’ or ‘*raz nihyeh*’ seems to be an innovation either by our author or 1Q/4QMysteries (see section 5.1.3). The first reference to the word *raz* ‘mystery’ in Jewish apocalyptic tradition is the Book of Daniel (1Q4QMysteries and 4QInstruction could be earlier than Daniel 7-12 (see sections 5.1.3 and 5.2.1), but hardly earlier than the Aramaic part of Daniel where *raz* occurs). 4QInstruction could be influenced directly by the use of *raz* in Daniel, or both books derive from related circles which characterized divine mysteries with this Aramaic loanword. In section 4.1.6 we will investigate more closely the concept of *raz nihyeh*.

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19 4QInstruction has much in common with 1Q/4QMysteries (1Q27, 4Q299-301). To a large extent the concepts of ‘heavenly secrets’ in these two compositions are found also in 1 Enoch (1:10-11; 60:11-22 and 71:4 refer to the workings of the cosmic elements as mysteries [*cf. Sir 43:32; 16:21; 4Q299 (4QMyst*) 5:2, 1QH i 11-13; Sap. Sol. 7:21; 2 Apoc. Bar 48:3]). In 60:10 details of the creation story are designated as ‘hidden things’ [*cf. 4Q417 IX 3-11, see text below, section 4.1.7.1*]. The story of the deluge is a ‘mystery’ (89:1), and so is the final judgement and the afterlife: 68:5; 103:2 [*cf. 1QpHab VII 18; Sap. Sol. 2:22; 2 Apoc. Bar 83:8, 1 Cor 15:51; Apoc. 10:7*]. The revelation of the future to Noah and Enoch is not explicitly designated as a ‘mystery’ in 1 Enoch, but it certainly qualifies as such, as hidden things being revealed to the elect among men (cf. 4Q416 VII 2=4Q418 201:1). The deeds of men can also be designated ‘secrets’: 38:3 refers to the deeds of the righteous as secrets, and 83:7 to the ‘secrets of the sins of the whole world’ [*cf. Sir 1:30; 4Q299 (4QMyst*) 2 ii 11, 15 “every mystery and every secret. He causes everything (which comes into being) ... every mystery and the tribulations of every creature”*]. Further, the Lord’s elect shall judge the ‘hidden things’ of men (49:4; 61:9). The forbidden mysteries revealed by the watchers to the daughters of men in chs. 6-11 have no counterpart in 4QInstruction (but cf. 1Q27 (1QMyst) 1 i 2, 7 *אֲדֹנָי נַעֲשָׂה יִתְנָא* the mysteries of transgression) (we propose to read *יִתְנָא* and not *נַעֲשָׂה* in 1Q27 1 i 7); 1QapGen 12 *אֲדֹנָי נַעֲשָׂה*; 1QH V 36, 1QH FG 50.5 *אֲדֹנָי נַעֲשָׂה*; 1QM XIX 9 *אֲדֹנָי נַעֲשָׂה* (the mysteries of Belial’s enmity); 2 Thess 2:7 to ματθαίαν τῆς ἀναστάσεως. *1 Enoch* 9:6 refers to these secrets as ‘external mysteries’ [*cf. 4Q417 IX 6 διὰ τοῦ ἀναστάσεως ματθαίαν, 4Q299 (4QMyst*) 2 b 5, 4Q300 (4QMyst b) 1 ii 2 διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως*]. See R.B. Brown, “The Pre-Christian Concept of Mystery”, *CBQ* 20 (1958) 417-43; idem, “The Semitic Background of the New Testament Mysterion”, *Biblica* 39 (1958) 426-48.
4QInstruction characterizes God’s secrets as “the hidden things of His thought” which are revealed to the elect who have proper understanding: 4Q171 13-14 “and He revealed to them hidden matters in which all Israel had gone astray”; 1QS V 8-9, 11 “those who have knowledge in the understanding of hidden matters.” 4Q401 174 “Her wondrous secrets ... they make known hidden things”; 4Q405 3 ii 9 (“Intentional and Unintentional Sin in the Dead Sea Scrolls”). The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice shares the idea of God as the revealer of hidden and deep matters. 4Q401 (4QShirShabbb) 14 ii 2, 7 “return to the Law of Moses ... according to all that has been revealed concerning it ... they have not examined His decrees in order to learn the hidden matters in which they err by their own fault, and even the clear matters they have openly transgressed”; IX 13 “to do the will of God according to all that has been revealed from age to age”; 5Q13 (5QSectarian Rule) 11 “The terminology refers to Deut 29:29, which is reinterpreted: "... and eternal mysteries". The Hebrew Bible and its Interpreters 20 CD III 13-14 “and He revealed to them hidden matters in which all Israel had gone astray”; 1QS V 8-9, 11 “... they have not examined His decrees in order to learn the hidden matters in which they err by their own fault, and even the clear matters they have openly transgressed”; IX 13 “to do the will of God according to all that has been revealed from age to age”; 5Q13 (5QSectarian Rule) 11 “return to the Law of Moses ... according to all that has been revealed concerning it ... they have not examined His decrees in order to learn the hidden matters in which they err by their own fault, and even the clear matters they have openly transgressed”; IX 13 “to do the will of God according to all that has been revealed from age to age”; 5Q13 (5QSectarian Rule) 11 “... and eternal mysteries”.

According to the sectarian view, the Bible contained both ‘revealed matters’ (תבנית) and ‘concealed matters’ (תבנית חיה). The terminology refers to Deut 29:29, which is reinterpreted: “... and eternal mysteries” in the Dead Sea Scrolls (4Q171 13-14) contrasts with Deut 29:29, and could be an early expression of the way of thinking that developed into the sectarian concept of התלמוד and פאתנות (4QInstruction’s and פאתנות are parallel to the sectarian expression of התלמוד and פאתנות).

Sectarian writings use similar terminology (possibly with 4QInstruction as one of the sources of inspiration). 21

Also the presectarian Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice shares the idea of God as the revealer of hidden and deep matters. 4Q401 (4QShirShabbb) 14 ii 2, 7 “return to the Law of Moses ... according to all that has been revealed concerning it ... they have not examined His decrees in order to learn the hidden matters in which they err by their own fault, and even the clear matters they have openly transgressed”; IX 13 “to do the will of God according to all that has been revealed from age to age”; 5Q13 (5QSectarian Rule) 11 “... and eternal mysteries”.

According to most scholars, in the thinking of the יהדות התלמודית, the yenad חיות means to understand God’s secrets through study of Scripture alone: Qimron and Strugnell, DJD X, 132; Schiffman, Law, Custom and Messianism, 53. However, the eschatological consciousness of the יהדות presupposes a transmitted community tradition, not only insights gained through exegesis. In our opinion, the sectarian ‘understanding of the concealed matters’ should not be confined to inspired biblical exegesis alone: this concept included the esoteric understanding of the times, the knowledge that one lives in the days of the end-time, as well as access to esoteric books such as the Haggadah (on the subject matter, cf. M. Fishbane, “Use, Authority and Interpretation at Qumran”, Mikra. Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity (M. J. Mulder, ed.), Assen/Maastricht and Philadelphia 1988, 339-77, p. 362; J.M. Baumgarten, DJD XVIII, 15-16). On the meaning of יהדות, see below, note 71.
4QInstruction describes the understanding given to the elect in various ways. The root יב which implies contemplating and revealing mysteries (cf. Dan 8:16, 27; 9:2, 23; 10:2) has a central role in 4QInstruction: the Hip'el participle יב is the usual designation for the enlightened addressee; he is admonished to contemplate (רָזִּים) on raz nihyeh; his understanding is designated (סְמוּץ וְסְמוּץ) in 4Q16 VII 17; 4Q17 IX 12, 13; 4Q17 29.7.

Words from the roots חֲבָרָה, חַבָּרָה, חַבָּרָה, חֲבָרָה and יִד, יִד, יִד, יִד are used to describe the wisdom and insight one can achieve: חֲבָרָה כֵּל הַחָלָל "every wise of heart He gave knowledge" (4Q118 81 20). The addressee is designated (סְמוּץ וְסְמוּץ) and יב θ'Q17 IX 27). He "will know truth and evil, wisdom and simplicity" (יִודָא) 4Q17 IX 8-9). He has been given the eschatological gift to discern (יִודָא) between good and evil (4Q17 IX 8-10, 19-22; 4Q23 1-27-8; 56, see below, section 4.1.5). The verb יד is used in the meaning 'investigate', 'ponder' (4Q17 IX 11.9, 13; 4Q16 IX 20). The yalad uses similar terminology: words from the roots חֲבָרָה, חֲבָרָה, חֲבָרָה, חֲבָרָה and יִד about the God-given knowledge of the elect abound in sectarian writings.

We have noted related terminology on wisdom and revelation in 4QInstruction and the writings of the yadal. Together they share an apocalyptic understanding of revelation of wisdom and mysteries from on high: true wisdom has no home in Israel at large, only in the elect circles. We continue with a closer investigation of apocalyptic motifs in 4QInstruction.

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26 See M. Weinfeld, “You Will Find Favour ... In the Sight of God And Man (Proverbs 3:4) - The History of an Idea” (Hebrew), El 16 (1982) 93-99; N. Shupak, Where Can Wisdom Be Found? The Sage's Language in the Bible and in Ancient Egyptian Literature, Göttingen 1993, 67. Shupak comments: "חֲבָרָה signifies an act of intellect, i.e. the achievement of comprehension by means of a mental effort", and further that the participle יב in Proverbs "is close in meaning to יב, but suggest a more active meaning. In later biblical literature ... the term refers to proficiency in a certain area. יב here is a specialist in his profession ... and one capable of teaching it to his fellow men (1 Chr 15:22; 25:7-8; 2 Chr 34:12) ... With respect to the writings, the יב is not only he who understands them but he who can explain them to others".

27 חֲבָרָה: 4Q16 V 13; 4Q17 27 2; 4Q18 9 14; 56 6, 9; 58 2; 69 ii 11; 88 6; 163 2, 5; 177 4. יב: 4Q16 V 20 (4Q18 2 8); VII 17; 4Q17 IX 3, 16; 4Q18 81 15; 102 3; 123 ii 4, 5; 138 4; 168 4; 176 3; 221 3; 227 1. יִד: 4Q16 123 ii 4.

28 4Q17 IX 27; 4Q18 147 6; cf. 1Q27 (1QMyst) I 1 3; 4Q300 (4QMyst) 8 5-7. The Hipoteel of יב, with the meaning 'examine closely in order to understand', is frequent in 4QInstruction (13 times). It occurs also in 1Q4QMysteries (1Q27 I 1 3; 4Q299 8 5; 40 3) and 4Q143 (4QComposition concerning Divine Providence) 19-20, 23:20. יִד, יִד, יִד, יִד which has a central role in 4QInstruction: 4Q13, Solving Riddles and Untying Knots. Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in honor of Jonas C. Greenfield (Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, M. Sokoloff, eds.), Winona Lake 1995, 191-202; DJD XX].

29 Hip'el forms of יִד is further used in 4Q17 IX 4 (=4Q18 43 1); 4Q18 69 ii 2; 81 20; 165 2; 174 3; 184 3; 197 1; 4Q23 1-2 1, 2; 5 8.

30 See A. Lange, "Kognitives Iq'h in Sap A, im Tenak und Sir", Zeitschrift für Althebraistik 9 (1996) 190-95. יִד is further used as noun in 4Q18 81 17 תַּכּוֹן פִּקּוּל. Proverbs uses יִד both as noun and verbal form. "Iq'h, in other words, first of all denotes the process of understanding the teacher's words, absorbing them and assimilating them to the already existing stock of personal knowledge". Shupak, Where Can Wisdom Be Found?, 59.
4.1.3. Apocalyptic motifs

In section 3.1 we noted that although 4QInstruction is no apocalypse, it does contain a number of apocalyptic motifs, many of those shared with sectarian writings. We will shortly survey these motifs before we continue with a more detailed investigation of themes related to the revelation of divine mysteries. P.D. Hanson distinguishes between the literary genre ‘apocalypse’, ‘apocalyptic eschatology’ and ‘apocalypticism’ (“the symbolic universe in which an apocalyptic movement codifies its identity and interpretation of reality”). Nickelsburg comments that “the terms ‘apocalyptic’ and ‘apocalypticism’ should designate entities for which revelation is a significant component”.

Revelation of divine secrets is essential in 4QInstruction, and to a large degree the composition represents an ‘apocalyptic eschatology’. Similar to the main sectarian writings we find an eschatological understanding of history and its periods (but not a detailed apocalyptic view of history). There is a temporal dualism between the present time and the eschatological future; between ‘the period of iniquity’ and the coming ‘period of truth’. God’s revelation to Noah is a model for understanding end-time secrets. One frequently refers to esoteric wisdom, raz and raz nihyeh. The word pair raz and ga/ah, frequent in Daniel, indicates some kind of esoteric knowledge which cannot be obtained by Israelites in general. Through its esoteric knowledge the pious group is separated from the people at large, and established as the eschatological community of the elect (see section 4.3). Similar to 1 Enoch the reception of wisdom is constitutive of salvation and life eternal. 4QInstruction shares what has been described as the core of the apocalyptic message: the unmasking of the otherwise unknown secrets of God.

Different from Sirach and Baruch, the heavenly wisdom is not identified with the Torah. A heavenly book written in God’s presence is essential for obtaining wisdom and concretely for the right understanding of history (see section 4.1.7.1). The composition has a hortatory character and a clear interest in the afterlife: the elect will get their ultimate reward.

In its understanding of world and man 4QInstruction is determined more by apocalypticism than by traditional wisdom. Nickelsburg has noted a number of apocalyptic terms in IQS XI 3-9 (a part of the hymn closing the Community Rule): “revelation in the form of enlightening and seeing; the mystery to come; the fount of righteousness, knowledge hidden from humans; the dwelling place of glory; standing in the presence of the holy...”

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29 “Apocalypticism”, IDBSup, 28-34.
30 “Wisdom and Apocalypticism in Early Judaism”, 717.
32 See e.g. 4Q166 69 ii 12-14 “And even the so[n]s of heaven, whose inheritance is eternal life... will they not walk in eternal light? [I] also you [will inherit] glory and abundant honour”; 4Q417 IX 14-15 “These things seek always, and meditate [on all] that results from them. Then you will have knowledge of [eternal] glory [with] His wondrous mysteries and mighty deeds”.
4.1. Wisdom and Revelation

ones; the sons of heaven". All these concepts seem to be inherited from 4QInstruction, which moulds traditional wisdom within an apocalyptic framework. Also other terms from 4QInstruction recur in this passage in 1QS XI: 'inheriting an everlasting possession', 'eternal planting'.

On the other hand, a number of apocalyptic motifs are lacking in 4QInstruction. There are no cosmological maps or any spatial dualism between heaven and earth. There is no developed angelology, nor any reference to dreams and their interpretation. Visions are mentioned, but do not seem to be essential for the concept of revelation. Neither can we trace any dispute on the calendar or other halakhic issues. Noah is recipient of divine revelation on the last days, but is probably not portrayed as mediator of divine secrets. The role of Noah deserves closer scrutiny.

4.1.4. Revelation given to Noah

Apocalyptic literature often appeals to a pre-Mosaic sage as authority for the 'truths' they convey (see above, section 4.1.1). In the beginning of an eschatological discourse 4QInstruction portrays Noah as recipient of divine revelation about the end-time, revelation which now is given to the elect (see section 4.2.1 for a detailed examination of this passage):

convict(?) all the spirit of flesh for the deeds of godlessness which they have done(?) and establish His will over all evil. He made known to Noah what was(?) to come, period upon period, set time upon set time. (He will shut up all the sons of evil, and visit all flesh(?) according to their hosts,

(4Q416 VII 2-5)

As in 1 Enoch 10, the flood is seen as typos of the judgement of the last days. Accordingly, Noah receives information not only about the flood, but also about the final end. To understand the role of Noah here, we will review some of the traditions about Noah against their Mesopotamian background.

Already Mesopotamian traditions refer to heavenly revelation to the hero of the flood story. According to the flood epics, one of the gods leaks information from the heavenly council about the upcoming deluge through a wall to the elect hero on earth. Ziusudra heard, standing by its side, He stood at the left of the side-wall[...]. "Side-wall, I want to talk to you, [hold on] to my word, [Pay attention to my instructions: On all dwellings(?) , over the capitals the storm will [sweep]. The destruction of the descent of mankind [...], is the decision, the word of the assembly [of the gods]"

(Atrahasis opened his mouth and addressed his lord, 'Teach me the meaning [of the dream,] [...] that I may seek its outcome.' [Enki] opened his mouth and addressed his slave, 'You say, "What am I to seek?" Observe the message that I will speak to you: Wall, listen to me! Reed wall, observe all my words! Destroy your house, build a boat, spurn (wordly) property and save life!' (Babylonian Atrahasis, III 11-23)

34 “Wisdom and Apocalypticism in Early Judaism”, 724.
36 Further, חלוש in 4Q417 IX 18 can be interpreted both as 'to mankind' (our solution), 'to Adam', and 'to Enosh' (see below, section 4.1.7.1).
37 For the following, cf. especially Weinfeld, “Read-wall! hear me”. Rabbinic tradition speaks in an analogous way about "hearing from behind the curtain", רואים יתخام.ב
39 Lambert, Millard, Atrahasis, 89; Pritchard, ANET, 105.
I am Atrahasis, I lived in the temple of Ea, my lord, ... I knew the counsel of the great gods, I knew of their oath, though they did not reveal it to me. He repeated their words to the wall: "Wall, hear [ (Ugaritic version of Atrahasis, 6-14)40

Utnapishtim said to him, to Gilgamesh: 'I will reveal to you, Gilgamesh, a hidden matter, a secret of the gods will I tell you: ... when their hearts led the great gods to produce the flood ... Ninigiku-Ea was also present with them; their words he repeats to the reed-hut: 'Reed-hut, reed-hut! Wall, wall! Reed-hut, hearken! Wall, reflect! Man of Shuruppak, son of Ubar-Tutu, tear down the house, build a ship! Give up possessions, seek life. Forswear (worldly) goods and keep the soul alive! (Akkadian Epic of Gilgamesh, XI 8-31)41

In the Mesopotamian tradition the divine council gathers and decrees the flood as punishment upon mankind, and a dissident god leaks information to the earthly hero to save mankind from annihilation. In Jewish tradition, God himself takes the initiative vis-a-vis Noah, and the divine council is understood as the angels in God’s presence. Thus, according to 1 Enoch 10, God asks an angel to convey the message to Noah: “Go to Noah and tell him in my name, ‘Hide yourself’, and reveal to him the end which is coming, for the earth and everything will be destroyed”. According to 4QInstruction, God speaks directly to Noah without any angelic mediator. In the context of this eschatological discourse, the subject of the sentence תמר על אדאמ בערים ה買い (He made known to Noah [what was(?)] to come” must be God himself. In contrast to Genesis and the Mesopotamian sources, 1 Enoch and 4QInstruction let Noah learn about the end-time, not only about the approaching deluge.42

The preserved fragments of 4QInstruction mention Noah, and not Enoch, as recipient of divine revelation about the end-time. Due to the dependence of 4QInstruction on the Enoch tradition one might suggest that Enoch was mentioned in one of the lacunae in the eschatological discourse in 4Q16 VI-VIII. If so, Enoch and Noah were portrayed as sages to whom were shown the mysteries of the end-times (תמר ו והיא, תמריה) which now are revealed to the community of the eternal planting through the Book of Hagi.43

Noah is a popular figure in the second century BCE. Both biographical material about Noah’s birth and life as well as ‘Words of Noah’ were circulating. Parts of these Noah traditions are preserved in the Genesis Apocryphon, 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and 4Q534 (4QElect of God ar).44 Some sources specifically refer to Noah in a context of divine mysteries and revelation.45 1 Enoch 10; 60:1-6, 25; 89:1 and 106-107 represent the same tradition as 4Q16 VII: to Noah are revealed secrets about the end-time.46

40Lambert, Millard, Atrahasis, 133.
41Pritchard, ANET, 93.
42Cf. Nickelsburg’s characterization of 1 Enoch 10: “The biblical description of the postdiluvian restoration of the earth (Genesis 9) is rewritten as a scenario of eschatological recreation”; “Enoch, First Book of”, ABD 2, 506-16, p. 510.
43According to 1 Enoch 82:1 and 92:1 (4QEnx 111 ii 22), Enoch transmitted the books of knowledge to Methuselah. Jub. 7:38 and I QapGen V record a chain of transmission from Enoch through Methuselah and Lamech to Noah. According to I QapGen V 20-21, the transmitted is characterised as רע ‘mystery’; ויהי יי יְוחֵא רֵאָס רֵאָס רָע יְוחֵא רֵאָס רָע (And now, I shall make known to you the mystery [ ... to Lamech] your son, reveal this mystery!).
45According to 4Q534, Noah will “know the three books ... he will know the visions ... he will know men’s secrets. His wisdom will extend to all the peoples. He will know the secrets of all living beings” (4Q534 1 i 5-9). According to 4Q536 (4QRamaica C) 1 i 8-9, “he will reveal mysteries” and have “understanding of
For the circles behind 4QInstruction, Noah could be a *typos* not only in his role as recipient of divine revelation. Hartman has demonstrated that *1 Enoch* 10 sees the righteous Noah (Gen 6:9) as *typos* for the eschatological community: the blessing of Noah (Gen 9:1) and his tilling of the earth (Gen 9:20) prefigures the bliss of the righteous people of the *eschaton*, the 'plant of righteousness' (*1 Enoch* 10:16; cf. 10:3 according to Syncellus, "from him will be planted a planting and it will stand for all the generations of eternity"). Judgement will come upon the earth, but the elect ones will be saved like Noah (cf. 1 Pet 3:20-21). The mention of Noah in an eschatological discourse which assures the sons of truth of their salvation is hardly incidental. We therefore suggest that 4QInstruction also shared with *1 Enoch* 10 this interpretation of Noah and Genesis 6-9 as prefiguring the end-time community.

According to our reconstruction of 4QInstruction, a series of discourses follow upon each other from the end of 4Q416 VI and through col. XI. Col. VII introduces the judgement scene with the reference to Noah, to whom the secrets about the end-time were revealed. Col. X (=4Q417 IX) deals with the revelation of God's secrets to the eschatological community. The poorly preserved col. XI (=4Q417 X) possibly contained more material about Noah. The text runs as follows:

```
[תת יבכ]
 4
[תח]
 5
[תותמ]
 6
[ודדך נולא תאני אל]
 7
[בשר סמה]
 8
[מעמידה]
 9
[⫷רי עלים רוח]
 10
[⫷ריאל על מעני בתי שמש]
 11
[⫷רכי אד אד נבוש בתי שמש]
 12
[⫷ריאתי ונפך בתי מלחמה]
 13
[⫷ריאתי ונפך בתי מלחמה]
 14
[⫷ריאתי ונפך בתי מלחמה]
 15
[⫷ריאתי ונפך בתי מלחמה]
 16
[⫷ריאתי ונפך בתי מלחמה]
 17
[⫷ריאתי ונפך בתי מלחמה]
 18
```

46Cf. also the later *Sefer Ha-Razim*, which presents itself as a book of mysteries revealed to Noah by an angelic mediator and later disclosed to Solomon, and the mention of Noah in the Rosh Hashanah liturgy; “and You remembered Noah in love and endowed him with the word of salvation and mercy” (see sections 4.1.7.2, 4.2.1 and 4.2.3.4 on the affinities between 4QInstruction and the Rosh Hashanah liturgy).


48Cf. 4Q416 VI 20 “Man of understanding, rejoice in the inheritance of truth”; VII 11-12 “In heaven He will judge the work of iniquity, and all the sons of truth will be pleased by[ the appointed time(?)] of its period”.

mysteries”. The sectarian work 5Q13 (5QSectarian Rule) mentions both Enoch (frg. 3), God’s election of Noah (frg. 1 line 7) and the revelation of the hidden matters (frg. 1 line 11; cf. 1 line 9). 4Q253 (4QCommGen B) frg. 1 refers first to the ark and then to Noah; קָנָה קָנָה רִיחֲמָה אָד נבוש בתי שמש “a Name He made known to Noah”.

mysteries”.
4. [the mystery to come]
5. and Noah had understanding of(?)
6. consolations for the ...
7. walked blamelessly before God(?)
8. he blessed His name ...
9. in your joy ...
10. great are the mercies of God
11. praise God, by every affliction bless His name
12. according to His will these matters happened, and He is the One who understands the hidden matters(?)
13. He will decide all your ways with...
14. Do not let the cunning of the evil inclination tempt you...
15. seek truth. Do not let the ..[ ] tempt you [ ... Do not]
16. what was not commanded by the knowledge of flesh. Let not [ ] lead you to err[ ... Do not]
17. reckon [ ... Do not say]
18. for[  

The text is fragmentarily preserved, so it is difficult to draw unequivocal conclusions about its interpretation. But the terminology suggests that the passage could preserve an apocryphal story about Noah, who already has been mentioned in 4QInstruction as recipient of divine secrets. According to lines 4-5 he knew ‘the mystery to come’ - cf. 4Q534 (4QElect of God) 118, Noah “will know the secrets of all living things”. He is the one who “walked blamelessly” before God (משגיח, line 7) - cf. Gen 6:9. As such he is an ideal for the addressee, who repeatedly is exhorted to walk blamelessly. According to line 8 he praised the name of God - 1QapGen XII 17 tells that Noah blessed the Lord after he had gathered the first crop following the flood. According to our tentative interpretation, lines 9-18 contain Noah’s words of exhortation to his sons and coming generations: they shall praise God in all circumstances, knowing that He is the source of everything that happens, as He was the one who ordained the deluge.

The short-cut warnings in the vetitive of lines 14-18 (at least six in number) are unusual within the framework of 4QInstruction (see section 3.2). In contrast to the more elaborate wisdom admonitions preserved elsewhere in the book which deal with specific fields of social life, these lines convey in condensed form general parenesis about the virtuous way of life. Such admonition would fit well as Noah’s advice for the generations to come.

The reference to ‘the cunning of the evil inclination’ (line 14) alludes to Gen 6:5: מִצְנָב—רֵעַ יְהוָה. The mention of 8:21 as well is unexpected, but it should be noted that certain 8th-century B.C.E. Jewish writings, such as the B平行, contained similar exhortations.

The reference to the end-time, not only the upcoming flood, is closely related to Enochic traditions, in particular to 1 Enoch 10. In 4QInstruction knowledge of the end-time belongs to the mysteries now revealed to the community. On this point 4QInstruction belongs with a number of apocalyptically influenced writings that ascribe knowledge of divine mysteries to Noah. As in 1 Enoch 10, the righteous Noah was probably seen as “typos” for the eschatological community, that will be saved through the
coming judgement as Noah was. We have further interpreted the preserved text of 4Q417 X as a narrative about Noah, who is portrayed as a model for the life of the elect. This passage includes Noah’s ethical advice for the generations to come.

4.1.5. Eschatological knowledge: Adam reinterpreted

In our investigation of the relation of the wisdom of the elect to the wisdom of primeval man in 4QInstruction, we start by looking at 4Q423 1-2. This passage opens with an interpreting paraphrase of Genesis 2-3, placed in a parenetic context (on this text, see further section 6.2.1):

In this text positive catchwords related to the garden image contrast others that refer to man’s burdensome conditions on earth. Also words related to knowledge and discernment recur. While Gen 3:6 refers to a certain tree that conveys knowledge, this text stresses the connection between all the trees, and the garden as such, and Adam’s God-given knowledge. The 2nd person sing. form המሰבה (line 2) in a passage which rephrases Genesis 2 points to some kind of relation between Adam and the addressee of 4QInstruction. The garden of Adam is at the same time the garden of the elect. According to lines 1-2, the addressed ‘you’ is related to a garden which conveys knowledge. This ‘knowledge’ could refer to the end-time restoration of the wisdom of Adam to the ‘sons of Adam’. 4Q181 3 uses the same form, המ嗬בה, with reference to the God-given portion of the elect, the portion Adam received when God gave him dominion over all the animals and the garden. He is your portion and your inheritance among the sons of Adam. In his inheritance He gave you authority. Therefore, the text could have a double meaning in this text; referring both to Adam in the Garden of Eden as well as to the elect ‘son of Adam’ in his relation to the end-time community and inheritance (the ‘planting’ and the ‘garden’). Lines 3-4 (possibly 3-6) refer to the situation after the curses of Gen 3:14-19. The text then recurs to the garden image and to eschatological knowledge; to discerning “be[t]ween his way and the way of [” (others), “rejecting(?)] the evil

\[\text{[\ldots]}\]

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and knowing the good". Lines 7-8 thus connect the 'planting' with the knowledge of good and evil and
discernment between the different ways a man can choose.

In section 4.3.2 we will demonstrate that 4QInstruction uses the images of 'garden' and 'planting' to describe
the end-time community and the inheritance of the elect. This text suggests that the elect can attain what Adam
first possessed and then forfeited. While Adam's unfaithfulness toward God led to burdensome conditions for
man (cf. lines 3-4 "the earth," thorns and thistles will it cause to sprout forth for you, and its strength it will not
yield to you, [...] in your being unfaithful"), the elect have now access to the source of divine wisdom, to
revelation from on high (see further our exegesis of 4Q418 81 in section 4.3.2).

4Q423 1-2 7 refers to discernment and the elect's "rejecting(?) the evil and knowing the good". 'Knowledge
of good and evil' is a theme recurring in 4QInstruction. In Genesis 2-3, eating from the tree that conveys
knowledge of good and evil brings about man's fall. The same interpretation is found in 4Q422
(4QParaGenExod) 1, an early paraphrase of Genesis 1-4.53 The script of 4Q422 is early Hasmonean, and the
composition should probably be dated to the second century BCE, - more or less contemporary with
4QInstruction. According to 4Q422 19-12, eating from the tree which gives knowledge of good and evil
introduced man's rebellion against God:

He set man on(?) the earth, He set him in charge to eat the fruit of the soil... that he shou[[d eat from
the tree that gives know[ledge of good and evil...] he rose against Him and they forgot [His laws ...] in evil
inclination and for deed[s of injustice

In contrast to Genesis 3 and 4Q422, 4QInstruction describes 'knowledge of good and evil' as a positive ability
related to the spiritual status of the elect. Different from fleshly man who could not discern between good and
evil (cf. 4Q417 IX 19-20 "He had not before given the Hag to the spirit of flesh, for it could not discern
between [good] and evil with the judgement of its [spirit]"); the addressee can attain this discernment: 4Q417 IX
8-10 "Then you will know truth and evil, wisdom and simplicity ... Then you will discern between [good]
and [evil in their] deed[s]; 4Q417 IX 22 "discern(?) between great and minor"; 4Q423 5-6 "in your labour give
attention to knowing the] good with the evil".54 We suggest that this 'knowledge of good and evil' is connected
to an eschatological understanding: knowledge of good and evil is a gift to the community of the end-time.
According to its eschatological interpretation of Genesis 1-3, the member of the end-time community has a
share in the glory and wisdom of Adam.

53T. Elgvin, "The Genesis Section of 4Q422 (4QParaGenExod)"; T. Elgvin, E. Tov, "Paraphrase of Genesis
and Exodus", DJD XIII, 417-41.

54For 'knowledge of good and evil' in the Scrolls, cf. 1QS IV 26; 1QSa I 10-11; 4Q300 (4QMyste) 3 2;
4Q303 (4QMeditation on Creation A*) 1 8 and 4Q417; 4Q305 (4QMeditation on Creation B) II 2 18 ע"ש ראו ו
לעב ע"ש 4Q422 19-20 "He gave Adam the knowledge of good and evil". R. Gordis ["The Knowledge of Good and Evil
in the Old Testament and the Qumran Scrolls", JBL 76 (1957) 122-138] demonstrates that the phrase 'knowledge
of good and evil' in the Bible (Gen 2:9, 17; Deut 1:39; 2 Sam 19:36; Isa 7:15-16) and in 1QS I 20-11 means sexual maturity,
with the specific connotation 'natural and unnatural' for הער in other verbs. Other verbs are used when the connotation is
wisdom: 2 Sam 14:17; 1 Kings 3:9, and אכזב with הער in לקין 1. Kings 3:9, אכזב and הער do not share this understanding of the phrase הער, and does not differentiate between the verbs הער and הער.
4QInstruction presents a ‘realized eschatology’ (see further section 4.2.3.3) that perceives the enlightened, to whom God’s mysteries have been revealed, as partaker of God’s knowledge. Like 1 Enoch 24-32, 55 4QInstruction reflects an eschatological exegesis of Gen 3:6 “the tree was desirable to give knowledge” (quoted in 4Q423 1-2 1-2 and 4Q423 9 1) and 3:22 “See, man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil”. The elect of the community of 4QInstruction have already received a taste of the fruits of Eden, they have been given knowledge from above to discern between good and evil. Eschatological biblical passages like Jer 31:31-34 might have served as hermeneutical bridges for such exegesis: renewed Israel of the end-time will have intimate knowledge of the Lord and His Torah, they will know to discern between good and evil. As in 1 Enoch, Jubilees and sectarian writings, “revelation functions to constitute and shape what is considered to be the eschatological community of the chosen”. 56

The elect are the rightful heirs of Adam and Eve: while one text refers to the glorious portion bequeathed already now to the addressee “among the sons of Adam” (4Q18 3, see section 4.3.2), another passage relates the glory of the eschatological renewal to what has been promised to “the sons of Eve”:

He will execute(?) judgement, to do vengeance on evildoers, and the [eternal(?)] visitation ... , to shut up the evil ones and lift up the head of the poor [ ... ] in eternal glory and everlasting peace and the spirit of life, to separate[ ... ] all the sons of Eve. Upon the power of God and abundance of His glory with His goodness [shall they meditate ... ] and upon His faithfulness shall they reflect all day, always shall they praise His name.

(4Q418 126 ii 5-10)

We will review some early Jewish texts which can shed light on the interpretation of Genesis 1-3 in 4QInstruction, and possibly bring support for our understanding of the passages discussed above. 57 Although some of these sources are substantively later than 4QInstruction, they might reflect older traditions. 58

The Genesis narrative describes Adam in royal categories, which serves as a point of departure for later exegetes. The tradition of Adam’s glory, reflected in Ps 8:5-10 and Prov 30:24 “the wisdom of Adam is not mine”, recurs in a number of early Jewish sources. 59 The tradition of Adam’s glory is further

551 Enoch 28-32 portrays the choice trees of paradise including “the tree of wisdom, which gives great wisdom to those who eat from it” (32:3; cf. 4 Ezra 2:51-52 “concerning the glory of those who are like yourself, because it is for you that Paradise is opened, the tree of life planted, the age to come prepared, plenteousness made ready, a city built, a rest appointed, goodness established and wisdom perfected beforehand”).
56Nickelsburg, “The Nature and Function of Revelation”.
58We would tentatively date the Words of the Luminaries to the early second century BCE, and the gnostic Apocalypse of Adam to the second to fourth century CE. 2 Enoch and 4 Ezra are late first century CE, while the Targums and Sefar Ha-Razim belong to the Talmudic period [M. Margulies dates Sefar Ha-Razim to the early Talmudic period: Sefar Ha-Razim. A Newly Recovered Book of Magic from the Talmudic Period (Hebrew), Jerusalem 1966]. Pirque Rabbi Eliezer and the Targum to Chronicles are medieval. It goes without saying that one must be careful using texts from the early centuries CE as support for exegesis of a text from the second century BCE.
594Q504 (4QDibHama) 8 4-6 ... “You fashioned [Adam] our [father] in the likeness of [Your glory ... You blew a breath of life] into his nostril, and [filled him with] intelligence and knowledge [ ... in the garden of Eden, which You had planted, You made [him] a governor”; Sir 17:1-11 “The Lord fashioned man from the earth ... He gave them authority over everything on earth. He clothed them with strength like his own, and made them in his own image ... He filled them with knowledge and understanding, and revealed to them good and evil. He put his own light in their hearts ... He set knowledge before them, He endowed them with the law of life”; 49:16
reflected both in the Damascus Document, the Community Rule and the Hodayot.\textsuperscript{50} These texts indicate that the enlightened members of the Community already have a share in the glory of Adam, נבון יבש בן. The community of the Endzeit enjoys the privileges of the Urzeit.\textsuperscript{51} In addition to these texts from the yahad, also Enochic and targumic traditions describe Adam as the image of eschatological humanity. Adam is described as a white bull by the Enochic Animal Apocalypse (which could be one of the sources used by 4QInstruction), and so are his descendants until Jacob (1 Enoch 85:3-89:11). Only at the end of days the white bull reappears as a messiastic figure, and the people of God are also changed into white bulls (1 Enoch 90:37-38).\textsuperscript{62} According to a widespread Targumic tradition, Adam will get an offspring which will know to distinguish between good and evil (and Neofiti identifies this offspring with 'one nation', i.e. Israel).\textsuperscript{63} The affinity with the Enochic and Qumran sources suggests that the Targums here could reflect early traditions on Adam.

We suggest that the author of 4QInstruction represents a similar exegetical tradition: he belonged to circles who saw themselves as Adam's offspring, the elect of the last days who have received the eschatological gift of discerning between good and evil. According to 4Q417 IX 18-20, the heavenly Book of Hagi has been bequeathed to a spiritual people that, different from fleshly man, is able to discern between good and evil with the judgement of its spirit. The statement "for He formed him in the likeness of the holy ones" (4Q417 IX 18-20).

\textsuperscript{50} CD III: “those who remained steadfast in it (the faithful house, i.e. the community) will acquire eternal life, and all the glory of Adam will be theirs”; IQS IV 22-23.\textsuperscript{60} "For they were elected by God for an everlasting covenant, and all the glory of Adam will be theirs"; IQP XVII 15.\textsuperscript{61} ‘…the pure children of Adam, the elect of the last days…eliminating all the depravities, giving them as a legacy all the glory of Adam and plentiful days’.

\textsuperscript{51} Cf. H. Gunkel’s classical study, \textit{Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit}, Göttingen 1895, especially 367-71; and Scroggs, \textit{The Last Adam}, 24-5. P. Wernberg-Müller remarks on these Qumran references to Adam’s glory; “the glory in store for the pious is identical with, or of similar grandeur to, the glory of Adam in Paradise before the Fall”: \textit{The Manual of Discipline. Translated and Annotated with an Introduction}, Leiden 1957, 87, n. 80. For the rabbis, the glory of Adam will be restored to mankind in the messianic age/the world to come: Gen. R. 12.6; 21.7, see Scroggs, \textit{The Last Adam}, 34-5, 54-6.

\textsuperscript{62} See Scroggs, \textit{The Last Adam}, 23.

\textsuperscript{63} Targums Pseudo-Jonathan and Neofiti on Gen 3:21-23 “And the Lord God made garments of glory and of holiness for Adam and for his wife…from him there will arise those who will know how to distinguish between good and evil” (Pseudo-Jonathan) and “And the Lord God made for Adam and for his wife garments of glory…And the Lord God said: ‘Behold, the first Adam whom I have created is alone in the world as I am alone in the heavens on high. Numerous nations are to arise from him, and from him shall arise one nation who will know to distinguish between good and evil’” (Neofiti). The text of Onqelos, "Behold, Adam is the only one in the world, of him to know good and evil", reflects the same interpretation. See G. Vermes, “Haggadah in the Onkelos Targum”, JJS 8 (1963) 159-69. These Targum traditions are completely ignored in the otherwise comprehensive discussion in Levison, \textit{Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism}.\textsuperscript{64}
4.1. Wisdom and Revelation

19) refers to Adam and mankind alike, and portrays both Adam and the eschatological community as having angelic nature (see discussion of this text below, section 4.1.7.1).

The enlightened community shares not only the glory of Adam, but also the wisdom of Solomon. In section 4.3.2 we argue that 4Q418 81 presents a radical reinterpretation of the Solomon tradition. The parallels between this wisdom instruction and Solomon’s prayer and God’s promise to him in 1 Kgs 3:5-15 indicate that the wisdom God gave Solomon now is bequeathed to the elect in the community of the eternal planting.

The wisdom of Solomon must have been a popular theme in some sapiential circles: one example is the historic allegory in 1 Enoch 89:45-50, which describes Solomon as more glorious than David. Another is the ascription of Sol. Sal. and the Psalms of Solomon to King Solomon. Sol. Sal. 7:15-21 is a description of the wisdom of Solomon, to whom was given “knowledge of the hidden and the revealed” (διότας καὶ ἐμφάνισιν, 7:21). Similarly, 11Q11 (11QApPs) 13-6 and Ant. 8.44-45 reflect post-biblical traditions about the wisdom of Solomon, including gifts of healing and exorcism. 64 and Sefer Ha-Razim presents itself as a book of mysteries revealed to Noah by an angelic mediator and later disclosed to Solomon.

The importance of the Solomon-tradition for 4QInstruction might indicate that the description of the elect as a firstborn son of God (4Q418 81 5; 4Q418 69 15 could be related to Nathan’s promise about the Davidic king as the adopted son of God, 1 Sam 7:14; 1 Chr 17:13 (see further section 4.3.4). 65

Another biblical line which 4QInstruction ‘occupies’ and links to the elect community only, is the promise to Aaron/Levi that God (and priestly dues) will be his portion and inheritance among the Israelites instead of any part of the land. The same is true of the interpretation of the promise to Israel in Exod 20:5-6 found in 4Q418 81 7-8 (see section 4.3.2). The apocalyptic and eschatological hermeneutics of this author enabled such reinterpretation of Scripture.

4.1.6. The ‘mystery to come’

We now come to ras nihyeh, the central revelatory concept in 4QInstruction, occurring 23 times. 66 The enlightened reader of 4QInstruction, to whom the end-time mysteries of God have been revealed, is repeatedly

64 He also composed books of odes and songs, a thousand and five, of parables and similitudes, three thousand... There was no form of nature with which he was not acquainted or which he passed over without examining, but he studied them all philosophically and revealed the most complete knowledge of their several properties. And God granted him knowledge of the art used against demons for the benefit and healing of men. He also composed incantations by which illnesses are relieved, and left behind forms of exorcisms with which those possessed by demons drive them out, never to return. On the tradition of Solomon’s wisdom, see K. Berger, “Die königlichen Messiastraditionen des Neuen Testaments”, NTS 20 (1974) 1-44.

65 Cf. the Targum to 1 Chr 17:14 which interprets Nathan’s promise both on the royal messiah and the community: “And I will maintain him faithful in My people, in My sanctuary and in My kingdom for ever; and the throne of his kingdom shall be established for ever” [see A. Sperber, (ed.), The Bible in Aramaic, vol. 4A, The Hagiographa, Leiden 1968, 21]. On the relation between the messiah and the community in this targumic passage, see S. Aalen, “‘Reign’ and ‘House’ in the Kingdom of God in the Gospels”, NTS 8 (1962) 215-40, pp. 234-40. According to Aalen, מֶשֶּה and מְלַשְׁתָּה are here synonymous with שׂמך and thus designations for the messianic community.

66 The phrase מְשָׂכַר occurs in 1Q26 14; 4Q416 V 18 (=4Q418 101); 4Q418 123 ii 3-4; 184 2-3, 190 2, 4Q423 5 1-2, possibly in 4Q423 7 6-7. מְשָׂכַר occurs further in 1Q26 1; 4Q415 6 4; 24 1; 4Q416 III 5.
admonished to continue to reflect on these mysteries and his eschatological hope (see below, note 74). The text achieves its persuasiveness by referring to the spiritual inheritance of the elect (to the blessing he has experienced through the community) and to *raz nihyeh*. The author does not present his own instruction as inspired. Raz nihyeh and the Book of Hagi, however, have divine origin (on the Hagi, see section 4.1.7). The addressee is exhorted to meditate on raz nihyeh, which must be a well-known concept for him.

Biblical and sectarian use of raz can set the concept of *raz nihyeh* into profile. In the Bible *mystery* occurs only in the Aramaic part of Daniel (9 times). In sectarian vocabulary it is a central phrase for the mysteries or secrets of God, see e.g. IQH I 11; VIII 5-6, 11; IX 23; XII 13, 20. שֵׁם שִׁיר ‘wondrous mysteries’ is used in IQS IV 6; IX 18; XI 5; IQP 121; II 13; VII 27; XI 10. It is often used about the knowledge of God and His ways, which now is revealed to the members of the community. Raz is common in 1Q/4Q Mysteries, and is used in 4QInstruction not only in combination with *nihyeh*: 417 IX 27 (=4Q418 43 4), 10, 20 (=4Q418 43 14), 23 (=4Q418 43 16); X 5; 4Q418 77 2, 4; 172 1; 4Q423 3 2.

Considerable scholarly attention has been given to the understanding of *raz nihyeh* in 1QS XI 3-4:68 69 Raz nihyeh is the object of *nihyeh* in the biblical text in light of I Q 15; and CD II 9-10. Raz nihyeh is the object of *nihyeh* in the biblical text in light of I Q 15; and CD II 9-10.


69 13 occurrences: raz nihyeh in IQS 7 i 3, 4 (=4Q300 3 4); raz further in 1Q27 2; 13 3; 4Q299 2 117; 2 ii 11, 15; 5 2; 40 2; 4Q300 1 ii 2; 8 5, 7.

70 4Q413 4-5 (emended): והארק אל הנכרי יד רוחך ’מystery’ occurs as "God opened the ears of those who understand to the mystery to come. The small fragment 4Q413 demonstrates many similarities to 4QInstruction, see Elgvin, *Admonition Texts*, 183, 185. See also Qimron, “A Work concerning Divine Providence: 4Q413”.

71 One of the two basic meanings of הֵד in the Bible is ‘uncover’. In secular usage הֵד means to divulge secrets by slandering (Prov 11:13; 20:19; 25:9), Ps 98:2 connects הֵד with שִׁיר. In the prophetic literature and in the literature intimately related to it, הֵד is used as a technical term for revelation both in visions and auditions, cf. Amos 3:7 הֵד הֶנְתָנָה הַדָּבָר רָאוּי וְרָאוּי. הֵד recurs in the Aramaic portions of Daniel; 2:22 “he reveals deep and mysterious things”. In the other occurrences in Daniel הֵד is the object of הֵד (2:19; 28-30, 47). הֵד in a secular context means ‘proclaim something to someone’ (1 Sam 20:2, 12, 13; 22:8; 17Qere; Ruth 4:4). In religious usage it is a technical term for revelation (1 Sam 9:15; 2 Sam 7:27; Job 33:16; 36:10, 15). See H.J. Zobel, *םיר רָאוּי; הֵד גַּלְוָה; הֵד גַּלְוָה*, TJDOT 2, 476-88. Zobel comments that in the Qumran community, a principal element of these revealed secrets is the interpretation of the Bible, disclosing the events to take place in the end-time. In this connection, the Qumran sect regards as revelation not the Torah or the other parts of the Bible, but only their own understanding, cf. 1QS 19; VIII 15; IX 13. G. Bornkamm comments that in Daniel we encounter for the first time ‘mystery’ in the sense of an eschatological mystery: a veiled announcement of future events predetermined by God; *רָאוּי, מֶרֶא*, TDNT 4, 802-28, pp. 814-15.
happen for ever". Both he and Licht interpret רז נייח as parallel terms. Raz nihye is for Licht the mystery of the universe, the mystery that gives the rules of the universe (of what has come into being, ומכ), and possibly the mystery of the future. The author of IQS knows the rules of the universe, also those secrets of God’s world which now are revealed to the community. 72 For Lange, raz nihye is the preexistent sapiential order of creation, which is embodied in the Torah. 73 Milik translates raz nihye in 1Q26 and 1Q27 as 'le mystère futur' (DJD 1, 102-104).

The most frequent context of this phrase in 4QInstruction is הוז資訊 תחת/רורוד/תת/בר "Meditate/search/gaze into the mystery to come" (8 times), 74 and הוז资讯 תחת/רורוד/תת/בר "as He opened your ear (the ear of those who understand) to the mystery to come" (6 times, see note 66). The enlightened shall continue to gaze into God’s mysteries: רז資訊/תחת/רורוד/תת/בר (cf. 4Q416 5:10, 15; 6:14 (= 17 3); 4Q417 IX 8, 10, 15, 20; 4Q418 77 3; 148 14). 4QInstruction takes raz nihye as a starting point for instructing the enlightened how he shall ‘walk’ (דילק) in his everyday life: 4Q416 V 9-10 הוז資訊 ירורד/דת/בר דילק "walk according to the mystery to come and investigate His birth-times. Then you will gain knowledge of His inheritance and will walk in righteousness". 75 4Q423 3 2 הוז资讯 תחת/רורוד/תת/בר "by the mystery(?) to come. Thus you shall walk"; 4Q417 IX 20-21 הוז资讯 תחת/רורוד/תת/בר "And you, understanding son, gaze on the mystery to come, learn [the path] of every living thing and its walking according to what is appointed for the creature[es of G]od". 4Q417 IX 5-14 makes the meditation on raz nihye a basis for man’s understanding of the ways of creation and a blameless way of living (see discussion of this text below). 76

4Q416 V 13-21 connects the implementation of the fifth commandment as well as the marital relation closely with the meditation on the ‘mystery to come’:

Bend your shoulder to all discipline, with all [knowledge] purify your heart, and with abundant understanding your thoughts. Investigate the mystery to come, meditate upon all the ways of truth, and upon all the roots of evil you shall look. Then you will understand what is bitter for a man and what is sweet for a man. As He appointed them over you and (appointed) the inclination (to rule) over the spirit, so you should serve them. Bend your shoulder to all discipline, with understanding your thoughts.

And as He 77 opened your ear to the mystery to come, so you should honour them for the sake of your own

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73Weltanschauung und Prädestination, 45-120; idem., “Wisdom and Predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls”.
744Q416 III 10-11 (= 4Q416 III 5); 4Q416 V 9, 14; 4Q417 IX 5 (reconstructed), 8 (= 4Q418 43 4), 20 (= 4Q418 43 14); 4Q418 77 4; 4Q423 3 2 (reconstructed). Cf. Sir 39:7 “he will ponder the Lord’s hidden mysteries”.
75On the exhortation to meditate day and night on God’s mysteries, see below, note 142.
76The analogy to a central parapletic theme in New Testament epistles is not farfetched; ‘you are called and saved/rased up with Christ, walk therefore according to your calling’. Cf. e.g. Col. 3:1-17.
77We see no reason for D. Harrington’s assertion that the subject for the singular רז here is the parents: “The raz nihye in a Qumran Wisdom Text (1Q26, 4Q415-418, 423)”, RevQ 17 (1996) 549-55; idem, Wisdom Texts From Qumran, 44, 47.
honour, and in ... reverence them for the sake of your life and the length of your days ... When you take a wife in your poor estate, investigate [her] birth-times[ ... ] from the mystery to come.

A similar reinterpretation of biblical traditions in light of the 'mystery to come' can be seen in a passage dealing with the gift of the land and redeeming the firstborn before God [4Q423 3 = 1Q26 2 (underlined)]:

> סָּדָרָם וּכְּלָהֵם וּכְּלַהֲם וּכְּלַהֲם וּכְּלַהֲם וּכְּלַהֲם וּכְּלַהֲם וּכְּלַהֲם W

It is highly probable that the word deeds of the unrighteous and His establishing an elect remnant to whom He reveals His truth.

is likely that the sectarian author of 4Q298 knew 4QInstruction. Cf. also CD II 7-13, which in a way similar to this text speaks about God's preknowledge of the periods of history and their contents, His preknowledge of the deeds of the unrighteous and His establishing an elect remnant to whom He reveals His truth.

The words ?הָּנִיְיֵה מְדָבִּירָם are quoted from Lev 26:20 and changed from plural to singular. The quote is from a warning about the hardships which will befall Israel if the people disobey the Lord. While Lev 26:3 admonishes to walk according to God’s laws (בּּעוּד דֹּבָד בּוֹדָד), this text makes the search for God’s raz nihyeh the central principle for the life of the elect: when he lives according to this principle, the crops will multiply. Different from Sirach, Baruch, 4Q525 and lQPsalm 154 (see section 4.1.1), true wisdom is found not in the Torah, but in raz nihyeh! In contrast to Josh 1:8; Ps 1:2 and Ps 119 that urge meditation on (the book of) the Torah, 4QInstruction instructs the addressee to meditate on raz nihyeh.

The use of raz both in 4QInstruction and sectarian texts indicates that raz nihyeh refers to God’s plan for world history. A fragmentarily preserved passage connects raz nihyeh with the preordained periods of history:

In this passage suggests that the word nihyeh in the phrase raz nihyeh is a Niptal participle of hayah, as הָּנִיְיֵה (participle of hayah) occurs in line 3 and הָּנִיְיֵה in line 4. However, nihyeh probably plays both on the Niptal perfect (nihyeh) and the participle (nihyeh) of הָּנִיְיֵה. The perfect points to God’s mysterious deeds in the past, the participle to the

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78 The occurrence of הָּנִיְיֵה and הָּנִיְיֵה make the reconstruction הָּנִיְיֵה הָּנִיְיֵה highly probable.

79 A similar exhortation is found in 4Q298 (4Q carcinoma)A Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn) 3-4 ii 9-10, where is used for looking back into the past: אָמַּסָּר כֹּהַּ תִּגְּדֶר לָתְּנִי יְאַרְּתָּם נִמְצָא{l...v2. "so that you may understand the end of the ages, and look upon former things in order to know [...]. As said above, 4QInstruction often uses this same verb, הָּנִיְיֵה, in connection with raz nihyeh, 4Q298 is a sectarian composition which probably should be dated to the first century CE (see Pfann, "4Q298: The Maskil's Address to All Sons of Dawn"), and it is likely that the sectarian author of 4Q298 knew 4QInstruction. Cf. also CD II 7-13, which in a way similar to this text speaks about God’s preknowledge of the periods of history and their contents, His preknowledge of the deeds of the unrighteous and His establishing an elect remnant to whom He reveals His truth.

(eschatological) mystery which is coming into being, the unfolding mystery. The expression "everything that ever came into being" (4Q16 69 ii 6) clearly points to a meaning of הָיוֹת in the past tense. Thus, the use of raz nihyeh in 4QInstruction makes an exclusive futural meaning of nihyeh difficult (cf. Milik's proposal to understand raz nihyeh as 'the future mystery').

4QInstruction shares the apocalyptic and sectarian view of the predefined periods (ןַמְצָא) of history (see 4Q146 VI 14-15; 4Q147 IX 9; 4Q148 2 6; 69 ii 14; 123 ii 2, 4; 161 9; 177 2). The sequence of periods according to the divine plan is enigmatic and mysterious, and therefore designated הָיוֹת in the sectarian writings.81 1QS III 23; IV 18; 1QM III 9; 1QpHab VII 5; VIII 14 relate these 'mysteries' to the divine plan for history.82 Raz nihyeh has the same connotations in 4Q148 123 ii 2-8 (see above) and 4Q17 IX 5-16 (see below). 1Q27 (1QMyst) 1 i 3-4 connects the mystery to come with the understanding of both the past and the future: "But they did not know the mystery to come, and the former things they did not consider. They did not know what is to come upon them, and they did not save their lives by the mystery to come". 4QInstruction exhorts the understanding of the former things to the understanding, to the former things [you should pay attention] (4Q148 148 ii 6); [ ... meditate on what ever came into being [ ... ] eternal ]" (4Q148 238 3-4).

4Q17 III 10-12 relates raz nihyeh to the secrets of the times, the birth-times (origins) of salvation, and to inheriting eternal glory:

Gaze upon the mystery to come, understand the birth-times of salvation and know who will inherit glory and corruption. Will it not be [garland for the poor ones?] and eternal joy for their sorrow?

The message is: when you study God's mysterious plan of redemption you will understand the pangs of salvation - the secrets about the end-time - and thereby you will know who will inherit glory (namely, the elect) and who corruption (namely, the sons of the pit).84 Similar passages which urge the man of understanding to meditate upon God’s mysteries and thereby gain knowledge are found in 4Q146 V 13-15 (see above) and 4Q17 IX 4-10. 4Q17 IX 4-12 connects raz nihyeh with God's act of creation:


82 The same thought is later found in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra: 2 Bar 81:4 "the Most High ... made known to me the mysteries of the times, and showed me the coming of the periods"; 85:8 "the Most High ... has shown to us that which comes, and has not concealed from us what will happen at the end", 4 Ezra 7:43 "all shall see what has been predetermined for them. For it will last for about a week of years. This is My judgement and its prescribed order"; 14:5 "wondrous things ... the secrets of the times ... the end of the times".

83 The sentence "inquire His (God's) birth-times" can be interpreted as 'birth-times/birth-pangs/origins of salvation', cf. 4Q146 V 9 - 4Q166 "inquire His (God's) birth-times"; and 1QH XII 7-8 where הָיוֹת carries the meaning 'beginnings of the set times'. On the word הָיוֹת, see comments by Milik (DJD I, 104) and Schiffman ("4QMysteries: A Preliminary Edition and Translation", 213; DJD XX, 37).

84 It is tempting to connect this passage (and the concept of הָיוֹת) with the role of the Righteous Teacher who revealed the hidden eschatological meaning of the Scriptures to the sect, cf. 1QpHab VII 1-14 (especially lines 4-5, 12-14) and 4QInstruction (especially lines 4-5, 12-14) "inquire His (God's) birth-times". The interpretation concerns the Righteous Teacher, to whom God has disclosed all the mysteries of the words of His servants, the prophets, for all the periods of God will come in their order, as He ordained for them in the mysteries of His wisdom). If 4QInstruction is sectarian, it seems to reflect much of the 'theology of the Teacher' present in the movement before his appearance.
Especially revealing are lines 10-12:

By the mystery to come He designed its foundation, and its creatures with all wisdom. According to all cunning He fashioned it, and the domain of its creatures according to allunderstanding.

A comparison with the Hymn to the Creator in 11QPsa reveals the following: 11QPs Creat 4-8 is dependent on Jer 10:12-13 (cf. especially Jer 10:12 (ה만큼 וכל ...) and combines this verse with Gen 1:1; Prov 3:19; Ps 33:6. The Hymn to the Creator states that God created the world “by the knowledge of His mind” (בראשית עלון), “by His power” (ברע), “by His wisdom” (ברע), and “by His understanding” (ברע):

By the knowledge of His mind He established the dawn ... Blessed be He who made the earth by His power, establishing the world by His wisdom. By His understanding He stretched out the heavens.

The Hymn to the Creator does not reveal apocalyptic or sectarian characteristics. Various synonyms (בְּרוּץ Laden, זָרָה, מְנַעְרָה, חֵצֶר, צָרָה, סְבָט) are used to describe the wisdom of God, the agent by which He created the world. The preposition ב is used in an instrumental meaning. However, according to 4Q17 IX 10-12, God’s agent in creation is not raz nihyeh, but raz nihyeh: ב והשם ישב עלון ... וברע שמה בברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברع ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובברע ובbarang

From the passages discussed we can conclude that raz nihyeh is a comprehensive word for God’s mysterious plan for creation and history, His plan for man and for redemption of the elect. It is ‘salvation history’ in a wider meaning. The translation ‘mystery to come’ better catches the historical and eschatological connotations of raz nihyeh.

85The instrumental use of ב in Jer 10:12 and 11QPs Creat 4, 7-8 can depend upon an early interpretative combination of Proverbs 8 and Gen 1:1-3, equalling רְשָׁעָה of Gen 1:1 with רְשָׁעָה of Prov 8:22. as is done in Gen. R. 1.1. Cf. also the late text m ‘Avothr 3.18. "Thanks for the mystery, and that mystery is not revealed yet, the instrument of delight wherewith the world had been created... My Torah".

86Contra Strugnell, who asserts that 4QInstruction has no interest in the concept of salvation history: “The Sapiential Work 4Q415ff.”

87This use of raz nihyeh is paralleled by later targumic use of raz. Targums Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan on Gen 49:1 portray the sons of Jacob gathered around their father’s deathbed “after the end had been revealed to him (ﬠﬠﬠ), expecting him to tell them the eschatological secrets: the concealed secrets (ﬠﬠﬠ), the hidden periods of the end-time (ﬠﬠﬠ), the giving of the rewards of the just and the punishment of the wicked and what the happiness of Eden is”. But God prevented Jacob from doing so: “When the end-time (ﬠﬠﬠ) was revealed to him, the mystery (ﬠﬠﬠ) was hidden from him”. See Bockmuehl, Revelation and Mystery, 94-7. The letters of Paul provide another parallel. Paul’s favourite use of μουσήωσ is for the divine economy of redemption: 1 Cor 2:7; Rom 11:25; 16:25; Col 1:26; cf. Eph 1:9; 3:3; 6:15. See R.E. Brown, “The Semitic Background of the New Testament Mysterion”. Similarly, the eschatological section in T. Lev. 2:7-4:1 designates the message Levi shall proclaim on salvation history as God’s mysteries, μουσήωσ.
4.1. Wisdom and Revelation

81

near nihyeh than 'mystery of being'.

A close parallel to near nihyeh, הָשַׁמִּים הָיוּ, is found in CD XIII 8: the preceptor "shall make the Many knowledgeable in the deeds of God, and make them understand His mighty marvels, and recount to them what ever came into being" (כִּי עָשָׂה ה' לָכֶם וְלֹא עָשָׂה לָהֶם עָשָׂה לָהֶם, 4Q418 238 3). These mysteries of salvation history are revealed to the elect.

Lange is probably right when he sees near nihyeh as the preexistent sapiential order of creation. But his assertion that an apocalyptic author identifies this mystery with the Mosaic Torah, cannot be upheld. As argued above, the apocalyptic circles primarily refer to esoteric secrets not contained in the Torah. We conclude that near nihyeh represents an apocalyptic reinterpretation of the concept of divine Wisdom, that stresses the esoteric nature of God's revelation.

The use of near and raz nihyeh in 4QInstruction can be contrasted by a comparison with the attitude to 'mysteries' in some later sources. The word near only occurs a few times in talmudic literature (see note 87). In spite of its occurrence in Daniel, this phrase seems to have been censored by the rabbis because of its sectarian and apocalyptic connotations. In contrast to the admonition of 4QInstruction to meditate on the hidden mysteries (see below on 4Q417 IX 13-14), rabbinic literature warns against engaging in such speculations.

(2:10). According to Ulrichsen, this section belongs to the apocalyptic passages added to the Grundschrift of T. 12 Patr. in the first decades after 160 BCE: Die Grundschrift, 329-43.

88We used the latter translation in our paper "Admonition Writings" (so also Washolder, A Preliminary Edition, III, xii–xiii). Lange translates "Geheimnis des Weltens". He does not see any eschatological dimension in near nihyeh in 4QInstruction, as he does in 1Q4QMysteries. Neither can he in 4QInstruction see any explicit reference to history in near nihyeh, but comments that the connection with the heavenly tablets could admit for such a component: Weisheit und Prädestination, 91-2, 120. Lange basically works with one passage only, 4Q417 IX. A study of all the references to near nihyeh in 4QInstruction suggests that Lange's conclusions on this point must be revised.

92Harroting is vague on this issue: "Sapiential Work A lacks any personification of Wisdom and any extended meditation on wisdom (unless the 'mystery that is to become' plays an analogous role)'; "Two Early Jewish Approaches to Wisdom", 127. In our opinion, the wisdom instruction in 4Q417 IX can be characterized as an extended meditation on wisdom (see below). As for the meaning of near nihyeh, Harrington concludes that "it seems to be a body of teaching ... It concerns behaviour and eschatology ... an extrabiblical compendium—most likely something like the Maskil's instruction in IQS 3,13–4,26. Or it could be the 'Book of Meditation' (IQSa 1,6–8) by which the prospective member of the movement is to be instructed (at home?) between the ages of ten and twenty. Or perhaps it may be the 'Book of Mysteries' (IQ27, 4Q2479–307) with which it is already associated by use of the term rz nhyh and its content to some extent"; "The rz nihyeh in a Qumran Wisdom Text", 552-3. We agree that near nihyeh could be called a body of teaching, but doubt it should be identified with a specific literary unit.

91Near does not occur in Sipra, Sipre or Mekilla. Further, these sources use near only in biblical quotations. Raz occurs in a late addition to Abot: m. Abot 6:1 הָשַׁמִּים הָיוּ לָהֶם "the secrets of Torah are revealed to him". For the rabbis all mysteries in the end are mysteries of Torah. See Bockmuehl, Revelation and Mystery, 109-123.

92See especially m. Hagigah 2:1: "The forbidden degrees may not be expounded before three persons, nor the story of creation before two, nor the chariot before one alone, unless he is a sage that understands by his own knowledge. Whosoever gives his mind to four things, it was better for him if he had not come into the world—what is above? what is beneath? what was beforetime? and what will be hereafter", b. Hagigah 11b, y. Hagigah 2.1. See S.E. Loewenstein, "What is Above, what is Below, what was Beforetime and what will be Hereafter" (Hebrew), Fs. J. Kaufmann (M. Haran, ed.), Jerusalem 1961, 112-21. Note that the mishnah uses the words רָזִים הָסָּהֲנִים מֹדְעָא for those who are allowed to discuss lofty matters in private (cf. above, notes 24-26 on
The Rosh Hashanah liturgy reserves 'the hidden things' (mino) for God: "You remember what was wrought from eternity and are mindful of all that has been formed from of old. Before You all mysteries were revealed and all the hidden things from the beginning, for nothing is forgotten before Your glorious throne, and nothing is hidden from Your eyes". But at the same time, the supplicant opens his mouth before God "based on the secrets of the wise and understanding ones, the knowledge of the discerning ones".

The Yom Kippur prayer also includes the motif of God's mystery: "You have known things hidden and revealed" (4Q508 2.4). Next to the formula of m?nii niinOli we find in the conventional Jewish Yom Kippur prayer: "You know the eternal secrets and the hidden mysteries of all the living". The liturgy's "You know all things, both hidden and revealed" (said before the confession of sins) is similar. In 4Qlnstruction, but in the liturgy they belong to the realm of God and are not revealed to the community.

What is revealed to the elect according to 4Qlnstruction, 3 Enoch ascribes (more gloriously) to Enoch/Metatron:

The Holy One, blessed be He, revealed to me from that time onward all the mysteries of wisdom, all the depths of perfect Torah ... All the mysteries of the world and all the orders of creation stand revealed before me. (3 Enoch 11:1-2)

... 'Knower of Secrets'. Every secret I have revealed to him as a Father, every mystery I have made known to him in uprightness. (3 Enoch 48C:7)

We note that in this text the revelation of mysteries is connected to divine fatherhood, as in 4Qlnstruction (4Q18 81 5, see section 4.3.4). 3 Enoch 48C:9 gives Metatron the task of conveying wisdom to the understanding ones among mankind:

to give wisdom to all the wise of the world, and understanding and knowledge to those who understand, as it is written 'He confers wisdom on the wise, and knowledge on those with wit to discern', to reveal to them the secrets of My word and to instruct them in the decree of My righteous judgement.

94 Also 3 Enoch uses the term פָּיוּ (see next paragraph). According to our reading, this same phrase is used in 4Q417 IX 6; (this text is discussed below). 1Q/4QMysteries twice uses דוּ (4Q299 2b 5; 4Q300 1 ii 2).
95 Text as rendered by H. Odeberg, 3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch, 2nd ed., New York 1973, with five MSS. P.S. Alexander (in Charlesworth, The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, vol. 1, 312) follows one MS which have כִּי לִבּוֹ לְרָאוֹרֵשׁ "revealed to him as in love".
This survey shows a clear contrast in the attitude to divine mysteries, between 4QInstruction, 1Q/4QMysteries and sectarian writings on the one hand, and later rabbinic literature on the other. While the first group of writings encourage study of the secrets of creation, history and the end-time, and claim that these mysteries may be revealed to the community, talmudic literature warns against devoting oneself to such speculations. The liturgies of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur belong midway between these two opposing views. According to the liturgy, the mysteries belong to the realm of God, but at the same time secrets known to the wise ones provide the basis for the confident supplications to the Almighty. 4QInstruction's use of *raz* for secrets of history and end-time is paralleled by targumic use. The most daring attitude to heavenly mysteries is represented by later Hekhalot literature such as 3 Enoch.

4.1.7.1. The heavenly Book of Hagi, 4Q417 IX

A wisdom instruction on the meditation on God's mysteries is located in the middle of the book (4Q417 IX, we have interpreted the following column as an apocryphal story about Noah). It is crucial for grasping the author's thinking about revelation, and has already been subject to contrasting interpretations. We quote the complete column, although we mainly discuss lines 13-21.97

97Reconstructed with 4Q418 43 (lines 4-19, underlined).

98Text correction. The scribe wrote א (see below, note 100).

99The original text read מ יכ (see below, note 100). A corrector has added the word א supralinearly, so that the meaning is “with a spiritual people”.

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\begin{align*}
\text{If you read these mysteries,} & \quad 3 \\
\text{you will live for ever.} & \quad 4 \\
\text{and you will wear them like} & \quad 5 \\
\text{two rings.} & \quad 6 \\
\text{And he said to the wise one:} & \quad 7 \\
\text{Who has read these mysteries?} & \quad 8 \\
\text{and who is able to interpret them?} & \quad 9 \\
\text{Surely you will be able to interpret them.} & \quad 10 \\
\text{Surely it is your share to interpret the secrets.} & \quad 11 \\
\text{Surely it is your share to interpret the secrets.} & \quad 12 \\
\text{Surely it is your share to interpret the secrets.} & \quad 13 \\
\text{Surely it is your share to interpret the secrets.} & \quad 14 \\
\text{Surely it is your share to interpret the secrets.} & \quad 15 \\
\text{Surely it is your share to interpret the secrets.} & \quad 16 \\
\text{Surely it is your share to interpret the secrets.} & \quad 17 \\
\text{Surely it is your share to interpret the secrets.} & \quad 18 \\
\text{Surely it is your share to interpret the secrets.} & \quad 19 \\
\text{Surely it is your share to interpret the secrets.} & \quad 20
\end{align*}
\]
3. [And] you, understanding one,
4. Look at His wondrous mysteries, for He is the awesome God. Get knowledge about the
beginnings of
5. your...
6. Look at the mystery to come and the deeds of old, to what was and what comes into
being.
7. was and what comes into being with what will be, and at all [the periods of eternity(?)
look upon] deed and deed.
8. [day and night meditate on the mystery to clome, and search always. Then you will know truth and evil,
wisdom
9. [and simplicity]. . .] understand(?) the creatures [of God(?)] in all their ways with their destiny in all the
periods of eternity as well as the eternal
10. visitation. Then you will discern between [good and [evil in their ]deed[s,] for the God of knowledge is
the foundation of truth. By the mystery to come
11. He designed its foundation, and its creatures with all wisdom. According to all [cunning He
fashioned it, and the domain of its creatures
12. according to all (under)standing(?). To you He will assign all . . . with ... According to their
understanding [He or]dained for every creature, to walk
13. in the inclination of his understanding. And He interpreted for the poor on]es(?), all her [ ], and with
proper understanding [the hidden things
14. of His thought are known, when one walks blameless[ly in all ]one’s deeds. These things seek always,
and meditate [on all] that
15. results from them. Then you will have knowledge of eternal glory [with His wondrous mysteries and
mighty deeds. And you
16. understand the origin of your own doing when you remember the stylus. For with it[A was the decree
engraved, and decreed is the entire visitation
17. For the engraved is decreed by God against all iniquity of the sons of perdition, and written
in a book of memory. It is the Vision of Hagi and a book of memory. He gave it as inheritance to
man with a spiritual people, [for
18. of those who keep His word. It is the Vision of Hagi and a book of memory. He gave it as inheritance to
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—The preserved text reads איה ה. Following a proposal by E.E. Knudsen (personal communication), we reconstruct איה as בָּשׁוּרָה “when you remember the stylus” (with which the decree was engraved). Alternatively one could reconstruct בָשׁוּרָה as בָּשׁוּרָה (when you remember that style in the context. Lange proposes איה as Hip<;il. First, this reconstruction is too long for the lacuna. Second, this scribe would hardly have written the Hip<;il of איה defectively. Strugnell/Harrington propose איה as הָנַח “reminbering the requital (ןהמ”), which also would be too long for the lacuna. We propose to understand איה as a scribal error for ב (masculine, referring to א) or [איה, feminine, referring to איה, איה for איה could reflect the weakening of the gutturals in Qumran Hebrew, which can use ‘alep as mater lectionis for א instead of MT [see Kutscher, Isaiah Scroll, 163-4]. But IQS איה has no parallel to איה for איה for איה is not easily explained as a scribal error. However, איה ‘the stylus’ makes best sense in the context.
4.1. Wisdom and Revelation

19. his inclination is after the likeness of the holy ones. He had not before given Hagi to the spirit of flesh, for it could not discern between.

20. good and evil with the judgement of its spirit. And you, understanding son, gaze on the mystery to come.

21. [the paths] of every living thing and its walking according to what is appointed for the creatures of God.

22. between great and small, and in your counsel.

23. He commanded you by the mystery to come.

24. []. know every vision, and every

25. Be always strong, do not touch evil for everyone who touches

26. it will not be unpunished, according to his inheritance in God's .. And you,]

27. knowledgeable son, meditate on your secrets and reflect on the [eternal] foundations,

28. its [foundation] in you, their .. with the doing of

29. you shall not follow <the desires> of [your] hearts and of your eyes

Terms related to knowledge and meditation on heavenly mysteries recur in this text. Lines 3-13 deal with the mysteries of creation and history as well as the preordained way of every creature (lines 10-12 are interpreted above). The addressee is admonished to meditate upon these secrets. According to lines 13-14, the hidden secrets of God, including the secrets of creation, are now revealed to the elect. A passage on the engraved decree and the Book of Hagi (lines 15-20) is followed by exhortations to the knowledgeable man (lines 20-29): he shall study God's mysteries (probably including a study of the Hagi) and their relevance for all living. He shall "know every vision" and keep away from evil. There are a number of cruces interpretum in lines 15-20: is 'the engraved decree' identical with the Book of Hagi, or are they two different books? Should the first book be identified with the Mosaic Law, and possibly also the second one? Is אָדָם in line 18 the sage Enosh, Adam, or mankind? Should רָכַב (line 17) be interpreted as 'sons of Seth' or 'sons of perdition'? Is 'spiritual people' in line 18 a designation for angels or for the end-time community? What is the meaning of the likeness of the holy ones (line 19)? And finally: what kind of book is the Hagi, which is mentioned also in CD and 1QSa (we deal with this question in section 4.1.7.3)?

According to Wacholder's understanding of this passage, the heavenly Book of Hagi (which is identical with the engraved law, lines 16-17) was given to the sage Seth and by him to Enosh, who kept it secret because his contemporaries did not have the right discernment (understanding in line 18 "he <= Seth> bequeathed it to Enosh"). In the present time the Hagi can be studied by the members of the Qumran sect. Lange understands this passage somewhat differently: the sons of Seth are the evil generation contemporary with the righteous.

__101__We translate והלך 'not before'. Wacholder translates 'net as yet' (A Preliminary Edition, fasc. 2, xiii), and Harrington 'no more' ("Wisdom at Qumran", 145) - which would be the natural translation if the sequence of the words were והלך. Linguistically both 'not before', 'not yet', and 'no more' are possible.

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Our interpretation differs from those referred to above. Previously we saw in this passage a contrast between the Mosaic Torah which was "engraved by God for all iniquity of the sons of perdition", and the heavenly Book of Hagi which was written in God's presence and given as eschatological inheritance only to the spiritual community of the last days. But parallels with other sources (Qumranic and non-Qumranic) have led us to interpret both 'the engraved decree' and the 'Book of Hagi' as designations for one and the same heavenly book. This book was inscribed on heavenly tablets at the time of creation, and is not identical with the Mosaic Torah. It deals with God's preordination of cosmic history and the ways of men; the tablets are a Book of Memory where the righteous (those who keep His word) are inscribed, and deal also with the iniquity of the sons of perdition. The Hagi (or some form of it) is now given to the end-time community (the spiritual people), who has received the eschatological gift of spiritual discernment.

According to this text, the Book of Hagi is a heavenly book inscribed in God's presence. The imagery of the heavenly book or tablets where God has recorded the preordained history of the world (or the names of the righteous) is an old Sumerian theme which is adopted in biblical and Jewish tradition. This passage merges

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105 Support for this interpretation can be found in early traditions about the wicked contemporaries of Enosh: Gen. R. 2.3; 5.1, 5; 23.5; Lev. R. 23.3; Num. R. 5.5; Tannhuma Bereshit 26; Mekilta Buhodesh 6.34; 3 Enoch 5:6-8. See L. Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, Philadelphia 1968, vol. I, 122-4; vol. V, 150-57.

106 "Inhalt dieses Buches ist die präexistenten Ordnung von Sein und Welt, welche die Schöpfungsordnung, die Aufteilung der Wirklichkeit in Gut und Böse, Weisheit und Torheit, Wahrheit und Frevel, Geist des Fleisches und Volk des Geistes und die sich in der Torah artikulierende ethische Ordnung der Welt (= raz nihyeh) enthält": Weisheit und Prädestination, 89.

107 See our paper "The Mystery to Come".

108 Marduk and Nebo inscribe world history on tablets: see the inscription by Adad-niraris III (812-783) on a statue of Nebo, KB 1.1.192-3; and the cylinder inscription by Sargon II (722-705), KB 2.48-9. Enuma Elish refers to the tablets of destinies, see e.g. IV 121-2 "He (Marduk) took from him (Kingu, the chief demon of Tiamat) the tablets of destinies, not rightfully his, sealed <them> with a seal and fastened <them> on his breast' (ANET, 67). Similarly we hear in the Akkadian myth of Zu I 156-7; II 7; "She (Tiamat) gave him (Kingu) the tablet of destinies, fastened on his breast: 'As for you, your command shall be unchangeable, [your word] shall endure!"; "His (Enlil's) divine tablet of destinies Zu views constantly". In this myth Zu robs the tablets, and is finally subdued by Ninurta, who brings the tablets back to Anu (ANET 112-13; 514-17).

A 'tablet of life' [nim-nam-ti-la, or 'tablet of (one's) curriculum'] is found in a prayer to the God Haia for King Rimsin, lines 51-2. "Setze für den Fürsten Rimsin mit (deiner) Hand in rechter Weise eine freudige Regierungszeit für lange Tage. Auf die Tafel des Lebens, die für ewig unveränderlich ist, setze(?) ihren (= der Regierungszeit) Namen". Lines 2, 5 of the same text portray the scribal God Haia holding the 'great tablets', he is responsible for 'the tablet of destiny'; H. Steible, Ein Lied an den Gott Haia mit Bitte für den König Rimsin von Larsa, Freiburg 1967, 10, 15. The same words for a tablet of life are found in a hymn about the goddess Nungal: Á. Sjöberg, "Nungal in the Ekor", AJO 24 (1973) 19-46.

The most important biblical references to the heavenly book are Exod 32:32-33; Isa 4:3; Mal 3:16; Ps 69:29; 139:16; Dan 7:10; 10:21; 12:1. From the post-biblical tradition can be mentioned Jub. 30:19-23; 1 Enoch 47:3; 69:1-10; 103:2; T. Aser 7:5; Apoc. Zeph. 3:15-4:13; 14:5; Luke 10:20; Phil 4:3; Hebr 12:23; Rev 3:5; 13:8; 3 Enoch 45:1. See L. Koepp, Das himmlische Buch in Antike und Christentum. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur altchristlichen Bildersprache, Bonn 1952; 3-27; W. Nauck, "Lex insculpta (πίνακας πρώτου) in der Sektenschrift", ZNW 46 (1955) 138-40; F. Nötscher, "Himmlische Bücher und Schicksalsgläube in Qumran",
this idea with the concept of the heavenly book of knowledge which is only revealed to a restricted circle, an idea found in presectarian literature known in Qumran, such as 1 Enoch and Jubilees. Different from 1 Enoch and Jubilees, 4QInstruction does not refer to a human mediator, such as Moses or Enoch, as recipient of the book. This text refers to the stylus (with which the decree was engraved) that determined the origins of one’s deeds. Also other Qumran sources refer to the engraving of human as well as universal history before God. What is engraved reveals the iniquity of men before the heavenly judge. The ‘Book of Memory’, which in this text is equated with the heavenly Book of Hagi, is a well-known image in the Ancient Near East and in Jewish tradition; it is a heavenly record of the names of the righteous.


The phrase הר כות kino (cf. בֵּית כֵּן in this text) appears three times in IQS X: lines 6 and 8 use it about praising God at the preordained changes of times, according to line 11, the sins of the hymnist stand before him as an inscribed law; מכת עין קסם wspólnות. IQP 123-25 uses many of the same phrases as lines 16-17 in this text: מכת עין קסם wspólnות “all things are graven before You with a stylus of remembrance for everlasting ages”: the deeds of men with their sins and guilt, as well as the appointed times of the years in history are engraved before God with the engraving-tool of remembrance. The similarity of these phrases indicates a common milieu of origin or some kind of dependency between these texts. 3 Enoch 44:9 refers to the heavenly books which reveal the guilt of the ungodly in the judgement.

Also other Qumran texts deal with the ‘engraving’ of the periods of history, which will come as God has decided; 1QpHab VII 13-14, 16-18; 4Q180 (4QAgesCreat) 1-2; 4Q247 (4QApoc Weeks?) 1-2; 4Q1269 (4QPrayer of Enoch) 1-4-7; 4Q369 (4QPrayer of Enoch) 1-4-7; 4Q504 (4QDibHama) 1-2. These parallels support our interpretation of “the engraved decrees” as the tablets which record the future history of the world and the deeds of men, and not the Mosaic Torah.
In our view the sons of perdition are the evil generations of past and present. The heavenly tablets are "decreed against all iniquity of the sons of perdition," and will judge the ungodly on the day of judgement. The same thought is found in T. I2 Par.: the heavenly tablets refer to the iniquity of the last generations (T. Levi 5:4; 14:1; T. Judah 18:1; T. Naphtali 4; T. Asher 7:5; T. Benjanim 9). Cf. also Rom 4:15; 5:20; and Galatians 3: according to Paul, a main task of the Torah is to convict with regard to sin.

We further suggest that should be translated 'man/mankind', as regularly in the Scrolls, and that the sentence refers to God's bequeathing the Hagi and eschatological salvation to the elect community among mankind, not to the sage Enosh (so Wacholder and Lange) or to Adam (so Collins).

Early Jewish sources that deal with the biblical sage Enosh do not view him as receiver of divine revelation: "Enosh was viewed as an important antediluvian figure in Jewish circles, at least as far back as the second century B.C.E. In most of these sources, however, his name is only cited as part of a 'chain' of such righteous antediluvians. The sage Enosh must have been mentioned in a lacuna in 4Q369 (4QPrayer of Enosh), but probably not as recipient of revelation.

Another option would be to see 'the sons of Seth' as a designation for the gentile peoples, both in this text, CD and 4Q175. According to Genesis, Seth is the ancestor both of Israel and the gentiles. But Tg. Ps.-J. to Num 24:17 identifies 'the sons of Seth' with gentile nations: the Messiah will "make nothing of all the children of Seth, the armies of Gog, who in the future will make war against Israel" (הנה יוהנס הים תור פלדה בנו גגה ואמאו גג הנני ירדא), LXX to Num 24:7, 17 possibly shares this identification of 'the sons of Seth' with the gentiles: the man who will arise from Israel and ravage the sons of Seth (v. 17) will govern many peoples, and his kingdom will be more elevated than Gog's (v. 7). However, since 4QInstruction is concerned also with the ungodly in Israel, not among the gentiles, we prefer to stay with our interpretation of 'the sons of Seth' as a synonym for 'the sons of iniquity'.

111) should probably be interpreted as 'the sons of perdition', not as 'the sons of (the sage) Seth'. Cf. Num 24:17 [quoted in 4Q175 (4QTest) 113]; the star of Jacob will crush the skulls of ת"א יבגניא which in the biblical text mean a neighbouring tribe, and Lam 3:47 where נראא carries the meaning 'perdition'. CD VII 18-20 interprets Num 24:17 on the Interpreter of the Law and the Prince of the Community: when the latter arises he will crush all the sons of Seth. It is likely that both CD VII, 4QTestimonia and 4QInstruction interpreted נראא of Num 24:17 in light of Lam 3:47, and saw 'the sons of Seth' as a synonym for 'the sons of iniquity'.

114) always carries the meaning 'man/mankind' where it occurs in the Scrolls (see below on 4Q369). אHeaderValue מひとつ always carries the meaning 'man/mankind' where it occurs three more times in 4QInstruction, always with the meaning 'man': 4Q148 55 11 נבר יבגניא "are they like men - for he is lazy, and like a son of man - for he is silent?"; 4Q418 77 3 אהב "then you will understand the judgement upon mankind and the testing off man".

115) The same thought is found in the root לוד, see section 4.3.2, note 45.

116) S.D. Fraade, Enosh and His Generation. Pre-Israelite Hero and History in Postbiblical Interpretation, Chico, CA 1984, 27. An early Manichaean source, however, does present Enosh as author of an apocalypse. The Cologne Mani Codex, from c.400 CE, preserves traditions in the name of Baraies, a third-century disciple of Mani. One section of this book summarises five otherwise unknown apocalypses ascribed to Adam, Seth, Enosh, Shem and Enoch. Each of these sages "showed his own revelation to his chosen, whom he chose and gathered together in the generation in which he appeared, and wrote it down to leave to posterity" (Mani Codex, p. 47). These apocalypses display parallels to Jewish and Christian apocalypses as well as gnostic works. Thus there is a possibility that Baraies preserves an early Jewish tradition about Enosh as receiver of divine revelation. See L. Koenen, C. Römer, Der Kölnner Mani-Kodex: Uber das Werden seines Leibes, Opladen 1988; R. Cameron, A.J. Dewey, The Cologne Mani Codex, Missoula 1979; M. Himmelfarb, "Revelation and Rapture: The Transformation of the Visionary in the Ascent Apocalypses", Mysteries and Revelations. Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium, 79-90.

Enosh is further mentioned in the Samaritan tradition: in a passage dealing with the revelation of the divine name to Moses, Memar Marqah 2.12 (ed. Macdonald) notes that ת"א יבגניא מひとつ for Enosh I have inscribed good (cf. the mention of ת"א and the Book of Memory, lines 17-18). See Fraade, Enosh and His Generation, 31-7. Memar Marqah is usually dated to the fourth century CE. Memar Marqah 4.9 refers to three righteous
Collins suggests that שָׁם is ‘Man’ with the meaning Adam.\(^1\) As ‘the likeness of the holy ones’ refers to Gen 1:27 (see below), so does שָׁם. According to Collins, the double creation of Adam in Genesis 1 and 2 is interpreted by Philo,\(^1\) the Two-Spirit Treatise (IQS III-IV) and 4QInstruction to express the duality of human existence. 4QInstruction understands the two Adams as two types of humanity, a spiritual people ‘in the likeness of the angels’ and a ‘spirit of flesh’. The addressee is exhorted to share in the angelic knowledge now being offered to the elect.\(^2\)

The immediate context speaks for the meaning ‘man’ and not ‘Enosh’. The revelation to שָׁם is connected to a ‘spiritual people’, which must refer to a community in the present, not to the age of Enosh or Adam. There is no community connected to Enosh in the biblical or post-biblical tradition (the only exception is the Mani Codex, see note 116). According to both IQS XI 5-6 (see below) and this text, the heavenly wisdom is now given only to the elect community among mankind.

Collins criticizes Lange for his assumption that Enosh and a spiritual people constitute a righteous remnant, an interpretation for which there are no parallels. But in his own interpretation of the passage, Adam would have to be connected to the ‘spiritual people’, who would be hard to find in Genesis 1-2! Collins further has to appeal to much later sources for the supposed idea that Adam received a revelatory writing from God.

We will contrast the use of שָׁם and אֲדֹנָי יי in the passage under discussion with two sectarian texts: one from the Rule of Discipline, and the other consisting of some lines from the reconstructed col. V of 1QH\(^*\) (see section 5.1.1 on the dependence of 1QH\(^*\) V on 4Q417 IX):

> 1Q5:6 “my eye has gazed on that which is eternal; on wisdom concealed from man, on knowledge and wise design <hidden> from the sons of men”

> 1Q15:3-4 “to make the simple understand Your mighty power ... and make man understand the searching of all things”

ones who gathered from God’s treasures: “Noah gathered from the way of righteousness what brought sustenance to the souls whom their Lord had chosen. Enoch too opened the storehouse of righteousness and his soul fed on the provisions of eternal life. Enosh opened the storehouse of praise and called on the name of the Lord. Thus all his descendants were perfect”. We have suggested that (in addition to Noah) also Enoch could have been mentioned in 4QInstruction as receiver of revelation. This Samaritan triad Noah-Enoch-Enosh would thus be an interesting parallel if שָׁם in 4QInstruction is interpreted as the sage Enosh.

\(^{117}\) According to Strugnell and Attridge (DJD XIII, 355), 4Q369 supplies the prayer to the Lord mentioned in Gen 4:26 and Jub. 4:12. Thus the prayer about the appointed times and periods of history in 4Q369 1 1-7 would have been uttered by Enosh. The (missing) context of 4Q369 would then have qualified the passage in question as a prayer, not as a revelation, although line 2 mentions ‘mysteries’.


\(^{120}\) Support for Collins’ proposal could be found in the concluding Yom Kippur prayer (אָדֹנָי יי), which uses the word שָׁם ‘man’ in the double meaning ‘Adam’ and ‘mankind’, אֲדֹנָי יי וַעֲלֵיוֹ יִדְּעֶךָ וַיְזָכָר בָּעָלָיו יִדְּעֶךָ: “You distinguished man from the outset and recognized him to stand before You” (see section 4.1.7.3 on the relations between 4Q417 IX and the Yom Kippur liturgy).
According to the first text, the secrets of God are revealed to the elect, but withheld from mankind in general. According to the second, man can be given understanding of God's might and what has come into being, even though he is no more than flesh. Since the Rule of Discipline and the Hodayot only are some decades later than the discourses of 4QInstruction and dependent on the latter (see section 5.1.1), we should expect that these three compositions use the words מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה in 4Q171 IX 18 should be translated 'man', and not 'Enosh' or 'Adam'. However, the difference between our view and Collins' on this point is not necessarily so great: also Collins maintains the text aims at the present addresses, who are Adam's heirs in the positive sense.

The sentence, מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה (lines 18-19) can be interpreted "for He fashioned it as a model for the holy ones" (i.e. the elect), for his inclination is in the likeness of the holy ones, or "for He formed him in the likeness of the holy ones". Collins understands מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה as a rephrasing and interpretation of מִשְׁפְּטֵךְ מִי (Gen 1:27: man's positive inclination and understanding derives from his likeness with the heavenly beings (מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה in Gen 1:27 is understood as 'angels'). The knowledge provided by the heavenly Book of Hagi is angelic. Spiritual man's likeness with the angels enables him to perceive these heavenly secrets. Also 1 Enoch 93:1-2 connects the understanding of the heavenly tablets with the angels: "Enoch began to speak from the books ... according to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision, and which I know from the words of the holy angels and understand from the tablets of heaven". Collins thus translates "for He formed him in the likeness of the holy ones" or "for his inclination is in the likeness of the holy ones''.

We now share Collins' interpretation of the phrase מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה should be interpreted as 'He formed him' rather than 'his inclination'. The text conflates Gen 1:27 and 2:7, the suffix refers to Adam and mankind alike.

1 Enoch 69:11 contains a close parallel to the statement "for He formed him in the likeness of the holy ones": "For men were created exactly like the angels, to the intent that they should continue pure and righteous, and death, which destroys everything, would have not touched them, had it not been through their knowledge by which they shall perish".

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121 מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה can have the meanings image/model (cf. Exod 25:9, 40), the related ‘blueprint/plan’ (cf. 1 Chr 28:11, 12, 18, 19), or ‘pattern/likeness’ (cf. 1 Chr 28:18). On מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה in the Bible and early Jewish literature, see M. Wilcox, "According to the Pattern (tnyn)…: Exodus 25,40 in the New Testament and early Jewish Thought", RevQ 49-52 (1988) 647-56.

122 Thus our paper "The Mystery to Come", where we interpreted ‘the holy ones’ as a designation for the members of the community, as in 4Q181 81 12 (on the latter text, see section 4.3.2).

123 So Collins, "The Creation of Humankind".

124 מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה is regularly used about angels in the Scrolls: 1QM 10-11; 1QH X 8; 1QH frg. 2 3, 10.

125 The Book of Similitudes is certainly later than 4QInstruction, but it does contain traditions which are older than the compilation of the book, like the Noah traditions in ch. 50. The proximity of 4QInstruction to the Enoch traditions make it probable that מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה should be interpreted with the same meaning as the Enochic for men were created exactly like the angels. According to our interpretation, the sentences מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה in 4QInstruction and similar passages should have the same subject (God), which gives better sense than a change in subject from God in the first sentence, to man in the second one, and back to God in the third.
Both Adam and the eschatological community can be portrayed with angelic nature (on Adam as an image of the end-time community, see section 4.1.5); 2 Enoch 30:11 calls Adam a ‘second angel’. 1 Enoch 104:4, 6 expresses that the end-time saints shall be like the angels; “you shall have great joy as the angels of heaven”, “you shall become companions of the hosts of heaven”, and similarly 2 Apoc. Bar. 51:10 “they shall be made like the angels”. 126

The elect community is now able to receive the Hagi and the gift of discerning between good and evil: first, because man was created in the likeness of the angels. Second, because the community is the ‘spiritual people’ of the end-time; the eschatological outpouring of the holy spirit in the community (cf. CD II 13; 1Q34 3 ii 5-7, and the texts quoted in note 128), promised by the biblical prophets, enables the members to comprehend the teaching of the Hagi.

In contrast to Collins, we do not think that this passage shares the interpretation reflected in Philo’s exegesis, that Genesis 1 and 2 refers to the creation of two Adams. The conflation of Gen 1:27 and 2:7 into one sentence (אָדָם אֶחָד מִשְׁפַּד אָדָם מַעֲלָה יָדָיו הַיָּדָיו אֵלָיו) indicates that 4QInstruction sees one Adam only in the biblical text. Before he sinned he shared angelic glory and wisdom; after his fall he shared the conditions of מִצְבַּת יָדָיו (4QapocrJer’ 2 9; 4Q393 (4Qliturgical work) 6 2; 4Q426 (4Qsap. work) 11 2. 4Qinstruction calls the angels מִצְבַּת יָדָיו (line 18) are primeval angels, cannot be upheld. In 4Q418 81 8 this author uses מִצְבַּת יָדָיו on the elect who keep God’s word (= מִצְבַּת יָדָיו of Exod. 20:6, cf. section 4.3,2). 127 Lange’s assertion that מִצְבַּת יָדָיו “those who keep His word” and מִצְבַּת יָדָיו “a spiritual people” (line 18) are primeval angels, cannot be upheld. In 4Q418 81 8 this author uses מִצְבַּת יָדָיו on the elect who keep God’s word (= מִצְבַּת יָדָיו of Exod. 20:6, cf. section 4.3,2). 127

The end-time scenario in 4Q215a (4QTime of Righteousness) supports our interpretation of lines 16-18: 

The period of justice has arrived, and the land has been filled with the knowledge and the praise of God in the day[s of ] The age of peace has arrived, and the laws of truth, and the testimony of justice, to educate [all mankind] in the ways of God, and [they will be instructed] in His marvellous deeds for eternal centuries ... for the dominion of goodness has arrived, (4Q215a 1 4-6, 9)

‘The laws of truth’ and ‘the testimony of justice’ have arrived: these terms probably refer to heavenly tablets which now have been disclosed. ‘The laws of truth’ and ‘the testimony of justice’ are probably identical with the ‘eternal testimonies’ which have been engraved by God according to 4Q369 (4QPrayer of Enoch) 1 4-7 (see note 110), and with the Hagi, the engraved decree, in 4Q417 IX 16-18.

126 Cf. also 1QS XI 7-8; 1QHa III 21-22; XI 11-12; Mk 12:24-25.
127 Cf. also 4Q379 (4QapocrJosh) 18 5 מִצְבַּת יָדָיו. The related phrase מִצְבַּת יָדָיו always refers to humans keeping God’s commandments, see 4Q385 (4QapocrJer) 16 ii 8; 4Q254 (4QcommGen C) 4 3; 4Q368 (4QapocrPent) 2 9; 4Q393 (4Qliturgical work) 6 2; 4Q426 (4Qsap. work) 1 2. 4Instruction calls the angels מִצְבַּת יָדָיו and (in the hymnic context of 4Q148 81: מִצְבַּת יָדָיו, see section 4.3,2), never something like מִצְבַּת יָדָיו
128 Lange understands מִצְבַּת יָדָיו as ‘Engelvolk’, Weisheit und Prädetermination, 86-9. ‘Engelvolk’ would have been rendered מִצְבַּת יָדָיו מִצְבַּת יָדָיו, as angels regularly are designated מִצְבַּת יָדָיו or מִצְבַּת יָדָיו in the Scrolls (4Q418 76 3 calls the angels מִצְבַּת יָדָיו). מִצְבַּת יָדָיו should rather be interpreted as ‘a spiritual people/community’. Our interpretation of מִצְבַּת יָדָיו is supported by 4Q372 (4QapocrJoseph A) 13 2, which speaks about the end-time outpouring of the spirit upon the people: מִצְבַּת יָדָיו [I will ... My people with the spirit of...]. Cf. also מִצְבַּת יָדָיו “the one anointed with the spirit” (11QMelch 1 ii 25), that refers to an earthly servant of God, not a heavenly one. The same is true of 4Q270 (4QD) 2 ii 14 מִצְבַּת יָדָיו מִצְבַּת יָדָיו “those anointed with the spirit of holiness”; and 4Q287 (4QBer) 10 13 מִצְבַּת יָדָיו מִצְבַּת יָדָיו “on those anointed with [His] holy spirit”.

We can summarize our investigation of this text. This wisdom instruction deals with the mysteries of creation and history. When the addressee meditates on these mysteries he will obtain understanding of his own ways as well as the preordained ways of all creatures. The text refers to a heavenly book that records the righteous ones and judges the men of iniquity. This heavenly book is identified with the Book of Hagi. The Hagi has now been revealed to ‘a spiritual people’ - probably a designation for the circles behind 4QInstruction. The elect are able to receive and understand this heavenly book because they are created in the likeness of the angels.

4.1.7.2. The identity of the Book of Hagi

Based on 4Q417 IX 15-20 we concluded in section 4.1.7.1 that the Book of Hagi is a heavenly book that deals with the preordained ways of men and world history. Since is mentioned also in two early sectarian writings we must ask whether these texts support our interpretation, and interact with the scholarly discussion on how they should be interpreted. CD X 6 and XIII 2 decree that both the ten judges of the Community and the priest of the minyan shall know this book well, . Further, 1QSa 1 6-8 states that the members of the Community shall be taught the Book of Hagi from their youth, as well as learn the laws of the covenant, before they can join the community as full members. Since plainly means the ‘Book of Meditation’, the possibility exists that the terms and in 4QInstruction (4Q417 IX 18, 19) could have a different meaning than in CD and 1QSa. The exact designation does not occur in 4Q417 IX, but line 18 equates מֵימַר וּמְלַשְׁכִּים: We therefore find it likely that these three designations refer to one and the same book.

The identity of the Book of Hagi has been frequently debated among scholars. It has been proposed that the name Book of Hagi stands for the Pentateuch (or Bible), an option which should be discarded in light of 4Q417 IX. The Pentateuch could fit the description as being ‘engraved’ (although according to the biblical text, only the ten commandments were engraved), its first chapters do deal with the origins of the deeds of men (lines 4-5, 16), and it could refer to the ‘iniquity of the sons of perdition’ (lines 16-17). But the Mosaic Torah cannot qualify as a heavenly ‘book of memory’ of the righteous (lines 17-18), or as a book which decrees human

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129 Or ‘Hege’. The medieval scribe of CD (or an earlier scribe in the chain of transmission) misread the yod in הָגָי as a טו. 4Q265 (4QDp) 8 iii 5 (CD X 6) reads ‘Hagay’, not ‘Hagi’ (noted by Schiffman, Law, Custom, and Messianism, 136, see now DJD XVII, plate X), while 4Q257 (4QDp) 9 v 12 (CD XIV 8) reads יְהִי. There is no uniformity in the spelling of ‘Hagi’ in the Qumran scrolls. The Qumran copy of 4QInstruction (the earlier text?) preserves הָגָי and הָגָי, while sectarian documents have הָגָי (1QSa, 4Q266), כָּרָא (4Q257), כָּרָא (11Q14) and כָּרָא (4Q491) [on the two latter texts, see below]. יְהִי could be a Qumranic pattern of הָגָי ‘meditation’, or a derivative from this root.

130 So recently Schiffman and Stegemann following Wieder, Rabbinowitz and Licht: L.H. Schiffman, The Halakhah at Qumran, Leiden 1975, 44, note 144; idem, Law, Custom and Messianism in the Dead Sea Sect (Hebrew), Jerusalem 1993, 63, 70 (on p. 158, however, he equates the Book of Hagi with the whole Bible); Stegemann, Die Essener, 162; N. Wieder, The Judaean Scrolls and Karaitism, 215-51; J. Licht, The Rule Scroll, 255-6; I. Rabbinowitz, “The Qumran Author’s spr hubly”, JNES XX (1961) 109-14. Rabbinowitz sees the Book of Hagi as “a generic designation for all the books which were regarded by the Qumran writers as Holy Writ,” including the Pentateuch, the prophets and an unknown number of other writings (pp. 113-4). Wieder points to the use of the noun hegeh to signify the act of reading the Law and the Shema’, and sees hege synonymous with miqra, ‘reading’, an appellation for the Bible. For him the Book of Hagi is the whole Bible.
history and its ‘visitations’. The generation which received the Torah of Moses can hardly be designated as a
'spiritual people' (line 18) that could ‘discern between good and evil’ (lines 19-20). Other scholars have voiced
the opinion that the Book of Hagi was the code of sectarian halakah, with the Temple Scroll as one
option. Lange sees the Hagi as a heavenly book which was revealed to Enosh (see above).

We tentatively suggest that the contents of this book are less halakhic and more concerned with ‘salvation
history’, that it provides the basic keys to understand the times. The present age is the eschatological one
promised in the Scriptures, and these (pre-Essene?) circles constitute the end-time community. According to
4Q417 IX, the Hagi is a book with instruction that ordinary man (‘flesh’) could not comprehend, but only ‘a
spiritual people’. The frequent admonition in 4QInstruction to ‘meditate ( выгод ) on the mystery to come’ fits well
with this understanding of the book of Hagi. The name ההגיה means the book of meditation or interpretation,
the book provided the right (eschatological) interpretation of Scripture (cf. 1QpHab VII; God has revealed to the
Righteous Teacher the keys to such an understanding of Scripture and history). This book was among “the
books of the sect” which, according to Josephus, every novice swore to preserve carefully (Wars 2.142). The
designation ההגיה is probably influenced by some scriptural verses: Josh 1:8, where Joshua is admonished to
meditate on “this book of law”; Ps 1:2, Ps 77:13, cf. also the use of the verb in 1QH XI 21, 260.

The mention of the Book of Hagi is a strong indication of some kind of sectarian provenance for 4QInstruction: the work could be related to the presectarian community reflected in the
earlier strata of CD.134

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131 So Ginzberg, Rabin, Goshen-Gottstein, Honeyman, Yadin and Baumgarten, L. Ginzberg (An Unknown
Jewish Sect, New York 1976, 49-50) based his conclusion on the use of ההגיה for “explaining words of Torah” in
rabbinic literature: “ 혁גיה is nothing other than ‘the book of interpretations,’ that is, the authoritative
interpretation of Scripture as given by our sect, accordingly a kind of ‘sectarian Mishnah’”. C. Rabin (The
Zadokite Documents, Oxford 1954, 50) sees Hagi as an etymological substitute for mishnah, and refers to Gen.
R. 49,2, where להגיה is “working out new halakah”. According to A.M. Honeyman (“Note on a Teacher and a
Book”, JJS IV (1953), 131-2), “it is justifiable to regard hagi as the type of study and exegesis characteristic of
the Zadokite sectaries and to translate the title of their authoritative work as ‘book of exposition, study and
that “the Sefer Hahege contained basic commandments and customs of the sect”. J.M. Baumgarten (Studies in
Qumran Law, Leiden 1977, 16, note 13) sees this book as a sectarian-written Mishna. If Stegemann is right in his
suggestion that the Qumran version of CD was the final Mishna of the Essenes (Die Essener, 164-7), CD
would be a natural candidate for the Book of Hagi for those who see the Hagi as the code of sectarian halakah.

132 Y. Yadin discusses the possibility that the Temple Scroll might be the Book of Hagi [The Temple Scroll,
Jerusalem 1983, vol. I, 393-7], without drawing clear conclusions.

133 Honeyman (“Note on a Teacher and a Book”, 132) notes that the term מדרש is used only thrice in the
Mishnah, and never on formal study of the law; it would almost appear as if the literature of normative Judaism
avoided the term”. The frequent sectarian use of the word מדרש both in the designation ‘the Book of Hagi’ and in
the admonitions to meditate on God’s mysteries, could explain this caution of the rabbis.

A wisdom text from the Geniza preserves sayings on the meditation (מדרש ) on the Torah that allude to Ps
1:2: "הdeadline theedut יתדות מדרש לא ימות, כי תمواد עעל למשה Animated by the mysteries of the Torah, the wise person will
Above all things is the meditation on the Torah, then one will prosper in one’s work and gain knowledge. Blessed is the man who finds
wisdom and meditates on the Torah of the Lord” (IX 1-2). K. Berger dates this text to around 100 CE: Die

However, Rüger and Nebe argue more convincingly for a medieval date; H.P. Rüger, Die Weisheitsschrift aus

134 Cf. Davies, The Damascus Covenant. An Interpretation of the “Damascus Document”, P.R. Callaway
(The History of the Qumran Community. An Investigation, Sheffield 1988, 98) notes that some expressions in
the Laws of CD never occur in the Admonition. The Laws belong to an older stratum of
CD than the Admonition, see M.A. Knibb, “The Place of the Damascus Document”, Methods of Investigation of
None of the Qumran writings published so far has been proven a convincing candidate to be identified with the Book of Hagi. Since 4QInstruction draws upon the Enoch tradition, the description of the heavenly tablets in 1 Enoch might illuminate the understanding of the contents of the Hagi. On the heavenly tablets are inscribed divine mysteries (103:2 μουσας, 106:19 הכתובות) which are revealed to Enoch; they contain predictions. Apart from one occurrence in the later Book of Similitudes (47:3), the heavenly tablets are mentioned once in the Animal Apocalypse (81:1-2) and thrice in the Apocalypse of Weeks/Epistle of Enoch (93:2-3; 103:2-3; 106:19-107:1). In 81:1-2, the tablets contain the deeds of men until the last days; in 103:2-3, the ultimate lot of the righteous and the unjust; in 93:2-3 and 106:19-107:1, the secrets of history until the righteous remnant will arise. On this Enochic background it seems probable that the Hagi is an apocalyptic, visionary book which reveals salvation history from creation to the last days. The Hagi could in fact be a part of the Enoch literature; the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 Enoch 93:1-10; 91:11-17) and/or the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85-90) - both are designated as visions - possibly combined with the Epistle of Enoch, which is a main source for the discourses of 4QInstruction.

11Q14 (11QSerekh hamilhamah) 51 refers to the Book of Hagi: מִיתָן דברי יְהוֹיָה יְהֹוָה מֵעַל הַגָּהִי, "the commandments of Haguy, the discerning ones(?)". So does 4Q491 (4QM) 11.21 תָּנִינָא דְּמַרְעַט בֵּן וַיֵּאָכַלוּ "Make heard [iis the Hagi delight?]". S. Ballaban has drawn attention to a reference to the Hagi in a Geniza manuscript. This text, which shows signs of rabbinic reworking, has apparent links to Qumran literature. The superscription רַחֲשָׁם חַלְלֵי נָא "These secrets have been copied from the Book of Haguy", introduces a messianic chronology based on Daniel 12 and other scriptures. The use of Hagi in this medieval text supports the understanding of the Hagi proposed here. The double reference to "the Book of Hagi" and "the laws of the covenant/the foundations of the covenant" in 1QSa 17 and CD X 6 could refer to two kinds of sectarian instruction: the Hagi conveys the knowledge of one's whereabouts in salvation history, while "the laws of the covenant" refer to the halakhic rules of the Community (including, but not confined to the Mosaic law).

4.1.7.3. Links with Jewish liturgy

The discourse on the universal judgement (4Q416 VII), which was located a few columns earlier in the book than the one in 4Q417 IX, reveals striking connections with motifs from the Rosh Hashanah liturgy (see section 4.2.1). Also the text we deal with here has motifs in common with the festivals of Tishrei: Rosh Hashanah and

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the Dead Sea Scrolls, 149-62. Knibb proposes a pre-Teacher date for the Laws, around the middle of the second century BCE. If Stegemann is correct in his understanding of 1QSa as the oldest community rule of the Essenes (Die Essener, 159-62), we have references to the Book of Haguy only (or primarily) from the earliest strata of the literature of the yahad. This has implications for the discussion of the origins of 4QInstruction.

132See H. Kvanvig, Roots of Apocalyptic. The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and the Son of Man, Neukirchen 1988, 76-9.

133See H. Kvanvig, Roots of Apocalyptic. The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and the Son of Man, Neukirchen 1988, 76-9.


Yom Kippur, and the intervening Days of Penitence.\textsuperscript{138} While 4QInstruction probably can be dated to the second century BCE, synagogal liturgy found its established forms during talmudic and medieval times,\textsuperscript{139} although some prayers certainly have roots in the second temple period. The parallels we will show between 4QInstruction and the liturgy of the synagogue add further material to the discussion on the origins of the Jewish prayer tradition. But because of the time gap between (the literary formation of) these texts caution must be shown when we discuss possible tradition-historical links between them. We will here survey the parallels between the liturgy and the discourse in 4Q417 IX. In section 4.2.1 we present parallels between the liturgy and 4Q416 VII, and in section 4.2.3.5 we draw some tentative conclusions on the relation between apocalyptic material in 4QInstruction, 1Q/4QMysteries and 1 Enoch on the one hand, and later synagogal liturgy on the other.

According to Jewish tradition the world was created on Rosh Hashanah. The festival ("the sacred occasion of remembrance and blowing the shofar", Lev 23:24-25) is a memorial of the day of creation: "This day, on which was the beginning of Your work, is a memorial of the first day" (Lev. R. 29.1, used in the liturgy). The Rosh Hashanah liturgy declares "You will bring on the appointed time of memorial when every spirit and soul shall be visited ... From the beginning You made this Your purpose known, and from aforetime You revealed it. This day, on which was the beginning of Your works, is a memorial of the first day". The liturgy connects creation, judgement and revelation, as does 4QInstruction. Lines 9-10 in the text under discussion deal with the creatures and their destinies as well as the eternal visitation (ךJosh 17 ... כנפ PrintWriter). The same words recur in the Rosh Hashanah liturgy (repeated on Yom Kippur) proclaims "Impose Your dread upon all You have created. ... and Your name is to be feared above all You have created".

Further, both 4QInstruction, 1Q/4QMysteries and the liturgies of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur use the biblical designation יوحد 'awesome' for God: 4Q417 IX 4 יوحد ... יوحد for "He is the awesome God"; 4Q300 (4QMyst\textsuperscript{b}) 3 5 יوحد ... יوحد for "Exalted is He in His great mercy, and terrifying is He in the plan of His wrath". The Rosh Hashanah liturgy (repeated on Yom Kippur) proclaims יوحد ... יوحد "Impose Your dread upon all You have created, that all creatures may fear You ... and Your name is to be feared above all You have created".

\textsuperscript{138} We are indebted to M. Weinfeld for the initial observation of the parallels between these two discourses and later Jewish liturgy.

\textsuperscript{139} M. Rosh Hash. 4.5 shows that a certain order of the various Rosh Hashanah prayers was established already in tannaitic times, but we do not know the length and exact form of the prayers in question.

\textsuperscript{140} The liturgies of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur often use the word יوحد with the meaning 'creature'. יوحد occurs in lines 11 (2x) and 21 of the text under discussion here, and the translation 'creatures' makes good sense in this passage. Similarly, 4Q300 (4QMyst\textsuperscript{b}) 2 ii 15 יوحد carries the meaning "the tribulations of every creature".
The text under discussion deals with the mysteries of creation and God's predetermination of history and the ways of men (lines 5-7). Similarly, the Yom Kippur liturgy proclaims “You know the eternal secrets and the hidden mysteries of all the living.” The exhortation “day and night meditate on the mystery to come, and search always” has a parallel in the Ma'ariv prayer: "we will rejoice in the words of Your Torah and in Your commandments for ever. For they are our life and give us length of days, and on them will we meditate day and night." While ‘the mystery to come’ is the object for meditation and basis for salvation in 4QInstruction, the liturgy attributes this role to the words of God’s Torah.

Lines 4-15 exhorts meditation on the mysteries of creation. According to our interpretation of line 16, man shall reflect on the origins of his ways when he remembers “the stylus which engraved the ways of man, i.e. the time of creation when the heavenly tablets were inscribed. For the liturgy, Rosh Hashanah is the day of remembrance of the act of creation: “This is the day of the beginning of Your works, a remembrance of the first day, a memory of the first things” (compare הַבָּשָׁרָה הַלָּלָל הַמְּרַמֵּשַׁת חָכְמָה יִשְׂרָאֵל; see also the statement of the liturgy רֹאשׁ הָעֵשֶׂה אֶלֶךָ). Further, the liturgy repeatedly designates God as “He who fashioned the first things”. For the phrase הַבָּשָׁרָה הַלָּלָל (line 16), cf. also the statement of the liturgy רֹאשׁ הָעֵשֶׂה אֶלֶךָ. ‘You will bring the appointed time of memorial when all flesh shall be visited.”

4QInstruction addresses the man of understanding to whom has been revealed the heavenly secrets. But also the enlightened has to remember that “before His wrath nobody can stand, and who can be deemed righteous in His judgement? And how can the poor one [stand] without forgiveness?” (4Q417 II 14-17). The concluding service for Yom Kippur expresses the state of man in a similar way: “Are not all the mighty men as nought before You, the men of renown as though they had not been, the wise as if without knowledge, and the men of understanding as if without discernment? ... But You have distinguished man from the beginning, and have recognized his privilege that he might stand before You” (הַבָּשָׁרָה כָּלָי מֵדַע הָעֵשֶׂה כָּלָי הָעֵשֶׂה ... ראֶשׁ הָעֵשֶׂה אֶלֶךָ).

141 Both this text and 4Q18 123 (see above) refers to what God has preordained in history as “what happened, what comes to being, and what will come to pass” (כָּלָי הָעֵשֶׂה כָּלָי מֵדַע הָעֵשֶׂה). These phrases remind us of the designation of God as “He that was, and is, and will be” in early Jewish and Christian liturgical traditions (see e.g. Rev 1:8; 4:8).

142 For the admonition to meditate day and night on God’s mysteries, cf. Josh 1:8 on the meditation on the book of law: יִמָּדְדוּ בַּתּוֹרָה בָּהֶם וְיִמָּדְדוּ בַּתּוֹרָה בָּהֶם; Ps 1:2: יִמָּדְדוּ בַּתּוֹרָה בָּהֶם; I QH XI 5-6: בָּהֶם יִמָּדְדוּ בַּתּוֹרָה בָּהֶם; Sir 14:20: יִמָּדְדוּ בַּתּוֹרָה בָּהֶם. “Blessed is the man who meditates on Wisdom”. A close parallel is found in the prayer for the catechumens in the fourth century Apostolic Constitutions, VIII ii 6: “and reveal to them the Gospel of His Messiah, give them illumination and understanding, instruct them in the knowledge of God, teach them His commands and His ordinances, implant in them His pure and saving fear, open the ears of their hearts that they may exercise themselves in His law day and night”. We are indebted to M. Weinfeld for the last reference.

143 Also Pseudo-Philo connects the 1st of Tishri with creation. See section 4.2.3.5.

144 Similarly, the qiddush for Erev Sabbath celebrates the Sabbath as המְסִמֵּשַׁת חָכְמָה יִשְׂרָאֵל.
4.2. Eschatology

We start this section with an analysis of two eschatological discourses which are relatively well preserved. Special attention is paid to similarities with *1 Enoch*, the writings of the *yahad* and the Rosh Hashanah liturgy. The eschatology of 4QInstruction is analyzed and compared with the theology of the *yahad*, and with Hippolyt’s and Josephus’ descriptions of Essene eschatology. If we can show that the eschatology of 4QInstruction is similar to that of the *yahad*, we may have some further evidence of the provenance of this composition.

Attention is also paid to the hope for the hereafter, and to the presence of both a futuristic and a realized eschatology within 4QInstruction.

4.2.1. The universal judgement, 4Q416 VII

The text preserved in 4Q416 VII (with parallels in 4Q418) reveals main elements in the eschatological expectations of the author of 4QInstruction. We therefore start our discussion on eschatology with an analysis of this text. 4Q416 VII is part of an eschatological discourse which stretched over three columns of text (4Q416 frg 4 = last three lines of 4Q416 col. VI, 4Q416 frg. 1 = col. VII, 4Q416 frg. 3 = col. VII 9-15). According to the last lines of col. VI, God will blow the furnace to punish the ungodly for their transgressions, but He will show mercy upon His beloved ones, who will rejoice in the inheritance of truth (see section 6.2.1). The lines preserved of col. VIII (see below) reaffirm the elect of their inheritance and exhort them to be patient. God is in control and will lead the periods of history until all evil is consumed. The addressee is therefore exhorted to praise the name of the merciful God.

14Q416 frg. 1 is here reconstructed with fragments from 4Q418a [4Q418 frgs. 73 (= lines 2-3), 201 (= lines 3-4), 213 (= lines 12-14), 212 (= lines 12-15), underlined], and 4Q418b [4Q418 frgs. 286 (= lines 2-4), 1 (= lines 5-9), 2 (= lines 9-18), boldface type]. The placement of the text of 4Q418 201 (יהיה נבון [which occurs exactly in lines 3-4 cannot be proven. Content and appearance of the skin indicate that frg. 201 should be located close to frgs. 212 and 213 (Strugnell on purpose placed these fragments on the same plate), and the text of the two other fragments can with certainty be located to lines 12-15. Further, 4Q418 286 locates יהיה somewhere in line 4, so the placement of יהיה fi in line 4 is attractive. The location of the text of the other minor fragments is close to certain. Far more text is presented in this reconstruction than in Wacholder and Abegg’s *A Preliminary Edition.*
1. [He comes to execute judgement on all, to destroy all the wicked and convict (?)] \textsuperscript{3} \\
2. all the spirit of flesh for their works of wickedness which they have committed (?) \\
3. and establish His will (over all evil, He made known to Noah what was (?) to come, period upon period) \\
4. set time upon set time. He will shut up all the sons of evil, and visit all flesh (?) \\
5. according to their hosts, hi[İn upon hin] generation upon generation, city upon city (?), kingdom \\
6. upon kingdom, province upon province, man upon man \\
7. according to the needs of their host (and the judgement upon all, to ... \\
8. The host of heaven He established from the beginning, He set stars (?) and luminaries \\
9. as their signs and as symbols of their set times each one in its order (?) \\
10. each one in relation to the other, and all their order and set times I were counted before Him, \\
11. In heaven He will judge the work of iniquity, and all the sons of truth will be pleased by (the appointed time ?) \\
12. of its period, and all those who have defiled themselves in it will fear and wail, for the heaven will \\
shout, the kingdom of iniquity (?) will tremble, \\
13. the water and the depths will fear, all the spirit of flesh will be stripped naked, and the sons of heaven \\
will rejoice on the day \\
14. of its judgement. And all iniquity shall be consumed when the period of truth is completed and He will reign (?) \\
15. in all the ages of eternity, for a God of truth is He and (His) years from the days of old \\
16. to establish justice between good and evil, that everyone should know the judgements of God, and \\
every creature will understand (?) \\
17. it is a (creature of flesh, and its) understanding \\
18. when He sees that man is but (?) \\
19. (and) He knows[ their nature (?) \\

This text describes God's end-time judgement at the culmination of the periods of history. Recurring 
catchwords and themes are 'flesh', 'iniquity/evil', 'truth', 'heaven', and the fear and trembling of God's 
 opponents. The passage contains a number of poetic elements (see section 3.2), which could indicate some kind 
of liturgical background. A comparison with liturgical material that deals with God's judgement could therefore 
be helpful in the interpretation of the text.

4QInstruction describes here the day of judgement, which is an interpretation of the Day of the Lord in 
prophetic literature. \textsuperscript{4} Mowinckel proposed that the Day of the Lord equals the New Year's day, the day of the

\textsuperscript{2}The reconstruction of line 16 and the interpretation of מָצַבֵּה בֹּשַׁרְךָ in lines 16-17 as "that it is a (creature of flesh," and not "for it is the inclination of flesh" are suggested by parallels in the Rosh Hashanah liturgy (see below).

\textsuperscript{3}Translation according to a tentative reconstruction of lines 1-2, based on 1 Enoch 1:9 (rendered according to 4QEn) "when He comes with the myriads of His holy ones, to execute judgement on all, and He will destroy 
all the wicked and convict all flesh for all their works of wickedness which they have committed". We base the reconstruction on similarity in contents between these two texts as well as the occurrence of מָצַבֵּה בֹּשַׁרְךָ in line 2, which can be compared with 4QEn' 1:16, מָצַבֵּה בֹּשַׁרוֹן, מִשְׁלָכָה וְלֹא עַל-אָדָם מִשְׁלָכָה 'Yo u will bring the appointed time of memorial when all flesh shall be visited'.

enronment of YHWH. At least since tannaitic times (cf. m. Rosh Hash. 4, 5) the New Year prayers centre around the themes of Malkuyot (God’s universal reign), Zichronot (the remembrance of the deeds of the fathers), and Shopharot (Shophar blasts, that express the coronation). An additional feature that characterizes Rosh Hashanah is the determination of the fate of the coming year for the individual as well as of the whole society. As we shall see, themes connected to Rosh Hashanah can illuminate this discourse on God’s final intervention (but cf. our caveat in section 4.1.7.3: caution is needed due to the time gap between these texts). We will list parallels in the Rosh Hashanah liturgy as well as Enochic and sectarian literature as we expound the discourse.

The discourse portrays Noah (line 3) as receiver of divine revelation, not only about the deluge, but also about the periods of world history including the end-time judgement (see section 4.1.4). The Rosh Hashanah liturgy mentions both the periods of history and Noah in a similar way: “You look and see unto the end of all generations”; “and You remembered Noah in love and endowed him with the word of salvation and mercy”.

Lines 8-10 describe in hymnic style how God established the heavenly hosts and the luminaries, before the text returns to the theme of the heavenly judgement. According to our tentative reconstruction of line 10, the text refers to the set times on earth which are decided by the heavenly bodies. The same theme is found in 11QPs•Creat 7-9, 9 Jub. 2:2-3, 1 Enoch 2 and 72-82 (the Astronomical Book). These chapters of 1 Enoch as well as 1Q34W II 1-5 compare the order of the heavenly realms with the sin and disorder which characterizes the world of men. In 1 Enoch 100:10-11: the angels and the luminaries testify against the ungodly. Although this text is fragmentarily preserved, it probably carried similar thoughts. Also the Yom Kippur liturgy, which deals with God’s yearly judgement, describes the creation of the luminaries: “He changes the times and appoints the stars in their heavenly courses according to His will, He who is the Creator of day and night”.

According to lines 5-6, God will judge everything created: “hin upon hin, generation upon generation, city upon city(?), kingdom upon kingdom, province upon province, man upon man”. Similarly, the Musaph

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5 S. Mowinckel, Zur Israelitischen Neujahr und zur Deutung der Thronbesteigungspsalmen. Zwei Aufsätze, Oslo 1932, 26-38; idem, The Psalms in Israel’s Worship, Oxford: 1962, vol. I, 106-192. Mowinckel made use of Jewish tradition (e.g. m. Rosh Hashanah) to understand the nature of the New-Year festival in biblical times, though he saw the New Year not on the 1st of Tishrei, the conventional Jewish date for Rosh Hashanah, but on the Feast of Sukkot. According to Mowinckel, in pre-exilic times the celebration of the new year was part of the great autumn festival. When the Israelites took over the Babylonian calendar, this festival was divided into three separate ones; New Year on the 1st of Tishrei, Yom Kippur on the 10th, and Sukkot from the 15th to the 21st.  
6 m. Rosh Hash. 1.2 “On Rosh Hashanah all that came into the world pass before Him like legions of soldiers”; t. Rosh Hash. 1.13; Lev. R. 29; b. Ber. 18b; b. B. Bat. 10a; Gen. R. 25.1 “R. Aibó said, He judged him [Enoch] on Rosh Hashanah when He judges the whole world”.  
7 For similar hymnic descriptions of the act of creation, see Job 38:4-7; Isa 40:12: “Who ... with the breadth of His hand marked off the heavens”; 42:5 “He who created the heavens and stretched them out”; 45:18; 48:13.  
8 For the idea that the set times and festivals are decided by the signs of the luminaries, cf. Gen 1:14; I QS X 1-3; 1QH XII 4-6; 4Q299 (4QMyst) 5 1-4; 4Q381 (4QNon-Canonical Psalms B) 1 8, Sir 33:7-9 (Hebrew 33:6-8); 43:6-7.  
10The ‘double form’ of the text (line 6) belongs to late Biblical Hebrew, and is a distinctive linguistic characteristic of the Book of Esther (see A. Hurwitz, The Transition Period in Biblical
liturgy of Rosh Hashanah states that God will determine the fate of the provinces for the coming year: יַעֲשֶׂהָ לָהֶם בְּצֵאתוֹ, וְיָשָׂרֵי חַיָּיו וְיָשָׁרֵי עָרָיִם וְיָשָׂרֵי עָרְבָּיִם, which one to the sword and which to peace, which one to famine and which to abundance” (this part of the prayer is quoted in Lev. R. 29:1). According to Jewish tradition, the divine judgement on men and nations on Rosh Hashanah foreshadows the end-time judgement. The designations יָשָׂרֵי חַיָּיו or יָשָׁרֵי עָרָיִם refer to Rosh Hashanah and the last judgement as well.11 And the term יָשָׂרֵי עָרְיִם indeed occurs in the text under discussion, יָשָׂרֵי עָרְיִם “the day of her judgement” (lines 13-14).12 As the suffix of יָשָׂרֵי עָרְיִם (line 14) refers to יָשָׂרֵי חַיָּיו (lines 11-12) or יָשָׂרֵי עָרְיִם (line 12), there is a clear parallel with 1 Enoch 10:6 “the great day of judgement” (of Azazel), where Azazel is the head of the forces of evil. Both texts deal with the end-time judgement on the evil powers. The phrase יָשָׂרֵי עָרְיִם (line 7) echoes 1 Enoch 1:7 “there will be judgement on all”.

Lines 11-15 describe the end-time judgement in heaven and on earth. The passage draws on biblical theophany descriptions (Isa 24:18-19; Ps 77:17; 97:3-7; cf. also Hab 3:8-10; Job 9:5-6; Zech 14:3-5), and shows similarities with 1 Enoch 1 and 100:10-102:3.13 The elements of nature will tremble before the divine judge.

The God of heaven, who established the order in heaven and earth, will execute judgement: “In heaven He will
judge the work of iniquity, and all the sons of truth will be pleased ...
” (line 11).14 This line could refer to God judging wickedness on earth from His seat in the heavens, or more probably to a heavenly judgement on cosmic evil forces and fallen angels. The latter is a prominent theme in 1 Enoch 10-16.15 Such an interpretation of line 11 is supported by lines 12-14, “the kingdom of iniquity(?) will tremble[,] the water and the depths will fear, all the spirit of flesh will be stripped naked, and the sons of heaven will rejoice on the day of its judgement. And all iniquity shall be consumed when the period of truth is completed”. The hope that “all iniquity shall be consumed” (line 14) has biblical roots (cf. e.g. Isa 24:17-23; Ps 104:35 “He stretched forth the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth, the seat of Whose glory is in the heavens above ... the Lord He is God in heaven above”; and 4Q302 (4QpapAdmonitory Parable) 3 ii 6, 9-10 “iniquity is consumed ... all iniquity is consumed”). "Iniquity will be stricken”; 4Q21Sa (4QTime of Righteousness) 1 i 3 “for the age of wickedness has been completed and all injustice shall pass away”. 17

14The idea of God’s heavenly seat is connected with His proclamation also in the Rosh Hashanah liturgy (esp. line 10); see T. Elgvin, “In Enoch 1:9-10, the idea of judgement on the angels is prominent in an early apocalyptic piyyut, until injustice is consumed”; XIV 15-16 “You will blot out all wickedness [and sin] for ever”; 1QS IV 18 “As if God ... ordained an end for evil”; IQM XI 10-11 “until iniquity is consumed”; 4Q285 (4QSerekha-Millahmah) 6 1 “the tim[e]le [inequity] will be stricken”; 4Q215a (4QTime of Righteousness) 1 i 3 “for the age of wickedness has been completed and all injustice shall pass away”. 17

15Cf. Isa 24:17-23 “In that day the Lord will punish the powers in the heavens above” (v 21). The idea of judgement on the angels is prominent in an early apocalyptic piyyut, which is proclaimed in the synagogue on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur (on this piyyut, see further below): “We shall account the power of the holy day because He is awesome and terrible. It will be blown with a great horn (םוּשָׁא) ... and the angels will rush, and trembling will seize them and they will say: “Behold, the day of judgement comes to visit the heavenly hosts in judgement ... all the inhabitants of the world will pass before him”.

16VI 30 “all the sons of iniquity shall be no more”; XI 22 “until iniquity is consumed”; XIV 15-16 “You will blot out all wickedness [and sin] for ever”; 1QS IV 18 “As if God ... ordained an end for evil”; IQM XI 10-11 “until iniquity is consumed”; 4Q285 (4QSerekha-Millahmah) 6 1 “the tim[e]le [inequity] will be stricken”; 4Q215a (4QTime of Righteousness) 1 i 3 “for the age of wickedness has been completed and all injustice shall pass away”.

171 Enoch 1:9; 10:13-22 [esp. 10:16, 22; 4Q555 v 3] “destroy injustice from the face of the earth ... and the earth shall be cleansed from all pollution and from all sin”; 91:8-9: 107:1 “He shall judge the land with truth, and everyone shall make peace. The sword will cease from the land”; 4Q475 (4QRenewed Earth) 4-6 “all the earth, and there will no longer be any guilt in the land (הארץ כל ה...) ... destruction and great envy, all the earth will be like moth, and all who live there will ... the land will be quiet for ever, and those who live [there] will” [on this text, see T. Elgvin, “In Enoch 1:9-10, the idea of judgement on the angels is prominent in an early apocalyptic piyyut, until iniquity is consumed”; XIV 15-16 “You will blot out all wickedness [and sin] for ever”; 1QS IV 18 “As if God ... ordained an end for evil”; IQM XI 10-11 “until iniquity is consumed”; 4Q285 (4QSerekha-Millahmah) 6 1 “the tim[e]le [inequity] will be stricken”; 4Q215a (4QTime of Righteousness) 1 i 3 “for the age of wickedness has been completed and all injustice shall pass away”. 17

18This passage from 1Q27 i 5-7 runs as follows: “he will consume all evil and the wickedness of those who have wronged the righteous will be made manifest. And when the origins of unrighteousness are delivered up, and wickedness is removed from before...
from the liturgy "and all evil will disappear like smoke, for You will remove the usurpant kingdom from the earth".

This passage seems to have the same view of history as the *yahad*: world history is divided into successive periods, יָהָד. The text describes the time of judgement (כְּעַת הַשָּׁמַשְׁתָּה, lines 13-14, cf. 1QH 6 29 יָהָד) which comes after יָהָד, the present age of wickedness. The term יָהָד occurs in lines 12, 14 and 15. The suffix of יָהָד in line 12 refers to יָהָד in the preceding line, and the phrase (יָהָד יָהָד) is characteristic of sectarian writings, as is the expression 본 את יָהָד (line 15). A periodical understanding of history underlies the expression “throughout all the periods of eternity” (4Q17 IX 9). The ‘sectarian’ use of יָהָד, different from the use in Daniel, could point to a post-Daniel date for 4QInstruction. Within the Enochic corpus the closest parallel to this periodization of history can be found in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (1 Enoch 93:1-10: 91:11-17).

righteousness, as darkness is removed from before light. Then, just as smoke wholly ceases and is no more, so shall wickedness cease forever, and righteousness shall be revealed as the sun establishes itself to the world. And all the adherents of the mysteries of transgression are to be no more. But knowledge shall fill the world, nor shall wickedness cease forever, and righteousness shall be revealed as the sun establishes itself to the world. And all the periods of eternal history: “Two

According to line 14, “all iniquity shall be consumed when the period of truth (תיבות יד) will be completed.” An Aramaic equivalent to תיבות יד, “the eighth week, that of righteousness/truth,” is found in the Apocalypse of Weeks, 1 Enoch 91:12 (4QEn8 ar 1 iv 15): in this eighth week of history the righteous shall execute judgement upon the wicked, in the ninth week the wicked will be thrown into the eternal pit, while the tenth week will bring the great judgement in heaven and the new creation. Line 14 seems to presuppose the same sequence in the eschatological scenario as 1 Enoch 91:12-14: the ‘period of truth’ is followed by the consumption of iniquity, and then follows the eternal reign of God. However, while 1 Enoch 91:11-17 places the heavenly judgement on the evil forces at the very end (in the 10th week), this discourse describes a simultaneous judgement in heaven and on earth. Another fragment of 4QInstruction which deals with the last days, mentions the coming יבשה יד ‘the period of peace’ in the land:

According to lines 16-19, everyone will know God’s judgements and understand that man is only flesh before the divine judge. In the Rosh Hashanah liturgy we meet the same themes: “appear and be exalted over us before the eyes of all living”; “and all the sons of flesh will call upon Your name, when You will turn unto all the wicked of the earth”; “all that have defiled themselves by it will fear and wait”, “all the spirit of flesh will be stripped naked”, “all iniquity shall be consumed” (lines 12-14).

23For a similar terminology, cf. the Two-Spirit Treatise. 1QS IV 19 ᵃᵇ generado the image of Eden in the text discussed here as well as 4Q17 IX (the

24Judgement of the evil forces: “In heaven He will judge the work of iniquity”, “[the kingdom of iniquity(?) will tremble,] the water and the depths will fear ... on the day of its judgement” (lines 11-14). Judgement of mankind: “all those who have defiled themselves by it will fear and wait”, “all the spirit of flesh will be stripped naked”, “all iniquity shall be consumed” (lines 12-14).

25The term נתיב יד ‘the period of peace’ occurs also in 4Q215a (4QTime of Righteousness), in a passage about the periods of history (1 13-5): “For the period of wickedness is complete and all unrighteousness shall [pass away. For] the time of righteousness is coming ... The age of peace is coming, and of true laws and righteous testimony”. The parallel with 4Q215a indicates that יבשה יד in 4Q418 161 9 should be interpreted as ‘the period of peace’ rather than נתיב יד ‘the time of requital’. The peace motif is a dominant feature of the salvation described in 1 Enoch 1-5 (see Hartman, Asking for a Meaning, 132-3). In exilic and postexilic times the biblical concept of יבשה יד received more and more eschatological overtones (see H.H. Schmid, Salm. “Frieden” im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament, Stuttgart 1971, 79-90).

26For the reconstruction, cf. Isa 32:16 עץ יבשא רכז העץ יבשא “orchard” is one of the garden images which are used eschatologically in the Bible (Isa 29:17; 32:15-16). Thus, also this passage could play on the Eden theme, cf. our discussion of the image of Eden in section 4.3.2. The more precise term יבשה יד means the Mountain of Carmel, cf. 1 Kgs 18:42; Am 1:2; 9:3.

27Our reconstruction of line 16 and the interpretation of יבשה יד (lines 16-17) are based on these parallels (see note 2).
An Analysis of 4QInstruction
discourse discussed in section 4.1.7): a truthful judgement in heaven of all men, a judgement of angelic powers
who tremble before God, a day of awe, the Book of Remembrance, He who fashioned men knows their nature -
they are only flesh.

Let us proclaim how majestic is this holy day, for it is a day of terror and of awe.
On this day, Your kingdom is lifted high, Your throne established in mercy,
as You sit upon it in truth.

Truly it is You who are judge and plaintiff, knower and witness;
You record and set the seal, You count and number, You recall all forgotten things;
You open the Book of Remembrance, from which it will be read;
the signature of every man is in it.

A great trumpet is sounded; a still, small voice is heard;
angels scurry, seized with pain and trembling,
as they declare: 'Behold the Day of Judgement, to visit upon the host of heaven in judgement',
for they are not innocent in Your sight in the judgement.

And all who came into the world will pass before You like troops on parade,
... so You parade, count, number and remember the life of every living thing,
as You sentence all creatures and record their verdict.

... Truly it is You who fashioned them and You know their nature;
they are but flesh and blood; man comes from dust and to dust returns.28

We do not suggest any literary relation between these texts. But the parallels are so striking that one may ask:
is there a relation between the apocalyptic elements in 4QInstruction and early Rosh Hashanah traditions, which
again influenced the composition of this piyyut?

We encounter the 'wicked kingdom', well-known from the later Birkaat Haminim, in the Rosh Hashanah
prayers ("for You will remove the usurpant kingdom from the earth") as well as the
text under discussion: 1 Enoch 1:5; 12:6; 13:3-5.

We therefore correct when he now asserts that the origin of the phrase should be sought in dualistic
apocalyptic thinking about the evil powers opposed to God, not in scepticism against the Roman empire based
on the fourth kingdom in Daniel 7 (for the latter option, cf. Jer 50:31-32, which designates Babel as .30
T. Dan 6 testifies to the same apocalyptic tradition: “the kingdom of the enemy” belongs to Satan and his
spirits, and is the cause of “Israel’s period of lawlessness”, but finally “the enemy’s kingdom will be brought to
an end”.31

Land of Israel, and should be dated before Kailir, i.e. around the sixth century: D. Goldsmidt, Makzor for the
High Holy Days, Rosh Hashanah (Hebrew), Jerusalem 1970, 42.

29This verse is reconstructed. In this text the kingdom of iniquity trembles, in the Book of Watchers the
watchers tremble in fear of God’s judgement (I Enoch 1:5; 12:6; 13:3-5).

30“The Book of Mysteries” and a Synagogal Prayer”, 16-17. Only in the tannaitic period was identified with , i.e. Rome. D.R. Schwarz has proposed that some rabbinic references to the wicked
kingdom have their roots in Pharisaic opposition to the priestly Hasmonaens’ usurpation of the kingship:

31A similar dualistic view of the evil powers opposed to God is reflected in the Geniza version of Shach
32:22-23 (MS B) which mentions ("the scepter of arrogance and the staff of wickedness":
, i.e. Rome. D.R. Schwarz has proposed that some rabbinic references to the wicked
kingdom have their roots in Pharisaic opposition to the priestly Hasmonaens’ usurpation of the kingship:

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32:22-23 (MS B) which mentions ("the scepter of arrogance and the staff of wickedness":
, i.e. Rome. D.R. Schwarz has proposed that some rabbinic references to the wicked
kingdom have their roots in Pharisaic opposition to the priestly Hasmonaens’ usurpation of the kingship:
4.2. Eschatology

The earliest references to the ‘kingdom of evil’ and the ‘King of Evil’ in the Qumran scrolls are 4QInstruction and 4QVisions of Amram, which both should be dated to the early or mid-second century BCE. Both compositions were found in several copies in Qumran, and were probably influential in the development of sectarian thinking on ‘the rule/kingdom of Belial’ (see 1QS 118, 23-24; II 19; III 20-21; 1QM XIV 9; XVII 5-6).

4Q416 3 preserves lines 9-15 of the next column (4Q416 VIII). Also this text shows links with themes of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur:

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\text{עֲשַׁרְתֵּנָה בְּהַמֵּלָהּ} [...] אלֹהֵי נֶחֱזָק תָּהָה, לְבַשְׂדָהּ רֵדֵע, וְצִיתָתֵב דָּעְתָּם לַעֲבֹדֵךְ. ... [עֲשַׁרְתֵּנָה בְּהַמֵּלָהּ] ... [עֲשַׁרְתֵּנָה בְּהַמֵּלָהּ]
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... Your peace, and in your inheritance ... [for] from Him is the inheritance of every living being, and in His hand lies the destiny of everyone formed(?). ... [don’t be silent until the consumption of evil, for wrath is upon all the periods of eternity(?)] ... jangush will not prevail(?), for great are the mercies of God and there is no end to His goodness: ... |Your name be praised greatly (4Q416 VIII 9-13)

The mention of peace in line 9 recalls the recurring requests of the Yom Kippur liturgy that God bequeath His people with peace, and 4QInstruction’s hope for the ‘period of peace’ (4Q418 161 9, see above). The mention of כֹּלֵה יָדוֹ יַעֲשְׂה את הָעֵצֶם (the ‘destiny’ or ‘visitation’ of every creature (line 10)) recurs in the Rosh Hashanah liturgy:

כֹּלֵה יָדוֹ יַעֲשְׂה את הָעֵצֶם אֲלֵיהֶם בְּהַמֵּלָהּ (For the remembrance of every creature comes before You, each man’s deeds and destiny). Lines 12-13 possibly contain the concluding lines of the discourse which started in the end of col. VI. These lines proclaim the great mercy of God, בִּנְיָנְא יָשֵׂר אֶל מַעֲמָר (Also the Rosh Hashanah liturgy appeals to God’s mercy: “have mercy upon us and upon Your sanctuary in Your abundant compassion”).

The Geniza version of Birkat ha-Minim, which must be close to some early versions of this benediction, uses the phrase בְּיַעֲשָׂה instead of the earlier בְּיַעֲשֶׂה of the Musaph prayer: “For the apostates let there be no hope; and may the insolent kingdom be quickly uprooted (בְּיַעֲשֶׂה בְּיַעַר יָדְעָ). And may the Nazarenes and the heretics perish as in a moment, be erased from the Book of Life and not be inscribed with the righteous. Blessed are You, Lord, who humble the insolvent”. For the different early versions of this benediction, see L. Finkelstein’s “The Development of the Amidah”, IQR 16 (1925-26) 1-13, 127-170 (reprinted in Pharisaitic in the Making: Selected Essays, New York 1972, 245-332), pp. 156-7. According to an earlier article by Flusser, Shmuel ha-Katan united two existing prayers into Birkat ha-Minim, one containing the wish for the speedy destruction of the arrogant kingdom of Rome, and בְּיַעֲשָׂה אַל מַעֲמָר, the other was a prayer against the separatisms: Flusser, “The Jewish-Christian Schism,” Judaism and the Origins of Christianity, Jerusalem 1988, 47-44, pp. 641-2. The article originally appeared in Immanuel 16 and 17 (1983, 1984).

32 The Geniza version of Birkat ha-Minim, which must be close to some early versions of this benediction, uses the phrase בְּיַעֲשָׂה instead of the earlier בְּיַעֲשֶׂה of the Musaph prayer: “For the apostates let there be no hope; and may the insolent kingdom be quickly uprooted (בְּיַעֲשֶׂה בְּיַעַר יָדְעָ). And may the Nazarenes and the heretics perish as in a moment, be erased from the Book of Life and not be inscribed with the righteous. Blessed are You, Lord, who humble the insolvent”. For the different early versions of this benediction, see L. Finkelstein’s “The Development of the Amidah”, IQR 16 (1925-26) 1-13, 127-170 (reprinted in Pharisaitic in the Making: Selected Essays, New York 1972, 245-332), pp. 156-7. According to an earlier article by Flusser, Shmuel ha-Katan united two existing prayers into Birkat ha-Minim, one containing the wish for the speedy destruction of the arrogant kingdom of Rome, and בְּיַעֲשָׂה אַל מַעֲמָר, the other was a prayer against the separatisms: Flusser, “The Jewish-Christian Schism,” Judaism and the Origins of Christianity, Jerusalem 1988, 47-44, pp. 641-2. The article originally appeared in Immanuel 16 and 17 (1983, 1984).

33 4Q544 (4QAmramv) 2-3 refers to the prince of darkness as מַלְאֵךְ הַשָּׁשֶׁן ‘King of Evil’. This phrase is closely related to 4QInstruction’s interpretation of the names בָּרֵנַה וּבָרָנָה (4Q544 2 3; 4Q289 (4QBerakotf) 12) represents an interpretation of the names בָּרֵנַה and בָּרָנָה of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah in Gen 14:2 [cf. the interpretations of the Musaph prayer: “Bera whose deeds were evil, Birsha whose wrath was wicked” (Tg. Ps.-J.); בְּּרָנָה, בְּרֵנַה (Gen. R. 42.2)): “Melkirsaa et Melkira’. Note sur les ‘Visions de ‘Amram”, Semitica 41-42 (1993) 159-62. E. Puech dates the composition of 4QAmram to c.200 BCE: E. Puech, “Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology at Qumran and in the New Testament”, The Community of the Renewed Covenant, 235-56, p. 247.

34 4QPsuedo-Moses possibly uses similar terminology on a gentle kingdom (either that of Alexander the Great or Antiochus Epiphanes), 4Q387 (4QPsMos) 3 ii 9 פַּוַּדַּת אֲדָדָה וּמַעֲמָר “that [evil kingdom]”. Pseudo-Moses’ reference to three ungodly priests who rule the land and defile the sanctuary (4Q387 2 4; 4Q388 1 ii 7-10 = Jason, Menelaus and Alcimus) dates this composition to the mid-second century.
Further parallels with sectarian literature can also be noted: the terms ‘sons of truth’, ‘sons of evil’, ‘to defile oneself by iniquity’, ‘the God of truth’, ‘sons of heaven’ for the angels, the use of מosaic proclamation for the preordained times within the periods of history. The discourse does not use ‘sons of light’ for the elect (as 1QM and 1QS I), but rather ‘sons of truth’ (line 11), as 1QS IV 5, 6 (the Two-Spirit Treatise) and 4Q266 (4QDH) 18 v 7.35 The sentence “He will shut up all the sons of evil” has a close parallel in 1QHa III 18 “the gates of the pit will be closed behind her who is pregnant with wickedness”, cf. further Isa 24:22 on the judgement on the heavenly forces. The phrase ‘defile oneself by iniquity’ belongs to sectarian vocabulary.36 According to line 12, those who have defiled themselves by iniquity, will tremble at the judgement. The phrase ‘defile oneself by iniquity’ belongs to sectarian parlance.37 In line 13 we encounter the term ‘the sons of heaven’. In 1 Enoch 6:2; 14:3 and 1QapGen II 5, 16 ‘the sons of heaven’ are the fallen angels (cf. Gen 6:2 יִשְׂרְאֵל רֹאשׁ הַמַּעֲקָד). In this text as well as 4Q418 69 ii 12-13 ‘the sons of heaven’ are the angels, as in 1QS IV 22; XI 8; 1QHa III 22, frg. 2 10. Sectarian literature can use the word ‘men‘ for the preordained times within the periods of history, as is done in line 4 of this text.38 The statement “You are a God of truth” (line 15) has close parallels in 1QHa XV 25 “You are a God of truth”, and 1QS XI 4 “for the rock of my steps is the truth of God”.39 Such an affirmation of God being true and his word appears prominently also in the Rosh Hashanah liturgy.40

35 Cf. also 1QHa VI 29, VII 30, IX 35, X 27, XI 11 (4Q548 4QAmramf ar) 18 v 7 (‘sons of Your truth’; 1QapGen VII 30, 36 4Q298 (4QerA Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn) III 6; 7 4Q548 (4QAmramf ar) 18 v 7 ᾿αυτίκης ἥμισυς θεότητας.

36 1QHa V 8; 4Q429 (4QHod) 2 i 5 (= 1QHa VI 18) “in its bright flames all the sons of iniquity shall be consumed”; 4Qunid D 1 5 ᾿αυτίκης ἥμισυς θεότητας οὕτως ἐκφεύγει οὐκ ἐπικατέχειν (“in accordance with”) their wicked plans they defile themselves in sin”; CD II 17 ᾿αυτίκης ἥμισυς θεότητας οὕτως ἐκφεύγει οὐκ ἐπικατέχειν “they defile themselves in the sin of man, on ways of uncleanness”.

37 1QHa IV 19 “it has been defiled on the ways of wickedness”; 1QHa VI 22 ᾿αυτίκης ἥμισυς θεότητας οὕτως ἐκφεύγει οὐκ ἐπικατέχειν “in accordance with”) their wicked plans they defile themselves in sin”.

38 1QHa IV 24 “for everlasting ages, and for the numbered cycles of the eternal years in all their seasons”; 4Q369 (4QPrayer of Enoch) 1 i 4-7 γὰρ καὶ ἔτη παλαιά τὰ πάντα καὶ ἐτής ἔτη παλαιά τὰ πάντα ἐκ παλαιότητος χρόνων ἐκ παλαιότητος χρόνων γὰρ καὶ ἔτη παλαιά τὰ πάντα καὶ ἐτής ἔτη παλαιά τὰ πάντα “all their appointed times in their periods... for from old You have engraved for them... its judgement until the ordained time of judgement... in all the eternal testimonies” (Strugnell and Attridge translate the first words differently; “all their fest[ival]s in their periods”: DJD XIII, 355).


40 It precedes the proclamation of God as king over the whole universe which characterizes the liturgy of this day. The sanctification of the day by the blessing on wine which inaugurates the festival concludes “and Your word is true (ιτητα ὁ Θεός) and endures forever”. The central Amrah Benediction of Rosh Hashanah concludes with the phrase “for You are a God of truth and Your word is true and endures forever”, which also concludes the blessing after the Haphtarah on Rosh Hashanah: “Your word is true and endures forever”. The ‘true word’ here is the word of the prophets who predicted the spreading out of monotheism and the end of idolatrous worship in the world. The recital of the Haphtarah was accompanied all the year around by the blessing about the ‘true word of God’, that referred to the messages of the prophets about the future redemption of the whole world, cf. Isa 2:1-4; 45:22-23; 66:18-21; Zech 8:20-23; 14:9. See M. Weinfeld, “Publications” (Hebrew), Sinaiton 11 (1997) 349-60.
We have found a number of parallels to the discourse in 4Q416 VI-VIII in Enochic and sectarian writings, and also in the Rosh Hashanah liturgy. We will return to the question of links between these traditions in section 4.2.3.5, and turn now to the second eschatological discourse we have identified.

4.2.2. The ultimate fate of the ungodly and the righteous, 4Q418 4-15

4. And now, you foolish of heart, how can there be goodness if it was not demonstrated(?), and how can there be peacefulness if it never existed, and how can there be righteousness if it were not established, and how will the dead groan because of their [judgement]?

5. All the foolish of heart will be destroyed, the sons of iniquity will not be found any more, and all those who support evil will be ashamed at your judgement. The foundations of the firmament will shout, all the [hosts of God]... will they <not> say “We have toiled in the deeds of truth, and have tired during all the ages”?

6. But you are the elect of truth, those who pursue[ righteousness according to the ]judgement of God(?), watchful according to all knowledge. How can you say “We have toiled for understanding and we have been awake to pursue knowledge”. RIGHeousness is H[is deed]s(?)

7. among the dark places will shine the multitude and all that ever came into being. The seekers of truth will wake up to the judgements[ of God(?)]

8. All those who love[ righteousness will rejoice.

9. But you are the elect of truth, those who pursue knowledge. He in all [His deed]s(?)

10. and He has not tired during all the years of eternity. Does He not delight in truth forever? Knowledge[ and Understanding] will minister to Him. And even the sons of heaven, whose inheritance is eternal life, will they <not> say “We have toiled in the deeds of truth, and have tired during all the ages”?

11. during all the ages” - will they not walk[ ] in eternal light? [ ] also you [will inherit] glory and abundant honour.[and tremble(?) will]

12. in the [holy] firmaments[ the foundation] of beginnings, all [ ] And you are a firstborn son

This text, which we have characterized as a trial speech, rhetorically addresses “the foolish of heart”, “the sons of iniquity”, “those who support evil” - a group that hardly is present as real addressees. They are contrasted with another group, “all] who love[ righteousness”, “the elect of truth, those who pursue[ righteousness”, (those who) “pursue knowledge”. Other catchwords are ‘toil’ and ‘tire’, terms that give an indication of the situation of the true addressees of this text. As is common in post-biblical texts, the trial speech serves as a means for

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41 We omit here the fragmentarily preserved lines 1-4a (see section 6.2.1). The preceding section closed with a rhetorical question in the 3rd person plural: “Will they not walk in truth [with all ]their [sorrows(?)] and in knowledge <with> all their joys?”

42 We have identified a small fragment with the letters vr, which should be located at the bottom left corner of this fragment. See section 6.2.1.
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

exhortation. The elaboration of the fate of the ungodly shall strengthen the identity of the group of the author. Those addressed suffer hardship now, but should not lose courage - they will inherit glory and honour as do the angels. The contrast between the present burdensome situation of the elect and the expected afterlife is a common apocalyptic theme, which is found also in the New Testament and rabbinic literature. The contrasting of the elect and the ungodly in a parentic setting has parallels in 1 Enoch 1-5 and the Epistle of Enoch.

We have suggested that this trial speech should be located between the discourse on the cosmic judgement (4Q416 VI-VIII) and that on creation and revelation (4Q417 IX), see section 2.2.3. This text has another emphasis than the preceding discourse, which concentrates on the acts of God and the universal aspects of the judgement. The trial speech reflects an elaborate eschatological doctrine on the fate of men: Sheol is the place of the damned between death and the day of judgement, and is a place of toil and affliction. The affliction the foolish of heart experience in Sheol is related to the unrighteousness they have shown in their lives. God has ordained ‘eternal damnation’ as their end; the unrighteous will be ultimately destroyed at the day of judgement. In contrast, the righteous will inherit everlasting glory and honour.

Lines 4-9 and 10-14 contain two rhetorical dialogues in the 2nd person plural, the first to the ungodly, the second to the righteous (for the literary analysis, see section 3.1). These dialogues are closely related to (and probably inspired by) 1 Enoch 91 and 103:1-104:8. The 2nd person plural form, which is rare in 4QInstruction, is probably inherited from 1 Enoch 103-104. The address to the ungodly (lines 4-9, for which cf. 1 Enoch 2-5; 94:8-96:8; 98:4-99:2; 99:11-16; 100:7-102:3; 104:7-8) opens with four rhetorical questions which relate the pain of the unrighteous after death to their ungodly lives. Lines 6-7 contain an announcement of judgement to the ungodly, like 1 Enoch 103:5-8. Line 6 elaborates their fate; Sheol and eternal damnation. Lines 7-9 and 14-15 describe the final judgement: the righteous will wake up and witness God’s judgement, the evil ones will be destroyed forever, the universe and the righteous will shout and rejoice. The dialogue of lines 10-15 functions as an announcement of salvation, which exhorts the elect to see their life in the right perspective vis-a-vis God and the angels.

Lines 4-5 contain four rhetorical questions stylized in a 3+1 pattern. They ask the foolish of heart about the affliction they will meet after death: the first three ask the ungodly how they can expect goodness, peacefulness and righteousness in the afterlife when they did not demonstrate these virtues during their lives. These questions lead up to the fourth which emphasizes the painful affliction of the dead until the day of judgement (referring only to the ungodly, the righteous will experience glory and honour, see line 14). Line 6 describes the fate of the damned; Sheol and eternal damnation. Their way to perdition is preordained by God: “For Sheol you were

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43Cf. Hartman’s observation on the denunciation speech of 1 Enoch 2-5. Formally this speech “is directed against the wicked, but it concerns the righteous and therefore tells about their coming happiness”: “An early example of Jewish exegesis”, 25.


46The phrase מִתֵּרֶשֶׁת מְלַע מִלְּחָנִים is found in the section on the judgement on the ungodly in 1QS IV 12, while 1 Enoch 5:5, 6 contained an Aramaic equivalent. מִתֵּרֶשֶׁת מְלַע מִלְּחָנִים probably occurs also in another fragment of 4QInstruction; 4Q418 162 4 מִתֵּרֶשֶׁת מְלַע מִלְּחָנִים: “eternal destruction, but you will receive glory for ever”, cf. also 4Q418 177 2 מִתֵּרֶשֶׁת מְלַע מִלְּחָנִים: “damnation and perdition will be his end”.

formed, and your return will be eternal damnation.\textsuperscript{48} As in \textit{1 Enoch} 103:7 Sheol is the place of the damned after death, not of the righteous.\textsuperscript{49} Three parallel sentences in line 8 express that the unrighteous will be ultimately destroyed. They are called “foolish of heart”, “sons of iniquity”, “those who support evil”. Their end is described with the phrases “will be destroyed”, “will not be found any more”, and “will be ashamed”. We interpret these terms as referring to the eternal fate of the ungodly, not to their physical death. In spite of the phrase “eternal damnation” in line 6, the phrases “will be destroyed, will not be found any more” indicate an eschatology where the unrighteous will perish at the day of judgement and not experience eternal pain.\textsuperscript{30}

Line 7 brings in a new group, mentioned in the 3rd person, “The seekers of truth will wake up to the judgement[ of God(?)].”\textsuperscript{51} We will return to the interpretation of this sentence in section 4.2.3.2, but note here two close parallels in the \textit{Epistle of Enoch} (91:10 “and the righteous shall arise from their sleep” and 92:3 “And the righteous one shall arise from sleep”). Further, the text of lines 7-9 (“The seekers of truth will wake up to the judgement[ of God(?)].”) All the foolish of heart will be destroyed, the sons of iniquity will not be found any more, and all those who support evil will be ashamed at your judgement) is closely paralleled by 1QH\textsubscript{6} VI 29-30 “And then at the time of judgement the sword of God shall hasten, and all the sons of His truth shall awake to destroy wickedness, and all the sons of iniquity shall be no more”. The Hodayah probably ascribes to the righteous a more active role in the destruction of the wicked than the text discussed here.

\textsuperscript{47}The word קיימ ו is related to death: 1QH\textsubscript{6} XI 20 and XII 26 uses קיימ ו about man's return to dust in his death.

\textsuperscript{48}This text presents another example of a 'sectarian' view of predestination in the discourses of 4QInstruction. On this subject, see section 4.1.6 on 4Q418 ii 5-6, and further section 4.4.

\textsuperscript{49}For the subject matter, cf. the description in CD II 5-6 of the fate of those departing from the way: “power, might and great flaming wrath by the hand of all the angels of destruction towards those who depart from the way and abhor the precept”; 4Q184 (4QWiles of the Wicked Woman) 1 10-11 “Her gates are gates of death; at the entrance of her house Sheol stands. All who go in unto her shall not return, and all who inherit her will go down to the pit”. For a contrasting use of the terms הנשא and לנהליא, see 1QH\textsubscript{6} III 19 נטש ויהי כאשר יتعرف ואשתו "for You have redeemed my soul from the pit, and from the hell of Abaddon You have raised me up to everlasting heights".

\textsuperscript{50}\textit{1 Enoch} teaches that the unrighteous will perish. A close parallel to this text is \textit{1 Enoch} 91:8-9 “injustice shall be cut off from its fountain and from its roots, and oppression together with deceit, they shall be destroyed from under the heavens. All that which is common with the heathen shall be surrendered, the towers shall be inflamed with fire, and be removed from the whole earth. They shall be thrown into the judgement of fire, and perish in wrath and in the force of the eternal judgement”, cf. further 1:1 “the day of tribulation at the removal of all the ungodly ones”; 97:1 “the sinners are due for a shame, they shall perish on the day of oppression”. The same teaching is found in the Two-Spirit Treatise, 1QS IV 12-14, where the punishing angels pester the unrighteous until they perish in the fire of the dark places. 4Q548 (4QAmram\textsuperscript{2}ar) 1-2 ii 11-14, a sectarian (?) text on the day of judgement, likewise foresees destruction and annihilation for the sons of darkness, “but the sons of darkness will be destroyed ... and all the sons of darkness will go, the shades, to death] and to annihilation”, as does 7 Seb, 10:3 “But the Lord shall bring down fire on the impious and will destroy them to all generations”. Dan 12:2, in contrast, probably foresees eternal pain for the sinners. הני אדוניך ידש וירשע

\textsuperscript{51}We reconstruct \textit{ Alo פהם} in line 7 and \textit{ Alo פהם} in line 10. A different reconstruction could shift the focus from the end-time divine judgement to an earthly setting where the righteous ones judge the ungodly. However, in the discourses of 4QInstruction God's judgement has a central role, cf. especially 4Q416 VII. And lines 8-9 and 14-15 of the text under discussion do point to a scene of theophany and divine judgement, similar to 4Q416 VII 11-14.
Lines 10-14 contain the exhortation to the elect.\textsuperscript{52} Their God-given election is affirmed in the first sentence, “But you are the elect of truth, those who pursue[ righteousness].” In line 11 the speaker quotes the complaint of his supposed audience who have toiled and tired in their struggle for the right knowledge. The discourse then changes from addressing the elect in the 2nd person plural, to a reference to God and His characteristics and then to ‘the sons of heaven’ in the 3rd person plural. The tiresome situation of the elect is compared with God who never tires and with the portion of the angels. The elect should not lose courage if they tire, even the angels have struggled and tired in their pursuit of truth. As the angels will “walk[k] in eternal light”, so also the elect can look forward to a bright future. The statements “How can you say ‘We have toiled for understanding’” (line 11) and “will they <not> say: ‘We have toiled in the deeds of truth, and have ti[red] during all the ages’” (the latter is put in the mouth of the angels), are probably inspired by 1 Enoch 103:9, 11 “Those who were righteous and kind during their lifetime, will they not say: \textsuperscript{53} ‘In the days of our toil, we have surely suffered hardships and have experienced every trouble ... we toiled and laboured ...’.

The future fate of the elect is described with the terms “[glory and abundant honour]”, and compared with the portion of the angels, “whose inheritance is eternal life”\textsuperscript{54} and who will “walk[k] in eternal light”. While the terms ‘glory and abundant honour’ in themselves may point to a restoration of honour in this life - not to the hereafter, the comparison with the lot of the angels, ‘eternal life’ and ‘eternal light’, suggests that lines 13-14 assure the elect of their eternal portion. Parallels to lines 13-14 in sectarian literature point in the same direction, cf. IQS IV 7-8 “with every everlasting blessing and eternal joy in life without end, a crown of glory and a garment of majesty in unending light’. The phrases “eternal life ... καταλήκθη” (line 14) recur also in 1QH α XII 15 about the lot of the elect, “the splendour of Your glory to eternal light”\textsuperscript{55}. The sentence “you shall walk in eternal light” is probably quoted from 1 Enoch 92:4 “they shall walk in eternal light”\textsuperscript{56}.

The reference to the destruction of the ungodly (lines 8-9) is followed by theophany terminology. The universe and the heavenly hosts will tremble and shout (similar reactions were described in the preceding discourse, 4Q416 VII 12-14): “The foundations of the firmament will shout, all the:h[osts of God ]will thunder,

\textsuperscript{52} 1 Enoch 103:9-104:6 contains a similar address to the elect who are alive.

\textsuperscript{53} “Will they not say” instead of the usual translation from the Ethiopic “do not say”. The Greek text has μὴ λέγετε, from which an original אֲדֹנָי יִשְׂרָאֵל may be reconstructed.

\textsuperscript{54} For the phrase מָשֵׁת עַל יְדֵי, cf. Dan 12:2 מָשֵׁת עַל יְדֵי; Ps 133:3 מָשֵׁת עַל יְדֵי (on the lasting blessing of Zion): 1QS IV 7 מָשֵׁת עַל יְדֵי to everlasting; CD III 20 מָשֵׁת עַל יְדֵי for eternal life and all the glory of Adam”. ‘Eternal life’ occurs in 2 Macc 7:9; Pss. Sol. 3:12; 1 Enoch 46:9. The term becomes central in the New Testament, especially in the Johannine literature, and occurs also in rabbinic literature as a term for the inheritance in the world to come. Cf. Mark 10:12-22 (par. Matt 19:16-17) which connects ‘eternal life’ with keeping the commandments. According to i. S. α 7:11, words of Torah bring life to the world (יְדֵי תורָה) and convey life eternally (מָשֵׁת עַל יְדֵי). Cf. further the blessing after the reading of the Torah, which perhaps originally contained the phrase מָשֵׁת עַל יְדֵי (see Flusser, “He has planted it”). Rabbinic literature employs both the Danielic form מָשֵׁת עַל יְדֵי and מָשֵׁת עַל יְדֵי which is used in this text.

\textsuperscript{55} Cf. also 4Q286 (4QBer 1 ii 4.4.4rish וַיִּבְלֶד יְדֵי). מָשֵׁת עַל יְדֵי אֱלֹהִים מְדַבְּרָה וּמְדַבְּרָה יִשְׂרָאֵל which is used in this text.

\textsuperscript{56} A probable parallel can be found in the closing eschatological passage of 4Q228 (4QText with a Citation of Jubilees) 1 i 10 מְשִּׁית עַל יָדֵיהֶם ... מְשִּׁית עַל יָדֵיהֶם “life eternal ... in light eternmal they shall walk” (reconstruction ours - on this fragment, see section 2.3, note 57).
4.2. Eschatology

[and all] who love righteousness will rejoice" (line 9). This theme recurs in the end of the discourse: “in the [holy] firmaments the foundation of beginnings will tremble?”, all [” (lines 14-15). Similar expressions are found in 1QH III 29-3657 and biblical theophany descriptions, cf. Ps 96:10-13; 98:9; 99:1.

A new paragraph starts after the vacat in line 15. After the elaboration of the hope of the righteous and the judgement on the ungodly, the text continues with a reference to the sonship of the elect under God, וַיַּלְדוּ הַנֶּאֶשֶר מִי לְגָדוֹל וְתַהֲרֶה (on this subject, see section 4.3.4).

Our analysis of this trial speech has demonstrated close parallels with the Epistle of Enoch. A literary relation between these two texts seems probable.

4.2.3.1. Summary

We will summarize some main points from the analysis of the two eschatological discourses discussed above. The discourses of 4QInstruction look forward to a day of divine intervention in heaven and on earth (but there are no unambiguous signs of a tense Naherwartung).58 God will judge all flesh, annihilate the powers of evil and establish the age of peace in the land. The elect community will “inherit the land” (on this term, see section 4.3.2) and experience blessing and salvation. Similarly to 1 Enoch 1-5, the Epistle of Enoch and sectarian writings, the discourses describe the end-time judgement of the cosmos with separation between the righteous and the evil ones. The fate of the elect is compared to that of the angels - they will inherit glory and honour. The ungodly among the dead will be requited for their deeds - from their toilsome stay in Sheol they will on the day of judgement experience destruction and annihilation.

In its apocalyptic eschatology 4QInstruction is a close relative of 1 Enoch and the main sectarian writings, and differs from a morebiblically-oriented restoration eschatology as represented by works such as the Words of the Luminaries. There is a correlation between a restoration eschatology and a national understanding of the ‘remnant’ on the one hand, and an apocalyptic eschatology and a more narrow ‘ecclesiology’ on the other (see section 4.3.1). 4QInstruction shares with the Apocalypse of Weeks and sectarian writings an eschatological understanding of history and its periods. In the present period God has chosen to reveal the mysteries of history and the eschaton to the elect (see section 4.1.6). God’s judgement will put an end to period of evil’. While the term period of evil (presupposed in 4Q416 VII 11-12) is frequent in sectarian teaching of the periods, period of truth (4Q416 VII 14) does not occur in the main sectarian writings. It is not explicitly stated that the present time of the community is period or that the author’s time is marked by violence and deceit, as is presupposed by the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 93:9).

57For אָכַל מִצְרָיִם וּמֵאָרָּתִים cf. 1QH” III 30-31 III 33 “It shall consume the foundations of the earth and the expanse of dry land, the bases of the mountains shall blaze”; 35 יַעֲבֹד יְהֹוָה מִי לָכֶם מִי l “the foundations of the world shall stagger and sway”.

58The earliest Enoch literature, the Book of Watchers and the Book of the Luminaries, as well as Jubilees are more concerned with the inevitability of the judgement than its proximity, while the Epistle of Enoch expects an imminent judgement. See Collins, “Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Movement?”, 33; G.W.E. Nickelsburg, “The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality of 1 Enoch”, Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium, 51-64, p. 54.
Argall has noted a number of traditions common to Sirach and 1 Enoch, among them the theme of the end-time judgement (for Sirach, see 35:22-26; 36:1-22). The two books differ, however, on the recipients of salvation and destruction: "In 1 Enoch, the (Divine) Warrior saves an oppressed group within Israel and destroys this group’s Jewish adversaries along with the wicked among the nations. In Sirach, the nation as a whole is saved and the Gentile oppressors are destroyed". On this point 4QInstruction clearly sides with 1 Enoch.

In its discourses on and allusions to the coming judgement and salvation 4QInstruction is inspired by biblical prophets and psalms. We encounter both direct allusions to biblical verses and free use of scriptural material.

None of the eschatological passages of 4QInstruction mentions any restoration of Zion or the people of the 12 tribes, a Davidic king or any other eschatological figure. There is no eschatological war between the sons of light and the sons of darkness, as in the War Scroll, 4QPseudo-Daniel and 4QNew Jerusalem. As in the main sectarian writings the eschatology of 4QInstruction is not centred around a messianic figure, but around an eschatological community; it displays a ‘collective messianism’ (see section 4.3.3). If the author of 4QInstruction shared the expectation of a messianic ruler, this figure did not occupy a crucial role in his eschatological scenario. On this point there is a contrast between 4QInstruction and the writings of the yahad, and we suggest that Essene eschatology developed and became more detailed as the circles behind 4QInstruction merged into the yahad (see further section 5.2). The detailed eschatology of the midrashim and pesharim is not found in this composition. The phrase אֲחָיָה הַשָּׁמָיִם 'the end of days' does not occur. Similarly, the phrase הָרוּחַ אֲשֵׁר ‘the last generation’ which is used by the pesharim about the generation of their own time, does not...
occur. Together these observations indicate that the discourses of 4QInstruction reflect an earlier period of the movement which later produced works such as 4QMidrEschat and 11QMelchizedeq.\textsuperscript{64}

### 4.2.3.2. Afterlife

We return to the question of the nature of the afterlife of the elect. The eschatological discourses in 4Q416 VI-VIII and 4Q418 69 have close parallels in 1QS IV 6-14; CD II 5-10 (= 4Q266 2 ii 5-10); IQR P III 29-36, and 4QAmram\textsuperscript{f} ar 1-2 ii 4-10,\textsuperscript{65} and fit Hippolyt’s description of the eschatological teachings of the Essenes:

They acknowledge both that the flesh will rise again, and that it will be immortal, in the same manner as the soul is already imperishable. And they maintain that the soul, when separated in the present life, (departs) into one place, which is well ventilated and lightsome, where, they say, it rests until judgement ... Now they affirm that there will be both a judgement and a conflagration of the universe, and that the wicked will be eternally punished.

(M. Smith noted that on this point Hippolyt’s description is more ‘Jewish’ and probably more reliable than the parallel account in War 2.8.154-8.\textsuperscript{66} The version of Josephus is different:

For this teaching is strong among them that bodies are corruptible and their matter is not lasting, but that souls are immortal and continue forever; and that they come out of the most subtle air, and are united to their bodies as in prisons ... but that when they are set free from the bonds of the flesh, they then, as released from a long bondage, rejoice and mount upward. Sharing the opinion of the Greeks, they declare that for the good (souls) there is in store a dwelling beyond the ocean ... whereas they assign the evil (souls) to a gloomy and tempestuous recess filled with incessant punishments. (War 2.8.154)

Josephus’ description sounds unmistakably Hellenistic: the eternal ethereal souls are connected with the bodies as in a prison, and at the death of the body they are released. The souls of the righteous go to a paradise, while punishment awaits the ungodly. There is no such preexistence of souls in 4QInstruction, which, however, expresses a clear hope for an afterlife:

If <God> commits <you> to die in your poverty, entrust yourself to Him and do not rebel against Him in your spirit.\textsuperscript{67} Then you will rest with the truth, and in your death your remembrance will blossoms in the end you will inherit joy. (4Q416 V 6-8)

know who will inherit glory and who corruption. Will it not be[ garland for the poor ones?] and eternal joy for their sorrow? (4Q417 III 11-12)

\textsuperscript{64}According to Steudel, the detailed scheme for the last days was developed by the sectarians towards the end of the life of the Teacher (end of first century BCE), with 4QMidrEschat and 11QMelch as primary examples: “מוות והחיים In the Texts from Qumran”, 233-42.

\textsuperscript{65}This eschatological passage from 4QAmram\textsuperscript{f} ar (4Q548 frg. 1) displays ‘sectarian terminology’ like ‘sons of truth’, ‘sons of light’, ‘sons of darkness’, which also occurs in 4Q544 (4QAmram\textsuperscript{b} ar) 3 J. E. Puech, who dates the composition of Visions of Amram to c.200 BCE, remarks that “the attribution of this manuscript to Visions of Amram is not certain, only probable” (“Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology at Qumran and in the New Testament”, 247, note 33). If it does belong to Visions of Amram, this manuscript could have been reworked by a sectarian writer. Judged from its sectarian vocabulary, a date around 200 BCE does not seem probable. The only option would be to ascribe to this work the invention of the terms ‘sons of light’ and ‘sons of darkness’, and postulate a later adoption of these terms from 4QAmram\textsuperscript{f} ar by the sectarians.

\textsuperscript{66}The question whether Refutatio XXII is authored by Hippolyt or only ascribed to him, has no consequences for our discussion.

\textsuperscript{67}Lines 6-7 are open to different translations (see section 6.2.1). For lines 7-8, cf. Sir 15:6 אַבִּי מָעָן יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל עָלוּיָו יְהוָה יִשְׂרָאֵל “Joy and gladness he will find, she (Wisdom) will endow him with an everlasting name”.

\textsuperscript{68}The Description of the Essenes in Josephus and the Philosophumena”, HUCA 29 (1958) 273-313, p. 285.
The seekers of truth will wake up to the judgments of God(?) ... And even the sons of heaven, whose inheritance is eternal life ... will they not wake in eternal light? ... also you will inherit glory and abundant honour. 

(4Q18 69 ii 7, 12-14)

Immortality, Eternal Life, Epistle of Enoch, Daniel, established is an expansion of the text from Ezekiel and interprets [ItaC, stand on their chs.

asserted, Daniel provides no indication that the bodily afterlife.

of heaven, rejoice greatly and Cavallin, is probably dependent upon Dan 12:3 (or both depend on a common tradition), which make it likely that also these chapters of the Epistle envisage a resurrection, as does Daniel 12 (with Collins, Daniel, 396; and Puech, La croissance des Esséniens, 83-4, 319; idem, “Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology”, 249, cf. also Cavallin, Life After Death, 42-4).

It is not immediately clear whether these texts refer to an afterlife of the spirits, some kind of angelic existence, or a resurrection of the body. In the second century BCE the hope for a bodily resurrection of the righteous is evidenced by Dan 12:1-3 and LXX to Isa 26:19. 68 QPseudo-Ezekiel, 70 Q521 (4QMess. Apoc.) and texts from 1 Enoch. 71 Ulrichsen asserts that also early apocalyptic strata in T. 12 Patr. foresee the

68 Harrington comments on this text: “The righteous will enjoy an angelic existence”: “Two Early Jewish Approaches to Wisdom”, 129.

69 The wording of Dan 12:2 echoes Isa 26:19, which proclaims that corpses shall rise and wake up. In Isa 26:19 the resurrection might be a symbolic expression of the renewal of the people, but Daniel 12 obviously interpreted it concretely on the righteous individuals, as does the LXX, ἀναστήσωσαν οἱ νεκροὶ, καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μυμβολοις, καὶ ἐφαρμοσθήσονται οἱ ἐν τῷ γή. This means that Nickelsburg is probably right when he argues that Daniel 12 envisages bodily resurrection: Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism, Cambridge and London 1972, 23 (so also H.C.C. Cavallin, Life After Death. Paul’s Argument for the Resurrection of the Dead in 1 Cor 15. Part I: An Enquiry into the Jewish Background, Lund 1974, 27). Collins counters that the resurrection of Daniel 12 points to some kind of angelic afterlife: “Daniel, however, does not address the form of the resurrection ... Contrary to what is sometimes asserted, Daniel provides no indication that the resurrection life is located on earth”: Daniel, 392-4. The plain wording of Daniel 12 allows for Collins’ caveat. However, the themes common to Daniel 12, the Epistle of Enoch, QPseudo-Ezekiel and LXX to Isa 26:19, are more easily explained if also Daniel 12 shared the hope of a bodily afterlife.

70 D. Dimant now dates QPseudo-Ezekiel to the mid-second century BCE, and sees a clear hope for the resurrection of the righteous in 4Q585 2.5-9. This text combines Ezekiel 37 with Isa 26:19. וְיְהִי נְתַנָּה בָּרִי עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל (line 8) is an expansion of the text from Ezekiel and interprets קָרַן יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל (Isa 26:19) on the resurrected ones who praise YHWH: “On Resurrection: Prophets and Pseudo-prophets at Qumran”, paper presented at the Orion Center’s conference on apocrypha and pseudopigrapha, 14.01.97. 4Q585 12.2-6 also refers to the resurrection in its interpretation of Ezekiel 37, which is coloured by Isa 26:19-20: “and then a great multitude will arise and sit upon their feet, they will rest in their graves until the wrath of YHWH has passed by, ... I will open your graves and [wake you up] from the earth”. b. Sanh. 92b preserves a similar interpretation, הוא יศา ותשר שלמה עלי ומקרא iii:לאחר לוחם ומגיטי הימים יושב יושב ויביאו יושב יושב The dead whom Ezekiel resurrected stood up, gave praise, and died”.

71 Collins, in his discussion of the resurrection concept, refers to 1 Enoch 22:13; 90:33; 91:10; 92:3; and 104:1-6, and concludes: “It is apparent, then, that the belief in resurrection and judgment after death was well established in the apocalyptic circles that produced the Enoch literature in the early second century B.C.E.”. Daniel, 394-98. Also 1 Enoch 100:5 probably presuppose a resurrection. At first glance, one part of the Epistle (chs. 102-104) seems to speak about an afterlife of the spirits and not bodily resurrection (Nickelsburg asserts that 1 Enoch 102-104 does not presume resurrection of the body, but only afterlife for the spirits: Resurrection, Immortality, Eternal Life, 112-129. His argument seems to presuppose that this is the view all through the Epistle of Enoch, which is at odds with chs. 91-92). Chs. 103-104 mention explicitly the spirits of the righteous (ψυχα, πνεύματα, νασά, manifesta, 103:3-8), who shall shine as the light of heaven, pass through the gates of heaven, rejoice greatly and be partners of the people of heaven (104:2-6). The ‘shining as the light of heaven’ is probably dependent upon Dan 12:3 (or both depend on a common tradition), which make it likely that also these chapters of the Epistle envisage a resurrection, as does Daniel 12 (with Collins, Daniel, 396; and Puech, La croissance des Esséniens, 83-4, 319; idem, “Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology”, 249, cf. also Cavallin, Life After Death, 42-4).
resurrection of the righteous Israelites. According to Hippolyt, the Essenes looked forward to the resurrection, but it is a matter of dispute whether the yahad did believe in the resurrection of the body. Ben Sira is closer to the sceptical voice of Qohelet (cf. Qoh 3:3 “all are from the dust and all turn to dust again”) when he asserts that “from the dead, as from one who does not exist, thanksgiving has ceased” (17:28, cf. 46:19). The Book of Baruch, which probably can be dated to the second century, envisages an afterlife which does not include resurrection. Jubilees 23 has been interpreted in different ways.

Against this background, how should the Eschatology of Qumran be understood? The seekers of truth will wake up to the judgement of God. The statement is kept in the 3rd person, in contrast to the addresses in the 2nd person to the ungodly (lines 4-9) and to the elect who are alive (lines 10-14). We suggest that this sentence refers to another group, the righteous among the dead (for which cf. 1 Enoch 22:9; 102:4-103:4), and that it rephrases I Enoch 91:10 “and the righteous shall arise from their sleep” and 92:3 “And the righteous one shall arise from sleep”. According to the Epistle of Enoch, the righteous among the dead

72 According to Ulrichsen (Die Grundschrift, 246-50), the Grundschrift of Test. 12 Pair. talks about death as a sleep and neither refers to a resurrection nor an end-time judgement (T. Iss. 7:9; T. Dan 7:1; T. Zeb. 10:6; T. Aser 8:1; T. Jos. 20:4); while apocalyptic strata from the early post-Danielic period foresee the resurrection of the righteous, among them the patriarchs and their ‘sons’, i.e. the righteous Israelites (T. Sim. 6:7; T. Zeb. 10:2-3; T. Judah 25:1, 4) [exceptional are the later T. Benj. 10:6-8, that foresees a general resurrection, “some destined for glory, others for dishonor”; and T. Aser 6:4-6, that teaches the immortality of the soul]. The resurrection is related to the idea of the end-time judgement in the same passages: God will judge Israel and the peoples, the ungodly will be annihilated and the righteous recompensed.

73 E. Puech the question in the affirmative, and refers l.a. to 4Q521 II and IV; 4Q504 (4QDibHam*) 1-2 vi; 4Q548 (4QAmram ar) 1; and 4Q385 (4QPsEzek*) 2: La croyance des Esséniens (for the present discussion, see especially 105-118, 605-702; as well as his article “Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology”). On this question, see also the surveys of Nickelsburg, Resurrection, Immortality, Eternal Life, 144-69; H. Lichtenberger, Studien zum Menschenbild in den Qumrantexten, Tübingen 1980, 219-24; Collins, Daniel, 397-8. H. Kvalheim has recently argued that the references to resurrection in 4Q521 II should be interpreted metaphorically: “Die Wunder der Endzeit. Beobachtungen zu 4Q521 und Matth 11,5p”, ZNW 88 (1997) 11-25. However, col. V talks clearly about a resurrection: 4Q521 II 6-9. For our part it is an open question whether the yahad believed in resurrection of the body. 4Q521 and 4QPsSeudo-Ezekiel do testify to such a belief, but cannot be categorized as works of the yahad.

74 Bar 2:17 “the dead down in Sheol, whose breath has been taken from their bodies, are not the ones to give glory and due observance to the Lord”; 3:19 “They have vanished, gone down to Sheol. Others have risen to their places”. Burke, who delineates Baruch to 180-100 BCE (this dating would make it a contemporary of QInstruction), observes that the resurrection concept has not yet replaced the concept of Sheol, and refers to Charles who attributed the resurrection concept to the beginnings of the second century BCE: Burke, The Poetry of Baruch, 29; R.H. Charles, “Baruch”, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed. (London 1910), vol. III, 453-4. On the dating of Baruch, see section 4.1.1, note 8.

75 See Jub. 23:30-31 “And then the Lord will heal His servants, and they will rise up and see great peace. And they will drive out their enemies ... And their bones will rest in the earth, and their spirits will increase joy”. These lines are usually considered advocating an afterlife of the spirit only. G. Molin disagrees, and remarks “Jub. sagt deutlich, dass der Leib Ruhe und der Geist Freude haben werde. Das lässt sich freilich auch im sinne Hippolytis auslegen. Kämme es auf den Leib gar nicht mehr an, so brauchte er nicht zu ruhen, sondern könnte gänzlich vergehen”: “Qumrân-Apokalyptik-Essenismus”, Saeculum 6 (1955) 244-81, p. 269. J.H. Ulrichsen agrees with Molin, but adds that Jub. 23:31a might be a later interpolation. In his view, neither version necessarily precludes a resurrection: “Trotz dem liv etter døden i Qumrantekstene”, Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift 3 (1977) 151-63.

76 It should be noted that the Ethiopian version of 1 Enoch 91:10 and 92:3 (the Aramaic is not preserved on this point) uses the term nas’a ‘be lifted up/arise’ and not a word for ‘waking up’ (from sleep). The words “the seekers of truth will wake up to the judgements of God(?)” recur in 1QP VI 29-30 “and all the sons of His
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

will be resurrected to an existence characterized by righteousness, wisdom and eternal light.77 4Q418 69 ii 14 describes the future of the elect who are alive with the words “glory and abundant honour”, probably a promise valid for the departed as well.

Dan 12:2 speaks of ‘waking up from sleep’ in a resurrection context: “Multitudes who sleep in the dust of the earth will awake: some to everlasting life”. This similarity might indicate that not only 1 Enoch 91:10 and 92:3-5, but also Daniel 12 and 4Q418 69 ii 7 refer to a resurrection of the body. The use of ‘sleep’ for death belongs to the old biblical world view,78 which did not contain the hope for resurrection. ‘Wake up from sleep’ (Daniel 12, cf. 4Q418 69 ii 7 ‘wake up’) or ‘arise from sleep’ (1 Enoch 91-92) would therefore be natural metaphors for the resurrection of the dead, and would hardly be used if one wanted to describe an afterlife of the spirits.

While the comparison with the angels (“And even the sons of heaven, whose inheritance is eternal life ... will they not walk in eternal light? ... also you [will inherit glory and abundant honour,” 4Q418 69 ii 12-14) easily can be interpreted about an afterlife of the spirits, the statement “The seekers of truth will wake up to the judgements[ of God?]” (line 7) thus points more toward a bodily resurrection for the righteous. However, the full textual evidence do not allow for unequivocal conclusions on this point. The statement that in the afterlife “they shall always praise His name” (4Q418 126 ii 10) could represent an interpretation of Isa 26:19 and thus refer to the resurrected ones praising the Lord.79

The hope for afterlife in 4QInstruction and 1 Enoch might be linked to the expectation of the ultimate ‘inheriting the land’, and the images of ‘garden’ and ‘planting’ for the end-time community (4Q418 81 13-14).80 The devout individual’s hope of ‘blossoming forever’ and ‘inheriting joy’ (4Q416 V 6-8) could refer to the expectation of the community, ‘the eternal planting’, that it will ‘inheriting the land’.81 In that case, not only those alive at the time of the eschatological renewal, but also the departed saints would have their share in ‘inheriting the land’. Alternatively, if Harrington is right in his assertion that 4QInstruction only foresees an angelic existence for the righteous (see above, note 68), the author would have to discern sharply between those here

77 1 Enoch 91:10 “And the righteous shall arise from their sleep, and wisdom shall arise and be given to them”; 92:3-4 “And the righteous one shall arise from sleep, he shall arise and walk in the paths of righteousness, and all his path and conversation shall be in eternal goodness and grace. He (God) will be gracious to the righteous and give him eternal uprightness ... and he shall walk in eternal light”. According to 1 Enoch 91:10 and 92:3, the righteous rise to experience their bliss, not to witness God’s judgement, as expressed in 4Q418 69 ii 7.


79 As in 4Q385 (4QpsEzek) frgs. 2 and 12. See above, note 70.

80 See section 4.3.2 on the community as a typos of the end-time garden of the righteous. In section 4.3.2 we argue that a ‘planting’ terminology is a clear sign of an earthly eschatology: these terms point to a hope for blessed conditions in the land or a renewed earth.

81 Cf. section 4.3.2, note 40, on ‘inheriting the land’ as a term for the period of ultimate salvation in 1 Enoch 5. This chapter does not refer to an afterlife of the spirits, but to blessings experienced physically by the elect. The period of salvation described in 5:7-9 equals the period of peace, prosperity and blessing described in 1:8, that follows the day of judgement (1:7).
4.2. Eschatology

below who will inherit the land (in some kind of millenial period before the day of judgement, similar to 4 Ezra and Revelation 20?) and the departed saints.

4.2.3.3. Realized eschatology

We have argued that, according to 4QInstruction, the elect community shares the glory of Adam and the wisdom of Solomon, and that this enlightenment is constitutive of salvation and life eternal (see section 4.1.5 and further 4.3.2). We encounter not only a hope for the afterlife, but a realized eschatology. What traditionally was preserved for the future was being experienced in the present: The last days are ready at hand. The circles of the writer and his addressee are the end-time community of verus Israel. The elect have already now a share in the world to come and have tasted the fruits of Eden. The hope for the eschaton is combined with the knowledge that salvation is a present reality. Salvation is experienced as a lasting fellowship with God and the angels, knowledge of and participation in His mysteries, and partaking of the blessings of the end-time community (see further sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3). Some passages clearly show the presentic aspect of this eschatology:

walk according to the mystery to come and investigate His birth-times. Then you will gain knowledge of His inheritance and will walk in righteousness ... For He lifted your head from poverty, seated you among nobles, and gave you authority over a glorious inheritance"

The statement “He is your portion and your inheritance among the sons of men” (4Q418 8:1-3) represents a reinterpretation of the promise to Aaron/Levi that their inheritance will be priestly dues instead of a piece of land (Num 18:20; Deut 10:9). These scriptural passages as well as Jer 51:19; Ps 16:5-11; 73:23-28 were read as promises about a lasting inheritance and eternal life for the righteous. Also the promise of God’s presence to those who ‘keep His word’ (Exod 20:6; 4Q418 8:1; 4Q417 IX 18) is now the prerogative of the elect community only (see section 3.2.2).
In the discourses we encounter a dualistic distinction between the ‘period of evil’ and the ‘period of truth’, between the ‘elect of truth’ and the ‘foolish of heart’. The world of the author (and of the addressee?) is dualistically shaped, and encourages an apocalyptic understanding of the eschaton and the conditions of life. As member of the end-time community the elect has already been set into a glorious inheritance. The addressee of 4QInstruction has access to the hidden mysteries of God: when he meditates on the deeds of God and their consequences, when he understands the times, he will have knowledge of eternal glory and God’s wondrous mysteries. Salvation is present, already now he experiences a taste of eternal glory, and looks forward to the final consummation of God’s promises. The same consciousness of partaking of the eschatological salvation is alluded to in 1 Enoch, and clearly expressed in the writings of the yahad.

4.2.3.4. Josephus’ statement about the Essenes’ predicting the future

Josephus states about the Essenes “there are some among them who profess to foreknow the future, being educated in sacred books and various purifications and sayings of prophets; and seldom, if ever, do they err in their predictions” (War 2.159). This passage belongs to the lengthy account of the practices and beliefs of the Essenes (War 2.119-61), which by and large has been taken over by Josephus from other sources. A number of scholars connect Josephus’ various accounts of Essene preoccupation with prophecy with the biblical exegesis at Qumran, and specifically with the composition of pesher commentaries.

We propose for consideration a somewhat different solution: the enigmatic statement in War 2.159 might simply reflect the apocalyptic expectations of the Essenes: ‘Sayings of prophets’ can refer to biblical prophetical books, pseudo-prophetical books of the kind found in Qumran (New Jerusalem, Pseudo-Ezekiel, Pseudo-Jeremiah), Books of Enoch and Noah; and eschatological works known by the Essenes like 4Q521; 4Q228 (4QText with a Citation of Jubilees), 4Q215a (4QTime of Righteousness) and 4Q475Renewed Earth. The

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83Cf. IQH XIII 5-6: God has bestowed רחל ליה ות on the elect.
84See e.g. 1 Enoch 5:8; 90:6, 9; 93:10; and section 4.1, note 17.
85Cf. H-W. Kuhn’s characterization of the Hodayot with the words “Enderwartung und Gegenwärtiges Heil” (see Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil); C. Newsom’s comment on IQS, “the separation and purification characteristic of the eschatological age are already embodied in the language of the community’s discourse. To speak such a language is an implicit claim to participate already in eschatological reality” (“Apocalyptic and the Discourse of the Qumran Community”, JNES 49 (1990) 135-44, p. 141); and J.J. Collins’ remark, “Insights into the pattern of present experience can then be used to illuminate the future, and eschatological doctrines can disclose meaning in the present ... the anticipation of eschatological salvation by fellowship with the angels is stronger in the Hodayot than in any apocalypse” (The Apocalyptic Imagination, 140).
88See Elgvin, “Renewed Earth and Renewed People: 4Q475”.

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4.2. Eschatology

Essenes’ preoccupation with the imminent end could by outsiders be perceived as “professing to foreknow the future”.

Josephus’ three reports about individual Essene prophets who could foresee events of the public-political realm (War 1.78-80, 2.112-13, Ant. 13.311-13, 15.373-79, 17.345-48) seem to fall in another category. However, Josephus connects the ability of the Essene prophet Menahem with his “knowledge of divine things” and his “understanding everything” (Ant. 15.379, 375). Such esoteric knowledge fits well the preoccupation with God’s mysteries in 4QInstruction. In 4QInstruction the knowledge about the periods of history and the imminent end is an essential part of raz nihyeh which is revealed to the community.

4.2.3.5. 4QInstruction and early Jewish liturgy

We have indicated a number of parallels with Enochic material, especially 1 Enoch 1-5 and the Epistle of Enoch. It thus seems likely that eschatological passages from 1 Enoch were important sources of inspiration for the eschatological discourses in 4QInstruction and the related 1Q/4QMysteries. At the same time, in sections 4.1.2.4.1 and 4.2.1 we showed numerous parallels between these discourses on the one hand, and the conceptual world of the yahad and synagogue liturgy for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur on the other. We therefore propose that the eschatological discourses of 4QInstruction are related to early liturgical traditions connected to the 1st of Tishrei (the biblical ‘day of blowing the shophar’, Lev 23:24-25; Num 29:1-6, the later ‘Rosh Hashanah’). We thus suppose that apocalyptic motifs belonged to the traditions of Rosh Hashanah from early post-biblical times.

88Gray, Prophetic Figures, 92-105.


91Also other sections of 4QInstruction demonstrate parallels with the Rosh Hashanah liturgy. We have indicated a number of parallels with Enochic material, especially 1 Enoch 1-5 and the Epistle of Enoch. It thus seems likely that eschatological passages from 1 Enoch were important sources of inspiration for the eschatological discourses in 4QInstruction and the related 1Q/4QMysteries. At the same time, in sections 4.1.2.4.1 and 4.2.1 we showed numerous parallels between these discourses on the one hand, and the conceptual world of the yahad and synagogue liturgy for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur on the other. We therefore propose that the eschatological discourses of 4QInstruction are related to early liturgical traditions connected to the 1st of Tishrei (the biblical ‘day of blowing the shophar’, Lev 23:24-25; Num 29:1-6, the later ‘Rosh Hashanah’). We thus suppose that apocalyptic motifs belonged to the traditions of Rosh Hashanah from early post-biblical times.

92Mowinckel commented that eschatological hopes were connected to the New Year Festival already in biblical times: “From the experiences and the certainty of the festival the psalmists sometimes, too, look beyond the coming year to the reestablishment of Israel and the eschatological fulfillment, making the latter an object of prayer”: The Psalms in Israel’s Worship, vol. I, 191.
References to the celebration of the 1st of Tishrei in second temple times are scarce, but do provide some support for our argument. Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 13:6 (probably written in the Land of Israel about the turn of the era) connects the 'Feast of Trumpets' on the 1st of Tishrei with creation and the fate of men.

Now the Feast of Trumpets will be an offering for your watchers. In as much as I watched over creation, may you also be mindful of all the earth. At the beginning of those days, when you present yourselves, I will declare the number of those who are to die and who are to be born. A fast of mercy you will fast for Me for your own souls, so that the promises made to your fathers may be fulfilled.

According to Pseudo-Philo, God will muster all men and decide their fates, themes dealt with in the discourse on the cosmic judgement, *4Q416 VI-VIII*. Further, the ‘fast of mercy’ reminds us of the reminder that ‘great are the mercies of God’ (*4Q416 VII 12*).

Some themes connected to Rosh Hashanah can be traced already in *Jubilees* (mid-second century BCE). According to *Jub. 12:16-20*, in the night of the 1st of Tishrei, Abraham "observed the stars from evening until daybreak so that he might see what the nature of the year would be with respect to rain", and he continued praying to the Creator. Creation and the order of the heavenly bodies are themes dealt with also in *4QInstruction* (*4Q417 IX 4-13; 4Q416 VII 8-10*), while the Rosh Hashanah liturgy connects the festival with God's ordaining the fate of the coming year. Further, in his analysis of *1 Enoch* 1-5, Hartman tried to identify links with the themes of the Feast of Weeks, the 1st of Tishrei and Yom Kippur. The discourses of *4QInstruction* have many motifs in common with *1 Enoch* 1-5, and thus supports the proposed connection between these texts and the feasts of Tishrei (but not with the Feast of Weeks). *1 Enoch* 1-5 should be dated to the first half of the second century BCE (see section 5.1.2, note 29), which gives an indication of the antiquity of the traditions contained in these discourses.

The Temple Scroll and a calendrical scroll from Qumran confirm that the Day of Remembrance (4Q321 cols. V-VII; 111QT* XXV 1-10) was an important one in the festival calendar of the *yahad*, but do not reveal much about its contents. The prayer preceding the Yom Kippur prayer in 1Q34 1-2/4Q509 3 possibly belongs to the Qumran liturgy for the Day of Remembrance. The fragmentary text deals with the seasons of the annual cycle and the gathering of the dispersed ones. However, another fragment of 1Q34 makes more sense on the 1st of Tishri:

You will reward the righteous ones with the lot of the righteous, and [give] to the evil ones the lot of the evil ... in their bones a disgrace to all flesh. But the righteous ones [ ... to flourish, thanks to the yields of the heavens and the produce of the earth, to discern ... between the righteous] and the wicked. You will give wicked ones for our ransom and traitors [in our stead, and bring about the destruction of ...]


94*Asking for a Meaning*, 101-124. Hartman sees the 1st of Tishri, Yom Kippur and the Feast of Weeks as important sources of inspiration for the composition of *1 Enoch* 1-5. He concludes, "the celebrations of the first half of the month of Tishrei could at least form one cultic frame of reference for the author of *1 En* 1–5 with its theophany on Sinai as judgment on sinners, its reference to the creation and to nature's obedient order and abundance, its denouncement of the ones who have fallen away from the covenant, and its description of the bliss of the faithful, all more or less inspired by the covenant chapters Dt 27–33" (p. 109).

4.2. Eschatology

all our enemies. And we will praise Your name for ever [and ever . . . ] For this is why You created us. Thus [we will praise ]You, Blessed [ 1Q34"b 3 i (4Q508 1) (translation and emendations ours)

The requital of the righteous and the ungodly according to their portions, the judgement of the evil ones, creation: all these are themes known from Rosh Hashanah and the discourses of 4QInstruction.

Thus, there are striking parallels between the discourses of 4QInstruction and liturgies and traditions connected with the 1st of Tishrei back to the second century BCE. We know that 4QInstruction was an influential book in Qumran. It therefore seems probable that the eschatological passages in 4QInstruction and 1Q/4QMysteries were connected to the Day of Remembrance also for the men of the yahad and their precursors. The evidence suggests that the Rosh Hashanah prayers, the discourses of 4QInstruction as well as 1Q/4QMysteries, 1 Enoch 1-5 and the Epistle of Enoch have common roots in eschato logical traditions in the land of Israel96 in the second century BCE, before the yahad separated from Israel at large. Schiffman characterizes 1Q/4QMysteries as reflective (i.e. nonliturgical) poetry.97 Also the eschatological discourses in 4Q416 VII and 4Q417 IX demonstrate poetical features (see section 3.2), and could well reflect liturgical traditions. There is thus reason to believe that the nucleus of the Rosh Hashanah prayers was formulated as communal festival prayers already in the second century BCE. These prayers should therefore be counted among those Jewish prayers which have their roots in the second temple period.98 99

J. Bloch has argued that the apocalyptic stream in early Judaism was less 'sectarian' than usually acknowledged, and that apocalyptic thoughts belonged to mainstream Judaism from the second century BCE onwards. When apocalyptic writings were censored from mainstream Judaism after the fall of the temple, the Rabbis could not ignore the popularity of apocalyptic teaching. Thus these motifs found their way into rabbinic literature and synagogue liturgy.100 Enochic traditions, as one example, exercised considerable influence both on

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96 Cf. E. Fleischer, Eretz-Israel Prayer and Prayer Rituals as portrayed in the Geniza Documents (Hebrew), Jerusalem 1988, 132, who places the composition of the Ten Pahdeka prayer of Rosh Hashanah in Babylon, although he adds that the prayer can have roots in earlier Palestinian liturgical elements. See also Flusser, "The Book of Mysteries' and a Synagogal Prayer", 14-15.


100 On the Apocalyptic in Judaism, Philadelphia 1952. Bloch noted the pronounced apocalyptic character of the Rosh Hashanah prayers (pp. 62-5). See further A.I. Salduini, "Apocalyptic and Rabbinic Literature", CBQ 37 (1975) 348-58; idem, "Apocalypses and 'Apocalyptic' in Rabbinic Literature and Mysticism", Semeia 14 (1979) 187-205; I. Gruenwald, Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism. Cf. J.C. Greenfield's statement "There is no reason to doubt that Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai and his disciples, to whom the earliest Merkabah traditions are attributed in Talmudic sources, were familiar with the Essene and apocalyptic traditions that circulated in their day": "Prolegomenon", H. Odeberg, Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch, XI-XLIII (p. XXXVII).
The material we have presented from 4QInstruction supports the assertions of Bloch and Hartman, that the liturgy of the synagogue also have roots in early apocalyptic traditions.
4.3. The Remnant Community

4.3.1. The concept of a remnant

This chapter investigates how 4QInstruction views the end-time community. We compare the remnant idea and the community concept in 4QInstruction with sectarian writings and some presectarian ones found in Qumran. Special attention is given to the idea of the ‘eternal planting’. The discourse preserved in 4Q418 81-14 is discussed in detail, and the idea of divine sonship of the elect reviewed in an excursus.

4QInstruction reflects the thinking of early Essene or presectarian circles on the community as the end-time remnant of Israel, and the individual elect as partaker of the eschatological blessings bequeathed to the community. To understand the views of 4QInstruction on this point, we need to consider as background a wider post-biblical tradition on Israel’s remnant, and we will survey a number of texts that refer to the remnant.

Postexilic biblical writings often distinguish between the pious and the ungodly within the people of Israel, without defining a clear-cut community of the pious. Post-biblical writings relate to this inner rift in the people in their interpretation of the ‘remnant’ which God, according to the prophetic books, would preserve through judgement and tribulations. The remnant which will ‘inherit the land’ is understood either in a national-restorative way, or in a more narrow, sectarian manner. As an example of the national understanding we cite 4Q393 (4Qliturgical work), which preserves a presectarian communal prayer:

Do not abandon Your people and Your inheritance ... On whom will You make Your face shine without their being purified and sanctified and exalted above everything? You are the YHWH Who chose our fathers from ancient times. May You confirm us as a remnant for them to give us what you established with Abraham and Israel ... to give us houses full [of all good things ... ] the inheritance of a great people (4Q393 3+7 3-9)

Although these words might have been interpreted more narrowly by the yahad, the composition of this text reflects a national understanding of the ‘remnant’ and ‘inheriting the land’. One prays to God that He mercifully will exalt the people of Israel and confirm it as the remnant that inherits the promises to the fathers.

In contrast to this national understanding, a more sectarian one developed in the third or second centuries BCE; some circles adopted the idea of a narrow remnant community, different from national Israel. This idea became a central element in the thinking of the yahad, but the concept is certainly older, as it appears in 1 Enoch: the Epistle of Enoch and Apocalypse of Weeks foresee the emergence of an elect group at the end of the seventh week of history. This group will be given sevenfold wisdom (91:10; 93:10), and receive books conveying knowledge (104:12-13). The Enochic tradition reflects a group of scribes and wise men (5:8, cf. the

14Q393 is a nonsectarian composition which in some way is related to Jubilees. See D. Falk, “4Q393: A Communal Confession”, JJS 45 (1994) 184-207. The presence of this manuscript in the Qumran library suggests that 4Q393 is another presectarian composition which was adopted and used liturgically by the yahad. For readings and reconstructions of 4Q393, we usually follow D. Falk, “Use of Scripture in 4Q392-3”, a paper presented at the International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Provo, Utah, 16. July 1996.

description of Enoch as scribe, 12:4; 15:1; 92:1). They see themselves as the end-time group that has received sevenfold wisdom, the Enochic books are the books that convey knowledge and salvation. According to the Epistle, only those who listen to the words of these wise ones will be saved (99:10; 105:1), while the others will be destroyed (98:9). 1 Enoch reflects some kind of community with a distinctive self-understanding. According to the introduction to the Book of Watchers, only the remnant will ‘inherit the land’ (5:7-9). 1 Enoch’s use of ‘planting’ terminology related to the remnant community seems to influence both 4QInstruction and sectarian literature (see section 4.3.2).

We now turn to the presectarian Pseudo-Moses apocryphon. 4QPseudo-Moses refers to the remnant in one of its historical reviews:

\[
\text{לְאֹתָם הָעָם לֹא יִזָּהְרוּ יִכְלָּלָהּ לְאֹתָם הָעָם לֹא יִזָּהְרוּ}
\]

But I will cause to remain from among them a remnant, so that they will not be an[nihila]ted by My wrath and by [My face] being hidden from them. 4Q390 (4QpsMor) 1 10-11

The text continues with a description of the persisting disobedience of the people at large, while the remnant probably remains. In another passage (preserved in 4Q387 3, 4Q389 1 and 4Q388 1) the author foresees the end of the time of judgement: “I will hide My face from [them until] their iniquity is completed. And this will be for them the sign that their iniquity is completed: ...” (4Q389 1 ii 4-6). The ‘sign’ is a description of the periods of history, and the text refers to ‘a king of the gentiles, a blasphemer’ (Alexander the Great) who will be removed by God. God will then give the land (of Israel) over to the ‘angels of destruction’ (deemonic angels symbolizing the rule of the Diadochian kings, cf. 1 Enoch 89:59-90:5), and finally to three ungodly priests who will rule the land and defile the sanctuary (Jason, Menelaus and Alcimus, high priests 174-161 BCE). According to Dimant, Pseudo-Moses reflects priestly circles with a distinct halakah. These circles held to an apocalyptic eschatology and recorded history according to a chronology of jubilees. Pseudo-Moses probably expected a renewal of the

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3"The Enochic corpus, then, is the sacred scripture that constitutes the eschatological community of the chosen": Nickelsburg, “The Nature and Function of Revelation”. On 1 Enoch as revealed, saving wisdom, see Nickelsburg, “Revealed Wisdom as a Criterion for Inclusion and Exclusion: From Jewish Sectarianism to Early Christianity”, To See Ourselves as Others See Us: Christians, Jews, and ‘Others’ in Late Antiquity (J. Neusner, E.S. Frerichs, eds.), Chico 1985, 73-91.

4“...To what extent it is appropriate to refer to an identifiable Enochic community, with structure and organization, is difficult to say. 1 Enoch is not a Rule of the Community. Nonetheless, the distinctive Torah explicit in the Book of Luminaries and implicit in the Epistle’s criticism of false teachers who pervert the eternal covenant, seems to posit a distinctive community ethos that encourages and facilitates progress along the paths of righteousness”: Nickelsburg, “The Nature and Function of Revelation”.

5See D. Dimant, “The Seventy Weeks Chronology (Dan 9,24-27) in the Light of New Qumran Findings”, The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings (A.S. van der Woude, ed.), Leuven 1993, 57-76; idem, “New Light From Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha - 4Q390”, Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21. March 1991, 405-448. Dimant proposes that this composition comes from a priestly group which provided the background for the Qumran community, but the composition itself is not necessarily presectarian: “PsMos contains terminology and ideas unmistakably close to the distinctive thought and style of works originating in the Qumran community, and in particular to the first paraeneic part of the Damascus Covenant”; "However, none of the terminology or ideas peculiar to the Qumran community occur in 4Q390: no terms related to the specific organization of the Yahad or terms related to the unique religious beliefs of the community, such as the dualism, occur in 4Q390” (“New Light From Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha”, 410, 445). She suggests a date of origin for Pseudo-Moses no later than the time of Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE): “If this were the case, it would mean that PsMos could be dependent upon most of the Qumranic and Pseudepigraphic works discussed above, rather than (being) their source” (ibid, 447). For our part we tend to ascribe 4QPseudo-Moses to presectarian circles in the mid-second century (more likely priestly ones than the lay circles we see behind 4QInstruction).
people with its own circles being the 'remnant', the group that would be the nucleus in the coming restoration. Since Pseudo-Moses repeatedly refers to God abandoning the land and to ungodly rulers who defile the land, it stands to reason that the non-extant fragments described the restoration as 'inheriting the land'.

The Book of Jubilees reflects some kind of remnant group, which had a clear view of Heilsgeschichte and espoused a lunisolar calendar that was a matter of controversy. Jubilees purports to be special revelation, received in ancient times and now presented for Israel which stands on the threshold of the end-time. Jub. 23:26-31 envisages a group that searches the scriptures differently from their fathers and discovers the right halakah. Jubilees refers to the Enochic revelations, but different from 1 Enoch this group of exegetes still hoped that national Israel would return to 'the way' (i.e. live according to the right halakah) and experience the blessings of the eschaton (1:15-26; 23:20, 27-29). The restored people is designated 'a planting of righteousness' (1:16; 36:6).

On this background we turn to our analysis of 4QInstruction. To which degree does this book reflect a narrow, sectarian view of the remnant? Does it presuppose a community with a distinct self-understanding? Does one expect that national Israel will repent and join the eireles of the righteous, or will only a narrowly defined remnant inherit the land? We begin with a study of one important text (section 4.3.2) before we summarize our findings and compare with other relevant passages (section 4.3.3).

4.3.2. The glorious portion of the elect, 4Q418.81

The wisdom instruction in 4Q418.81 elaborates on the end-time community as the true remnant of Israel. We will discuss this passage, which was located somewhat after the middle of the 4Q418a scroll, more in detail. Parallels with Enochic and sectarian literature will be noted.

4Q418.81 preserves almost a full column of text. Its 20 lines preserve the full height of the column, below are discussed lines 1-14. This wisdom instruction stands out among the preserved parts of 4QInstruction with its lofty, poetic language. The main themes, the remnant community and the spiritual inheritance of the elect, are described in different ways. Phrases and sub-themes are frequently repeated. The passage represents a radical reinterpretation of the Solomon tradition. Close parallels to Solomon's prayer and God's promise to him in 1 Kgs 3:6-14 can be observed. According to this column, the wisdom God gave Solomon (1 Kgs 3:28; 4:29; 6:26).

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7The root שׁ֫ירִ is represented in lines 1, 4 (3x), 11, 12 (2x); מְסָכָלִי: "He gave you authority" in lines 3, 9; separation (דִּוָּה, רְמ) from flesh (הָיִם וּמְסָכָלִי) in lines 1, 2 (2x); inheritance (יִּבָּרָה, רְמ) in lines 3 (4x), 11, 14; the elect community (יִּבָּרָה, רְמ) in lines 10, 13; the fountain image (כָּנִי) in lines 1 (2x), 12; God's creation and preordination in lines 1-3. The inheritance of the elect is described with the words רְמָה (line 5); סְכָלֶה (line 5); מְסָכָלִי (line 6).

8Cf. the following phrases which recur in 4Q418.81: (also the following lines 15-20 allude to 1 Kings 3, see section 6.2.1): 1 Kgs 3:6 יִּבָּרָה (2x) - line 8 עַל פָּרָה (2x) - line 8 שָׁבָה (2x); 1 Kgs 3:9 יִּבָּרָה - a theme recurring in 4QInstruction, 4Q417 IX 10, 4Q418 27, 4Q423 1-2 7; 1 Kgs 3:9, 11 עַל פָּרָה - line 7 שָׁבָה - line 5 עַל פָּרָה - line 5 מְסָכָלִי - line 5 מְסָכָלִי - line 5 מְסָכָלִי - line 5 מְסָכָלִי.
14:17; cf. the wisdom of David, 2 Sam 14:17, 20) now is bequeathed to the elect in the community of the 'eternal planting'.

For He]

1. opened your lips as a fountain to bless the holy ones. And you, as an everflowing fountain, praise [ ] He separated you from all
2. the spirit of flesh. <Hence> you shall separate from everyone He hates and keep apart from all abominations of the spirit. [For] He made everyone
3. and bequeathed them, each man his inheritance, and He is your portion and your inheritance among the sons of Adam. [In] His finelrntance He gave you authority. And you, 4. honour Him in this: in sanctifying yourself to Him. As He set you to sanctify the holy ones[ for all],... and among all[ ]
5. He cast your lot and greatly increased your glory, and set you as His firstborn among all the sons of Israel[?],[ and said 'My riches[?]']
6. “and my favour I will give you”. Is not His goodness yours? <So> walk always in His faithfulness[ ]
7. your deeds. And you, seek His judgements from the hands of every adversary of yours, all [... He acts in [... toward all who]
8. love Him, and in mercy and kindness toward all who keep His word, but His zeal [is upon all who hate Him(?)].]
9. And for you He opened insight[ ], gave you authority over His storehouse and entrusted[ you] with an accurate ephah[ ]
10. are with you. It is in your hands to turn aside wrath from the men of [His] favour and punish[ the men of Belial(?)]
11. are with you. Before you take your portion from His hand, honour His holy ones, and before you
12. He opened[ a fountain] <for> all the holy[ly] ones, all who by His name are called holy[ones, they will be]
13. for all the eras the splendours of His sprout, an eternal planting[ ]
14. [ ], earth(?), in it will walk all those who inherit the land, for by [His] name[ are they called(?)]

While lines 1-11 are addressed to the individual in the 2nd person, lines 12-14 describe a community in the 3rd person. This wisdom instruction is a meaningful entity only if the addressed individual is seen as a member of the community. We therefore suggest that the entire instruction deals with the idea of the end-time community, of which the addressee is a partaker. The elect are ‘the men of God’s favour’, the community is the


We have identified an early photo (PAM 40.618) which shows some additional letters on the left edge of lines 7, 8 and 10, which are not registered in the PC.

We can be an imperative or a perfect. An imperative would imply the translation “Open your lips, as a fountain, to bless the holy ones!” A perfect form (where God is the one who opens the lips of the believer) fits better in the context, cf. Ps 51:17 and the parallels in the Hodayot, see note 14. We suggest that the previous column ended with Line 14.
'eternal plant' promised by Trito-Isaiah, the members of the community are the group which will 'inherit the land'. These concepts need closer scrutiny.

A community's relation to and perception of outsiders will usually reflect its own self-definition. This is true also for the discourses of 4QInstruction which reflect a social dualism: the just are distinguished from the unrighteous, both in the present and the hereafter. While only the addressees are enlightened and have received knowledge of God's mysteries, the text does not state explicitly that all outsiders are unrighteous who have no hope of eschatological salvation. Lines 1-2 exhort the elect to separate from the ungodly and the abominations which cling to them. This is a well-known theme in Qumran literature, and it recurs in one of the admonitions.13

The God-given portion of the elect is described with different images. The first is the fountain image: God has opened a fountain of insight for the elect (lines 9, 12), and has opened his lips as a fountain praising the angels (line 1). This praise is described as "an overflowing fountain" (lines 1, 12) is not used verbally in the Bible, but a similar construction occurs once: according to Zech 13:1, God will open a fountain for repentant Israel of the end-time: "and you will open my mouth, a fountain of knowledge, to the nations." The use of the fountain image in 4QInstruction and the Hodayot therefore has eschatological connotations. The use of the fountain image in this wisdom instruction could have been a source of inspiration for later sectarian authors, this theme is frequent in the Hodayot. Also later apocalyptic literature uses the fountain image to describe the wisdom revealed to the elect few (1 Enoch 48:1; 49:1; 4 Ezra 14:47; Odes Sol. 6:8-13).

The men of <His> favour (line 10), is a designation for the elect community which is under God's favour. Different from faithless Israel these circles enjoy God's acceptance. The Wirkungsgeschichte of 4QInstruction's use of the word is apparent: sectarian writings use similar expressions as technical terms for the

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12See 1QS T 3-4; V 1, 10, 18; 1QH a XIV 10-11; CD VI 14-15. Line 2 uses the verbs שמך and כי in this context. For a similar use of the root שמך, c.f. 1QS T 4, 10; IX 16. The root שמך is frequently used in sectarian writings with reference to separation from outsiders; see CD VI 15; VII 1; VIII 8; 1QH a IV 19. For the phrase הרקל משך לא предназначен "that he may be holy for You with no abominable uncleanness"; 1QH a IV 21 טמקו נרבע יומן "from all abomination and falsehood"; CD VII 1, 3 הרע לא מעניין "keep from fornication according to the statute ... and keep apart from every uncleanness according to the statutes relating to each one".

134Q47 III 7-8וְאַחַז עַל הַשָּׁבָּר לֹא מְדַבֶּר לְךָ אֲלֵךָ מְדַבֶּר יְהִי לְךָ וְלֹא יֵעָמֵד בְּעַל כָּל הָעָמִית שֶׁלָּךְ וְלֹא יֵעָמֵד בְּעַל כָּל הָעָמִית שֶׁלָּךְ וְלֹא יֵעָמֵד בְּעַל כָּל הָעָמִית שֶׁלָּךְ וְלֹא יֵעָמֵד בְּעַל כָּל הָעָמִית שֶׁלָּךְ וְלֹא יֵעָמֵד בְּעַל כָּל הָעָמִית שֶׁלָּךְ וְלֹא יֵעָמֵד בְּעַל כָּל הָעָמִית שֶׁלָּךְ וְלֹא יֵעָמֵד בְּעַל כָּל הָעָמִית שֶׁלָּךְ וְלֹא יֵעָמֵד בְּעַל כָּל הָעָמִית שֶׁלָּךְ וְלֹא יֵעָמֵד בְּעַל כָּל הָעָמִית שֶׁלָּךְ וְלֹא יֵעָמֵד בְּעַל כָּל הָעָמִית שֶׁלָּךְ V 12; 1QH b IV 10. Cf. "Do not consider an ungodly man a helper, and there will be nobody who hates the iniquity of his deeds together with its visitation. And know how to relate to him".

14God is likened to a fountain, e.g. 1QH a IV 14 וְאַחַז עַל הַשָּׁבָּר לֹא מְדַבֶּר לְךָ מְדַבֶּר יְהִי לְךָ וְלֹא יֵעָמֵד בְּעַל כָּל הָעָמִית שֶׁלָּךְ וְלֹא יֵעָמֵד בְּעַל כָּל הָעָמִית שֶׁלָּ� וְלֹא יֵעָמֵד בְּעַל כָּל הָעָמִית שֶׁלָּךְ W 12, 13. The phrase יְהִי לְךָ וְלֹא יֵעָמֵד בְּעַל כָּל הָעָמִית שֶׁלָּךְ recurs in 1QH a IV 17-18; VIII 8; X 31; 1QSB I 3, 6. 4Q286 (4QBer*) 1 ii 6 speaks of the heavenly realms as holding בְּעַל כָּל הָעָמִית שֶׁלָּךְ וְלֹא יֵעָמֵד בְּעַל כָּל הָעָמִית שֶׁלָּךְ and מְדַבֶּר יְהִי לְךָ וְלֹא יֵעָמֵד בְּעַל כָּל הָעָמִית שֶׁלָּךְ.
community: 1QH IV 32-33; 15 XI 9, 15 XII 1-6; 1QS VIII 6; 4Q298 (dQerA Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn) I 3-4 “O m[en of ]His fa[vour and] eternal [peace without] end”, 16 17 Priestly cultic language of the Bible can use יִּתָּמֵל as a technical term to describe God’s accepting a sacrifice. The context in 1QS VIII 5-6 could point to a similar frame of reference for יִּתָּמֵל in 1QS and thus for the ‘men/sons of God’s favour’ in sectarian literature as a whole: “the Community council shall be ... the foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron, true witnesses for the judgement, those chosen by <His> favour to atone for the land”. However, the reference to יִּתָּמֵל in 4QInstruction could indicate that the first Essene (or pre-Essene) use of these terms was connected to lay circles and did not convey cultic connotations (on lay circles as milieu of origin for 4QInstruction, see section 5.2.1).

According to line 13, the elect community is God’s glorious sprout (יהוה יְשׁוֹעָה) that will be an ‘[eternal planting’ (יהוה יְשׁוֹעָה). יְשׁוֹעָה, ‘sprout’, ‘branch’, is used in the Bible on branches of a mighty tree or a fruitful vine (Isa 10:33; Ezek 17:6), and five times for the branches of the tree of Eden in Ezekiel 31. Other words for ‘sprout’ have messianic connotations (Isa 11:1; Jer 10:5; Isa 4:2; Zech 3:8 הַיָּרֵד). The plural form יְשׁוֹעָה יִּתְמְנוּ points to some kind of a messianic community, the suffix which refers to God points to the God-given quality of the community. This interpretation is supported by the mention of the ‘eternal planting’, an important concept in the second temple period. To understand the significance of the ‘sprout’ and the ‘planting’ in this text as well as 4Q23 1-2 7 (see below), we will survey the biblical and early post-biblical tradition of the ‘(eternal) planting’.

In biblical and post-biblical literature the ‘planting’ is a metaphor for the righteous community, the true descendants of the patriarchs - either national Israel of the end-time, or a more narrowly defined ekklesia. 19 The national understanding underlies Jub. 1:16; 21:24; 36:6 ‘a planting of righteousness’. In Jubilees the planting is

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18The primary biblical sources for the planting concept are Isa 60:21 הָאָרֶץ יְנֵּצֵר לָעַל הָאָרֶץ יְהוָה יִּתְמְנוּ; Jer 34:29וְיָרְשָׁן יִּתְמָנָה לְאֵל וְיָרְשָׁן יִּתְמָנָה לְאֵל רַעְשָׁן יִּתְמָנָה; Zech 6:13 וּכְלֵי הָאָרֶץ יִּתְמָנָה. Cf. also Ezek 44:29וְיָרְשָׁן יִּתְמָנָה; LXX) and the tree of Eden in Ezekiel 31.

4.3. The Remnant Community

the repentant Israel of the last days, planted together with the new temple. In *Pss. Sol.* 14:3-5 the planting designates the pious ones of Israel, but not a specific community:

The Lord’s devout shall live by it (i.e. the Torah) forever; the garden of the Lord, the trees of life, are His devout ones. Their planting is firmly rooted forever; they shall not be uprooted as long as the heavens shall last, for Israel is the portion and inheritance of God.

The planting recurs in the Genesis Apocryphon. A historical allegory on Israel’s history (cols XIII-XV) foretells that most of Israel will behave wickedly (XV 9), but Noah is promised that there will always be a righteous planting among his progeny: "shall come forth a righteous planting ... shall remain forever" (XIV 13-14). The text is fragmentary, but it is clear that the planting is only a part of national Israel.

Enochic writings repeatedly refer to the planting (יהודי). The earliest references (probably from the beginning of the second century) are found in the *Book of Watchers*. In *1 Enoch* 10:16 the ‘planting of righteousness and truth’ (יהודי יהוד) is the righteous remnant of Israel who will be planted on an earthly paradise. This remnant will be the nucleus of the renewed mankind. In 10:3 the Greek text of Syncellus reads “Teach the righteous one, the son of Lamech, what he should do, and he will preserve his soul for life and will escape for ever, and from him will be planted a planting and it will stand for all the generations of eternity”. According to Milik, the Aramaic fragments correspond to Syncellus, while the Gizeh Greek and Ethiopic texts are shorter and do not mention the planting.21 In this case the planting is the righteous seed of Noah, either among Israel or all mankind. The Enochic writers behind this chapter surely saw themselves as belonging to the righteous seed of Noah. Perhaps they identified the planting with their own eirenes, but the planting could also belong to their hope for the future.

The *Book of Dreams* refers to ‘a planting of eternal seed’ in Enoch’s appeal to God: "My Lord, destroy the flesh that has angered you from upon the earth, but sustain the flesh of righteousness and uprightness as a planting of eternal seed" (84:6). The planting is Noah and his descendants who survive the flood, but also the righteous ones of the end-time who will survive at the ‘great day of judgement’ (84:4). Finally, the planting is mentioned thrice in the *Apocalypse of Weeks*. According to 93:2, the following text is “concerning the children of righteousness, concerning the elect ones of the world, and concerning the planting of truth”. The fragmentary Aramaic text22 could indicate that the children of righteousness, the elect ones, will come from the planting of truth without being identified with it. According to 93:5, the planting is Abraham and his offspring: Abraham is chosen as “the planting of righteous judgement”, and “after him <they?> shall come forth as a righteous planting for ever”. 93:10 foresees that at the end of the seventh week of history, “there shall be elected the elect ones of righteousness from the eternal planting of righteousness”. Thus, Enochic writers could designate the the

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20The team that recently published these columns suggests that col. XV speaks against the nations of the world: M. Morgenstern, E. Qimron, D. Sivan, “The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon”, *Abr-Nahrain* 33 (1995) 30-54. However, the man coming from the south and ravaging the land (XV 9-13) is probably Antiochus IV. Thus, this historical allegory culminates in the Maccabean period, as the historical reviews in Daniel 11 and 4QPseudo-Moses (4Q387 3 ii 1-12, 4Q389 1 ii 4-10, 4Q388 1 ii 4-10). On the date of 4QPseudo-Moses, see section 4.2.1, note 34).

21The Books of Enoch, 162.

elect of the last days (which surely included their own circles) as ‘the planting of righteousness’, ‘the planting of eternal seed’, but they could also describe the elect ones as emerging “from the eternal planting of righteousness” (viz., the righteous Israel through the ages).

We suggest that 4QInstruction on this point is indebted to the Enochic tradition. The text under discussion suggests that the circles behind 4QInstruction coined the precise Hebrew term סַמְעָת עֵדֶה (cf. 1 Enoch 84:6 ‘a planting of eternal seed’; 93:5 ‘a righteous planting forever’; 93:10 ‘the eternal planting of righteousness’), a term which was to be essential for the self-understanding of the yahad. Also in this text the ‘planting’ is a metaphor for the righteous community. The term סַמְעָת עֵדֶה indicates that the author of 4QInstruction viewed his circle as the nucleus of the community of the end-time, that will exist forever. As in later sectarian parlance the ‘planting’, a tiny plant which will grow into a large tree which will cover the earth, refers to the group of the elect, who are now few but are destined to rule the world in the future, cf. 1QH VI 15 “they shall cause a shoot to grow into the boughs of an everlasting planting, and it shall cover the whole [earth] with its shadow”. A ‘planting’ terminology is a sign of an earthly eschatology: an afterlife of the spirit will not satisfy those who employ these terms, they foresee some kind of blessed conditions on earth.

The ‘planting’ (סַמְעָת) is mentioned also in 4Q423 (4QInstruction) 1-2. We suggest that 4Q423 1-2 uses a paraphrase of Genesis 2-3 as background for a description of the community and the inheritance of the elect, and proceed with a discussion of this text.

...
4.3. The Remnant Community

An enjoyable garden [the earth,] thorns and thistles will it sprout forth for you, and its strength it will not yield to you; [ ... ] in your being unfaithful [ ... ] her child, and all the compassion of her that is pregnant [you [ ... ] all your resources(?)] [ ... ] in all your business(?), for everything it causes to sprout forth[for you] always not to [ ... ] and in a planting[ ... ] rejecting(?)] the evil and knowing the good; [ ... , be]tween his way and the way of [...]

While Gen 3:6 refers to a certain tree that conveys knowledge, this text stresses the connection between all the trees (and the garden as such) and Adam’s God-given knowledge. The 2nd person sing. form וְהָאָדָם (line 2) in a passage which rephrases Genesis 2 points to some kind of relation between Adam and the addressee of 4QInstruction. The garden of Adam is at the same time the garden of the elect. According to lines 1-2, the addressed ‘you’ is related to a garden which conveys knowledge. This ‘knowledge’ could refer to the end-time restoration of the wisdom of Adam to the ‘sons of Adam’. We note that 4Q418 813 uses the same form, מָצָא אַלָּךְוּ, with reference to the God-given portion of the elect, מִשְׁחַת מַמָּשָׁלָה, “He is your portion and your inheritance among the sons of Adam. [In] His inheritance He gave you authority.” Therefore עָשָׂה could have a double meaning in this text; referring both to Adam and the Garden of Eden as well as to the elect ‘son of Adam’ in his relation to the end-time community and inheritance (the ‘planting’ and the ‘garden’). Lines 3-4 (possibly 3-6) refer to the situation after the curses of Gen 3:14-19. The text then recurs to the garden image and to eschatological knowledge: lines 7-8 connect the ‘planting’ with the knowledge of good and evil and discernment between the different ways a man can choose.

We have encountered in 4QInstruction the related images of ‘garden’, ‘planting’, and (overflowing) ‘fountain’ [ָדָרָם (_Mouse)] - images that in exilic and post-exilic texts are connected with Eden and the mountain of God, the temple. Also the Garden of God in Genesis 2-3 is related to the image of God’s temple, a common connection in Ancient Near Eastern symbolism. For the fountain associated with the temple, see Gen 2:6, 10-14; Isa 32:2; 33:20-21 (cf. Isa 35:6-11; 41:17-20); Ezekiel 47; Joel 4:18; Zech 13:1; 14:8; Ps 46:5-6; 65:10; 1 Enoch 13:7; 26:1-2; John 7:37-38; Rev 21:6; 22:1-2; 4 Ezra 5:25. For the garden and related terms (תֵּבָן, קָבָל, עֵמֶק, עִמְצָר) associated with the temple, see Genesis 2:3; Exod 15:17; 2 Sam 7:10; Isa 27:2-6; 51:3; 60:21; 61:3, 11; Jer 11:15-17; Ezek 28:12-19; 31:2-9; Ps 80:9-18; 84:7; 1 Enoch 24-25; Biblical Antiquities (Pseudo-Philo) 12:8-9; 1 Cor 3:9; 4 Ezra 5:23-26; 1. Suk. 3.15; Tg. Ps-Jon. on Isa 5:2 (for the two latter references, see note 38).


27 Rashi identifies וַיָּהָגוּ as ‘the river of His streams’ of the temple mount with the river of Eden. See J.M. Baumgarten, “4Q500 and the Ancient Conception of the Lord’s Vineyard”, JJS 40 (1989) 1-6. Baumgarten notes that also the medieval treatise יִשְׂרוּל יִשְׂרָאֵל connects the rivers of Eden with the eschatological renewal of the temple.

28 See G.W.E. Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee”, JBL 100 (1981) 575-600: “If Mount Hennon is the ladder from the heavenly sanctuary (12:4; 15:3) to earth, the waters of Dan stand in polar relationship to the gates of heaven and, through them, to the sanctuary and the throne of God” (p. 584).

29 Also the land of Israel total, or the people in the land, can be designated as garden or planting: Isa 5:1-7; Jer 2:21; 31:28; 32:41; 42:10; Ezek 17:22-24; Am 9:13-15; Ps 44:3.

When these images "overflow" anew in the second century BCE, in selected circles, it is a tempting suggestion to see here an eschatological interpretation both of Eden and the temple: such terms might indicate that not only the yahad, but also the circles behind 1 Enoch and 4QInstruction regarded themselves as a spiritual temple with access to the eschatological garden of God, the garden which conveys knowledge. In our opinion the temple symbolism is clear in 4QInstruction, in 1 Enoch the evidence is too slim to draw unequivocal conclusions. We note that the pro-Hasmonean 1 Maccabees ascribes similar eschatological-messianic connotations to the reign of Simon (142-135 BCE):

He established peace in the land, and Israel knew great joy. Each man sat under his own vine and his own fig tree, and there was no one to make them afraid. No enemy was left in the land to fight them, and the kings in those days were crushed. He gave strength to all the humble folk among his people and cleared away every renegade and wicked man. He arose to observe the Torzh, and gave new splendour to the temple, replenishing it with sacred vessels.

(1 Macc 14:11-15)

To our knowledge, previous scholars have not acknowledged the intrinsic connection between the images of garden, planting and fountain, and the yahads self-understanding as a spiritual temple. Our view is supported by later sectarian usage of the planting image, not the least by the Teacher hymn which centres on the motives


According to D. Dimant, the Animal Apocalypse sees the future community of the righteous as a spiritual temple (cf. 1 Enoch 90:28-32, the community is futurc from the viewpoint of Enoch, not necessarily for the Enoch writers themselves): "The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Ezekiel at Qumran", Messiah and Christos. Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity (F. S. Flusser, I. Gruenwald, S. Shaked, G.G. Stroumsa, eds.), Tübingen 1992, 31-51. The text refers both to the rebuilt physical temple of the last days and to the community: "a new house, greater and loftier than the first one ... All the sheep were within it" (v 29).

For the phrases פָּרַד פָּרַד and פָּרַד פָּרַד, see Gen 3:10; Isa 51:3; Ezek 28:13; 31:8-9.

Fujita concludes "The plant of righteousness is an existence not only of the eschatological time but also of the primeval period. It is, therefore, identical with the primeval tree of life in God's garden. The eschatological plantation of righteousness is a return to the primeval paradise": "The Metaphor of Plant", 45.

Fujita hints at it: "Of great significance in the Qumran metaphor of the plant is that the righteous plants (the sectarians) themselves are in a symbolic way considered a temple": ibid., 40. Gärtner sees no logical line between the combination of plant and temple images in some post-biblical texts (1QH VI 15-18; 1QS XI 6-9; 1 Enoch 24-26), and attributes it to "Jewish speculations on the subject of the rock of the temple and Paradise": The Temple and the Community, 27-9. Klinzing comments "Es ist anzunehmen, daf Pflanzung und Tempel als eschatologische Vorstellungen miteinander verbunden wurden": Die Umdeutung des Kultus, 55.
of garden, fountain and planting, IQH VIII 4-26. This hymn demonstrates that ‘planting’ can designate both the physical temple and the community as temple: instead of those priests who illegitimately have triumphed in ‘their planting’ (the physical temple, lines 9-10), God has established the new community of the Teacher as ‘eternal planting’ (line 6), i.e. as a temple that will last forever. This planting will have access to ‘everflowing water’ and become an ‘everlasting fountain’ (lines 7-8, 16), the community represents the ‘source of life’ ((lines 12, 14).

We conclude that the use of the planting image in 4QInstruction points to a theology of the community as a spiritual temple. The fellowship the elect enjoy with the angels is related to the same idea, already now they participate in the cult of the angels in the heavenly temple (lines 1, 4, 11, see below). The idea of this community being a spiritual temple could reflect a certain scepticism towards the temple establishment in Jerusalem (see below and section 5.2.1).

The ‘planting’ concept is connected to the end-time inheriting the land, a theme which becomes explicit in line 14. The members are the (a similar phrase, is found in 4Q418 55 6). For the background of this term, see Ps 37:9, 11 (where the meaning of ‘will inherit the land’ is life on this side, not in the hereafter), and Isa 60:21 (an eschatological promise). Second century exegetes could easily interpret also Ps 37:11 eschatologically in light of Isa 60:21. In presectarian as well as sectarian literature, Matthew and Mishnah ‘inherit the land’ has an eschatological

37] H. Charlesworth presents a fine analysis of the first part of this hymn (“Jesus as ‘Son’ and the Righteous Teacher as ‘Gardener’”, Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls (J.H. Charlesworth, ed.), New York 1992, 140-175): the Teacher is the ‘eternal fountain’, his disciples are ‘trees of life’, the community is the ‘garden’ and the ‘planting’. Charlesworth acknowledges that the polemic against the ‘tre[es] of water who shall exalt themselves in their planting, but their roots do not reach the stream’ (lines 9-10), refers to the present priests in the temple, opponents of the yahad. But he does not recognize the temple symbolism inherent all through the hodayah; the repeated use of the images of garden, fountain and planting.

38] The same is reflected in 1 Cor 3:5-17 θεού γεώργιον, θεοῦ αὐξηματίαν “you are God’s planting, God’s building” (v 9). Also 4Q500 (4QpapBen) connects the planting with the temple, as it uses the phrases “your planting and the streams of your glory” about the temple (4Q500 1.5). This text connects Isa 5:1-7 with the temple, as does Tg. Ps.-Jon. on Isa 5:2; “And I built My sanctuary among them and also My altar I gave as atonement for their sins”; and T. Suk. “I built a tower in the midst of it - this is the sanctuary; And hewed out a vat therein - this is the altar; And also hewed out a vat therein - this is the pious”. See Brooke, “4Q500 1 and the Use of Scripture in the Parable of the Vineyard”; Baumgarten, “4Q500 and the Ancient Conception of the Lord’s Vineyard”.

39] Also 1QS XI 6-9 combines the images of fountain, planting, spiritual temple and fellowship with the angels: “a fountain of righteousness, a well of power, a spring of glory hidden from the assembly of flesh. God has given them to His chosen ones as an everlasting possession, and has caused them to inherit the lot of the holy ones. He has joined their assembly to the sons of heaven, to be a council of the Community, a foundation of the building of holiness, and eternal planting throughout all ages to come”. Similarly 1QH+ VI 13-18 deals with “the men of Your council, who share a common lot with the angels of the presence”, who “shall cause a shoot to grow into the boughs of an everlasting planting” and are related to “an eternal ever-flowing fountain”. As is well-known, the presectarian Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice presuppose the fellowship of the community here below with the angelic host serving in the heavenly temple.

40] This is the case in 1 Enoch, Jubilees and 4QPsuedo-Ezekiel. 1 Enoch 5:7-9 uses “inherit the land” on the period of ultimate salvation, when the elect will no more be subject to the limitations of sin, sorrow and death: “for the chosen there will be light and joy and peace and they will inherit the land” (5:7) - see Hartman, Asking for a Meaning, 134. In Jubilees Jacob is promised that his seed will inherit all the earth, an interpretation shared by 4Q171 (see below): Jub. 22:14 “and may you inherit all the earth”; 32:19 (a rendering of Gen 28:13-14) “I
meaning, and the same is the case in this text. We note that *m. Sanh. 10:1* connects the promise of inheriting the land with the ‘planting’ of Isaiah 60-61, as do lines 13-14 in the text under discussion here.

In lines 3-5 the portion of the elect is described with the words "inheritance of Israel". These terms can denote the spiritual-eschatological inheritance of the elect community, both in the writings of the *yahad* and synagogue liturgy. God, who gives to each one his portion in life, has allotted the elect a presectarian communal prayer. Further, God will be his portion: the sentence "He is your portion and your inheritance among all other nations" gives to your seed all the earth under heaven ... and they shall get possession of the whole earth and inherit it forever*. 4Q Pseudo- Ezeckiel is a nonsectarian composition from the mid-second century BCE. The author knows a large number of pious Israelites. He asks how the pious ones will be recompensed, and looks forward to an end-time 'inheriting the land' by national Israel, not only a narrowly defined remnant: 4Q385 2 2-3 “I have seen many men from Israel who have loved Your name and have walked in the ways of righteousness; And these (things), when will they be, and how will they be recompensed for their loyalty?" 3 3 All nations shall be cursed by the people of heaven; "will not the days be shortened so that Israel will get its inheritance?" 5 1 It is the lot of the holy *to inherit the land of heaven*; 4Q416 14 “when it inherits the land off”. Also 4Q Pseudo-Moses expected the 'remnant' to inherit the land (see section 4.3.1).

In lines 6-8 the portion of the elect is described with the words "portion of the elect".

2. Matt 5:4 μακάριοι οἱ προέκοψαν διώκοντας τὴν ἀλήθειαν ᾠδήπορον ἵνα λεγόντως "Blessed are the meek, for they will inherit the land (of heaven)”; *m. Sanh. 10:1* "inherit the land/earth"; cf. 1QH 17-8 (6-Deut 9:5) “to possess these nations”; 4Q171 (4Q Ps) 1 3 9-11 “It was given to you from the Most High God to [conquer the nations]”; 4Q Pseudo-Moses expected the 'remnant' to inherit the land (see 4.3.1).
3. While rabbinic literature often interprets promises of the land eschatologically: 'inheriting the land' means inheriting the world to come, for it is written, Your people also shall be all righteous, they shall inherit the land for ever, the branch of My planting, the work of My hands that I shall possess the high mountain of Israel* (line 5), cf. 1Q H X 28-29 "You increased his share in the knowledge of Your truth"; 4Q143 (4Q Ps) 2-3 "He increased a man's share in the knowledge of His truth". For all reasons, we conclude that "Fill your land with glory and Your inheritance with blessing: herds of flocks in your fields, gold, silver and precious stones in your palaces!". For, cf. below on "inheriting the land"; 4Q525 (4QBeat) 14 13-14 "and your inheritance, He will fill your days with goodness and abundant peace ... you will inherit glory"; 4Q593 (4Q Liturgical work) 3-7-9 "dispossessing before them [great nations ... to give us houses full [of all good things, hewn cisterns and reservoirs] of water, vineyards and olive trees, the inheritance of [a great?] people" (4Q393 3-7-9, see above on this scroll which preserves a presectarian communal prayer).

See M. Weinfeld, “The Heavenly Praise in Unison”, *Festschrift für Georg Molin an seinem 75. Geburtstag* (I. Seybold, ed.), Graz 1983, 427-37. Cf. Zech 5:7; Mal 2:7; Dan 7:18. For further references in 4QInstruction, see 4Q419 69-12-14 “the sons of heaven, whose inheritance is eternal life ... also you [will inherit] glory and abundant honour"; 4Q416 VI 20 (6-Deut 4:49) "Man of understanding, rejoice in the inheritance of truth"; 4Q418 254 4 14 "the inheritance of the holy ones".
the sons of men” (line 3) represents a reinterpretation of the promise to Aaron/Levi (Num 18:20; Deut 10:9) that God (and the priestly dues) will be his inheritance instead of a piece of land. In 4QInstruction these words are reinterpreted as a promise to the elect individual: God will be his inheritance.46 The circles behind 4QInstruction connected Num 18:20/Deut 10:9 with Ps 16:5-11 (cf. v 5 "the Lord is my portion and my cup")47 and 75:23-28 (cf. v 26 "God is my portion for ever”), and interpreted these scriptures as promises about a lasting inheritance and eternal life for the righteous.48 49 Could 4Q18 813 indicate that the origin of 4QInstruction should be sought among Levitic circles? We rather prefer to see in this statement a spiritualizing interpretation held by apocalyptic eirenes where Levitic or Aaronic descent played no significant role. Sir 45:20-22 renders the Pentateuchal promise in a traditional way, related to Aaron alone. Stadelmann suggested that Ben Sira in this and other passages defends the prerogative of the priests to the office of the scribe against non-priestly rival groups.50 4QInstruction could reflect such groups who opposed the privileges of the Aaronic establishment in Jerusalem.

Lines 3, 9 and 15 (and 4Q418 813) use Hip’il of מָשָׂא (משה) for God’s setting the elect into a glorious inheritance. In the Hip’il is frequently used in 4QInstruction on being in a position of authority.51 Both in 4Q16 11-12 "He gave you authority over a glorious inheritance", and lines 3, 9 and 15 of this text, refer to God giving a glorious portion to the individual.

Lines 5-6 refer to a divine promise about blessings which will be given to the elect: “My riches(?) and my favour I will give you”. Is not His goodness yours?” These words do not appear verbatim in any particular biblical verse. They could refer to a lost source, but more probably 4QInstruction rephrases a number of biblical verses52 in its description of the lot of the elect. The word

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46 See also 1Q26 (1QInstruction) 1 7 (=4Q423 4 3a-4) “He said to him: I will be [your portion] and your inheritance among the sons of men(?)”, cf. Jer 51:19 “He who is the portion of Jakob is the Maker of all things”.

47 Also lines 5-6 allude to Psalm 16: Compare the use of Ps 16:2: "Give, O Lord, the king a portion for his inheritance with the Levites: ‘Gerechtigkeit’ and ‘Leben’ in der Kulpsprache der Psalmen”, Festschrift für A. Bertholet, Tübingen 1950, 225-48.

48 In a contrasting interpretation Qoh 5:17 and 9:9 use the same phrases to justify earthly pleasures as man’s inheritance, “for such is your portion in life”. The presence of two Qohelet scrolls in Cave 4 (and 4QQoh6 indeed preserves Qoh 5:13-17) shows that the yahad was well aware of these contrasting interpretations of man’s essential ‘portion in life’.


52 See the promise to Solomon, 1 Kgs 3:12-14; Exod 33:19; Nehemiah’s words to Hobab, Num 10:32; the eschatological promises of Jer 31:12, 14; Jer 23:24; Jer 32:42; 48:20; the name Ben Sira as a Levite, Sir 48:20; 49:18; 51:19-20; 52:1-27; Ps 25:7, 27:13, 31:20, 145:7; Jer 3:18; 16:2; 44:24; 46:17; Jer 32:22; 33:9; 46:16; 48:22; 51:18; 52:7, 15; Jer 32:22; Jer 33:9; Jer 44:16; Jer 52:15; 1QS X 11-12 “I will say ... to the Most High ‘You are the foundation of my wellbeing’.”
God's fountain for the believer, not for angels, cf. 1 QPs 8 Creat 1. Although the literal meaning of the words from Exod 20:6 is that God shows mercy to all who keep His Word, this text has only the elect of the remnant community in mind. 53

'Holiness phraseology' recurs in this text, which refers to 'holy ones' both in heaven and on earth. As in the Epistle of Enoch and later sectarian writings, there is a fellowship of the saints which includes both the angels and the community on earth. This fellowship is related to the image of the community as a spiritual temple, the elect participates in the worship of the heavenly sanctuary (see above). Lines 1, 4 and 11 exhort the elect to praise the 'holy ones', i.e. the angels: we interpret מִּזְבָּחַ הָאָדָם מָרֹא (line 1), מַעֲשֵׂי הָאָדָם מָרֹא (line 4), 54 and probably also מַעֲשֵׂי תָּנוֹן (line 11)55 as blessing the angels,56 not the brethren of the community.

In contrast, when מִזְבָּחַ מֵדֹא appears twice in line 12 it is a designation for the members of the community: מַעֲשֵׂי תָּנוֹן מֵדֹא "He opened [a fountain] for all the holy [ones], all who by His name are called holy ones" - God 'opens a fountain' for the believer, not for angels, cf. 1 QH II 18; X 31; XVIII 10, 12, 13. The calling by God's name qualifies the elect as 'holy ones'. The statements מַעֲשֵׂי תָּנוֹן מֵדֹא (line 12) and מַעֲשֵׂי תָּנוֹן מֵדֹא (line 14) have parallels in a presectarian as well as a sectarian text. 57 Some Qumran texts

53 Our author could be inspired by a similar reinterpretation of the Aaronic blessing (Num 6:24-26) in 1 Enoch 1:8: peace, protection, and mercy will be for the righteous, God will bless them, His light will shine upon them, and He will make peace with them. See Hartman, Asking for a Meaning, 25; Nickelsburg, "The Qumranic Transformation of a Cosmological and Eschatological Tradition", 651.

54 Eisenman/Wise translate "When He made you a Holy of Holies", and García Martínez, DSST, "When he placed you like the holy of holies" (cf. Newsom's translation of the frequent מִזְבָּחַ הָאָדָם מָרֹא in The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices as 'holiest holiness'). This interpretation of מַעֲשֵׂי תָּנוֹן מָרֹא must be discarded. It would be strange if the holy of holies were compared with the individual, and not, as elsewhere in the Qumran scrolls, with God (11QPs Creat 1) or the community (1 QS VII 5, 8; IX 6; 4Q512D 1 5-6 (this text probably refers to the community, as מַעֲשֵׂי תָּנוֹן מָרֹא appears close to the pair "sons of evil and sons of righteousness"). Further, 'holy of holies' would have been spelled מַעֲשֵׂי תָּנוֹן מָרֹא by this scribe, as is the rule in the Qumran scrolls (1 QS VIII 5-6; 8; IX 6; X 5; 4Q256 (4Q59) 3 ii 2; 4Q258 (4Q59) 3 i 2; 3 iv 1; 4Q259 (4Q59) 1 ii 17; and a number of times in 4QShirShabb and 4Q503 (4QPhQot) [the defective spelling מַעֲשֵׂי תָּנוֹן מָרֹא is found in 4Q259 (4Q59) 1 ii 14]. One should therefore understand מַעֲשֵׂי תָּנוֹן מָרֹא as an infinitive and translate 'sanctify the holy ones' (the parallel text in 4Q423 8 4, מַעֲשֵׂי תָּנוֹן מָרֹא, reflects a Piel form).

55 Cf. 1QS b IV 28 "for you shall sanctify Him and honour His name and His holy ones".

56 As in other ancient Near Eastern texts, 'holy ones' in the Bible has the regular meaning 'angels', 'heavenly beings': Exod 15:11 LXX; Deut 33:3; Hos 12:1; Zech 14:5; Ps 89:6; Job 5:1; 6:10; 15:15; Prov 9:10: 30:3. The word מִזְבָּחַ מָרֹא is regularly used about the angels in sectarian writings: 1 QS XI 8; 1 QH III 22; XI 12; 1 QM I 16; X 12; XII 1, 7; XV 14; 4Q181 (4QAngsCreat) I 3-6; 11QMelch I ii 9; and a number of cases in 4QShirShabb. The meaning 'angels' is also clear in Sir 42:17 (Collins, Daniel. A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, Minneapolis 1993, 316, adds Sir 45:2, but 86Q7 4y4w here renders וְשָׁמֵעָה, cf. Ps 8:6); Tob 8:15; Jps 17:11; 31:14; 33:12; 1 Enoch 19:9-12; 12:2; 14:23, 25; 93:6; 103:2; 106:19; and 4Q417 IX 19 (see section 3.3). In contrast, in 1 Enoch 97:5; 100:5; 108:3, 'the holy ones' are the elect.

57 4Q387 (4QPsMos) II 2 5 אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים מֵדֹא נָשָׂא "the first ones, by the name of the God of Israel were they called"; 4Q385 (4QPsMos) 45 עַד אֵין יֵמוֹנָה "those called by the name"; 11Q14 (11Q不确定) 1-2 14 (=4Q285 1 9-10) יֵשׁ הַנַּוָּם "His holy name is called over you".
use ‘the holy ones’ or similar expressions about the eschatological community:58 see 1QM X 10 n.3; XIV 12 27 7; 4Q243 (4QpsDan\(^a\) ar) 7 2 2 54, “in that period will gather those called ‘holy ones’”; 4Q245 (4QpsDan\(^a\) ar) 2 5 48 6 2 “the holy ones, and they will return”. 4Q174 (4QMidrEschat\(\)b\)') III 4 designates those who can enter the eschatological temple as the ‘holy ones’.60 4Q177 (4QMidrEschat\(\)b\)') X 2 quotes the difficult text Ps 16:3 ‘the holy ones on earth’, and interprets this biblical phrase as the eschatological people.

Thus, the biblical and early Jewish context is consistent with the primary use of ‘holy ones’ for the angels in 4QInstruction, but neither is the reference to the members of the end-time community as ‘holy ones’ without parallels. It should be noted that the Epistle of Enoch, which was known by this author (see section 5.1.2), twice uses ‘holy ones’ for the elect (97:5; 100:5; so also 108:3).

The individual has power to protect the community against (God’s) wrath “and punish[ing] the men of Belial(?)” (line 10). The same thought is found in 4QShir where the songs of the sage have apotropaic power: he shall make known God’s splendor, “in order to frighten and terrify[ing] all the spirits of the angels of destruction and bastard spirits, demons ...” (4Q510 1 4-5).61

The state of the elect is described in the category of divine sonship: “He set you as His firstborn in[ His council?]” (line 5). This sentence has a close parallel in the blessing of the priest in 1QSanh 27 II 5 “May He make you a sanctuary among His people”. Using different images (sanctuary

58Since the sectarian saw themselves as partners of the angels in God’s revelation and in the heavenly praise (cf. 1Qs XI 7-8; 1QH\(\)\) III 20-23; XI 11-14; fig. 1 6-7; 1QM VII 6; XII 8-9), the designation could easily be extended from the angels to ‘the holy ones here below’: cf. 1QM IX 8 which designates the priests as בְּשֵׁם הַשָּׁמֶשׁ; 1QM VI 6 פָּרָשִׁים וְכִפְרֵיהֶם; 1QM XVI 2 פָּרָשִׁים וְכִפְרֵיהֶם. 4Q248 (4QH\(\)\) 14 2 פָּרָשִׁים וְכִפְרֵיהֶם. According to 1QSanh 23, 27, the priest should be “raised first among the holy ones” and made “holy among His people” (line 9 3); In 1QSanh 25 מִרְכָּבָה אֲשֶׁר רֹאֵשׁ בְּשֵׁם הַשָּׁמֶשׁ ... יִנָּתֵל מִדֶּשֶׂק ... The same thought is found in 1QSanh 25 פָּרָשִׁים וְכִפְרֵיהֶם. In 1QSanh 25 מִרְכָּבָה אֲשֶׁר רֹאֵשׁ בְּשֵׁם הַשָּׁמֶשׁ ... יִנָּתֵל מִדֶּשֶׂק ... 1QSanh 25 פָּרָשִׁים וְכִפְרֵיהֶם. In 1QSanh 25 מִרְכָּבָה אֲשֶׁר רֹאֵשׁ בְּשֵׁם הַשָּׁמֶשׁ ... יִנָּתֵל מִדֶּשֶׂק ... The same thought is found in 1QSanh 25 פָּרָשִׁים וְכִפְרֵיהֶם.

59Since the sectarian saw themselves as partners of the angels in God’s revelation and in the heavenly praise (cf. 1Qs XI 7-8; 1QH\(\)\) III 20-23; XI 11-14; fig. 1 6-7; 1QM VII 6; XII 8-9), the designation could easily be extended from the angels to ‘the holy ones here below’: cf. 1QM IX 8 which designates the priests as מִרְכָּבָה אֲשֶׁר רֹאֵשׁ בְּשֵׁם הַשָּׁמֶשׁ; 1QM VI 6 פָּרָשִׁים וְכִפְרֵיהֶם; 1QM XVI 2 פָּרָשִׁים וְכִפְרֵיהֶם. 4Q248 (4QH\(\)\) 14 2 פָּרָשִׁים וְכִפְרֵיהֶם. According to 1QSanh 23, 27, the priest should be “raised first among the holy ones” and made “holy among His people” (line 9 3); In 1QSanh 25 מִרְכָּבָה אֲשֶׁר רֹאֵשׁ בְּשֵׁם הַשָּׁמֶשׁ ... יִנָּתֵל מִדֶּשֶׂק ... The same thought is found in 1QSanh 25 פָּרָשִׁים וְכִפְרֵיהֶם. In 1QSanh 25 מִרְכָּבָה אֲשֶׁר רֹאֵשׁ בְּשֵׁם הַשָּׁמֶשׁ ... יִנָּתֵל מִדֶּשֶׂק ... The same thought is found in 1QSanh 25 פָּרָשִׁים וְכִפְרֵיהֶם.

60One can read מִרְכָּבָה אֲשֶׁר רֹאֵשׁ בְּשֵׁם הַשָּׁמֶשׁ and translate “but only those holy of (the) name/who are named holy” (Dupont-Sommer, Lohse, Steudel, this text adds weight to this option), or alternatively מִרְכָּבָה אֲשֶׁר רֹאֵשׁ בְּשֵׁם הַשָּׁמֶשׁ “for His holy ones (i.e. the angels) shall be there” (Maier, Brooke, Dimant). On the interpretation of this phrase, see A. Steudel, Der Midrash zur Eschatologie, 43; G.J. Brooke, Esegesis at Qumran.

4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context, Sheffield 1985, 103-107.

61 Cf. Newsom, “The Sage in the Literature of Qumran”, The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East, 373-82; “The maskil is able to draw upon his special knowledge of the heavenly realm and by reciting its wonders offers protection to the community” (p. 381). For the phrase מָרָשׁ בְּשֵׁם הַשָּׁמֶשׁ פְּרָשִׁים וְכִפְרֵיהֶם “His fury shall not end until they are utterly consumed”; 1Qs X 19-20 "I will not turn my wrath from the men of falsehood".
and sonship), both texts ascribe a unique God-given status to the addressee. The theme of divine sonship is discussed in a separate excursus below.

4.3.3. The concept of remnant in 4QInstruction

We can summarize our investigation of 4Q418 81 as following: lines 12-14 describe the grandeur of the end-time community, the nucleus of restored Israel. According to the preceding lines 1-11, the elect addressee has already now been allotted a glorious portion. We therefore conclude that the author represented circles who saw themselves as Israel’s remnant on the threshold of the last days. 4QInstruction does not refer in general terms to the pious of Israel in contrast to the ungodly, neither does it reflect a single wisdom teacher speaking to his disciple. Rather, teacher and addressee belong to circles with a distinct identity, some kind of ‘remnant community’.

The remnant represents a fulfilment of the prophesies in Isaiah 59-61 (as it does in later sectarian thinking62); these circles probably viewed themselves as משמשת אבן ים hải ‘the eternal plant’ of Isa 60:21 and 61:3 (4Q418 81 13; 4Q423 2 7; cf. 1QS XI 8; 1QH VI 15); they are the righteous who will walk in ‘eternal light’ (4Q418 69 ii 14 אואו אדו אדו ‘the righteous’; cf. Isa 60:20; 1 Enoch 92:4; 1QS IV 8; 1QH XII 15). 4Q417 IV 10-11 rephrases Isa 61:3 and borrows ויהי мил from Isa 61:7: “Gaze upon the mystery to come, understand the birth-times of salvation and know who will inherit glory and corruption. Will it not be[ garland for the poor ones(?)] and eternal joy for their sorrows?”63 The designation מתי for the addressee (4Q415 6 2; 4Q416 V 8, 12; 4Q418 254 3) could reflect the משמשת ‘the poor ones’ of Isa 61:1 who mourn for Zion and have a glorious future (משמשת and משמשת are common self-designations of the sectarians, 4QInstruction prefers משמשת). Like the later 4QPs, 4QInstruction draws upon Psalm 37; Prov 2:21-22, and passages from Trito-Isaiah for its teaching on the end-time: the ungodly will be annihilated, the pious will inherit the land.64

A number of terms characterize the elect ones: משמשת המן ‘sons of truth’ (4Q416 VII 11), משמשת מתי ‘heirs of truth’ (4Q418 55 6), משמשת מתי ‘the elect of truth, those who pursue righteousness’ (4Q418 69 ii 10), משמשת מתי ‘seekers of truth’ (4Q418 69 ii 7), משמשת מתי ‘those who love righteousness’ (4Q418 69 ii 9), משמשת מתי ‘those who love righteousness’ (4Q418 81 12).

The elect enjoy fellowship with the angels (cf. above, note 58; they shall praise ‘the holy ones’ (4Q418 81 1, 4, 11). 4Q418 76 2-3 probably refers to this community of the saints, as it mentions both משמשת מתי and משמשת מתי. As he experiences fellowship with the angels, the individual elect is already now partaker of the eschatological gifts of God (4Q418 81 5-6, 9, see further section 4.2.3.3), and heavenly mysteries have been revealed to him. The elect will inherit glory and eternal life (as do the angels), their ultimate praise of God is described in angelic terms:

63 A similar use of this biblical verse is found in 1QH XVIII 15 ויהי מי זכר הbery לעבללות ולציונאי הנני ‘glad tidings of Your great mercy ... to the contrite of spirit, and everlasting joy to those who mourn’.
64 See D. Michel, "Weisheit und Apokalyptik", The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings, 413-34.
And even the sons of heaven, whose inheritance is eternal life, will they not say ‘We have toiled in the deeds of truth, and have [red] during all the ages’? - will they not walk in eternal light? [also you [will inherit] glory and abundant honour]

] in eternal glory and everlasting peace and the spirit of life, to separate[ ...] all the sons of Eve. Upon the power of God and abundance of His glory with His goodness [shall they meditate ...] and upon His faithfulness shall they reflect all day, always shall they praise His name. (4Q418 126 li 8-10)

The time of judgement the righteous ones will rejoice on earth as do the angels in heaven:

In heaven He will judge the work of iniquity, and all the sons of truth will be pleased by [the appointed time(?)] of its period, and all those who have defiled themselves by it will fear and wait, for the heaven will shout, the kingdom of iniquity(?!) will tremble, the water and the depths will fear, all the spirit of flesh will be stripped naked, and the sons of heaven [will rejoice on the day] of its judgement.

The foundations of the firmament will shout, all the hosts of God [will thunder, and all!] who love[ righteousness will rejoice.]

4Q17 IX 18 characterizes the community that has received the Book of Hagi as "a spiritual people" (on this text, see section 4.1.7.1). The community thus understands itself as the fulfilment of biblical prophecies about restored Israel of the end-time.66

Similar to the Enochic books, 4QInstruction does not ascribe to the remnant community a clearly defined role in history, as do later sectarian writings. We have, however, suggested that the use of terms such as ‘garden’, ‘planting’, and ‘fountain’ indicate that the temple image was important for the self-understanding of these circles. Later we meet similar concepts in the yahad, which viewed the present physical temple as polluted and regarded itself as a spiritual temple, at least for an interim period.

The idea of the remnant is not clearly connected with Zion or a messianic leader, as it is in a number of biblical and post-biblical texts.67 The glorious future of Zion, which is described in many Qumran texts,68 is not mentioned. The lay circles behind 4QInstruction look forward to God’s glorious presence in the land,69 but we

65See section 4.2 on these two eschatological discourses.

66Isa 44:3 promises the spirit as a gift to redeemed Israel: "I will pour out my spirit on your offspring, and my blessing on your descendants". According to Isa 59:21, the spirit is a lasting gift to the end-time community: "My spirit, who is on you, and My words that I have put in your mouth will not depart from your mouth, or from the mouths of your children, or from the mouths of their descendants from this time on and forever, says the Lord". Ezek 36:24-27 carries the same thought.


68Among sectarian writings, the War Scroll, 4QMidr.ESchat and 4QBarkiNafshi testify to the expectation of the end-time bliss in Zion; cf. IQM XII 13; XIX 5; 4Q177 (4QMidr.ESchat) XI 15. אֵלִּי אָדָם אוֹמֵר אֲנִי אֶלֶם אַל אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲn

69Among sectarian writings, the War Scroll, 4QMidr.ESchat and 4QBarkiNafshi testify to the expectation of the end-time bliss in Zion; cf. IQM XII 13; XIX 5; 4Q177 (4QMidr.ESchat) XI 15. אֵלִּי אָדָם אוֹמֵר אֲנִי אֶלֶם אֲנִי אֲn

4.3. The Remnant Community 139
do not know whether their expectations included a restored temple. The 'messianic community' seems to be all-encompassing in the discourses of 4QInstruction. Similar to the sectarian writings we encounter a 'collective messianism'.

4.3.4. Excursus: Divine sonship in early Jewish tradition

The statement "He set you as His firstborn (4Q18 81 5) does not stand alone in 4QInstruction, which thrice designates the addressee a firstborn son of God: 4Q18 69 ii 15 transcribed, 1Q26 3 2 which should be read instead of 1Q26 3 2 (Milik, DJD I, 102). The full context is not preserved in 1Q26 3 and 4Q18 69, but it is clear that also these two passages describe the relation to God, not to one's master. In contrast, the infinitive clause set you as His firstborn in 4Q418 69 (4Q416 IV 13) describes a lasting privileged position vis-à-vis a superior (see section 6.2.1). The statements "He set you as His firstborn" and "for you will be to Him a [firstborn] son" represent adoption terminology. They also belong to a long tradition of statements on divine sonship in the Bible and early Jewish sources. The references to (adoption into) divine sonship can basically be divided into three categories: sayings in which the people of Israel are referred to as God's son(s); those where the anointed king is designated as God's son; and those dealing with the sonship of the elect, as in the text discussed here. These categories should not be viewed as independent traditions, they certainly influence each other. In the following we review some of these texts to see the sayings of 4QInstruction in perspective, and concentrate upon references to restored Israel/the remnant community or the elect individual as 'son(s) of God'.

.escape ... will see My salvation in My land and within My borders"; 13:48 "But those who are left of your people, who are found within My holy borders, shall be saved"; 12:31-34 "this is the Messiah ... who will arise from the posterity of David ... he will deliver in mercy the remnant of My people, those who have been saved throughout My borders". See also above on 'inheriting the land'.

An eschatology with no references to Zion or the temple is represented also by the Epistle of Enoch (which is a main source of inspiration for 4QInstruction), T. Moses and Sep. Sol. The Animal Apocalypse, however, foresees an eschatological temple and a messianic remnant on Zion (1 Enoch 90:28-32). The Animal Apocalypse also refers to a messianic figure (1 Enoch 90:37), but does not ascribe much importance to him.

A phrase coined by A. Caquot, Le Messianisme Qumrânien: Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu (M. Delcor, ed.), Leuven 1978, 231-47, p. 231, cf. Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature"; 533. Gätter comments "The community itself is the 'remnant' ... it is characteristic of Qumran that it is the community itself that is the focus of fellowship with God, a temple well pleasing in the sight of God": The Temple and the Community, 48.

We have identified a small fragment with the letters רס, which should be located at the bottom left corner of the larger fragment 4Q18 69. See sections 4.2.2 and 6.2.1.

The formula 'You are my son' establishes adoption, while 'You are not my son' dissolves the bonds of sonship. See M. Weinfeld, "Ancient Near Eastern Patterns in Prophetic Literature", VT 27 (1977) 178-95, pp. 188-9. Exod 2:10 preserves an adoption formula, בנים של וויות.


Writings that can be (or might be) dated to the second or early first century BCE, such as Sirach, Jubilees and Qumranic sources, carry more weight in illuminating the conceptual world of 4QInstruction than later
Second temple authors continue the biblical tradition of designating Israel as Gods (firstborn) son. Specifically is the renewed people of the end-time called God’s adopted son(s): Jub. 1:24-25, 28 (alluding to 2 Sam 7:14 and Hos 2:1) “I will be their Father, and they will all be called My sons, they will all be called sons of the living God ... and everyone will know that I am the God of Israel and the Father of all the children of Jacob”; 4Q745 (4QRenewed Earth) 7-8a “Israel will be for Him(?) a beloved son, and they will seek it all, and righteousness(?).” Pss. Sol. 17:27 “He shall know them, that they are all children of (their) God”; Sib. Or. 3.703 “But the sons of the great God will all live peacefully around the temple”. T. Judah 24:1-3 describes the blessing upon the messiah as the “blessing of the Holy Father”, and then designates the end-time sons of Juda, the people of the messiah, as “His (i.e. God’s) true sons”. Thus, there is a widespread tradition that sees Israel of the last days as God’s son(s). However, these texts deal with the people and do not designate the individual as ‘son’.

The individual comes into the horizon in the Davidic/messianic tradition. The Israelite understanding of the anointed king as God’s son is related to ancient Near Eastern traditions of divine kingship. It can also be regarded as a particularization of the idea of Israel as God’s son: since the Israelite king (and later: the anointed king or priest) is a corporate representative of the people before God, he is God’s ‘son’ as the people are. The king’s relationship to God is understood in terms of divine adoption, which guarantees his power and authority. In the second temple period, biblical traditions on the anointed king as God’s son and his works. However, we include in the review sources until the end of the first century CE (some sources, such as Pseudo-Philo, Test. 12 Patr., Joseph and Aseneth, and the Sibylline Oracles, are hard to date precisely within this period).

Israel is designated as God’s ‘son’ or ‘sons’, God is designated as ‘Father’: Exod 4:22; Deut 14:1; 32:6; Isa 1:2; 43:6-7; 63:16; 64:7; Jer 3:19; 31:9, 20; Hos 11:1; Mal 1:6; 2:10; Ps 103:13.

Tob 13:4 “He is our Lord and God, He is our Father for ever and ever” (the verse is only partially preserved by 4Q196 (4QapTobit) 17 i 14 and 4Q200 (4QapTobit) 6-9 (both texts use the 2nd person plur.): ידוע לא יהושע בן נוןبناء מכובד בכל העולמה humiliating you, Israel which You called first-born”; Jub. 2:20 (this text refers to Israel, not to any individual): And I chose the descendants of Jacob among [all of those whom I have seen. I have recorded them as My firstborn son and have consecrated them for Myself for all the age[s] of eternity” (4QJudg VII 11-12); 4Q504 (4DibHar) 1-2 iii 4-7 “תלמהו והיה בנו ה' el ‘ab Your glory You created us, You made us sons unto You in the sight of all the peoples, for You called [Israel] ‘My firstborn son’, and admonished us as a man admonishes his son”; 4Q69 (4Prayer of Enosh) 1 ii 6-7 “אַלּוֹ בָּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל גֵּרָם וְאִיתוֹ נַעֲשֵׂנוּ מַעְשֵׂה מַעְשֵׂהוּ וּכְאֶרֶץ נָהָר וּכְאֶרֶץ עֵדָה וּכְאֶרֶץ רֹעָה וּכְאֶרֶץ עָרָה וּכְאֶרֶץ נַעֲשֵׂנוּ מַעְשֵׂה מַעְשֵׂהוּ וּכְאֶרֶץ נָהָר וּכְאֶרֶץ עֵדָה וּכְאֶרֶץ רֹעָה וּכְאֶרֶץ עָרָה ‘You made him a firstborn son to You ... there are none’ like him, for a prince and ruler in all Your earthly land! You made him(?)” (this text refers to Israel, not to any eschatological figure, see J. Kugel “The Prayer of Enosh and Ancient Biblical Interpretation”, forthcoming in the proceedings of the Orion Center’s conference on apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, January 1997); 4Q392 (4Qliturgical work) 6-9 4-5 “[And]in a [land of desert] and parched ground[ He sustained us. As a father[a] to his son and as a bird to the young of its nest, [He gathered our dispersed ones]”. In 4 Ezra 6:58 the troubled people of Israel call themselves God’s ‘firstborn’ in their plea to God.

In this text the renewal of Israel’s relation to God is preceded by a universal judgement of the earth, similar to the scene in Sib. Or. 3.663-731. See Elgvin, “Renewed Earth and Renewed People. 4Q745”.

The Syriac manuscripts omit “their’.

This passage is usually seen as a Christian interpolation. However, Scott argues that 24:1-3 preserves an authentic Jewish tradition: Adoption as Sons of God, 109-17.

Ibid., 100-105.

See 2 Sam 7:14 (cf. 1 Chr 17:13; 28:6) [quoted in 4Q174 (4QMidrEschat) III 11]; Ps 2:7; 89:27-28 (LXX translates πατέρουκοι; Isa 9:5-6).
promises connected to the Davidic dynasty paved the way for the expectation of anointed sons and servants of
God in the end-time restoration of Israel. Further, second temple interpreters could characterize specific
biblical sages as a 'son of God'. For our purpose we note the reference to Levi as God's anointed in T. Levi
4:2. "The Most High has given heed to your prayer ... that you should become a son to Him, as minister and
priest in His presence". This passage connects the sonship with 'counsel and understanding' similar to
4QInstruction: "The light of knowledge you shall kindle in Jacob ... Therefore counsel and understanding have
been given to you so that you might give understanding to your sons concerning this" (4:3, 5). The Davidic
promise of 2 Sam 7:14 was by later tradition applied eschatologically not only to the anointed king, but to
the people as well (Jub. 1:24; T. Jud. 24:3, see above). So we may ask if a 'democratization' of the
Davidic/messianic tradition could lead to an understanding also of the pious individual as a son of God?

In the second century BCE the tradition of God as father of the nation Israel paves the way for the individual
Israelite to understand himself as a son of God: as a member of the community he is also a 'son'. We will see
that Qumranic and extra-Qumranic sources referring to the pious individual may set the sayings of
4QInstruction on the elect's sonship into profile.

Both Sirach and Qumranic sources contain non-liturgical prayers that address God as 'my Father': Sir 23:1
"Lord, Father and Master of my life"; 51:10, "I exalted the Lord, 'You are my Father, for You are my mighty savior". Two apocrypha from Qumran, which probably are of non-sectarian origin, put the address to God as father in the mouth of a biblical sage: 4Q372 (4QapocrJoseph A) 1:16 (in a prayer of Joseph) "called upon the mighty God to rescue me from their hands. I said 'My Father and my God, do not abandon me into the hands of the nations'"; 4Q460 (4Qpseudep. work) 5:6 (possibly in a prayer of Judah or Levi) "You... for You have not abandoned your servant... my Father and my Lord!" Both Sir 51:10, 4Q372 and 4Q460 allude

83 See e.g. K.E. Pomykala, The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism. Its History and Significance for
Messianism, Atlanta 1995; J.J. Collins, "Messianism in the Maccabean Period", Judaism and their Messiahs at
the Turn of the Christian Era (J. Neusner, W.S. Green, E.S. Frerichs, eds.), Cambridge 1987, 97-109; idem, The
84 According to Jub. 19:29, Abraham blesses Jacob with the words "may the Lord God be for you and for the
people a Father always and may you be a firstborn son". Based on Exod 4:22, Prayer of Joseph 3-8 describes
Jacob-Israel as a preexistent archangel, "commander among the sons of God", "the firstborn of all living". Cf.
further 4Q372 and 4Q460 (see below), in which biblical sages address God as 'my Father'.
85 Cf. B. Nitzan, Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry, Leiden 1994, 8, who discerns Qumran liturgical
material intended for worship within the sect from poems with no specific indication concerning liturgical
purpose.
86 This verse is not to the Hebrew, and has been paraphrased differently in a later Hebrew liturgical
text (MS Adler 3053) "Say to the One who fashioned you, 'God of my father and Lord of my life'". See J.
87 In Sir 51:1-2, the words אבון שבようになった אלוהים should be interpreted as 'O God of my
father', not 'my God, my Father'. See M.Z. Segal, The Complete Book of Ben Sira (Hebrew), Jerusalem 1972,
352.
88 4Q460 is written in the Qumran system of orthography and morphology, this is not the case for 4Q372. In
their contents neither of these writings display clear sectarian characteristics, they probably belong to the
presectarian texts preserved by the yahad-ad. On 4Q472, see E. Schuller, "4Q372 1: A Text About Joseph", RevQ
67-79. On 4Q460, see E. Larson, "4Q460 and the Concept of the Fatherhood of God in Second Temple
Judaism" (paper presented at SBL Annual Meeting 1994).
to the Davidic promise in Ps 89:27-28. It therefore stands to reason that to a certain degree these texts represent a 'democratization' of the Davidic tradition. Further, three fragmentary liturgical texts from Qumran preserve the word Father: 4Q502 (4QpapRitMar) 39 3 4Q504 (4QDisHam1) 1-3 iii 1 4Q511 (4QShirb) 127 1. Thus, both liturgical texts and non-liturgical prayers of the second or first centuries BCE use Father in their address to God. However, it might be more difficult to designate oneself or one's neighbour as God's son in a prose context.

Since end-time Israel was commonly seen as the 'sons of God', milieus which regarded themselves as verus Israel of the last days would naturally apply the epithet 'sons of God' to their community and its members. Hence, the yahad saw themselves as the rightful heirs of Israel's 'sonship' in the end-time. They were the righteous remnant of the last days, the true 'sons of God' in contrast to the disobedient Israelites. The sectarians would have learned that the unfaithful were disqualified from being counted among God's children, from scriptures like Jer 3:19 "How I would have treated you like sons...I thought you would call me 'Father' and not turn away from following Me". IQH 9 IX 34-35 calls God a Father of all sons of truth: יָהָד יָשָׁבוּ וְיָשָׁבוּ כְּאֵחַ אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁתַּחַר אָמַר: (I am for all those who do not turn away from Me). In the gospels Jesus is portrayed as having a unique relation with his parentage. Though she (a mother) may forget, I will not forget (Ps 27:10).

Some texts specifically link God's fatherhood to the Davidic promise in Ps 89:27 with רָאָה יְהֹוָה אֶת אָדָם בִּשְׂר הָאָדָם (Ps 89:27) with רָאָה יְהֹוָה אֶת אָדָם בִּשְׂר הָאָדָם (Ps 51:10), and... Pseudo-Philo's Biblical Antiquities (probably written in the Land of Israel about the turn of the era), has the righteous sons of Korah express that God is their true father: "Our father has not begotten us, but the Most Powerful has formed us. And now if we walk in His ways, we will be His sons" (16:5). See further Sir 4:10 "Be like a father to orphans, and as a husband to widows, then Will call you a son (בָּן הָאָדָם), show mercy and rescue you from the pit"; Pss. Sol. 13:9 "For He will admonish the righteous as a beloved son, and His discipline is as for a firstborn"; and the designation of the virtuous as God's son in Sap. Sol. 2:16-18 and 5:5: "If the righteous is God's son (אֵל יְהֹוָה בָּן)". The sectarians' self-understanding as the 'sons of (His) truth', 'sons of His goodwill', is in this case applied to the praying individual: despised and 'forsaken' by Israel at large, he trusts in the fatherly mercy of God. This text shows that a member of the yahad could apply to himself the community's corporate self-understanding as 'the sons of His truth'.

Some texts specifically link God's fatherhood to righteousness behavior. Further, a number of Jewish sources from Egypt deal with divine sonship. In the gospels Jesus is portrayed as having a unique relation with his

89Compare יָהָד יָשָׁבוּ וְיָשָׁבוּ כְּאֵחַ אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁתַּחַר אָמַר: (Ps 89:27) with רָאָה יְהֹוָה אֶת אָדָם בִּשְׂר הָאָדָם (Ps 51:10), and... All three texts ask God not to abandon His servant, or trust that He will not do so - a main theme in Psalm 89.

90IQS IV 5, 6; IQH 9 IV 32-33; VII 29-30; XI 9, 11.

91See Larson, "4Q460 and the Concept of the Fatherhood".

92Pseudo-Philo's Biblical Antiquities (probably written in the Land of Israel about the turn of the era), has the righteous sons of Korah express that God is their true father: "Our father has not begotten us, but the Most Powerful has formed us. And now if we walk in His ways, we will be His sons" (16:5). See further Sir 4:10 "Be like a father to orphans, and as a husband to widows, then Will call you a son (בָּן הָאָדָם), show mercy and rescue you from the pit"; Pss. Sol. 13:9 "For He will admonish the righteous as a beloved son, and His discipline is as for a firstborn"; and the designation of the virtuous as God's son in Sap. Sol. 2:16-18 and 5:5: "If the righteous is God's son (אֵל יְהֹוָה בָּן)". The sectarians' self-understanding as the 'sons of (His) truth', 'sons of His goodwill', is in this case applied to the praying individual: despised and 'forsaken' by Israel at large, he trusts in the fatherly mercy of God. This text shows that a member of the yahad could apply to himself the community's corporate self-understanding as 'the sons of His truth'.

93Joseph and Aseneth describes Aseneth calling Joseph 'God's son' (6:2-6), and the proselyte Aseneth becoming a 'daughter' of God (ch. 12), see P. Deschauw, "Gleichnis vom Kind, das zum Vater flieht [JosAs 12,8]", ZNW 80 (1989) 269-271. T. Abraham portrays Abel "like a son of God" (δούλος ήταν της θεού) in heaven. According to Philo, God is adopted as His only son; God is inscribed as his Father (On Sobriety 56-7, see Scott, Adoption as Sons of God, 93-6). Those who live in the knowledge of the One are rightly called 'sons of God', the logos is an archangel and God's firstborn (On the Confusion of Tongues, 145-6).
heavenly father, and he calls his disciples “sons of your heavenly Father”. New Testament epistles elaborate both aspects, see e.g. Col 1:15; Hebr 8:14-17; Gal 4:6; cf. John 1:14, 18.

It is noteworthy that only a few sources use the word ‘firstborn’ (πρωτότοκος/πρωτόγονος) in their reference to divine sonship: Exod 4:22, Jer 31:9, Sir 36:14, Jub. 2:20, Prayer of Joseph, 4QDibHam, 4QPrayer of Enosh, 4 Ezra 6:58 (all on the people of Israel); Ps 89:28 on the Davidic king; Jub. 19:29 on Jacob; Philo on logos; Ps. Sol. 13:9 on the righteous; and the New Testament [on Jesus (Luke 2:7, Rom 8:29, Col 1:15, 18, Heb 1:6); on the congregation (Heb 12:23)]

In this context 4QInstruction stands out with its designation ‘firstborn’ on the individual elect. 4QInstruction seems to be the first source to call the elect individual a ‘firstborn son’ of God. The only parallel we have come over is the later Ps. Sol. 13:9 “For He will admonish the righteous as a beloved son, and His discipline is as for a firstborn” (ὡς πρωτότοκος).94 95 The word πρωτότοκος is taken from Exod 4:22 and Jer 31:9 which speak about the people of Israel, and Ps 89:27-28 which refer to the Davidic king. Since 4QInstruction can describe the wisdom of the elect in ‘Solomonic’ terms, the Davidic tradition can play in the background of this understanding of the end-time community as ‘adopted, firstborn sons of God’. A corporate understanding of the Davidic promises in line with Isa 55:3 (“I will make an everlasting covenant with you, my faithful love promised to David”) would have facilitated such an interpretation. Furthermore, we cannot exclude the possibility that the author of 4QInstruction knew Sirach and Jubilees, which repeatedly refer to divine sonship (cf. Sir 4:10; 23:1 and 51:10 on the righteous; Jub. 2:20 on Israel; 19:29 on Jacob). Our author adapts biblical and contemporary traditions on divine sonship and develops his own characteristic version for his purpose; the exhortation to the members of the ‘eternal planting’.

We suggest that 4QInstruction’s use of πρωτότοκος in the address to the individual elect reflects its view of the community as renewed Israel of the end-time, similar to the application to the individual in IQH IX. As a partaker of the eschatological fellowship of salvation,96 the community of the righteous ones, the addressee has been adopted into divine sonship. This is suggested both by the wisdom instruction in 4Q418 81 (see section 4.3.2) and the trial speech in 4Q418 69 (see section 4.2.2). According to the wisdom instruction, God has has separated the addressee from the ungodly, and opened the overflowing fountain of the end-time in his mouth. As partaker of the end-time community, the eternal planting, he has been allotted a glorious portion and made a ‘firstborn son’.

The Psalms of Solomon can be dated to the mid-first century BCE, and are therefore roughly a century later than 4QInstruction.


95On the community as the eschatological fellowship of salvation in early Jewish texts, see S. Aalen, “‘Regn’ and ‘House’ in the Kingdom of God in the Gospels”, NTT 8 (1962) 215-40; Nickelsburg, “The Nature and Function of Revelation”.

the author of 4QInstruction, those to whom God has revealed heavenly secrets can rightly be designated His 'sons'. They are the genuine recipients of Israel’s wisdom of old, and as such His true, firstborn sons.97 The texts do not hint at any rite of initiation98 into these circles which would symbolize divine adoption; belonging to this fellowship seems to be enough.

97 Jesus’ prayer of praise preserved in Luke 10:21-22 (Matt 11:25-27) contains similar thoughts: “I praise you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because You have hidden these things from the wise and intelligent, yet have revealed them to children. Indeed, Father, this has been Your good pleasure. All things have been entrusted to me by my Father...”. Cf. Fitzmyer, “Abba”, 35-6.

98 Cf. the acceptance of new members of the yahad, 1QS I 16-II 18.
4.4. Creation, Man, and Providence

In this section we survey texts that deal with creation, the order of the universe and the place of men on earth, and compare them with sectarian writings and other literary sources from the second century BCE. We discuss which view of man underlies the discourses and the wisdom admonitions, and the concept of divine providence: to what extent are the ways of men preordained by God? While we discussed topics connected to apocalypticism and eschatology at length in sections 4.1-4.3, this section and the next one survey more briefly text passages relating to the outlined themes. Some of the texts have been dealt with under other aspects in the previous sections. A detailed commentary on most of these texts follows in section 6.2.1.

It is not easy to define the views of 4QInstruction on creation and man. We should not necessarily expect the same concepts in the wisdom admonitions as in the discourses.

From the biblical wisdom tradition the discourses adopt the theme of God's ordering the universe. Among its biblical precursors can be mentioned Genesis 1-2; Psalms 19; 104; 119 (see esp. vv 89-91); Job 28; Isa 45:7, 12; Jer 51:15, et. also Sir 16:26-27; 11QPsCreat 4-9. The eschatological discourse in 4Q416 VII describes and praises God's creation of the universe with the heavenly objects:

The host of heaven He established from the beginning, He set stars (or luminaries) as their signs and as symbols of their set times each one in order, each one in relation to the other, and all their order and set times were counted before Him. In heaven He will judge the work of iniquity, and all the sons of truth will be pleased by the appointed time of its period. (4Q416 VII 8-12)

As in 1 Enoch 2 and 72-82, this lordship of God over the universe functions as a basis for His approaching judgement of evil. The same idea is reflected in 4Q418 69, where the elements applaud God’s judgement on the ungodly:

The foundations of the firmament will shout, all the hosts of God will thunder, [and all] who love righteousness will rejoice. ... Knowledge and Understanding will minister to Him ... also you who will inherit glory and abundant honour, [and] in the holy firmament the foundation of beginnings will tremble? (4Q418 69 ii 9, 12, 14-15)

God has not only set the universe in its order, He has ordained the portions of men on earth (both material and spiritual ones), and will judge them accordingly (in addition to the following texts, see 4Q417 IX 9-14, quoted below):

He divided the portion of all rulers and fashioned every deed by His hand, and the wages of [their deeds] He knew. He will judge all of them in truth and visit upon fathers and sons, [upon proselytes] together with every native born. (4Q423 5 3-4)

For the same theme in 1Q4QMysteries, see 4Q299 5 1-5; 6 i 4-14; 8 9-10.
[For] with scales of truth and balances of righteousness God established all the [sons of man ... ] He separated them by truth, He positioned them and will search their business[ ... ] He numbers everything, and nothing came into being without His will, and through His wisdom (4Q418 126 1-3-5)

For God made all who desire assets, and met them out by "His" truth[ ... For] with scales of righteousness He weighed out all their understanding, and by truth[ He determined their knowledge (4Q418 127 5-6)

Also other passages acknowledge God as the source of the portion of every living being: 4Q418 55 5-6 של高档 [Do not put the God of Knowledge [ ... ] on truth, to establish every [creature by "His" understanding? He portioned out to the heirs of truth ["]; 4Q417 III 19-21 "[His] storehouse will not be lacking. Upon] His word everything will happen, so eat what He gives you, but do not take more lest] you shorten (your life)".

In its ethics based on the order of creation, 4QInstruction shares a common background with Sirach, Jubilees, 4Q422 (4QParaGenExod), the psalm of 4Q381 and 4QWords of the Luminaries. Similarly to these other texts of the early second century BCE, 4QInstruction uses תבشير to express God's placing man in his station. This use of תבشير in Hip'il is based on early exegesis of Genesis 1-3 and Psalm 8. Man is put above creation, and is

2 Other pseudepigraphic scrolls contain similar passages, cf. 4Q299 (4QMyst?) 8 1-26 מְדַבָּר מֵאָדָם בְּכָל חַיָּה... "He determined the [work of ... He] portioned out their knowledge"; 4Q215a (4QTime of Righteousness) 1 7-9 "For He [prepared] their actions before they were created, and [measured out] the service of righteousness as their outlined portion for their generations". Also Sirach attributes the portions of men to God's providence: "Yet in the fullness of His understanding the Lord makes people dissimilar; in different paths He has them walk. Some He blesses and makes great, some He sanctifies and draws to Himself. Others He curses and brings low, and expels them from their place. Like clay in the hands of a potter, to be molded according to His pleasure. So are people in the hands of their Maker, to be requited according as He judges them" (33:11-13).

3 impeachment is used in 4Q415 9 9; 4Q416 V 12 (=4Q418 9 12); 17 (=4Q418 9 18); VI 2 (=4Q418 10 5)., 3, 6, 7 (4Q418 10 8); 4Q418 81 3, 9, 15; 228 2; 246 2; 4Q423 1-2. 2. 4Q418 81 3 and 4Q416 V 11-12 use מְדַבָּר on God giving the elect his spiritual inheritance, "in His inheritance He gave you authority"; מְדַבָּר "over an inheritance of glory He gave you authority". Cf. further 4Q299 (4QMyst?) 11 2 מְדַבָּר לְאָדָם (4QMyst?) 3 6 מְדַבָּר and His rule is on the earth"; 4Q419 (4QSap, Work B) 1 1 מְדַבָּר. The sapiential composition 4Q424 uses מְדַבָּר on authority over money (1 10 מְדַבָּר וְנַעֲשֶׂה עַל אֲשֶׁר בָּרָא אֶת הָאָדָם), and over subordinates (3 2 מְדַבָּר וְנַעֲשֶׂה עַל אֶת הָאָדָם). Manna is further used in Sir 30:11; 28: 45:17; 47: 19, and (reconstructed) in 1QpH XIII 17, 2 (=4Q418 10 5). מְדַבָּר seems to be of Hebrew usage in the 2nd century BCE, it does not appear in later rabbinic literature. See G. Brin, "Studies in 4Q424 1-2," RevQ 18 (1997) 21-42, p. 39.

Ps 8:7 is one of three cases in the Bible where מְדַבָּר is used in Hip'il; מְדַבָּר "You set him to rule". Early exegetes rightly saw Ps 8:6-9 as an interpretation of Genesis 1-2, and made the phrase מְדַבָּר central in their retelling of the creation story. This term was probably used in the Hebrew original of Sir 17:2, 4 "He gave them authority over everything on earth ... making Him master over beasts and birds"; and Job 2:14 "He made man ... and He gave him authority over everything which moves upon the earth" (this verse in Jubilees is either literally dependent on Sirach 17, or both use the same source). The same thought is found in two Qumran compositions which probably should be dated early in the second century BCE: 4Q504 (4QDibHam) 8 6 מְדַבָּר וְנַעֲשֶׂה עַל אֲשֶׁר בָּרָא אֶת הָאָדָם ""In the Garden of Eden which You planted You gave him [dominion]"; 4Q422 (4QParaGenExod) 1 9-10 מְדַבָּר וְנַעֲשֶׂה עַל אֲשֶׁר בָּרָא אֶת הָאָדָם "He set mankind on[?] the earth, He set him in charge to eat the fruit[ of the soil ... and decreed[?] that he should[not eat from the tree that gives knowledge of good and evil. (see DJD XIII, 421-3; Elgvin, "The Genesis Section of 4Q422 (4QParaGenExod),”). Cf. also 1QS III 17-18 מְדַבָּר וְנַעֲשֶׂה עַל אֲשֶׁר בָּרָא אֶת הָאָדָם "He created man to rule the world"; 4Q381 (4QNon-Canonical Psalms A) 1 7 מְדַבָּר וְנַעֲשֶׂה עַל אֲשֶׁר בָּרָא אֶת הָאָדָם "and by His spirit He set them to rule all these, the earth and all['"

Philo interprets Genesis 1-3 in a similar way in On the Creation of the World, 77-88: man was created after all things, to be their king and master (see Borgen, "Man’s Sovereignty over Animals and Nature According to Philo of Alexandria"). The same exegetical tradition is later reflected in Gen. R. 19.4 "Yet you were created after everything else, so should you rule over everything that came before"; 4 Ezra 6:53: "On the sixth day you commanded the earth to bring forth before you cattle, beasts and creeping things; and over these you placed
God’s custodian on earth as Adam was in Eden (cf. 4Q423 1-2, an address to Adam and fleshly man; משללה ומדך "He set you in charge of it to till it and guard it").

The family structures express God’s creation order: parents are set over their children, and the husband over his wife:

Honour your father in your poverty and your mother while you walk. For as God is to man so is his father, and as masters are to a guy so is his mother, for they are the furnace that conceived you. As He appointed them over you (סָרָא אֶל הַא Lumpur בֶּן Wisdom: מַעְלָה וְרָאִיתה) and (appointed) the inclination (to rule) over the spirit, so you should serve them. And as He opened your ear to the mystery to come, so you should honour them for the sake of your own honour, and in reverence them for the sake of your life and the length of your days.

(4Q416 V 15-19)

The husband has authority over his wife (the rule that the husband can cancel the vows of his wife is taken from Numeri 30):

He gave you authority over her (הַמֶּשֶל בֶּן וְרָאִיתה), and she will heed your voice and(?). Her father
He did not give authority over her. He separated her from her mother, and to you [shall be her desire, and she will be] one flesh with you. He will set your daughter aside for another, and your sons (for their wives(?).) And you, be together with the wife of your bosom, for she is the kin of [your bos]om. If your neighbour gets authority over her he has moved the border of his life. Over [her spirit] He gave you authority, that she should walk according to your will and not make many vows or votive offerings. Your spirit revoke them according to your will. Every binding oath of hers to vow a vow, cancel it by a word of your mouth, and by your will forbid her. Of an uttering of your lips He pardons her for your sake.

(4Q416 VI 2-10)

Compared with Sirach, the discourses and admonitions of 4QInstruction give more weight to God’s activity in choosing the righteous and the responsibility of the righteous to act according to his calling. God is more active and involved in creation and human affairs. In this aspect 4QInstruction is possibly closer to the biblical tradition than the more Greek-influenced Sirach. The wisdom admonitions appeal to man’s reason and ability to choose his own ways. But also the discourses reflect an optimistic anthropology: they do not stress the sinfulness of man - including the elect ones - as do the Hodayot and the hymn in 1QS X-XI; they seem to express a more optimistic anthropology. In the discourses we meet the consequences of being elected by God and illuminated by his mysteries. The addressee is repeatedly admonished to meditate upon God’s mysteries and not lose his inheritance. These exhortations seem to presuppose the possibility that one can lose the status of being elect, or at least some of the blessings connected to the elect community. The appeal to man’s will and

Adam as ruler over all the works which you had made”; Pesiq. R., Suppl 21: “And God had in mind to appoint him ruler over His world, and king over all of His creatures, as He said: I am the King of the upper world and man is the king of the lower world”.

This topic is not covered in Vermes’ illuminating paper on the use of Genesis 1-3 in early post-biblical Judaism, “Genesis 1-3 in Post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic Literature before the Mishnah”, JJS 43 (1992) 221-225.

Harrington, “Wisdom at Qumran”, 149-51.

Cf., however, the Niedrigkeitsdoxologie in 4Q417 III 15-17, which similarly to the Hodayot expresses man’s lowly state vis-a-vis the heavenly Lord and judge: “For before His wrath nobody can stand, and who can be deemed righteous in His judgement? And how can the poor one [stand] without forgiveness?” On similar passages in the related 1Q/4QMysteries, see section 5.1.3, note 50.
his calling cannot reflect an absolute determinism, as often is supposed to be later sectarian doctrine. We thus find a via media between Sirach’s doctrine of the pairs7 and the dualism of the Two-Spirit Treatise.8

On the other hand, the discourse on revelation and history in 4Q417 IX seems to presuppose that the ways of history and of men are predetermined by God and ordained in the heavenly tablets (for a closer discussion of this text, see section 4.1.7.1):

[ ] understand(?) the creatures [of God(?)] in all their ways with their destiny in all the periods of eternity as well as the eternal visitation. Then you will discern between [go]od and [evil in their ]deed[s,] for the God of knowledge is the foundation of truth.

By the mystery to come He designed its foundation, <and> its creatures with all[ ]wis[dom. According to all[ ]cun[ning He fashioned it, and the domain of its creatures according to all[ ]under[standing(?). To you He will assign a(]l ... with ... According to their understanding [He or]dained for every cr[eatu]re to walk in the inclination of his understanding.

And He interpreted for the p[oor on]es(?) all her [ ], and with proper understanding [the hid]den things of His thought are known, when one walks [b]lameless[ly in ]all ]one’s d[eed]s.

... And you understand the origin of your own doing when you remember the st[ylius. For] with it was the decree engraved, and decreed is the entire visitation. For the engraved is decreed by God against all iniquity of the sons of perdition, and written in His presence is a book of memory of those who keep His word. It is the Vision of Hagai and a book of memory. (4Q417 IX 9-13, 15-18)

Since God is the source of all things, one should praise Him under all circumstances: praise God, by every affliction b[less His name ... ] according to His will these matters happened, and He is the One who understands[ the hidden matters(?) ... ] He will decide all your ways with[ ]

(4Q417 X 11-13)

4Q418 126 ii 3-5 (see text above) expresses the predetermined ways of men in a similar manner. And according to 4Q418 55 3, the ways of some feminine subject are preordained;

It is written, “her ways are hewn in toil”. The subject could be נָשָׁה ‘woman’, or נֶפֶשׁ ‘truth’ (as in the text quoted above, 4Q417 IX 9-10).

In contrast to Sirach,9 but similar to Qumran sectarian writings, a deterministic view of the ultimate fate of men (a double predestination) is clearly reflected:

And now, you foolish of heart, how can there be goodness if it was not [demonstrated(?), how can there be] peacefulness if it never existed, how can there be righteousness if it was not established, and how will the dead groan because of their [judgemen]t(?). [For Sheol] you were formed, and your return will be eternal damnation, for [ ] your sins[ ] the dark places will shine on your multitude and all that ever came into being. The seekers of truth will wake up to the judgements[ of God(?)]. All the foolish of heart will be destroyed, the sons of iniquity will not be found any more, and all those who support evil will be ashamed at your judgement. The foundations of the firmament will shout, all the [h]ots of God [will thunder, [and all] who love[ righteousness will rejoice.] But you are the elect of truth, those who pursue[ righteousness according to the ]judgement of God(?)) watchful according to all knowledge ... also You [will inherit glor[y and abundant honour].

(4Q418 69 ii 4-11, 14)

The discourses display an ethical dualism. God has separated the elect from ‘the spirit of all flesh’ and given him his spiritual inheritance. Hence he shall separate himself from everyone God hates; 4Q418 81 1-2 “He separated you from all the spirit of flesh. <Hence> you shall separate from everyone He hates and keep apart

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7Ben Sira advocates a modified dualism without any personified evil power. He attributes the duality in human experience to the order of creation and to God himself: “See now all the works of the Most High: they come in pairs, the one the opposite of the other” (33:15); “All of them come in twos, one corresponding to the other; yet none of them has He made in vain” (42:24).

8According to Lange, the Two-Spirit Treatise represents pre-Essene theology, related to (and possibly inspired by) 4QInstruction and 1Q/4QMysteries: Weisheit und Prädestination, 121-70.

9Cf. Sir 15:14-15, 17; “It was He, from the first, when He created humankind, who made them subject to their own free choice. If you choose, you can keep His commandment; fidelity is the doing of His will ... Before each person are life and death; whichever he chooses shall be given him”. 
from all abominations of the spirit". This ethical dualism is reflected in the pairs truth and evil, wisdom and simplicity: when he meditates on the mystery to come, the elect “will know (i.e. be able to discern between) truth and evil, wisdom [and simplicity]”. The eschatological discourse in 4Q416 VII discerns ‘the sons of evil’ from ‘the sons of truth’, both now and eternally (lines 4, 11), as the trial speech in 4Q418 69 separates ‘the foolish of heart’ from ‘the elect of truth’ (4Q418 69 ii 4-6, 10-14).

4QInstruction does not reflect the developed philosophical dualism of the Two-Spirit Treatise in 1QS III-IV, the War Scroll and T. Judah 20. A cosmic dualism can, however, be discerned: there comes a day of judgement on all iniquity, and the period of truth shall be completed. God will overcome the evil powers opposing Him, both in heaven and on earth (4Q416 VII 11-16). The extant fragments do not mention any demonic prince that rules the spirits of men, an idea we encounter for the first time in Jubilees (‘Belial’, 1:20; ‘Mastema’, chs. 48-49), and which recurs in T. Ruben 2-4 and sectarian writings (1QS 118, 23-24; II 19; the Two-Spirit Treatise; CD V 18; XIX 14; 1QH III 28-29; 1QM XIII 4, 11-12; XVIII 1). However, if our reconstruction is correct, 4Q416 VII 12/4Q418 212 1 refers to the judgement upon the kingdom of iniquity: “the kingdom of iniquity(?) will tremble” (on the ‘kingdom of iniquity’, see section 4.2.1). The same discourse proclaims “In heaven He will judge the work of iniquity” (4Q416 VII 11), which points to a judgement upon heavenly beings such as fallen angels. This means that we encounter a cosmic dualism with supernatural evil powers opposed to God. Also 1Q/4QMysteries, which is closely related to 4QInstruction, refers to such powers: “and all the adherents of the mysteries of evil are to be no more” (1Q27 1 i 7). The preserved fragments of 4QInstruction do not refer to the sin of the watchers as source of human sins and the experience of evil, as do Enoch 6-16 and Jubilees (5:1-11, cf. 1:20).

The similarities between 4QInstruction and sectarian writings with regard to determinism and dualism suggest that 4QInstruction (and perhaps also 1Q/4QMysteries) exercised considerable influence on the development of sectarian theology on these subjects.11

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11P.R. Davies asserts that cosmic dualism was a secondary development of the sect well after the time of the Teacher: “Eschatology at Qumran”, IBL 104 (1985) 39-55. The eschatology of 4QInstruction does not support such a conclusion. On the dualism of 4QInstruction, see Lange, Weisheit und Prädetermination, 45-92.
4.5. Admonition for Various Areas of Human Life

In section 3.1.1 we described the literary genre ‘wisdom admonition’ as a short sentence in the imperative mood followed by a motive clause. We noted that in 4QInstruction the admonitions cover themes other than the longer discourses. While the discourses primarily deal with eschatology, revelation, and the addressee’s relation to God, the admonitions give concrete instruction about man’s behaviour in specific fields of life. In section 3.3 we suggested that the admonitions represent a separate literary stratum, which was adapted (and sometimes reworked) by the author of the discourses. In this section we survey the various fields of life covered by the admonitions and mention some important parallels. The scope and extent of the admonitions might give some indications as to the milieu(s) of origin of 4QInstruction (we will return to this question in section 5.2.1). Most of the texts surveyed here are discussed in detail in section 6.2.

The wisdom admonitions are rooted in early Jewish wisdom as is the Book of Sirach.¹ Some passages have parallels in the Proverbs of Ahiqar and Papyrus Insinger.² The admonitions are not characterized by any strong Jewish flavour - but the same can be said about most wisdom sentences in the Bible. The admonitions reveal few parallels with the parenetic material in Test. 12 Patr., which is characterized by admonition speeches on the dangers of drunkenness, unchastity, avarice, mendacity, hate and envy; and the positive attitudes of mercy, industriousness, purity, chastity, and love for the Torah.

Work and business

A major share of the admonitions deals with a man’s relation to his neighbour, to superiors and subordinates. 4Q417 III 1-5 deals with a dispute with another, possibly a superior.³

[a]lways, lest he tires of you. According to his spirit speak to him, lest [... ] without reproaching the appropriate one. Forgive him, and what is bound [...] Also, do not confuse his spirit, for silently did you speak[...] and quickly take account of his rebuke. Do not overlook your transgressions, [for He can give your neighbour(?)] right as much as you.

4Q416 IV 3-18 contains a lengthy passage about the ethics of work: one’s relation to a superior,⁴ whether a creditor or somebody who has entrusted the addressee with a work to do (on lines 3-8 about surety, see below), and to a subordinate. One shall be honest and not compromise one’s principles:⁵

¹For a general comparison with Sirach, see Harrington, “Wisdom at Qumran”.
³For the subject matter, cf. Ahiqar saying 54 “With one who is more exalted than yourself do not pick a quarrel”; and Pinsinger 4.2-3 “Do not hasten to seek a quarrel with a powerful ruler.
⁴Pinsinger 10.11-11.18 gives similar advice on a careful attitude vis-a-vis a superior.
⁵The preceding lines refer to God who gives sustenance to all living things in hymnic style, and provides the perspective for the following advice on surety and working relations: “[t]o ask for your food. For He opens [His] mercy[ towards every creature(?)] ... to fill all those needing His resources, to provide food] for every living
Do not receive surety for your inheritance lest another rule (?) over it, and your face be covered by the shame he <puts upon you>, and you will be captured in folly. As much as a man's creditor will lend him in money, quickly repay so you will be on equal footing with him, for the purse of your treasures you have entrusted to your creditor for the sake of your friends, you have given away all your life for him. Quickl

give back what belongs to him and get back [your] money. [In your affairs do not compromise your spirit for any riches. Do not barter your holy spirit, for no price is worth your soul. Seek him who is in charge of your assets, willingly seek his face, [say] accommodatingly [to him], and then you can again be able to do your business. [Do not sell?] him [your inheritance], do not forsake your laws, and keeping your secrets guard yourselves.] If he entrusts you with a task of his, [do not rest in your soul and do not let your eyes slumber until you have completed [what he requested, but] not anything more. If you can act with insight... ] and do not give him any tax money [his... lest his face be made angry and your... will fall down... and he will commande] you. See that great is the zeal of man, and deceiving is the heart more than everything, who can know it? If you according to his will devote yourself to his service and to his powerful resources[his... ] you will advise him and be for him a firstborn son, and he will have pity on you as a man has pity on his only son. [Remember that you are poor... ] Do not prostrate yourself, lest you carry hateful feelings toward the other. Do not watch over your creditor, [then you would be his servant in all things?]. Also, do not humble your soul before someone who is not your equal, otherwise you will be his servant?]. Do not strike someone who does not have your strength, lest you stumble and be put greatly to shame. [Do not sell yourself for money. It is better for you to be a servant in the spirit, so that you serve your oppressors without payment. For a price [do not sell] your glory, and do not pledge your inheritance for money, lest your body lose its heritage.

The next column brings similar advice on being in charge of a deposit or the moneys of another. This repetition is a clear indication that we encounter an editor who collects various admonitions and puts them together as best he can. An author who phrased his own sentences would hardly repeat himself in this way.

If someone entrusts you <money for> [business], do not stretch out your hand toward it, lest you be burned [and] your body be consumed in its fire. What you received return to him with joy. If you declare yourself free from him or from any man you do not know, do not accept money lest it add to your poverty. If he put it upon your responsibility even until death, then give it over, and do not act badly against him.8

The composition includes a number of warnings about the risks involved in going surety or getting into debt (in addition to the text quoted below, see 4Q416 IV 3-6, 17-18, quoted above). After a reminder that God is the ultimate provider,7 the addressee is advised to pay back his loans as soon as possible:

If men lend you riches when you are in need, do not [sleep] day or night, and do not let your soul rest [until] you have paid back to [your] lender. Do not lie to him, lest you bear guilt, and you would also not escape] from shame. [And do not entrust anything more to his neighbour, so that he might close his hand when you are in need. Your strength[and lend out like he did, and know your lender.] If affliction befalls you, [your] storehouse lacking(?), and you be in debt, do not hide from your lender.] lest he reveal your shame [and the rich man?] will have power over him, and then he will not smite him with a rod.

If He closes His hand, will the spirit of all flesh be withdrawn" (4Q416 III 22-IV 3).

8The last line is open to different translations. See section 6.2.1.

7Upon! His word everything will happen, so eat what He gives you, but do not take more lest you shorten?] your life" (4Q417 III 19-21).

8Similar sentences are found in Ahiqar saying 43 "Do not take a heavy loan from an evil man. And if you take a loan, give your soul no peace until you have repaid it. A loan is pleasant as [ ], but paying it back is a houseful"; and Sir 29:2-3 "pay back your neighbour when a loan falls due. Keep your promise, be honest with him, and you will always come by what you need".
4.5. Admonition for Various Areas of Human Life

This passage leans heavily upon Prov 6:1-5:

My son, if you have gone surety for your neighbour, if you have struck hands in pledge for another, you have been trapped by what you said, ensnared by the words of your mouth. Then do this, my son, to free yourself, once you have fallen into your neighbour’s hands: Go and humble yourself; press your plea with your neighbour! Allow no sleep to your eyes, no slumber to your eyelids! Free yourself, like a gazelle from the hand of the hunter, like a bird from the snare of the fowler.

The danger of going surety is an old theme in the Ancient Near East. See Prov 6:1-5; 11:15; 17:18; 20:16; 22:26-27; 27:13. For a parallel in the Qumran scrolls, cf. the sapiential composition 4Q242 2-3: “do not give it as surety in the midst of the poor”. 4Q271 (4Q4D) 2-6 mentions a field given as surety, תּו ת (this term could also refer to a field with mixed crops).

The warnings against going surety contrast with the advice of Ben Sira, who praises the one who goes surety for a friend: “A good person goes surety for his neighbour ... Forget not the kindness of your backer, for he offers his very life for you” (29:14-15). But he too knows about the risk involved: “Going surety has ruined many prosperous people and tossed them about like the surging sea, has exiled the prominent and sent them wandering through foreign lands ... Go surety for your neighbour according to your means, but take care lest you fall thereby” (29:18, 20); “Go not surety beyond your means; think any pledge a debt you must pay” (8:13).

A number of passages deal with business and investments. Carefulness and honesty in business will give their reward and bring prosperity to the addressee. Different from a number of passages in Proverbs, 4QInstruction does not reflect a critical attitude towards commercial transactions as such. In contrast to sectarian writings, money and riches have no negative connotations in 4QInstruction. We frequently encounter 'ד 'money', 'riches', 12 but never the pair 'ד 'riches and loot', well-known from the writings of the yahad. Other

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9 Cf. the old Mesopotamian proverb collection The Instructions of Suruppak from the mid-third millennium BCE, lines 19-20, “Do not guarantee <for someone>, that man will have a hold on you”. And you - do not cause someone to guarantee, a man <who does this> is silly(?)”. See B. Alster, The Instructions of Suruppak. A Sumerian Proverb Collection (Mesopotamia, Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology, vol. 2), Copenhagen 1974; M. Weinfeld, “Theology and Wisdom in the Mesopotamian Tradition of the third Millennium B.C.E. and its Relation to the Bible” (Hebrew), Shnaton 4 (1978), 285-7.

10 Compare Sirach’s Ἑλλησπόντι θυσίας ἀληθῆς ἡμῖν σοι “for he offers his very life for you” with 4Q416 IV 5 γὰρ γὰρ σοὶ ὑπέρ τῆς χρήσεως σου “you have given away all your life for him”.

11 G. Bostrom [Proverbiastudien, Acta Universitatis Lundensis 30 (1934) 1-183, pp. 53-102] sees the warnings of the sapiential tradition about surety as a reaction against the capitalistic system foreign merchants of the Hellenistic period brought to Israel, cf. the occurrence of τ and Ἰωάννης, Prov 6:1; 11:15; 20:16; 27:13. According to Bostrom, the warnings against surety do not relate to surety as an act of mercy (as in Sir 29:14) but to financial transactions connected to commerce, which included credit and interest. As the commerce to a large extent was in the hand of foreigners, the sapiential criticism is also a religious reaction against the Kanaanimus.

12 4Q417 III 19, 21; 4Q416 IV 6, 10, 17; V 5; 4Q418 8 3; 101 ii 9; 123 i 2; 134 3; 180 3; 4Q423 6 4; 22 2.
frequently used words are טכח 'investment money', מזון with the meaning 'business', 'money used for business', מזון 'commerce', מזון 'assets', 'resources';

Be a tough adversary in your business matters, and there will be nobody who hates [ ... ] for any crooked matters of yours? (4Q147 III 12)

your commerce do not mix what is <to be> [separated] (4Q148 103 ii 6)

resources for your commerce, and your busines[es] deals (4Q148 107 4)

your assets, and all your business (4Q148 138 3)

study all [your] business (4Q148 158 3)

The assets of men do not covet(?) ... and his assets will be in your hand. He will have to implement his business deals from your basket, and you will[ ... ] And if not, his hand will be stretched out towards your meagre resources, and his small assets[ ... ] and he will not take from his own business money, but towards [your ... he will stretch out his hand?] ... your hand as a surplus, and your commerce, and thus (4Q148 126 ii 2, 12-14)

As much as a man's creditor will lend him in money, quickly repay so you will be on equal footing with him, for the purse of your treasures you have entrusted to your creditor for the sake of your friends, you have given away all your life for him. Quickly give back what belongs to him and get back [your] money. In your affairs do not compromise your spirit for any riches. Do not barter your holy spirit, for no price is worth[your soul]. Seek him who is in charge(?) of your assets, willingly seek his face, [spe]ak accommodating <to him>, and then you can <again be able to> do your business. (4Q146 IV 4-8)

Alluding to Isa 58:13, 4Q146 IV 6 uses הבורבע for 'in your business affairs'. 4Q148 137 2-5 refers to a man's skill and his wages: "the skill of your hands will provide you with a surplus[ ... ] right wages for all your work[ ... ] your work of the day".

The addressee is repeatedly reminded that he should not do business at any price. His integrity is more important: "Take care lest you intermingle with deceit" (4Q148 88 3); "In your affairs do not compromise your spirit for any riches. Do not barter your holy spirit, for no price is worth[your soul]" (4Q146 IV 6-7). Cf.

13Q146 IV 4, 6. The word מזון has the double sense 'purse', 'capital money'. In Isa 46:6 and Prov 1:14 מזון has the meaning 'purse'. The word מזון is used by the rabbis with the meaning 'capital money/money which is invested', b. Pesah. 53b; b. B. Batra 60b. See M. Weinfeld, "The Work of Moshe Shor in the Research of Babylonian Law" (Hebrew), Mada' Hayahadut 32 (1992) 25-9.

14Q146 IV 8; 4Q147 III 12; 4Q148 107 4; 126 ii 12, 14; 138 3; 158 3; 4Q23 1-2 6 (on the work of the farmer). מזון has the meaning 'business (needs)', 'commerce' in Isa 58:13; 1 Kgs 5:22-24; 10:13; CD X 18-21. See commentary on 4Q147 III 12 (section 6.2.1).

15Q148 103 2 6; 107 4; 122 i 5, 7. Wacholder/Abegg, 114, erroneously record the two occurrences of מזון in 4Q148 122 as מזון מזון.

16Q145 18 1; 4Q146 IV 7, 12 (=4Q148 8 13); 4Q148 79 2; 81 16; 101 i 3; 107 4; 126 ii 2, 12, 13; 127 5; 138 3; 177 8; 4Q23 1 i 5. This enigmatic word which occurs 14 times in QInstruction (and probably in 4Q24 16 as well, there spelled מזון), usually makes sense in the context if interpreted as 'resources', 'assets'. On the interpretation of this word, see section 6.2.1, note 46.

17For the reconstruction, cf. Job 1:10 מזון מזון.
the admonition of Jesus “What good is it for a man to gain the whole world, yet forfeit his soul? Or what can a man give in exchange for his soul?” (Mk 8:36-37); and Sir 5:8 “Rely not upon deceitful wealth; it will be no help on the day of wrath”. It is noteworthy that (different from Ben Sira and Jesus) these wisdom admonitions do not refer to the coming judgement in their motivation for integrity - another indication that the admonitions represent another literary layer than the discourses, for which the final judgement is a main theme.

Likewise, one should be careful and not risk one’s ‘inheritance’ (probably one’s inherited plot of land) for surety:18

Do not receive surety for your inheritance lest another rule[?] over it, and [your] face be covered by the shame he <puts upon you>, and <you will> be captured in folly. (4Q416 IV 3-4)

Do not give your inheritance[?] to a stranger for surety, (4Q418 87 7)

[Do not sell] yourself for money. It is better for you to be a servant in the spirit, so that you serve your hard oppressors without payment. For a price [do not sell] your glory, and do not pledge your inheritance for money, lest your body lose its heritage. (4Q416 IV 17-18)

Some passages specifically deal with the life of the farmer. The addressee is designated הֶזְרָאָה הָאָרֶץ ‘tiller of the earth’ (4Q423 5 5; 4Q423 5a 2), words used about Noah in Gen 9:20 (הֶזְרָאָה הָאָרֶץ is the farmer, not man in general ‘taken from the earth’, as Adam, as the context deals with the crops). God will bless the business of the addressee by multiplying his flocks: וְלָכְבֹּל אַלִילָו וְלָכְבֹּל אָרֶץ ‘and your flocks will spread throughout the land’ (4Q418 126 ii 14, words used about God’s blessing Job, Job 1:10). The addressee should tend his flock carefully:

] to you with its kids [... to keep it separate from the beasts of the fields and from the birds of [... If it grazes in another’s field, he will have to recompense the other [... you [... with your pasturage, and in the pasturage [... ]in all your pasturage, last year [by year [... return it, lest it be like[ [... the judging of the flock will be in ]your power[er], and in [your] [... (4Q418 172 6, 8-13)

Adapting Lev 19:19 and Deut 22:9-11, 4Q418 103 ii 6-9 requires that in his commerce the farmer should not mix yields of different kinds:19

Farmers, until every [... will be sanctified what comes in your baskets and will be in your storerooms all the days of your life(?) [... for He will not ] require period for period what they request. Do not be quiet [... in His hand. Do not [... for everybody will request in their times, and each man [will receive] according to [his] desire,[ and] your [... will be found. His step(?) [... like a source of flowing water which keeps [its reservoirs. [... in ]your commerce do not mix what is <to be> [separated,] lest it be two kinds together and like a mule, and you will be like one who dress[es in mixed textile,] in wool and in linen <woven together>, and your work <will be> like one who is plow[ing] with ox and don[k]ey [together, and your produce will be [... like] one who sows two kinds, the seeds and the full produce, and the produce of the vineyard will be ban[ned, and ]your money [ be polluted ]with your flesh,[ and] your life come to an end with it. And in your life you will not find [... (4Q418 103 ii 2-9)

One section deals with harvesting at the appointed times, another to redeeming the firstborn before the Lord.

Further, the Creator can withdraw the crops in case of disobedience.

18These bits of advice have parallels in Sir 8:12 “Lend not to one more powerful than yourself; or when you lend, count it as lost”; and Ahigur saying 55 “With one who is nobler and stronger than yourself, [do not ... for he will take] from your portion and [add] to his own”. 19Q271 (4QDF) 3 9-10 (par. 4Q269 9) adapts these pentateuchal laws in a different way: a man should seek a son-in-law that is fit for his daughter: “Moreover, he should not give her to one unfit for her, for [that is קָלַיָּיו מִתֵּן: <like plowing with> qık and ass and wearing wool and linen together.”
You are a t[i]ller of the earth, observe the appointed times of the summer, gather your crops in their time, and the season [of harvest in its appointed time(?)]. Look upon all your crops, in your labour give [attention to knowing the good with the evil] (4Q423 5:5-6)

your strength will be spent in vain ... by the mystery(?) to come. Thus you shall walk, and all [your] crops ... as a portion of land. On His word will bear every [womb ... you shall come before your God(?)] with the first fruit of your womb and the firstborn of all [your cattle ... you shall come before you] (4Q423 5:5-6) and say: 'I sanctify [to God(?)] everyone[ who opens the womb(?)] (4Q423 3:1-5)

by the mystery to come ... your crops ... when He opened your ear to the mystery to come ... to you. Take care, lest she honour you more than Him and ... and you will be cursed in all your crops [and put] to shame in all your deeds, in ... by the mystery to come.

The latter two passages reinterpret the Pentateuch in light of raz nihyeh, a phrase which betrays the hand of the author of the discourses. 4Q423 3:1 cites Lev 26:20 כְּבוֹדַת הָאֱלֹהִים. While Leviticus 26 admonishes to walk according to God’s laws (v 3 כָּלָיְכָּם לֹא תְּשָׁו יְהוָא), this text makes the search for raz nihyeh the central principle for the life of the elect: when he lives according to this principle, the crops will multiply. 1Q26 1 probably preserves a warning in deuteronomistic style not to forget the Creator. Both texts relate the yields of the earth to raz nihyeh.

4Q417 III 17-18 deals with God’s providing for the needs of the addressee. According to our interpretation, the text promises that God will provide yields of the fields, and one should return a ‘surplus’ to Him, probably a reference to tithing (see section 6.2.1):

As for you, if you lack food, [He will give( you(?) what you need and even a surplus,[ and] you will [also] have surplus of produce to the harbour of His desire. 21 Receive your portion from Him and do not add thereto.

4Q418 148 i 7 mentions יִשְׁרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל ‘sailors’ (cf. Ezek 27:29 for the same term), the precise context is not preserved. The following column exhorts to gain ‘knowledge of one’s work’, יִתְנַהֲלֵהוּ "and you will also have surplus of produce to the harbour of His desire" (4Q418 148 ii 5).

Family

Family is an important subject for the editor of 4QInstruction. A lengthy section, approximately one column of text, deals with family matters:

Investigate the mystery to come, meditate upon all the ways of truth, and upon all the roots of evil you shall look. Then you will understand what is bitter for a man and what is sweet for a fellow.

Honour your father in your poverty and your mother while you walk. For as God is to man so is his father, and as masters are to a guy so is his mother, for they are the furnace that conceived you. As He appointed them over you and (appointed) the inclination (to rule) over the spirit, so you should serve them. As He opened your ear to the mystery to come, so you should honour them for the sake of your own honour, and in[ ...] revere them for the sake of your life and the length of your days. If you are in need, when ...

lawfully.

When you take a wife in your poor estate, investigate [her] birth-times[ ...] from the mystery to come. In your company together walk with the helpmate of your flesh[ ...] for a man should leave[ his] father [and] his mother and cleave[ to his wife, and they shall be one flesh.] He gave you authority over her, and she will heed[ your voice and(?)]. Her father[ He did not give authority over her. He separated her from her mother, and to you[ shall be her desire, and she will be] one flesh with you. He will set your daughter aside for another, and your sons[ for their wives(?).] And you, be together with the wife of your bosom, for she is the kin of [your bos]om.

20 On the redeeming of the firstborn in this passage, see section 5.2.1.

21 The sentence יִשְׁרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל echoed Ps 107:30 יָנֵפָא יִשְׂרָאֵל וּרְאֵהוּ וְיִתְנַהֲלֵהוּ "He will bring them to the harbour of their desire". The biblical text describes how God can bring sailors through a storm to safety. The suffix has been consciously changed from the plural form of the Bible (ישראל) to a singular one (ישראל) which refers to God.
If your neighbour gets authority over her he has moved the border of his life. Over [her spirit] He gave you authority, that she should walk according to your will and not make many vows or votive offerings. Your spirit revoke [them] according to your will. Every binding oath of hers to vow a vow, cancel it by a word of your mouth, and by your will forbid [her] (an uttering) of your lips He pardons her for your sake. Neither should you multiply vows, lest disgrace come upon (?) your honour. In your inheritance let [ ... ] the wife of your bosom, and one will deride [you]

(4Q416 V 15 - VI 13)

In section 3.3 we noted that this section interprets the fifth commandment and the marital relation in light of the revelation of raš nɪḥyeh. God’s revelation of the mystery to come to the addressee and a man’s continuing study of it will help him understand the nature of family relations, and provide a perspective for honouring one’s parents and taking a wife. The passage reveals the hand of the author of the discourses, perhaps as a reworker of earlier parenetic material. This interpretation of the fifth commandment shares a common tradition with Sir 3:1-16. Both texts admonish to ‘serve’ those ‘who bore you’, and relates the glory of a man to the glory of his father.

Part of the text quoted above (4Q416 VI 7-10) paraphrases Num 30:7-9, 11-16 on the husband’s authority regarding vows or votive offerings given by his wife. In the Qumran scrolls laws on vows and votive offerings are found in CD IX 8-12; XVI 6-18; 11QT-P LIII 11-LIV; CD IX 10-12 and 11QT-P LIV 2-3 deals with vows given by one’s wife. In contrast to these other texts, 4QInstruction combines instruction with theological reflection on creation order, and explicitly relate the pentateuchal law on the wife’s pledges to the theological concept of the husband’s authority over his wife, related to the family order derived from Genesis 2-3. Also these deliberations could reflect the author of the discourses reworking existing admonitions.

4Q415 97 refers to “the dominion of the male over the female”, and 4Q415 2 ii exhorts the wife to be faithful to the marital covenant:

like a father you shall honour [your husband(?) ...] you shall not remove from your heart so that evil will overtake you ... all day long, and to his bosom you shall cleave ...; lest you neglect the holy covenant [ ...], and what you will despise and [ ... stay with] her husband forever in the house of [your origin]. In your covenant ... you will be a subject of praise on the mouth of all men [ ...] from the house of <your> birth. 25

22 Eph 5:21-33, in a similar way, connects the mutual relation between husband and wife with the ‘mystery’ of Christ and the church.

23 Compare “Honour your father in your poverty and your mother while you walk. For as God is to man so is his father, and as masters (אָבִי הָאָבִי) are to a fellow so is his mother, for they are the furnace that conceived you” with Sir 3:7 “He who obeys the Lord, honors his mother, and serves those who bore him like masters (דְּבָרִי שֶׁבֶרִי),” and 7:27-28 “With your whole heart honour your father; your mother’s birth pangs forget not. Remember, of these parents you were born; what can you give them for all they gave you?”. Compare further כיוּלִים לוֹ בְּלִימוֹת וְאֶלֶף לְאָלָף “you should honour them for the sake of your own honour ... for the sake of your life and the length of your days” with Sir 3:11 “A man’s honour gives honour to his father”, and 3:6 “whoever honours his father will live a long life”. We note that Sirach uses דְּבָרִי שֶׁבֶרִי in the same context where 4QInstruction has דְּבָרִי (cf. LXX to Prov 30:10, that translates וְדָבַר with דִּבְרֵי in the meaning master of a slave).

24 See section 5.1.1 on the (literary ?) relation between the sections on vows in 4QInstruction, CD and 11QT-P.

25 כֹּל הָמוֹם should perhaps be translated “from the Zodiac sign of your birth”. On this phrase, see section 5.1.3, note 51.
Addressing a woman in this fashion is unusual in the sapiential tradition. Since the context is not preserved, we do not know whether this passage was addressed directly to a married woman, or whether the husband was instructed to exhort his wife with these words (col. i of this fragment uses the 2nd person masc. sing.). 4QInstruction clearly thinks within a patriarchal framework, but we do not find derogatory statements about women, as frequently in Sirach. The above address to the woman has no parallel in Sirach.

4Q1511 preserves a fragmentary passage on examination of a future bride (probably by the prospective father-in-law), that also refers to the wedding night and possibly to the prohibition of intercourse during pregnancy, an Essene rule known from other sources.

26 In our paper “Admonition Texts”, 180, note 4, we noted that 4Q1511 can be supplemented with overlapping text from 4Q181 167 (4Q181a) and 4Q181 296 (4Q181b, an unrecorded fragment we identified on the early photo PAM 41.909). See section 2.1.2.1, note 26.

27 The phrase אַחַר הַיָּמִים (lines 11, 12) is hard to interpret. Among the possible options are “if she is divorced” or “if she is divided in her mind”. However, this root can have the meaning ‘spread out one’s limbs’, cf. Ezek 1:11 where “the wings of the cherubs were spread out”; 1QpH VII 4:19 where “my bones were spread out and my limbs were for me like a boat in the storm”. We therefore suggest that אַחַר הַיָּמִים is an euphemism for the woman spreading out her limbs when she faces her partner in intercourse. A fragmentary line of 4Q419 (4Qsap. work) preserves the same phrase, אַחַר הַיָּמִים in 4Q419 5:1, and frgs. 1 and 7 of this work deal with priesthood and purity.

For the subject matter, cf. 4Q265 (QDQ) 2 ii 15-16 תְּבָרָא אַהֲבָּה תַּשָּׁבְּעָה, caus knowledge of a pregnant woman, causing blood to stir(?)”; 4Q270 12-13 תְּבָרָא אַהֲבָּה תַּשָּׁבְּעָה אֲשֶׁר תַּשָּׁבְּעָה, caus knowledge of a pregnant woman, causing blood to stir(?)”. In Josephus, War, 2.160-61 “There is another order of the Essenes... they have no intercourse with them (the wives) during pregnancy, thus showing that their motif in marrying is not self-indulgence but the procreation of children”; Dionysios bar Salibi, Against the Jews, 1, “The Essenes, or ‘pure’... And for three years they would leave their wives without intercourse; and (then) once they had become pregnant they did not come near them again, (thus) demonstrating that not out of lust did they do this, but so as to establish children”. On these passages, see J.M. Baumgarten, “The Qumran-Essene Restraints on Marriage”, Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 13-24; idem, DJD XVIII, 146, 164-5; S.P. Brock, “Some Syriac Accounts of the Jewish Sects”, A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus. Studies in Early Christian Literature and Its Environment, Primarily in the Syrian East (R.H. Fischer, ed.), Chicago 1977, 265-76.

284Q145115 הָעֵדֶה הַשָּׁבָּה אֲשֶׁר תַּשָּׁבְּעָה, caus knowledge of a pregnant woman, causing blood to stir(?)”. 4Q271 (QDQ) 2 ii 7-9 (par. 4Q270 5 14-15) perhaps cites this text when it prescribes that a man shall inform a prospective son-in-law of his daughter’s blemishes: הָעֵדֶה הַשָּׁבָּה אֲשֶׁר תַּשָּׁבְּעָה. See comments by Qimron and Baumgarten, DJD XVIII, 177.
4.5. Admonition for Various Areas of Human Life

Sentiments and temper, modesty

Some admonitions are more general in nature and deal with one’s mind and temper. One passage exhorts the addressee to keep apart from the ungodly, but not fall for the temptation to be proud and self-righteous:

Do not consider an ungodly man a helper, and there will be nobody who hates[... ] the iniquity of his deeds together with its punishment. And know how to relate to him[...]. The teaching of God(?) do not remove from your heart. [Your soul] be not proud about yourself[ in your lowly estate] for what is more insignificant than a poor man? (4Q417 III 7-10)

The advice to keep apart from the ungodly is paralleled in the discourses; cf. 4Q418 81 1-2 “He separated you from all the spirit of flesh. <Hence> you shall separate from everyone He hates and keep apart from all abominations of the spirit”.

Also the theme of humility recurs in the admonitions. In col. III of 4Q417 the addressee is twice reminded “do not overlook your transgressions” (lines 4, 14). Lines 14-15 continue “In a legal quarrel be like a humble man,[ and the judgement you shall(?)] receive”. Also 4Q416 V 12-14 deals with humility: “Be humble, do not say ‘I am poor and will not seek out knowledge’. Bend your shoulder to all discipline, with all [knowledge] purify you heart, and with abundant understanding your thoughts”. The admonitions about humility have numerous parallels in biblical and extra-biblical material (cf. e.g. Mic 6:8; Prov 3:34; Sir 3:17-20; 7:17).

A small paragraph (4Q416 IV 18-21), contained in a chain of admonitions, deals with modesty and decent table manners, a common sapiential motif:

Do not fill yourself with bread when you lack clothing. Do not drink wine when there is no food. Do not request luxury when you lack bread. Do not boast about your lowly estate - you who are poor - lest you bring your life into contempt. Furthermore, do not dishonour the vessel of your[ b]osom.

Conclusions

The admonitions cover wide areas of human life. Family relations, business affairs, and the life of the farmer are given much attention. Most admonitions represent traditional sapiential instruction. They appeal to reason in their advice for the daily life, the exhortations shall help the addressee to success and prosperity. The horizon is this life, not the hereafter. However, some sections show signs of reworking by the author of the discourses: the apocalyptic revelation of God’s mysteries, raz nihyeh, provides a perspective for instruction on the relation to one’s parents and spouse. The search for raz nihyeh (not living according to the commandments of the Torah) should be the central principle for the elect. Living according to raz nihyeh will bring God’s blessing and abundant crops on the fields.

29Cf. Prov 23:20-21; Sir 18:32; 23:6; 29:21-24; Pinsinger 4.6 “Do not squander the little you have if there is no storehouse behind you”; 5.12 “Do not be a glutton, lest you associate with poverty”; 6.12-13 “He who sates himself with too much bread becomes ill and suffers. He who sates himself with too much wine lies down in a stupor”; 6.23 “He who eats when there is no reserve is one who sleeps while death is before him”; 28.1 “Humble work and humble food are better than being sated far away”.

30On the ‘vessel of your bosom’ (i.e. one’s sexual organ rather than one’s wife), see section 6.2.1.
5. Provenance

5.1. Relation to Other Writings

In the thematical sections 4.1-4.5 we often observed terminological and conceptual links between 4QInstruction and other early Jewish writings. In this section we collect and summarize these observations, and draw some preliminary conclusions on the relation of 4QInstruction to three groups of literature: the writings of the yahad, Enochic literature, and other writings from the second century BCE, concentrating upon Sirach, Jubilees and 1Q/4QMysteries. This discussion has implications for the question of time and milieu of origin of 4QInstruction, to which we turn in section 5.2.1.

5.1.1. Relation to the Qumran sectarian literature

The following discussion deals primarily with three writings of the yahad, the Hodayot, the Community Rule and the Damascus Document. We deal first with the terminological parallels between 4QInstruction and each of these compositions. Some concepts or phrases, which have parallels in more than one sectarian writing, will be discussed together.

The Hodayot

There are numerous parallels between 4QInstruction and the Hodayot, and we will here survey the most important cases. (a) There is one case of a clear literary dependence. 4Q418 55 10 refers to a mutual recognition of the maturity and understanding of one’s neighbour: "according to their knowledge every man shall receive honour from his fellow, and according to his understanding his glory shall be magnified". The first sentence (underlined here) recurs in 1QH* X 27-29: "... and so for a man ... You increased his share in the knowledge of Your truth". While 4QInstruction refers to the mutual recognition between men, the hodayah combines this theme with a description of how God has increased a man’s portion (a theme covered a few lines earlier in 4Q418 55, ...) "He portioned out to the heirs of truth [“]. Both texts use the root הָשָּׁא, Hip’el ‘increase/magnify’, used in 4Q418 55 10 with man as subject, is applied to God by the hodayah. These parallels are perhaps most easily explained if themes from the didactic text 4Q418 55 (the earlier text ?) were reused for hymnic purposes in 1QH* X.

(b) The reconstructed col. V of 1QH* (Sukenik’s col. XIII combined with frgs. 15 and 17)\(^1\) displays a number of parallels with the discourse in 4Q417 IX. Both texts reflect a realized eschatology and deal with the mysteries of creation and history, and the revelation of God’s mysteries to the elect. The right understanding is to perceive

the preordained ways of the creatures of God (תתת is used alternately in the meanings ‘creature’ and ‘deed’ in both texts). The elect will have the understanding that gives knowledge of eternal glory. In both texts we find the phrases אשר או אולא יعجزו (‘man’) and (and compare specifically IQH 6:3 17-20 (= XIII 13-14) of four things that every righteous deed and the foundation of your hand, [the good deed with] the evil, wisdom and folly ... their deeds, truth[ and evil, wisdom 
The same phrase recurs in CD XIII 8: the preceptor ‘shall make the Many knowledgeable in the deeds of God, and make them understand His mighty marvels, and recount to them what ever came in to being’. Cf. 4Q417 IX 4-7 ‘Look at ... what was and what comes into being and to what will be ... then you will see(?) what was and what comes into being with what will be, in all the [periods of eternity]’.

4IQH 6-13 “Every[one who has been chosen by] the knowledge of all intelligence will understand [ ] and the mysteries of Your plan ... And in Your wonderful mysteries (حادثודי לאריך ימים) You have instructed me for Your glory ... everlasting glory (שמיים טובים, delight and unending enjoyment)’, cf. 4Q417 IX 4-15, 18-19,"you come all that was and what comes into being” ; cf. 4Q417 IX 4-9 (= XIII 13-14) of four things that every righteous deed and the foundation of your hand, [the good deed with] the evil, wisdom and folly ... their deeds, truth[ and evil, wisdom 

The term הָדְרָאָה (lit. ‘revelation’) in this context. The designation הָדְרָאָה (lit. ‘revelation’) is found twice in 4QInstruction (4Q417 IX 10; 4Q418 55 5), in the related 4Q4Mysteries (4Q299 35 1; 73 3), and also in sectarian writings (IQS III 15; 1QH 126; 1QPH frg. 4, 15). 4Q417 IX 10 connects the ‘God of knowledge’ with the ‘mystery to come’; for God (cf. 1 Sam 2:3: ‘for God knows all that is inside you’). 4Q418 123 II 3 describe the God of knowledge as the God of knowledge and found the foundation of truth. By the mystery to come He designed its foundation’. For similar statements, cf. IQS III 15 and 1QH 19. CD XIII 8(4:23) reveals the connection; IQS 148 238 3.”

2IQH 6-13 “Every one who has been chosen by the knowledge of all intelligence will understand [ ] and the mysteries of Your plan ... And in Your wonderful mysteries (حادثודי לאריך ימים) You have instructed me for Your glory ... everlasting glory (שמיים טובים, delight and unending enjoyment)’, cf. 4Q417 IX 4-15, 18-19,"you come all that was and what comes into being” ; cf. 4Q417 IX 4-9 (= XIII 13-14) of four things that every righteous deed and the foundation of your hand, [the good deed with] the evil, wisdom and folly ... their deeds, truth[ and evil, wisdom 

3The same phrase recurs in CD XIII 8: the preceptor ‘shall make the Many knowledgeable in the deeds of God, and make them understand His mighty marvels, and recount to them what ever came in to being’. Cf. 4Q417 IX 4-7 ‘Look at ... what was and what comes into being and to what will be ... then you will see(?) what was and what comes into being with what will be, in all the [periods of eternity]’.

4IQH 6-13 “Every one who has been chosen by the knowledge of all intelligence will understand [ ] and the mysteries of Your plan ... And in Your wonderful mysteries (حادثודי לאריך ימים) You have instructed me for Your glory ... everlasting glory (שמיים טובים, delight and unending enjoyment)’, cf. 4Q417 IX 4-15, 18-19,"you come all that was and what comes into being” ; cf. 4Q417 IX 4-9 (= XIII 13-14) of four things that every righteous deed and the foundation of your hand, [the good deed with] the evil, wisdom and folly ... their deeds, truth[ and evil, wisdom 

5The same phrase recurs in CD XIII 8: the preceptor ‘shall make the Many knowledgeable in the deeds of God, and make them understand His mighty marvels, and recount to them what ever came in to being’. Cf. 4Q417 IX 4-7 ‘Look at ... what was and what comes into being and to what will be ... then you will see(?) what was and what comes into being with what will be, in all the [periods of eternity]’.

6Similarly to CD XIII 8, 4QInstruction exhorts the meditation on ‘the things that ever came into being’, how God has ordained the periods of history.

7The same phrase recurs in CD XIII 8: the preceptor ‘shall make the Many knowledgeable in the deeds of God, and make them understand His mighty marvels, and recount to them what ever came in to being’. Cf. 4Q417 IX 4-7 ‘Look at ... what was and what comes into being and to what will be ... then you will see(?) what was and what comes into being with what will be, in all the [periods of eternity]’.

8Similarly to CD XIII 8, 4QInstruction exhorts the meditation on ‘the things that ever came into being’, how God has ordained the periods of history.

9Similarly to CD XIII 8, 4QInstruction exhorts the meditation on ‘the things that ever came into being’, how God has ordained the periods of history.

10Similarly to CD XIII 8, 4QInstruction exhorts the meditation on ‘the things that ever came into being’, how God has ordained the periods of history.
(c) A passage in the second eschatological discourse (4Q416 69 ii 6-7, “The seekers of truth will wake up to the judgement[ of God(?).] All the foolish of heart will be destroyed, the sons of iniquity will not be found any more, and all those who support evil will be ashamed[ed] at your judgement”) is closely paralleled by 1QH* VI 29-30 “And then at the time of judgement the sword of God shall hasten, and all the sons of His tr[uth shall awake to] destroy] wickedness, and all the sons of iniquity shall be no more”. With close to identical sentences the texts express that the sons (or seekers) of truth will wake up at the day of judgement, and the sons of iniquity will be destroyed (the Hodayah probably ascribes to the righteous a more active role in the destruction of the wicked): (4QInstruction): [“will the sword of God hasten, and all the sons of iniquity shall be no more” (1QH*). A literal dependence between these two texts seems probable.

(d) Isaiah 59-61 played an important part both in the writings of the yahad and 4QInstruction (see section 4.3.3). 4Q417 III 10-11 “Will it not be, then, be[ for the poor ones(?)] and external joy for their sorrows?” can be compared with 1QH* XVIII 14-15 “that he might bring glad tidings of Your great mercy, proclaiming salvation from the fountain [of holiness to the contrite of spirit, and everlasting joy to those who mourn]”. Both texts combine messianic texts from Isa 61:3 with messianic texts from Isa 61:7. The author of 1QH* XVIII could have been influenced by 4QInstruction on this point, but independent use of the biblical material cannot be excluded.

(e) 4Q423 1-2 contrasts the inheritance of the elect with Adam’s portion and the conditions of life after the curses of Genesis 3. This passage could have been a main inspiration for 1QH* VIII 4-27, where the Teacher uses the Eden theme to describe his inheritance and his community (see section 4.3.2).

(f) There is a close parallel between the wisdom admonition in 4Q416 IV 6-7 “malignant evils are to be avoided be[fore you] and [be] not exchange your holy spirit, for no price is worth[ing for you]” and 1QH* XIV 20 “I will [not] barter Your truth for riches, nor one of Your precepts for bribes”. On the other hand, the use of ‘holy spirit’ in this admonition differs from the terminology of the Hodayah, where ‘holy spirit’ designates the spirit of God (see section 6.2.1, note 50). This text calls man’s spiritual integrity his ‘holy spirit’, like CD V 11 and VII 4.

be; And no one will understand all [Your wisdom, and on [all] Your mysteries no one will gaze”; 17-8 “You knew all their deeds forever and ever. And [without You nothing is made”; 120 “And according to [Your good pleasure] everything [has come to pass], and without You nothing is made”.

4Q418 238 3-4 “... (meditate on what ever) came into being [... eternal (“); 4Q418 148 ii 6-8 “... understanding, to the former things (you should pay attention”. 4Q418 123 3, 5 “everything that is coming into being in it with what was and what will be... and you that understand when you meditate on all these things”; cf. 1QH* VI 11 “that they may recount Your marvels for everlasting generations and [meditate] unceasingly upon Your mighty deeds”. The discourse on the mysteries of creation urges the addressee to meditate upon “the deeds of God, what was and what comes into being and what will be” (כד התרש ומיר, ומכח, ומכם, 4Q417 IX 5-6).

We suggested in section 4.2.3.2 that 4QInstruction’s “The seekers of truth will wake up to the judgement[ of God(?)” rephrases 1 Enoch 9:10 “and the righteous shall arise from their sleep” and 92:3 “And the righteous one shall arise from sleep”. The line of dependence would then be: Epistle of Enoch -> 4Q418 69 -> 1QH* VI.
(g) In 4Q16 III 17 parents are described with the phrase חכם ור.cmb ירהם "they are the furnace (or: crucible) that conceived you". The description of the eschatological birth-pangs in 1QH* III uses the same phrase (defectively written מערמט היב)) 'the furnace of her pregnancy' on the womb giving birth, 1QH* III 8, 10, 12.

(h) In section 3.1 we noted the Niedrigkeitsdoxologie of 4Q17 III 14-17, which resembles doxologies in the 'hymns of the Community', which often incorporate questions starting with אנא, אנカリ or ויכ, cf. e.g. 1QH* I 23-27: VII 27-33; XII 24-36; XV 22-25; XVIII 21-31.

(i) Two of the 'hymns of the Community' (1QH* VII 26-33 and XI 3-14) combine wisdom themes, a description of the elect community, and salvation through purification wrought by God in His mercy. The first two themes recur in 4QInstruction. These two hymns use the designation כיבר נב 'sons of Your truth' about the elect (1QH* VII 30; XI 11), and כיבר ב 'sons of truth' is used in 4QInstruction (4Q16 VII 11) as well as the Two-Spirit Treatise (1QS IV 5, 6).

(j) In section 4.3.2 we analyzed the wisdom instruction in 4Q18 81, and found a number of parallels with the Hodayot and other sectarian writings with regard to the terms 'the men of <His> favour', 'fountain', 'planting', 'fountain', and inheriting the land'. We suggested that on these points sectarian terminology is influenced by 4QInstruction. Further, 4Q18 81 3-5 describes the portion of the elect with the words ויהי, ואלהי (3x), פּוּן and כְּלוּם, terms which recur in the writings of the yahad.

The Community Rule

The closing hymn of the Community Rule employs a number of apocalyptic terms (see especially 1QS XI 3-9, "revelation in the form of enlightening and seeing; the mystery to come; the fount of righteousness, knowledge hidden from humans; the dwelling place of glory; standing in the presence of the holy ones; the sons of heaven") which seem to be inherited from 4QInstruction. Also other terms from 4QInstruction recur in this

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9 Kuhn defines the 'hymns of the community' as a specific category in the Hodayot. These hodayot have communal deliverance as a main theme, combining the notions of present and future salvation. They include the sub-genres soteriological confession, Niedrigkeitsdoxologie and Blendschreibung: Enderwartung, 16-33; cf. Tanzer, The Sages, 37-42.

10 4Q18 81 10-13 ש-${כְּלָם; 1QH* IV 32-33; XI 9 רבן מְצַבָּה. 1QV VIII 6-7, כְּלָם 4Q298 (4QerA Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn) I 3-4 'O men of His favour and [peace without] end'.

11 We have suggested that the author of the discourses coined the precise term פּוּנָה ייש ותישנ a precise term פּוּנָה ייש ותישנ (4Q18 81 13), which became central for the self-definition of the yahad, 1QS VIII 5-6; XI 8; 1QH* VI 15; VIII 6. ייש ותישנ is used as an image of the community in 4Q23 1-2 7; 1QH* VII 5.9, 20, 21, CD 1 7.

12 We have suggested that the author of the discourses coined the precise term פּוּנָה ייש ותישנ a precise term פּוּנָה ייש ותישנ (4Q18 81 1, 12; 1QH* II 18, X 30; XVIII 10, 12, 13. פּוּנָה ייש ותישנ: 4Q18 81 1, 1QH* VI 17-18; VIII 8; X 31; 1QSb 1 3, 6.

13 4Q18 81 14-15 מִלְּךְ וְלֵדָה יִשְׂרָאֵל וּלְנַעֲשֵׂה: "to inherit His land"; VIII 14-15 (=Deut 9:5) מִלְּךְ וְלֵדָה יִשְׂרָאֵל וּלְנַעֲשֵׂה: "to inherit His land"; VIII 14-15 (=Deut 9:5) מִלְּךְ וְלֵדָה יִשְׂרָאֵל וּלְנַעֲשֵׂה: "to possess these nations"; 4Q171 (4QPs) I 3-9-11 מִלְּךְ וְלֵדָה יִשְׂרָאֵל וּלְנַעֲשֵׂה: "to possess these nations"; 4Q171 (4QPs) I 3-9-11 מִלְּךְ וְלֵדָה יִשְׂרָאֵל וּלְנַעֲשֵׂה: "to possess these nations"

14 4Q18 81 14-15 מִלְּךְ וְלֵדָה יִשְׂרָאֵל וּלְנַעֲשֵׂה: "to inherit His land"; VIII 14-15 (=Deut 9:5) מִלְּךְ וְלֵדָה יִשְׂרָאֵל וּלְנַעֲשֵׂה: "to inherit His land"; VIII 14-15 (=Deut 9:5) מִלְּךְ וְלֵדָה יִשְׂרָאֵל וּלְנַעֲשֵׂה: "to possess these nations"; 4Q171 (4QPs) I 3-9-11 מִלְּךְ וְלֵדָה יִשְׂרָאֵל וּלְנַעֲשֵׂה: "to possess these nations"; 4Q171 (4QPs) I 3-9-11 מִלְּךְ וְלֵדָה יִשְׂרָאֵל וּלְנַעֲשֵׂה: "to possess these nations"

15 Noted by Nickelsburg, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism", 724.
passage in 1QS XI: ‘inheriting an everlasting possession’, ‘eternal planting’. This hymn could have been inspired by 4QInstruction.

The Damascus Document

The Book of Hagi, known from CD X 6 (4Q266 8 iii 5; 4Q270 6 iv 17); XIII 2 (4Q267 9 v 12) and 1QSa 16-8, has a crucial role in the discourse on God’s revelation in 4Q417 IX. The common knowledge of the Book of Hagi strongly suggests a sectarian or presectarian provenance for 4QInstruction (see section 4.1.7). A number of themes and phrases link this passage in 4Q417 IX also with 1QS X and 1QHa I 23-25,16 which point to a common milieu of origin or some kind of dependence between these texts.

Both the Damascus Document and 4QInstruction can describe characteristics of God in a personified way, almost as angelic beings ministering before God: 4Q418 69 12

"Knowledge and Understanding will minister to Rim";

CD II 4 (= 4Q266 2 ii 3-4) “Wisdom and Understanding He has set before Him, Prudence and Knowledge serve Him”.

In its section on vows and oaths, the Damascus Document seems to refer to a non-biblical text (in the following we italicize the term נבוא, not used in the source text, Num 30:4-16,17 but recurring in three Qumran texts):18

Concerning the oath of a woman: As to that which He said ‘It is for the husband to annul her oath’, the husband should not annul an oath about which he does not know whether it ought to be carried out or annulled.

[CD XVI 10-11 (= 4Q271 4 ii 10-12)]

According to Rabin, this quote of CD derived from a sectarian source, possibly the Book of Hagu.19 We would tentatively suggest that the Damascus Document refers to 4Q416 VI 7-10:

ורם המלך נבוא במצבודך לא תמצא נבואה כי לא נبعث נבואה לא נبعث נבואה יד נבואה מ挝 נבואה המלך

Over [her spirit] He gave you authority, that she should walk according to your will and not make many vows or votive offerings. Your spirit revoke <them> according to your will. Every binding oath of hers to vow a vow[,] cancel it by a word of your mouth, and by your will forbid [her. O]n [an uttering] of your lips He pardons her for your sake.

In that case, the Damascus Document considered (at least this passage of) 4QInstruction as authoritative.

4QInstruction could have been a source also for a similar ruling in 11QTא LIV 1-4 (cf. especially the phrase כּוֹ בְני יְסָרָה which occurs in 11QTא LIV 2 and 4Q416 VI 8, but not in Numbers 30):

164Q417 IX 16-17 refers to the book of Hagi as the ‘decree that was engraved’, הכתובות המקירות. The phrase כּוֹ בְני יְסָרָה appears three times in 1QS X: lines 6 and 8 use it about praising God at the preordained changes of times, and according to line 11, the sins of the hymnist stand before him as an inscribed law: שמעו של בת כספי עשה לי לואן. 1QHא 123-25 uses many of the same phrases as 4Q417 IX 16-17, although in a different context: עשה לשו וּלְרֵא הַשָּׁמָיִים וּלְרֵא הַשָּׁמָיִים all things are graven before You with a stylus of remembrance for everlasting ages: the deeds of men with their sins and guilt, as well as the appointed times of the years in history are recorded in God’s presence with the engraving tool of remembrance. On the close relation between 4Q417 IX and 1QHא 7, see above.

However, Num 30:3 refers to נבוא with regard to an oath of the husband.

18Schiffman notes that while the biblical text (Num 30:7-9) deals with וּלְרֵא רַגְלֵי, CD refers to נבוא in a different context: Our text must have taken this biblical passage as referring to oaths, rather than to vows”: "The Law of Vows and Oaths (Num. 30:13-16) in the Zadokite Fragments and the Temple Scroll”, RevQ XV (1991) 199-214, p. 204. 4Q416 VI 8, indeed refers to נבוא, as does CD and 11QTא LIV 2.

19The Zadokite Documents, 76-7.
And if her husband annuls them after the day he heard of it, he shall bear her guilt: her husband has annulled them.

Every vow or every binding oath [to do penance], her husband may sanction it or her husband may revoke it the day he hears it; and I shall pardon her.

4QD1 perhaps cites the advice of 4QInstruction on a careful examination of a prospective daughter-in-law:

And if her husband annuls them after the day he heard of it, he shall bear her guilt: her husband has annulled them. Every vow or every binding oath [to do penance], her husband may sanction it or her husband may revoke it the day he hears it; and I shall pardon her.

Other sectarian texts and concepts

The exhortation in the beginning of the first eschatological discourse, "Man of understanding, rejoice in the inheritance of truth" (4Q416 VII 20) has a close parallel in the pesher on Ps 37:34, 4Q171 (4QPs*) 1 iv 11-12 "the community of the poor who will see the judgement of evil, and rejoice with His chosen ones in the true inheritance". The first part of this pesher is paralleled by 4Q416 VII 11-12 "all the sons of truth will be pleased by[ the appointed time(?)] of its period". 4Q171 i i 9-11 promises the community that it will inherit the land (see above, note 12), an important theme in 4Q418 81 13-14. Either 4Q171 actively used 4QInstruction as one of its sources, or terms from 4QInstruction belonged to the conceptual universe of this sectarian Bible interpreter.

Acccording to the discourse in 4Q418 81, the individual has power to protect the men of God’s favour against (God’s) wrath “and punish[ the men of Belial(?)]” (line 10). The same thought is found in 4QShir, where the songs of the sage have apotropaic power: he shall make known God’s splendour, “in order to frighten and terrify all the spirits of the angels of destruction and bastard spirits, demons ...” (4Q510 1 4-5).

4QInstruction reflects an ethical dualism: the just are distinguished from the unrighteous, both in the present and the hereafter. Only the addressees are enlightened and have received knowledge of God’s mysteries. The elect are exhorted to separate from the ungodly and the abomimations which cling to them:

Do not consider an ungodly man a helper, and there will be nobody who hates[ ... ] the iniquity of his deeds together with its visitation. And know how to relate to him[ (4Q417 III 7-8)]

He separated you from all the spirit of flesh. <Hence> you shall separate from everyone He hates and keep apart from all abominations of the spirit. (4Q418 81 1-2)

This theme is well-known in sectarian literature.21 The theological separation from outsiders which is reflected in 4QInstruction could represent the first stage in the process of separation and self-definition which lead to the formation of the yahad.
The 'mysteries of God' is an important concept both in 4QInstruction and sectarian writings. 'Mysteries', 'wondrous mysteries' (אֱמֶתָּדְרִי), and raz nihyeh 'the mystery to come' (1QS XI 3-4) are concepts the sectarianists inherited from 1Q/4QMysteries and 4QInstruction (see further below, section 5.1.3). The addressee of 4QInstruction shall meditate on God's wondrous mysteries; כִּתְבָא לְאִמָּתַי אֱמֶתָּדְרִי (4Q417 IX 4), cf. 1QH II 3-5 “what then is man ... that You should give him to understand such marvels and make known to him the counsel of [Your truth]”. אֱמֶתָּדְרִי, with or without a suffix referring to God, is frequent both in 4QInstruction and sectarian writings.22

The eschatological discourses in 4Q416 VII and 4Q418 69 display a number of terminological parallels with sectarian writings. The first discourse centers on the universal judgement in heaven and on earth.23 The second discourse describes the portions of the righteous and ungodly similarly to work of the yahad.24 and ends with the reaction of the foundations of heaven to the judgement; כִּתְבָא לְאִמָּתַי אֱמֶתָּדְרִי the fount)ation of beginnings [will tremble?] in the [holy]firmaments’. The same thought is found in 1QH II 39-36.25 Both discourses presuppose a fellowship of the elect ones below and the angels above, as does the wisdom instruction in 4Q418 81.26

Sectarian elements not found in 4QInstruction

How valid are argumenta e silenito for a discussion of the provenance of 4QInstruction? In section 2.1.1.3 we calculated the approximate length of 4QInstruction to be between 26,000 and 31,000 ls. When one takes the material from all seven copies together, it would be a fair estimate that the text of 80-90% of the original lines in a given copy of the work are represented among the extant fragments. Important passages which could shed

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22 1QS IV 6; IX 18; XI 5; 1QH II 21; II 13; VII 27; XI 10; XIII 2; 4Q417 IX 4, 15; 4Q418 219 2.
23 See section 4.2.1 on the following 'sectarian' terms in this discourse: 'sons of truth', 'sons of evil', 'the kingdom of iniquity', 'define oneself by iniquity', 'the God of Truth', and the division of history into successive periods (גְּדֶה).
24 For the use of the terms פְּרָצִים and אֱמֶתָּדְרִי to describe the fate of the ungodly (4Q418 69 ii 6), cf. 1QH III 19:8-9. חָיוֹת מִקְיוֹם וְאָמְרָה אֱמֶתָּדְרִי (אֵלָי וְאָמֶרָה אֱמֶתָּדְרִי) for You have redeemed my soul from the pit, and from the bell of Abaddon You have raised me to everlasting heights”. The phrase אֱמֶתָּדְרִי recurs in the section on the judgement on the ungodly in 1QS IV 12 and 4Q286 (4QBen) 7 ii 5: בִּכָּל חָיוֹת מִקְיוֹם וְאָמְרָה אֱמֶתָּדְרִי Many of the 14 vs. 4Q418 69 ii 7 and Two-Spirit Treatise (1QS IV 13) use the word מִקְיוֹם for the dark places of Sheol. Both texts foresee tribulations for the ungodly at the end of this world and the annihilation of judgement (4Q418 69 ii 6-9; 1QS IV 12-14). The description of the coming bliss of the righteous, נָשִּׁיָּה תַּלְדֵי וּרְיָא אֱלֹהִים (4Q418 69 ii 14) has a close parallel in 1QS IV 7-8: מִקְיוֹם וְאָמְרָה אֱמֶתָּדְרִי אֲשֶׁר יְבַקֵּשׁ אֱלֹהִים יְשַׁלָּמֶה נָשִּׁיָּה תַּלְדֵי וּרְיָא אֱלֹהִים “with every everlasting blessing and eternal joy in life without end, a crown of glory and a garment of majesty in unending light”, cf. 1QH XII 15: מִקְיוֹם וְאָמְרָה אֱמֶתָּדְרִי You glorious majesty for [eternal light]. The triad: רְיָא - דַּיָּה - נָשִּׁיָּה occurs in all three texts.
25 Cf. especially 1QH III 3-11: נָשִּׁיָּה תַּלְדֵי וּרְיָא אֱלֹהִים “it shall consume the foundations of the earth and the expanse of the dry land, the bases of the mountains shall blaze”; III 35 נָשִּׁיָּה תַּלְדֵי וּרְיָא אֱלֹהִים “the world's foundations shall stagger and sway”.
26 4Q418 81 1, 4, 12 "For He opened your lips as a fountain to bless the holy ones", “As He set you to sanctify the holy ones”; "He opened a fountain for all the holy ones, all who by His name are called holy ones"; 4Q416 VIII 11-14 "all the sons of truth will be blessed by [the appointed time?] of its period ... and the sons of heaven[ will rejoice on the day of its judgement]; 4Q416 69 ii 9, 12-14 “and all the h'osts of God will thunder, [and all] who love righteousness will rejoice"; “And even the s'ons of heaven, whose inheritance is eternal life, will they <not> say “We have toiled in the deeds of truth, and have [red] during all the ages” - will they not walk in eternal light? [ ] also you [will inherit] glory and abundant honour”. On the same subject in sectarian writings, see 1QS XI 7-8; 1QH III 20-23; XI 11-14; frg. 1 6-7; IQM VII 6; XII 8-9.
light on the thinking of 4QInstruction might still be missing. But with such a large part of the work preserved, it seems reasonable to draw conclusions also based on topics not mentioned in the extant material of 4QInstruction.

In 4QInstruction there is no reference to eschatological figures, the anointed of Israel and Aaron or the eschatological prophet. Neither are the Righteous Teacher, the Evil Priest or the Interpreter of the Law mentioned. The fact that the Teacher is not mentioned in 4QInstruction does not exclude the option that the book could have been composed while he was active in the community (also 1QS/4QS is silent on these figures from the formative days of the Essene movement). Most of the explicit references to the Teacher in sectarian literature were written after his death.

In contrast to 1 Enoch 91:13; Jub. 1:17, 29; 11QT* XXIX 8-10; and 4QMiddReschat III 2-5, but similar to 1QS there is no mention of a rebuilt temple of the last days. The 'planting' terminology and temple symbolism reflect some kind of a community. However, it is not hierarchically structured as was the yahad, and the remnant community is not connected to 'the renewed covenant', as in CD.

Some 'sectarian' phrases are used in a non-sectarian way in 4QInstruction: נַעַם אֵלֶּה 'leader of your people' (4Q423 5:2) does not carry any messianic connotations as does נוּם in later sectarian writings. In 4Q423 5:4 וַיְמַלֵּא 'proselytes' are included with the native born of the people. A similar view of proselytes is found in the Damascus Document and the Temple Scroll, but not in 4QMiddReschat. The addressee is designated בָּשָׁם (4Q418 21:2; 81:17; 238:1) and בָּשָׁם יִתְהְפֹּךְ ('understanding son', 4Q417 IX 27). In contrast, sectarian writings often use בָּשָׁם in the more precise meaning 'instructor' (1QS III 13; 1QSb III 22; V 28; possibly CD XIII 22).

We will draw some preliminary conclusions. The lack of references to the Righteous Teacher and the structure of the yahad could point to a presectarian provenance for 4QInstruction. This assumption would parallel 4QMMT, which lacks apocalyptic ideas, metaphysical dualistic thought and organizational language frequently found in sectarian texts.\(^{27}\) In contrast to the priestly coloured MMT, 4QInstruction is not concerned with calendar or purity halakhah and displays few signs of a priestly theology. Neither do we encounter a polemical situation or anti-pharisaic front, as in MMT. But 4QInstruction does demonstrate such 'sectarian' apocalyptic and dualistic ideas that are missing in MMT. According to the majority view, MMT has its origins in a proto-Essene priestly group in 159-152 BCE, before the Righteous Teacher entered the stage. If both MMT and 4QInstruction were composed by precursors to the yahad, they must reflect radically different presectarian circles.

The differences between 4QInstruction and the main writings of the yahad could be explained through origin in different contemporary streams within the sect. Alternatively one could ask if the didactic and sapiential nature of 4QInstruction would involve a different vocabulary, even if the author belonged to the yahad or an Essene branch contemporary with it. However, both the Community Rule and the Damascus Document are didactic of nature, and wisdom elements are prominent in the Hodayot. It thus seems preferable to propose a non-sectarian origin for 4QInstruction.

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\(^{27}\) Thus E. Qimron, *DJD* X, 120-1. The lack of apocalyptic ideas in 4QMMT could to some extent be related to its literary genre. One would hardly expect a halakhic treatise to be concerned with apocalyptic scenarios.
At the same time, there are numerous terminological similarities between the discourses of 4QInstruction and several sectarian writings (in particular the Hodayot). The parallels point not only to literary dependence, but also to closeness in milieu and a common heritage for these writings. In principle the direction of dependence could have been from the writings of the yahad to 4QInstruction just as well as the opposite direction. We suggested, however, that the thematic parallels and word-to-word overlapping between 4Q18:55 and 1QH* X 27-28 are most easily explained if the didactic text (4Q18:55) is the earlier one that was reused for hymnic purposes in 1QH* X. The Qumran caves contained a number of copies of 4QInstruction. Thus, the men of the yahad knew this book, and to a large extent they shared its theology, even though 4QInstruction does not in any way refer to the structure of this community. A pre-sectarian origin of 4QInstruction would explain this relation more easily than a postulated origin in Essene streams contemporary with the yahad. We tentatively date 4QInstruction earlier than the main writings of the yahad (see further section 5.2.1), and suggest that sectarian authors used 4QInstruction as an important source and were influenced by it.

5.1.2. Relation to the Books of Enoch

With the exception of the Similitudes, the various books of Enoch developed in the period 250-150 BCE. 28 The main part of the Book of Watchers possibly dates back to the third century BCE. 29 Chs. 1-5 was composed in the first half of the second century BCE as an introduction to chs. 6-36. 30 Milik supposes that by the beginning of the first century BCE five separate Enochic books were united into a pentateuch. 31 A large number of copies of these books have been found in Qumran. Consequently, there must have been a considerable interest in the Enoch traditions within the community, at least in the earlier stages of its existence. From the date and condition of the Qumran manuscripts of Enoch, Milik concludes, possibly without much support, that the community gradually lost interest in these traditions.

The Books of Enoch hardly show any parallels with the wisdom admonitions of 4QInstruction, but a comparison with the discourses demonstrates many similarities. Most parallels are found with the Epistle of Enoch, and thereafter with 1 Enoch 1-5, 10, 22 and 25-32. The discourses share with 1 Enoch the themes of the final judgement of the wicked and the glorious hope of the righteous. In both books divine wisdom is given the elect of the remnant community only through revelation. Reception of this revelation is constitutive for salvation and life eternal.

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29Milik dates the script of 4QEn (that contained both chs. 1-5 and 6-36) to the first half of the second century BCE, and proposes that this ms was copied from a third century original: The Books of Enoch, 140-41. Following D. Suter ("Fallen Angels, Fallen Priests. The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6-16", HUCA 50 (1979) 115-34), K. Pompyala sees the conflict over hellenistic influence within the Jerusalem priesthood in the late third to early second centuries BCE as the social setting of the Book of Watchers: "The Social Setting of the Book of the Watchers", paper read at SBL Annual Meeting, 19.11.95. Similar conflicts are not reflected in 4QInstruction.
Terminological similarities indicate some kind of dependence between these writings. Both works foresee that the elect shall ‘inherit the land’ (*1 Enoch* 5:7; 4Q416 81:14), and use ‘planting’ terminology on the elect community.\(^\text{32}\) We have suggested that 4QInstruction inherited this terminology from the Enochic tradition and in its turn influenced the *yahad* on this point (see section 4.3.2).

Striking parallels with *1 Enoch* can be observed in the eschatological discourses in 4Q416 VII\(^\text{33}\) and 4Q418 69.\(^\text{34}\) In section 4.2.3.5 we therefore proposed that Enochic traditions are the primary sources of inspiration for the eschatological discourses in 1Q/4QMysteries and 4QInstruction. 4Q416 VII 8-15 describes how God established the heavenly hosts and the luminaries, and continues with the end-time judgement in heaven and on earth. These lines recall *1 Enoch* 1-2, 72-82 (the *Book of the Luminaries*) and 100:10-102:3, which compare the order of the heavenly realms with the sin and disorder which characterizes the world of men, call the luminaries to testify against the ungodly, and portray heaven and earth trembling when God appears at the judgement.

We have suggested in section 4.2.2 that the addresses to the ungodly and the righteous in the second eschatological discourse, 4Q418 69 ii 4-10, are inspired by *1 Enoch* 91 and 103:1-104:6. The 2nd person plural form, which is exceptional within the framework of 4QInstruction, is probably inherited from *1 Enoch* 103-104.

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\(^{32}\) *Enoch* 10:16; 84:6; 93:5, 10; 4Q418 81:13; 4Q422 1-2 7; cf. CD 17-8; VIII 14-15; 1QS VIII 5-6; XI 8; 1QpH VI 15; VIII 6. 10, 20; 4QPsε II 2-11. In section 4.3.2 we suggested that the ‘planting’ terminology is related to an eschatological reinterpretation of the tradition of the Garden of Eden.

\(^{33}\) For the first discourse, note the following: the statement “He made known to Noah [what?] is to come” (4Q418 201/1 4Q416 VII 3) rephrases *1 Enoch* 10:1-2 “Go to Noah and tell him in my name, ‘Hide yourself’, and reveal to him the end which is coming, for the earth and everything will be destroyed”. *1 Enoch* 10:60:1-13, 25; 89:1; and 106-107 represent the same tradition as 4QInstruction VII: to Noah are revealed the secrets about the end-time.

The phrase משיח ימ “the period of truth” (4Q416 VII 14) is paralleled by משיחו ...משיח ימ in the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, *1 Enoch* 91:12 (4QEn5 a r 1 iv 15). The eschatological understanding of history and its periods (see especially 4Q417 III 10-12; 4Q416 VII; 4Q417 IX 12-14; 4Q418 69; 4Q418 123 ii 2-5) which are among the mysteries of God revealed to the elect, is similar to the portrayal of history in the *Apocalypse of Weeks*.

The phrase ביה יומ יהוד “the day of her judgement” (4Q416 VII 13-14) is paralleled by *1 Enoch* 104:4 “the day of the great judgement”; 10:6 “the great day of judgement” (of Azazel). As the suffix of ביה יומ refers to בְּיִהוּדָה בְּיִהוּדָה, the parallel with the judgement on Azazel, the head of the forces of evil, in *1 Enoch* 10 is striking. ביה יומ (line 7) echoes *1 Enoch* 1:7 “there will be judgement on all”. The statement that “all evil shall be consumed” (בְּיִהוּדָה בְּיִהוּדָה, 4Q416 VII 14) has parallels in *1 Enoch* 1:9; 10:13-22 (especially 10:16, 27; אֲשֶׁר קָרַבָּהוּ לַפַּתֹּר בְּיִה יומיה) and 4QEn5 (4QEn5 1 v 3) “destroy injustice from the face of the earth ... and the earth shall be cleansed from all pollution and from all sin”; 91:8-9; 107:1 אֲשֶׁר קָרַבָּהוּ לַפַּתֹּר בְּיִה יומיה “and evil and wickedness should come to an end, and violence should cease from off the earth” (4QEn5 ii 28).

The sentence “the seekers of truth will wake up to the judgements[ of God(?)]” (4Q416 69 ii 7) probably rephrases *1 Enoch* 91:10 “and the righteous shall arise from their sleep, and wisdom shall arise and be given unto them” and 92:3 “and the righteous one shall arise from his sleep”. For “All the foolish of heart will be destroyed, the sons of iniquity will not be found any more, all those who support evil will be ashamed at your judgement” (4Q416 69 ii 8), cf. *1 Enoch* 1:1 “the day of tribulation at the removal of all the ungodly ones”; 91:8-9 “injustice shall be cut off from its fountain and from its roots, and oppression together with deceit, they shall be destroyed from under rheart heaven. All that which is common; with the heathen shall be surrendered, the towers shall be inflamed with fire, and be removed from the whole earth. They shall be thrown into the judgement of fire, and perish in wrath and in the force of the eternal judgement”. Also *1 Enoch* contains the teaching that the unrighteous will perish. 1:1 “the day of tribulation at the removal of all the ungodly ones”; 97:1 “the sinners are due for a shame, they shall perish on the day of oppression”.

4Q418 69 contains a denunciation speech addressed to the ungodly, a frequent means in the *Epistle and 1 Enoch* 1-5. The sayings “How can you say: ‘We have toiled for understanding ...’ (4Q418 69 ii 11) and “will they not say ‘We have toiled in the deeds of truth, and have titred during all the ages’” (4Q418 69 ii 13-14), which are put in the mouth of respectively the elect and the angels, are probably inspired by *1 Enoch* 103:9, 11 “Those who were righteous and kind during their lifetime, will they not say: ‘In the days of our toil, we have surely suffered hardships and have experienced every trouble ... we toiled and laboured...’.”
For both texts Sheol is the place of punishment for the sinners.\textsuperscript{35} The sentence הַשֵּׁאֹל (4Q418 69 ii 14) seems to be quoted from 1 Enoch 92:4 “they shall walk in eternal light”.

The reference to the heavenly tablets in a passage which deals with the revelation of God’s mysteries (4Q417 IX 4-19, see section 4.1.7.1) has parallels in 1 Enoch 81:1-2; 93:2-3; 103:2-3; 106:19-107:1. The sentence נְטַיִם אֱלֻקִים (4Q417 IX 18-19) should probably be interpreted “for He formed him after the likeness of the holy ones (i.e. the angels)”, cf. 1 Enoch 69:11 “for men were created exactly like the angels”. The knowledge provided by the heavenly book in this passage is angelic. Spiritual man’s likeness to the angels enables him to perceive these heavenly secrets. Also 1 Enoch 93:2 connects the understanding of the heavenly tablets with the angels: “I, Enoch, have been shown [everything in a heavenly vision, and from] the word of the watchers and holy ones I have known everything; [and in the heavenly tablets I] have read everything [and understood]” (4QEn δ 1 iii 20-22). 1 Enoch 104:4, 7 expresses that the end-time saints shall be like the angels; “you shall have great joy as the angels of heaven”, “you shall become companions of the hosts of heaven”. In the realized eschatology of 4QInstruction, the elect can already now be designated ‘holy ones’ (4Q418 81 12), and the Epistle twice uses the designation ‘holy ones’ for the elect (97:5; 100:5).

We proposed in section 4.1.6 that 4QInstruction identifies raz nihyeh, ‘the mystery to come’, with the ‘sevenfold instruction’ which, according to the Apocalypse of Weeks, will be given the elect at the completion of the seventh week of history: “there shall be chosen the e[lect] ones as witnesses of righteousness from the e[ternal p]lant of righteousness, [to whom] shall be give[n] sevenfold wisdom and knowledge” (1 Enoch 93:10, 4QEnochδ). The illuminating Book of Hagi (4Q417 IX 16-19) and the revelation of God’s mysteries in 4QInstruction remind us of the books which shall be given to the elect according to 1 Enoch 104:12 “Again know another mystery: to the righteous and wise shall be given books of joy, for truth and great wisdom. So to them shall be given books; and they shall believe them and be glad in them; and all the righteous ones who learn from them the ways of truth shall rejoice”.\textsuperscript{36} In section 4.1.7 we argued that the Hagi was an apocalyptic, visionary book which revealed salvation history from creation to the last days. We further suggested that Hagi could be identical with some of the Enochic books, possibly the Apocalypse of Weeks and/or the Animal Apocalypse.

From all these assumptions it seems to follow that the discourses of 4QInstruction depend upon the Epistle of Enoch. Furthermore, they show knowledge of a number of other Enochic texts or traditions,\textsuperscript{37} especially such that are found in the Book of Watchers. However, some of the main themes in the Book of Watchers are nonexistent in 4QInstruction: the fall of the angels\textsuperscript{38} and the deeds of the watchers, the interest in cosmology, the

\textsuperscript{35}1 Enoch 103:7 “Know that your souls will be made to descend into Sheol, and they shall be wretched in their great tribulation”; 4Q418 69 ii 6 “[For Sheol you were formed, and your return will be eternal damnation” (for 1 Enoch 99:11: 100:9, Gehenna is the place for the ungodly after death). For הַשֵּׁאֹל ‘eternal damnation’ (4Q418 69 ii 6), cf. 1 Enoch 5:5, 6, ‘eternal excration’.


\textsuperscript{37}Harrington disagrees: “The parallels with 1 Enoch do not impress me so much. They seem too general to allow the kinship that at one point sees Sapiential Work A as the bridge between 1 Enoch and the clearly defined sectarian community”; response to our paper “Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology in an Early Essene Writing”, at SBL Annual Meeting 26.11.95.

\textsuperscript{38}However, 4Q416 VII 11-14 does describe the final judgement on heavenly evil forces.
5.1. Relation to Other Writings

spatial dualism between heaven and earth, and the ontological dualism between humans and the world of the spirits. Angels are mentioned, but the developed angelology of 1 Enoch and many Qumran writings is not reflected. These observations point to a highly selective use of Enochic material by this author. Either he related freely to the material in the Books of Enoch and used only what seemed useful to him - in that case he could not see in the Books of Enoch the absolute (biblical) authority which this collection ascribes to itself.39 Or, he only knew parts of the Books of Enoch in literary form.

We tend toward the latter option: the author of the discourses in 4QInstruction used some early form of the Epistle of Enoch as a literary source. Other Enochic material was available to him either as oral tradition or in a less developed form than the later collection of Enochic books. Since all the books of Enoch apart from the Similitudes are represented in the Qumran caves (and some of the Enoch scrolls found there were older than the commune itself), the establishment of the Essene commune at Qumran in the late second century BCE represents a terminus ante quem for the composition of 4QInstruction: if 4QInstruction were composed after the establishment of the Qumran commune, one would expect its author to demonstrate knowledge of other Enochic books preserved in Qumran, not only the Epistle. In light of the thematical links between the discourses of 4QInstruction and the Book of Watchers it is noteworthy that no literal dependence exists between these two writings.

Is it feasible that the Epistle circulated separately from the rest of the books of Enoch, as our suggestion would presuppose? The Epistle in its present Ethiopic form does not introduce itself as a separate unit: a literary work does not start “And now my son Methuselah...”. According to Milik, 4QEn§ contained only the Epistle, chs. 91-105.40 This Aramaic version testifies to a longer opening of the Epistle: according to Milik’s calculations, the five preserved columns of 4QEn§ had 25-28 lines per column. The equivalent to 91:10 only appears in col. II line 13. Accordingly, the Aramaic equivalent of 91:1-10 would have been c. three times the length of the Ethiopic text. Therefore the beginning of the Epistle in the Ethiopic version cannot preclude that the Epistle in another version could have circulated separately.

Further, Chester Beatty Biblical Papyrus XII, dated by Kenyon to the fourth century CE, contains two thirds of the Epistle (material parallel to 91:3-4; and then 97:6-104:12; 106-107, and in addition Melito’s Horily on Pascha, and some fragments with remnants of an Ezekiel apocryphon).41 The codex would not have provided enough space for the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85-90) before the Epistle. It therefore testifies to the circulation of the Epistle as a separate composition in Christian circles in Egypt. The use of Enochic material by Luke points in the same direction for the first century CE. Aalen and Nickelsburg have suggested some kind of relation between Luke (or the tradition Luke had received) and the Epistle:42 both literary parallels and the

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40 The Books of Enoch, 245-72.
treatment of riches and poverty in these writings indicate that the Lucan tradition knew only the Epistle among the Enochic material.

At some stage of its redaction, 1 Enoch was probably shaped as a testament which included the Epistle. Nickelsburg now suggests that there could have been an Enoch testament that had ch. 91 and the end of 104 added to the Book of Watchers, and that the body of the Epistle was added later. This proposal could explain the apparently eclectic use of Enochic material by our author: he uses an early literary form of the Epistle (which circulated separately before it was added to the growing Enoch corpus). In addition, he draws upon other parts of the Enochic traditions, possibly available to him only in oral form.

If 4QInstruction can be dated to the middle of the second century BCE, this would point to a date of composition for the Epistle in the first half of the second century BCE rather than in the second half. It would also follow from the argument above that the books which later were included in the Enochic Pentateuch or Hexateuch circulated separately before they were edited and added to the core growing from the Book of Watchers.

### 5.1.3. Relation to other early Jewish writings

This section investigates themes common to 4QInstruction and other Jewish writings from the second century BCE (apart from 1 Enoch and the main sectarian writings). We concentrate upon 1Q4QMysteries, and also discuss the provenance of that book.

Some thematical links can be observed with the Book of Sirach (see section 4.4): both writings reflect a common tradition in the interpretation of the fifth commandment. The deuteronomistic phrase נֵבְרִיָּה נֹסַי is used by both (Sir 9:1; 4Q416 VI 5, 13). Further, both books have an interest in family matters and surety. They can use similar terminology on the risk involved in surety: Sir 29:15 εὐδοκεῖν γὰρ τὴν πυρὸν αὐτοῦ ὕπερ σοῦ “for he offers his very life for you”; 4Q416 IV 5:1 נֵבְרִיָּה נֹסַי לְךָ לְךָ “you have given away all your life for him”.

On one important point there is a striking disagreement between Ben Sira on one side and 4QInstruction and the apocalyptic literature on the other: the role of esoteric revelation. Sir 3:21-23 warns against seeking hidden knowledge, possibly in a polemical front against the early Enoch tradition, and 34:1-8 against putting one’s trust in dreams and divination. According to 4QInstruction, God’s secret knowledge about creation and salvation, raz nihye's, is accessible to the elect and is the object of meditation and study. Together with early apocalypses 4QInstruction claims access to a higher, superior wisdom and a heavenly book now revealed to the elect. On this point 4QInstruction demonstrates more affinity with the apocalyptic tradition of 1 Enoch and Daniel. But in

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43 Personal communication. However, the evidence from 4QInstruction does not support a separation of 91:1-10 and the end of ch. 104 from the rest of the Epistle: 4QInstruction displays clear parallels with 91:6-10 and 104:12-13, as it does with other parts of the Epistle.

contrast to the apocalypses, 4QInstruction does not deny earthly wisdom: wisdom admonitions about life in family and society are included in the book, as they are in Sirach. In section 5.2.1 we will contrast the social setting of 4QInstruction with that of Sirach.

As to the order of creation and man’s role as God’s steward on earth, we have noted themes and terminology which 4QInstruction shares with Sirach, Jubilees, 4Q422 (4QParaGenExod), the psalm of 4Q381 1 and 4QWords of the Luminaries (see section 4.4). The fact that Jubilees, the Non-canonical Psalms and Words of the Luminaries can be categorized as presectarian writings used by the yahad could point to a similar provenance of 4QInstruction.

Are there further links with the Book of Jubilees, which probably is more or less contemporary with 4QInstruction? Dimant has suggested that a priestly parent community of the yahad produced Jubilees, T. Levi, the Enochic Animal Apocalypse, 4QPseudo-Moses, and perhaps also T. Moses and the Temple Scroll. These writings contain halakic and ethical polemic regarding defilement of the temple, misconduct by the priesthood, an erroneous calendar, breaking of the covenant, trespassing against the Law, misinterpretation of the Torah, and injustice committed by the priesthood or rulers. Similar (priestly) polemic is not found in 4QInstruction. The above mentioned writings share some important concepts: the idea that Israel at large lives in sin, the existence of evil angelic powers whose rule marks the increase of sin, and a calculation of Israelite history in terms of a chronology of jubilees. Here common issues with 4QInstruction are easier to perceive.

4QInstruction discerns the enlightened from the ungodly, there are cosmic evil powers opposed to God, and history is divided into periods (but not jubilees), including a ‘period of wickedness’.

Also eschatological ideas link Jubilees and 4QInstruction. Both writings refer to the end-time community as ‘the planting’ (Jub. 1:1; 4Q418 81 13; 4Q423 1-2 7), its members enjoy divine sonship (Jub. 1:24-25, 28; 1Q26 3 2; 4Q418 81 5; 69 ii 15). Both look forward to a renewal of the universe (‘the day of judgement’, 4Q416 VII 13-14; Jub. 5:10) as well as of the elect community. However, the more priestly and nationally-oriented Jubilees expects a new temple and a renewed people of Israel (1:22-29). The extant fragments of 4QInstruction do not refer to Zion, the temple or the people of Israel in general, either in the present or the end-time.

We conclude that Jubilees and 4QInstruction share dualistic and eschatological ideas that were held by various Jewish circles in the early second century BCE. But there are significant differences between the priestly-oriented Jubilees and the lay-oriented 4QInstruction. However, if priestly and lay groups merged in the early Essene movement, both books could derive from different proto-Essene circles.

The closest relative of 4QInstruction, apart from 1 Enoch and the sectarian writings, is 1Q/4QMysteries. There are stylistic and terminological similarities between these two compositions. Both writings frequently

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45"One finds, then, in the sages of the apocalypses a denial of earthly wisdom, but also a claim to a higher, superior wisdom": Collins, "The Sage in Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic Literature", 353-4. In section 3.3 we pointed to Test. 12 Pair. as a parallel for such a conflation of apocalyptic and parapletic material.
47"New Light From Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha - 4Q390".
48The reconstruction לַגָּדְּרָה (4Q417 24 1) by the PC is guesswork.
49See now L.H. Schiffman’s edition of 4Q299-4Q301, DJD XX, 31-123. Based on its affinities with the hekhelot literature Schiffman tends to consider 4Q301 (olim 4QMyst) to be a separate composition. In contrast,
employ rhetorical questions, and use them also in Niedrigkeitsdoxologien. The phrase 'judgement occurs in the Qumran scrolls only in 1Q/4Q Mysteries and 4QInstruction. Both use the designation הָעָשָׁה לֵאמָר 'the terrifying God' [4Q175 4:4; 4Q300 (4QMyst)] 3 5] and הָעָשָׁה לֵאמָר 'the terrifying God' [4Q175 4:4; 4Q300 (4QMyst)] 3 5] and 4Q300 (4QMyst)] 3 5]. Further, among the Qumran writings only these two refer to the 'roots' of understanding and evil.

Both writings deal with the mysteries of God. Similar to 4QInstruction, 1Q/4Q Mysteries discerns sharply between those who have insight into the mysteries and the ungodly who lack understanding [1Q27 1 1 2-7; 4Q299 (4QMyst)] 2 2-5; 6 ii 4; 8 2-7; 4Q300 (4QMyst)] b 1 i 2-5; 9 1]. But in contrast to 4QInstruction it does not refer to a defined community within national Israel. Raz nihyeh, the central revelatory concept in 4QInstruction, occurs twice in 1Q/4Q Mysteries, and raz another 11 times.

Both compositions have a dualistic world-view and refer to cosmic antagonists of God. Four passages from 1Q/4Q Mysteries deal with the day of judgement and the consumption of evil, an important theme in the discourses of 4QInstruction: in section 4.2.1 we discussed 1Q27 1 i/4Q299 1 i, which displays similarities both with the Rosh Hashanah liturgy and 4QInstruction. Further, according to 4Q299 53, God's anger is kindled by the abominations on earth, and at the appointed time He will exact vengeance upon the ungodly. 4Q300 9 2 refers to הָעָשָׁה לֵאמָר "the day of dispute" for those who did not understand the heavenly secrets. 4Q301 (4QMyst?) 3 8 expects the end of the period of wickedness; מְצוֹ naveg הָעָשָׁה L-weight G-elephant. The theme of God who has established the universe and determined the ways of men, is also found in Mysteries.

It is hardly justified to see Mysteries as a sectarian book as Flusser does. 4QInstruction displays more parallels with the writings of the Yahad than 1Q/4Q Mysteries. 1Q/4Q Mysteries seems to be more national and less sectarian in its hope for restoration than 4QInstruction. It refers both to a king and to the people of Israel...
5.1. Relation to Other Writings

(4Q299 10 1-6; 13a 2; 39 1; 66 3; 68 1-2). The gentile peoples are portrayed as ungodly and addressed rhetorically (1Q27 i i 8-12, ii 10; 9-10 3; 4Q299 3c; 4Q301 1 4), while 4QInstruction is not concerned with the gentiles. Some fragments of 1Q/4QMysteries demonstrate priestly concerns which cannot be discerned in 4QInstruction (see section 5.2.1). Lange correctly characterizes 1Q/4QMysteries as pre sectarian: the book could have derived from the same circles as 4QInstruction, or as an earlier writing could have influenced 4QInstruction and thereby also the yaḥad. The latter conclusion seems preferable to us. 1Q/4QMysteries (the first source to coin the phrase raz niḥyeḥ ?) would then represent sapiential-apocalyptic circles close to those who produced the Enochic writings early in the second century BCE. These (possibly pre-Maccabean) circles hoped for a national restoration of Israel. Together with Enochic traditions 1Q/4QMysteries provided inspiration for the more narrow community behind 4QInstruction. This triple tradition (1 Enoch, 1Q/4QMysteries, 4QInstruction) not only influenced the yaḥad, but was formative also for developing liturgical traditions connected to the Day of Remembrance (Rosh Hashanah) and Yom Kippur.

Finally, a parallel with literature of another kind. The sentence “Then you will understand what is bitter for a man and what is sweet for a fellow” (4Q416 V 15) has close parallels in stoic maxims from the late first and early second century CE. This similarity is probably incidental, due to common reflections on the conditions of life.

58 Weisheit und Prüdestination, 120.
59 On the dating of 1Q/4QMysteries, cf. Schiffman’s assertion that 4Q300 1b 2 is dependent upon Dan 9:22-24: DJD XX, 102.
60 Masonius Rufus (on the relation of a king to his people) “a benefactor must know what is good for a man and what is bad”, τί μὲν ἄγαθόν ἄθροισα (frg. 8,60,6-10); further three times on the Stoic position that one must marry; “it is fitting for a man” ἄθροισα προσπικότερον (frg. 14,92,6-9, 14,94,32); Dio Chrysostom “on what is fitting for men” περὶ τῶν προσπικότερων τῶν ἄθροισῶν (Or. 13,12-13); 1 Cor 7:1 (probably a Pauline quote from a letter from the Corinthian church) καλὸν ἄθροισα γυμνὸν γῆν ἀπετεθήκαν. Cf. Flusser’s observation of parallels between a passage in 1Q/4QMysteries and early stoic concepts: “‘The Book of Mysteries’ and a Synagogal Prayer”, 6-9.
5.2. Time of Composition and Milieu. Sitz im Leben

5.2.1. The circles behind 4QInstruction

In this section we try to find clues in 4QInstruction that can give indications about its milieu: what kind of circles have set their stamp on this book and its author? Are there sociological markers which would allow a closer definition of the community (or communities) reflected in this book, as well as the background of its author or editor?

We first discuss the polarity in 4QInstruction between belonging to a community and life in a regular social context. We then consider what kind of community is presupposed - its socio-spiritual and social markers. Are specific groups and occupations in focus? We further investigate whether the composition reflects conflicts between different social groups, and its attitude to the governing authorities. We compare the community reflected in 4QInstruction with the more priestly dominated community of the yahad, and with the circles behind the Enochic writings, Jubilees and the Hebrew portions of Daniel. Finally we draw some preliminary conclusions about the time of origin of 4QInstruction.

The discourses of 4QInstruction do not refer only to righteous Israelites in general. A community with a specific theology of revelation and history is clearly presupposed (see sections 4.1 and 4.2). But at the same time the addressee is living an active social life in a regular social context. The wisdom admonitions contained in 4QInstruction do not reflect the situation of a narrow sectarian community or a communal lifestyle, but rather life in a regular society. Family life is presupposed, and the addressee relates to others as superiors or subordinates in working relations. He conducts business affairs and is responsible for loans or surety.

On the other hand, the discourses indicate that author and addressee belong to some kind of community. The 'planting' terminology and temple symbolism are clear markers of a community with a distinct identity (see section 4.3.2). We have showed that these circles represent an apocalyptically-oriented theology on issues related to wisdom, revelation and eschatology. The 2nd person singular form, which is the rule in 4QInstruction, is a standard sapiential form. But also the 2nd person plural occurs a few times in the admonitions and discourses (see section 3.2, note 48), which points to a community, not only a teacher and an individual student. The addressee has knowledge of the community's interpretation of the Scriptures and God's mysteries, and is exhorted to continue his meditation and study. He is further admonished to separate from the ungodly and from all abominations (4Q418 §1 1-2).

This combination of belonging to a community and at the same time living in an open society and dealing with outsiders has parallels in the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 91-105), and reminds us of Philo's and Josephus'...
descriptions of the Essenes living in all towns and villages in Judea while practising various occupations

(however, different from the Essenes of Philo, a common purse is not mentioned in 4QInstruction): 2

They live in villages and avoid the cities because of the iniquities which have become inveterate among city dwellers ... some of them labour on the land and others pursue such crafts as cooperate with peace and so benefit themselves and their neighbours ... For all the wages which they earn in the day's work they do not keep as their private property, but throw them into the common stock. (Every Good Man is Free, 76, 86)

They live in many cities of Judea and in many villages and grouped in great societies of many members ... Some of them labour on the land skilled in sowing and planting, some as herdsmen taking charge of every kind of cattle and some superintend the swarms of bees. Others work at the handicrafts ... Each branch when it has received the wages of these so different occupations gives it to one person who has been appointed as treasurer.

They have no city of their own, but many of them dwell in every city. (On the Jews, 11.2, 8-10)

It is difficult to perceive clear sociological markers of this fellowship. Different from CD, there are no references to the history of the community; neither is the community explicitly connected to the concept of the renewed covenant, as in CD VI 19; VIII 21; XX 12; 1QpHab II 3; and 1Q34bis 3 ii. If CD does testify to a pre-yahad “Community of the Renewed Covenant,” 3 this group is not mentioned in 4QInstruction. There are no allusions to any exilic origin of the community, as Murphy O’Connor and Davies postulate as background for the earlier strata of the Damascus Document. 4

What about socio-spiritual markers? There are no indications that the community or the individual are connected to a specific charismatic leader like the Righteous Teacher. The addressees are referred to raz nihyeh, not exhorted to be loyal to a leader, as is done in 1QpHab VIII 2-3 “because of their struggle and their loyalty to the Righteous Teacher”.

The statement לֵכָה תִּשְׁתֶּם חָדָר אַתָּה מָרָדַע לֶאֲסָקֶל לִיָּה רָאוֹז וָיָה “according to their knowledge every man shall receive honour from his fellow, and according to his understanding his glory shall be magnified” (4Q418 55 10) could indicate a close-knit community with some kind of ranking among its members, as in the yahad. 6

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2 Based on the description of the ‘camps’ in CD, scholars have postulated Essene communes outside the commune at Qumran, which usually has been identified as the center of the yahad. See e.g. F.D. Weinert, “4Q159: Legislation for an Essene Community Outside of Qumran”, JSJ 5 (1974) 179-207. We have previously tentatively proposed that the book could be a catechism for members of the wider Essene movement in Judea: “Admonition Texts”, 192-4. S.J. Pfann has proposed (personal communication) that the book could be instruction for the enlightened members of the sect who do not need to hear about the basics.

3 Thus e.g. Stegemann, “The Qumran Essenes - Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times”.


5 The first sentence, לֵכָה תִּשְׁתֶּם חָדָר אַתָּה מָרָדַע, is quoted in 1QHa X 27-28 (see section 5.1.1).

6 Cf. 1QS V 23-24 “And they shall be recorded in the Rule, each one before his fellow, according to his insight and their deeds, in such a way that each one obeys his fellow, junior under senior. And their spirit and their deeds must be tested, year after year, in order to upgrade each one to the extent of his insight and the perfection of his path, or to demote him according to his failings”; 4Q421 (4QWays of Righteousness) 1 i 3 לֵכָה תִּשְׁתֶּם חָדָר אַתָּה מָרָדַע “to muster everyone, each man before [his] neighbour” (from the sectarian section of this composition).
there is recognition of scriptural and spiritual knowledge which has been exercised: one is valued according to knowledge, not because of social status, wealth or descent.

Is this community characterized by ‘charismatic’ visions and prophecies? The exhortation "know every vision" (4Q417 IX 24) may refer to prophetic activity in the community. This exhortation could in principle refer to visions contained in the Bible, but contemporary visions seem more likely. The reference to "raz nihyeh" in the preceding line and the designation of the Book of Hagi as "the Vision of Hagi" in the same passage (line 18), point in the direction of contemporary prophecy.

A comparison with the wider Qumran literature supports this assertion. Sectarian literature contains references to visions and prophetic activity, both within the sect and among its antagonists, cf. 1Q34\textsuperscript{ba} 3 ii 6 "You renewed Your covenant with them through a glorious vision". Within a Teacher hymn, 1QH\textsuperscript{*} IV 6-22 refers to contemporary "false prophets" who do not accept the true (sectarian) "vision of knowledge" (lines 16-18);\textsuperscript{7} "seers of error" (line 20); "teachers of lies and seers of falsehood" (lines 9-10). 11QPs\textsuperscript{*}Zion 17 refers to visions and dreams which foresee the restoration of Zion: "Accept a vision speaking about you, and dreams of prophets sought for you".\textsuperscript{8} This passage points to prophetic activity in the milieu of origin or transmission of this hymn: the person praying refers to contemporary visions and prophetical dreams. The pseudo-Moses writings 4Q375 and 4Q376 expect prophecy to occur, and deal with the question of discerning the true prophet from the false.\textsuperscript{9} A passage in 1Q4Q\textsuperscript{*}Mysteries thrice refers to a vision.\textsuperscript{10} Further, Josephus states that the Essenes were engaged in prophetic activity.\textsuperscript{11} Nickelsburg suggests that 1 Enoch attests to the ongoing life of the visionary tradition known from biblical prophetic literature.\textsuperscript{12}

Against this background it seems likely that the admonition to "know every vision" and the reference to "the Vision of Hagi" do indicate that prophetic and visionary activity belonged to the circles behind 4QInstruction. It is not incidental that ‘mysteries’ is a key word in this book.

\textsuperscript{7}Compare 1QH\textsuperscript{*} IV 18 "vision of knowledge" with 4QInstruction’s exhortation "know every vision".

\textsuperscript{8}The earlier dated copy 4QPs\textsuperscript{*} reads "תניא בן אולאר ויהי" (I. Starcky, “Psaumes apocryphes de la grotte 4 de Qumran (4QPs\textsuperscript{*} VII-X)”, RB 73 (1966) 353-71. Starcky characterizes the script of 4QPs\textsuperscript{*} as an Hasmonean semicursive from the first century BCE. 11QPs\textsuperscript{*}Zion is probably a presectarian hymn adopted for liturgical use in the Qumran community.

\textsuperscript{9}J. Strugnell, DJD XIX, 119, 129. 4Q375 and 4Q376 do not demonstrate sectarian characteristics. Strugnell tends to ascribe these writings to priestly forerunners of the Hasidic and Qumranic movements, ibid., 130-36. 4Q339 (4QList of False Prophets ar), which lists false prophets in the Bible, could also have its relevance due to prophetic activity at the time of its composition. As with other Aramaic writings from Qumran, 4Q339 is not viewed as “a sectarian composition. Nevertheless, its viewpoint was acceptable to the Qumran community”: M. Broshi, A. Jardeni, DJD XIX, 77. The Genesis Apocryphon refers to visions given to Noah, 1QapGen VI 4-15; XII 15-19.


\textsuperscript{11}War 1.78-80; 2.112-13; 2.159; Ant. 13.311-13; 15.373-9; 17.345-48. Cf. R. Gray, Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine. The Evidence from Josephus, Oxford 1993, 80-111. Gray’s monograph shows that, according to Josephus, prophetic activity was not uncommon in Jewish milieus of the late second temple period.

\textsuperscript{12}"The Nature and Function of Revelation".
We then turn to the question of the social status of the members of this community. Does the frequent use of words for ‘poverty’ point to low-status groups as circles of origin? The address הָבִּיתוֹ,הָבִּיתָהוֹ ‘you are poor’ is often found, as are the words לְמָעַת וַלְּמָעַת ‘poor/poverty’ and מִדְרָשׁ ‘need’. Like the biblical psalms and Isa 61:1, the writings of the yahadı́频率 use the words מִדְרָשׁ and מִדְרָשׁ about spiritual poverty, humbleness, not real poverty.\(^{13}\) Is it likely that these terms are used in the same way in 4QInstruction? While מִדְרָשׁ could have the spiritual meaning ‘humble’ as in biblical psalms and sectarian writings, the frequency of מִדְרָשׁ and מִדְרָשׁ could be an indication of the social status of the members of the community. On the other hand, D. Harrington has questioned our suggestion that these terms in fact could point to the social status of the members of this community.\(^{14}\) The saying מִדְרָשׁ לְמָעַת . מִדְרָשׁ מִדְרָשׁ מִדְרָשׁ "Do not boast about your lowly estate, you are anyway poor" (4Q416 IV 20) seems to point to real poverty, not only spiritual humility.

In section 4.5 we showed that some occupations are specifically in focus in the wisdom admonitions. A number of passages deal with the life of the farmer and his obligations. Further, loans and surety are frequently mentioned, and we find a number of terms related to business: מִדְרָשׁ ‘money, riches’, מִדְרָשׁ ‘business’, מִדְרָשׁ ‘money used for business’, מִדְרָשׁ ‘investment money’, מִדְרָשׁ ‘commerce’, מִדְרָשׁ ‘assets’, מִדְרָשׁ ‘resources’. These terms and themes reflect a society with active financial relations. The references to business and financial relations do not support the suggestion above that the repeated use of words for ‘poverty’ could point to low-status groups as circles of origin.

What have we learned about the sociological profile of these circles? Could the wisdom admonitions of 4QInstruction be a random collection of sentences referring to various aspects of human life, including sayings earmarked for husbands, wives, farmers, merchants and people in need? It seems more likely to postulate a selective process by the hand of an editor, who included in his book such sentences which seemed relevant for him and his audience. We therefore suggest that a certain part of these circles were rural farmers. Some of these, and possibly other members too, were engaged in business and commerce. There were probably craftsmen as well.\(^{15}\) This fits well with Wischmeyer’s description of Judea at the time of Ben Sira: “Judäa-Jerusalems war ein Agrarland im Sog. hellenistischer Differenzierung mit einer Tempelstadt als Mittpunkt. Das Gros der Bevölkerung war blauertich. Handwerker und Kaufleute bildeten eigene wichtige Berufsgruppen, ebenso die Ärzte. Eher an den Rändern der Gesellschaft standen die Lohnarbeiter und Soldaten”.\(^{16}\) We do not know the

\(^{13}\)IQP II 21-36; III 25; V 12-19; XIV 3; IQM XI 9; XIII 12-14; XIV 7; 1QpHab XI 1-10; 4Q171 (4QPs’s) II 7-9; III 10. On this subject, see especially H. Kvalbøen, Jesus og de fattige. Jesu syn på de fattige og hans bruk av ord for “fattig”, Oslo 1981, 103-112. Contra I. Hahn ["Die Eigentumsverhältnisse der Qumransekte", Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift 12 (1963) 263-72]: “der Dichter der Hymnensammlung ... der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit ... als Angehöriger der sozial gedruckten Masse, der ebyonim, seine Lage (Armut und sozial gedrückte Lage) als etwas gegebenes, nicht aber freiwillig Gewähltes auffasst” (p. 264).

\(^{14}\)“Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology in an early Essene Writing”, 444. In his response to this paper at SBL Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, 20.11.1995, Harrington commented “I am not sure that the frequent uses of words for ‘poverty’ and ‘poor’ really indicate the social status of the members of the community addressed by this work. The terminology is too slippery, and may simply be part of the ‘low’ view of the human situation noted in other sections of the paper”.

\(^{15}\)Cf. 4Q418 81 15, 19 מַנָּה יָדֵיכֶם מִדְרָשׁ מִדְרָשׁ מִדְרָשׁ מִדְרָשׁ “And you understand if He gave you a position of authority due to the skill of your own hands?”; מַנָּה יָדֵיכֶם מִדְרָשׁ מִדְрָשׁ מִדְרָשׁ מִדְרָשׁ “By the skill of your hands!”.

An Analysis of 4QInstruction

level of literacy among rural farmers in the land of Israel at this time. Some of the addressees of 4QInstruction possibly preferred to be listeners rather than readers.

Further, what can we learn about conflicts between contrasting groups? In contrast to the Epistle of Enoch there is no indication of oppression of the poor by wealthy co-Israelites, nor any controversy over the proper observance of Torah. There is no clear reference to a situation of suffering or any persecution of righteous Jews, neither by gentiles nor fellow Jews. This fact probably indicates a time of origin later than the Maccabean uprising (or alternatively: substantively earlier). In its eschatology 4QInstruction is apocalyptic, not restorative, which indicates a distance to the Maccabean/Hasmonean establishment.

On the other hand, 4QInstruction recognizes all earthly authorities as ordained by God:

And He opened your ear [to the mystery to come. every head of your fathers. and leader of your people. He divided the [portion of all rulers and fashioned every [deed] by His hand, and the wages of [their deeds He knew. He will judge all of them in truth and visit upon fathers and sons, upon proselyte[s together with every native born, He will speak [4Q423 5 1-4]

According to this text, God has preordained the ways of men, including those of the governing rulers, and distributed to each one his portion. The statement “H[e divided the [portion of all rulers and fashioned every [deed] by His hand, and the wages of [their deeds He knew” corresponds remarkably with Josephus’ statement about Essene theology regarding earthly authorities, “that he will keep for ever faith with all men, especially with the powers that be, since no ruler attains his office save by the will of God” (War 2.8.7). And it contrasts sharply with the attitude of the yahad to the ‘evil priest’ and his followers. This observation points to a non-sectarian or pre-sectarian provenance for 4QInstruction. The same is true for the use of the word שָׂר בְּלָל (“leader of your people”) could refer to contemporary Hasmonean leaders (see section 6.2.2 for a further discussion of this text). If 4QInstruction was pre-Maccabean, we would have expected scepticism vis-à-vis gentile rulers, as in the Animal Apocalypse, the Apocalypse of Weeks and 4QPseudo-Moses, but no such scepticism can be discerned. A post-Maccabean date therefore seems more likely.

What about priestly influence on 4QInstruction? The relation between wisdom literature and the cult and its functionaries has been discussed at length in scholarly literature. Later sapiential strata in the Bible show a growing convergence between wisdom and cult, a development which culminates in Sirach. A number of

17Nickelsburg, Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life, 112.
18The trial speech in 4Q418 69 refers to the toil of the righteous: “We toiled for understanding and have been awake to pursue knowledge” (4Q418 69 ii 11). But ‘toil’ does not necessarily mean real suffering.
19Different from Daniel 7-12 and the eschatological passages in Sir 35:22-26; 36:1-22, which foresee the salvation of the nation from the hand of gentile oppressors. There is one possible reference to oppression: 4Q418 127 4 addresses the ungodly with the words שֵׂר בְּלָל וְעַל התカラーֶל (‘and those who seek pleasure (or: want to do business) you have oppressed in their lives’).
20Daniel 2:37 (cf. 2:21) shows the same attitude, “It is the God of heaven who has given you dominion and power”; as does Paul, see Rom 13:1-7.
21L.G. Perdue concludes his analysis of the relation between wisdom and cult in the Bible: “the traditional wise regarded the realm of cult to be an important compartment within the orders of reality, and, therefore, merited sapiential scrutiny and demanded sagacious participation”. Wisdom and Cult. A Critical Analysis of the
scholars have argued that the Enochic books, Jubilees and possibly 4Qpseudo-Moses derive from priestly forerunners of the yahad. How does 4QInstruction fit into this picture of priestly influenced sages?

4QInstruction clearly differs from the writings of the yahad, which similar to the above mentioned writings demonstrate a strong priestly influence. The circles reflected in 4QInstruction are not hierarchically structured: one does not find the organization and structure of the yahad, nor its requirements about ritual purity. Purity matters are not mentioned (the exception is 4Q418 103 ii which advises the farmer not to mix yields of different kinds in his commerce). Temple matters or priestly traditions are hardly to be found in the book. An exception is 4Q23 3-5, which in a section addressing the farmer seems to provide a liturgical formula for redeeming the firstborn before God (cf. Exod 13:2, 12-15; 34:19; Num 3:12-13, 40-51; 8:16; 18:15-16; Deut 15:19-20): 24

...[l]et the firstborn of your flock (male and female) or of your cattle (male and female) or of your flock (male and female) come near to God... [l]et the firstborn of your flock (male and female) or of your cattle (male and female) or of your flock (male and female) come near to God...
as a portion of land. On His word every [womb] will hear... you shall come before your God(?) with the first fruit of your womb and the firstborn of all [your cattle]... you shall come before you[?] God(?)... and say: ‘I sanctify [to God(?)] everyone[? who opens the womb(?)].’ 25

The Bible does not prescribe specific words to use for this ritual act of sanctification. The references to crops, conceiving, firstborn and sanctification indicate that this text provided such a formula, beginning with ֳ‘נְּפְּרֵיתֶךָ. If we have correctly understood the nature of this text, the fragment preserves a legal insertion in a sapiential-didactic composition, which would be somewhat unexpected (cf., however, Prov 3:9-10, where the rite exhorts the offering of first fruits to the Lord). Since the yahad established itself as a spiritual temple of its own, such formulas would be needed for its liturgical practice. 26 This text could reflect a last stage of editing of

Views of Cult in the Wisdom Literatures of Israel and the Ancient Near East, Missoula 1977, 362. According to Hermisson, a growing convergence between temple and wisdom traditions can be observed from the last period of the Judean Kingdom. This development reached a climax in Sirach, which displays cultic and sapiential genres side by side: Studien, 129-33, cf. Stadelmann, Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrte; A. Lemay, “The Sage in School and Temple”, The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East, 165-81; Perdue, Wisdom and Creation, 72-3.

24 Nickelsburg, “1 Enoch and Qumran Origins”; idem, “The Epistle of Enoch and the Qumran Literature”; Davies, Behind the Essenes, 107-34; Dimant, “Qumran Sectarian Literature”; idem, “New Light From Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha - 4Q390”.

23 Cf. Stegemann’s comment “Die Qumrangemeinde unterscheidet sich von diesen Chasidim im wesentlichen dadurch, dass sie die Dominanz des ‘Juden-Elementes’ gebrochen und eine priestersch-hierarchische Gemeindestruktur eingeführt hat”: “Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde für die Erforschung der Apokalyptik”, 521. We have pointed to some kind of ranking reflected in 4Q148 55 10 (see above), but this single line can hardly be used as evidence for an hierarchical structure.

24 4Q509 (4QPrFetes) 131-132 ii preserves a similar liturgical formula, cf. especially lines 5, 7, 10, 11 ְּרְפֶּרֶתֶךָ; 72 ְּרְפֶּרֶתֶךָ; 10 ְּרְפֶּרֶתֶךָ; 11 ְּרְפֶּרֶתֶךָ; 24 “A Prayer for the day of the firstborn: ‘Remember, O Lord the time...’ the firstborn of [your] cattle... you sanctified... the one who opens the womb’. Cf. further 4Q270 (4Q5) 2 ii 6-9 “to give” to the sons of Aaron... [the first] of whatever they possess and the title [of their animals from the cattle] and the sheep and the redemption of the firstborn [of man and the first shearings of] the sheep”.

22 The words ְּרְפֶּרֶתֶךָ indicate either that firstlings of pure animals are brought to the holy place as a burnt-offering, or that meat is presented as a priestly gift following the burning of the inner organs. Cf. G. Brin, Studies in Biblical Law: From the Hebrew Bible to the Dead Sea Scrolls, Sheffield 1994, 184-7.

24 Cf. e.g. Ant. 18.19; IQS VIII 1-10; CD XII 17-23. See A. Steudel, ‘The Houses of Prostration CD XI. 21-22, 1—Duplicates of the Temple’, RevQ 16 (1993-95) 49-68.
4QInstruction after the merger between the lay circles behind 4QInstruction and the priestly circles of the Teacher. However, this formula could also be rooted in legal traditions connected to the pre-Maccabean temple.

Another passage which might reflect priestly traditions is 4Q418 188:7 שַׁבְשַׁבֶּם אָמְרוּ בְּהֵם פֶּסַחְיָּהוּ שֶׁבָּרוּ אֶלֶּהָ שֶׁנִּנְתָּם מִמֶּן. When one compares 4Q418 188 with the parallel text in 4Q239 9:3, however, it is clear that the 4Q418 fragment had שַׁבְשַׁבֶּם אָמְרוּ בְּהֵם פֶּסַחְיָּהוּ where 4Q239 has שַׁבְשַׁבֶּם אָמְרוּ בְּהֵם פֶּסַחְיָּהוּ. Both readings give meaning, but שַׁבְשַׁבֶּם אָמְרוּ בְּהֵם פֶּסַחְיָּהוּ seems preferable in a non-priestly setting.

At this point of discussion it should be mentioned that priestly material is also found in three other sapiential writings from Qumran: First, this is true of five fragments from 1Q/4QMysteries. Second, 4Q419 (4QSap. Work B); frg. 1 deals with the priestly duties (cf. e.g. line 6 שַׁבְשַׁבֶּם אָמְרוּ בְּהֵם פֶּסַחְיָּהוּ), and frg. 7 perhaps with purity matters (line 3 שַׁבְשַׁבֶּם אָמְרוּ בְּהֵם פֶּסַחְיָּהוּ). Third, 4Q420/421 (4QWays of Righteousness), is a composite work in which the first preserved section deals with sectarian organisation. The second part, wisdom sentences about the righteous man, is introduced by an admonition to carry the yoke of Wisdom. Third comes a section dealing with matters connected to the temple service (4Q421 frgs. 12 and 13), which probably belonged to the latter part of the composition. These Qumran compositions demonstrate the same phenomenon as 4QInstruction: in a sapiential composition priestly matters are mentioned, but only in a tiny minority of the preserved fragments. Cultic matters are not given much attention, but wisdom and cult are not disconnected.

In contrast to the writings of the yahad, Jubilees and parts of the Enoch corpus, calendrical matters are scarcely mentioned. 4Q416 VII 7-9 deals with the heavenly luminaries and their appointed times in the context of an eschatological discourse. Further, 4Q423 5-6 deal with cultic concerns, the appointed times (festivals?) of the summer. This text does not necessarily reflect a priestly tradition, it might be just a reminder for the work of the farmer.

We conclude that 4QInstruction (different from the Book of Watchers, Jubilees, 4QPseudo-Moses and the yahad) reflects non-priestly sapiential circles. The lack of interest in temple matters and priestly traditions

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27See 4Q299 (4QMyst) יי(ט"ו) יי(ט"ו) (cf. e.g. line 5 שַׁבְשַׁבֶּם אָמְרוּ בְּהֵם פֶּסַחְיָּ הָהָה וּלְאַשָּׁר חַיָּל). Schi ffman remarks on frg. 69, "It is possible that this fragment is out of place here, since it deals with the Day of Atonement or some similar ritual. The same is the case with frg. 79. 1Q27 3 and 6, however, deal with priestly and sacrificial matters, as do 4Q19 1-8 and 4Q21 13-16": DJD XX, 82.

28See Elgvin, "Wisdom in the yahad: 4QWays of Righteousness."
provides a clear contrast to Ben Sira, who supports the prerogative of the priests to the scribal office.\textsuperscript{29} 4QInstruction probably reflects alternative scribal groups, different from the temple establishment in Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{30} We possibly encounter a conscious opposition to the prerogative of this establishment to be the interpreters of “the Torah of life and understanding”, those who “teach the precepts to Jacob”, who “understand law and justice” and “expose the instruction of wisdom” (Sir 45:5; 38:33).\textsuperscript{31}

We have asserted that 4QInstruction does not reflect the structure of the yahad. Nevertheless, the terminology of its discourses has much in common with the Community Rule, the Damascus Document and in particular the Hodayot.\textsuperscript{32} There are at least two cases of literary dependence between 4QInstruction and the Hodayot.\textsuperscript{33} The evidence suggests that 4QInstruction has been influential in the framing of sectarian thinking and parlance, not the other way around.

To get a closer idea of 4QInstruction’s time of origin and milieu we proceed by comparing the traditions of 4QInstruction with other works from the second century BCE, starting with Daniel. A number of phrases and motifs from the Hebrew sections of Daniel recur in 4QInstruction, especially terms related to wisdom, revelation and the elect.\textsuperscript{34} As there is no clear literary dependence between Daniel and 4QInstruction, it seems more probable that both depend on a common tradition. The circles behind 4QInstruction might be related to the maskilim of Daniel,\textsuperscript{35} although we tend to date 4QInstruction well after the persecution incited by Antiochus, as there are no references to any persecution of righteous Jews. Both books reflect scribal activity and a quest for divine communication. Further, both seem to reflect a lay milieu; neither is concerned with priestly matters or


\textsuperscript{31} Cf. 4Q418 813, which spiritualizes the Pentateuchal promise to Aaron that God will be his portion, and makes it valid for the elect individual. See section 4.3.2.

\textsuperscript{32} On sectarian terminology in 4QInstruction, see section 5.1.1.

\textsuperscript{33} 1QH\textup{ii} X 27-28 repeats a full sentence from 4Q418 55 (“according to their knowledge every man shall receive honour from his fellow”) and alludes to other themes and phrases from this passage. Further, 4Q416 69 ii 6-7 (“The seekers of truth will wake up to the judgements of God(?)”) is closely paralleled by 1QH\textup{vi} VI 29-30 “And then at the time of judgement the sword of God shall hasten, and all the sons of His [truth] shall awake to [destroy] wickedness, and all the sons of iniquity shall be no more”. See section 5.1.1.

\textsuperscript{34} The most important are, רמאא , רמאי , ראיו , רמאו , רמאו , רמאו , רמאו . It should be noted, however, that 4QInstruction frequently understands ימ as ‘period’ like the sectarianists, not as ‘end’ like Daniel 8-12. Cf. J.J. Collins, “The Meaning of ‘the End’ in the Book of Daniel”.

\textsuperscript{35} Cf. Collins, “Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Movement?”. On the relation between the maskilim and the hassidim described in 1 and 2 Maccabees, see Collins, \textit{Daniel}. See also J. Kampen (\textit{The Hasideans and the Origin of Phariseism. A Study in 1 and 2 Maccabees}, Atlanta 1988, 115-22), who argues that there is a close relation between the hassidim and the scribes (see 1 Macc 2:42; 7:12-13). Our view differs from Stegemann’s, who dates 4QInstruction to the third century BCE, and sees it as one of the sources for Daniel (see note 41).
the sacrificial cult of the temple. Collins' description of the *maskil*im could also fit the teacher of 4QInstruction and his listeners: "There is no indication that they had in any way withdrawn from Jewish society. On the contrary, their mission was to instruct the *rabbi*im, or common people": "Their mission was to the Jewish public, to make many understand (11:33). They were apparently teachers, but we are unfortunately uninformed about their social organization". In the attitude to the mysteries which had been revealed to them, the *maskil*im of Daniel were more outward oriented than the circles of 4QInstruction. The concept of mystery in 4QInstruction is closer to the views of the *yahad* than to Daniel - an indication that 4QInstruction rather should be dated to the middle of the second century than to its beginning. Typical of the apocalypse, the primary medium of revelation in Daniel is the vision or the symbolic dream which must be interpreted by an angel. Dreams are not mentioned in 4QInstruction, and media of revelation are the *mystery to come* and the Book of Hagi (see sections 4.1.6, 4.1.7.1).

In section 5.1.2 we showed a number of parallels between the discourses of 4QInstruction and the books of Enoch, especially the Book of Watchers and the Epistle of Enoch (the evidence suggests that 4QInstruction is literally dependent on the Epistle). If the Epistle was composed slightly before the middle of the second century BCE (see section 5.1.2, note 44), this would point to a time of origin for 4QInstruction around the mid-second century or slightly thereafter. Since 4QInstruction did not know all the Enochic corpus in literary form, the composition probably predates the establishment of the commune at Qumran in the late second century BCE, considering that early copies of all the books of Enoch were found at Qumran.

In its terminology the discourses of 4QInstruction are closer to the writings of the *yahad* than to the Enoch literature. 4QInstruction could reflect an early stage in the development of the Essene/yahad-movement, before sectarian theology had crystallized. In this case, 4QInstruction should be seen as a representative of the wider Essene movement, not of the *yahad*. The lack of polemic against the Jerusalem establishment makes another

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36 See P.R. Davies, "Reading Daniel Sociologically". The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings, 345-61.

37 Davies, "Reading Daniel Sociologically". The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings, 345-61.

38 The compilation of 1QS and CD in the last decades of the second century BCE testifies to an established community with a defined terminology. 4QD* is dated by Milik and Cross to c.75-50 BCE: J.T. Milik, Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea, London 1959, 38; F.M. Cross, The Ancient Library of Qumran, 3rd ed., Minneapolis 1995, 72, n. 5: "cannot be dated later than the Hasmonean period". Cross dates the script of 1QS to c.100 - 75 BCE: "The Development of the Jewish Scripts", The Bible and the Ancient Near East (G.E. Wright, ed.), New York 1961, 133-202, p. 198, n. 116. According to J. Murphy-O'Conner, the covenant liturgy in 1QS 1 16 - 2 25 existed separately before it was incorporated in the Rule in the last stage of its redaction, presumably about 100 BCE: "La genèse littéraire de la Regle de la Communauté", RB 76 (1969) 528-49.

39 Cf. Newsom’s *caveat*: "... texts that lack such clear marks of origin (explicit references to the organizational features of the group or its history) but do employ a diction, style, and theological slant that has significant overlap with what one finds in the core group of texts that are of sectarian authorship ... In such cases perhaps it would be better for heuristic reasons ... to regard such texts as of non-Qumran origin", "Sectually Explicit" Literature”, 176-7.

40 According to García Martínez ("Qumran Origins and Early History"), the *yahad*, the group which followed the Teacher, represents a small splinter group within the larger Essene movement. In such a scenario 4QInstruction could derive from the wider Essene movement contemporary with the Teacher (or from a later period, if it derives from an Essene branch different from the *yahad*), and one would have to postulate a later adoption of 4QInstruction into the library of the *yahad*. 
option more likely: to ascribe 4QInstruction to the pre-Teacher community mentioned in CD 1. 4QInstruction would then have its origins in one of the groups which provided the background for the Essene movement, and which used the Enoch literature and possibly authored parts of it.41

A number of factors thus point towards a date in the middle of the second century: no reference to gentile rulers or the Maccabean crisis, issues common with the maskilim of Daniel, a literary dependence on the Epistle of Enoch, knowledge of other Enochic traditions, a closeness to the world view of the yahad, but at the same time a lack of references to its history and structure. Tentatively we would date the discourses of 4QInstruction (and thus the composition as a whole) to somewhere between 160 and 130 BCE.42

The wisdom admonitions that represent earlier, traditional wisdom, do not provide clear indications of a specific time of origin. The admonitions are not very Jewish in their flavour (an exception is 4Q418 103 ii 6-9, that refers to the Pentateuchal law on mixed textiles when it requires that the farmer in his commerce should not mix yields of different kinds). Circumcision, sabbath and dietary laws are not mentioned. Therefore a time of origin around the Maccabean uprising (when these issues were burning) can be excluded. The themes the admonitions share with Sirach could point to his time (around 200 BCE) as a natural option. However, the admonitions could be substantively older than Sirach and reflect sapientiad schools throughout the third century. Our assertion that traditional wisdom admonitions were supplemented with more apocalyptic material in the post-Maccabean period parallels Ulrichsen’s conclusions on Test. 12 Patr.: according to Ulrichsen, apocalyptic passages were added to a traditional sapiential Grundschritt in the first decades after 160 BCE.43

In section 5.1.3 we compared 4QInstruction with Jubilees, T. Levi, the Enochic Animal Apocalypse and 4QPseudo-Moses, which according to Dimant derive from a priestly parent community of the yahad.44 This group did not yet have the peculiar community-ideology, or the specific ideas about dualism characteristic of the yahad. We found that 4QInstruction lacks the priestly concerns of these writings, but shares the idea of evil angelic powers whose rule marks the increase of sin, as well as a periodization of history. Further, 4QInstruction does display a contrasted community theology (see sections 4.3.2-3) and dualistic ideas. The circles behind 4QInstruction would therefore be a good candidate for a merger with these priestly circles, which would produce an offspring with the characteristics of the yahad. The seven copies of 4QInstruction found in Qumran

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41Nickelsburg has proposed that the Epistle of Enoch derives from circles ancestral to the Essenes, “The Epistle of Enoch and the Qumran Literature”, 347-8. 4QInstruction is closer to the sectarian thinking than is the Epistle.

42Harrington tends towards a “pre-Qumranic phase of the movement in the early second century BCE”: “Wisdom at Qumran”, 151-2. Strugnell recently concluded that 4QInstruction should be dated between Proverbs and Sirach, in the late fourth or the third century: “The Sapiential Work 4Q415ff.” Stegemann classifies 4QInstruction as wisdom from the third century BCE: “this is wisdom of the third century B.C.E. and therefore background for the Book of Daniel”: response to our paper “Admonition Texts”, 194; cf. idem, Die Essener, 142-3. Stegemann adds that if we cannot perceive Hellenistic influence in 4QInstruction, it should be dated to the fourth century (personal communication). On linguistic grounds Lange dates 4QInstruction to the period between the end of the third and the middle of the second century BCE: Weisheit und Prädestination, 46-7. Neither of these scholars discuss the possibility of two strata within the book which could be dated to different periods.

43Die Grundschritt, 255-345.

44“New Light on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha”, 443-7. See further the bibliographical references in note 22 above.
testify to the importance ascribed to this book by the *yahad*, a fact easily explained if 4QInstruction does derive from one of the parent groups of the Community.

Nickelsburg has noted that CD I and 1QS VIII reflect a tradition common to the Enochic *Apocalypse of Weeks* and *Animal Apocalypse*. All these texts describe the founding of a community which saw itself as a righteous end-time remnant and based itself on divine revelation that pertained to biblical interpretation and an understanding of God's times. 4QInstruction testifies to the same tradition, and might represent a link between these Enoch traditions and the sectarian writings.

The wide use of literary traditions in 4QInstruction, biblical and post-biblical, points to scribal circles as milieu of origin, and the evidence suggests that the circles behind 4QInstruction conducted regular teaching activities. What can we further know about the author or compiler of 4QInstruction? The evidence suggests that he does not belong to the scribes associated with the temple and its leaders, hence he is probably a lay teacher. He and his audience appeal to other sources of authority than those advocated by the Jerusalem establishment of his time. The teacher addresses ‘the knowledgeable one’ (designated יבש and ימך, see section 4.1.2). His audience are the ‘understanding ones’ to whom have been revealed the end-time mysteries (יהו יא אמה אנה יא, 4Q418 123 ii 4). They have received knowledge of *ras nihyeh* and the Book of Hagi.

Knowledge of esoteric books and a defined body of teaching point to limited circles, not only scribes and wise ones in general, as milieu of origin. The members of these circles are united by a common apocalyptic theology. They look upon their community as a spiritual temple which is in fellowship with the angels. The members do not live in communes. While they continue to be immersed in ordinary life and society, they are exhorted to conduct an ethical lifestyle which separates them from outsiders.

The advice of the teacher (which to a large extent represents the older, inherited tradition of the admonitions) is related to the everyday life situations of his readers, to challenges posed by family life, business matters, finances and job relations. At the same time the teacher is occupied by eschatological issues: the hope of the righteous addressee and his knowledge of the secrets of God shall provide perspective for his everyday situation, and he needs to be reminded of this. Although 4QInstruction is a literary product, the book reflects the experience of a teacher (or: teachers) relating to a specific audience.

The way this teacher addresses his audience reminds us of the wisdom schools of biblical Israel. The systematic combination of sentences into ‘wisdom teachings’ (Lehrreden) in the Bible is supposed to originate in such schools (see section 3.1, note 12), and large section of the admonitions in 4QInstruction are collected in

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46Harrington comments: ‘The form and content of the instructions suggest a “school” setting (as in Sirach), though precisely how the school is to be imagined (a tutorial?) is not clear. The instructor uses the address “son” and appears to be superior in wisdom and in age. The one being addressed may simply be anyone in search of wisdom. But more likely he is in the process of being integrated into the life and teachings of a specific Jewish movement (which at some point was related to the Qumran people) ... Perhaps Sapiential Work A was intended as a handbook for training leaders within a particular Jewish movement”; “Two Early Jewish Approaches to Wisdom”, 130-131 (note that Harrington uses the term ‘instructions’ different from us, as a general designation for the material contained in 4QInstruction).
such ‘wisdom teachings’. Further, biblical scholars assert that the literary genre wisdom instruction has its origins in the sapiential school, and this genre is prominent in the second stratum of 4QInstruction, the discourses. The ‘ear’ as an instrument of learning is characteristic of the educational sphere both in Egypt and biblical Israel, and the ‘ear’ is described as a medium for revelation and understanding in 4QInstruction. It is natural to compare this setting with the wisdom teacher Ben Sira, who was teaching in the first two decades of the second century. The differences vis-à-vis Sirach are illuminating: Ben Sira had his school in Jerusalem (Sirach 50:27; 51:23-28; 24:32-34). He knows other cultures (39:1-4) and is more influenced by Hellenistic traditions. His Jerusalem basis leads him to assign more importance to cult and temple (7:29-31; 24:10-11; 35:6-13; 45:6-25; 47:13; 49:12; 50:1-21). Authoritative teaching is the prerogative of the priests (38:24-39:9; 45:17-26). Ben Sira is sceptical to the nascent apocalyptic streams (those who would give birth to the Enochic books, Daniel 7-12 and the discourses of 4QInstruction), and warns against putting one’s trust in dreams and hidden mysteries (3:21-28; 34:1-8). Some of God’s secrets can be investigated (39:7; 43:32-33), they are related both to the Torah and the life experience of sages, and enables man to live wisely on earth.

While the wisdom admonitions of 4QInstruction are close to the horizon and world-view of Ben Sira, the discourses reveal a different, more apocalyptic world-view. 4QInstruction testifies to an intensive contact between circles involved in transmission of sapiential material and those engaged in apocalyptic speculations in the second century BCE.

Scholars usually locate important Israelite wisdom schools to Jerusalem. In contrast, 4QInstruction does not reflect any interest in Zion. Temple and priestly traditions are hardly mentioned. Neither Zion nor the temple figure in what is preserved of its end-time scenarios. The interest in the life of the farmer could point to rural

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48 McKane, Proverbs, 3-10, 19, 22-3; Murphy, Wisdom Literature, 50-53.
49 See N. Shupak, Where Can Wisdom Be Found?, 277-80, 350. The sentence הוזר סדרה (נילוד ממעשאה) tuberculosis “as He opened your ear (the ear of those who understand) to the mystery to come” occurs 6 times in 4QInstruction. See section 4.1.6, note 66.
51 Whether Ben Sira’s school had an affiliation with the Temple is unclear, though his positive view of and teachings about Temple worship, Torah, and the high priesthood suggest a close relationship between education and the priestly system: Perdue, Wisdom and Creation, 73.
52 Cf. Nickelsburg’s conclusion on wisdom circles and the origin of apocalypticism: “In the Greco-Roman period, the study of the Torah and the collection and study of prophetic oracles became a major occupation among ‘scribes’ and ‘the wise’. Although these persons worked with the vocabulary and conceptions of the prophetic tradition, they were interpreters of the Mosaic Torah and understood themselves to be heirs of the prophets... they were scholars and teachers... they also played the role of preachers... There was clearly a close relationship between these interpreters of the tradition and the ‘apocalypticists’, those who claimed that the new teaching they presented was revelation apart from the Torah and the prophets”: “Wisdom and Apocalypticism in Early Judaism”, 727-8. See further H.-P. Müller, “Magisch-mantische Weisheit und die Gestalt Daniels”, UF 1 (1969) 79-94; idem, “Mantische Weisheit und Apokalyptik”, Congress Volume: Uppsala 1971, Leiden 1972, 268-93. R. Argall (“Reflections on 1 Enoch and Sirach”) has demonstrated that Sirach and the circles behind 1 Enoch shared themes, forms, motifs, and vocabulary. There must have been contact between these milieus, even though they often arrived at conclusions different from each other.

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An Analysis of 4QInstruction

areas, not the Judean capital, for these lay circles. Alternatively we could think of non-priestly scribes from Jerusalem who interact with inhabitants both of Jerusalem and the surrounding regions. In contrast to Daniel 1-6, but similar to Daniel 7-12, a Judean, not a diaspora setting seems likely.

An alternative time of origin

We have argued that the discourses of 4QInstruction should be dated between the Epistle of Enoch and the main sectarian writings, and have tentatively suggested 160-130 BCE as time of origin for these discourses, and thus for 4QInstruction as a whole. This remains our primary view. We will, however, also venture another time period as possible time of origin for 4QInstruction: the first two decades of the second century BCE.

4QInstruction presupposes a community which saw itself as the remnant of Israel and nucleus of the restored people, the ‘eternal planting’. The Enochic Animal Apocalypse, written c.164 BCE,57 ascribes the period of the Greeks to 360/59 - 199/98 BCE, from the accession of Philip II of Macedonia to the conquest of Coele-Syria by Antiochus III. The latter date marks the appearance of a new, elect and righteous group (1 Enoch 90:5-8), a fold of lambs, which probably should be identified with a parent group of the yahad.58 The horn that appears after a lapse of time, by which the eyes of the sheep are opened (90:9-16) should probably be identified with the Righteous Teacher. If we follow the version of the Animal Apocalypse, the appearance of this pre-Essene group should be set to the first decade of the second century BCE.

Could 4QInstruction derive from such a pre-Essene group already in pre-Maccabean times? If such is the case, we would have to reverse our argument as to the dependence of 4QInstruction upon the Epistle of Enoch: it would be the latter that quotes 4QInstruction.59 With such an early dating of 4QInstruction, it becomes feasible that 4QInstruction knows other Enochic traditions only orally. Of the Enochic corpus only the Book of the Luminaries was finalized at this time, and the Book of Watchers was in its formation stage.

The lack of references to the persecution by Antiochus IV and the Maccabean crisis in 4QInstruction is easily explained by such a pre-Maccabean date. The affinities between the discourses of 4QInstruction and sectarian literature could be explained either through a literary dependence (the early sectarians would have used 4QInstruction as one of their inherited literary sources), or by an earlier dating of the Essene/yahad movement

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54 Also on this point 4QInstruction contrasts Ben Sira and his upper class urban background. See Wischmeyer, Die Kultur des Buches Jesus Sirach, 298.

55 A Galilean setting cannot be completely excluded, but Jewish population in Galilee was scarce until the time of John Hyrcanus. Some Enochic traditions have a Galilean background, see Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee”.


59 We have argued that the 2nd person plural form in the addresses of 4Q418 69, which is unusual within the framework of 4QInstruction, is inherited from similar addresses in the Epistle. If 4QInstruction was the earlier composition (to be quoted by the Epistle), this formal irregularity would be more difficult to explain.
than what is commonplace among most scholars. Such an early dating of the origins of the *yahad* has been advocated by Wacholder, Dimant and Kister.\(^{60}\)

The themes common to Daniel and 4QInstruction together with the lack of any literary dependence between these two writings could also be accounted for: the *maskilim* of the Hebrew portions of Daniel would be the same circles (or related ones) that produced 4QInstruction some time before they composed Daniel 7-12 in the midst of the Maccabean crisis. Such a dating would make 4QInstruction a contemporary of Ben Sira, and some parallels with Sirach (particularly in the wisdom admonitions) have indeed been demonstrated.

Finally, the reference to ‘the period of wickedness’ (4Q416 VII 11-12) would fit the picture drawn by the *Animal Apocalypse*, the *Apocalypse of Weeks* and 4QPseudo-Moses of a generation of apostasy just before the appearance of the group of righteous (?*Enoch* 90:2-8; 93:9-10; 4Q390 1:11; 2:6-7).\(^{61}\)

Although these arguments could point to such an early dating of 4QInstruction, we still see the middle of the second century as a more likely option. The following factors speak against a pre-Maccabean date: there is no criticism against gentile rulers (as in the *Animal Apocalypse*, the *Apocalypse of Weeks* and 4QPseudo-Moses). The concept of mystery in 4QInstruction is closer to the views of the *yahad* than to Daniel, which points to a date after 164 BCE. The many parallels in terminology and world-view between the discourses in 4QInstruction and sectarian writings point to the period between the Maccabean uprising and the crystallization of the *yahad*, which more probably should be set to the second half of the second century BCE.

### 5.2.2. Use by the *yahad*

It is clear that 4QInstruction was considered important by the *yahad*.\(^{62}\) Seven copies of 4QInstruction were found in Caves 1 and 4. Among presectarian works found in the Qumran caves this number is paralleled only by *Jubilees* (14 copies),\(^{63}\) 4QShirShabb (8 copies), and copies of the Enochic books (altogether 7 copies). One copy was stored in Cave 1, and only books considered important were hidden in this cave.\(^{64}\) The occurrences of scribal marks in two copies and the use of the Qumran system of orthography and morphology suggest that all seven copies of 4QInstruction were copied by ‘the Qumran scribal school’. On palaeographical grounds the copies can be dated to c.30 BCE - 30 CE (see section 6.1). The scrolls 4Q416 and probably also 4Q415 were rolled the less usual way, which indicates that they were in active reading use in Qumran by 68 CE. Thus, 4QInstruction was copied and used throughout the last century of the existence of the centre at Qumran.\(^{65}\)

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\(^{61}\)See Dimant, “New Light from Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha”, 442-3.

\(^{62}\)Strugnell remarks that 4QInstruction “might have obtained almost canonical status at Qumran”: “The Sapiential Work 4Q151f.”.


\(^{64}\)Stegemann, *Die Essener*, 89-90.

\(^{65}\)We are not convinced by de Vaux’s postulated ‘occupation gap’ of 25-30 years after the earthquake that hit Qumran 31 BCE (Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls, 20-24). The center was probably rebuilt after a few
As to concepts and ideas, we have demonstrated striking similarities between the world-view of 4QInstruction and that of the yahad. Whether its origins are placed in the beginning or middle of the second century BCE, 4QInstruction seems to have exercised considerable influence on the framing of sectarian thought and terminology, especially with regard to Essene theology relating to eschatology, the remnant community, and revelation of God’s wisdom to the elect.

According to our analysis, 4QInstruction represents a bridge between the apocalyptic Enoch literature and the clearly defined sectarian community. This means that Stegemann’s assertion that in the early Essene community eschatology was of secondary importance compared with Torah observance, can hardly be sustained. The evidence of 4QInstruction rather supports the position held by Licht, Cross and Hengel, that the Dead Sea Community developed from apocalyptic circles in second century Judaism.

The lack of connections between 4QInstruction on the one hand, and MMT and priestly sectarian traditions on the other, indicates that the sectarian movement represents a merger between two different groups: a lay community which fostered the apocalyptic and dualistic traditions of 1 Enoch and 4QInstruction, and a priestly group which brought with it Zadokite temple traditions and the wish to structure hierarchically the new community.

We have demonstrated that 4QInstruction was read in the yahad throughout its existence and influenced the framing of sectarian concepts. But did the yahad and the Essene movement at large primarily read it as a document of the past - a book that was dear to their ‘fathers’, or did the book have a Sitz im Leben outside the library shelves in these stages of its transmission history? We do not know the answers to these questions, but the large number of copies from the Herodian period point to an active use of 4QInstruction in the yahad. The wisdom admonitions could have been used for didactic purposes in Essene ‘camps’ throughout Judea: Essenes in various occupations would receive guidelines for behaviour in society and family. At the same time, the discourses perhaps provided assurance that the end was approaching: the elect, to whom God’s mysteries have been revealed, can look forward to their recompensation and to the end-time inheriting of the land. There are close affinities between the discourses and the later synagogal liturgies for Rosh Hashanah (the Day of Remembrance) and Yom Kippur. This common tradition suggests that the discourses preserve liturgical and didactic material connected to these festivals in wider Jewish circles from the second century BCE onwards, including Essene groups and the men of the yahad.

We conclude that 4QInstruction provides information about wisdom instruction in Judea during the third and second centuries BCE. It preserves material from early Jewish liturgical practice, and reflects the development of a parent group of the Essene/yahad movement around the middle of the second century. The presence of this


66 „Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde”, 523. Similarly, the evidence from 4QInstruction does not support Davies’ assertion that cosmic dualism became sectarian theology only after the death of the Teacher. See section 4.4, note 11.

composite book in the Qumran 'library' demonstrates that there was a close connection between the *yahad* and wider Essene circles in Judea.
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

6.1. Palaeography, orthography, and scribal marks

**Palaeography**

Five of the copies represent early Herodian scripts (50-1 BCE), while two, 1Q26 and 4Q423, are middle Herodian (1-30 CE).

4Q416 is the earliest preserved copy of 4QInstruction. Strugnell remarks that the script of 4Q416 is a book hand to be placed between 4QSama (a transitional late Hasmonean/early Herodian hand, 50-25 BCE) and 1QM (early Herodian, 30-1 BCE).\(^1\)

The script of 4Q417 is an early Herodian formal hand, similar to the script of 1QM, from the last part of the first century BCE.

The early Herodian formal hands of 4Q415, 4Q418a and 4Q418b are close to each other and should be dated around the turn of the era. A. Yardeni remarks (personal communication) that the script of 4Q415 is very similar to that of 4QDF, which on paleographical grounds is dated to the early first century CE, and that the open samek of 4Q415 could place this script a little before 4QDF. Also 4Q414, the verso of 4Q415, is an early Herodian script.\(^2\)

Strugnell remarks that the formal hand of 4Q423 is difficult to date. He places it somewhere in the period 30 BCE - 50 CE. The forms of yod (with a large triangular head), ayin and tet pull the script towards the end of this period, while bet (with the lower stroke written from right to left) is closer to early Herodian scripts. A date around the turn of the era or in the early first century CE seems preferable.

1Q26 is a middle Herodian rustic semiformal. The lower stroke of bet is written from left to right, a characteristic of later hands.

**Orthography**

The so-called Qumran practice of orthography and morphology\(^3\) is represented in all the copies of 4QInstruction. Some differences can be discerned. The earliest copy, 4Q416, and one of the two latest, 4Q423, have a preference for shorter, more Masoretic forms.

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2Pfann's observation that 4Q414 employs cryptic ayin as a scribal mark probably indicates that 4Q415 is the second stage of use of this scroll, and moves the copying of 4Q415 to the end of the first century BCE. See ch. 2, note 50.

The evidence of 1Q27 is scarce. The 2nd person sing. masc. suffix is כו.ֹ occurs in the longer form.

4Q415 regularly uses the Qumranic form of the 3rd person pronoun, כו.ֹ and כו.ֹ. The form כו.ֹ (11 11) is Qumranic. כו.ֹ and כו.ֹ are written in the long form (2 i 8 corrects the form כו.ֹ to כו.ֹ with a supralinear waw), as is כו.ֹ (11 4). כו.ֹ is the norm (the shorter form כו.ֹ occurs in 11 4). The pronominal suffix of the 2nd person sing. masc. is כו.ֹ, of the 3rd person plur. כו.ֹ and כו.ֹ.

4Q416 has a tendency towards shorter forms. We regularly find the Masoretic form of the 3rd person pronoun, כו.ֹ (ככ occurs one, VI 17; ככ is usually written defectively (ככ occurs twice). The shorter form ככ is used without exception, ככ is the rule (twice corrected to ככ, and further ככ, ככ, V 20). For Masoretic ככ we find the form ככ "head" is twice corrected to ככ (V 6, 11). The pronominal suffix of the 2nd person sing. masc. suffix is ככ - (ככ occurs twice), of the 3rd person plur. ככ and ככ. In 4Q416 VI 13 medial pe occurs in final position. Prima/media letters in final positions are one of the characteristics of the Qumran scribal school, but we have not been able to note more instances of such usage.

In 4Q417 we find the form ככ ככ (1x) for Masoretic ככ, as in 4Q415. The form ככ for 'origin' (IX 16) is Qumranic. We find the longer forms ככ ככ (1x) and ככ ככ (ככ occurs twice, III 22; 12 4). The scribe alternates between ככ (12x) and ככ (6x). The pronominal suffix of the 2nd person sing. masc. suffix is ככ - of the 3rd person plur. ככ and ככ.

In 4Q418a we find the forms ככ ככ (1x), ככ ככ (2x), ככ ככ (2x) and further ככ ככ. The shorter forms ככ (1x) and ככ (2x) are used. For 'head', 'origin' we find ככ ככ and ככ (each form is found once). 4Q418a alternates between ככ ככ and ככ, often in the same fragment. The longer form ככ is the usual one (41x), but ככ does occur (6x). ככ ככ is the norm, but ככ occurs thrice. The pronominal suffix of the 2nd person sing. masc. suffix is ככ - (an exception is 33 3 ככ occurs twice), of the 3rd person plur. ככ and ככ.

The evidence of 4Q418b is scarce, but points to a consistent use of the longer forms ככ ככ, ככ and ככ. 4Q423 has a preference for the shorter forms. ככ is usually written defectively (written plene in 5 8 and probably 3 5; 24 3). ככ is usually written defectively (ככ in 7 6, cf. ככ, ככ, 1 1). We find ככ and not ככ. The pronominal suffix of the 2nd person sing. suffix is ככ - and of the 2nd person plural ככ ככ. ככ is written in the short form. The form ככ ככ (5 2) is Qumranic, as is the verbal form ככ ככ (9 2).

Scribal marks and features

Two copies of 4QInstruction, 4Q417 and 4Q418a, reveal a few cases of scribal marks. According to Tov and Pfann, the use of scribal marks is a feature of the 'Qumran Scribal School'. Scribal marks in a particular scroll therefore point either to a sectarian origin of the composition, or to copying of the manuscript in the commune at Qumran or milieus related to it.

School'; "Letters of the Cryptic A Script and Paleo-Hebrew Letters Used as Scribal Marks in Some Qumran Scrolls".

*4"The Qumran Scribal School", 143.

In a few cases one can discern some scribal marks in a column margin: a small fragment from 4Q418a on top of PAM 43.480 (inv. no 489) shows a scribal sign in the left margin. The sign is similar to a šin. It probably represents a paleo-Hebrew šalep, waw or kap.6 A horizontal line in the margin - a paragraphos - [either relating to the column on the right or to the (lost) text on the left] is seen on 4Q418 206 (PAM 43.474, inv. no 498).7

An X (paleo-Hebrew taw ?) is found in the margin (probably in the right margin) of 4Q417 4 (PAM 42.581). A similar mark occurs a number of times in 1QpHab, where it is located on the vertical ruling line on the left side of a column. E. Tov explains a circle in the right margin of 4Q417 23 as Cryptic A kap.8

The correction procedures in a given manuscript can be an indication of the provenance of the scroll. Tov has noted that the use of cancellation dots is typical of the Qumran scribal school, but not exclusive to it; he has registered such practice in 41 scrolls written in Qumranic orthography, but also in 8 other scrolls.9 Additional letters or words are added supralinearly in all copies of 4QInstruction. 4Q418a uses a supralinear dot above the letter to be cancelled, usually combined with erasure of the letter with a sharp instrument. We suggest that this double procedure was done in two stages: 4Q418 9 20 (אַשָּלְמָל corrected to אַשָּלְמָל, PAM 43.487), 4Q418 69 ii 9 (כְּפֶּרֶש corrected to כְּפֶּרֶש, PAM 43.480), 4Q418 76 2 (שָׁכַר corrected to שָׁכַר, PAM 43.480), 4Q418 81 8 (בֶּשְׂרָכ corrected to בֶּשְׂרָכ, PAM 43.479), 4Q418 88 5 (כְּפֶּרֶש corrected to כְּפֶּרֶש, PAM 43.479), 4Q418 102 3 (כְּפֶּרֶש corrected to כְּפֶּרֶש, PAM 43.479), 4Q418 126 13 (כְּפֶּרֶש corrected to כְּפֶּרֶש, PAM 43.479), 4Q418 158 5 (כְּפֶּרֶש corrected to כְּפֶּרֶש, PAM 43.486), 4Q418 174 1 (כְּפֶּרֶש corrected to כְּפֶּרֶש, PAM 43.472). A complete line is erased in 4Q418 9 12 due to dittography of this line (PAM 43.487). Correction by erasure without a cancellation dot occurs in 4Q418 69 ii 12 (כְּפֶּרֶש corrected to כְּפֶּרֶש, PAM 43.480), 4Q418 81 6 (כְּפֶּרֶש corrected to כְּפֶּרֶש).

4Q15 2 ii 2 corrects לָמַד to לָמַד with a supralinear dot without erasure. 4Q147 uses erasure without cancellation dots. Some examples: in 4Q147 5 the words יַתִּב שָׁלָמ are erased due to dittography. 4Q147 IX 16 corrects יַתִּב to יַתִּב, and 4Q147 IX 18 יַתִּב to יַתִּב. In 4Q423 8 4 (= 4Q418 81 5) the first scribe by error wrote בַּל for בַּל, later this was corrected to בַּל (without any cancellation dot above the first kap).

On a few of the 4Q418 fragments guide dots were placed near the edge of the sheet as a basis for the ruling lines: 4Q418 204 (PAM 43.472); 4Q418 9 (PAM 43.487); 4Q418 190 (PAM 43.472).

The occurrences of scribal marks in two of these scrolls and the use of the Qumran system of orthography and morphology in all seven copies indicate that these scrolls were copied within the ‘Qumran Scribal School’, most likely by scribes of the commune at Qumran.

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6 A somewhat similar mark occurs in 4Q163 (4Qplsa) 4-7 ii 18, where ii, according to Tov, introduces a scriptural quotation; another one occurs in the top margin of MasSir V.
7 This form of paragraphos is common in 1QIsa.
8 Scribal Markings in the Texts from the Judean Desert”, 59.
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

6.2.1. An edition of the major fragments in accordance with their reconstructed sequence

6.2 contains an edition of a representative selection of 4QInstruction. In this section, 6.2.1, we present four consecutive columns of wisdom admonitions as well as four discourses, each one approximately one column in length (some aspects of these discourses have been discussed in sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3). Some minor fragments are presented both in 6.2.1 and 6.2.2. Some fragments of medium size and most of the minor fragments of 4QInstruction are not presented here, such as most of the 300 fragments of 4Q418a.

In accord with the sequence of most of the larger and some smaller fragments suggested in ch. 2, the fragments are edited here, so that the progression of thought in the composition can be followed. As in the survey of contents in 2.2.3, the texts are presented according to their supposed location in 4Q416. Some fragments of 4Q423 whose location in the composition is unknown will be presented in section 6.2.2.

4Q417 III-IV, 4Q416 III-VI (4Q417 1 i - ii/ 4Q416 2 i - iv)10

The combination of these two overlapping fragments provides us with the longest extant text unit of 4QInstruction, amounting to c. four columns. The same text is partly preserved in remnants of four columns from 4Q418; 4Q418 frgs. 7, 8, 9 and 10. The text consists of wisdom admonitions, interspersed with some exhortations which deal with the hope of the elect.

Short survey of the contents of these four columns:

4Q417 III 1-6. An argument with a neighbour, contrasted with a reference to God’s sovereignty.
III 7-8. Separate from the ungodly.
III 8-12. Study God’s mysteries, reflect on your eschatological hope.
III 17-21. God provides for your daily needs.
III 21-27. Repay your loans as soon as possible.
4Q416 III 21 - IV 3. God provides sustenance for man and every other living being.
IV 3-18. Business ethics; surety, relation to superiors and subordinates.
IV 18 - V 3. Live a decent and humble life without luxury.
V 3-6. Restore a deposit in full.
V 6-8. The hope of the righteous through death.
V 8-15. Study God’s mysteries and praise His name.

10In the text edition overlapping of the main text with other fragments is indicated by underlining or boldface type in the transcription, and by underlining in the translation. Clear allusions to biblical verses are indicated by italic typeface in the translation.
Mus. Inv. 331
PAM 42.602, 43.222, 43.516*, 43.517
Ll. 6-14 = 4Q416 2 i 1-8; II. 23-28 = 4Q416 2 i 16-20 (underlined).
Ll. 11-12 = 4Q418 202 ? (bold typeface).
Ll. 12-16 = inv. no. 511 18 1-8; II. 23-28 = 4Q416 2 i 16-20 (underlined).
Ll. 11-12 = 4Q418 202 ? (bold typeface).
Ll. 12-16 = inv. no. 511 18 1-4 (4Q418b, bold typeface).
Ll. 11-12 = 4Q418 202 ? (bold typeface).

Our reconstructions in lines 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21 and 25 are not found in the PC.

1 top margin

[ḥalal ut ṭif šomera veḥor yere de ma mit]
[baloy ṭawza ṭalma neve ṭalma ṭalma]
[ḥalal ut ṭif šomera veḥor yere de ma mit]
[ḥalal ut ṭif šomera veḥor yere de ma mit]
[ḥalal ut ṭif šomera veḥor yere de ma mit]
[ḥalal ut ṭif šomera veḥor yere de ma mit]
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[ḥalal ut ṭif šomera veḥor yere de ma mit]
[ḥalal ut ṭif šomera veḥor yere de ma mit]

11Col. II of 4Q416 is not preserved. The text of the first five lines of 4Q417 III would have been located in the last five lines of 4Q416 II.

12The lines of 4Q418 frgs. 7-10 are numbered according to their location on the original scroll, which is reconstructed with 20 lines per column, see section 2.1.2.2 and plate 5. Wacholder/Abegg’s enumeration (pp. 79-82) differs from ours: Frg. 7, lines 3-4, 7-20 = Wacholder/Abegg, frg. 7, lines 1-2, 5-16 and frg. 8, lines 1-2; frg. 8, lines 1-12 = Wacholder/Abegg frg. 8, lines 3-14; frg. 9, lines 3-20 = Wacholder/Abegg, lines 1-18; frg. 10, lines 1-2, 5-11 = Wacholder/Abegg lines 1-2, 4-10.

13Emendation. The scribe wrote יִּהְיָה.
NOTES ON READINGS

L. 2. יט במת. Scribal error for "תבשת".

L. 4. ל"ב. Eisenman/Wise read "be not proud because of your transgressions". 14

L. 7. יפ. Or: ק"א יפ.

L. 9. ק"ד. Eisenman/Wise read the third letter as ח and translate "don’t go very far along by yourself". The he is clear in the microscope. For the reconstruction, cf. Ps 138:3 וע"ב "make me proud".

L. 9. There is a hole in the leather just below the vacat. If the hole was there at the time of copying, this might be the reason for the vacat. Alternatively the leather may have been left uninscribed because of uneven surface.

L. 10. ידעת. Note the defective spelling which is unusual in 4Q147, cf. ח"ב in line 21. Contrast the spelling of 4Q146 III 5.

L. 11. לא ? תב. Or: ק"א לא תב. For the reconstruction of the lacuna, see comments below.

L. 11-12. 4Q148 202 possibly preserves parts of lines 11-12 with a small variation. It reads

לעה תב לעה תב

The reading ק"ד in 4Q147 III 12 is to be preferred. Interchange between the letters ח"יס and חח is known from many sources such as 1QIsa. 15


L. 13. יא. Or: ק"א יא. Eisenman/Wise read ה"ב יא 'young girls', a reading which cannot be sustained, since the third letter of this word is ח or חוד.


L. 14. ותב פ"א. The PC reads ותב פ"א. Inv. no. 51118 (4Q148b) has a variant reading in this line: כו"א ותב פ"א.

L. 16. שれ ע"ב. 4Q148 7 4 reads a nominal sentence עבר ורשע יסם ויהי. The reading of 4Q17 with three parallel verbal sentences which express man’s unworthiness in the judgement of God, seems more logical. Both ותב פ"א and ור"ב give sense, the singular ותב פ"א is preferable.

L. 17. הפקרת ח"א. The left leg of a תב, ח"א, 'ayin or sade is preserved before the 'alep.

L. 19. "[His] storehouse". Or: ח"א תב. "[your] storehouse".

L. 20-21. יתב פ"א. Or: ח"א יתב פ"א "let your life be distressed". Less probable: דב香水 vac [א]"א. 4Q148 7 8 preserves יתב פ"א, without any vacat between יתב פ"א and ח"א. The PC reads יתב פ"א. The last letter before the lacuna looks more like a פ than a ח or ח"א. The vacat in the beginning of line 21 must be due to the uneven surface of the leather at this point.

14Eisenman/Wise, 244-54, provide transcriptions and translations of the larger fragments of 4Q416/417/418.

151QIsa 37:30 has דב香水 for TM דב香水: Kutscher, Isaiah Scroll, 507; cf. Qimron, DJD X, 69.
L. 23. תט. 4Q418 7:10 has תט.
L. 24. תטט. 4Q418 7:19 reads תטט, which must be a scribal error.
L. 27. תטט, 4Q418 7:15 reads תטט. The reading of 4Q417 is preferable.
L. 28. התב. The PC reads התב. 4Q418 7:16 preserves התב, of the first letter only a trace of the left leg is preserved, which can be from an ‘ayin or tav. 4Q416 III 20 also preserves התב, but the partly preserved first letter cannot be an ‘ayin, but it can well be a tav.

For the text of 4Q417 IV (4Q417 1 ii), see the more complete version below, in the parallel text 4Q416 III 20-21 and 4Q416 IV 1-21.

TRANSLATION

1. [al]ways, lest he tires of you. According to his spirit speak to him, lest...
2. without reproaching the appropriate one. Forgive him, and what is bound...
3. Also, do not confuse his spirit, for silently did you speak...
4. and quickly take account of his rebuke. Do not overlook your transgressions, [for He can give your neighbour(?)]
5. right as much as you. For He [for He] is a prince among princes in everything(?)
6. He does. For how is He unique in every deed, so that He not...
7. Do not consider an ungodly man a helper, and there will be nobody who hates...
8. the iniquity of his deeds together with its visitation. And know how to relate to him [...]. The teaching of God(?)]
9. do not remove from your heart. [Your soul] be not proud about yourself in your lowly estate.
10. for what is more insignificant than a poor man? Do not rejoice when you are in grief, lest you suffer in your life [Gaze upon the mystery]
11. to come, study the birth-times of salvation and know who will inherit glory and [who] corruption. Will it not be[g]arland for the poor ones(?)
12. and eternal joy for their sorrow? Be a tough adversary in your business matters, and there is nobody who[
13. for any crooked matters of yours. Speak your judgements like a righteous ruler. Do not receive...
14. and do not overlook your [transgressions. In a legal quarrel be like a humble man,[ and the judgement you shall(?)]
15. receive. Then God will appear. His anger will subside and He will overlook your sin. [For before His wrath...
16. nobody can stand, and who can be deemed righteous in His judgement, and how can the poor one [rise] without forgiveness?
17. As for you, if you lack food, [He will give you!] what you need and even a surplus,[ and] you will [also] have surplus of produce to the harbour of His desire. Receive your portion from Him, and do not add thereto...
18. If you are in need, borrow what you require, but not in money, for [His] storehouse will not be lacking. [Upon]
19. His word everything will happen, so eat what He gives you, but not any more, lest you shorten(?)
20. your life. If men lend you riches when you are in need, do not sleep...
21. day or night, and do not let your soul rest [until] you have paid back to y[our lender. Do not lie...
22. to him, lest you bear guilt, and also from shame you would not escape. And do not entrust anything more...
23. to his neighbour, so that he might close his hand when you are in need. Your strength[ and lend out like he did, and know [your lender.]
24. If affliction befalls you, [your storehouse lacking(?), and you be in debt, do not hide from your lender.]
25. lest he reveal your shame [and the rich man(?) will have power over him, and then]
26. he will not smite him with a rod [nine, but no more.]
27. Furthermore, [when] you [and you will eat bread]

COMMENTS

4Q417 III contains wisdom admonitions about man’s relation to his neighbour, to property and loans. The text of this column also recommends a humble attitude towards God. The references to God in lines 5-6 and 15-
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

17, mainly in the form of rhetorical questions, cannot be categorized as admonitions. The admonitions are phrased in the imperative (lines 1, 2, 4, 8, 10, 11 (2x), 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24 (2x)), vetitive (lines 4, 7, 9 (2x), 10, 13, 14, 18, 20, 21, 22 (2x), 25), and prohibitive (lines 3, 23). Conditional sentences are introduced by ל or כ (lines 17, 19, 21, 25), and negative clauses of result by ב (lines 1 (2x), 10, 2, 26). כ is used as a minor divide in lines 3, 7, 17, and 23. Lines 6, 10-12, and 16-17 contain rhetorical questions, a stylistic means often used in 4QInstruction.

The structure of the text can be outlined as following:

Lines 1-6 deal with a controversy with a neighbour or superior. God’s mercy and sovereignty gives perspective to the relation to one’s neighbour.

Lines 7-8 urge separation from the ungodly.

Lines 8-10 recommend a humble and sober attitude.

Lines 10-12 urge the addressee to study God’s mysteries and be comforted by the eschatological hope of the righteous.

Lines 12-14 mention an argument about business matters. Line 13 admonishes to give one’s opinion with authority.

Lines 15-17 contain a Niedrigkeitstdoxologie, which contrasts God’s might with the humble state of man. The doxology is introduced by a reference to God’s end-time appearance.

Lines 17-21 deal with one’s daily needs and God’s providing for them.

Lines 21-27 deal with loans and the need to repay them as soon as possible.

There is no obvious logical connection between the different paragraphs of this column. Lines 5-6, 10-12 and 15-17 focus on the vertical dimension - God’s might and His relation to men; the admonitions deal with the horizontal level - man’s relation to his neighbour. The exhortation to study the end-time mysteries (lines 10-12) gives advice of a different kind than the admonitions, and do not include the motive clause characteristic of the admonition. The transition to the following admonition is strikingly abrupt: “Will it not be ... eternal joy for their sorrow? Be a tough adversary in business matters...” Similarly the Niedrigkeitstdoxologie stands formally apart from the admonitions and shows no links in its contents with the preceding or the subsequent admonition. A possible catchword connection is the word רז, which occurs in the doxology as well as the preceding admonition. We conclude that the exhortation of lines 10-12 as well as the Niedrigkeitstdoxologie of lines 15-17 must have been editorially inserted into the admonitions.

Some tensions can also be observed within the admonitions. Lines 1-6 and 12-14 presuppose active business relations with others which might cause disagreements. In contrast, the admonition to separate from the ungodly (lines 7-8) seems to presuppose a more restrictive attitude to outsiders. Lines 1-8, 12-13, and 19-27 deal with relations to others in financial, legal and business matters. Interspersed with these passages are admonitions on a humble and sober attitude (lines 9-16) and God’s providing for one’s needs (lines 17-21), the latter passage is conflated with the admonition on loans and repayment (lines 19-27). A humble and right attitude towards God and fellow man might be a unifying theme for the text of this column. It seems that previously independent material was combined into the present text.
4Q17.1-6. An argument with a neighbour. God is the Sovereign over each one.

(1-6) Lines 1-6 preserve the continuation of a passage dealing with the relation to one’s neighbour (or superior) which started in the missing col. II. In an argument or conflict one should demonstrate humility, show the other respect, listen to him, and take notice of his rebuke. To remember the sovereign and merciful God gives perspective to one’s relation to a neighbour (lines 5-6). For the subject matter, cf. Ahiqar saying 54 “With one who is more exalted than yourself do not pick a quarrel”; Pfingsinger 3.11 “Do not be free in speaking when a superior listens to your word”; 4.2-3 “Do not hasten to seek a quarrel with a powerful ruler. He who thrusts his [chest] at the spear will be strick by it”.

(1) We lack the beginning of the sentence, which would have started at the end of the preceding column. Preserved is the middle of an admonition always to keep a correct relationship to the other (the person must have been identified in the preceding line). One should speak to him in the same spirit as he shows.

(1) Probably a Qal of הָרֵץ ‘lest he tires of you’, ‘lest he be filled up with you’, cf. Prov 25:17: "The man who endures suffering and tests the heart of a man is a merciful God. Seldom set foot in your neighbour’s house, lest he get filled up with you and despise you". Less probable is a defectively spelled Hip’l impf. with the meaning ‘let another swear’ or ‘adjure’, as in 1 Kgs 22:16 (which also has the accusative suffix, מַסְבִּיתוּ). The form הָרֵץ must be a Hip’l infinitive of הָרֵץ, probably with the meaning ‘reproaching’, cf. a similar saying in Sir 19:7: “Do not repeat gossip, then no one will reproach you”. The Aramaic noun חָיָם ‘fitness’, ‘propriety’, occurs twice in 4QInstruction, 4Q17 IX 13 and 4Q418 77:2: “Understand the origins of man and perceive the fitnesses”. However, in this text חָיָם is used as an adjective, cf. Est 8:5, where the Aramaic חָיָם has the meaning ‘be proper’. The word is used with the same meaning in Tob 3:10: “for me it would not be proper to hang myself” (4QToh 1 ii 3).

(2) This word should be understood as an imperative, ‘overlook it for him’, ‘forgive him’, cf. Am 7:8; 8:2: “do not trouble me with my offenses; line 15 of 4QToh 1 ii 3.

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16With the Syriac text. See J.T. Sanders, Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom, 66.
201

(2) Under READINGS we argue that itopni is a scribal error for itDpni, as it is difficult to propose any logical meaning for p)ifl and itD as separate words. itDpni is *Nipʽal* participle of itD with the meaning ‘be bound up’, ‘be connected’.

(3) The message of this line is to speak decently and respect the other.

(3) If this verb is taken as הָעִבְּדֵה, it can be *Qal* (‘swallow up’) or *Pi’el* (‘engulf’, ‘destroy’). Better meaning gives the *Pi’el* of **מָלֵל** ‘confuse’: “do not confuse his spirit”.

(3) The word 액 indicates that this sentence contains the motive clause connected to the preceding admonition; “for silently did you speak”.

(4-6) You shall receive your neighbour’s reproach and be aware of your own shortcomings: also you are a sinner in need of God’s forgiveness. God is sovereign, He can forgive your neighbour as He forgives you.

(4) ‘count’ probably appears in the secondary meaning ‘carefully observe’, ‘take account of’, cf. the phrase *אֶזֶר חָּדוּשׁ* of Ps 45:2.

(4) The sentence “Do not overlook your transgressions” is parallel to “and quickly take account of his rebuke”: when rebuked the addressee should acknowledge his own faults. The expression **כְּלָלָה** recurs in line 14, perhaps in a context of a legal quarrel.

(4-5) The word הא GOODMAN occurs thrice in lines 5-6 must refer to God. The emphasised *אֶזֶר* at the end of the sentence points to God as the subject, not the neighbour. Further, the statement *כְּלָלָה* which occurs three times in lines 4-5 can hardly fit the neighbour. We propose that the end of line 4 contained a phrase like **כְּלָלָה** and translate “[for He can give your neighbour?] right as much as you”.

Materially *פָּרָשַׁה* can be *Qal* or *Pi’el*. Since the subject must be God, we understand it as a *Pi’el* with the meaning ‘give right’, ‘see righteous’ (for a similar use of *פָּרָשַׁה* *Pi’el*, cf. Hi 32:2; 33:32), although we would have expected the *Hiph’il* *פָּרָשַׁה*. If our reconstruction and understanding of lines 4-5 are correct, one might perceive some tension between the assertion of the admonition that God can give the neighbour right as much as the addressee, and the discourses of 4QInstruction that discern sharply between the elect addressee and the ungodly (see 4Q418 81 1-2 (with comments in section 4.3.2); 4Q418 69 ii 6-14; 4Q423 5 8). This contradiction could be absolved by asserting that the neighbour of lines 1-5 would be another member of the community: if you have a disagreement with another who also belongs to the community, he is no less righteous in God’s eyes than you are.

(5-6) For He is a prince among princes in everything He does”. This is a statement about God in the midst of the heavenly council. For **כְּלָלָה** in the word *כְּלָלָה* of Ps 82:1, cf. Ps 82:1 11 **כְּלָלָה** אֲלֹהִים. A similar statement is preserved in 4Q418 140 4 **כְּלָלָה** and then you shall know Him who is a prince among princes”.

17 Cf. the occasional use of אֲלֹהִי in sectarian literature as a substitution for the Tetragrammaton: CD IX 5 (= 4Q270 6 iii 19) renders **כְּלָלָה** אֲלֹהִים (Nah 1:2) with **כְּלָלָה** אֲלֹהִים, and 1QS VIII 13 renders **כְּלָלָה** אֲלֹהִים (Isa 30:3) with **כְּלָלָה** אֲלֹהִים. See H-J. Fabry, “אֲלֹהִי”, *TDOT* 3, 345.

18 4Q525 (4QBeat) 14 ii 25, in contrast, uses **כְּלָלָה** about a forum where men discuss their disagreements; **כְּלָלָה** אֲלֹהִים (Isa 30:3) “with great patience bring them out, among princes give a right answer”.

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6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction
the same meaning as קבמ 'among'. This statement emphasises God’s sovereignty: only He decides whom He will forgive. He is supreme in all He does.

(6) This is another assertion of God’s sovereignty. המהש is used in the meaning ‘deed’, not ‘creature’, cf. the use of התש in the preceding sentence. Also the sentence starting with הבש probably referred to the uniqueness of God (the lacuna after הבש has a width of c.12 ls).

4Q417 III 7-8. Separation from the ungodly.

(7-8) Lines 7-8 exhort to separate from the ungodly man and not be influenced by his wickedness. The wise man should know how to relate to the wicked. This is a common theme in early sapiential traditions, see e.g. Prov 4:14. The discourses of 4QInstruction contain similar admonitions; 4Q418 81 2 “separate from everyone He hates and keep apart from all abominations of the spirit”. For the subject matter, c.f. e.g. 1QS 14, 10-11.

(7) Cf. Prov 29:27 “The unjust man is an abomination to the righteous”. יר should be understood as the noun יר. The participle יר would have been spelled defectively by this scribe, c.f. the spelling יר (line 11).

(7-8) The reading יר is tentative. For the missing part of this line 4Q416 III 2 preserves the letters יר, or יר, which could belong to a word such as יר or יר. יר introduces a subordinate sentence describing accompanying conditions, as in line 12. The lacuna (c.13 ls) probably contained one more word. This admonition probably warned the addressee against being influenced or harmed by the other’s iniquity.

The suffix of יר either relates to יר or to the ungodly person described in the previous line. יר probably has the meaning ‘visitation’ (i.e. punishment) as in 4Q417 IX 9.

4Q417 III 8-12. Study God’s mysteries, reflect on your eschatological hope!

(8-12) Lines 8-12 deal with one’s relation to God. One should heed His instruction and be aware of one’s lowly estate. In a period of grief one should behave decently and not allow unfitting outbursts of joy. One should study God’s mysteries and remember the eschatological perspective. In contrast to that of the ungodly, the hope of the elect is eternal glory.

(8-9) According to this tentative reconstruction, a reminder of the teaching of God introduced this section.

(9-10) Do not elevate yourself; remember that you are poor and insignificant. Joy does not go together with grief.

(10) אפרע] Here in the meaning ‘insignificant’, as in Ps 119:141. Line 10 starts with a rhetorical question like lines 16-17.

(10-12) Exhortations on ‘the mystery to come’ and the eschatological destinies of men are here interspersed with the surrounding wisdom admonitions. The elect shall meditate on the mysteries of salvation and history. They are assured of the glorious portion which awaits them.

(10-11) For המהתי ‘the mystery to come’, see section 4.1.6. Sentences like המהתי, המהתי, המהתי, המהתי, are found in 4Q416 V 14; 4Q417 IX 5, 8, 20; X 4-5.
the secrets about the and thereby you will know who will inherit glory (namely, the elect) and who will inherit corruption (namely, the sons of the pit). Similar passages that urge the man of understanding to meditate upon God’s mysteries and thereby gain knowledge are found in 4Q416 V 12-15 and 4Q417 II 4-10.

The reconstructed text elaborates on Isa 61:3: "Will not [garland be given for their ashes] and eternal joy for their sorrows?" However, it is now realized that the lacuna is too short for this reconstruction. A shorter reconstruction is called for: "Will it not be [garland for the poor ones] and eternal joy for their sorrows?" This is a rhetorical question, a common stylistic means in 4QInstruction.

The message is thus: when you study God’s mysterious plan of redemption you will understand the pangs of salvation - the secrets about the endtime - and thereby you will know who will inherit glory (namely, the elect) and who will inherit corruption (namely, the sons of the pit). Similar passages that urge the man of understanding to meditate upon God’s mysteries and thereby gain knowledge are found in 4Q416 V 12-15 and 4Q417 II 4-10.

An argument about business matters.

Lines 12 - 13 deal with disagreements in business matters, i.e., with giving one’s opinion with an air of authority (line 13).

The scribe of 4Q417 did not distinguish clearly between waw and yod. But in the main clause of an admonition the imperative מ לה fits better than the perfect מלה in line 14 the same construction appears with the imperative מלה. Only with a preceding מ will the perfect מלה yield a good meaning “if there be an adversary in your business matters”. This text used the imperative form מלה of Mishnaic Hebrew, and not מלה.
of Biblical Hebrew or some of QM XV 7. (Hebrew).

4Q147 III 14-17. Man’s humble state contrasted with God’s might.

(14-17) These lines describe man’s humble state in relation to God. The addressee is reminded of his sins and God’s might and judgement. A reference to God’s end-time appearance and his willingness to forgive sins (line 15) is followed by three parallel verbal sentences which express man’s unworthiness in the judgement of God (the two last ones are rhetorical questions): “... For before His wrath nobody can stand - and who can be deemed righteous in His judgement - and how can the poor one [rise] without forgiveness?” These lines represent a Niedrigkeitsdoxologie, a development of the biblical Gerichtsdoxologie (see section 3.1). A Niedrigkeits-
doxologie usually incorporates rhetorical questions starting with "who, or, he, and often employs the root זméd, ‘be righteous’. 27

(14) The meaning of דע here is ‘humble’ (rather than ‘poor’), a meaning often found in the biblical psalms.

(15) דע might have been preceded by a word like בֹּדֶה, ‘his reproof’.

(15, 16) God’s forgiving the sins of man is mentioned in both lines. This topic is treated elaborately in many of the Hodayot. פָּרַע ‘forgiveness’ is also mentioned in two sapiential hymns (IQP VII 26-33; XI 3-14) which provide many parallels with 4QInstruction; they refer to a community of the elect and to salvation through purification: 18 IQP VII 17-18 - לַעֲבֹדַה וְאֶת הָעָבָדָה מַסְוַעַת קְפָסַּת מַעַזָּה (‘for evil, for you no creature is in the flesh”) and who can endure to stand before His reproof. Cf. also Am 7:2, 5.

(16) מָעַת קְפָסַת מַעַזָּה. This verse from Nahum deals with the Lord’s anger toward his enemies, while 4QInstruction refers to man’s sinfulness in general: also the elect is guilty before God, and his only hope is that God will forgive his sin. The same thought is expressed in IQP XII 28 - מִצְצֵי לְפָנֵי אִם מָכָה בּוֹ. For Hebrew in this context, cf. Mic 7:18; Am 7:8; 8:2.

(15-16) This is a free rendering of Nah 1:6 and Am 7:2, 5, אָפֵר וּשְׁמַר לְשָׁמֶרוֹ הַאַבֵּד לְשָׁמֶר. A similar rendering of Nah 1:6 is found in the presectarian sapiential work 4Q185 1-2 i 7-8 אַפְהֵר וּשְׁמַר לְשָׁמֶר עָלַי מִשְׁמַר יְהוָה אֶל פּוֹר יְהוָה. The verse from Nahum deals with the Lord’s anger toward his enemies, while 4QInstruction refers to man’s sinfulness in general: also the elect is guilty before God, and his only hope is that God will forgive his sin. The same thought is expressed in IQP XII 28 - מִצְצֵי לְפָנֵי אִם מָכָה בּו. For Hebrew in this context, cf. Mic 7:18; Am 7:8; 8:2.

(16) מִצְצֵי לְפָנֵי אִם מָכָה בּו. For the reconstruction of the subject matter, cf. 1Q严厉 VII 17-18 (see above); XII 34-35

27Cf. e.g. IQP I 23-27; VII 27-33; XII 24-36; XV 22-25; XVIII 21-31; 4Q185 (4Qsap. work) 1-2 i 7-8: “and no strength to stand before Her, and no hope ... and who can endure to stand before His angels?” 11QPs* 155 8 = יָכָה אִם פַּרְעָה לְפָנֶיהָ מִי תִּקְפָּסַּת לְפָנֶיהָ לְפָנֶיהָ וְאֶת הָעָבָדָה מַסְוַעַת קְפָסַּת. Similar rhetorical questions are well-known from the Bible, see e.g. Mal 1:2, 6, 7; 2:17; 3:7, 8, 13. The Yom Kippur liturgy speaks about man ‘standing before God’ in a similar context: יָכָה אִם פַּרְעָה לְפָנֶיהָ מִי תִּקְפָּסַּת לְפָנֶיהָ וְאֶת הָעָבָדָה מַסְוַעַת קְפָסַּת מַעַזָּה (‘You distinguished man from the outset and recognised him to stand before You’). Also according to the liturgy, man does not deserve to stand before God, but is given this status by God’s kindness. Two lines in the eschatological discourse 4Q16 VI-VIII deal with a similar theme: “Then God will appear to establish righteousness between good and evil, that everyone should know the judgements of God, and every creature will understand[?] that it is a creature of flesh” (4Q16 VII 15-17).

28Cf. Tanzer, The Sages, 37-42.

(17) is a usual self-designation for the elect individual who humbles himself before God both in the biblical psalms and the Hodayot. In the Hodayot (דוא) can be a designation for the elect community, cf. 1QpHab XII 3, 6, 10; 1QM XI 13; XIII 14; 4Q171 (4QpPs) III 10. In the continuation the admonished is addressed (דוא), 4Q416 V 8 (and 4Q415 6 2). While the first two members of the parallelism express the unworthiness of man in general before God, the third one deals withações, the elect. Only the elect can hope for God’s forgiveness.

4Q417 III 17-21. God provides for your daily needs.

(17-21) Lines 17-21 deal with one’s basic needs and God’s providing for them (for the subject matter, cf. Matt 6:25-32). Parts of the text are difficult to understand. Line 18 deals with the produce of the fields and its relation to God.

(17) Human food’, as in late biblical Hebrew: Ps 11:5; Prov 31:15; Mal 3:10. The word also appears in 4Q188 81 16. In line 20 appears as a verb in Hiphil with the meaning ‘to feed’.

(17) need’, ‘poverty’, as in Prov 6:11; 11:24; 21:17. The word is common in 4QInstruction.31

(17) In the tentative reconstruction of the last part of this line “[He will give( you?) what you need and even surplus”, is interpreted as ‘what you need’, and as a defectively written Hiphil. In this reconstruction, the theme is God’s care for the addressee in a situation of need.

(17-18) This line talks about the surplus of the fields, more probably related to God than to one’s neighbour. We choose the former option. According to this interpretation, lines 17-21 deal consistently with man’s sustenance related to God. It is less conceivable that an unintroduced neighbour suddenly should appear in line 18. The word (=?tē) refers to the yields of the fields. The phrase (a phrase recurring in line 20) is taken from Ps 107:30 “He will bring them to the harbour of their desire”.33 The biblical psalm describes how God can bring sailors through a storm to safety. The suffix has been consciously changed from the plural form of the Bible (‘םותא) to a singular one (םותא) which refers to God. We translate “you will [also] have surplus of produce to the harbour of His (i.e. God’s) desire”, and propose that this sentence refers to tithing: one returns to the Creator the portion He desires of the yields.

(18) The meaning of (פִּיטל) is ‘your portion of the produce’: when one has given to God what belongs to Him, one will receive from Him, the giver of the crops, one’s own portion. The meaning of the sentence starting with (a phrase recurring in line 20) is not immediately clear.

(19-20) When you are in need, you may borrow, but not in money. Remember that God has plenty in His storehouse. He has created everything and will take care of your needs, so be content with your portion.

30On the ‘poor’ in the literary tradition of the Bible and Qumran, see Kvalbein, Jesus og de fattige, especially 43-61, 103-12.

31In the Qumran scrolls this word only occurs in 4QInstruction (26 times) and 4Q424 (4Qsap. work) 1 8. Cf. Sir 40:26 (בָּשָׂר) 1036. With the fear of the Lord a man lacks nothing”.

32Koehler-Baumgartner (Engl.), vol 2, 382.

The biblical שRIPT power (Deut 6:5) is in the Qumran scrolls represented as נ and in the targums as עשת, cf. 1QS I 13-14; III 2; CD XIII 11. 24 In sectarian writings נ has the comprehensive meaning 'the total assets of a man' (money, property, working power). 25 In 4QInstruction נ has the plain meaning 'money', 'riches'.

(borrow, but not in money, for your need". נ is probably a Qal imperative of הד 'borrow', and the preposition ל 'for' is implied (for the full phrase, see line 21 below and 4Q424 (4Qsap. work) 18). An exhortation to borrow in produce, but not in money, would fit well the warning against being in debt in lines 21-27.

(19-20) God is the source of everything that happens. Therefore receive what He provides for you. The phrase יְהַעֲרִיב means either 'everything came to be' (for which cf. e.g. 1QH 1:20), or more probably 'everything will happen' (in this context possibly with the more narrow meaning 'everything you need will be given you'). For the latter option, cf. 1QH X 1-2 "By Your plan everything shall be, and by the plan of Your heart it shall be established; and without You nothing will be made, and without Your good pleasure it will not be; And no one will understand all [Your wisdom], and on [all] Your mysteries no one will gaze"; 1:7-8 "You knew all their deeds forever and ever. And [without You] nothing is made"; 1:20 "And according to [Your good pleasure] everything has come to pass", and without You nothing is made"; and from 4QInstruction 4Q418 123 3 יַעֲרִיב הָכַו just as יַעֲרִיב הָכַו "everything that comes into being in it, with what happened and what will come to pass", where יַעֲרִיב clearly indicates the future. The statement יַעֲרִיב provides another example of the same deterministic sectarian theology that is found in the Two-Spirit Treatise and in some of the Hodayot.

(20-21) We propose to reconstruct הָכַו Hip'il of רָע 'make narrow', 'shorten'. Alternatively one could reconstruct רָע, a Qal imperfect (Nip'el of רָע is not found in the Bible, but could fit the context). Another possibility would be to read plainly מְשִׂים 'the rock of your life', but this would normally require the reconstruction הָכַו רָע הָכַו just as הָכַו, for which there is not enough space (see note on READINGS above). A parallel to the possible reading רָע מְשִׂים is found in the eighteenth benediction of the Amidah, יְהַעֲרִיב הָכַו "You are the Rock of our lives, the Shield of our salvation through every generation" (repeated in the Yom Kippur liturgy).


35Stegemann, Die Essener, 245-6.
208 An Analysis of 4QInstruction

4Q417 ll. 21-28. Repay your loans as soon as possible, lest you suffer punishment by the hand of your creditor. Be honest toward your creditor.

(21-28) A new section starts after the second vacat in line 21. This section on borrowing and paying back to the creditor as soon as possible, lest one suffer under his authority, has a close parallel in Prov 6:1-5 which talks about surety. Cf. also Prov 22:7: "The rich rule the poor, and the borrower is a slave to the lender"; and Sir 29:2: "Lend to your friend in his time of need, and in your turn repay your friend in time". The Proverbs of Ahiqar, saying 43, provide a striking parallel to this passage "Do not take a heavy loan from an evil man. And if you take a loan, give your soul no peace until [you have repaid it]. A loan is pleasant as [ ], but paying it back is a houseful."

The message of the text under discussion is: you shall behave honestly vis-a-vis your lender. As long as you have not paid him back, he has authority over you and can use it to your disadvantage and cast shame over you.

Lines 25-26 repeat the theme of lines 22-23 with same variation.

(21) [לֵילָה] Formally this can be either Hip'il (‘lead’) or Qal (‘borrow’, so Eisenman/Wise) of מַלֶּה. In the context the former option is preferable.

(21-22) Cf. Prov 6:4: "and in the continuation, 4Q416 IV 9. For the phrase ‘day and night’, cf. 4Q417 IX 8: “Lev adonim ve’al ma‘alah ad mara‘ah ‘day and night’ meditate on the mystery to come.”

(23) [ם] should be understood as טוש, a typical Qumran spelling due to the weakening of the gutturals. For the proposed reconstruction, cf. 1QHa VII 17.

(24) [י] For the proposed reconstruction, cf. BH. "Affliction", see 4Q163 69 ii 5; cf. Qimron, HDSS, 102, 111.

(25) For the proposed reconstruction, cf. line 19. The reconstruction presupposes a defective spelling of מַלֶּה - in line 19 the same word is, however, spelled plene. The end of the line speaks about the creditor; the first part of the line must therefore deal with getting into debt. The reconstruction yields a line of 53 Is, which fit well with the 49-54 Is of other lines of this column. מַלֶּה can in Aramaic have the meaning ‘be indebted’.

(26) [ם] The meaning of this phrase is probably that a creditor will have power over a debtor. Our tentative reconstruction alludes to Prov 22:7: "Shemayim mimolad levdu leha al ma‘alah malat ‘Shemayim mimolad levdu leha al ma‘alah malat’.

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36 Cf. Qimron, HDSS, 117; idem, DJD X, 69-70; Kutscher, Isaiah Scroll, 505-11. 1Qlsa# 33:10 has טוש for(TM טוש.

37 Lastrow, 428. This meaning is found already in Northwest Semitic: see Koehler-Baumgartner (Engl.), vol. 1, 295.
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

(26-28) is probably a Hip'il imperfect of ‘strike’, ‘smite’ with a 3rd person singular suffix. Harrington reconstructs and suggests that this phrase refers to the thirty-nine strokes in punishment by flogging, for which cf. Deut 25:3, 1 Cor 11:24. This option is possible. The text could contain a warning that a money-lender might treat faulty debtors like slaves or inflict punishment upon them. However, the Mishnah does not mention default on repayment as cause for flogging, and the mishnaic phrase is imperfect of ‘thirty strokes’ (interpreted as ‘forty less one’, Paul mentions ‘thirtyone’). Further, the noun הובלמ would require the masculine form הבול of the numeral, not the reconstructed הבול. A similar saying, which also uses the word הבול, is Finsinger 10.17 “Do not slight him (your master) in the street, lest his stick repay you”.

4Q416 III 21-22 (4Q416 2 i 21-22)

The left margin of 4Q416 III lines 1-8 and 16-22 has been preserved. The text of lines 1-8, 16-20 parallels 4Q417 III 6-28, and is indicated in the transcription of that column. For the sake of convenience, only lines 21 and 22 are presented here, which provide the immediate continuation of 4Q417 III. The text of 4Q416 III 22 is immediately continued in 4Q416 IV 1.

Mus. Inv. 181
PAM 40.613, 40.621, 41.306, 41.422, 41.783, 41.903, 42.556, 43.511*

L. 21-22 = 4Q417 III 28 - IV 2 (underlined), and 4Q418 7 16-17 (bold typeface).

NOTES ON READINGS
L. 22. ולכלנחי. 4Q417 IV 1 preserves ולכלנחי.
L. 22. ולכלנה. 4Q418 7 17 preserves ולכלנה, without space between the words ולכלנה and הבול.

TRANSLATION
21. [You and you will eat bread. If you urge your hand
22. (not to reach out to ask for your food. For He

COMMENTS
4Q416 III 21 - IV 3. God gives sustenance to every living being.

(III 21 - IV 3) This section continues the theme of 4Q417 III 17-21, God’s providing for the needs of man, and describes God’s giving sustenance to every living being.

38”Wisdom Texts From Qumran”, 50-52.
39Reading הבול with PCarlsberg II.1.17. See Volten, Das demotische Weisheitsbuch, 14; idem, Kopenhagen Texte zum demotischen Weisheitsbuch, Copenhagen 1940, 12-13; M. Lichtheim, Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature, 207. Volten translated “Sei nicht geringschätzsig zu ihm auf der Strasse, damit nicht sein Stock dich strafe”.

209
### An Analysis of 4QInstruction

#### 4Q416 IV (4Q416 2 ii)

Mus. Inv. 181  
PAM 40.613, 41.306, 41.422, 41.783, 41.903, 42.556, 42.597, 43.511*, 43.512

LI 1-21 = 4Q417 IV 2-26 (underlined).
LI 1-3 = 4Q418 7 18-20; LI 4-13 = 4Q418 8 1-12 (bold typeface).

Our reconstructions in lines 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 17 are not found in the PC.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 |
| **Top Margin** | **Lamaleh cal 30v.** | אולמהל הכ של 30ו | **Laleh 30v.** | **Kophet yad 30v.** | **Lamaleh 30v.** | **Kophet yad 30v.** | **Lamaleh 30v.** | **Kophet yad 30v.** | **Lamaleh 30v.** | **Kophet yad 30v.** | **Lamaleh 30v.** | **Kophet yad 30v.** | **Lamaleh 30v.** | **Kophet yad 30v.** | **Lamaleh 30v.** | **Kophet yad 30v.** | **Lamaleh 30v.** | **Kophet yad 30v.** | **Lamaleh 30v.** | **Kophet yad 30v.** |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 |
| **Bottom Margin** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** | **Vacat** |

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40 With 4Q418 and the original version of 4Q417. 4Q416 has אולמהל הכ של 30ו.
41 With 4Q417. 4Q416 has אולמהל הכ של 30ו.
42 The word division follows 4Q417. 4Q416 has אולמהל הכ של 30ו.
43 With 4Q417. 4Q416 has אולמהל הכ של 30ו.
NOTES ON READINGS 44

L. 1. סליחתך, 4Q417 IV 3 has יִפְקְדָנְךָ, which reflects a correction by a later hand from the text of 4Q416. The original text of 4Q417 = 4Q18 7 19 is preferable.

L. 3. [ילא יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה. The PC reads יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה.]

L. 4. Our.

L. 4. The PC reads יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה. The last letter in the word preceding נַעֲוֵה can be waw (as the PC reads it) or the left part of a he. We suggest that this is the he of יִתָּךְ preserved by 4Q416. Since 4Q416 preserves כְּשָׁנִים, and 4Q417 כְּשָׁהָנָא, we cannot ascertain whether these words followed immediately upon each other, or whether there was another (missing) word in between. In 4Q417 there is a lacuna between מְ and רוּא, equalling a word of two-three letters or a short vacat.

L. 4. סליחתך. Scribal error. 4Q417 IV 6 has יִתָּךְ, which is preferable.

L. 6. כְּשָׁהָנָא. The reading of 4Q416 is to be preferred.

L. 6. The reading of 4Q416, from the verb פְּקָד, ‘exchange’, is to be preferred.

L. 6. מְ and 19. 4Q418 4 4 has יִתָּךְ. Both readings are possible, but the reading of 4Q416/417 seems to be the most appropriate.

L. 7. The scribe of 4Q416 divided the words wrongly. 4Q417 IV 10 has יִתָּךְ, [the text should accordingly be divided יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה]. The first word can possibly be reconstructed (with Eisenman/Wise). The proposed reconstruction יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה yields a synthetic parallelism “Seek him who is in charge of your secret, and willingly ask for his face.”

L. 7. יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה. Both readings are possible, but the first word can possibly be reconstructed (with Eisenman/Wise). The proposed reconstruction יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה yields a synthetic parallelism “Seek him who is in charge of your secret, and willingly ask for his face.”

L. 8. The last letter in the lacuna is probably a ref. 4Q418 8 6 has יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה כְּשָׁהָנָא, which is a smoother text, cf. the following word וְהוּא.

L. 8. The PC reads יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה כְּשָׁהָנָא. Of the last letter which is in between. In 4Q417 IV 10 has יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה כְּשָׁהָנָא, The PC reads יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה כְּשָׁהָנָא. The letter here read as ref can also be dalet. A possible reconstruction is יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה כְּשָׁהָנָא יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה.

L. 11. יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה. The PC reads יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה, a reading which cannot be sustained.

L. 12. The PC reads יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה. For the reconstruction, cf. Jer 17:9 יְהֵשׁ כָּלָה שָׁלוֹם שָׁלוֹם אֱלֹהִים וַעֲמָם. The lacuna is too short to contain also the words שָׁלוֹם שָׁלוֹם אֱלֹהִים. The PC reads יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה כְּשָׁהָנָא. Materiaally כְּשָׁהָנָא and יִתָּךְ are equally possible, וַעֲמָם is preferable in the context.

L. 15. יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה. The PC reads יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה כְּשָׁהָנָא. (the last preserved letter can be a bet, kap or mem). We locate this phrase in the beginning of this line, while the PC and Eisenman/Wise have a few spaces before it, or reconstruct a full word (רַמְמָל). Eisenman/Wise combine the last letters with the first preserved letter in this line in 4Q416, which yields רַמְמָל (loosely translated “and translate “(and during the night) continue sufficing because of it”.

L. 16. יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה. The PC reads יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה כְּשָׁהָנָא. יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה, but the last letter which cannot be a bet, is an גיון or sin.

L. 17. יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה. The PC reads יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה כְּשָׁהָנָא. We question the reading יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה, as the leg of the second letter is placed upon the foot of the first, which is characteristic of a waw or yod following a bet or kap. Our reconstruction yields two parallel expressions starting with יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה, which fits this chain of admonitions well.

L. 18. יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה. Scribal error. 4Q417 IV 23 has יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה כְּשָׁהָנָא, which is preferable.

L. 19-21. These lines are shorter because of the shape of the skin at this point, as there is a large indentation at the bottom edge. The shape of the indentation and the curvature of the skin show that this point reflects the hip bone of the animal.

L. 20. יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה. 4Q417 IV 25 has יִתָּךְ נַעֲוֵה כְּשָׁהָנָא.

44 For 4Q416 IV-VI we consulted in June 1995 a preliminary version of Strugnell and Harrington’s text edition for DJD.
TRANSLATION

1. opens [His mercy:] towards every creature(?) to fill all those needing His resources, to provide food.
2. for every living being, and nobody [If He closes his hand, will the spirit of all flesh be withdrawn.]
3. Do not receive surety for your inheritance lest another rule(?) over it, and your face be covered by the shame he <puts upon you>, and in folly
4. <you will> be captured. As much[ as a man’s creditor will lend him in money quickly repay so you will be on equal footing with him, for the purse
5. of your treasures you have entrusted to your creditor for the sake of your friends, you have given away all your life for him. Quickly give back what belongs to him and get back [your money. (Do not compromise] your spirit for any riches [when you are engaged in business]. Do not barter your holy spirit.
6. for no price is worth your soul. Seek him who is in charge(?) of your assets, willingly seek his face.
7. [spe]ak accommoda[tingly] to him, and then you can <again be able to> do your business. [Do not sell(?)] him [your inheritance], do not forsake your laws, and keeping your secrets guard
8. y[ourself.] If he entrusts you with a task of his, [do not rest in your soul and do not let your eyes slumber until you have completed what he requested, but not anything more. If you can act with insight,... ] and do not give him any tax money
9. [his ..., lest his face be made angry] and your will fall down and he will comm[and] you. See that great is the zeal of man, and deceiving is the heart more than everything, who can know it? If you according to his will devote yourself to his service and to his powerful resources
10. [his ...] you will advise him and be for him a firstborn son, and he will have pity on you as a man has pity on his only son.
11. [Remember that you are poor.] Do not prostrate yourself, lest you carry hateful feelings toward the other. Do not watch over your creditor,
12. [then you would be his servant in all things(?). Also, do not humble yourself before someone who is not your equal, otherwise you will be]
13. [his servant(?).] Do not strike someone who does not have your strength, lest you stumble and be put greatly to shame.
14. [Do not sell] yourself for money. It is better for you to be a servant in the spirit, so that you serve your oppressors without payment. For a price
15. [do not sell] your glory, and do not pledge your inheritance for money, lest your body lose its heritage. Do not fill yourself with bread
16. when you lack clothing. Do not drink wine when there is no food. Do not request luxury when you lack bread. Do not boast about your lowly estate - you who are poor - lest
17. you bring your life into contempt. Furthermore, do not dishonour the organ of your [bosom,

COMMENTS

As in 4Q417 III the wisdom admonitions are held in the imperative [4, 5, 6, 7, 8 (2x), 11, 14 (reconstructed)] or vetitive [lines 3, 6 (2x), 8 (2x), 9 (2x), 10 (2x), 14 (2x), 15, 16, 17, 18 (3x), 19 (2x), 20, 21]. Conditional sentences are introduced by מ or מנ (lines 2, 9, 10; 12); the negative clause of result by מ[lines 3 (reconstructed), 11, 16, 18, 20]. מ (line 14) or מ (line 15).

Lines 14-21 contain a carefully composed chain of admonitions in the vetitive with subordinate clauses. The first is introduced by מ, which functions as a minor divide (see section 3.1). Line 18 refers to surety, a theme dealt with earlier in the same column (lines 3-6). This duplication of subject matter shows that the chain was inserted into the collection of admonitions without being changed.
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

4Q416 III 21 - IV 3 praises God for giving life and sustenance both to man and to all his creatures. This section is a bridging passage between the preceding section on loans (417 III 21-27) and the following section (lines 3-18) which mentions different aspects of business ethics: surety, labour for another, relation to superiors and subordinates. Surety is mentioned both in lines 3-8 and 18, probably deriving from the fact that these sections reflect different sources which were faithfully kept separate.

Lines 3-14 deal with surety, owing money to somebody, and working for others. Lines 14-21: A chain of admonitions.

Lines 14-16 deal with relations to superiors and subordinates.

Lines 17-18 admonish not to sell oneself for wealth or give away one's inheritance for surety.

Lines 18-21 encourage a decent and humble lifestyle (including table manners). This topic probably continues in the first lines of the following column.

(1-3) These lines belong together with III 21-22, and describe the merciful God who gives life and sustenance to every living being. No creature would survive if He closed His merciful hands. Psalm 104 provides a good parallel to 4Q416 III 21 - IV 3. This passage of 4QInstruction, which is reminiscent of biblical hymnic material, does not represent a wisdom admonition (although it uses the word אֲשֶׁר, which is found almost exclusively in the admonitions of 4QInstruction). Neither does it fit thematically with the discourses that stress revelation to the elect group and the end-time judgement. Rather, it describes God's mercy toward everyone. In section 3.3 we suggested an early process of redaction history: an editor of wisdom admonitions was inspired by the description of God's care for man's sustenance in 4Q417 III 17-21, and added these further lines to provide a more theo-centric perspective to the admonitions on financial matters and working relations (4Q417 III 21-27; 4Q416 IV 3-18). For the subject matter, cf. 11QPs\* Creat 6: "Crowning the hills with fruit, good food for every living being".

(1) יְדֵי אֱלֹהִים הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר עָלָיו טֹבוֹת לָכֶם is the last words of the preceding column. For the reconstruction, cf. Ps 145:9 יְדֵי אֱלֹהִים הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר עָלָיו טֹבוֹת can be used figuratively in the Bible, but the expression יְדֵי אֱלֹהִים is not found in the Bible. אֲשֶׁר is either perfect or participle (the topically similar passage Ps 104:1-13 uses participles), but in the latter case we would expect the participle to preserve the full spelling (cf. e.g. the participle אֲשֶׁר in line 4).

(1) אֲשֶׁר This enigmatic word, which within the Qumran scrolls occurs almost exclusively in 4QInstruction (14 times), has so far evaded any etymological explanation. We propose 'assets', 'resources' as a tentative translation. Such a meaning would fit in most (perhaps all) cases. אֲשֶׁר also appears in lines 7 and 12. Harrington suggests 'gentleness'; which might suit line 1, but not lines 7 and 12. See below on line 7 and 12.

45On the latter subject, cf. Philo's description of Essenes who earn their wages by labour and immediately hand the earnings over to a common purse (see section 5.2.1).

46"Wisdom at Qumran", 145. G. Brin understands אֲשֶׁר (probably the same word) in 4Q424 (4Qsap. work) 16 as 'secret matter', 'something which is covered': "Studies in 4Q424 1-2", RevQ 18 (1997) 21-42. We have proposed to interpret this word as belonging to the realm of business and finances (Elgvin, "Admonition Texts, 191; section 4.5, note 16), and translate the admonition in 4Q424 (רְאוּ אֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אַף לָךְ עַרְגִּי מַלְפִּיךְ) "Do not entrust assets to a slothful man, for he will not be careful with your business". On other suggestions on the meaning of this word (including 'storehouse', 'affair', 'important task', 'kindness', and an eccentric scribal
(2-3) "מָצַק/ל חָסֵד יְצֵרִים יֵשׁ עָבָדָה יִזְכֶּר צַדָּקָה יִזְכֶּר חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה לֹא כִּי נָעֲמָה יִזְכֶּר חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה לֹא כִּי נָעֲמָה יִזְכֶּר חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה לֹא כִּי נָעֲמָה יִזְכֶּר חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה לֹא כִּי נָעֲמָה יִזְכֶּר חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה לֹא כִּי נָעֲמָה יִזְכֶּר חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה לֹא כִּי נָעֲמָה יִזְכֶּר חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה לֹא כִּי נָעֲמָה יִזְכֶּר חָפֵץ יָרָأֵה L


(3-6) This section gives advice on surety: do not risk your inheritance by pledging it as surety for money. Be careful pledging for friends. When you have pledged for your friends (לכד, line 5), you have risked your ‘purse’, your money. You have given away your life for another, and need to pay back to be free from the creditor’s requirements upon you. For the subject matter, cf. Prov 6:1-5; 11:15; 17:18; 20:16; 22:26-27; 27:13; Sir 8:13; 29:18, 20; and the previous section on paying back loans, 4Q417 III 21-27. For a parallel in the Qumran scrolls, cf. the sapiential composition 4Q424 23 "do not give it as surety in the midst of the poor".

(3-4) הָרְמַה כִּי נָעֲמָה יִזְכֶּר חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה לֹא כִּי נָעֲמָה יִזְכֶּר חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה L

In this tentative reconstruction njn is fairly sure. For the phrase הָרְמַה כִּי נָעֲמָה יִזְכֶּר חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה, see Gen 38:20; 1 Sam 17:18. The reconstruction חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה yields a meaning close to חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה in line 18 (והָרְמַה would designate one’s inherited plot of land). Such similarity may be explained by parallel traditions in the diverse admonition material the redactor included in his work. 4Q417 preserves חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה (or חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה), and we accordingly propose to reconstruct חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה "lest another ruler(?) over it". חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה is frequently used in 4QInstruction, meaning ‘have authority over’ (see section 4.4). We propose to interpret the difficult expression חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה as ‘be captured in folly’; we also suggest that the strange form יָרָאֵה could be a scribal error for הָרְמַה imperfect ‘and your face be covered by his shame’ must in the context be interpreted as ‘and your face be covered by the shame he <puts upon you>’.

(4, 6) הָרְמַה כִּי נָעֲמָה יִזְכֶּר חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה L

We provide a tentative translation; “As much as a man’s creditor will lend him in money [ ], quickly repay so you will be on equal footing with him” (the note in the READINGS suggests that a word could have appeared between חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה). The change from the 3rd person in the first part of the sentence to the 2nd person in the second part is not easily explained.

(4, 6) הָרְמַה כִּי נָעֲמָה יִזְכֶּר חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה L

This word has the double sense of ‘purse’ and ‘capital money’.48

(5) הָרְמַה כִּי נָעֲמָה יִזְכֶּר חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה L

"you have given up for him (i.e. your friend)"). For בּ וְ בּ with the meaning ‘give for’, cf. Joel 4:3; Ezek 27:16; and see Koehler-Baumgartner (Engl.), vol. 2, 733.

(5-6) הָרְמַה כִּי נָעֲמָה יִזְכֶּר חָפֵץ יָרָאֵה L

"what belongs to him" (i.e. the creditor).

47 See section 4.5 on warnings against surety in the Bible and post-biblical tradition.


(6-15) Be straight in business and do not compromise your spiritual integrity. Your holy spirit and your laws are more important than any amount of money (6-7). If you are indebted to someone, implore him and try to meet his requirements without compromising yourself, so that you can be free from his claims (7-9). If he assigns you a task to pay for his claim, do not rest before you have done as he required and settled the matter. Behave decently and do not make him angry, lest he hold the debt over you to your disadvantage (9-12). If you are an employee, show devotion to your work and you will be treated as a 'firstborn son' by your master (12-13).49 Negative attitudes toward a superior or creditor will only cause you trouble (14-15).

(6-7) An admonition with three members, two parallel ones and a motivating third one: “- [Do not compromise] your spirit for any riches [when you are engaged in business]: - do not barter your holy spirit; - for no price is worth your soul”. We interpret "as in your business (affairs)”: lines 6-8 repeatedly refer to Isa 58:13 [holy spirit] - although in the Hodayot the phrase ‘经商’ always designates God’s holy spirit,50 not the spirit dwelling in man as in our text. A man’s spiritual integrity is here called his ‘holy spirit’, like CD V 11; VII 4. The use of ‘holy spirit’ in this admonition differs from the terminology of the Hodayot.

(7-8) This admonition can refer to the relation to God, or alternatively to a business partner as elsewhere in lines 3-12. It is not likely that the relation to God would be abruptly inserted in the middle of a paragraph of business ethics. We therefore choose the second option: the addressee should seek the man who has a financial claim upon him. In favour of the first option it could be argued that a רבינא שלום has a close parallel in the next column, where the subject clearly is seeking God, 4Q416 V 12 רכיב אב מủy שדר. The phrase ‘will (again) be in charge of your property’ means ‘eagerly seek somebody’, cf. Prov 7:15 יהוה לוח תר עב. We interpret 4Q472 (4Qspw. work) 6 הלל רב מתי אל שדי. For 4Q417 III 1 ב [holy spirit] returns to Isa 58:13 מתי ונים. We interpret [யு] and תאני תסמכ (7-8) Doing business and speaking <your> words”.51 Our translation therefore runs; “Seek him who is in charge

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49 According to Harrington (“Wisdom at Qumran”, 141), lines 7-13 deal with the rewards for serving God or one’s master. However, we do not recognise any reference to God in these lines.

50 1QH* VII 6-7; IX 32; XII 12; XIV 13; XVI 7, 12; XVII 26. 1QS III 7 uses the phrase הרוח חכם עד רוחה with regard to man’s spirit, more precisely the spirit of the community; (contra A.E. Sekki, who interprets it about God’ spirit: The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran, Atlanta 1989, 92-3). 4QS has והרוח חכם und in stead of מוח רוחה.

51 Cf. the similar use of this verse in CD X 18-21; and b. Shab. 113a מתי ונים. Cf. אפיים אפריני אומ院副院长, 113a אסייתי אפריני אומ틂. The term מתי ונים has the sense of a ‘master’ and the verb is the transitive יברון. As to ‘doing your business’; your own affairs are
of your assets, willingly ask for his face, speak accommodatingly to him, and then you can do your business”. While Isa 58:13 prohibits doing business on the sabbath day, this text refers to business in general. Pilsinger 11.11 provides a parallel to the admonition to do the utmost to accommodate a creditor or superior: “If he finds fault with you, go and plead with him until he is reconciled to you”. See also the quotes from Pilsinger in the comments on 4Q417 III 1-5, and Ankeshonqy 7.13 “Do not take liberties with your superior”.

If lines 7-8 deal with the relation to a business partner or somebody who has a claim upon the addressee, √ must in this case probably have a meaning like ‘money’, ‘assets’.

The version of 4Q418, (with the 3rd person suffix added to רצוי) makes this sentence fully parallel to the following ותינך. Since both 4Q416 and 4Q417 read רצוי, we consider this the original reading, and we suppose that the scribe of 4Q418 made a smoother text.


While raz in the discourses of 4QInstruction refers to the mysteries of God, in this admonition it has a secular meaning. 52 This difference in usage points to different circles of origin for the discourses and the admonitions in 4QInstruction. The sentence probably means: be careful in business matters, guard your professional secrets, do not reveal all your cards, and take care of yourself.

(9-10) Relation to a superior: working for a superior, behaving with insight, giving the right advice.

(9-10) If somebody in a superior position assigns you a task, you shall carry it out faithfully. For the subject matter, cf. Ahikar saying 94 “If your master entrusts you (ןִּלְנָה וְשֶׁפֶךְ) with water to keep [ ... ] to leave gold in your hand”.

(8) continued to either שפך (Qal) or שפכת (Hip'il). Both forms can have the meaning ‘entrust’.

(9) “Do not rest in your soul and do not let your eyes slumber”, cf. Prov. 6:4. See also our comments on 4Q417 III 21-22; and the Ahikar saying quoted there.

(10) [P] has the meaning ‘act carefully’, ‘act with insight’, cf. Sir 16:25 and 35:3. The same verb occurs in the sapiential composition 4Q424 1 6 מְצַל אִם נְצַק אַל נְצַק מָלָא מָלָא “Do not entrust assets to a slothful man, for he will not be careful with your business”. This parallel shows that also 4Q424 uses מְצַל in a context of stewarding resources (אָמַם in 4Q424 probably reflects the same word as √ in 4QInstruction), or working for another.

forbidden, the affairs of Heaven are permitted. As to ‘speaking’, that your conversation on the sabbath should not be like you speech on weekdays”. See above, note 24.

52Like Sir 8:18 וְשֶׁפֶךְ אָמַם נְצַק אָמַם אַל נְצַק מָלָא מָלָא “Do nothing that should be kept secret in the presence of a stranger”; 12:11 נְצַק אָמַם אָמַם אָמַם אַל נְצַק מָלָא מָלָא “Behave toward him as one who reveals a secret”. A similar saying is Pilsinger 22.18 “Do not reveal what is in your heart to your master when (he is) reckoning”. 
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

(10) One can read either 'money without ...' or 'tax money', but the latter explanation based on הלל ('tribute', 'tax') should be preferred. However, the meaning of the context is not immediately clear. Is it a reminder not to pay oneself out of the imposed obligation by using money earmarked for taxes? Cf. the reference to 'creditor', 'tax collector' in line 14.

(11) [Hop'al imperfect of רמא 'be made angry'. Our reading קפלת ('imposing duty') gives good sense: behave properly so that you do not anger the other! Strugnell and Harrington hardly read the photograph correctly when they render (with the PC) יבמ and translate 'lest he say 'He has despised (or: despoiled) me'.

(12) This is a quote from Jer 17:9, see above under READINGS. These sapiential words from Jeremiah about the crookedness of man are integrated into the running text, and serve to underline the admonition to behave accommodatingly toward a superior. For the subject matter, cf. also Sir 36:22 (36:25) הקיקכ "a perverse heart causes sorrow".

(12-13) These words introduce a new sub-unit in which the suffixes refer to God or an employer. Since the lacuna in line 12 is small and can hardly have contained a reference to God, the second option is preferred.

(12) The meaning of this construct phrase is not clear. The meaning suggested above for סמא, 'assets', 'resources', is difficult in this case. Could קפלת be understood as a parallel expression to קפלת 'the skill of your hands' (4Q418 81 15), and have the meaning 'his strong assets', 'his powerful resources'? In that case the text would imply that the addressee obliges himself to work for the other and steward his financial and physical means.

(13) Probably a Nip'al impf. of קפל, to be understood 'you advise him'. The PC reconstructs ידיקתל. QInstruction thrice calls the addressee a firstborn son of God: 4Q418 81 5 (=4Q423 8 4) ידיקתל, 1Q26 3 2 (where the reading should be corrected from ידיקתל על ידיקתל; 4Q418 69 15 and 1Q26 3 2 use adoption terminology; the elect has been adopted to divine sonship (see section 4.3.4). In contrast, the infinitive construction ידיקתל in this text describes a lasting privileged position vis-a-vis one's superior: a right attitude toward the employer will bring its reward. For the images of son and servant in lines 13 and 15, cf. John 8:35 "a slave has no permanent place in the family, but a son belongs to it forever".

(13) [יחד פעלתאה חואמה פעל של חиде] The text continues its description of the relation to the superior with the sonship image, and provides a free rendering of Mal 3:17 ידיקתל על ידיקתל ידיקתל על ידיקתל 'He shall have pity on them like a father on his sons'.

(14) is a usual word for 'poor' in sectarian usage, often appearing together with אפרתי: CD VI 21; XIV 13; or with אפרתי, 1QH II 34; V 14 (the last three references use these words for 'poor' in a figurative sense). Cf. an almost identical phrase in the next column, line 2 ידיקתל אפרתי.
A chain of admonitions.

A chain of eleven admonitions has been editorially inserted here (see section 3.1 and 3.3). All are formulated in the vettive with a subordinate clause. In three admonitions (lines 18-20) this clause is a paratactic sentence introduced by the conjunctive particle we.

(14) functions as a minor divide, introducing this section. Strugnell and Harrington read the last word in this admonition or , but the photograph does not allow for these readings. These two scholars prefer the former in the context and suggest the translation “Do not let people trust in thee lest thou become hated” or “But thou do not win others’ confidence, lest thou become hated”. We suggest the verb II ‘prostrate’: “Do not prostrate yourself, lest you carry hateful feelings toward the other”.

If is interpreted as ‘misery’, it would run parallel in the subject matter to Sir 31:2 “The worries of the daytime interfere with sleep, as a serious illness drives away sleep”. Strugnell and Harrington note that in Isa 14:4 is parallel to ἀποστολήν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, and propose that is a participle ‘oppressive tax-man’. In this context ‘tax-man’ or ‘creditor’ gives a better meaning than ‘misery’, in the next line must refer to a person.

(15-16) These lines give advice on the relation to subordinates: do not humble yourself before someone who is not your equal, and do not mistreat those weaker than you, such behaviour would put you to shame.

(16) could be a 3rd person feminine ‘she will stumble’, but more probably a 2nd person masculine as the other verbs in this admonition, and could be Qal or Hip'il. The Hip'il 'cause to stumble' would normally require a suffix indicating the object. Thus, should be understood as a Qal ‘you will stumble’.

(17-18) The theme of lines 17-18 is close to that of lines 6-7: do not sell yourself or your ‘glory’ for money, and do not give away your inheritance for surety. The formula “It is better for you...” occurs frequently in the sapiential literature (see section 3.1, note 19).

The admonition not to sell one’s soul for money can refer to going into debt or selling oneself into slavery.


54Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, 65, emends to רודיהו הים, and as an alternative he proposes והר ubuntu מדרשים "he shall restrain their oppressive creditors".
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

(17) Biblical usage of the root סָפַק suggests that סָפַק means here 'hard employer' or 'tax collector', used here in the plural. In BH סָפַק with suffix/object means to serve someone without payment (Gen 29:15; Jer 22:13), and the same meaning is implied in this text.

(18) אֲלֵךְ אַלּוֹלָה прbably refers to one's portion of earth. In this case the statement is a close parallel to the following אֲלֵךְ אַלּוֹלָה. Alternatively could mean 'yourself', as a parallel to אֲלֵךְ אַלּוֹלָה in the previous line.

(18) The verb should be taken as פִּיחַ (Qal), 'pledge', 'make surety', 55 not פִּיחַ (Piel) 'mingle'.56 The meaning of פִּיחַ here (as well as in the reconstruction in line 3) is probably 'your inherited portion of earth', cf. Lev 25:23-28; 2 Kgs 21:3-4; and Akīgar sayings 47 and 55: '[Do not despise that which is your lot]', "With one who is nobler and stranger than yourself, [do not ... for he will take] from your portion and [add] to his own".

(18) אֵשָׁה יְדֵךְ is a Hip'il form of אֶשָּׁת with the meaning 'dispossess somebody of an inherited property' (cf. Deut 7:17; Josh 13:12-13; Judg 1:21). The subject of this sentence is probably וְהִסְתַּלְכֶּז, 'lest it (the money) dispossess your body'. The message of this admonition is: if you pledge your portion of earth for money, this financial deal can cause you (your body) to lose its heritage.

4Q146 IV 18 - V 3. Live a decent and humble life without luxury!

(18-21) Lines 18-21 introduce a new theme within this chain of admonitions; to live a decent and humble life (including table manners) and not require extravagances. This is a common sapiential theme.57 The concluding admonition is not to dishonour the 'organ of one's bosom'.

(18) אֵשָׁת is a Hip'il form, used with the same meaning as the Qal in BH;58 "Do not fill yourself".

(19) אֵשָׁת יְדֵךְ is a Hip'il form, used with the same meaning as the Qal in BH;58 "Do not fill yourself".

(19) A warning against excessive drinking. The text presupposes that sober consumption of wine is allowed. According to Josephus', the Essenes abstained from wine (War 2.8.133), while the law for the wine festival in 11QTL* XIX 11 - XXI 10 allows for wine consumption.

(20-21) אֵשָׁת is Hip'il of אֵשָׁת or אֵשָׁת 'despise' (BH has אֵשָׁת only in Qal). אֵשָׁת means to show contempt for someone. In Est 1:17 and CD IX 4 the Hip'il infinitive of אֵשָׁת has the meaning 'make desppicable'. In the context the verb must have a causative sense "lest you make others despise your life <style>".

55 Cf. from 4QInstruction: 4Q418 103 6 1 'Do not give your inheritance (?) to a stranger for surety'; 4Q418 87 7 'Do not give your inheritance(?) to a stranger for surety';
56 Cf. 1QS VI 17, 22; IX 8; VII 25; VIII 23; 4Q418 88 3 אֵשָׁת אֲלֵךְ אַלּוֹלָה אֲלֵךְ אַלּוֹלָה.
57 Cf. Prov 23:20 23:6 29:21-24; Akīgar saying 91 "Let the angry man be filled with bread, and [the watchful] get drunk [on wine]; Plintinger 4.6 "Do not squander the little you have if there is no storehouse behind you"; 5.12 "Do not be a glutton, lest you associate with poverty"; 6.12-13 "He who sates himself with too much bread becomes ill and suffers. He who sates himself with too much wine lies down in a stupor"; 6.23 "He who eats when there is no reserve is one who sleeps while death is before him"; 28.1 "Humble work and humble food are better than being sated far away".
58 Cf. Qimron, HDSS, 49.
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

(21) is probably Hip'il imperfect of ליל 'dishonour', and less likely of היל II 'disdain'.

The preserved sentence “Do not dishonour the organ of your [b]osom” could be a complete unit. However, since all the other admonitions in this chain include a subordinate clause, also this admonition probably continued with a motive clause, located in the first line of the next column. The few preserved letters in the parallel text of 4Q17 IV 26 do not allow any reconstruction of this clause.

The ‘vessel/organ of your bosom’ can be interpreted in two directions, either as the wife of the person addressed or his sexual organ. Paul uses the same word, σκέφως ἢ ἡμῶν, in his admonition on sexual relations in 1 Thess 4:4, εἰς ἐκαστάν ἡμῶν τὸ ἐκαστόν σκέφως καθίσατε ἐν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τιμή, “that each one of you know to control/acquire his own vessel in holiness and honour”. This Pauline text, where σκέφως is understood either as ‘wife’, ‘body’, or ‘sexual organ’, presents the same dilemma. The parallel phrase אָדַמְתָּךְ אָדַמה “the wife of your bosom” two columns further ahead (4Q416 VI 5, 13) could add weight to the view that ‘wife’ is meant in this text, but it seems strange to have only one sentence about the wife when there is a lengthy section on the husband’s relation to his wife in V 20 - VI 13.

We therefore suggest that this text uses ἡμῶν as an euphemism for the male organ, like 1 Sam 21:6; “We have indeed been separated from women for three days since I set out, and the men’s vessels were holy even though the mission is secular, and also today their vessels are holy”. The phrasing of the term אָדַם אֲדַמְתָּךְ for the male organ was probably influenced by the expression אָדַמְתָּךְ אָדַם אֲדַמְתָּךְ ‘the wife of your/his bosom’, Deut 13:7; 28:54 (28:56 has the parallel אָדַמה אָדַמה אָדַמה אָדַמה ‘the man of her bosom’), and the use of ἡμῶν ‘vessel’ in 1 Sam 21:6.

Various languages have extended the meaning of ‘vessel’ from ‘tool’ to ‘sexual organ’ for obvious reasons. In modern Hebrew ‘member’, ‘body organ’ is one of the regular meanings of 인정, the word can also be used for the male organ. We have further demonstrated that rabbinic literature uses ἡμῶν as an euphemism for the female organ.

Lines 15-21 give admonition about a decent and humble way of life, and lines 18-21 deal with decent table manners, and warn against extravagances. The logical interpretation of “do not dishonour the vessel of your bosom” in this context is therefore to remember to be clothed decently. In the framework of a meal one should be careful not to uncover one’s bosom with its organ. Our interpretation of this text adds weight to the view that 1 Thess 4:4 should be translated “that each of you learn to control his own (sexual) organ in holiness and honour”.

59 Instead of אָדַם אֲדַמְתָּךְ one can read אָדַמְתָּךְ אֲדַמְתָּךְ ‘your lawful vessel’, which would be an enigmatic phrase without any biblical precedent. אָדַמְתָּךְ אֲדַמְתָּךְ is clearly the best reading in the context.

60 Thus Harrington, “Wisdom at Qumran”, 141, 146.


6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

We know that the Essenes adhered to strict rules about decency. The Community Rule prescribes penance for six months if a member of the *yahad* walks naked in view of another member, and for ten days if he uncovers his penis so that his nakedness can be seen.

Whoever walks about naked in front of his fellow, without having been forced to do so, he shall do penance for six months. Whoever spits in the course of a meeting of the Many shall be punished thirty days. Whoever takes out his ‘hand’ from under his clothes, or if these are rags which allow his nakedness to be seen, he will be punished for thirty days.

(IQS VII 12-14, par. 4QD* 10 ii 9-12)

Although these rules about nakedness are generally formulated, they would be particularly enforced in the meetings or meals of the Many. If 4QInstruction were a book composed within the *yahad*, the admonition ‘not to dishonour the organ of one’s bosom’ would be superfluous - the Community Rule would give the necessary precept. In a presectarian work the matter is different, since the Community Rule was not yet composed. If 4QInstruction is a presectarian work, this admonition could have influenced the later rules of the *yahad* for decency and defecating.64

4Q416 V (4Q416 2 iii).

Mus. Inv. 181
PAM 42.597, 43.511, 43.512*
L. 1 = 4Q417 IV 26 (underlined).
L. 3-17 = 4Q418 9 3-20; li. 18-19 = 4Q418 10 1-2; L. 21 = 4Q418 10 5 (bold typeface).
Line 13 in the parallel text in 4Q418 9 has been erased because the scribe by error wrote the same line twice.
Our reconstructions in lines 1, 3, 10, 20 and 21 are not found in the *PC*.

\[\text{top [margin]}\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{תובה יכ רמא ואותל} & \quad 1 \\
\text{אל תמאו יבועצל לכת לא תמאו יבועצל לכת} & \quad 2 \\
\text{אל תמאו יבועצל לכת לא תמאו יבועצל לכת} & \quad 3 \\
\text{אל תמאו יבועצל לכת לא תמאו יבועצל לכת} & \quad 4 \\
\text{ואל תמאו יבועצל לכת לא תמאו יבועצל לכת} & \quad 5 \\
\text{ואל תמאו יבועצל לכת לא תמאו יבועצל לכת} & \quad 6 \\
\text{ב"א יב תמאו יבועצל לכת לא תמאו יבועצל לכת} & \quad 7 \\
\text{ב"א יב תמאו יבועצל לכת לא תמאו יבועצל לכת} & \quad 8 \\
\text{ב"א יב תמאו יבועצל לכת לא תמאו יבועצל לכת} & \quad 9 \\
\text{ב"א יב תמאו יבועצל לכת לא תמאו יבועצל לכת} & \quad 10
\end{align*}
\]

63. ‘hand’ for penis is attested already in an Ugaritic poem. יד is used with this same meaning in Isa 57.8 and Cant 5.4, of. M. H. Pope, ‘Euphemism and Dysphemism in the Bible’, *ABD* I, 720-5. 11QT* XLVI 13 uses יד ספירה for ‘latrine’.
65. Emendation. The scribe wrote יבסכו.
66. Emendation. The scribe erroneously wrote יבסכו.
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

Notes on Readings

L. 1. כמ. The opening word of line 27 of 4Q417 IV is יבכ כמ = יבכ ומכ in 4Q416 IV 21. Traces of three or four letters can be seen in the continuation of the line. The first letter would run parallel with the second or third letter of line 2 in our column. Tentatively we read these letters as יבכ וה, which allows for the possibility that line 1 started with כמ.

L. 3. כמ. The scribe wrote כמ. We consider this a scribal error for כמ, cf. Gen 3:17-19. See comments below. Our suggestion is supported by 4Q418: 4Q418 9 3 preserves remnants of two letters, which might be the bet and ayin of this word with a lacuna of one is in between.

L. 3. כמ. Only a trace is preserved of the first letter after the lacuna, sade is one possibility. The reading of 4Q416 is preferable.

L. 4. כמ. Possibly a scribal error for כמ, 4Q418 9 5 has כמ, and the last letter can be the remnant of a he, although a waw seems more probable. The PC reads כמ.

L. 5. וכמ. To be read as וכמ (and Strugnell/Harrington) ; the vacat is due to a crack in the leather that probably was there at the time of copying.

L. 9. כמ. 4Q418 9 10 has the plural form כמ, cf. the plural form כמ in line 6. Both readings are possible.

L. 9. כמ. This reading is suggested, even though materially one tends to read כמ. Harrington/Strugnell insert a word division; כמ כמ.

L. 9. כמ. 4Q418 9 11 has כמ. The 3rd person sing. suffix attached to a plural noun can in Qumran orthography be written only by a waw. 66

L. 9. כמ. כמ. The scribe wrote כמ, the waw must be a scribal error. We correct the text to כמ which is in 4QInstruction often followed by כמ and a qualifying word (see comments on this line).

L. 10. כמ. We would have expected an imperative rather than an injunctive (which is more rare in 4QInstruction). We disagree with the reading of the PC (and Strugnell/Harrington). There are no traces of any second or third letter of this word. The first letter after the lacuna is more likely to be ה than ה.

L. 13. כמ. Only a trace of the last letter is preserved. Eisenman/Wise reconstruct כמ, the size of the lacuna, however, rather indicates a word of three letters like אחר, not a word of four letters.

L. 15. כמ. 4Q418 9 18 has a vacat after the word כמ.

L. 15. כמ. The reading כמ (imperative) of 4Q418 9 19 is preferable to כמ of 4Q416.

L. 16. כמ. Instead of dalet one can read res, both in 4Q416 and 4Q418. See COMMENTS.

66A phenomenon frequently found in IQIsa. According to Qimron, HDSS, 59, the third person singular suffixes with singular and plural nouns were pronounced alike (o or u). See also Qimron, DJD X, 70.
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

L. 16. חכמת 4Q416 reads תְנַחֲלַשׁ which must be considered a scribal error. (4Q418 9 19) is preferable.

L. 16. וְהָעָלֶּהוּ. The PC reads בְּעָלֵהוּ.

L. 17. חָסָכְסַס. 4Q418 9 20 has חָסָכְסַס.

L. 18. הָעָלֶּהוּ. The last letter before the lacuna is a ב or קָע.

Translation

1. [and if] your[ ]
2. Remember that you are poor[ ] and what you need
3. you will not find. In your toil you will eat[ your bread ] If someone entrusts you <money for>
   [business],
4. do not stretch out your hand toward it, lest you be burned [and] your body be consumed in its fire. What
   you received return to him
5. with joy. If you declare yourself free from him or from any man you do not know, do not accept money
6. lest it add to your poverty. If he puts it upon your responsibility even until death, then give it over, and
   do not act badly
7. against him. Then you will rest with the truth, and in your death your remembrance will blossom for
   eternity, and in the end you will inherit
8. joy. Be humble, do not long for anything but your own inheritance, do not get confused by it, lest you
   move
9. your own boundary. If He restores you to your honour, walk according to the mystery to come and
   investigate His birth-times. Then you will gain knowledge
10. of His inheritance and will walk in righteousness. For God is elevated. Praise Him(?) in all your ways,
    give glory to Him who has honoured you
11. and praise His name always. For He lifted your head from poverty, seated you among nobles, and over a
    glorious inheritance
12. He gave you authority. Seek His good will always. Be humble, do not say 'I am poor and will not
    seek out knowledge'. Bend your shoulder to all discipline, with all knowledge purify your heart, and
    with abundant understanding
13. your thoughts. Investigate the mystery to come, meditate upon all the ways of truth, and upon all the
    roots of evil
14. you shall look. Then you will understand what is bitter for a man and what is sweet for a fellow. Honour
    your father in your poverty
15. and your mother while you walk. For as God is to man so is his father, and as masters are to a guy so is
    his mother, for
16. they are the furnace that conceived you. As He appointed them over you and (appointed) the inclination
    (to rule) over the spirit, so you should serve them. And as
17. He opened your ear to the mystery to come, so you should honour them for the sake of your own honour,
    and in[ ]
18. for the sake of your life and the length of your days. If you are in need, when . . .
19. unlawfully. When you take a wife in your poor estate, investigate [her] birth-times[ in
20. from the mystery to come. In your company together walk with the helpmate of your flesh[ in
   for a man should leave

Comments

The parenthesis is presented in the imperative [lines 2, 6, 9 (2x), 10, 11, 12, 13 (2x), 14 (2x), 15, 17, 18 (2x),
20, 21], vetitive [lines 5, 6, 8 (2x), 12], and injunctive (line 10 תְנַחֲלַשׁ, line 14 קָע, line 15 אֵל). Conditional sentences are introduced by כ or כָּל [lines 3 (reconstructed), 5, 6, 9, 19]; or by a perfect form (line 20). The negative clause of result is introduced by כ (lines 4, 6, 8) and the positive one with כָּל (lines 7, 9, 15).

Or: lest it add <guilt> upon your head.

Or: If he put it upon your responsibility even until death, then give it over, and do not let your spirit be
taken as pledge for it; or: If <God> commits you to die in your poverty, entrust yourself to Him and in your
spirit do not rebel against Him.
Lines 5-7 provide two examples of admonitions phrased with three subdivisions, the first includes a negative motive clause (..... ו... ול... מק), the second one a positive result clause (..... ו... ול... מק). Lines 15-17 contain aphoristic sentences: “Then you will understand what is bitter for a man and what is sweet for a fellow... For as God is to man so is his father, and as masters are to a fellow so is his mother, for they are the furnace that conceived you”.

Lines 2-3 remind the addressee of his struggle for his daily bread, alluding to Gen 3:17-19. These lines could have been a conclusion to 4Q416 II 18-21 that addresses the need for decent and humble living.

Lines 3-6 give advice on taking care of and returning deposits. These lines also advise not to receive property from a stranger.

Lines 7-8 mention the hope of the righteous even if he dies, and lines 8-15 mention true spirituality: walking with God in humility, searching His secrets, receiving His discipline, and always praising His name.

V 15 - VI 13 contains a section on family relations: V 15-19 provides a paraphrasing interpretation of the fifth Commandment. V 20 - VI 13 talks about the relation to one’s wife and children. Among other things, VI 6-10 paraphrases Num 30:7-9 on the husband’s authority to annul the vows and votive offerings of his wife.

Lines 8-21 cannot be easily characterized as either admonitions or discourse, the two literary layers we have postulated in 4QInstruction. Some sentences display the structure of the wisdom admonition [an admonition in the imperative (or relevant) mood followed by a subordinate clause]. At the same time, this section displays terminology characteristic of the discourses of 4QInstruction: ‘the mystery to come’ (lines 14, 18, 21); “investigate His birth-times” (line 9); “investigate [her] birth-times” (line 20); “the roots of evil” (line 14); “over a glorious inheritance He gave you authority” (lines 11-12). It seems likely that the author reworked earlier material about a humble attitude as well as the fifth Commandment, and interspersed it with sentences of his own (see section 3.3).

(1) See READINGS on the preserved letters from 4Q417 IV 27. This line contained a subordinate clause to the admonition “Do not dishonour the organ of your [b]osom.” (4Q416 IV 21).

(2) Remember your lowly state, and be reminded that you are not entitled to luxuries. Scripture reminds you that only in toil will you earn your bread.

(3) Cf. the preceding column, line 14 ו... ול... מק. יִשּׁ כ in its concrete sense ‘poor’, and not figuratively as ‘humble’.

(3) We correct the preserved text יִשְׁלָנָה (‘in your unfaithfulness’) to יִשְׁלָנָה (‘in your will’), and consider יִשְׁלָנָה a scribal error due to an interchange of mem and sin. Eiseman/Wise keep יִשְׁלָנָה and translate “in your unfaithfulness”, and so do Strugnell/Harrington; “in thy treacherousness”. The context deals with humble living and man’s need for sustenance. We therefore see here an allusion to Gen 3:17-19, especially the phrases יִשְׁלָנָה יִשְׁלָנָה יִשְׁלָנָה ... מְשַׁמְשַׁמְשׁ נִשָּׁמָה יִשְׁלָנָה יִשְׁלָנָה... מְשַׁמְשַׁמְשׁ נִשָּׁמָה. 4Q416 V 3-6. Restore a deposit in full!

4Q416 V 3-6. Restore a deposit in full!

The word יִשְׁלָנָה occurs elsewhere in 4QInstruction; in 4Q423 1-2-4 it is contained in a paraphrase of Gen 3:17. See comments on this text below.
These lines deal with a deposit or money entrusted to the addressee: do not touch the money entrusted to you, return them in full, and do it with joy. If you are accused of having touched the money and must swear to your innocence, do not receive any money, probably because such money may be conceived of as a bribe.

Only a trace is preserved of the first letter after the lacuna, sade is one of the possibilities. The meaning of אֵן here is 'entrust' or 'deposit'. As מָעַן is commonly used in 4QInstruction for 'business', we reconstruct מָעַן (or שֵׂאָל הָרָע) and propose to interpret it as "<money> entrusted for [business]."

either "lest you be burned" or "lest it (your hand) be burned". The suffix of הפך refers to the entrusted money or the deposit: theft will bring its punishment upon the dishonest custodian. The fire could possibly refer to the flames of Gehenna. This admonition reminds us of Jesus' warnings that dependence upon Mammon endangers man's eschatological fate (Matt 6:24; Luke 12: 13-21, 33-34; 18:24).

Pi'el impf. of פָרַק 'declare free from', cf. Hi 9:28; 10:14; Ps 19:13 (in the last two cases used with pa).

The 3rd person plural is used about God in the continuation; cf. הָפַךְ (line 10) and חֲפָר (line 9, as spelled in 4Q418 9 10). According to this option, the meaning of the context is: if God (the source of all things) destine you to die, do not rebel against him (חיי אברך ב') in your spirit, but accept your fate. The reference could be to a fatal illness.

Since lines 3-6 deal with having money in custody or receiving a deposit, we opt for the second interpretation of הפך (2nd person singular with suffix): "If he (the one who entrusted you) put it (the money/deposit) upon your head (i.e. make you responsible for it) even until death, then give it over". The suffix of הפך can refer to the money/deposit, or to the life of the addressee.

This yields either "do not act badly against him", or "do not let your spirit be taken as pledge for it".

4Q16 V7-8. The hope of the righteous after death.

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73 Early Jewish texts can use a verb in plural when they refer to God. Cf. CD II 13 which uses the same verbal form מָעַן. He established their names with precision", and further Luke 6:38 "they will pour (δόθητε) into your lap", 16:9 "that they may receive you (δέκατα σας Ἰησοῦ) in the eternal dwellings". See Billerbeck II, 221, for a number of rabbinical parallels; and H. Braun, Qumran und das Neue Testament, vol. 1, Tübingen 1966, 88-9.
Even if the righteous has to die, he has a lasting hope - we should note that in a deterministic theology God alone is responsible for the length of man's days. If one interprets the lines as a reference to God, these lines imply the following: submit yourself to God if you feel that death is approaching; your remembrance will last and you can look forward to the end-time bliss.

Three parallel sentences express the hope of the righteous after death: “- Then you will rest with the truth, - and in your death your remembrance will blossom forever, - and in the end you will inherit joy”. Depending on the interpretation of the preceding sentences, such a death is caused either by the will of God or by an severe business adversary. If the addressee behaved correctly and honestly in business, he could have courage even when approaching death.

Cf. Prov 10:7; 4Q417 4 ii 3: "With him who fears the Lord it will be well at the last, and he will be blessed on the day of his death"; and from Sirach’s praise of the fathers 44:13: “their memory will last for all time”; 46:11: "may their memory be blessed"; 49:10: "may their bones flourish where they lie". Sir 40:19 uses the phrase “make a name flourish” on a good name in this life.

The word ראות can either be interpreted as ‘offspring’ (i.e. your descendents will inherit joy due to the good name you leave behind, so Strugnell/Harrington) or ‘end of life’. In this context the latter option should be preferred. We therefore regard the three lines as three parallel sentences, all referring to a blessed death and hope for afterlife.

4Q416 V 8-15. Be humble, study God’s mysteries and praise His name!

You show true spirituality when you are humble and content with your own portion. Walk according to the mysteries God has revealed and continue to study your spiritual inheritance. Praise Him for His acts of salvation towards you. When you receive His admonition and seek His will in humility, you will understand the truth about man.

The content of these lines could be phrased as follows: be humble, do not desire more than your inherited portion of land, do not boast of your possessions. If God restores your honour and financial freedom, walk in His mysteries and inquire into His secrets. Then you will gain knowledge of your spiritual inheritance and will walk in righteousness.

In the context this is not a descriptive phrase, but an admonition to be humble (the same is the case in line 12).

4Q416 V 8-15 is a Hitpael of ירא which should probably be understood as ‘your inherited portion of land’. Less likely it could be understood figuratively as the spiritual inheritance of the elect, as in lines 10 and 11 below, and thrice in 4Q418 81 3. In the latter case the meaning would be: the one important thing to desire in life is one’s spiritual inheritance.

7The word ראות occurs 14 times in the more or less contemporary Book of Sirach, and only in one case (16:3) does the word have the meaning ‘offspring’. In the other cases it means ‘end’. It has the specific meaning ‘end of life’, ‘death’ in 6 or 7 cases; 7:36; 11:25, 27, 28, 16:3 (?); 35:27; 38:20.
Hitpa'el form of הָסְרָה is a Hitpa'el form of הָסְרָה, not found in the Bible. Jastrow gives for Hitpa'el the meaning 'be swallowed up', 'disappear', i.e. to forfeit. The phrase move a boundary is biblical (Deut 19:14; 27:17; Hos 5:10; Prov 22:28; 23:10), and is also used in the Qumran scrolls (CD V 20 = 4Q267 (4QDb) 2 4; 4Q266 (4Qna) 1 4; 4Q416 VI 8-9). Here it is probably used figuratively about transgressing the law, as in the next column (4Q416 VI 6 "If your neighbour gets authority over her he has moved the border of his life").

The phrase move a boundary is biblical (Hos 5:10; Deut 19:14; 27:17; Prov 22:28; 23:10), and is also used in the Qumran scrolls (CD V 20 = 4Q267 (4QDb) 2 4; 4Q266 (4Qna) 1 4; 4Q416 VI 8-9).

"If He restores your honour"). The subject of can be God, the business adversary of lines 3-6, or the indefinite 'one'. We tend to opt for the first possibility. 'Restoration of honour' probably means acquiring financial freedom, be free from any claim to one's possessions. Alternatively, if lines 6-7 referred to the case of a fatal illness, this sentence could refer to healing and recovering from it.

"Man's 'walking' in truth and righteousness is a recurring theme in 4QInstruction. This is the only case in which we encounter walking in (according to) the mystery to come'. Cf. 4Q417 IX 12-13, 19 5 8-10; 4Q417 IX 21 5 8-10; 4Q417 IX 14 3 8-10. The parallel exhortations and both relate to God's mysteries. The meaning of is probably identical with "study the birth-times of salvation", i.e. study His eschatological secrets.

This passage is written in hymnic style. Three parallel sentences exhort man to praise his God: "-Praise Him in all your ways, - give glory to Him who has honoured you, - and praise His name always". The reason for this exhortation is given by three parallel sentences which describe God's mercy toward the elect and the glorious lot he has received: "- For He lifted your head from poverty, - seated you among nobles, - and gave you authority over a glorious inheritance".

"He bequeathed each man his inheritance, and He is your portion and your inheritance among the sons of men. In His inheritance He gave you authority. And you, honour Him in this; in
sanctifying yourself to Him”. Both in 4Q418 81 3-4 and this text the reference to the God-given inheritance of the addressee precedes an exhortation to praise.

(10) Man should praise God in all circumstances, cf. Eph 5:20; 1 Thess 5:18. Strugnell/Harrington read ἁγιάσθησον γάρ τινα, and suggest to reconstruct a noun ending with ἀρχή (see above under READINGS).

(11) The plural form of ἡ αὐτὴ ἡ ἀδιανόητη ἀλήθεια, which addresses God in the 2nd person.

(11-12) The elect is already now partaker of a glorious lot. The participle of ὁ ἀνθρώπος is in BH spelled אֶת הָאָדָמָה, while the derivate אָדָם designates ‘poverty’. 4QInstruction can spell the noun אָדָם or אֶת (for the latter spelling, see line 6). The text has a word play of the two meanings of אָדָם, ‘poor’ and ‘head’.

(11-12) The plural form of ἡ αὐτὴ ἡ ἀδιανόητη ἀλήθεια in Hip’il is frequently used in 4QInstruction with reference to authority (see section 4.4). In line 17 הממשה is used with regard to parents’ relation to their children, and in lines 2-7 of the next column regarding the husband’s authority over his wife. In line 3 of the preceding column (reconstructed) the phrase refers to custody of property. In this case as well as in 4Q418 81 3, 9, 15, הממשה describes God’s granting the elect a glorious inheritance. The noun הממשה is frequent in 4QInstruction (30 occurrences, the verb מַמֵּשׁ probably alludes to מַמֵּשׁ כְּפַדְתָּו of 1 Sam 2:8 and מַמֵּשׁ כְּפַדְתָּו probably alludes to מַמֵּשׁ כְּפַדְתָּו of 1 Sam 2:8 and מַמֵּשׁ כְּפַדְתָּו, the ‘lovely inheritance’ of Ps 16:5 (see section 4.3.2 on 4QInstruction’s use of Psalms 16 and 73 to describe the lot of the elect). The theme of the ‘glorious inheritance’ (now and in the hereafter) recurs in 4QInstruction: 4Q417 11 55 160 7, 8; 4Q418 55 12 19; 4Q418 81 3-6, 12-14. The next column uses the same words in the paragraph dealing with the addressee’s relation to his wife; человеческая суть (4Q416 VII 11).

(12) Cf. line 7 of the preceding column, בהרשא מתי, where this same phrase is used about seeking up one’s creditor. Here it refers to seeking God and His good will.

(12-13) A new paragraph starts after the vacat. An imaginary quote is used here as a rhetorical device: “do not say ‘I am poor and will not seek out knowledge’”. Similar rhetorical devices are found in 4Q417 III 11-12, 16-17; 4Q418 55 5-9, 11-12; 4Q418 69 ii 3-5, 11-14; 4Q418 162 2. The quote is followed by an exhortation to seek discipline and purify one’s heart and thoughts, formulated as a triple parallelism: Bend your shoulder to all discipline, with all [knowledge] purify your heart, and with abundant understanding your thoughts.

(14-15) This admonition is phrased as a 2+1 parallelism: the first two members exhort to study God’s truth and mysteries, and the third exhort to investigate the origins of evil. The outcome of the meditation follows in line 15, and is introduced by מִי (as in line 9 above); “then you will understand what is bitter for a man and what is sweet for a fellow”. To express the command the
admonition uses the imperative (לָשׁוּט) and the injunctive (the imperfect form לֶשֶׁט, and the parallel form לָשָׁט) which should be understood as a consecutive perfect rather than copulative וַאֲשֶׁר and imperative). It is frequently used in 4QInstruction with reference to meditating upon truth and evil, cf. 4Q415 1 11; 4Q418 81 17; 4Q417 IX 14, 27; 4Q417 3 3; 4Q418 147 6; 238 3 (see section 4.1.2, note 26). This takes normally the preposition -ה, which is lacking in the sentence. Meditation upon the 'roots of evil' and the 'roots of understanding' is characteristic of 4QInstruction and 1Q/4QMysteries (see section 5.1.3).

The outcome of the meditation is to know what are the lasting good things in life. For Gen 2:18 אָדָם לְאֶחָד מֹרֶה לִבּוֹ לְאֶחָד מֹרֶה לָבוֹ: Similar sentences are found a number of times among later Stoic teachers (end of the first and beginning of the second century CE): Musonius Rufus (on the relation of a king to his people) "a benefactor must know what is good for a man and what is bad", τί δὲν ἀληθῶς ἀληθῶς δὲ κακῶς; further three times on the Stoic position that one should marry: "it is appropriate for man according to nature", "fitting for each man", "fitting for a philosopher"; κατὰ φύσιν ἀληθῶς προστάσκων: προσφέρει ἐκατόν: προσφέρει τὸν φιλόσοφον; Dio Chrysostom "on what is fitting for men", περι τῶν προστάτων τούς ἀληθῶς; 1 Cor 7:1 (probably a Pauline quote from a letter from Corinth) "it is good for a man not to touch a woman", καλὸν ἀληθῶς γυναικὸς μὴ ἀπετεθή. According to Epictetus, the Cynics investigate "what things are friendly to men and what hostile", ὅτα ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀληθῶς φίλα καὶ τίνα πολεμία.

4Q416 V 15 - V 15. Family ethics.

4Q416 V 15-19 reflects on the fifth Commandment. 4Q416 V 20-VII 13 reflects on man's relation to his wife (and shortly to his daughters and sons), based on Genesis 2-3 and Numbers 30. References to the revelation of raz nihyeh are interspersed with the parenetic material. 4Q416 VI 14-15 seems to connect the overseeing of one's family with raz nihyeh. 4Q416 VI 14-16 probably functioned as a bridging passage between the long section with admonitions (4Q416 II-VI) and the following discourses (cols. VII-XI).


The admonition about man's relation to his parents is framed on both sides by the exhortation to study God's mysteries, which will convey give deeper understanding of this relation. Lines 15-19 provide an interpreting paraphrase of the fifth Commandment, Exod 20:12/Deut 6:16, cf. Sir 3:1-16 which provides striking parallels to our text. Parents have a God-given authority, parents' relation to children reflects God's relation to man. Therefore one should revere and serve them, Lines 17-18 connect the revelation of raz nihyeh with the commandment to honour one's parents. The words וַאֲשֶׁר and וַיֶּעַשׂ occur in parallelisms both in lines 15

75Musonius, VIII, That Kings also should Study Philosophy; see C.E. Lutz, "Musonius Rufus "The Roman Socrates"", Yale Classical Studies 10, New Haven 1947, 3-147, p. 60, lines 7-11.
76Musonius, XIV, "Is Marriage a Handicap for the Pursuit of Philosophy?"; ibid., p. 92, lines 6-9, 17-18; p. 96, line 3.
79Arrian's Discourses of Epictetus, III, xxii 24-25.
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

and 16. To honour one’s parents adds to one’s own honour, and brings the blessing of a long life, promised in the Scriptures.

(16) 4Q416 probably reads 'in your steps (your walking)' rather than 'in your lowly position'. The latter reading (preferred by Harrington/Strugnell) would provide a parallelism: "- Honour your father in your poverty, - and your mother in your lowly position". However, the plural form of the word points to 'your steps' as the correct reading (cf. Dan 11:43 "in his footsteps"). While occurs in the plural in the Bible, does not, and a plural form of this noun ('a few', 'little') sounds strained.

(16) Wacholder translates "And as the Lord to the mighty so is one's mother", Harrington "and as a master is to a fellow, so is his mother". It is contextually appropriate to understand as 'masters' rather than 'the Lord', cf. the verb 'to serve' in the next line. In our translation the text provides a meaningful synthetic parallelism "- for as God is to man so is his father, - and as masters are to a guy so is his mother". Sir 3:6-7 has a close parallel to this text: "He who obey s the Lord, honors his mother, and serves those who bore him like masters (for δεσπότας αὐτοῦ)". The close parallels between this text and Sir 2:1-16 point to a common tradition or possibly dependence of 4QInstruction upon Sirach in the interpretation of the fifth Commandment: Ben Sira uses δεσπότας in the same context where our text has ἀντιδίδωτος, and both texts admonish to 'serve' those 'who bore you', and relate a man's honour to that of his father.

(17) "They are the furnace (or: crucible) that conceived you". ἐγενότατος is a Qal participle of ἐγενόμην with 2nd person singular suffix. The same phrase occurs in 1QapGen VI 2 "in the furnace of my conception I sprang forth for truth" (uttered by Noah), as well as three times in the description of the eschatological birth pangs in 1QHa III (לlandırיה מֵאֲסֹר אֲשֶׁר הָעָלָה 'the furnace of her child-bearing' (lines 8, 10, 12)). This similarity could point to some kind of relation between this hodayah and 4QInstruction.

(17) See above on lines 11-12. Here is used on the parents' authority over their children.

(17) We interpret ᾧ as 'inclination' and translate "As He appointed your parents over you and (appointed) the inclination (to rule) over the spirit, so ...". Alternatively ᾧ can be taken as a verb: "He fashioned the spirit". However, the preposition ᾧ does not fit easily with the latter option. Eisenman/Wise translate "and appointed (them) over (your) Spirit".

(17-18) Harrington takes the parents as the subject of this sentence. A comparison with other occurrences of this phrase, which is central within the thinking of 4QInstruction, demonstrates that the subject is God. The sentence either appears as it does here (1Q26 1.4, 4Q418 184.2, 4Q418 190.2-3; 4Q423 5.1-2) or with a slight variant, (4Q418 123 ii 4).

81 Cf. LXX to Prov 30:10, which translates וְהָעָלָה with δεσπότας in the meaning 'master of a slave'.
82 Morgenstern, Qimron, Sivan, "The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon", 35, 40. J.F. Elwolde suggests that וְהָעָלָה is a noun in apposition, and tends to translate "they, a crucible, are your progenitors": Review of Wacholder, Aeggg, Bowley, Concordance, 236-7.
83 "Wisdom at Qumran", 148; "Wisdom Texts from Qumran", 44, 47.
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4Qinstruction

(18) ;eim )llQ?

~ J Cf.

Sir 3:11

1·:i~ ~ Ø'~

231

'fl:J:>,"a man's honour gives honour to his father". While

Ben Sira finds !hata man 's good reputation is an honour also for his father, this admonition appeals to reason:
revere your father, as such an attitude brings honour to yourself.
(19) i!.:>"O' 11··11" il::>''Tl ]JlC?J The text refers to the promise connected with the fifth Commandment (Exod 20: 12;
Deut 5:161•0•
(19-20) pin

Ji::>i~'

~1?::i

Jllo?). For the combination with i!::>"l'T, cf. Deut 6:21'0'

[

]

0

j.:>i~'

1m:i?1 T'" 'O' ?::>.

ma::> i!~ IU'i ~1] It is difficult to decide whether the sentence between the vacats

in lines 19 and 20 belongs to the preceding topic relating to one's parents, or to the following one relating to
one's wife. One could restore something like "Although you are poor, when you take a wife, do not take her
unlawfully".
(19) ]°i!ø:l J The conjunctions -.:>and ..izi are joined (-ø;:,), probably with the temporal meaning 'as', 'when', as in
Mishnaic Hebrew. 84
40416V19 - VI 13. The husband's relation to Cand authority over) his wife.
(V 20 - V! 5) This section deals with the relation to one's wife (and secondarily one's children). The admonition
about takinga wife and staying with her is supported by quotations from and allusions to Genesis 2 and 3: you
shall live together in fellowship and be separate from the parents (cf. lines 15-19 above). You, the husband, are
the only one who has authority over her. 4Q416 VI 4 contains a short reference to sans and daughters. For the
(20-21) i!'iO no [

nP,?io l'Tp

i'DØli:J ill111p? ~J

The missing end of line 20 can be reconstructed in

various ways. Only a trace is preserved of the last letter before the lacuna, so that beyond yod/waw also taw or
he are possible. It is not seif-evident how taking a wife is connected to raz nihyeh, the mysteries of salvation. A
comparison with 1Q27 (lQMyst) 1 i 4 ;rm ric i!O?o ~? c111m suggests il'i1J no [ilØ!)J ci?on 1m? n) 4T/10 np
"check her] birth-times,[ that she will be saved by] the mystery to come". Eisenman/Wise propose n]i,.,•o np
"take her from among the daughter[s of".". Our suggestion i!f,.,10 11p could either be interpreted as 'receive her
offspring' (i.e. accept her children) or 'investigate her birth-times'. Strugnell/Harrington tend towards "take her
offspring", and propose to reconstruct something like ;rm no [?'T.ln

l~ "'ICll1iTI i!::>'i.!1~

i!fi?io 11p; and translate

"Thou hast taken a wife in thy poverty, take [her] offspring[ in thy lowly estate. But take care lest thou be
distractedJ from the mystery that is to come while thou keepest company together". Since common children
would probably not be designated •her offspring' , c.:>h?io could be an option. At the same time, a father would
hardly need an admonition to accept the children his wife begets. Therefore we suggest for consideration
"investigate her birth-times" (i.e. the astrological sign under which she was bom).85 According to our
84Segal, Mishnaic Hebrew

Grammar, 148. We are aware of only one further occurrence of -ø;:, in the Scrolls;
4QMMT B 76 :iiroø;:, 'as is written' (MS d; MS c has :i1roøo), cf. Qimron, HDSS, 77-8, 82. -ø.:> appears five
times in Qohelet, four times with the meaning 'like', and once in the temporal sense.
BS,,p? has the meaning 'ponder', ' understand' in 4Q417lll11 llØ' •"17.c ilf' "understand the birth-times of
salvation"; 4Q418 77 2 tii~ ]rni?in np1 n•m ri[ "the mystery to come, and ponder the genesis[ of m]an"; and
4Q418 228 3 i!.:>}'iJp ~o np ~·;:, "that you understand thejudgement of [yourJ Maker". Further, 4QHoroscope
probably refers to the astrological sign under which one was bom; 4Ql86 1ii8-91'?' ~•i i~ i?ic.i ~", nn
i'IØi! ?n:i 1?ll "and this is the time of birth on which he is brought forth - in the sign of (or: on the festival of)
Taurus"; 2 ii 3 i•?.11 ~", i•?- "i,,o. Cf. also our proposal to understand C"i?'.o M':l in 4Qlnstruction and
lQ/4QMysteries as 'the Zodiac sign of one's birth' (see section 5.1.3, note 51).


An Analysis of 4QInstruction

suggestion, the addressee is advised to check the birth-date and Zodiac sign of the prospective partner before marriage, and the spiritual implications which may derive from it.

A comparison with 4Q417 III 10-11 could yield a suggested reading. One could thus reconstruct something like “When you take a wife in your poor estate, (do not forget to) ponder the birth-times of salvation and be not detached from the mystery to come”.

(21) is an amalgam of two phrases from Genesis, (2:18, 20) and (2:23). here means ‘your body’ ( can be used as an euphemism for the genitalia (Lev 15:2, 19; Ezek 16:26), but this is probably not the meaning here. The sexual cohabitation is referred to in line 5 of the following column. For the wife as man’s helpmate, cf. also Sir 36:29 “Acquire a wife, the first of acquisitions, a help and a stronghold, a pillar to lean on”.

The length of the lacuna indicates that there was another word before the obvious reconstruction [יכ שבעת איש]. Alternatively one could reconstruct [יכ שבעת איש]. For the formulas and introducing a biblical prooftext, see 1QS V 15; VIII 14; CD I 13; V I; VII 10, 19; XI 18, 20. But we do not have other examples of quotation formulas in 4QInstruction, where quotes from Scripture are interwoven with the running text. We therefore suppose the lacuna contained a phrase qualifying [אל תצא], like or . Strugnell and Harrington’s tentative restoration “walk together with the helpmate of thy flesh [according to the statute engraved by El that a man should leave]”, is far too long for the lacuna.

Gen 2:24 is quoted as reference text..

4Q416 VI (4Q416 2 iv, juxtaposed with 4Q416 frgs. 4 and 17).

Mus. Inv. 181
PAM 42.597, 43.512*, 43.524*
LI. 1-9 = 4Q418 10 6-11 (bold typeface).

As suggested in section 2.1.1.1, this column is narrower than the preceding ones (it has 40-42 ls per line) because it was the last one on the sheet.

The reconstructions in lines 1, 2, 3, 4, 9 and 13 are not found in the PC.

As argued in section 2.1.1.1, frg. 17 is tentatively located at the ends of lines 12-16, and frg. 4 at the bottom right corner of the column.

1. את葡京ע [אות葡京ע] א📸קבאצלםבמשנהזחיילברשםאתזר[150]
2. את побו [אות побו] בת אל [אות побо] בת אל [אות побо] [אות побо]
3. לאמש.flipלמשנהזחיילברשםאתזר[150]
4. את побо [אות побо] בת אל [אות побо] בת אל [אות побо] [אות побо]
5. אם[את побо] בת אל [אות побо] בת אל [אות побо] [אות побо]
6. אם[את побо] בת אל [אות побо] בת אל [אות побо] [אות побо]
7. אם[את побо] בת אל [אות побо] בת אל [אות побо] [אות побо]
8. אם[את побо] בת אל [אות побо] בת אל [אות побо] [אות побо]
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

Notes on Readings

L. 2. נזק. 4Q418 10 6 reads נזק. Both readings are possible in the context.
L. 4 נזק. Or נזק.
L. 8 נזק. 4Q418 10 10 seems to read נזק. נזק.
L. 9-10. נזק. Or: נזק. נזק. ידוע, cf. 11QThLIII 15, which has נזק. נזק. נזק in the same context.
L. 10. נזק. Cf. Num 30:6, 9, 13 נזק. נזק. נזק. Materially the text reads נזק. נזק. but it seems that he was written erroneously for נזק. The only logical reading is נזק. נזק.
L. 10. נזק. There is probably a space after the נזק.
L. 11. נזק. 4Q418 11 possibly preserves the same passage. This fragments reads נזק. נזק. נזק. נזק. נזק. נזק.
L. 12-16. As argued in section 2.1.1.1, frg. 17 is tentatively located at the left margin of lines 12-16. Some thematical similarities between the preserved text of 4Q416.2 iv and this fragment add probability to this option: נזק. הזרמה occurs in 4Q416.2 iv 7, 8 and 9 as well as in frg. 17. נזק. הזרמה of frg. 17 fits well with the theme of this column, how to oversee one's family. Frg. 17 preserves the phrase נזק. נזק. נזק, and we know from lines 14-21 of the preceding column that 4QInstruction connects parenthesis on family matters with נזק. נזק. נזק.
L. 14. נזק. Or נזק.
L. 18-20. As argued in section 2.1.1.1, frg. 4 is tentatively located at the bottom right corner of this column.
L. 20. נזק. A trace of the leg of a qof can be seen at the beginning of the line. A horizontal stroke below the line probably derives from a final mem. נזק. נזק. נזק could be a tempting option, cf. 11QThLIII 14 (line 15 of the following column), but the trace of the second letter cannot reflect a final sade (cf. the form of נזק in the next column, 4Q416 VII 14).
L. 20. נזק. Before the lacuna the beginning of a bet, kap, jet or pe is preserved.

Translation

1. his father (and) his mother and cleave to his wife and they shall be one flesh.
2. He gave you authority over her, and she will heed your voice and (?). Her father

Emendation. Materially the text reads נזק. נזק. נזק.
3. He did not give authority over her. He separated her from her mother, and to you shall be her desire, and she will be
4. One flesh with you. He will set your daughter aside for another, and your sons for their wives.
5. And you, be together with the wife of your bosom, for she is the kin of your bosom.
6. If your neighbour gets authority over her he has moved the border of his life. Over her spirit
7. He gave you authority, that she should walk according to your will and not make many vows or votive offerings.
8. Your spirit revoke <them> according to your will. Every binding oath of hers to vow a vow,
9. cancel it by a word of your mouth, and by your will forbid her.
10. of your lips He pardons her for your sake. Neither should you multiply [vows, lest disgrace come upon(?)]
11. your honour. In your inheritance [your good will
12. in your inheritance lest [the mystery to come. And know
13. the wife of your bosom, and one will deride [you
14. [your house [ ]
15. [
16. [
17. [
18. rise(?) wrath, for He loves the
19. transgression, for on them He will fan the furnace
20. Man of understanding, rejoice in the inheritance of truth, and in

COMMENTS

Lines 1-13 continue the admonition about one’s relation to his wife, which started in V 20. The quotation from Gen 2:24 justifies the husband’s authority over his wife.

Lines 1-5 deal with the fellowship of husband and wife. They belong together physically and spiritually. A father-in-law does not have any more authority over his married daughter. Line 4 refers to daughters and sons.

Lines 6-13, which paraphrase Num 30:7-16, deal with the husband’s power to cancel vows or obligations made by his wife.

The descriptive style of lines 1-7 differs from the admonitions of the preceding columns. Only in lines 8-10 we encounter admonitions in the imperative and vetitive.

Line 14 (frg. 17) returns to the theme of meditation upon the mysteries of God, cf. lines 14-21 of the preceding column. The reference to ‘your house’ in line 15 probably connected the exhortation on r'een to the preceding admonitions relating to the family.

Lines 17-20 (frg. 4) introduce an eschatological discourse with a length of c. two columns: God’s mercy is upon the elect who can rejoice, while His wrath is upon the ungodly.

(1-5) These lines represent a continuation of the section on taking a wife and staying with her (4Q416 V 20-21). The phrases הָעָלֶהֶה (lines 1, 3-4); הָעָלֶהֶה הָעָלֶהֶה (lines 5, 13); and יְהִי הָעָלֶהֶה הָעָלֶהֶה (line 5) refer to sexual cohabitation.

(1) The text of line 1 continues the quote from Gen 2:24 which started in V 21.

(2) The subject of the first sentence is God. On הָקֵּל בְּהָקֵּל see above on 4Q416 V 17. This sentence rephrases Gen 3:16 חֲמָדָה. Cf. another fragment of 4QInstruction, 4Q415 9

67 Or: will the furnace be blown.
8-9 (קִנֵּי is found in line 12 of this fragment). The phrase "He gave you authority over her" probably continued with a reference to the wife’s obedience. Strugnell/Harrington propose ביבא, which would fit well in the context. The lacuna could accommodate two more words between ביבא and the reconstructed כַּכְכָּל הַיָּסָרָה.

(2-4) [אָבִיתוֹ] אל המשת והמעטה והושיעה את אִישָׁהוֹת והיוותה עַל תָּחֵץ אֲרוֹם. When her daughter has been married, the father has no longer any authority over her, and she has been separated from her mother’s domain. Her yearning and desires should now be related to her husband. ביבא rephrases Gen 3:16 וְאִישׁ וְאִשָּׂה בְּצִבָּהֶם, and the phrase מֵאֵישׁ בֵּית אְדֹא אָבָרֵי בֵּית לַמֶּשֶׁר is probably found also in 4Q419 (4QSap. Work B) 4 1 , which reads בֵּית אָלֵישָׁהוֹת וּמֵאֵישׁ בֵּית אֲדֹא. The phrase מֵאֵישׁ בֵּית אְדֹא אָבָרֵי בֵּית לַמֶּשֶׁר is probably found also in 4Q419 (4QSap. Work B) 4 1 , which reads בֵּית אָלֵישָׁהוֹת וּמֵאֵישׁ בֵּית אֲדֹא. The sentence "He gave you authority over her" probably continued with a reference to the wife’s obedience. Strugnell/Harrington propose ביבא, which would fit well in the context. The lacuna could accommodate two more words between ביבא and the reconstructed כַּכְכָּל הַיָּסָרָה.

(4) The length of the line allows one or two words in the lacuna (7-10 is) - והשם is a mere proposal. In the context the reading והשם is preferable to והשם. The subject of the sentence is God. His will for the daughter is that she be bound to one man in a lifelong monogamous marriage: God will separate her from you, the father, as your wife was separated from her parents, and He will also set your sons apart for their (future) wives. For the subject matter, cf. CD IV 20 - V 2; Sir 7:23-25 יבֶּן כִּי צִדָּה אֶלָה אֶלָה בַּעַל כְּמוֹ אֶלֶם אִישָׁהוֹת והיוּתָה עַל תָּחֵץ אֲרוֹם. The phrase מֵאֵישׁ בֵּית אְדֹא אָבָרֵי בֵּית לַמֶּשֶׁר is probably found also in 4Q419 (4QSap. Work B) 4 1 , which reads בֵּית אָלֵישָׁהוֹת וּמֵאֵישׁ בֵּית אֲדֹא. The sentence "He gave you authority over her" probably continued with a reference to the wife’s obedience. Strugnell/Harrington propose ביבא, which would fit well in the context. The lacuna could accommodate two more words between ביבא and the reconstructed כַּכְכָּל הַיָּסָרָה.

(5) For בֵּית אָלֵישָׁהוֹת, ‘kin’ or ‘flesh’, cf. CD VII 1; VIII 6, where a man’s wife or relative is called מַעַרְשָׁהוֹת. The phrase מַעַרְשָׁהוֹת refers to the sexual cohabitation of husband and wife. The phrase מַעַרְשָׁהוֹת is taken from Deut 13:7; 28:54. It occurs also in Sir 9:1; 11QT לִוְיָב 20; 4Q416 V 21 and line 13 below.88 Line 5, although lacking an explicit verb, is a full sentence (one should probably supplement מֵאֵישׁ בֵּית אְדֹא אָבָרֵי בֵּית לַמֶּשֶׁר). The husband is admonished to stay together with his wife, with whom he belongs together physically. The admonition to live together certainly covers a wide area, including the sexual cohabitation.

4Q416 V 6-11. The husband has power to annul his wife’s vows.

(6-10) The text paraphrases Num 30:7-9, 11-16, on the husband’s authority regarding vows or votive offerings given by his wife (the same topic is covered by CD XVI 10-12 and 11QT לִוְיָב 2-3). The pentateuochal law is related here to the theological concept of the husband’s authority over his wife, and related to the family order derived from Genesis 2-3. Two terms for ‘revoke’, ‘cancel’, which in Numbers 30 appear in the perfect, imperfect or infinitive, are changed to the imperative mood (line 9 מִשְׁבָּת, מִשְׁבָּת, מִשְׁבָּת, מִשְׁבָּת; while the term מַעַרְשָׁהוֹת does not occur in Numbers 30), frequently used in the admonitions of 4QInstruction. In the Qumran scrolls we find laws on vows and votive offerings in CD IX 8-12; XVI 6-18; 11QT לִוְיָב 11-11; 4Q416 V 21 and line 13 below.89 Line 5, although lacking an explicit verb, is a full sentence (one should probably supplement מֵאֵישׁ בֵּית אְדֹא אָבָרֵי בֵּית לַמֶּשֶׁר). The husband is admonished to stay together with his wife, with whom he belongs together physically. The admonition to live together certainly covers a wide area, including the sexual cohabitation.

88 מַעַרְשָׁהוֹת ‘bosom’ is often used with sexual connotations in the Bible: Gen 16:5; Deut 13:7; 28:54, 56; 2 Sam 12:8; 1 Kgs 1:2; Mic 7:5; Prov 5:20; 6:27.

89 Cf. Schiffman, “The Law of Vows and Oaths”.
If your neighbour gets authority over her." This sentence introduces the paragraph on the vows of the wife, and probably mentions an obligation made by the wife that gives the neighbour a claim upon her. For the phrase ‘move a boundary’ see above on 4Q416 V 8–9. The neighbour “moved the boundary of his life”: if he interferes with the wife of another, he transgressed the ethical boundaries of social life.

According to the reconstruction, the husband has authority over the ‘spirit’ of his wife. מַדָּה can mean ‘spiritual life’, ‘will/power to act’, or ‘mind’ (for the latter meaning, cf. Mal 2:15). In the context probably means that the wife has no power to act contrary to her husband’s legal and financial interest. The continuation makes it clear that she shall behave according to the will and decisions of her husband, and not oblige herself and her husband by many vows or votive offerings. The pair מַדָּה יִשָּׁב occurs in the Bible. For the admonition not to multiply vows and votive offerings, cf. Josephus, Ant. XVIII:19 “The Essenes... send votive offerings to the temple”; and CD XVI 13–8 on מַדָּה יִשָּׁב (see section 4.5 and 5.1.3 on the relation between the sections on vows in 4QInstruction, CD and 11QT).

1 Hip’il of מַדָּה, ‘undo’, ‘recall’, as in Num 23:20; Isa 43:13; Am 1:3ff; Esth 8:5. מַדָּה does not occur in Numbers 30.

In Numbers 30, מַדָּה only appears in v 3. מַדָּה is a binding pledge, as in Num 30:3-15.

The reconstruction yields two parallel phrases on the husband’s annulling of his wife’s vows: “Every binding oath of hers to vow a vow, cancel it by a word of your mouth; and by your will forbid her.”

The phrases מַדָּה יִשָּׁב and מַדָּה יִשָּׁב here referring to the husband’s cancelling his wife’s pledges, contrast מַדָּה יִשָּׁב and מַדָּה יִשָּׁב (Num 30:7, 9, 13), which refer to the wife’s uttering a vow. For the admonition, cf. Num 30:9-14, which uses various forms of מַדָּה with regard to the husband’s cancelling the pledges of his wife. For מַדָּה יִשָּׁב, cf. Num 30:6, 9, 12, which use מַדָּה יִשָּׁב about the refusal of the father or husband to accept the pledge of the daughter or wife. We have suggested in section 5.1.1 that 4QInstruction could have been the source for the rulings of the Damascus Document and the Temple Scroll on the husband’s authority to cancel the vows of his wife (CD XVI 10–11; 11QT LIV 1–4).

The subject of מַדָּה יִשָּׁב is God, cf. Num 30:6, 9, 13 מַדָּה יִשָּׁב. In the Bible מַדָּה has always God as subject. According to this text, God will not blame the wife for not keeping her pledge if her husband formally nullified it.

(10–13) The fragmentary character of the preserved text does not allow clear conclusions regarding the subject of these lines, which deal with ‘your inheritance’ (מַדָּה יִשָּׁב can mean either ‘your spiritual inheritance’ or ‘your piece of land’) and ‘the wife of your bosom’. According to our reconstruction lines 10–11 contained a warning to the addressee not to multiply vows himself. Line 13 mentions the wife as מַדָּה יִשָּׁב, as in line 5.

(10–11) "Do not multiply [vows lest disgrace come upon your honour in your inheritance]." מַדָּה יִשָּׁב is a Hip’il of מַדָּה. According to this reconstruction, lines 10–11 would form a natural
continuation of the section on the vows of the wife: a man should be careful not to make vows or give votive offerings which could endanger his inheritance (i.e. his property). Cf. CD XVI, where the paragraph on annulling the wife’s vows (lines 10-12) precedes another paragraph on the danger of vows (lines 13-19); and Num 30:3 (in Numbers, the admonition about the man’s vows precedes the paragraphs about the power of the father or husband to annul the vows of the daughter or wife). For the reconstruction cf. Hab 2:16 and 1QpHab XI 10-11 “shame on your glory ... whose ignominy was greater than his glory”.

4Q416 VII 18-20. God’s wrath will not strike the elect.

(18-20) If frg. 4 is correctly located here, these lines commence the first discourse on the eschatological judgement, which continues in columns VII (= 4Q416 1) and VIII (= 4Q416 3).

Alternatively, could be understood as “<God’s> wrath will rise”, and God be the subject for For the subject matter, cf. 4Q416 VIII 11[? 11] 1ii 5-6; 4Q434 (4QBarki Nafshi?) 1ii 1i:1-6; 4Q434 relating to 4Q417 III 15-17.

For the image of fanning a furnace in a context which deals with God’s wrath, cf. Isa 54:16; Ezek 22:21; and further Sir 43:4 “a blazing furnace, the work of casting”; 1Q5 V 16 “like silver refined in a blazing furnace”.

The elect should rejoice; he knows that he already partakes of an inheritance of truth. is the long form of the masculine singular imperative, used in Qumran Hebrew especially in poetical and liturgical texts. This line has a close parallel in the sectarian pesher on Ps 37:34; 4Q171 (4QPs) I iv 11-12 “all the sons of truth will be pleased by the appointed time(?)” of its period.

4Q416 VII (4Q416 1).

Mus. Inv. 180
PAM 40.620, 41.139, 41.211, 41.412, 41.422, 41.783, 42.556, 43.524
LI. 2-3 = 4Q418 73 1-2. LI. 3-4 = 4Q418 201 1-2. LI. 12-15 = 4Q418 213 1-3 and 4Q418 212 1-3. Overlap underlined.
LI. 2-4 = 4Q418 286 1-4. LI. 5-9 = 4Q418 1 1-5. LI. 9-18 = 4Q418 2 1-7. Overlap indicated by bold characters.

91Qimron, HDSS, 46-7.
It was argued in section 2.1.1.1 that this fragment preserves lines 2-19 of the original column, while Wacholder/Abegg enumerate these lines as 1-18. We have succeeded in reconstructing substantial additional parts of this text with the help of fragments from 4Q418. 4Q418 frgs. 73/201/212 and frgs. 286/1/2 provide two different versions to the running text known from 4Q416 1 (the three darker fragments 286, 1 and 2 represent 4Q418b). The overlap in text between these two sets of fragments from 4Q418 proves our assertion that 4Q418 provides remnants of two different scrolls of 4Qlnstruction.92 4Q418 211 possibly belongs together with frgs. 73/201/212, judged both from its external outlook and contents.93 We have not succeeded in combining it with the text of lines 1-16, and it may belong to one of the adjacent columns. Frg. 201 preserves a top margin, and therefore frg. 73 represents the two bottom lines of the column preceding the column of frg. 201 in 4Q418a.

The proposed reconstructions correspond to a line length of 8.8 cm in line 11 (48 ls), 11.5 cm in line 12 (64 ls) and 10 cm in line 13 (56 ls), which might indicate that the reconstruction in 4Qlnstruction in line 12 is too long (should one restore only 94 ?), or the one in line 11 is too short. The reconstruction of line 13 which yields 56 ls is relatively sound with only one missing word (דית) filled in. Lines 3 and 4 are tentatively reconstructed with 51 and 47 ls.

92 Elgvin, "Admonition Texts", 180, note 4. The material discussed there can now be supplemented with 4Q418 frgs. 1, 73, 186, 201 and 212.
93 Cf. 4Q418 211 4 | רצז | מך. 4Q416 reads מְצַי, "that the righteous shall discern between good and evil". The version of 4Q416 should be preferred in this context of eschatological judgement.
1. He comes to execute judgement on all, to destroy all the wicked and convici(t)

2. all the spirit of flesh for their works of wickedness which they have committed(t)

3. and establish His will (over all evil. He made known to Noah what was(t) to come, period upon period,

4. set time upon set time. He will shut up all the sons of evil, and visit all flesh(t)

5. according to their hosts, upon upon kingdom, province upon province. man upon man,

6. He will reign(t)

7. to... (and the judgement upon all, to...

8. The host of heaven He established from(t) the beginning, He set stars(t) and luminaries

9. as their signs and as symbols of their set[t] times,

10. each one in relation to the other, and all their order and set times were counted[ before Him,

11. In heaven He will judge the work of iniquity, and all the sons of truth will be pleased by[ the appointed time(t)

12. of its period, and all those who have defiled themselves by it will fear and wait, for the heaven will show(t, the kingdom of iniquity(t) will tremble,

13. the water and the depths will fear, all the spirit of flesh will be stripped naked, and the sons of heaven will rejoice on the day]

14. of its judgement. And all iniquity shall be consumed when the period of truth is completed[ and He will reign(t)]
15. in all the ages of eternity, for a God of truth is He and [His] years from the days of old [and God will appear]
16. to establish justice between good and evil[,] that everyone should know the judgments of God, and every creature will understand[?] that
17. it is a creature of flesh, and [His] understanding
18. when He sees that man is but[?]
19. [and] He knows[ their nature[?]

COMMENTS

If frg. 4 is correctly located in the lower part of the previous column, that fragment, which refers to God's wrath and the joyful portion of the elect, preserves the beginning of this discourse on the eschatological judgement (4Q416 VII 17-20). 4Q416 VII 2-19 describes God's end-time judgement at the culmination of the periods of history. Lines 1-2 (cf. our proposed restoration of these lines) probably functioned as some kind of leading for the continuation of the text. Lines 4, 11 and 15 begin sections which describe the judgement from different angles. The continuation of the discourse is preserved in 4Q416 VII 9-15, which describes God's wrath upon the ungodly and His mercy towards the elect.

Lines 1-7: God will judge all iniquity according to His divine order and He will reward kingdoms, countries and men for their evil deeds. Already to Noah the periods of world history and the end to come were revealed.

Lines 8-10 praise God who established the heavenly hosts and the luminaries.

Lines 11-15: This Lord of heaven who will carry through His judgement. As He has designed everything and everybody, He will also hold them responsible. The sons of truth will delight in the end of iniquity. Those who lived in an ungodly way as well as the waters and the depths will fear and tremble because of God's judgement. The sons of heaven (the angels) will rejoice, and all evil will be consumed at the end of the ordained periods of history.

Line 15: God can accomplish this because He is the eternal God of truth.

Lines 15-19: God will bring to an end the struggle between good and evil. He sees the frailty of man, all flesh will know His judgements and acknowledge His Lordship.

For a detailed discussion of main themes in this passage (including its relations to the Musaph prayers of Rosh Hashanah), see section 4.2.1. This part of the discourse uses the literary genres announcement of judgement and salvation and theophany report, and contains a hymnic description of the act of creation. The passage contains poetic devices which could reflect liturgical traditions: the stereotype listing of the objects of God's judgement in lines 5-6, as well as a number of parallelisms:

- The host of heaven He established from[ the beginning and symbols of [their] set[ times;
- so that everyone should know the judgments of God, is a creature of flesh, - and [His] understanding ...
- He set stars[?] and luminaries as their signs (lines 8-9)
- and every creature will understand[?] that at it (lines 16-17)

The statement "In heaven He will judge the work of iniquity" (line 11) is followed by seven subordinate clauses; five negative members are framed by two positive ones:

In heaven He will judge the work of iniquity,
* and all the sons of truth will be pleased by[ the appointed time[?] of its period;
- and all those who have defiled themselves in it will fear and wail;
- for the heaven will shout,
- the kingdom of iniquity will tremble;
- the waters and the depths will fear;
- all the spirits of flesh will be stripped naked;
* and the sons of heaven will rejoice on the day of its judgement (lines 11-14)

4Q416 VII 2-7. God will judge all iniquity.

(2-7) God will judge all iniquity according to what he foretold Noah. We hold that Noah is regarded as a type of the elect community which will be saved through the coming ordeal (cf. 1 Enoch 10; 1 Pet 3:20-21), although this theme is not explicitly mentioned in the preserved text.

(2-3) The phrase occurs also in 4Q418 81-12, cf. 4Q416 IV 2-3 [these words are found also in 4Q419 (4QSap. Work B) 8 ii 7]. God will execute His judgement on all flesh. The tentative rendering of lines 1-2 is based on 1 Enoch 1:9 “when He comes with the myriads of His holy ones, to execute judgement on all, and He will destroy all the wicked and convict all flesh for all their works of wickedness which they have committed”. Cf. also 1QapGen I 25 ויקלחו תחתיו "to curse all flesh".

(3-4) The reconstruction proposed here provides a smooth running text of lines 3-4. According to this text, God revealed to Noah what was hidden for man in general, viz., God's plan for the periods of history until the end-times. 1QapGen II 20-21 uses similar words about the heavenly revelation to Enoch: “with the holy ones; is his lot appointed; and they make everything known to him”. The word כウィ is used in sectarian literature for the appointed times within the periods of history, cf. 1QH I 24 ויקלחו תחתיו "for everlasting ages, and for the numbered cycles of the eternal years in all their seasons”; 4Q369 (4QPrayer of Enosh) 1 i 4-7 ... כウィ תחתיו ילקות ... כウィ תחתיו ילקות המאמız ילקות ... התכון התכון ולקות "all their appointed times in their periods ... for from of old You have engraved for them ... its judgement until the ordained time of judgement ... in all the eternal testimonies”.

(4) Cf. Isa 24:22 (on the judgement on the heavenly forces) וממסרה למלכים וסירה וסירה וסירה "and the doors of the pit shall close on the conceivers of wickedness”; 4Q418 126 i 7 וסירה וסירה ... ממקם וסירה ... ממקם וסירה "when the begotten of unrighteousness are shut up”. The phrase means ‘shut behind’, ‘shut up’, cf. further Gen 7:16; 4Q299 (4QTestamur) 8 9 וסירה וסירה "He shuts them up before the waters”. The phrase also occurring in the next eschatological discourse, 4Q418 69 ii 8 וסירה וסירה וסירה W סירה וסירה וסירה "in its bright flames all the sons of iniquity(?) shall be consumed”; 4QapGen D 1 5 וסירה וסירה וסירה וסירה "Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology”, 459; “Early Essene Eschatology, 146-9”.

(5) For the proposed restoration “and visit all flesh(?) according to their hosts”, cf. the Rosh Hashanah liturgy: "כ ופי כל㛨ת תמייך כו מסיבת ימי ביום ימים ... ימי ימים ... בימיו ימי יום וסירה וסירה וסירה "For the remembrance of every creature
comes before You, each man’s deeds and destiny”. An important theme in the liturgies of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur is God’s visitation of all creatures. This theme recurs in the speech on revelation of God’s mysteries three columns further ahead, 4Q417 IX 9, 16-17. The ‘hosts’ could alternatively be the heavenly hosts, for which cf. from the liturgy’s speech on revelation of God’s mysteries three columns further ahead, 4Q417 IX 9, 16-17. The ‘hosts’ could alternatively be the heavenly hosts, for which cf. from the liturgy’s speech on revelation of God’s mysteries three columns further ahead, 4Q417 IX 9, 16-17. The ‘hosts’ could alternatively be the heavenly hosts, for which cf. from the liturgy’s speech on revelation of God’s mysteries three columns further ahead, 4Q417 IX 9, 16-17. The ‘hosts’ could alternatively be the heavenly hosts, for which cf. from the liturgy’s speech on revelation of God’s mysteries three columns further ahead, 4Q417 IX 9, 16-17.

We interpret מ‘ינן as ‘hīn’, a measurement for fluids, cf. Lev 19:35; Ezek 4:11, 16; 1 Chr 23:29. מ‘ינן is probably a short form or scribal error of מ‘ים. The alternative interpretation of מ‘ינן as ‘plain’ would not explain the form מ‘ינן (further, מ‘ים is always written plene in the Bible). Alternatively, מ‘ימים could be a different pattern of מ‘ים ‘rule’.

After מ‘ינן we reconstruct מ‘ים ת‘יננו. For the phrase מ‘ים ת‘יננו, see Esth 8:11; 9:28. For the year מ‘ים ת‘יננו, see Esth 9:28, 1QH 18-19; 4Q270 (4QD*) 9 ii 21; 4Q413 (4Qsap. work) 10-11; 4QMMMT C 10-11. מ‘ים ת‘יננו is always written מ‘ים ת‘יננו in the Bible. Alternatively, מ‘ים could be a different pattern of מ‘ים ‘rule’.

This text is paralleled by the main theme of Rosh Hashanah, that God determines the fate of countries, peoples and individuals, now and eternally. The New Year liturgy states that God will determine the fate of the provinces for the coming year: "and on the provinces sentences will be pronounced, which one to the sword and which to peace, which one to famine and which to abundance" (quoted in Lev. R. 29:1). Another parallel is Sib. Or. III 517-19 “Why indeed should I proclaim each one according to its fate? for on all peoples, as many as inhabit the earth will the Most High send a terrible affliction”.

4Q416 VII 8-10. It was God, the heavenly judge, who established the heavenly hosts and the luminaries. The Bible contains similar hymnic descriptions of the act of creation, see Job 38:4-7; Isa 40:12; 42:5; 45:18; 48:13. 4Q418 13 preserves the hymn, מ‘ים ת‘יננו can be understood as ‘poorness of their hosts’ or ‘needs of their hosts’.

4Q416 VII 8-10. It was God, the heavenly judge, who established the heavenly hosts and the luminaries. The Bible contains similar hymnic descriptions of the act of creation, see Job 38:4-7; Isa 40:12; 42:5; 45:18; 48:13. 4Q418 13 preserves the hymn, מ‘ים ת‘יננו can be understood as ‘poorness of their hosts’ or ‘needs of their hosts’.

For the reconstruction מ‘ים ת‘יננו, see 1QH 1 11-17. For the reconstruction מ‘ים ת‘יננו, see 1QH 1 11-17. For the reconstruction מ‘ים ת‘יננו, see 1QH 1 11-17. For the reconstruction מ‘ים ת‘יננו, see 1QH 1 11-17. For the reconstruction מ‘ים ת‘יננו, see 1QH 1 11-17.

It was God who established the heavenly hosts and the luminaries. The same theme is found in 11QPs* Creat 7-9; 1 Enoch 2 and 72-82 (the Book of Luminaries). 1 Enoch compares the order of the heavenly realms with the sin and disorder which characterizes the world of men. Although these lines are fragmentary, they probably carried the same thought.

The luminaries decide the set times and festivals. For this theme, cf. Gen 1:14-18, especially v 14 מ‘ים ת‘יננו פסח, מ‘ים ת‘יננו Feast of Lights ... מ‘ים ת‘יננו מ‘ים ת‘יננו ... מ‘ים ת‘יננו מ‘ים ת‘יננו. For the reconstruction מ‘ים ת‘יננו, see 1QH 1 11-17. For the reconstruction מ‘ים ת‘יננו, see 1QH 1 11-17. For the reconstruction מ‘ים ת‘יננו, see 1QH 1 11-17. For the reconstruction מ‘ים ת‘יננו, see 1QH 1 11-17. For the reconstruction מ‘ים ת‘יננו, see 1QH 1 11-17.

97 1Qlsa* 9:5, 6 has מ‘ימים where MT has מ‘ים.
XII 4-6

4Q299 (4QMyst) 5 1-4: מַמְשָׂלי לֵאמֶר עַבָּד אֵל מַלְאֹךְ יְהוָה עַל תַּחַת יַיִשׁ. . . כִּי אֵלָה יִשְׁמָעֵי. . . מַמְשָׂלי לֵאמֶר עַבָּד אֵל מַלְאֹךְ יְהוָה עַל תַּחַת יַיִשׁ.

4Q381 (4QNon-Canonical Psalms B) 1 8: Also Sirach connects the luminaries with the set times and festivals: 33:7-9 (=36:7-9); 43:6-7 "It is the moon that marks the changing seasons, governing the times, their lasting sign. By it we know the sacred seasons and pilgrimage feast ..."

For the reconstruction הָרָעִים, cf. another passage in 4QInstruction which deals with how God established the universe, 4Q151 11-4: "... and the sun in its beautiful appearance ... You meted it out together with Your spirit ... all its waters were counted before Him".

4Q416 VII 11-15. All iniquity will be consumed at God's judgement, the angels and the elect will rejoice. God will reign eternally.

(11-15) The end-time judgement in heaven and on earth. The passage draws on biblical theophany descriptions, see especially Isa 24:18-19 "The floodgates of the heavens are opened, the foundations of the earth shake. The earth is broken up, the earth is split asunder, the earth is thoroughly shaken"; Ps 77:17 "the waters saw you, O God, the waters saw you and were split, the very depths were convulsed"; Ps 97:3-7 "Fire goes before him and consumes his foes on every side. His lightning lights up the world; the earth sees and trembles. The mountains melt like wax before the Lord, before the Lord of all the earth. The heavens proclaim his righteousness, and all the peoples see his glory. All who worship images are put to shame ... Zion hears and rejoices and the villages of Judah are glad because of your judgments, O Lord". Cf. also Hab 3:8-10; Job 9:5-6; Zech 14:4. Similarities can further be observed with 1 Enoch 1 and 100:10-102:3. In the Epistle of Enoch the luminaries are called to testify against the ungodly, and heaven and earth will quake and tremble when God appears at the judgement.

God who created the heavens and the luminaries, will also judge from His seat in heaven. The idea of God's heavenly seat is connected with His judgement also in the Rosh Hashanah liturgy99 and 4Q302 (4QpapAdmonitory Parable), a composition stylized as a trial speech: "He who stretched forth the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth, the seat of whose glory is in the heavens above ... the Lord He is God in heaven above; "God will take revenge on you for your betrayal ... God's seat is in the heavens, and His hegemony is over lands and seas" (4Q416 3 ii 6-10).

The righteous will rejoice at the judgement, which comes at its preordained time, while the adherents of evil will fear. For example, cf. 1QS IV 5, 6; 4Q267 (4QDp) 18 v 7. See also 1QH VI 29; VII 30; IX 35; X 27, XI 11! "sons of your truth";

98 The feminine suffix probably refers to הָרָעִים.
99 Cf. our suggestion that 4QInstruction and the New Year liturgy both have roots in apocalyptic traditions in the second century BCE (see section 4.2.3.5).
The resemblance to Ps 77:17: “be compared with Prov and require vengeance to the nations, till He disposes the scepter of arrogance, and the staff of wickedness utterly rule/kingdom of Belial” (13) (4QAmramb ar) 23; 4Q147 IX 9; 1QM I 8-9; 1QH I 24. This text seems to share the sectarian historiography which divides history into successive periods, cf. (12, 14, 15) (line 11) refers to 4Q542 (4QTQahat ar) 1II4; 4Q545 (4QAmramc ar) 24; 4Q547 (4QAmrame ar) 27. Cf. also 4Q418 8113 (4Q418 69) “they will be” the splendours of His sprout throughout all the eras”. While this text uses the same way, as the sectarian writings, the Hebrew sections of Daniel frequently use יַעַד in a stereotype way, with the meaning ‘end’ as elsewhere in the Bible (Amos 8:2; Ezek 7:2-3; Dan 8:17; 9:26; 11:27, 35, 40; 12:4, 9, 13). This difference in usage probably indicates that 4QInstruction - in time and milieu - should be placed between these chapters of Daniel from the early Maccabean period and the emergence of the yahad.

(12) Lines 12-14 continue with the cosmic reactions on God’s judgement. The heavens will shout, the kingdom of the evil powers will tremble, the subterranean ocean will fear. Line 12 plays on two different meanings of Hip’il, ‘wail’ and ‘shout in triumph’. For יַעַד, cf. Isa 44:23. בּוּרַי מַעֲרַי הָרְעָי יִתְנָשֵׁהוּ וּבְשָׁמֵי הַיָּדִים הָיו הָדוֹרוֹת הָיוֹת הָיוֹת הָיוֹת (102) For the proposed reconstruction of the rule/kingdom of Belial (1QS I 18, 23-24; II 19; III 20-21; IQM XIV 9; XVII 5-6); 4Q544 (4QAmramb ar) 23; 4Q280 (4QBerf) 12. On the judgement of the evil powers, cf. also Sirach 32:22-23 (Geniza MS b) (4Q418 115 II 2) the subterranean ocean, will tremble at God’s appearance. In the context of a sapiential composition this text should be compared with Prov 3:20; and was formed by God’s knowledge. The text of 4Q416, resembles Ps 77:17: יָדוּ יַעַד before the Lord when He came to deliver His people at the Exodus, and 4Q418 69 “may the insolent kingdom be quickly uprooted!” (13) Cf. 4Q418 115 II 2 (singular in 4Q418 2, plural in 4Q416 1), the subterranean ocean, will tremble at God’s appearance. In the context of a sapiential composition this text should be compared with Prov 3:20; and was formed by God’s knowledge. The text of 4Q416, resembles Ps 77:17: יָדוּ יַעַד before the Lord when He came to deliver His people at the Exodus, and 4Q418 69 “may the insolent kingdom be quickly uprooted!”

100 Thus Rabin in his translation of CD III 17: The Zadokite Documents, 12-13. Cf. 1QS IV 5:12 (HebrewText 19 21-23; 1QHb VI 22 1); וְהָאֵל הַיָּדִים הָיוֹת הָיוֹת הָיוֹת הָיוֹת (12, 14, 15) (Hebrew: 43:27; 46:20) and ‘time’ [36:10 (Hebrew: 33:10); 43:6].
(13) Adam presectsarian. Suggestion to understand.

(13) Further 1 Enoch 71:1 ‘sons of the holy angels’. In this passage ‘the sons of heaven’ are the angels, as in 4Q418 69:12-13 (presented below); 1QS IV 22: XI 8; 1QH II 22; 1QH frg. 2 10.

For ἀγγελικά ἀλήθεια, cf. J. Kampen, Cincinnati 1983, 22-4; J. Kampen, “The Eschatological Temple(s) of 11QI”. Pursuing the Text, 85-97. Both of Wacholder’s examples relate to the last days, and derive from Qumran documents which in our opinion are pres sectarian.

(14) Parallels are legion in sectarian writings: 1QS IV 20 19:11-12; XI 22:6. For the subject matter of line 14, cf. 4Q301 (4QMyst?) 3 8: “when the breath of His mouth. He assigned their hosts with order and season ... They are glad and rejoice to do the will of their Creator, the Worker of truth Whose work is true (הָאָדָם הַמְּבִיא הַיָּרֵעַ וּלְתוֹךְ וְגוֹם יִרְעַ). He commanded the moon to renew itself as a crown of glory to those carried from the womb, who likewise are destined to be renewed in the future and magnify their Maker in the name of the glory of His kingdom”. See Weinfeld, “The Angelic Song over the Luminaries”, 141.
4Q416 VII 15-19. Every creature will acknowledge the Lordship of God.

(16-17) All creatures shall acknowledge that only the God of Israel is Lord and righteous judge, and that in the encounter with Him they are only flesh. This thought has biblical roots, especially in the Deutero-Isaianic tradition, cf. 1 Sam 17:46; 2 Kgs 19:19; 2 Chr 6:33; Isa 41:20; 43:8-11; 45:6; Ps 9:21; as well as Jub. 1:28 “And the Lord will appear in the sight of all. And everyone will know that I am the God of Israel and the father of all the children of Jacob and king upon Mount Zion forever.”

While 4Q416 states that God will “establish justice between good and evil”, 4Q418 27 reads “that the righteous shall discern between good and evil”. “Discerning between good and evil” is a common theme in 4QInstruction, cf. 4Q417 IX 10; 4Q418 221; the reference to the tree of knowledge in 4Q243 1-2; 91 (=4Q418 188 5); and further 1QS IV 26; 1QSa I 10-11; 1QH X 11-12; 4Q300 (4QMystb) 3 2. While Sir 17:5 states that God filled mankind in general “with knowledge and understanding, and revealed to them good and evil”, in the sectarian view only the elect have received the ability to discern between good and evil. The version of 4Q416 is preferable in this context of end-time judgement, while the copyist of 4Q418 erred because מֵאֲשֶׁר belonged to his vocabulary.

(16) The מְלֵאפִים is preserved in 4Q418 28. 4Q418b writes מְלֵאפִים, while 4Q416 writes the word defectively.

(16-17) Depending upon the meaning of מְלֵאפִים (‘inclination’ or ‘creature’). מְלֵאפִים means either “it is the inclination of flesh”, or “it is a creature of flesh”. The use of מְלֵאפִים for ‘inclination’ elsewhere in 4QInstruction could tip the balance towards the former option [4Q417 IX 13: X 14; cf. Gen 6:5; 8:21; 4Q370 (4QAdmonFlood) I 1; 15:14; 27:6]. The meaning ‘creature of flesh’ for מְלֵאפִים is paralleled by רַע מְלֵאפִים ‘a creature of clay’, which is common in the Hodayot. Note further two parallels from the Rosh Hashanah liturgy: “every creature will know that You made him, and every being understand that You formed him”; and “You will bring the appointed time of memorial when every spirit and soul shall be visited”. These parallels lead us to choose the interpretation ‘creature’ for מְלֵאפִים, and to reconstruct מְלֵאפִים יִלְכַּדשׁ מִן כְּלִי מַטַּל עַד מַטַּל “every creature will understand that it is a creature of flesh”.

(18) ‘understanding’ (cf. above under READINGS) occurs in the continuation, in 4Q417 IX 13 and 4Q417 29 7 (frq. 29 should probably be located in 4Q417 VIII, sec 2.1.1.2).

(18-19) The subject of מְלֵאפִים and מְדוּבָּה can be either God or the addressee. We choose the former: both lines express that God acknowledges the frailty of man, cf. the last stanza from the liturgy’s “Truly it is You who fashioned them and You know their nature: they are but flesh and blood, man comes from dust and to dust returns”. Alternatively the text could have continued similar to the Rosh Hashanah liturgy: מְלַכְּרִית לְךָ מֵאָשֶׁר? מְלַכְּרִית לְךָ מִן כְּלִי מַטַּל “Let all the inhabitants of the world perceive and know that unto You every knee must bow, every tongue confess”.
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

4Q416 VIII (4Q416 3).

Mus. Inv. 180
PAM 40.620, 41.139, 41.141, 41.412, 41.422, 41.783, 42.556, 43.524

As argued in section 2.1.1.1, this fragment is tentatively ascribed to col. VIII, probably preserving lines 9-15, and deriving from the left part of the column.

9. [ ] your peace, and in your inheritance[ ]
10. [ ] for from Him is the inheritance of every living being, and in His hand lies the destiny of everyone formed(?)
11. [ ] don't be silent until the consumption of evil, for wrath is upon all the per[ods of eternity(?)]
12. [ ] languish will not prevail(?), for great are the mercies of God and there is no end[ to His goodness.]
13. [ ] Your name is praised greatly
14. [ ] in all that [ ]
15. [ ] like their hosts[

COMMENTS

The last part of this eschatological speech refers to God's wrath upon the unrighteous and His mercy towards the elect. This passage relates the inheritance and destiny of all creatures to God's preordination, exhorts the elect to be patient, and closes with a praise of God. Also this passage shows thematical links with later liturgical traditions: Jewish tradition connects the theme of God deciding the destiny of man with the days of repentance, Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

Lines 10 and 12 describe God in the 3rd person, while line 13 and probably line 11 address God in the 2nd person. The addressee in the 2nd person in line 9 is probably the elect, not God.

4Q416 VIII 9-15. God has ordained the destiny of all creatures. He shows mercy toward the elect.

(9) The suffix probably refers to the addressee, not to God. The subject is the inheritance that God will bequeath the elect. Cf. the Yom Kippur liturgy which repeatedly asks God to bless His people with peace.

(10) For the reconstruction and the subject matter, cf. the Rosh Hashanah liturgy "You remember what was wrought from eternity, and ordain everyone formed from the beginning". The word פסח 'command', 'visitation' can have the meaning 'what is decided/destiny', cf. Job 36.23. God has preordained the ways of man, another example
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

of a ‘sectarian’ view of preordination in 4QInstruction. Cf. 4Q423 5 3 לְכָּל מַשֶּׁלֶם רִאָה כָּל מַשֶּׁלֶם מְשַׁמֶּשׁ קֹדֶשׁ מִיָּמָיו לֹא יִשָּׁמֶשׁ קֹדֶשׁ מִיָּמָיו מִיָּמָיו. “He divided the portion of all the rulers and fashioned every deed by His hand, and the wages of their deeds He knew”.

(11) Cf. lines 11 and 14 of the previous column, לְכָּל מַשֶּׁלֶם רִאָה כָּל מַשֶּׁלֶם מְשַׁמֶּשׁ קֹדֶשׁ מִיָּמָיו לֹא יִשָּׁמֶשׁ קֹדֶשׁ מִיָּמָיו מִיָּמָיו. The first sentence is probably a prayer directed to God, asking Him to be active in history, and exercise His wrath upon evil through all the ages of history. For the reconstruction, cf. from the preceding column 4Q416 VII 14-15.

(12) God’s mercy is great, therefore anguish will not overcome the elect.

(13) The name of God is praised by His elect ones.

4Q418 69 ii (= 4Q416 IX/4Q417 VIII ?)

Mus. Inv. 489, 495. PAM 40.613, 41.904, 41.905, 41.907, 42.760*, 43.475*, 43.480

In section 2.2.3 it was suggested that this discourse should be located after that of 4Q416 VI-VIII. L1-4 = 4Q417 18 1-5 (underlined).

The reconstructions in lines 5, 7, 9, 12 and 14 are not found in the PC. We have also successfully located an additional small fragment to the bottom left corner of this column (line 15). A right margin of 16 mm is preserved, as well as the last letter(s) of four different lines of the preceding column. The length of the writing block is 128 mm with 60-64 ls per line. The left part of the fragment, which was detached from the main one, is lighter due to less exposure to light.

1. vacat
2. 쌩
3. 향
4. 무
5. 쌩
6. vacat
7. 무
8. 무
9. vacat
10. 무
11. 무
12. 무
13. 무
14. 무
15. vacat

We joined here a small fragment of four letters, not registered in the PC (inv. no. 495, PAM 43.475), which preserves left and possibly bottom margin of a column: יִשָּׁמֶשׁ קֹדֶשׁ מִיָּמָיו לֹא יִשָּׁמֶשׁ קֹדֶשׁ מִיָּמָיו לֹא יִשָּׁמֶשׁ קֹדֶשׁ מִיָּמָיו. This reconstruction which yields the text יִשָּׁמֶשׁ קֹדֶשׁ מִיָּמָיו לֹא יִשָּׁמֶשׁ קֹדֶשׁ מִיָּמָיו is highly probable, cf. 4Q418 81 and 1Q26 3 2, where the reading should be corrected from יִשָּׁמֶשׁ קֹדֶשׁ מִיָּמָיו לֹא יִשָּׁמֶשׁ קֹדֶשׁ מִיָּמָיו.
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

NOTES ON READINGS

L. 1. יָשָׁר. Less probably יָשָׁר. L. 3. וְדִיוָהוֹ. The first visible trace is the horizontal stroke of bet, kap or mem. After a lacuna of two is a similar horizontal stroke follows. L. 5. ההנָךְ. The size of the lacuna indicates a three letter word before the reconstructed mem, although a four letter word like יהנה is also possible. L. 5. וְהָנֹךְ. The first letter could also be kap or pe. L. 6. שע. The PC reads שע. At first glance the first letter may look more like a waw than an alef. But examination of the original with a microscope reveals traces of what is probably the left foot of an alef. A reconstruction with שע fits better in the context.

L. 6. יִזְיָד. The trace of the first visible letter of this word could reflect a sin. The traces of the penultimate letter could just as well be a raw as a waw.

L. 6. יִזְיָד. The letter after the lacuna is a qoph or a final kap or pe.

L. 6. עַנְנָא. Only minor traces are preserved of the first and the last letter. The jet is probable, as a trace of the slanting stroke that goes down in the middle is clearly visible.

L. 9. יִפְרַד. The PC reads יִפְרַד. There is, however, a cancellation dot above the he, which was subsequently erased.

L. 11. יִפְרַד. There are additional options for the first letter, e.g. bet, kap, or mem.


TRANSLATION

1. [ ] your ....
2. [ ] and you will understand[ ] death(?)
3. [ ] their measurement(?). Will they not walk in truth
4. [with all ] their [sorrows(?)] and in knowledge <with> all their joys? And now, you foolish of heart, how can there be goodness if it was not
5. [demonstrated(?), how can there be] peacefulness if it never existed, how can there be righteousness if it were not established, and how will the dead groan because of their [judgment](?)(?)
6. [For Sheol] if you were formed, and your return will be eternal damnation, for ... [ ] your sins[ ]

7. the dark places will shine on your multitude and all that ever came into being. The seeker of truth will wake up to the judgements[ of God(?)].

8. All the foolish of heart will be destroyed, the sons of iniquity will not be found any more, and all those who support evil will be ashamed.

9. at your judgement. The foundations of the firmament will shout, all the [hosts of God] will thunder, [and all] who love[ righteousness will rejoice].

10. But you are the elect of truth, those who pursue[ righteousness according to the ] judgement[ of God(?)], [ watchful]

11. regarding all knowledge. How can you say “We toiled for understanding and have been awake to pursue knowledge”. [Righteous?] is He in all [His deeds](?)*

12. and He has not tired during all the years of eternity. Does He not delight in truth forever? Knowledge and Understanding will minster to Him. And even the sons

13. of heaven, whose inheritance is eternal life, will they not say “We toiled in the deeds of truth and have ti[red]

14. during all the ages? - will they not walk[k] in eternal light? [ ] also you [will inherit glory and abundant honour,] and tremble (? will)

15. in the [holy ]firmaments; the foundation of beginnings, all [ ] And you are a firstborn son

COMMENTS

We have characterized this discourse as a trial speech (see section 3.1). Three vacatis introduce new paragraphs: line 4 opens an address to the ungodly, line 10 an address to the elect, and line 15 a proclamation to the elect of

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106 Or: to the judgement upon you.
107 Or: the secret of beginnings.
his God-given status. Literary features include: the rhetorical questions in line 4-5 are stylized in a 3+1 pattern which gives weight to the last, contrasting question. Parallelisms are also found in lines 3-4, 6, 8-9, 9 (the two latter have triple parallelisms), 11 and 13-14 (see section 3.2.2).

Lines 2-4 (or possibly 1-4) describe the life of the men of knowledge, possibly referring to God who fashioned their lives. After these lines two parallel addresses follow in the 2nd person plural, the first to the ungodly (lines 4-7), the second to the righteous (lines 10-15). These addresses are closely related to (and probably inspired by) 1 Enoch 103:1-104:6. The 2nd person plural form, which is exceptional within the framework of 4QInstruction, is probably inherited from this section of the Epistle of Enoch.

Lines 4-7 include accusation, rhetorical questions and announcement of judgement. The passage opens with four rhetorical questions which relate the pain of the unrighteous after death to the wickedness they have committed.

Lines 6-7 contain an announcement of judgement similar to 1 Enoch 103:5-8. Line 6 elaborates the fate of the wicked as Sheol and eternal damnation.

Lines 7-9 (and 14-15) describe the final judgement in theophany terminology. The righteous will wake up and witness the judgement, the evil ones will be destroyed forever, and the universe and the righteous will shout and rejoice.

Lines 10-15 is an announcement of salvation in the form of a rhetorical dialogue. These lines exhort the elect to see their life in the right perspective - vis-à-vis God and the sons of heaven (the angels). The elect are assured that they will inherit eternal glory.

The last words of line 15 start a new paragraph on the status of the elect, which continued on the following (missing) column.

The main aspects of the interpretation of this passage are discussed in section 4.2.2. The eschatology of this text and many of the phrases used have close parallels in the eschatological discourse in the Two-Spirit Treatise in 1QS IV 6-14; cf. also 1QH* III 29-36; CD II 5-9; 4QAmram* ar 1-2 ii 4-10, 4Q228 (4QText with a Citation of Jubilees) 1 i, and the curses upon the wicked in 4Q286 (4QBer*) 7 ii.

4Q116 69 ii 1-4. The knowledgeable will walk in truth.

(2-3) שַׁמַּעְתָּם [The text, in the 2nd person singular, possibly expressed the belief that the elect will understand the mysteries of death and life. שָׁמַע can be the word ‘death’, or the last letters of a plural word.

(3) וְשָׁמַעְתָּם] This first word after the lacuna is a noun including a 3rd person plural suffix. The word might have contained one more letter before the leg of the letter which we propose to read as a mem. The proposed reading שָׁמֵעַ yields the meaning ‘their measurement’. The text possibly expressed that the lives of the elect are fashioned by God.

(3-4) וַיַּדְוָהָם [This is a rhetorical question about the elect. The reconstruction yields a parallelism: do they not walk in truth and in the knowledge of God both in sorrow and in joy? In BH the interrogative particle יָדְוָהָם consistently introduces a rhetorical question where one expects an
affirmative answer. The verb אָשָׁר (asher) is frequently used in rhetorical addresses in 4QInstruction; lines 12 and 14 below:

4Q417 III 11; 12 5; 4Q418 5 5, 7, 11; 12; 8; 21 13; 4Q423 1-2 1.

4Q418 69 ff 4-7. An address to the ungodly: they have deserved the eternal damnation which is their fate.

The phrase אָשָׁר (asher) is frequently used in rhetorical addresses in 4QInstruction; lines 12 and 14 below; connectives establish a cause-and-effect relationship between the ungodly's actions and their damnation. The ungodly have earned eternal damnation as their fate (4-5).

The foolish of heart are asked about the affliction they will meet after death: the first three questions ask the foolish how they can expect goodness, peacefulness and righteousness in the afterlife when they did not demonstrate these virtues during their lives. These questions lead up to the fourth one, which emphasises the painful affliction of the dead until the day of judgement.

(5) The noun שָׁאָל (shaal) 'peacfulness' is found once in the Bible, 1 Chr 22:9.

The noun שָׁאָל (shaal) should be taken here as 'righteousness', 'right conduct'.

(6) The reconstruction with the word שָׁאָל (shaal) yields a synthetic parallelism which describes the fate of the damned (Sheol and eternal damnation), followed by a causal clause introduced by ב. This fragmentary clause referred to the sins of the wicked. For the ungodly the way to perdition is preordained by God, thus presenting another example of a 'sectarian' view of predestination.

Sheol is the place of punishment for sinners, as in 1 Enoch 103:7 (for 1 Enoch 99:11, 108:9 it is Gehenna). Cf. the description in CD II 5-6 of the fate of those departing from the way: “power, might and great flaming wrath by the hand of all the angels of destruction towards those who depart from the way and abhor the precept”.

1QH* III 19 uses the terms שָׁאָל (shaal) and שָׁאָל (shaal) in a contrasting way: "for You have redeemed my soul from the pit, and from the hell of Abaddon You have raised me to everlasting heights".

(6) The phrase שָׁאָל (shaal) is found in the section on the judgement on the ungodly in 1QS IV 12; 4Q286 (4QBer*) 7 ff 5 5; 1 QH 5:5, 6, 'eternal execution'.

4Q428 (4QHod*) 11 8 contains the phrase שָׁאָל (shaal) 'snare of destruction'.

(6) לְהַדַּבֵּר (ledaber) in 1QH* XI 20 and XII 26 use שָׁאָל (shaal) about man’s return to dust in his death. This word has the same meaning here.

(7) The first part of line 7 is difficult to interpret. We choose to understand שָׁאָל (shaal) as 'your multitudes': the dark places of the universe, including Sheol, will illuminate the multitude of the damned and all that existed and was done in history: the lives and deeds of all men will be illuminated before God. For the subject matter, cf. Hebr 4:12-13 "Nothing in all creation is hidden from God’s sight. Everything is uncovered and laid bare before the eyes of Him to whom we must give account";

2 Pet 3:10 “the earth and the deeds done upon it will be laid bare”.

These שָׁאָל (shaal) are 'dark places', as in Thr 3:6. In 1QS IV 13 שָׁאָל (shaal) denotes the dark places of Sheol, and this word has the same meaning here. 1 Enoch 88:1 describes the abyss where the fallen stars are thrown, as deep, empty and dark. 1 Enoch 103:8 mentions darkness as one of the characteristics of Sheol.

The phrase שָׁאָל (shaal) probably relates to the preceding, not the following. These words have close parallels in 1QSI III 15 שָׁאָל (shaal) "from the God of knowledge comes all that is and was"; XI 3-4

"He that is everlasting is the support of my right hand"; 1QM XVII 4-5

“from the God of Israel comes all that is and was ... with all that will be for ever”,

4Q369 (4QPrayer of Enosh) 3 2

MasShirShabb i 2-3/4Q402 4 12-13

We thus translate “all that ever came into being”.

In this context probably relates to the past rather than the future (4QInstruction would have used about the future, cf. 4Q418 123 ii 3 “all that happens in it with what was and what will be”). We thus translate “all that ever came into being”. In light of the use of instead of in 4QInstruction, the phrase in 1QS III 15 and 1QM XVII 5 should possibly be translated “all that is and was”, instead of the usual “all that is and shall be”.

4Q418 69 ii 7-9. A description of the final judgement. The evil ones will be destroyed forever, and the universe and the righteous will shout and rejoice.

(7) Instead of one could alternatively reconstruct in line 9. For the proposed reconstruction, cf. 1QM VI 3 statements of 4QInstruction. This statement is most easily interpreted as a rephrasing of 1 Enoch 91:10 “and the righteous shall arise from their sleep” and 92:3 “And the righteous one shall arise from sleep”: the righteous among the dead will wake up to God’s judgement (see the discussion in section 4.2.3.1).

(8-9) Three parallel sentences express that the unrighteous will ultimately be destroyed. They are called ‘foolish of heart’, ‘sons of iniquity’, ‘those who support evil’. Their end is described with the phrases ‘will be destroyed’, ‘will not be found any more’, ‘will be ashamed’. In spite of the phrase ‘eternal damnation’ in line 6, the phrases ‘will be destroyed’ and ‘will not be found any more’ indicate an eschatology where the unrighteous will perish at the day of judgement and not experience eternal pain. The same teaching is found in the Two-Spirit Treatise, IQS IV 12-14, where the punishing angels pester the unrighteous until they perish in the fire of the dark places. 4Q548 (4QAmramf ar) frg. 1, a sectarian (?) text on the day of judgement, likewise foresees destruction and annihilation for the sons of darkness. Also 1 Enoch contains the teaching that the unrighteous will perish, 1:1 “the day of tribulation at the removal of all the ungodly ones”, 97:1 “the sinners are due for shame, they shall perish on the day of oppression”. 1 Enoch 22, in contrast, foresees eternal pain for the sinners, as is probably also the case in Dan 12:2. Also cf. 4QInstruction.

(9) Three parallel sentences describe the three-fold audience which will witness God’s judgement and rejoice: the foundations of heaven, the angelic hosts of God, and those who love righteousness (the elect).

4Q418 69 ii 10-15. An hortatory address to the elect: see your life in the right perspective vis-à-vis God and the sons of heaven (the angels). Know that you will inherit eternal glory!

169 Cf. Newsom, Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, 161.
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

(10-15) An exhortation addressed to the elect. They should not lose courage if they tire, even the angels tire in their work. Only God never tires. Like the angels, the elect can look forward to eternal bliss.

(10-11) After the address to the ungodly comes an exhortation to the elect. Their God-given election is affirmed in three parallel sentences: “But you are the elect of truth, those who pursue righteousness according to the judgment of God(?) watchful regarding all knowledge”.

(10) A similar phrase, ידוהים זכר, is found in 4Q418 55 6.

(10) According to 4Q418 55 9, the elect pursue ‘the roots of understanding’, ידוהים זכר במ הזאת.

(10-11) The elect have proven themselves to be spiritually awake. The root ידוד means ‘watch over’ or ‘be awake regarding’, cf. Jer 1:12; Prov 8:34. The root ידוד ‘be awake’ is used three times in 4Q418 55, lines 4, 7, 9 (about the elect, and possibly once about God).

(11) The speaker quotes the complaint of his supposed audience, who have tired and tired in their struggle for the right knowledge.

(11-14) The discourse changes from addressing the elect in 2nd person plural, to a reference to God and His characteristics and then to ‘the sons of heaven’ in the 3rd person plural. The tiresome situation of the elect is compared with God who never tires - He who always rejoices when truth is performed on earth - and with the portion of the angels. The inheritance of the elect will be similar to the glorious portion of the angels.

(11-12) The complaint of the elect is contrasted with the righteousness of God. He is righteous, even if the elect experience frustrations. The first lacuna must have contained an adjective describing God, tentatively reconstructed as שיווקא. The meaning of the rhetorical question ידוהים זכר במ הזאת is probably that God rejoices when truth is implemented on earth.

The sentence ידוהים זכר במ הזאת refers to the heavenly realms. Not only Truth, but also Knowledge and Understanding are His company. Knowledge and Understanding are described in a personified way, almost as angelic beings ministering before God.110 Angels as possessors of knowledge is a common motif in the Qumran scrolls. A close parallel is CD II 4 (= 4Q266 2 ii 3-4) - which describes Wisdom and Understanding He has set before Him, Prudence and Knowledge serve Him. Both these texts draw inspiration from biblical texts where divine characteristics are portrayed as hypostases or distinct entities in God’s presence, cf. דתא הובא בידוהים זכר in Ps 89:14: ‘Wisdom and Understanding He has set before Him, Prudence and Knowledge serve Him’. Ps 85:11: ‘Grace and Truth surround His presence, Truth, Justice and Righteousness are the foundation of His throne’; 1QH XVII 8: ‘Righteousness shall rejoice on high, and all the children of His Truth shall jubilate in eternal Knowledge’; 1QH III 22-23: ‘spirits of knowledge’; 4Q400 (4QShirShabb) 2 1: ‘to praise Your glory wondrously with the angels of knowledge’; and the description of the angels serving in God’s heavenly presence


111Cf. Ringgren, Word and Wisdom, 89-106, 156.
in T. Levi 3 and 3 Enoch 31:1: “When the Holy One, blessed be He, sits on the throne of judgement, Justice stands on His right hand, Mercy on His left, and Truth stands directly facing him”. The use of the verb ḳ可靠性 in this text recalls the ‘the ministering angels’, which are frequent in later Jewish literature (cf. e.g. 3 Enoch 4:6).

(12-14) The angels, ‘the sons of heaven’, are brought into the exhortation. Also they struggled and tired in their work for truth. As their portion is eternal light, so will be that of the elect.

(13-14) The angels tell about their unceasing ministry for God through all the periods of history.

(14) The angels will inherit eternal bliss, and so will the elect. For the reconstruction, cf. 4Q525 (4QBeat) 14 ii 13-14 ... [and your inheritance, He will fill your days with goodness and abundant peace ...] you will inherit glory”. This description of the bliss of the righteous has close parallels in 1QS IV 7-8: “and your inheritance, you will fill your days with everlasting blessing and eternal joy in life without end, a crown of glory and a garment of majestic in unending light”; and 1QH XII 15: “Your glorious majesty for [eternal light]”. The triad is almost identical with the ‘eternal planting’. The expression ‘walk in eternal light’ is used for the bliss of elect in 1 Enoch 92:4: “they shall walk in eternal light”, and likely also in 4Q228 (4QText with a Citation of Jubilees) 1 i 10 and 4Q369 (4QPrayer of Enosh) 1 ii 6: “He will walk(?)” in eternal light, and You will make him a firstborn son to You” (on the inheritance of the people of Israel).

For the reconstruction, cf. 4Q418 55. 12. The phrase is almost identical with the phrase שֶׁלֶם שֶׁלֶם שֶׁלֶם in Dan 12:2. In the sectarian writings it is more frequent; 1QS IV 7: “shall make them honorable and glorious” and CD III 20...

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112 For parallels in Jewish liturgy, see Weinfeld, “The Angelic Song over the Luminaries”, 137-8.

113 In light of the parallel in this text, these words from the Epistle of Enoch should be rendered “Will they not say” instead of the usual translation from the Ethiopic “do not say”. The Greek text has μὴ γὰρ εἴποντες οἷς δύναται, from which an original μὴ ἢν σημαίνει μήτε ἦν ἴσδει. According to Nickelsburg, “the introductory formula ‘do not say’ indicates that the author takes issue with the words that he quotes” (Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life, 118-19). 103:9-11 gives better meaning if we suppose that the author does not take issue with the quoted saying.
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction 255

The eschatological discourse ends with the reaction of the foundations of heaven to the judgement. The same thought is found in 1QHa III 29-36. In 1 Enoch 94:10 it is the Creator who rejoices over the judgement on the evil ones.

According to this text, the foundations of heaven will shake. For close parallels, cf. 1 QHa III 30-31 “it shall consume the foundations of the earth and the expanse of the dry land, the bases of the mountains shall blaze”; 3 Enoch 22:2 (about the angelic prince Kerubiel) “At his wrath the earth quakes, at his rage the camps tremble, the foundations shudder from fear of him and Arachoth quakes at his rebuke”. According to 2 Samuel 22, the foundations of heaven will tremble and the foundations of the earth will be revealed when the Lord appears (vv. 8, 16).

In the Bible, רה"ש appears in the singular, while plural forms are found frequently in the Qumran Scrolls:

4Q287 (4QBerah) 2.6; 4Q405 (4QShirShabb) 23 i-6-7; 4Q407 (4QShirShabb) 5-6-1; 11QShirShabb 2-1-9 7

4Q293 (4QWork Containing Prayers) 1-3

T. Levi 3 describes seven heavens. As a result we reconstruct רה"ש, although it is not impossible.

In the Hodayot, רה"ש, possibly 'beginnings'. Depending on the choice between רה"ש and רה"ש (see above under READINGS) the text reads either “the foundation of beginnings” or “the secret of beginnings”. However, in the Hodayot רה"ש can have the same meaning as רה"ש 'foundation', and the parallels with 1QHa III 30-31 and 4Q228 support the interpretation ‘foundation’.

4Q418 69 ii 15. The divine sonship of the elect.

A new paragraph starts after the vacat. After the elaboration of the hope of the righteous and the coming judgement of the universe, the text continues to describe the sonship of the elect under God. Cf. 4Q418 81 5 וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ תֵּמַרְנָא and the excursus on divine sonship, section 4.3.4.

4Q417 frg. 2 (4Q417 IX-X = 4Q416 X-XI).

Mus. Inv. 329
PAM 41.918, 41.942, 42.578*, 42.579

4Q417 frg. 2 preserves the major part of one column and part of the right margin of the following one, probably preserving cols. IX-X of this scroll.117

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114 See section 4.3.2, note 45.
116 1QHa VI 6; VII 9, cf. Kuhn, Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten, 90, n. 2.
117 This fragment preserves the beginning of a sheet, and 4Q417 29 probably preserves the end of the preceding sheet (the lower left margin of col. VIII, see section 2.1.1.2). Frg. 29 preserves the last letters of eight lines. Lines 1-2 and 5-7 read: הַעֲשָׂרָה ... חָסַּם ... חָסַּם ... חָסַּם ... חָסַּם. The words חָסַּם and חָסַּם
Col. i (4Q417 IX).
Ll. 3-29 = PC, II. 1-27.
Ll. 4-19 = 4Q418 43-1-16 (underlined). Ll. 23-26 = Inv. no 511 10 2-5 (4Q418b, bold typeface).
The reconstructions or readings in lines 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 21, 23, 25, 27 and 29 are not found in the PC.

 recur in col. IX (lines 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21), a fact which adds probability to the suggested location of frg. 29.

118Emendation. The scribe wrote onomía. See section 4.1.7.1, note 100.
Notes on Readings

In this column several specks of ink may confuse the reading.

L. 4. ḫōṣer bĕkāh. The expression ḫōṣer bĕkāh (with suffix) occurs in line 15 as well as in CD III 18; 1QS XI 5.

L. 6. ʿāzēr ʾārēṣ. The last preserved letter of the line is šin or ṣāḏē. For the reconstruction, cf. the Yom Kippur liturgy in 11Q15. Wacholder/Abegg read ʾayin + ; and Lange ʾayin + tr. 119 An examination by microscope establishes the reading šin + ʿāzēr.

L. 7. ṣāḏē. Wacholder/Abegg read ʾāzēr.

L. 9. ṣāḏē. 4Q418 43 5 has the noun in the plural, ṣāḏēm.

L. 10. ṣāḏē. Lange suggests ʾāzēr, ʾāzēr + mem. The last letter is clearly he, not final mem.


L. 13. ṣāḏēm. Slightly above the (imaged) ruling line there is a trace of a letter, the top of a final mem is a natural option. We thus suggest to read ʾāzēr + mem.

L. 13. ʾāzēr. Or: he. Supralinearly there is a kap followed by a waw or yod. The following trace of a letter can either belong to a supralinear lamed, or to a letter in line 12. In the context šin fits better than he.

L. 15. ṣāḏē. Or: ṣāḏē. The first letter of the second word can materially be ṣāḏē, šin or sāde.

L. 16. ṣāḏēm. Strugnell/Harrington propose ʾāzēr + mem, and Lange ʾāzēr + mem. Both suggestions are too long for the lacuna. After the lacuna one can discern a trace of a letter and an empty space below he.

L. 16. ṣāḏēm. Less likely: ʾāzēr + mem (the two erased letters are difficult to discern). 4Q418 43 11 has ṣāḏēm. 4Q417 has been corrected according to the text of 4Q418. Also the first text, ṣāḏēm lamed, gives meaning.

L. 17. ṣāḏē. The ṣāḏē is clear, the top of the lamed can also be discerned.

L. 18. son. With the aid of the microscope one can discern an erased final mem. Lange argues for ṣāḏēm. However, yod is clear on the photograph.

L. 18. ṣāḏēm. Wacholder/Abegg read ṣāḏēm. The waw is clear both on the photograph and the fragment itself.

L. 19. ṣāḏēm. According to Lange "ist eindeutig ṣāḏē zu lesen", but ṣāḏē is clearly visible. Lange further proposes that ṣāḏē is an haplography of ṣāḏē in the preceding line, and omits it in his translation. Since line 18 has ṣāḏēm and line 19 ṣāḏē, haplography is not likely.

L. 21. ʾāzēr + mem. Lange reads ʾāzēr + mem ("walk in purity"), and Strugnell/Harrington ʾāzēr + mem ( "walk in purity"). The first letter in ʾāzēr + mem is not he (so Strugnell/Harrington), but bet: a trace of the upper left corner can be discerned by microscope (materially possible is also res, as the lower stroke of the bet has disappeared). Only a trace is preserved of the last letter of this word, read here as waw. There is no space after the datet (so Strugnell/Harrington). Strugnell/Harrington mistakenly took a shadow on the photograph as the top of a lamed (and thus read ṣāḏē). With the aid of a microscope one can discern the top of a he after the second lacuna (not noted by Strugnell/Harrington).

L. 22. ʾāzēr. Strugnell/Harrington propose ʾāzēr. What they read as two separate letters, is exhibited by a microscope to be the upper part of a he. One should reconstruct a word of three or four letters. We tentatively suggest to reconstruct ʾāzēr (see COMMENTS).

L. 24. ṣāḏēm. Wacholder/Abegg read ṣāḏēm, but there is no trace of any letter after the word ṣāḏē.

L. 27. ṣāḏēm. Mem. Materially ṣāḏē is as possible as he. The upper stroke of the first letter is somewhat short for a bet, but ṣāḏēm is very difficult in the context. ṣāḏēm is preferable, although such a phrase does not occur elsewhere in 4QInstruction (while ṣāḏē does, see line 20).

L. 27. ṣāḏēm. The phrase ṣāḏēm occurs in 1QH 15:2 (located in the beginning of the reconstructed col. V).

L. 29. ṣāḏēm. An original ṣāḏēm was corrected to ṣāḏēm, cf. Num 15:39 (65% of manuscripts have ṣāḏēm, while 15% have ṣāḏē.)

119 For Lange's readings, see Welshett und Prädestination, 50-52.
3. [And] you, understanding one,
4. look at His wondrous mysteries, for He is the awesome God. Get knowledge about the beginnings of
5. your... Look at the mystery to come and the deeds of old, to what was and what comes into being,
6. and to what will be, and at all eternal mysteries with the everlasting secrets(?), then you will see what,
7. was and what comes into being with what will be, in all the periods of eternity(?), look upon] deed and deed,
8. day and night meditate on the mystery to come, and search always. Then you will know truth and evil, wisdom,
9. and simplicity. ... understand the creatures of God(?)) in all their ways with their destiny throughout all the periods of eternity as well as the eternal
10. visitation. Then you will discern between [good and evil in their deeds], for the God of knowledge is the foundation of truth. By the mystery to come
11. He designed its foundation, and its creatures with all wisdom. According to all cunning He fashioned it, and the domain of its creatures
12. according to all its understanding. To you He will assign all... with... According to their understanding, He ordained for every creature to walk
13. in the inclination of his understanding. And He interpreted for the poor on earth(?), all her [ ...], and with proper understanding [the hidden things
14. of His thought are known, when one walks blameless in all one's deeds. These things seek always, and meditate on all]
15. results from them. Then you will have knowledge of eternal glory [with His wondrous mysteries and mighty deeds. And you
16. understand the origin of your own doing when you remember the stylus. For it was the decree engraved, and decreed is the entire visitation
17. For the engraved is decreed by God against all iniquity of the sons of perdition, and written in His presence is a book of memory
18. of those who keep His word. It is the Vision of Hagi and a book of memory. He gave it as inheritance to man with a spiritual people, for
19. his inclination is after the likeness of the holy ones. He had not before given Hagi to the spirit of flesh, for it could not discern between
20. good and evil with the judgement of its secrets. And you, understanding son, gaze on the mystery to come, learn
21. [the paths] of every living thing and its walking according to what is appointed for the creatures of God[...]
22. ... between great and small, and in your counsel[
23. He commanded you by the mystery to come[
24. ... know every vision, and every]
25. Be always st[r]ong, do not touch evil[
26. it will not be unpunished, according to his inheritance in [God's ..[And you,]
27. knowledgeable son, meditate on your secrets and [reflect] on the [eternal] foundations,[
28. its [foundation] in you, their ..[ with the doing of[ *
29. you shall not follow <the desires> of [your] hearts and of your eyes[

COMMENTS

The main aspects of the interpretation of lines 13-21 are discussed in section 4.1.7.1. Throughout this column one observes a number of parallels with the reconstructed col. V of 1QHb (traditionally named col. XIII, reconstructed with frgs. 17 and 20).120

The text can be subdivided as following:

120See section 5.1.1, and García Martínez, DSST, 319-20.
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

Lines 3-10 urge the man of understanding to meditate upon God's mysteries and on what has happened in history from the creation onwards. Thereby he will gain knowledge of truth and evil, wisdom and folly. Similar exhortations are found in 4Q417 III 10-12 and 4Q416 V 12-15.

Lines 10-13: By the mystery to come God created everyone and preordained the ways of every creature.

Lines 13-16: Meditate on these secrets of God, then you will gain spiritual knowledge.

Lines 16-20: Meditate on God's mysteries and their relevance for all living things, get understanding of the visions and keep away from evil.

4Q417 IX 3-10. Meditate upon the mysteries of creation, on history and all that has happened therein. This will give you spiritual knowledge and discernment on the ways of men.

(3) The addressee is called "you that understand". The same phrase is repeated in lines 15-16 (יָדוּ את אֵלֶּךָ). According to line 4 he will gain knowledge, or less likely: you will teach, cf. below on 4Q417 line 27.

(4) Sectarian writings connect the verb עֲשִׂיט with God's mysteries; see 1QS IX 18; IQH* XI 10. In this case יָדוּ probably has the meaning 'beginning/origin' rather than 'poor'. Only a trace is preserved of the first letter of the word following עֲשִׂיט in 4Q418 43 1.

(5) "Look/meditate on the mystery to come" is a common admonition in 4QInstruction. See below, line 20 and lines 4-5 of the next column, and the comment on 4Q417 III 10-11. This admonition parallels הָיוּה יִדְרָעַר וְהָיוּה יִדְרָעַר וְהָיוּה יִדְרָעַר.

(5-6) Nip'al perfect and participle and Qal imperfect of וַיִּדְרַע. A similar expression is found in lines 6-7 of the knowledge of the elect, cf. below, lines 8, 10, 15; 4Q416 IV 8; V 6, 9, 15; 4Q418 9 8; 107 1; 148 1 4; 4Q418 221 4. In the Bible וַיִּדְרַע is often used synonymously with בָּא, reconstructed in the next line.

(7) Note the unusual palatal spelling of לְדוּ in 4Q418 43 3.

(7) For the reconstruction, cf. 4Q416 7 5-6. The word הָיוּה can be interpreted either as 'deed' or as 'creature'. The first option is chosen here and in line 14, and the latter in lines 9, 11 (2x) and 12, paralleled by the liturgies of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.
(8-10) The fruit of the meditation on God’s mysteries is in these lines described as knowledge and discernment about truth and evil, wisdom and simplicity. A study on the ways of men will enable the distinction between good and evil. This understanding comes from the God of knowledge.

The elect shall meditate day and night upon the mysteries of God. See section 4.1.7.3, note 142, on biblical and post-biblical parallels to this exhortation. Cf. also below on the Book of Hagi (lines 18, 19). The exhortation is parallel to הָיוּ מֵשֶׁךְ מַלְאַכּוֹת אֶלֹהִים, and must be understood as an imperative. The spelling מָלָאכֶה instead of מִלָּאכֶה reflects the weak pronunciation of ד in Qumran Hebrew, which could lead to such an irregular spelling.

Lange correctly remarks that מִלָּאכֶה is too long for the lacuna in the beginning of line 9. We propose to reconstruct an abstract noun ending with -ut from the adjective מַלָּאכֶה. This root is used elsewhere in 4Qinstruction; 4Q418 221 2 70 16. On abstract nouns ending with the suffix -ut, cf. the comments on line 13.

Through the meditation on God’s mysteries one will gain knowledge. The phrase מֵשֶׂךְ מַלְאַכּוֹת is found in line 10 and in a similar context in 4Q416 V 15. Similar expressions on the understanding of these dualistic pairs are found in 1QHa V 9-10 (= XIII 3-4, reconstructed with frg. 17) ... מַלְאַכּוֹת (4Q300 4QMyst) 8 6; 4Q301 4QMyst 1 3]. Cf. Prov 9:13 וַיַּקְלֹץ. This root is used elsewhere in 4QInstruction; 4Q418 221 2 70 16. On abstract nouns ending with the suffix -ut, see the comments on line 13. The ability of the enlightened to discern between good and evil (cf. the analogous expression in line 22, to discern “between great and small”) is mentioned also elsewhere in 4QInstruction; 4Q423 1-2 7 and in 4Qlnstruction in 4Q418 55 5. Cf. also Apoc. Adam 1:9 “the eternal knowledge of the God of truth withdrew from me and your mother.

121 Cf. Qimron, HDDS, 267.

122 On the meaning of מַלָּאכֶה, see Shupak, Where Can Wisdom Be Found?, 200-201.

123 Q418 2 7 reads מַלָּאכֶה מַלָּאכֶה instead of מַלָּאכֶה מַלָּאכֶה. The context deals with God’s final judgement, not the righteous person.
Eve”; 4Q400 (4QShirShabb) 2 8 מַסֵּרָה יְדוּתָהּ יִשָּׁרֵי (2 Cor 10:5). The almost identical phrase מַסֵּרָה יְדוּתָהּ יִשָּׁרֵי occurs in 4QCan (4Q510 I 2; 4Q511 I 7-8) and 4QShirShabb (4Q400 2 8, 4Q401 11 2; 4Q404 4 12; 4Q405 23 ii 12).124

In the Qumran scrolls רַז usually means ‘mystery’ or ‘council’, but it is also used for ‘foundation’ (= קְרֶם). Here it should be interpreted as ‘the foundation of truth’, not as ‘the mysteries of truth’ (another word for ‘foundation’, קְרֶם, is used twice in the continuation, lines 11 and 27). Also 1QHa 1 26-27 contains both רַז and קְרֶם וְלַעֲדֵי עֵצֶה כָּלָּב סֵדָרָה וְעֵצֶה קְרֶם וְלַעֲדֵי עֵצֶה With You, O God of knowledge, are every righteous deed and the foundation of truth”. The text discussed here connects the God of knowledge with the mystery to come. A similar statement is 1QS III 15 מַסֵּרָה יְדוּתָהּ יִשָּׁרֵי “From the God of knowledge is everything that was and what comes into being”. The similarity between 4QInstruction and 1QS and 1QHa on this point suggests closeness in milieu or literary dependency between these texts.

Also 4Q418 55 5-6 connects the ‘God of knowledge’ with the establishing the world ‘upon truth’: “Did not [the] God of knowledge [ ... ] on truth, to establish every creature by <His> understanding?” (see presentation of this text below). Cf. further 1QHa I 7-21 and XIII 1-14 (= reconstructed V 6-20), where insight is understanding God’s secrets in His plans for creation.

4Q17 IX 10-14. God has designed the world and every living thing ‘by the mystery to come’. He has preordained the ways of men. The idea of preordination is elaborated more clearly in the Two-Spirit Treatise in 1QS III-IV.

(10-12) I is used here and in line 12 as ‘decide’, ‘design’, and in line 13 as ‘interpret’. Materially one can read יָדַע ‘woman’125 or יָדַע ‘her foundation’. In a passage about the mysteries of creation it gives a better meaning to read יָדַע and relate the suffix to יָדַע of the preceding line [the suffixes of יָדַע and יָדַע (line 11) should also be related to יָדַע]: the Creator has planned the foundation of truth as well as the ways of every creature.

The founding of truth and the preordination of the ways of every living thing is executed by raz nihyeh, God’s plan for creation and salvation. God’s agent in creation is not יָדַע as in Proverbs 8 or 11QPs Creat, but raz nihyeh. While יָדַע and יָדַע are portrayed as accompanying attributes of God, raz nihyeh is the plan by which He designed the world and its foundations (raz nihyeh is preceded by יָדַע in an instrumental meaning). (12, 13) יָדַע, which occurs in lines 12 and 13, is used in Qumran literature for ‘understanding’; 1QHa 1 21; XIV 12; XVIII 11; frg. 15 8; 1QM X 16; 4Q440 (4QHodayot-like text) 3 i 18. יָדַע (line 13) which probably carries the same meaning, represents a pattern of abstract nouns with the suffix יָדַע, which is rare in BH, but more frequent in DSS Hebrew.126 In the Qumran Scrolls this form occurs thrice in 4QInstruction which follows in 4Q16 VII 17 29 21; 4Q17 29 7 [129]; and further in 4Q444 (4Qprayer) 1 i 2. Line 16 of the following column contains the phrase יָדַע יְדוּתָה יִשָּׁרֵי “the shyness of flesh”, and 11QPs Creat 7-8 the form רַזַּע יְדוּתָה יִשָּׁרֵי “Blessed be He who makes the earth by His power, establishing the world by His wisdom. By His understanding He stretched out the heavens”.

124Cf. C. Newsom, Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, 160.
125Thus Lange, and our previous paper “The Mystery to Come”.
126Qimron, HDSS, 66.
In this case,  ר י ה  has the neutral meaning ‘inclination’, as in 4Q299 (4QMyst*) 8:7  ר י ה  כ ב ר ה  ל ו ה  ר י ה  (4Q417 IX 13; 1QH XVIII 11). This is similar to the expression  ר י ה  כ ב ר ה  ל ו ה  ר י ה  (4Q299 8:7) which also carries the same meaning ‘inclination of understanding’. In the next column (line 14) the phrase ‘evil inclination’ is used closer to the rabbinic meaning; cf.  ר י ה  כ ב ר ה  ל ו ה  ר י ה  (4Q417 IX 13; 1QH XVIII 11) 127 and  ר י ה  כ ב ר ה  ל ו ה  ר י ה  (4Q299 8:7). The phrases  ר י ה  כ ב ר ה  ל ו ה  ר י ה  and  ר י ה  כ ב ר ה  ל ו ה  ר י ה  (4Q417 IX 13; 1QH XVIII 11) can have the same meaning ‘inclination of understanding’. In the next column (line 14) the phrase ‘evil inclination’ is used closer to the rabbinic meaning; cf.  ר י ה  כ ב ר ה  ל ו ה  ר י ה  (4Q417 IX 13; 1QH XVIII 11)

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The Aramaic root  ר י ה  means ‘succeed’, ‘be proper’. The noun  ר י ה  א ס ת מ is not found in the Bible, only in later rabbinical use. Cf. our comments on 4Q417 III 2.

The hidden things of His thought’ are the hidden secrets of God which He reveals to the elect community, cf. CD III 13-14 (4Q420 IX 3-4). The expression  ר י ה  כ ב ר ה  ל ו ה  ר י ה  (4Q417 IX 13; 1QH XVIII 11) should be translated “to preach according to the inclination of his understanding” and not “out of his understanding preach to a creature” (Vermes, Lohse) or “announce your knowledge to your creature” (Garcia Martinez, DSST) - in this case  ר י ה  means ‘inclination’, not ‘creature’.

In 4Q417 IX 14-16, Meditate on the mysteries and deeds of God and their consequences! The knowledge you thus attain has salvific importance: “you will have knowledge of eternal glory”. This text reflects a realized eschatology: the meditation in the present connects the elect with the everlasting.

In BH  ר י ה  has the meanings ‘source’, ‘origin’ (Prov 4:23), ‘deliverance’ and more frequently ‘end-point of a bordering line’. In the Qumran scrolls this word occurs only in the sapiential material: twice in a passage in 1Q/4QMysteries; 1QMyst 1 i 12 (=4QMyst 14); 4QMyst 17 (where Schiffman translates מִדְרֶשׁ ָּתָּן: “what results from them”); 131 4Q26 7 1; twice in 4Q240/421 (4QWays of Righteousness (4Q421 1 i 15, 3 1); and this text which is the only case where the context for the word is preserved. Here  ר י ה  refers to  ר י ה  כ ב ר ה  ל ו ה  ר י ה  (4Q417 IX 13; 1QH XVIII 11) 127 and  ר י ה  כ ב ר ה  ל ו ה  ר י ה  (4Q299 8:7) the expression  ר י ה  כ ב ר ה  ל ו ה  ר י ה  (4Q417 IX 13; 1QH XVIII 11) should be translated “to preach according to the inclination of his understanding” and not “out of his understanding preach to a creature” (Vermes, Lohse) or “announce your knowledge to your creature” (Garcia Martinez, DSST) - in this case  ר י ה  means ‘inclination’, not ‘creature’.


See section 4.1.2 on ‘revealed laws’ (מרשא) and ‘concealed laws’ (נresolve) in sectarian literature.

Cf. Qimron, HDSS, 75-4.

1314QMysteries*: A Preliminary Edition and Translation”, 211; DJD XX, 36.
God's mysteries. The addressee is admonished to meditate on these mysteries and reflect on "their outcome", what derives from them. The word probably carries the same meaning in the other sapiential works.\*\*\*\* We propose that הָלֵ֣שׁ an is materially possible. We would, however, have expected the full spelling לְשׁ before a suffix, and לְשׁ (suggested by Strugnell/Harrington) would have been too long for the lacuna. According to the text, the elect will already in the present know eternal glory, a good example of the realized eschatology of 4QInstruction (see section 4.2.3.3). Cf. the reconstructed version of 1QH IV (= XIII 1-6) "Every [one who has been chosen by] the knowledge of all intelligence will understand [ ] and the mysteries of Your plan ... And in Your wonderful mysteries (דָּרֵי מִלָּה) You have instructed me for Your glory ... Everlasting glory, delight and unending enjoyment".\*\*\*\* For further discussion, see Gammie, "The Sage in Sirach", 366-8.

(16) The heavenly Book of Hag, the main aspects of the interpretation of this passage are discussed in section 4.1.7.1.

\*\*\*\*The medieval French Jewish philosopher Falaqera (1225-95) uses the word הָלֵ֣שׁ an in a similar meaning in his treatise to the afflicted יִשְׂרָאֵל. He describes those who are elevated to the heights of wisdom, have entered the inner part of the temple of knowledge, and searched the secrets: "a remembrance of the first day, a memory of the first things" in the Rosh Hashanah liturgy: the elect shall remember the time of creation, when everything was decreed. The word הָלֵ֣שׁ an 'engraven' of lines 16 and 17 could allude to Exod 32:16 and Num 21:18. The heavenly Book of Hag, the main aspects of the interpretation of this passage are discussed in section 4.1.7.1. The heavenly Book of Hag, the main aspects of the interpretation of this passage are discussed in section 4.1.7.1. The heavenly Book of Hag, the main aspects of the interpretation of this passage are discussed in section 4.1.7.1. The heavenly Book of Hag, the main aspects of the interpretation of this passage are discussed in section 4.1.7.1. The heavenly Book of Hag, the main aspects of the interpretation of this passage are discussed in section 4.1.7.1.

\*\*\*\*García Martínez, DSST, 319.

\*\*\*\*In Gen 49:10 and Num 21:18 has the meaning 'staff' (of command). CD VI 4-9 interprets הָלֵ֣שׁ an 'staff' of Num 21:18 in two different ways: line 7 identifies the Staff with the Interpreter of the Law which probably is identical with the Righteous Teacher. Lines 9-10 talk about digging the well with the staffs (=ordinance) which the Staff instituted, i.e. to know how to live in the age of wickedness, cf. Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, 22-3. Rabin opposes the translation 'lawgiver' of הָלֵ֣שׁ an, which is held e.g. by Ginsberg, An Unknown Jewish Sect, 28. הָלֵ֣שׁ an is also found in 4Q174 (4QMIdrEshcat) II 4 (frag. 9 ii 4), translated by Steudel "eines Führers": Der Midrash zur Eschatologie, 24, 30. In Sir 10:5 הָלֵ֣שׁ an is an official connected to law and ruling others, see Gammie, "The Sage in Sirach", 366-8.
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

The decree is engraved against the iniquity of the sons of perdition. We have argued in section 4.1.7.1 that אֶתָּסַר (4Q16) more likely means 'the sons of perdition' than 'the sons of Seth'.

This sentence alludes to Mal 3:16. The Book of Memory which records the righteous was written in the presence of God. CD XX 19-20 uses this biblical verse in a similar manner, on the righteous community: "and a book of remembrance will be written [before Him] of those who fear God and think on His name". Another Qumran text, 4Q253a (4QCommentary on Malachi) 1 contains a quotation of Mal 3:16-18.

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The feminine suffix is enigmatic, as it probably refers to אֶתָּסַר (4Q16) or אֶתָּסַר רֹאֶשׁ (4Q421). The second אֶתָּסַר is added supralinearly, correcting the meaning from "togetherness" to "with a spiritual people". The first scribe's omission of the second אֶתָּסַר was probably due to homoioteleuton.

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or the authoritative teacher (1QSI 13; 1QSb III 22; V 28; possibly CD XIII 22). In this text the first meaning is clear. Similarly in line 3 most likely means “you will gain knowledge”, and not “you will teach”. The expression מַעְשֵׂה is close to מַעְשֶׂה (line 20).

This column displays parallels with three kinds of texts. (1) Sectarian literature: the mention of the Book of Hagi, the judgement on the sons of Seth, the predestination of the ways and deeds of men by God, essentials which eternally are engraven before God, the divine designation מַעְשֵׂה, the parallels with 1QH 5.

(2) Presectarian books of apocalyptic flavour: the heavenly book of knowledge which is only revealed to a restricted circle, cf. 1 Enoch (93:2) and Jubilees. The message of Jubilees is for the people of Israel (49:22), but more specifically for the elect of renewed Israel (1:15-25); 1 Enoch is written for the elect and righteous (1:1).

(3) The later liturgies of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

Col. ii (4Q417 X = 4Q416 XI).

Ll. 5-28 = PC, II. 3-16.
The reconstructions in lines 4, 11 and 16 are not found in the PC.

Translation

4. [ and Noah had understanding of (?)]
5. the mystery to[ come
6. consolations for
7. walked blamelessly before God?
8. he blessed His name
9. in your joy ...
10. great are the mercies of God
11. praise God, by every affliction bless His name
12. according to His will these matters happened, and He is the One who understands the hidden matters(?)
13. He will decide all your ways with
14. Do not let the cunning of the evil inclination tempt you[
15. seek truth. Do not let the ..[ ] tempt you [ Do not ]
16. what was not commanded by the knowledge of flesh. Let not [ ] lead you to err[ Do not]
17. reckon [ Do not say[ Come

In section 4.1.4 we argued that this passage could be interpreted as an apocryphal story about Noah, to whom were revealed heavenly secrets. Earlier in the book, Noah is referred to as a recipient of divine revelation on the last days (4Q416 VII.2). According to our reconstruction of lines 4-5, Noah is the one who had understanding of 'the mystery to come' – cf. 4Q534 (4QMess ar) 18 “he will know the secrets of all living things”. He is the one who “walked blamelessly” before God (line 7) – cf. Gen 6:9; 1QapGen VI 2 “all my days I conducted in truth, and I walked in the paths of eternal truth”. According to line 8 he praised the name of God – cf. 1QapGen X 8 17 (Noah praised God and offered sacrifices after the ark rested on Mount Ararat) and XII 17 (Noah blessed the Lord after he had gathered the first crop after the flood).

If our tentative interpretation of this column is correct, the text can be subdivided as following:

Lines 4-8: A narrative about Noah.
- conclusion; Noah praises God after the flood (line 8).

Lines 9-18: Noah’s exhortations to the coming generations.
- a reminder of God’s mercy (line 10).
- praise God in all circumstances (line 11)!
- God is the source of everything that happens, as He was the one who ordained the flood (lines 12-13).
- Admonition sentences about the righteous life (six sayings in the vettive, lines 14-18).

4Q417 X 4-8. A narrative about Noah (?)

(4-5) הָעַזְשָׁנָה? רֹאשָׁה (וֹתִּית יְתוּר) הָנָּחַת הָנָּחַת וְתַחֲתָה הָנָּחַת (וֹתִּית יְתוּר) אֲשֶׁר יְתוּר יְתוּר כִּי (וֹתִּית יְתוּר) רֹאֶשֶׁת יְתוּר כִּי יְתָנְכָה אֲשֶׁר יְתוּר יְתוּר אֱלֹהִים "he will know the secrets of man ... he will know the secrets of all livings things"; and further 1 Enoch 10; 60:1-6, 25.

(6) הָעַזְשָׁנָה? Only a remnant is preserved of the last letter before the lacuna. A possible reconstruction is הָעַזְשָׁנָה? "consolations for the honest one(s)". The 'consolations' could represent an interpretation of Lamech’s words that Noah will be a comforter, Gen 5:29; cf. 1 Enoch 107.3 “And he called the name of that son Noah, for he will comfort the earth after all the destruction”. Alternatively, God could have consoled Noah in his sorrow over the destruction of the earth”.

(6-7) הָעַזְשָׁנָה? On הָעַזְשָׁנָה, see above on 4Q417 IX 14. We propose that this line replurases Gen 6:9 (וֹתִּית יְתוּר כִּי) הָנָּחַת וְתַחֲתָה הָנָּחַת. The verbal forms הָעַזְשָׁנָה (line 7), בּוּז (line
and (line 11), can be either perfect or imperative forms. We interpret the first two verbs as perfect forms, the latter two as imperatives.

(8) Noah praises the name of God. This praise could have been connected to Noah’s sacrifice after the flood [Gen 8:20; 1QapGen X 8-17 (line 8 ... יתבּוּל אֲלֵיהֶם ...)], or to the ingathering of the first crops after the flood, for which cf. 1QapGen XII 17.

4Q17 X 9-18. Noah’s exhortations to the coming generations, (?)

(9) The 2nd person form indicates that this word belongs to Noah’s exhortation to his descendants.

(10) A doxology is interspersed with the exhortations.

(11) The reconstruction is tentative. If the reconstruction is correct, the meaning is either “in spite of every affliction, praise His name”, or “Praise His name for every affliction”. The latter would fit well with the deterministic theology of the Hodayot, cf. 1QH 8:23-24 “from You it is that they assail my life”. In Qumran usageי has the meaning ‘affliction’, ‘stroke’.

(12-13) These lines refer to God’s preordination of the ways of men, and express a deterministic theology. For the subject matter, see the preceding column, lines 9-13.

(14-18) These lines preserve remnants of six sayings in the vetitive.

(14) "Let not pain or evil inclination claim power over my bones"; 4Q436 (4QBarki Nafshic) 1 10 רַגְלֵי הַיָּדוּת הַרָּתֵן "the inclination of a man grows stronger within him from day to day"; b. Sukk. 52b "the evil inclination entices man in this world". A prayer of Judah the Prince to be delivered from different kinds of evil, including the evil inclination, has been incorporated in an elaborated version in the Morning Prayer: 140

137 Qimron, HDDS; 102, 111.


139 See Elgvin, “The Genesis Section of 4Q422”, 184-8; 194-5.

An Analysis of 4QInstruction

May it be Your will that You save me ... from evil inclination!” (b. Ber. 16b).

Knowledge is a derivative from בק. "the shyness of flesh" is not found in the Bible.

[Hip’il impf. of מַלְאָכֵי (to lead to err).

4Q418 81 (=4Q416 XV)

Mus. Inv. 494.

PAM 40.601, 40.618, 41.908, 41.909, 42.185, 42.758, 42.824, 43.479

LI. 2-5 = 4Q423 8 1-4 (underlined).

The reconstructions in lines 8, 9, 12 and 14 are not found in the PC. We have also identified a photograph which shows a less fragmentized state of lines 7-10.

A small fragment (top left corner of the column) is juxtaposed with the main fragment. The top and right margins are preserved, as well as the upper part of the left margin. The right margin is 14-16 mm wide, and traces of stitching show the beginning of a sheet. The fact that the text of lines 2-5 in the parallel text 4Q423 8 appears as the bottom lines of a column, shows that line 1 of our text cannot reflect the beginning of the composition. Line 20 probably forms the last line of the column. The length of the writing block is 117 mm with 67-70 ls per line (lines 2 and 3). This fragment was located somewhat after the middle of the scroll 4Q418a, probably as col. XVII of a total of c.26 columns (see section 2.1.2.2).

4Q418 81 (underlined).

The reconstructions in lines 8, 9, 12 and 14 are not found in the PC. We have also identified a photograph which shows a less fragmentized state of lines 7-10.

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Notes on Readings

We have identified an earlier photo, PAM 40.618, which shows some additional letters on the left edge of lines 7, 8 and 10, which are not registered in the PC, nor are they extant any more on the plate.

L. 7: תָּאֵךְ וּסְמַעְתָּהּ. The PC reads פָּנָיו.
L. 8: תְּרֵשָׁה לָא (লুপ্লে) לָא לָא לָא (লুপ্লে). The word שֵׁלָשׁ has been marked by cancellation dots and was subsequently erased. The scribe probably wrote this word under the influence of similar phrases such as "תָּאֵךְ וּסְמַעְתָּהּ" (Isa 54:8).
L. 12: קַדָּר עַדְרוֹנָה. The letter was corrected to קַדָּר עַדְרוֹנָה. קַדָּר עַדְרוֹנָה.
L. 14: קַדָּר עַדְרוֹנָה. Both the first and second bet can alternatively be read as kap. קַדָּר עַדְרוֹנָה is a tentative reading, only a tiny trace is preserved of the letter read as lamed. The PC reads קַדָּר עַדְרוֹנָה.
L. 17: קַדָּר עַדְרוֹנָה. Probably scribal error for קַדָּר עַדְרוֹנָה.
L. 19: קַדָּר עַדְרוֹנָה. The PC reads קַדָּר עַדְרוֹנָה.

Translation

For He
1. opened your lips as a fountain to bless the holy ones. And you, as an everflowing fountain, praise ... He separated you from all
2. the spirit of flesh. <Hence> you shall separate from everyone He hates and keep apart from all abominations of the spirit. [For] He made everyone
3. and bequeathed them, each man his inheritance, and He is your portion and your inheritance among the sons of Adam. [For] His inheritance He gave you authority. And you,
4. honour Him in this: in sanctifying yourself to Him. As He set you to sanctify the holy ones for all and among all ...
5. He cast your lot and greatly increased your glory, and set you as His firstborn among the sons of Israel(?)" [and said "My riches(?)"
6. "and my favour I will give you". Is not His goodness yours? <So> walk always in His faithfulness
7. your deeds. And you, seek His judgements from the hands of every adversary of yours. all ... He acts in ... toward all who
8. love Him, and in mercy and kindness toward all who keep His word, but His zeal [is upon all who hate Him(?)
9. And for you He opened insight, gave you authority over His storehouse and entrusted [you] with an accurate ephah
10. are with you. It is in your hands to turn aside wrath from the men of <His> favour and punish [the men of Belial(?)
11. are with you. Before you take your portion from His hand, honour His holy ones, and before you
12. He opened [a fountain] <for> all the holy ones, all who by His name are called holy ones. they will be]
13. for all the eras the splendours of His sprout, an [eternal] planting
14. [ ... earth(?), in it will walk all those who inherit the land, for by [His] name [are they called (?)]
15. And you understand if He gave you a position of authority due to the skill of your <own> hands? Know[
16. an asset for all who walk <on the ways> of man. From there you will admonish your food and[
17. examine closely, and from the hand of all your teachers add insight[
18. Bring forth your needs for all who want to do business, and then you will understand [
19. you will be filled and satisfied with plenty of good things. By the skill of your hands[
20. for God portioned out the inheritance [of all][living,] and every wise of heart He gave knowledge[

Comments

For an interpretation of the main themes in the discourse of lines 1-14, see section 4.3.2. The text can hardly be divided into sub-paragraphs. Phrases and sub-themes are frequently repeated. The inheritance of the elect is described as נַחֲלָת (5); נַחֲלָת (5); נַחֲלָת (6 2x), 19]. This text contains a number of terms which refer to the

141Eisenman/Wise read סְפָר הָיִשְׂרָאֵל and translate "seek His judgements from every hand, and the abundance of ..."
142םָשָׁמַע, either "are with you" or "your people".
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

spiritual-eschatological share of salvation (והמה נחלמה, והפכה הכרדה החברתית). Close parallels to Solomon’s prayer and God’s promise to him in 1 Kgs 3:6-14 can be observed. According to this column, the wisdom God gave Solomon (cf. also 1 Kgs 3:28; 5:9) is now bequeathed to the elect in the community of the eternal planting.

4Q18 81 1-14. The glorious lot of the elect.

(1) According to this line, the lips of the addressee are a fountain praising the angels. The phrase can be an imperative or a perfect. An imperative would imply the translation “Open your lips, as a fountain, to bless the holy ones!” A perfect form (where God is the one who opens the lips of the believer) fits better in the context, the phrase thus appears also in line 12 with God as subject, cf. further Ps 51:17 א Detay מעשה מה מאה גדול חלるのはנו. We suggest that the previous column ended with the phrase (line 1) See further section 4.3.2 on the use of “holy ones” in 4QInstruction and the Qumran scrolls in general. Later in line 1, the praise of the elect is described as “an everflowing fountain”, מדריך ותלוי.

(1-2) As God separated you from the ungodly, you should stay away from them as well as every abomination. The sentence has a contrasting parallel in the concluding Yom Kippur prayer; “You distinguished man from the outset and recognised him to stand before You”. In the liturgy Adam/mankind in general is distinguished from the rest of creation: man alone has the prerogative to stand before God. In 4QInstruction the faithful has been distinguished from fleshly men, from the ungodly.

(1-2) 4Q416 VII 2 has the same phrase, כל הוא נבר, in the beginning of a discourse on God’s end-time judgement.

(2) For a similar use of the root שמה, cf. 1QS I 4, 10; IX 16.

(2) The root שמה is frequently used in the sectarian writings with reference to separation from outsiders; CD VI 15; VII 1; VIII 8; 1QH* IV 19. For שמה, cf. 1QH* XI 10-11 הלזרה שלמה מספר מתכסים ... ולזרה שלמה מספר מתכסים ... משלו של(BitConverterיעו数值). CD VII 1, 3; משלו של лютер数值 ... משלו של лютер数值.

(2-7) The Creator is the source of each man’s inheritance. He has given you a glorious lot and made you His firstborn son. Therefore praise Him and the holy angels, walk in faithfulness toward Heaven and ask for His judgements.

(3) Cf. 1QS IV 16 24; וברך הכתר וטבל ... ליתם אתו אייל; IV 24 יבדריךי וטבל ... ליתם אתו אייל and below, line 20.

(3) See section 4.3.2 for this reinterpretation of the promise to Aaron/Levi that God will be his portion instead of an earthly inheritance (Num 18:20; Deut 10:9).

means either ‘the sons of men’ or more probably ‘the sons of Adam’. Cf. line 16 below, เรา לא מסייע, where שמה must mean ‘men’, and 4Q18 256 1 שמיא אדום. 4QInstruction does refer to the ‘sons of Eve’ (4Q418 126 ii 9), which adds weight to the option ‘sons of Adam’. If ‘sons of Adam’ was intended, this phrase could point to the addressee as end-time heir of Adam, partaker of Adam’s knowledge (see section
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

4.1.5. The suffix ofملך can refer to Adam or God. We prefer the latter since the context deals with the God-given inheritance of the elect. On the use of מְלָכָה in the Hip'il to express setting somebody in a position of authority, see section 4.4.

(4) "He set you to sanctify the holy ones", and not "He made you a holy of holies" (see section 4.3.2, note 54). "Sanctify the holy ones" has the same meaning as "bless the holy ones" (line 1).

(5) הָלַךְ is often used in sectarian writings on the lot of the elect: 1QS II 1; 1QH II 11-12; 4Q413 (4QComposition concerning Divine Providence) 2.

(5) For the first part of the reconstruction, cf. 1QS I 10:7. For the second part, note that rhetorical questions are characteristic of 4QInstruction (see section 3.2, notes 61 and 62). The plene spelling ofמשה (also in the parallel text in 4Q423) of a consecutive imperfect form would be irregular in BH, but not in DSS Hebrew. On the portion of the elect as divine sonship, see section 4.3.4.

(5-6) The last (missing) part of line 5 introduced the quote or divine promise which opens line 6. See section 4.3.2 on the biblical roots of this promise, which does not appear verbatim in any particular biblical verse (for the tentative reconstruction). We prefer the readingמְלָכָה מְלָכָה for the first part of the reconstruction, cf. especially 1 Kgs 3:13:14. We prefer the readingמְלָכָה מְלָכָה after quoting a divine promise the author continues his parenesis, referring to God in the 3rd person as in lines 1-5. The word מְלָכָה means 'favour', 'goodwill', whileמְלָכָה in the following sentence means 'goodness' (מה recurs also in line 19). The 'favour' (רָשׁוֹן) and 'goodness' (מלך) which God conveys upon the elect probably include both spiritual and material gifts. The words מְלָכָה and מְלָכָה occur together also in 4Q418 12:7-10, which describes the eschatological praise of God: יִשָּׂרְאֵל מְלָכָה מְלָכָה יֵשׁוּעַ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל מְלָכָה מְלָכָה "and with the power of God and abundance of His glory with His goodness[...] and in His faithfulness will they bow down all day, always will they praise His name."

(7) 'Seek/ask for His judgements'. Cf. 1 Kgs 3:11 "discernment in administering justice".

(7) The meaning ofרֶמֶשׁ is probably 'your adversary'.

(7-8) "He acts in... toward all who love Him, and in mercy and kindness toward all who keep His word" is a free reworking of Exod 20:5-6. Although the literal meaning of the words from Exodus 20:5-6 is that God shows mercy to all who keep His word, this text has only the elect of the remnant community in mind: God acts in kindness toward His elect, and in zealous anger against the unfaithful. The word "zeal" can be used both for God's wrath against the ungodly and His positive zeal on behalf of His people. The use of זַע in Exod 20:5 tips the balance towards the first option.
For similar statements on God’s mercy to His faithful ones, cf. Sir 1:10 “Upon every living thing according to His gift, He has lavished her (Wisdom) upon those who love Him”; 4Q393 (4Qliturgy) 3+7 2 “Who keeps the covenant and shows mercy to those who love You and keep Your command[ments]”; 4Q437 (4QBarki Nafshi) 4 4 “His great mercy”...

For i~i" "His storehouse", cf. 4Q417 IX 18 on the Book of Hagi, written of the faithful who keep God’s word, and the biblical phrase i~i" i~i", used in a number of para-biblical compositions: 4Q385 (4QapocrJer) 16 ii 8; 4Q254 (4QCommGen C) 4 3; 4Q368 (4QapocrPent) 2 9; 4Q393 (4Qliturgy) 6 2, 4Q426 (4QSapiental-Hymnic Work A) 1 1 e.

(9-11) God gave you insight, His resources are at your disposal, and you can guard the community against His wrath. Receive your portion and praise His angels.

(10) For the meaning of i~i", “the men of His favour”, as a designation for the elect community which is under God’s mercy, see section 4.3.2.

(12-14) God has established the remnant community as the promised eternal plant, the holy ones (the elect) are called by His name, and He has opened a fountain of insight for them.

[145] Cf. Newsom’s comment, “The maskil is able to draw upon his special knowledge of the heavenly realm and by reciting its wonders offers protection to the community”: “The Sage in the Literature of Qumran”, 381.
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

(13) The combination with הַלְוָיָה מַעַלָּה הַלְוָיָה מַעַלָּה in this line points to the first option. The phrase הַלְוָיָה מַעַלָּה expresses the glorious God-given quality of the community. This glorious sprout will be an eternal planting. The text plays with the two different meanings of the root הַלְוָיָה, as Isa 60:21 and 61:3 associate הַלְוָיָה 'glory' with מַעַלָּה.

(14) If the reading מַעַלָּה is correct, lines 13-14 probably contained parallel statements on inheriting the earth מַעַלָּה and the land מַעַלָּה. A phrase similar to מַעַלָּה מַעַלָּה, found in 4Q185 56.6. According to this line, the community of the eternal planting, God's glorious sprout, will inherit the land. For the reconstruction מַעַלָּה מַעַלָּה, cf. line 12 מַעַלָּה מַעַלָּה (Wacholder/Abegg propose מַעַלָּה מַעַלָּה, and see further section 4.3.2 on the calling by the name of God.

4Q185 81 15-20. An admonition to use one's skills.

(15-20) God has given you resources and power to use your hands, earn your bread and satisfy yourself. While lines 1-14 belong to the discourses of 4QInstruction, it is not easy to decide whether lines 15-20 should be ascribed to the discourses or the earlier stratum of wisdom admonitions. The word מַעַלָּה (line 16) is typical of the admonitions, as is מַעַלָּה 'food', 'feed' (line 16, cf. 4Q417 II 17, 20; 4Q416 III 22; IV 1). On the other hand, in section 4.3.2 we showed a number of allusions to the wisdom of Solomon (1 Kgs 3), and similar allusions are found also in lines 15-20.

(15, 19) מַעַלָּה מַעַלָּה מַעַלָּה means 'skill of ones hands', 'craftsmanship', cf. Sir 38:31 "all these are skilled with their hands" (the Hebrew text is not preserved). מַעַלָּה is combined with the prepositions ‹ and ‹ in line 19 has an instrumental meaning. We suggest that ‹ in line 15 is used in a causative meaning, and that מַעַלָּה מַעַלָּה is a rhetorical statement "And you understand if He gave you a position of authority due to the skills of your <own> hands?" (i.e. He did not).

(15) מַעַלָּה could be an imperative, or reconstructed as מַעַלָּה 'and know[ledge of ...'.

(16) The meaning of this phrase is not clear, as מַעַלָּה is enigmatic. See our comments on 4Q416 IV 1, 12.

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146) מַעַלָּה is used elsewhere in 4QInstruction (4Q418 130 1; 134 2; 159 ii 7; 265 2).
147) 1 Kgs 3:9, 11, 12, 13; line 15 מַעַלָּה מַעַלָּה; 1 Kgs 3:12 מַעַלָּה מַעַלָּה; 1 Kgs 3:13 מַעַלָּה מַעַלָּה (cf. line 5 מַעַלָּה מַעַלָּה, line 6 מַעַלָּה מַעַלָּה).
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

(16) 'Human food' as in 4Q417 III 17.

(17) For \( \text{"human food" as in 4Q417 I, II.} \)

The addressee shall obtain insight with the help of "your wise ones", probably other members of the community.

(18) The meaning of the first sentence is not immediately clear. While \( \text{"desire", "business" or "property" (cf. our comments on 4Q417 III 12), "business" seems to} \)

be meant here. The meaning of this phrase thus is: be clear in communication with prospective business partners, express your needs, and then you will understand how to proceed.

(19) \( \text{as a Nip'al imperfect of \( \text{בכ} \). Lines 18-19 express that prudence in business leads to satisfaction. The words \( \text{בכ הנהיה ידיעת מבול} \) were probably followed by a word like \( \text{בכ выיוה ידיעות} \) "you will succeed" or \( \text{בכ יתבך} \) "you will earn your bread".}

(20) According to 4QInstruction, God has given every creature its preordained portion in life. This is true also for the rulers in their offices and the spiritual portion of the elect. Cf. above, lines 2-3; 4Q417 III 19-20; 4Q416 VIII 10; 4Q423 5-3 (see our comments on the latter text in section 6.2.2, and further section 4.4).

We interpret \( \text{בכ יתבך} \) as a 3rd person perfect with suffix of \( \text{בכ יתבך \text{Hip'al}} \) with the meaning "give knowledge!" (i.e. "He gave him insight"). Alternatively it could be a plural imperative with the meaning "receive knowledge!" For the latter option, cf. the address to the wise men in the presectarian 4Q302 (4QpapAdmonitory Parable) 2 ii 2-3 "Discern this, O wise men: ...

The phrase \( \text{בכ יתבך} \) occurs in 4QunidA 2.2. 4Q418 55 (the fourth column before the end of 4Q418a = 4Q416 XX)

In section 2.1.2.2 we suggested that this fragment should be located four columns before the end of 4Q418 a. Mus. Inv. 493 PAM 41.888, 41.908, 43.483*
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

NOTES ON READINGS

Eisenman/Wise wrongly consider this fragment as preserving the right margin of the column, so that in their reconstruction the first lines of lines 5-6 follow directly upon the last ones of lines 4-5. However, the photograph clearly shows a lacuna before the first words of lines 4-6. The remnant of the word after the lacuna in line 5 is clear, while Eisenman/Wise place קַפ as the original opening word of this line.

L. 1. נָשָׂא. The reading is tentative.
L. 11. זְמַנִּים. The PC reads זְמַנִּים. There is, however, no space between he and קַפ. Our reading yields an interrogative he which makes good sense.

TRANSLATION

1. [ ] and his soul[ ] and his soul[ ]
3. [ ] her ways are hewn in toil. We will be calm.
4. [ ] there will be awakening in our hearts [ ]
5. [ ] knowledge. They did not seek understanding, and wisdom they did not choose. Did not the God of knowledge
6. [ ] on truth, to establish every [creature by <His> understanding? He portioned out to the heirs of truth
7. [ ] He will be awake on the earth? Does he do. Is not peace and tranquility
8. [ ] Did you not know, or have you not heard that the angels of God’s holiness in heaven
9. [ ] in your midst? They will pursue all the roots of understanding, and will be awake regarding
10. [ ] according to their knowledge every man shall receive honour from his fellow, and according to his understanding his glory shall be magnified
11. [ ] Are they <not> like men - for he is lazy, and <like> a son of man - for he is silent? Will <they> not
12. [ ] eternity? - they will inherit an eternal portion. Did you not see

COMMENTS

The discourse in this column can be characterized as a rhetorical dialogue. Rhetorical questions are posed in the 2nd and 3rd person (lines 5-6, 7-8, 8-9, 11, 11-12, 12-). Only one of these is completely preserved (line 11 שָׂא). Four times the question opens with שָׂא [lines 5, 7, 8 (reconstructed), 12], once with שָׂא חַבִּים (line 8), and once with the interrogative particle ה (line 11). Lines 1-3 are formulated in the 3rd person singular, lines 3-4 in the 1st person plural, lines 5-12 in the 3rd person, and the question starting at the end of line 12 in the 2nd person plural.

The discourse deals with the ways of the elect. Catchwords include ‘understanding’, ‘knowledge’, ‘be awake’, and ‘truth’. The elect are awake and pursue understanding. Although they share the limitations to which man is subject in this life, they experience fellowship with the angels in heaven and have an eternal hope. The God of knowledge has preordained their portions, which are reflected in a ranking based on the knowledge demonstrated by each one. The ways of the elect stand in contrast to those lacking knowledge.

(3) Nip‘al of רָאָם I, which usually means ‘dig’. In Sir 50:3 the verb has the meaning ‘hew out’ (of stone), which probably is reflected here as well. The feminine gender subject
whose ways are ‘hewn out’ (preordained) as toilsome, is not preserved. Could it be the case (cf. Gen 3:16)? While הָדֵד is a plural noun, the verb (הָדֵד) is in the singular.

(3) Hip'îl of הָדֵד, used either with the intransitive meaning ‘be calm’ or the transitive ‘make quiet’.

(4) This is either a verb in the infinitive or a segholate noun from seghol, ‘to see’. In 4Q18, the verb appears as verb in line 9, and further in 4Q418 69 ii 10 and 11 the verb is used in the sense of ‘be awake’. As וַיָּשֵׁר and יָד cannot be distinguished palaeographically, one could materialistically also read יָדֶּשׁ “the Lord will be awake in our hearts”, although the meaning of this text is not clear.

(4) hêwâh bêtâl ‘the Lord’ is a Hip'îl imperfect of hêwâh ‘be calm’ with the same meaning as the Qal.

4Q18 3:14-5. 4Q18 has preordained the ways of both the ungodly and the men of understanding.

(5) Three sentences (the first only partially preserved) on the men of folly who did not seek knowledge. The mention of the God of knowledge in the context contrasts the description of the men of folly.

(5-6) This is a bipartite rhetorical question. The first question probably refers to the creation, and the second one to the preordainment of the ways of men: the God of knowledge has founded the world ‘on truth’. For the reconstruction, cf. 4Q417 x 9-10 (already) shows how the words of knowledge could be reconstructed. Instead of which cf. 1QH* XV 22 has. For the subject matter, cf. 4Q417 IX 10-12 which also combines the foundation of truth, and the preordained ways of the creatures: “for the God of knowledge is the foundation of truth. By the mystery to come He designed its foundation, [and] its creatures with all wisdom. According to all knowing He fashioned it, and the domain of its creatures according to all knowledge” (understanding?) (see our comments on this text above); and further 4Q18 5:6-6:6 “For God made all who desire assets, and meted them out by <His> truth [For with scales of righteousness He weighed out all their understanding, and by truth He established their knowledge(?)]”.

The reconstructed is interpreted as ‘creature’, as in 4Q417 IX 9, 11 (2x), 12, 21. The sentence refers to God’s making the creatures and deciding their ways, cf. 4Q417 IX 12 13 “According to their understanding [He] ordained for every creature, to walk in the inclination of his understanding”.

God’s preordination of the ways of men is mentioned also in 4Q18 81 20 (2x) “for God portioned out the inheritance [of all] living”; 4Q23 3:4-4:4 “He divided the portion of all the rulers and fashioned every [deed] by His hand, and the work of man He established(?).” The fragmentary first lines of 4Q99 (4QMyst*) 8 dealt with the same subject; אֲשֶׁר קָרָא וַיִּתְנְהָם לְמִלָּה כַּעַר שְׁפַר בְּיוֹם הַשִּׁלֹחָן אֲשֶׁר הָעָלָם "He established... He portioned out their knowledge". Cf. also 4Q180 (4QAgesCreat) 12 “before He created them He ordained [their] deeds”.

148 For the latter option, cf. Even-Shoshan, Heladash (Hebrew), Jerusalem 1991, 1410. Such a segholate is not found in the Bible.
The designation ביהים מַלְאָךְ for God is found in 1 Sam 2:3; 4Q417 IX 10 (see comments ad locum); and further in 1QS III 15; 1QHα 126; 1QHβ frg. 4 15; 4Q299 (4QMystα) 35 1; 73 3; Apoc. Adam 1:9.

(6) This sentence, too, refers to God’s preordination: He has portioned out the lots of all men and specifically of the elect. The word ביהים can in principle belong either to the preceding or the following sentence. The similar sentences in 4Q418 81 and 4Q423 5, however, both start with the subject (ביהים, ביהים) and not with the object. ביהים is therefore probably not the object of the verb ביהים (as in Eisenman/Wise: “and Understanding did he appertrion to those who inherited Truth”), but should be connected with the preceding sentence.

For ביהים, cf. the parallel phrase ביהים in 4Q418 69 ii 10. While line 5 described the men of folly, line 6-10 portray the elect. The phrase ביהים מַלְאָךְ is related to ביהים מַלְאָךְ, 4Q418 81 14, the remnant community that will inherit the earth (see section 4.3.2).

(7) The first fragmentary sentence refers to ‘awakening’, and the second one is a rhetorical question on “peace and tranquillity”.

4Q418 69 ii 8-12. The men of knowledge, their portion and their hope.

(8) This rhetorical question reminds the addressees of the presence of the angels. The missing continuation either spoke about the angels as spectators upon what is happening on earth, or about the fellowship between the elect and the angels. This fellowship is a common theme in the Qumran scrolls, cf. e.g. 1QS XI 7-9; 1QM VII 3-7; XII 8-9, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. The question is posed in the 2nd person plural, a rare usage in 4QInstruction (see section 3.2, note 47). This irregularity is clearly due to the ‘biblical language’ of this question. We reconstruct ביהים מַלְאָךְ with Eisenman/Wise. Both ביהים מַלְאָךְ and מַלְאָךְ ביהים are well-known biblical phrases (for the former, see 2 Sam 11:20; Ezek 17:12).

(9) Harrington proposes to reconstruct lines 8-9 as “angels of holiness serve Him in heaven, but the earth He has given over to the sons of truth, and they will follow after all the roots of understanding”. According to 4Q299 (4QMystα) 8 7, the elect pursue knowledge: ביהים מַלְאָךְ “the inclination of understanding for all who pursue knowledge”. 4Q301 (4QMystγ) uses the designation ביהים מַלְאָךְ for a group which is evaluated negatively. Similarly, 4Q300 (4QMystβ) 1 ii 1-4 describes a group which did not attain wisdom. We have noted that among the Qumran scrolls only 4QInstruction and 1Q/4QMysteries refer to the ‘roots’ of understanding and evil (see section 5.1.3). The first sentence, ביהים מַלְאָךְ, occurs also in 1QHα X 27-28. In principle this sentence could be a later sectarian interpolation in 4QInstruction. However, it seems more likely that this Hodayah quotes 4QInstruction (see section 5.1.1). Thus, it seems that also 4QInstruction reflects some kind of ranking of the elect according to the level of maturity and understanding, as

149Wisdom Texts from Qumran, 57.
1504Q301 1 2; 2 1 (see previous note); 4Q16 V 14, 4Q16 V 15.
1514Q300 1 ii 3; 4Q301 1 2; 2 1 (see previous note); 4Q16 V 14; 4Q418 55 9.
was the case in the *yahad*, or at least recognition of scriptural and spiritual knowledge which has been exercised.

(11) See above on READINGS. This is a bipartite rhetorical question. In both members is followed by an imperfect (נהיט is imperfect of שים ‘be silent’). As lines 9-10 and 12 refer to the elect, probably also line 11 does. According to this sentence, also the elect belong to fleshly man. This same truth is often reflected in the Hodayot: the elect is a partaker of heavenly knowledge, but he still experiences the imperfection that cleaves to mankind, cf. e.g. 1QH IV 29-38.

(11-12) The rhetorical question is followed by a response. Both state that the elect will inherit an eternal portion. The text was probably phrased with adverse parallelism of שים and סחיל. The eternal hope of the elect is often mentioned in 4QInstruction, cf. especially 4Q418 69. שים is a biblical phrase, cf. Gen 17:8; 48:4, but unlike these verses in Genesis the connotations in this text pertain to ‘eternal life’ (cf. 4Q418 69 II 14 פִּילֶה). The rhetorical question is followed by a response. Both state that the elect will inherit an eternal portion. The text was probably phrased with adverse parallelism of שים and סחיל. The eternal hope of the elect is often mentioned in 4QInstruction, cf. especially 4Q418 69. שים is a biblical phrase, cf. Gen 17:8; 48:4, but unlike these verses in Genesis the connotations in this text pertain to ‘eternal life’ (cf. 4Q418 69 II 14 פִּילֶה). The rhetorical question is followed by a response. Both state that the elect will inherit an eternal portion. The text was probably phrased with adverse parallelism of שים and סחיל. The eternal hope of the elect is often mentioned in 4QInstruction, cf. especially 4Q418 69. שים is a biblical phrase, cf. Gen 17:8; 48:4, but unlike these verses in Genesis the connotations in this text pertain to ‘eternal life’ (cf. 4Q418 69 II 14 פִּילֶה).

(12) Another rhetorical question followed, introduced by וַהֲלוֹא. This question probably contained a reference to the elect having seen God’s glory or gazed into His mysteries. The phrase נפּוּר is stylistically similar to נְפּוּר (line 8) as well as Jer 33:24 וַּהֲלוֹא. Another rhetorical question followed, introduced by וַּהֲלוֹא. This question probably contained a reference to the elect having seen God’s glory or gazed into His mysteries. The phrase נפּוּר is stylistically similar to נְפּוּר (line 8) as well as Jer 33:24 וַּהֲלוֹא.

4Q423 1-2 (olim frgs. 2 and 1, second last column of 4Q423 = 4Q416 XXII)

In section 2.1.3 we suggested that this fragment preserves part of the second last column of 4Q423. Mus. Inv. 183

PAM 40.618, 41.761, 42.592, 43.520*, 43.535
NOTES ON READINGS
Although there is no continuous text supporting the relation of frgs. 1 and 2, it was argued above that the shape of the fragments demonstrate that frg. 2 should be located slightly to the left of frg. 1 (see section 2.1.3). Assuming that one word is lacking at the beginning of line 1, and two words at the beginning of line 2, it is proposed to reconstruct "יִשָּׁרֶשׁ מֻלָּא וְיִשָּׁרֶשׁ מֵאַרְבִּיעַ יִשָּׁרֶשׁ מֵאַרְבִּיעַ" (alternatively, if וַיְלָדָה was the first word of line 1, there would not be enough space for וַיְלָדָה in the lacuna in the beginning of line 2).

On frg. 2 one can clearly see another dry line above line 2 with the tav of וַיְלָדָה. The letters in lines 6-7 have shrunk due to deterioration of the skin.
L. 1 וַיֹּלֶדָה. With a microscope one can discern that the same word was written supralinearly above the second וַיְלָדָה and later erased.
L. 7 וַיְלָדָה. The extant letters of the first word are clearly visible on PAM 42.592. Instead of וַיְלָדָה one can possibly read וַיְלָדָה or וַיְלָדָה.
L. 8 נַגְדִּירָה. An original וַיְלָדָה was corrected to וַיְלָדָה.

TRANSLATION
1. [and every fruit that is produced and every tree which is good, pleasing to give knowledge. Is [it] not a delightful] garden
2. [and pleasant [of] give great knowledge? He set you in charge of it to till it and guard it. An [enjoyable] garden(?)]
3. [the earth,] thorns and thistles will it sprout forth for you, and its strength it will not yield to you, [ ]
4. [in your being unfaithful [ ]]
5. [her child, and all the compassion of her that is pregnant you [ ...]ed all your resources(?)]
6. [in all your business(?), for everything it causes to sprout forth[ for you ] always not to]
7. [and in a planting[ ]them [ rejecting (?)] the evil and knowing the good,]
8. [be]tween his way and the way of [ ]
9. [ ] and bread

COMMENTS
This section of 4QInstruction paraphrases and interprets the Eden story of Genesis 2-3. Lines 1-2 are formulated in the 3rd and 2nd person and refer to the Garden of Eden and man’s task on earth before he sinned. The 2nd person sing. form (line 2) points to some kind of relation between Adam and the addressee of 4QInstruction. Lines 3-6 are formulated in the 2nd person singular (with the exception of a reference to the woman in the 3rd person in line 5). These lines deal with the state of the earth and man’s conditions after the curses of Genesis 3:14-19. The word גן (line 7) probably refers to the ‘planting’, the end-time community. Lines 7-8 are formulated in the 3rd person singular, and deal with discerning between good and evil.

If lines 6-8 do refer to the end-time community and the knowledge of the elect, it is possible that a paraphrase of Genesis 2-3 was used as background for a description of the inheritance of the elect.153

4Q423 1-2 1-6. The Eden story, the consequences of Adam’s disobedience.

153 The theme of the Garden of Eden recurs in 1QH VIII 4-27, where the Teacher uses the Eden theme to describe his inheritance and his community, as well as in 4Q265 (4QSD). See Charlesworth, “Jesus as ‘Son’ and the Righteous Teacher as ‘Gardener’”. 4Q265 uses the Eden narrative as an explanation for the laws of postpartum purification: Baumgarten, “Purification after Childbirth and the Sacred Garden in 4Q265 and Jubilees”.


6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction 279
knowledge they convey, but not their appearance to the eye (as does Gen 3:6). The garden, not just the trees, is described as giving knowledge. The words used in 4Q418 21 2; 81 17; 238 1) and (4Q417 IX 27). 154

According to 4Q422 (4QParaGenExod) I 9–12, eating from the tree that gives knowledge of good and evil introduces man’s rebellion against God: “He set mankind on the earth, He set him in charge to eat the fruit of the soil ... and decreed that he should not eat from the tree that gives knowledge of good and evil. ... the rose against Him and they forgot (His laws ... in evil inclination and for deeds of injustice”. In contrast, this text sees the trees of Eden as conveying positive knowledge.

Among the Qumran texts, the Garden of Adam, while at the same time it serves as an image for the earth to be cultivated by man. The word תבנית alludes to Gen 2:15–16 and describes God placing man as steward over creation, cf. 4Q422 (4QParaGenExod) I 9.

4QInstruction uses words from the roots חסכל, חסכל, דבר,ע, most frequently יבש, יבש, to describe the wisdom and insight one can achieve. While the addressee usually is designated יבש, he can also be addressed as חסכל (4Q418 21 2; 81 17; 238 1) and יבש (4Q417 2 : 25).

The Hipil form is found in Ps 8:7 with reference to God’s placing man above creation (כָּל הָאֶדֶם אָם), cf. also Dan 11:39. As a conflation of Gen 2:9 and 3:6 refers to a certain tree that produces fruit, is pleasing to the eye and conveys knowledge, this text stresses the connection between all the trees in the garden and Adam’s God-given knowledge (cf. the repeated use of the verb חסכל). 155

154 Cf. 4Q418 81 20: “All wise of heart, receive insight”. Hipil forms of חסכל are rather infrequent used in 4Q417 2 12 (= 4Q418 43 1); 4Q418 69 ii 2; 81 20; 165 2; 174 3; 184 3; 197 1; 4Q423 5 8.

155 Hipil was probably used in the same context in the Hebrew text of Sir 17:1-2 “The Lord fashioned man from the earth ... He gave him authority over everything on earth”; and Jub. 2:14 “He made man ... and gave him authority over everything on earth”. Likewise, the Two Spirit Treatise in IQS uses related terminology: לַעַד אַתָּנוּ הָאָדָם אֱלֹהִים חסכל. Similar expressions with regard to Adam and Eve are found in the non-sectarian psalm 4Q381 1 7–8 paraphrasing Genesis 1:1 / and הָאָדָם לְוַדָּו הָאָדָם חסכל. Cf. also 4Q301 (4QMyst*) 3 6 חסכל עַל מַעָּלָיו and 4Q504 (4QDirHam) 8 6 חסכל עַל מַעָּלָיו. See Elgvin, “Admonition Texts”, esp. p. 187; idem, “The Genesis Section of 4Q422”. On the use חסכל in 4QInstruction, see section 4.4.
refers to man's God-given dominion and stewardship over the earth, alluding to Genesis 2, cf. 4Q222
(4QparaGenExod) 19 the earth was probably used in the same context in the Hebrew text of Sir 17:2 and Jub. 2:14. 4QInstruction uses הֵמֶשֶׁל with regard to the relation between parent and child (4Q416 V 17), husband and wife (4Q416 2 VI 2, 6, 7), as well as in a symbolic meaning (4Q418 81 3, 9, 15; 4Q416 V 12).

The 2nd person sing. form הֵמֶשֶׁל (line 2) in a passage which rephrases Genesis 2 points to some kind of relation between Adam and the addressee of 4QInstruction. According to lines 1-2, the 'you' who is addressed is related to a garden which conveys knowledge. This 'knowledge' could refer to the end-time restoration of the wisdom of Adam to the 'sons of Adam'. Further, 4Q418 81 3 (=4Q423 8 2-3) uses the same form, הֵמֶשֶׁל, with reference to the God-given portion of the elect, נֶפֶשׁוֹ לְחֶסֶן הֶבֶל. 'He is your portion and your inheritance among the sons of Adam. [In] His inheritance He gave you authority'. Therefore הֵמֶשֶׁל could have a double meaning in the text discussed here; referring both to Adam and the Garden of Eden as well as to the elect 'son of Adam' in his relation to the end-time community and inheritance.

(3) There is a sharp contrast between the harmony described in lines 1-2 and the burdensome conditions reflected in lines 3-4. This line refers to the earth after man's sin. Cf. Gen 3:17-18. A reconstruction such as דָּרוֹרָה חַרְבּוֹת הָאָדָם הָאֲדוֹמִים would be too long for the lacuna at the beginning of line 3. The subject of the two sentences in this line must be הָאָדָם. In the Eden song in 1QH VIII, קָרָא יְהוָה is used figuratively for the situation of those who are spiritually thirsty if the Teacher of the hymn takes his hand away from them (1QH VIII 25), but here the sense is literal. For קָרָא יְהוָה see also Gen 4:12, which here are transferred to the curse on Adam in Genesis 3 and on man in general in his relation to the earth.

(4) This is an infinitive construct of מְשַׁמֵּשׁ 'be unfaithful' with suffix, probably referring to the unfaithfulness of Adam and contemporary man. For the subject matter, cf. CD X 8-9. מְשַׁמֵּשׁ can be a a finite verb ('she gave birth'), or a form of the noun ('her child' or '(marriageable) girl'). The plural construct form מְשַׁמֵּשׁ means 'compassion' or 'mercy'. The last word before the lacuna is a form of מְשַׁמֵּשׁ, possibly the feminine participle. This line could paraphrase the curse on the woman, Gen 3:16, referring to pregnancy and giving birth as well as the woman's relation to her husband.

(5) Lines 5-6 continue the description of the present conditions of man. These lines deal with man's resources and business as well as the produce of the earth. The meaning 'all your resources' for מְשַׁמֵּשׁ fits well together with מְשַׁמֵּשׁ "in all your business" in the next line. The word preceding מְשַׁמֵּשׁ is probably a verb in the 2nd person sing. perfect.

(6) Either "in all you desire", "in all your properties", or "in all your business". 'Business' is preferable here.
Lines 7-8 change subject to the end-time community and the God-given knowledge of the elect. Although could refer plainly to a planting of the Garden of Eden, a comparison with 4Q418 81 13-14 "they will be] for all the eras the splendours of His sprout, an [eternal planting ... will walk all those who will inherit the land") indicates that also here is a designation for the eschatological community, as it is in 1QH VIII 5, 9, 20, 21; and CD 17. The community is thus described with a term fitting the 'garden theme' of this section.

It is suggested that this text reminds the addressee of his spiritual inheritance: he belongs to circles who saw themselves as constituting the planting God has established in the midst of Israel, a planting which is a nucleus of the end-time garden of the righteous. The mention of the 'garden' in lines 1-2 and the end-time 'planting' in line 7 could reflect an eschatological interpretation of the Garden of Eden, for which cf. Isa 11:6-9; 58:11 (as had); 1QH VIII 5 (in this Teacher Hymn the 'garden' is identical with the 'eternal planting'); 1 Enoch 32:3 'the garden of righteousness'; 60:23 'the garden of the righteous'; 61:12 'the garden of life'; 77:3 'the garden of righteousness'; 4Q385 (4QPsEzek) 9 ii 1 'the garden of life'; 4Q385 (in 1 Enoch and probably also 4Q385 this garden symbolizes the ultimate portion of the righteous); and Targums Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan on Gen 49:1.

For the reconstruction of another possibility would be to reconstruct instead of . Lines 7-8 deal with the knowledge and discernment given to the elect, possibly in contrast to the burdensome conditions described in lines 3-4. is probably a Qal participle. The durative sense of the participle could refer to a continuing ability of discernment. "To know good and evil", i.e. discern between good and evil, is a common theme in 4QInstruction. The addressee of 4QInstruction, who has the eschatological gift of knowing good and evil, would probably understand this passage also as an exhortation to continue to make the right choices.

The text should be reconstructed as either a form of the verb יָשָׁר "understand", or more probably as the preposition יָשָׁר, that is, either "understand his own way and the way of ..." or "discern between

Cf. Charlesworth, "Jesus as 'Son' and the Righteous Teacher as 'Gardener'".

4Q385 9 should be ascribed to Pseudo-Ezekiel, it probably preserves a reworking of the mocking songs over (the king of) Tyre in Ezekiel 26-28.

The Targums portray the sons of Jacob gathered around their father's deathbed "after the end had been revealed to him", expecting him to tell them the eschatological secrets: the concealed secrets, the hidden periods of the end-time, the giving of the rewards of the just and the punishment of the wicked and what the happiness over (the king of) Tyre fits better in the context); 4Q300 (4QMyst) 3 2 (line 13) suggests interpreting יִשָּׁר as "know"; and further the motive of the tree(s) of knowledge, 4Q418 27 (the parallel text in 4Q16 15 has יִשָּׁר "to establish justice between good and evil" which fits better in the context); 4Q17 IX 11 9 (then you will know truth and evil, wisdom [and simplicity]; 4Q17 IX 11 9 יִשָּׁר יְבִין הָאָדָם "then you will know truth and evil, wisdom [and simplicity]"; and further the motive of the tree(s) of knowledge, 4Q423 1-2 9 1 (= 4Q188 5). For the subject matter, c.f. Gen 2:9; 17; 3:5; 5:22; Solomon's request to God in 1 Kgs 3:9-14; and further 1QSa 1 10-11; 1QH X 11-12.

R. Gordis "The Knowledge of Good and Evil in the Old Testament and the Qumran Scrolls", JBL 76 (1957) 122-138 demonstrates that the phrase יִשָּׁר יְבִין הָאָדָם in the Bible (Gen 2:9, 17; Deut 1:39; 2 Sam 19:36; Isa 7:15-16) and in 1QSa 1 10-11 refers to sexual maturity, with the specific connotation 'natural and unnatural' for יִשָּׁר יְבִין הָאָדָם. Other verbs are used when the connotation is wisdom: 2 Sam 14:17 יִשָּׁר יְבִין הָאָדָם; 1 Kgs 3:9 יִשָּׁר יְבִין הָאָדָם. 4QInstruction (as well as 1QS IV 26 and 1QH XIV 11-12) does not reflect this meaning of יִשָּׁר יְבִין הָאָדָם, nor either differentiates between the verbs יִשָּׁר יְבִין, יִבְיָר, and יִבְיוֹר with reference to ..., the other, the other, the other.
his own way and the way of ...”. Before one should supplement a verb such as אַלָּא or וַיִּשָּׁרֵד. The elect have received insight to understand their own way as well as the way of others. The continuation could be reconstructed. 

The elect have received insight to understand their own way as well as the way of others. The continuation could be reconstructed:

7. The word ‘bread’ could be related to man’s earning his food and thus related to the curse on Adam and the earth, cf. Gen 3:19

4Q418 127 (last column of 4Q418a = 4Q416 XXIII)

In section 2.2.2.2 we suggested that this fragment preserves the upper part of the last column of 4Q4181. 

Mus. Inv. 500

PAM 41.904, 42.827, 43.481*

NOTES ON READINGS

It is difficult to decide whether specks of ink which can be detected close to the edges of the skin reflect incidental specks, or remnants of supralinear letters.

L. 2. נַעַשְׁנַי. The PC reads נַעַשְׁנ. Eisenman/Wise, 246, read an ‘ayin and propose נוֹשָׁן. However, an examination with a microscope determines that the first preserved letter was a sade.

L. 4. לה. The last letter before the lacuna is possibly a sade.

L. 3. לֹא. The PC reads לָ. The last letter before the lacuna can be a sin, ‘ayin or sade.

L. 7. קְטָרֶנֶא. This is the proposal of the PC. The qop is fairly sure. Only small traces are preserved of the preceding and following letters. The last letter could be a sin or ‘ayin.

TRANSLATION

1. [your] fountain, and you will not find what you lack, your soul will languish for want of all good things, unto death[.]

2. [upon ... you will] look all day, and your soul will yearn to come into her gates, that [the earth] bury and cov[er] you?[.]

3. [your] corp[se], and you will be a tooth for food, and <there will be> consuming pestilence against ..[.]

4. [and th]ose who seek pleasure you have oppressed in their lives. But also you will ..[.]

5. [ Fo]r you. For God made all who desire assets, and meted them out by <His> truth[.]

6. [ For] with scales of righteousness He weighed out all their understanding, and by truth[ He determined their knowledge(?)]

7. [right]eousness(?), their[ ] and[

COMMENTS

This fragment contains a closing warning in the 2nd person singular to those who do not heed the instruction of 4QInstruction. Lines 1-5 deal with the anguish the godly will experience in their lives and the
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

dishonouring death which awaits them. Line 4 refers to the cause of the judgement: oppressive behaviour. Lines 5-6 refer to God's preordination of the ways of men.

4Q418 127 1-4. A warning to the ungodly.

(1) This line describes the agony the ungodly one will experience in his life. He will not have access to the fountain of God (on the fountain image, see section 4.3.2 on 4Q418 81 1, 12). Death will be his fate.

(2) Since the verb is feminine, the subject should probably be reconstructed as רְשָׁעִים or רְשָׁעָה. The ungodly one will continually have suffering before his eyes.

(3) The feminine suffix of רְשָׁעִים probably refers to רְשָׁעָה, cf. the mention of רְשָׁע (line 1) and רְשָׁע (line 2); the ungodly would even long for the relief of death.

Materially, רְשָׁע could be a Qal fem. participle or a Pual 2nd person perfect. However, we suggest that this line contained two verbs in the consecutive perfect, and that רְשָׁע is the exceptional form of the 3rd person fem. perfect. In the continuation we reconstruct רְשָׁע, another verb in the 3rd person fem. The author uses the fate of Korah and his group as a warning, cf. Num 16:33, and the reference to Korah in 4Q423 5 1 (see section 6.2.2).

(4) ְרְשָׁע means either "those who seek pleasure" or "those who seek to do business". In their steps should be interpreted "while they walk", i.e. in their lives. This line gives the reason for the misery and judgement the wicked will experience. The continuation possibly expressed that the future will reverse the oppressive situation: as you have inflicted evil upon others, also you (רְשָׁע, etc.) will experience misery when judgement comes upon you.

4Q418 127 5-6. God's preordination of the ways of men.

(5-6) These lines reflect a common theme in 4QInstruction, viz., God's creation and predestination of the ways of men. He has established their ways and meted them out 'by truth' (רְשָׁע, lines 5 and 6), for which cf. 4Q418 55 6 (see comment ad locum); 4Q417 IX 10-13. The mention of God's righteousness in line 6 and possibly line 7 likely functioned as a reason for the judgement.

(6) At the beginning one can reconstruct either רְשָׁע or רְשָׁע. An alternative reconstruction is רְשָׁע רְשָׁע וְרְשָׁע רְשָׁע "by truth" He refers to the ways of men.
ordained every deed(?)”, for which cf. 4Q418 55 6. The ‘scales of righteousness’ are further mentioned in 4Q415 (4Q4QInstruction) 6 6; 9 12; cf. 4Q415 11 8 מְשֶׁקֶל מִשְׁמַר הַדְּשָׁם. For the subject matter, cf. Pinsinger 5.7-9 “The god lays the heart on the scales opposite the weight. He knows the impious man and the man of god by his heart. There is curse or blessing in the character that was given him”. 
6.2.2. 4Q423. Some additional fragments

6.2.2. contains an edition of some fragments of 4Q423 whose location in the composition is unknown. These fragments, referred to in the discussion above, contain ideas which are important for our understanding of 4QInstruction.

4Q423 3

Mus. Inv. 183
PAM 41.761, 42.592, 43.520 *
Li. 1-4 = 1Q26 2 2-4 (underlined)

NOTES ON READINGS
L. 5 בקדישת. Above the yod there is a dot, which might be the remnant of a supralinear letter. Materially one can read בקדישת just as well as בקדישת.
L. 5 ה. The head and lower part of the lamed are visible with a microscope.

TRANSLATION
1. your strength will be spent in vain
2. by the mystery(?) to come. Thus you shall walk, and all your crops will multiply(?)
3. as a portion of land. On His word will bear every womb
4. you shall come before your God(?) with the firstborn of your womb and the firstborn of all [your cattle]
5. you shall come before your God(?) and say: ‘I sanctify [to God(?)] everyone[ who opens the womb(?)]

COMMENTS
4Q423 3 1-3. Living according to the ‘mystery to come’ will secure God’s blessings.

(1) סל עירם פלальнכה [Cited from Lev 26:20 וס לניית מְסָרֵם לְקָדֶשׁ (from a warning about the hardships that will befall Israel and its land if the people disobey the Lord), with the suffix changed from pl. to sing. This line, as the biblical model, must have contained a warning against disobedience.

(2) הרות For the reconstruction הרות, cf. 4Q417 IX 8-12 and 20-21, where a connection is made between man’s meditating on raz nihyeh and his ‘walking’. While Lev 26:3 admonishes to walk according to God’s laws (לְכָּדֶשׁ), this text makes the search for God’s raz nihyeh the central
principle for the life of the elect; when he lives according to this principle, the crops will multiply. For the reconstruction, cf. Neh 9:32, cf. Lev 27:24.


4Q23 3.3-5. Sanctification of the firstborn.

(4-5) One shall come before the Lord and sanctify every firstborn to Him; cf. Exod 13:12-15; Num 3:12-13, 40-51; Deut 15:19-20. The Bible does not prescribe specific words to use for this ritual act of sanctification. The references to crops, conceiving, the firstborn and sanctification may indicate that this text provided such a formula, beginning with כדקדשים לפני HaLeuthor. For a similar declaration before God, cf. Deut 26:5-10 referring to the first fruits, see also Prov 3:9-10: when you honour God with the first fruits, He will bless the crops. Since the yahad established itself as a spiritual temple of its own, such formulas would be needed for its liturgical practice. Here we find the formula in a presectarian writing well known by the yahad. 162 This formula could also be rooted in priestly traditions of the pre-Maccabean temple. If we have correctly understood the nature of this text, frg. 3 preserves a legal insertion in a sapiential-didactic composition. 163

(4) The deuteronomistic phrase מר בָּא and ידו יאהד designates man's own offspring. This line refers to the offspring of man and cattle, cf. e.g. Deut 28:11 mere bemak bemir bet daim.

(5) For the reconstruction, cf. Exod 13:12. The words כדקדשים לפני HaLeuthor indicate either that firstlings of pure animals are brought to the holy place as a burnt-offering, or that meat is presented as a priestly gift following the burning of the inner organs. 164

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162 Cf. e.g. Ant. 18.19, 1QS VIII 1-10, CD XII 17-23. See Stendel, “The Houses of Prostration”.

163 4Q509 (4QPrFetes) 131-132 ii preserves a similar liturgical formula, see especially lines 5, 7, 10, 11 כדקדשים לפני HaLeuthor. Cf. further 4Q270 (4QDP) 2 i 6-9 "to give" to the sons of Aaron ...

Notes on Readings

Fig. 4 is comprised of two small fragments which are joined on the basis of the parallel text in 1Q26.

L. 1. clreu 'lum [lum lum b[lubw lum lum lum lum. 1Q26 reads 'lum [lum lum b[lubw. The first letter after the lacuna is a mem (less probably a bet). This reading shows that the proposed reading מ" in DJD I is not correct (Milik’s proposal to read a nun after the yod is conjectural since only a trace remains of the second letter of this word). The word in question must be a parallel to מ". An emendation to מ" ‘you will be put to shame’ is proposed. מ"י, a Hiph’al form of מ" ‘put under a ban’ could also be possible, but would be too long for the lacuna in 1Q26 1 6.

L. 2. This line is superscript. The letters in lines 3a and 3 have shrunk due to deterioration of the leather and are hardly legible. The relation with the text of 1Q26 in lines 3a–3 is not immediately clear, but if 3a represents a full line of text added interlinearly, an overlap with 1Q26 is created.

L. 3a. Milik reads 1Q26 1 6 'lum. Milik’s reconstruction in 1Q26 8 is too short for the lacuna. If מ" is correctly reconstructed, a word of three or four letters should be emended before מ".

L. 4. Remnants of two words on plate XX in DJD I are not included in Milik’s transcription.

Translation

01. [ in the mystery to come ]
02. [ ]
03. [ your crops ]
04. [ when He opened your ear to the mystery to come ]
   1. [ to you. Take care lest she honour you more than Him and ]
   2. [ and you will be cursed in all your crops and put to shame in all your deeds. ]
   3a. [ your lawsuit. And by hisi[ power! He commissioned! judgement and said to him ‘I am your portion ]
3. [ and your inheritance among the sons of Adam’? ] you[ did not magnify yourself again[ns]
4. [ for every ]
6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

COMMENs

Lines 1–3 overlap with 1Q26 1 5–7.

The fragmentary lines 1–4 (reconstructed from 1Q26 1) relate the yields of the earth to God’s raz nihyeh. Lines 1–2 contain an admonition not to be proud in days of success, but to remember that God is the ultimate source of the crops. Line 2 warns about the curse that will befall the crops when the people forget God—a well-known deuteronomical theme. Lines 3a–3 quote from the promise to Aaron of Num 18:20 that God will be his portion, and transfer this promise to the elect in a description of his spiritual-eschatological share.

4Q23 4 1-2. A warning.

The text of IQ26, ‘take care lest she honour you more than Me (= ממך)’. The 1st person form would be exceptional within 4QInstruction (there are a few quotes from divine speech in the 1st person). We therefore propose to interpret “take care lest she honour you more than Him (= ממך)”, as the preceding line refers to God in the 3rd person.

Line 2 talks about God taking away the crops from unfaithful Israel. Line 1 would then contain a warning: successful crops are due to God. The feminine subject (the wife or the daughter?) shall honour Him, not the farmer, for the yields of the earth. Although the text seems to allude to 1 Sam 2:29, God’s remonstrance of Eli, it is rather an admonition not to forget God in easy days with plentiful crops, cf. Deut 8:7–20.

4Q23 4 3a-4. A God-given portion.

The fragmentary state of the text does not allow any clear conclusions as to the meaning of these words referring to lawsuit and judgement. The text changes from the 2nd to the 3rd person.

We reconstruct “I...am your portion and your inheritance among the sons of Adam(?)”, quoting the divine speech from Num 18:20, from the promise to Aaron that his portion will be God (and the priestly dues), instead of any territorial portion. This text could refer to the priestly election and dues. However, it is more likely that this promise to Aaron is transferred to the elect, as is the case in 4Q18 81 2–3 which interprets Num 18:20 on the individual elect: ‘He made everyone and bequeathed them, each man his inheritance. And He is your portion and your inheritance among the sons of Adam. [In] His [in]heritance He gave you authority’ (the first part of line 3 is reconstructed based on this parallel text). 4QInstruction interprets Ps 16:5–11 and 73:23–28 as promises about eternal life for the righteous. The word时间为 the spiritual-eschatological share of salvation. The words time, התיות, הילוך, and בָּשָׂר (all of

165 Cf. Deut 10:9; התיות עליך and Ps 16:5; התיות עליך. See von Rad, “‘Gerechtigkeit’ und ‘Leben’ in der Kulpsprech der Psalmen”.

166 In a contrasting interpretation Qoh 5:17 and 9:9 use the same phrases to justify the earthly pleasures as man’s inheritance, התיות עליך ב’. Sirach, which can be dated slightly earlier than 4QInstruction, speaks traditionally on the inheritance of Aaron: התיות עליך [ו] התיות עליך [ו] קש בָּשָׂר [ו] התיות עליך. ‘He bestowed upon him his inheritance: The sacred offerings he allotted to him, with the showbread as his portion’ (45:20).
which appear in 4Q18 81) can convey such a meaning both in Qumran literature (for 4QInstruction, see 4Q18 81 3–5; 4Q18 69 13–14; 4Q16 4 3) and the tradition of the synagogue.167

4Q423 5

Mus. Inv. 185
PAM 41.210, 41.211, 41.761, 42.592*, 42.818, 43.535

top margin

Notes on Readings

The fragment is a join of two separate fragments, frgs. Sa and Sb. The join provides an easy flowing unified text in lines 3–5.

L. 1aוֹשׁוֹר לֵהוֹת מִן חֵפְרוֹת חֶלְּנוּ תֹּלְדֵהוּ. Superscript by two later hands. The first two words are written in large cursive letters, the remaining with small semicursive letters. The last three words are difficult to read. We are indebted to M.G. Abegg for the proposed reading וֹשׁוֹר לֵהוֹת מִן חֵפְרוֹת חֶלְּנוּ תֹּלְדֵהוּ. In stead of וֹשׁוֹר one can read וֹשׁוֹר.

L. 2וָאַהֲוָא אֶפְרָא הָדִירֵהַ נְעָרְיוֹת אֶזְכָּרֵהוּ מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְקַמָּהוּ. Only a trace is preserved of the first letter after the lacuna; yod is as plausible as any other letter. For the reconstruction, cf. frg. 5a 2 which clearly reads וֹשׁוֹר מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְҚַמָּהוּ.

L. 3וָאַהֲוָא אֶפְרָא הָדִירֵהַ נְעָרְיוֹת אֶזְכָּרֵהוּ מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְקַמָּהוּ. Or: וָאַהֲוָא אֶפְרָא הָדִירֵהַ נְעָרְיוֹת אֶזְכָּרֵהוּ מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְҚַמָּהוּ.

L. 4וָאַהֲוָא אֶפְרָא הָדִירֵהַ נְעָרְיוֹת אֶזְכָּרֵהוּ מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְҚַמָּהוּ. Or: וָאַהֲוָא אֶפְרָא הָדִירֵהַ נְעָרְיוֹת אֶזְכָּרֵהוּ מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְҚַמָּהוּ.

L. 5וָאַהֲוָא אֶפְרָא הָדִירֵהַ נְעָרְיוֹת אֶזְכָּרֵהוּ מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְҚַמָּהוּ. Or: וָאַהֲוָא אֶפְרָא הָדִירֵהַ נְעָרְיוֹת אֶזְכָּרֵהוּ מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְҚַמָּהוּ.

L. 6וָאַהֲוָא אֶפְרָא הָדִירֵהַ נְעָרְיוֹת אֶזְכָּרֵהוּ מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְҚַמָּהוּ. Or: וָאַהֲוָא אֶפְרָא הָדִירֵהַ נְעָרְיוֹת אֶזְכָּרֵהוּ מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְҚַמָּהוּ.

L. 7וָאַהֲוָא אֶפְרָא הָדִירֵהַ נְעָרְיוֹת אֶזְכָּרֵהוּ מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְҚַמָּהוּ. Or: וָאַהֲוָא אֶפְרָא הָדִירֵהַ נְעָרְיוֹת אֶזְכָּרֵהוּ מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְҚַמָּהוּ.

L. 8וָאַהֲוָא אֶפְרָא הָדִירֵהַ נְעָרְיוֹת אֶזְכָּרֵהוּ מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְҚַמָּהוּ. Or: וָאַהֲוָא אֶפְרָא הָדִירֵהַ נְעָרְיוֹת אֶזְכָּרֵהוּ מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְҚַמָּהוּ.

L. 9וָאַהֲוָא אֶפְרָא הָדִירֵהַ נְעָרְיוֹת אֶזְכָּרֵהוּ מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְҚַמָּהוּ. Or: וָאַהֲוָא אֶפְרָא הָדִירֵהַ נְעָרְיוֹת אֶזְכָּרֵהוּ מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְҚַמָּהוּ.

L. 10וָאַהֲוָא אֶפְרָא הָדִירֵהַ נְעָרְיוֹת אֶזְכָּרֵהוּ מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְҚַמָּהוּ. Or: וָאַהֲוָא אֶפְרָא הָדִירֵהַ נְעָרְיוֹת אֶזְכָּרֵהוּ מְזוּמָה בְּעַמָּהוּ וְҚַמָּהוּ.

Translation

1a. [ ] Take care lest you give back (?) to Levi the priest
1. [ ] the judgement of Korah. And He opened your ear
2. [to the mystery to come] your ... [ every head of [your] fathers [ ] and leader of your people

167See section 4.3, note 45.
3. He divided the portion of all rulers and fashioned every deed by His hand, and the wages of
dead He knew. He will judge all of them in truth and visit upon fathers and sons, upon
proselytes) together with every native born, He will speak?
5. You are a tiller of the earth, observe the appointed times of the summer, gather your crops in their
time, and the season
6. (of harvest in its appointed time(?). Look upon all your crops; in your labour give attention to knowing
the] good with the evil,
7. the man of understanding with the man of folly,
8. understanding every he will say the abundant dance of his knowledge
9. he will be in all his ways(?), which
10. among you and even

COMMENTS

Lines 1–4 could be a paragraph (the only preserved one in 4QInstruction) about the contemporary leaders of
Israel who do not share the secrets of God’s mysteries, and who will be judged by God together with everybody
else. The fragment opens with a warning (line 1) where Korah is brought as a negative example (of ungodly
leaders?). Line 2 refers to contemporary leaders. Lines 3–4 talk about God who has distributed the portions of
leaders and men, preordained their deeds, and will be their judge. Lines 5–6 address the reader as ‘a tiller of the
earth’, a farmer, remind him of the appointed times for harvesting, and promise success to the wise in his work.
Lines 7–10 deal with ‘the man of understanding’ and describe his knowledge and walking in the ways of God.

4Q423 5 1–4. God, who has given each one his portion, will judge the leaders together with the people.

(1a) For the expression ... cf. Deut 6:12; 8:11

The imperative ‘give back’ or ‘return’. This reference to ‘Levi the priest’ (added by later hands) is unique within
4QInstruction. The mention of Korah in line 1 could reflect priestly traditions as well.

(1) God’s judgement of Korah (Numbers 16; Deut 11:6) is brought as a negative example, possibly as a warning for ungodly leaders. In another passage the fate of Korah and his group functions as a
warning about the end of the ungodly, ‘that [the earth] bury and cover you (?)’ (4Q418 127 2, cf. Num 16:33
... 1Q16). 4Q58 (4QNarrative) 2 ii 4 uses the judgement of Korah as a paradigm for the eschatological judgement of the enemies of Israel: ‘and she [the earth] devoured all the uncircumcised ones’ (the following lines of 4Q58 mention positively a figure ‘anointed with the
oil of kingship’), the same is true for 1 Enoch 90:18 ‘and all the beasts and all the birds of heaven fell down
from the midst of those sheep and were swallowed up in the earth, and it was covered upon them’; 99:2 ‘Woe to
you who change the true words and pervert the eternal covenant, they consider themselves to be without sin;
they will be swallowed up in the earth’. Korah is further mentioned in 4Q491 (4QMP) 1 3 1 ...

99–104; Str 45:18–20; Ant. 4.2.2–4.4.2; and Bibliaque Antiquities 16, which sees Korah as a typos of the bad
leaders of Israel.

169 ‘swallowed up’ with Chester Beatty Biblical Papyrus XII (καταπληκτοντα).
of Korah as a type of the end-time judgement. *Ant.* 4.3.4 uses the word *κριτική* (equivalent to *ססאמה* for God’s judgement of Korah, רְמָהָה) as a type of the end-time judgement. The phrase דָּמַג דָּמָּה has a parallel in 1QM VII 2 and 1QM XXVII 2. The stories of Nadab and Abihu (Lev 10:1-3) as well as that of Korah deal with disobedience connected to the priestly service. The topic is God’s revelation of His mysteries to the elect.

The eschatological prince should be ruled out in this text; the eschatological prince is not *ססאמה* (or *מֶלֶך*) as parallel phrases referring to contemporary lay leaders, with the reconstructed לֵךְ בְּהֵם לֶךְ בַּהֲמוֹן כֹּהִים לֶךְ בְּהֵם כֹּהִים, with regard to both present leaders and the future leader of Israel; 11Q1 Parchment 11-12 reads it לֵךְ בְּהֵם לֶךְ בַּהֲמוֹן כֹּהִים as the twelve leaders of his people*. The following mention of לֵךְ בְּהֵם כֹּהִים (line 3) points in the same direction.

For the reconstruction, cf. 1Q26 1-4; 4Q161 V 17-18 and 4Q168 3; 4Q491 3-4; 5Q4.3; 6Q2; 4Q376 (4QapocrMoses) 1; and further 1Q22 (1QDM) I 3. For the term לֵךְ בְּהֵם כֹּהִים, cf. especially Exod 22:27; Ezek 21:30 uses לֶךְ בְּהֵם כֹּהִים with regard to the present, ungodly king, while Ezekiel 45-46 uses לֶךְ בְּהֵם כֹּהִים with regard to both present leaders and the future leader of Israel. 21CD V 1 renders the phrase לְךֶבָּרָד אֶל לֵךְ בְּהֵם כֹּהִים (while 11QT* PVII-LXIX renders it לֵךָ הָעָם כֹּהִים). The phrase לְךֶבָּרָד אֶל לֵךְ בְּהֵם כֹּהִים likely refers to Israel as a nation, not to a community (although לֵךְ בְּהֵם כֹּהִים ‘the spiritual people’ in 4Q147 IX 18 could refer to the end-time community).

In the works of the *yehad*, *יְהֹואָד* or *יְהוֹעָד* (יְהוֹעָד) designates the eschatological leader of the community: 1QM III 16; 1QM III 16; 5; 4; 4Q285 (4QShirShabbah) 23 1; 4Q285 5 4 identifies לֶךְ בְּהֵם כֹּהִים with regard to לֶךָ הָעָם כֹּהִים. The option of the eschatological prince should be ruled out in this text; לֶךְ בְּהֵם כֹּהִים probably refers to contemporary (Hasmonaean?) leaders (as does לֶךְ בְּהֵם כֹּהִים in Bar Kochba letters and documents for the leader of the revolt). The use of לֶךְ בְּהֵם כֹּהִים in a non-sectarian sense in this text may indicate that 4QInstruction derives from a period before sectarian terminology had become stereotyped.

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170 We are indebted to J.M. Scott for valuable proposals for the understanding of lines 1a-4: “Korah and Qumran”, paper read at SBL Annual Meeting 25.11.96. Scott views 4QInstruction as a composition of the *yehad*, and suggests that ‘the judgement of Korah’ is seen as a paradigm of the eschatological judgement expected on lay leaders who took part in a schism during the early history of the Qumran community.

171 Cf. E. Puech, “Fragment d’une apocalypse en araméen (4Q246 = pseudo-Dan) et le ‘royaume de Dieu’”, *RB* 99 (1992) 100, who takes לַעֲדוּ as a “terme ezéchiélien pour le messie”, while according to J.A. Fitzmyer (“The Aramaic ‘Son of God’ Text”, *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site*, 163-73, p. 173, n. 37), לַעֲדוּ is used with regard to a prince and does not have messianic connotations.

172 1QM can also use לְךֶבָּרָד אֶל לֶךְ בְּהֵם כֹּהִים on leaders of tribes or clans (1QM III 15; IV 1); while 4Q491 (4QMP) 1-3 5 designates the leaders of the community לֶךְ בְּהֵם כֹּהִים.292 An Analysis of 4QInstruction of Korah as a type of the end-time judgement. *Ant.* 4.3.4 uses the word *κριτική* (equivalent to *ססאמה* for God’s judgement of Korah, רְמָהָה) as a type of the end-time judgement. The phrase דָּמַג דָּמָּה has a parallel in 1QM VII 2 and 1QM XXVII 2. The stories of Nadab and Abihu (Lev 10:1-3) as well as that of Korah deal with disobedience connected to the priestly service. The topic is God’s revelation of His mysteries to the elect.

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6. Edition of Major Fragments from 4QInstruction

According to Num 16:2, m.u ~'m joined Korah in his rebellion. The mention in the context of the judgement of Korah and the end-time judgement (line 4) indicate that the contemporary leaders designated as ע"ת and גככ are viewed negatively in this text.

God preordained the ways of men, including those of their rulers (see note above on line 2), and distributed to each one his portion. This sentence corresponds remarkably with Josephus' statement about Essene theology regarding earthly authorities, War 2.8.7 “that he will keep for ever faith with all men, especially with the powers that be, since no ruler attains his office save by the will of God”. At the same time the text contrasts sharply with the attitude of the 'evil priest' and his followers (but cf. 1QpHab VIII 8-9; the evil priest was called by the name of truth as he first took office). As a result, this text points to a non-sectarian provenance for 4QInstruction. 4QInstruction repeatedly refers to God’s preordination of the ways of men, cf. 4Q416 VIII 10; 4Q418 81 2-3; 4Q417 III 19-20; 4Q369 (4QPrayer of Enosh) 1 ii 1 “with the holy ones” is his lot apportioned”, 1QS IV 15-16; 1QpH I 16, 18; 4Q369 (4QPrayer of Enosh) 1 ii 1 “from Your hand is all dominion”; Sir 10:4-5 “The government of the earth is in the hands of the Lord, He sets the right man over it at the right time. A man’s success is in the hands of the Lord, it is He who invests the lawgiver with honour”; Sap. Sal. 6:1-3 “Listen then, kings, and understand, rulers of remotest lands, take warning ... For power is a gift to you from the Lord, sovereignty is from the Most High; he himself will probe your acts and scrutinize your intentions”; and Romans 13, which also mentions the judgement upon those who rebel (cf. ופ למשיח in line 1): “Everyone must submit himself to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established ... he who rebels against the authority is rebelling against what God has instituted, and those who do so will bring judgement on themselves” (Rom 13:1-2).

(3-5) As God preordained the ways of men and their leaders, He will also be their eschatological judge, cf. Sap. Sal. 6:1-3 (see note above on lines 3-4).

For the reconstruction ע"ת, see note above on line 2; cf. 1QS IV 16 and 25, which used ע"ת in a religious context. 4Q369 (4QPrayer of Enosh) 1 ii 1 “the government of the earth is in the hands of the Lord, He sets the right man over it at the right time. A man’s success is in the hands of the Lord, it is He who invests the lawgiver with honour”; Sap. Sal. 6:1-3 “Listen then, kings, and understand, rulers of remotest lands, take warning ... For power is a gift to you from the Lord, sovereignty is from the Most High; he himself will probe your acts and scrutinize your intentions”; and Romans 13, which also mentions the judgement upon those who rebel (cf. ופ למשיח in line 1): “Everyone must submit himself to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established ... he who rebels against the authority is rebelling against what God has instituted, and those who do so will bring judgement on themselves” (Rom 13:1-2).

(3-4) As God has commissioned the leaders of society, He will also judge them.

(4) For together with ע"ת, cf. Lev 16:29; 24:16; Num 15:30. In Qumran usage, ע"ת means ‘proselyte’, not ‘stranger’. CD XIV 4 lists the ע"ת as a fourth class within the Essene ‘camps’, after the priests, the Levites, and the sons of Israel. 11QT XXXIX 5-7, based on Deut 23:8-9, rules that only the fourth generation descending from a convert has an equal religious status with other Israelites. 4Q174

173 We are indebted to J. M. Scott for this suggestion.
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

(4QMideEschat) III 4 places the ר among the groups excluded from the eschatological temple, while CD XIV 4, 6 includes them in the community.\(^{175}\) This text is closer to CD when it says that the proselytes will be judged by God along with the native Israelites.

(4-5) [ ... ידיב ] The word can also be read as ידיב, either a converted perfect or an imperative. If the reconstructions of lines 4 and 6 are correct, there is c.8-9 Is before the reconstructed רומא.

(5) [ ... מ ] The phrase מ alludes to Noah (see Gen 9:20). The addressee is a farmer, as was Noah. Noah is also mentioned in the eschatological discourse of 4Q416 VI 3 (= 4Q418 201 1) (ואם ההד ב'יהו ואב) and "He made known to Noah[ what was(?) to come". The author does not use the phrase מ, عبرא יאש, that would have alluded to Adam and Cain who tilled the ground which had been cursed (Gen 4:2, cf. Gen 2:15).

4Q423 5.5-6. The knowledgeable farmer.

(5 -6) [ ... קדש מטר הדב יאש יהוא יאש יאש יאש ] The farmer shall observe the times for harvesting. In sectarian usage מטר is the set times for the festivals; cf. 1QS I 15; X 5-8; CD III 14; VI 18.

(6) [ ... קדש מטר הדב יאש יאש יאש יאש ] For the reconstruction, cf. 1QS X 7.

(6) [ ... קדש מטר הדב יאש יאש יאש יאש ] The fragmentarily preserved text deals with the man of understanding and the man of folly. קר is either the preposition 'with' (thus our tentative translation) or the accusative particle. The meaning could be: the addressee should show understanding of both the wise one and the fool.

(8) Cf. 4Q299 (4QMyst) 8 6 6: יב שמען יב שמען יב שמען יב שמען יב שמען יב שמען.

(9) [ ... יאש יאש יאש ] This line perhaps describes the way on which the addressee shall walk. Instead of יאש one could reconstruct a word of five letters.

(10) [ ... יאש יאש יאש ] In Qumran literature יאש is especially frequent in 4QMMT. The suggested reading יאש implies a change to the 2nd person plur.

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\(^{175}\) On ר in 4Q174 III 4, see J.M. Baumgarten, "The Exclusion of ‘Netinim’ and Proselytes in 4QFlorilegium” RevQ 8 (1972-75) 87-96; G. Brooke, Exegesis at Qumran, 101-103. M. Wise argues that 'sojourner' is an equally possible translation: review of Knibb, The Qumran Community, JNES 49 (1990) 200-202. The proposal of P.R. Davies ["The 'Damascus' Sect and Judaism", Pursuing the Text, 70-84] to understand ר in CD XIV as 'proselyte to the sect' is not convincing.
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Appendix. Texts of 4QInstruction. Transcription and translation

4Q417 III (4Q417 1 i). 4Q417 III = 4Q416 II 17-21, III 1-20.

(top margin)

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[ ] 26 [ ]
[ ] 27 [ ]
[ ] 28 [ ]
1. always, lest he tires of you. According to his spirit speak to him, lest ..
2. without reproaching the appropriate one. Forgive him, and what is bound 
3. Also, do not confuse his spirit, for silently did you speak
4. and quickly take account of his rebuke. Do not overlook your transgressions, [for He can give your neighbour(?)]
5. right as much as you. For He {for He} is a prince among princes in everything(?))
6. He does. For how is He unique in every deed, so that He not [ 
7. Do not consider an ungodly man a helper, and there will be nobody who hates[ ... ]
8. the iniquity of his deeds together with its visitation. And know how to relate to him [ ... The teaching of God(?)]
9. do not remove from your heart. [Your soul] be not proud about yourself[ in your lowly estate.]
10. for what is more insignificant than a poor man? Do not rejoice when you are in grief, lest you suffer in your life-[ Gaze upon the mystery]
11. to come, study the birth-times of salvation and know who will inherit glory and <who> corruption. Will it not be[ garland for the poor ones(?)]
12. and eternal joy for their sorrow? Be a tough adversary in your business matters, and there is nobody who[ ]
13. for any crooked matters of yours. Speak your judgements like a righteous ruler. Do not receive 
14. and do not overlook your [tra]nsgressions. In a legal quarrel be like a humble man,[ and the judgement you shall(?)]
15. receive. Then God will appear, His anger will subside and He will overlook your sin. [Fair before [His word]]
16. nobody can stand, and who can be deemed righteous in His judgement, and how can the poor one [rise] without forgiveness?
17. As for you, if you lack food, [He will give] you what you need and even a surplus,[ and]
18. you will [also] have surplus of produce to the harbour of His desire. Receive your portion from Him, and do not add thereto
19. If you are in need, borrow what you require, but not in money, for [His] storehouse will not be lacking.[ Upon]
20. His word everything will happen, so eat what He gives you, but not any more, lest you shorten(?)
21. your life. If men lend you riches when you are in need, do not [slee]p
22. day or night, and do not let your soul rest [until] you have paid back to y[our] lender. Do not lie 
23. to him, lest you bear guilt, and also from shame you would not escape. And do not entrust anything more to his neighbour,
24. so that he might close his hand when you are in need. Your strength[ and lend out like he did, and know (your lender.]
25. If affliction befalls you, [your] store[house lacking(?), and you be in debt, do not hide from your lender,]
26. lest he reveal your shame [ and the rich man(?) will have power over him, and then]
27. he will not strike him with a rod [ nine, but no more.]
28. Furthermore, <when> you [ and you will eat bread]

4Q416 III 21-22 (4Q416 2 i 21-22)

21. [you ]
22. [not to reach out] and you will eat bread. If you urge your hand
1. opens [His mercy (towards every creature?) to fill all those needing His resources to provide food]...
2. for every living being, and nobody [If] He closes his hand, will the spirit of all flesh be withdrawn...
3. Do not receive [secure for your inheritance lest another rule over it] your face be covered by the shame he <puts upon you>, and in folly.
4. <you will> be captured. As much [as a man's creditor will lend him in money] quickly repay so you will be on equal footing with him, for the purse.
5. of your treasures you have entrusted to your creditor for the sake of your friends, you have given away your life for him. Quickly give back what belongs to him and get back [your] money. [Do not compromise] your spirit for any riches [when you are engaged in business]. Do not barter your holy spirit.
6. for no price is worth [your soul]. Seek him who is in charge (of your assets), willingly seek his face, [speak accommodatingly...
8. <to him>, and then you can <again be able to> do your business.[ Do not sell?] him [your inheritance], do not forsake your laws, and keeping your secrets guard
9. [him], and then you can <again be able to> do your business.

Do not sell him! Do not forsake your laws and keeping your secrets guard.

9. [him], and then you can <again be able to> do your business.

[If he entrusts you with a task of his, do not rest in your soul and do not let your eyes slumber until you have completed the task he requested. Do not give him any tax money.]

If he entrusts you with a task of his, do not rest in your soul and do not let your eyes slumber until you have completed what he requested.

If you can act with insulation, and do not give him any tax money.

10. [his ... lest his face be made angry and your will fall down and he will comm[and] you. See that great is the zeal]

If he entrusts you with a task of his, do not rest in your soul and do not let your eyes slumber until you have completed what he requested.

If you can act with insulation, and do not give him any tax money.
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

1. [and if] your [ ]
2. Remember that you are poor[ ] and what you need
3. you will not find. In your toil you will eat your bread
4. If someone entrusts you <money for>
5. do not stretch out your hand toward it, lest you be burned [and] your body be consumed in its fire. What you received return to him
6. with joy. If you declare yourself free from him or from any man you do not know, do not accept money
7. lest it add to your poverty. If he puts it upon your responsibility even until death, then give it over, and do not act badly
8. against him. Then you will rest with the truth, and in your death your remembrance will blossom for ever, and in the end you will inherit
9. joy. Be humble, do not long for anything but your own inheritance, do not get confused by it, lest you move
10. your own boundary. If He restores you to your honour, walk according to the mystery to come and investigate His birth-times. Then you will gain knowledge
11. of His inheritance and will walk in righteousness, for God is elevated. Praise Him(?) in all your ways, give glory to Him who has honoured you
12. and praise His name always. For He lifted your head from poverty, seated you among nobles, and over a glorious inheritance
13. He gave you authority. Seek His good will always. Be humble, do not say ‘I am poor and will not seek out knowledge’. Bend your shoulder to all discipline, with all [knowledge]ge purify your heart, and with abundant understanding
14. your thoughts. Investigate the mystery to come, meditate upon all the ways of truth, and upon all the roots of evil
15. you shall look. Then you will understand what is bitter for a man and what is sweet for a fellow. Honour your father in your poverty
16. and your mother while you walk. For as God is to man so is his father, and as masters are to a guy so is his mother, for
17. they are the furnace that conceived you. As He appointed them over you and (appointed) the inclination (to rule) over the spirit, so you should serve them. And as
18. He opened your ear in the mystery to come, so you should honour them for the sake of your own honour, and in[ ] reverence them
19. for the sake of your life and the length of your days. If you are in need, when ...
20. unlawfully. When you take a wife in your poor estate, investigate [her] birth-times[ ] for a man should leave
21. from the mystery to come. In your company together walk with the helpmate of your flesh[ in ]

4Q416 VI (4Q416 2 iv, juxtaposed with 4Q416 frgs. 4 and 17).
his father [and] his mother and cleave to his wife and they shall be one flesh.]  
2. He gave you authority over her, and she will heed your voice and(?). Her father]  
3. He did not give authority over her. He separated her from her mother, and to you [shall be her desire, and}  
4. one flesh with you. He will set your daughter aside for another, and your sons [for their wives(?)].]  
5. And you, be together with the wife of your bosom, for she is the kin of [your bosom.]  
6. If your neighbour gets authority over her he has moved the border of his life. Over [her spirit]  
7. He gave you authority, that she should walk according to your will and not make many vows or votive offers.]  
8. Your spirit revoke <them> according to your will. Every binding oath of hers to vow a vow, [w.}  
9. cancel it by a word of your mouth, and by your will, and by your cl[aim] on an uttering.}  
10. of your lips He pardons her for your sake. Neither should you multiply [vows, lest disgrace come upon(?)].}  
11. your honour. In your inheritance let [your will]  
12. in your inheritance lest [your good will}  
13. the wife of your bosom, and one will deride [you the mystery to come. And know}]  
14. [your house [}}  
15. []  
16. [}  
17. [}  
18. rise(?) wrath, for He loves the[transgression, for on them He will fan the furnace [}  
19. Man of understanding, rejoice in the inheritance of truth, and in[}  
20. }bottom margin{ }  

4Q416 VII (4Q416 1).
1. [He comes to execute judgement on all, to destroy all the wicked and convict(?)]

2. all the spirit [of flesh for their works of wickedness which they have committed(?),]

3. and establish His will [over all evil. He made known to Noah what was(?) to come, period upon period.]

4. set time upon set time. [He will shut up all the sons of evil, and visit all flesh(?)]

5. according to their hosts, [in upon hin, generation upon generation, city upon city(?), kingdom]

6. upon kingdom, province upon province, man upon man.

7. according to the needs of their host [and the judgement upon all, to]

8. The host of heaven He established from[ the beginning , He set stars(?) and luminaries]

9. as their signs and as symbols of [their] set[ times, each one in its order(?),]

10. each one in relation to the other, and all their order and[ set times ]were counted[ before Him,]

11. In heaven He will judge the work of iniquity, and all the sons of truth will be pleased by[ the appointed time(?)]

12. of its period, and all those who have defiled themselves by it will fear and wait, for the heaven will shou[t, the kingdom of iniquity(?) will tremble.]

13. the water and the depths will fear, all the spirit of flesh will be stripped naked, and the sons of heaven will rejoice on the day.

14. of its judgement. And all iniquity shall be consumed when the period of truth[ is completed[ and He will reign(?)].]

15. in all the ages of eternity, for a God of truth is He and [His] years from the days of old.

16. to establish justice between good and evil[,] that everyone should know the judge[ments of God, and every creature will understand(?)] that]

17. it is a [creature of flesh, and [his] understanding]

18. when He sees that man is but(?)

19. [and] He knows[ their nature(?)]
Appendix. Texts of 4QInstruction

4Q416 VIII (4Q416 3).

[>
[<<
[<<

9. your peace, and in your inheritance[ ]

10. for from Him is the inheritance of every living being, and in His hand lies the des[tiny of everyone]

11. don't be silent until the consumption of evil, for wrath is upon all the per[iods of eternity(?)]

12. anguish will not prevail(?), for great are the mercies of God and there is no end[ to His goodness,]

13. Your [name] is praised greatly

14. in all that [

15. like their hosts[

4Q418 69 ii (= 4Q416 IX/4Q417 VIII ?)

1. [ bottom ]

2. [ margin ]

3. [ vacat ]

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1. [ your ... ]

2. [ and you will understand] death(?)

3. [ their measurement(?). Will they not walk in truth

4. [ with all ] their sorrows(?), and in knowledge joys? And now,

you foolish of heart, how can there be goodness if it was not
5. [demonstrated(?), how can there be] peacefulness if it never existed, how can there be righteousness if it were not established, and how will the dead groan because of their judgements[?]?

6. [For Sheol] you were formed, and your return will be eternal damnation, for your sins[ ]

7. the dark places will shine on your multitude and all that ever came into being. The seekers of truth will wake up to the judgements[ of God(?)].

8. All the foolish of heart will be destroyed, the sons of iniquity will not be found any more, and all those who support evil will be ashamed[ed]

9. at your judgement. The foundations of the firmament will shout, all the hosts of God will thunder, [and all] who love[ righteousness will rejoice.]

10. But you are the elect of truth, those who pursue[ righteousness according to the ]judgement of God(?), ]watchful[ regarding all knowledge. How can you say “We toiled for understanding and have been awake to pursue knowledge”. Righteous(?) is He in all [His deeds(?)]

11. regarding all knowledge. How can you say “We toiled for understanding and have been awake to pursue knowledge”. Righteous(?) is He in all [His deeds(?)]

12. and He has not tired during all the years of eternity. Does He not delight in truth forever? Knowledge[ and Understanding ]will minister to Him. And even the sons

13. of heaven, whose inheritance is eternal life, will they <not> say “We toiled in the deeds of truth and have tired during all the ages”?

14. during all the ages”? - will they not walk[ ] in eternal light? [ ] also you [will inherit g]lory and abundant honour,[ and tremble (?) will]

15. in the [holy ]firmaments[ the foun]dation of beginnings, all [ ] And you are a firstborn son

4Q417 frg. 2 (4Q417 IX-X = 4Q416 X-XI).
Appendix. Texts of 4QInstruction

3. [And] you, understanding one,

4. [Look] at [His] wondrous mysteries, [for He is the awesome God. Get knowledge about the beginnings of]

5. [your... Look(at the mystery) to come and the deeds of old, to what was and what comes into being]

6. [and to what will be, and at all] eternal mysteries with the [everlasting] secrets, [then you will see what]

7. [was and what comes into being with what will be, in all the periods of eternity? Look upon] deeds and [deeds,]

8. [day and night meditate on the mystery to come and search always. Then you will know truth and evil, wisdom]

9. [and simplicity...:] understand(?) the creatures [of God(?)] in all their ways with their destiny throughout all the periods of eternity as well as the eternal

10. [visitation. Then you will discern between good and evil in their deeds, for the God of knowledge is]

11. [He designed its foundation, and its creatures with all wisdom. According to all cunning He fashioned it, and the domain of its creatures]

12. [according to all] understanding(?). To you He will assign all with... According to their understanding [He ordained for every creature to walk]

13. [in the inclination] of his understanding. And He interpreted for the poor(?) all her... and with proper understanding [the hidden things]

14. of His thought are known, when one walks blamelessly in all one's deeds. These things seek always, and meditate [on all] that result from them. Then you will have knowledge of eternal glory with His wondrous mysteries and mighty deeds. And you

15. understand the origin of your own doing when you remember the stylus. For with it was the decree engraved, and decreed is the entire visitation

16. For the engraved is decreed by God against all iniquity of the sons of perdition, and written in His present is a book of memory

17. of those who keep His word. It is the Vision of Hagi and a book of memory. He gave it as inheritance to man with a spiritual people. for his inclination is after the likeness of the holy ones. He had not before given Hagi to the spirit of flesh, for it could not discern between

18. [good and evil with the judgement of its spirit.] And you, understanding son, gaze on the mystery to come, learn

19. [the paths] of every living thing and its walking according to what is appointed for the creatures of God[...]

20. [between great and small, and in your counsel]

21. He commanded you by the mystery to come[...]

22. [know every vision, and every]

23. Be always strong, do not touch evil[ for everyone who touches]

24. it will not be unpunished, according to his inheritance in [God's]...[And you,]

25. knowledgeable son, meditate on your secrets and [reflect] on the [eternal] foundations,

26. its foundation in you, their...[with the doing off]

27. you shall not follow <the desires> of your heart and of your eyes[...]

28. [bottom margin]
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

Col. ii (4Q417 X = 4Q416 XI).

4. and Noah had understanding of(?) and Noah had understanding of(?)
5. the mystery to[ come
6. consolations for the ..[ and Noah(?)
7. walked blame[lessly before God(?)
8. he blessed His name[
9. in your joy ..[ and Noah(?)
10. great are the mercies of G[od
11. praise God, by every affliction b[less His name
12. according to His will these matters happened, and He is the One who understands[ the hidden matters(?)
13. He will decide all your ways with[ ..
14. Do not let the cunning of the evil inclination tempt you[ ..
15. seek truth. Do not let the ..[ ] tempt you [ Do not]
16. what was not commanded by the knowledge of flesh. Let not [ ] lead you to err[ . Do not]
17. reckon [ .. Do not say[ ...

4Q418 81 (=4Q416 XV)
Appendix. Texts of 4QInstruction

1. opened your lips as a fountain to bless the holy ones. And you, as an eternally flowing fountain, praise [ .]
2. He separated you from all
3. the spirit of flesh. <Hence> you shall separate from everyone He hates and keep apart from all abominations of the spirit. [For] He made everyone
4. and bequeathed them, each man his inheritance, and He is your portion and your inheritance among the sons of Adam. [In] His [inheritance] He gave you authority. And you,
5. honour Him in this: in sanctifying yourself to Him. As He set you to sanctify the holy ones [for all]
6. and among all [ .]
7. He cast your lot and greatly increased your glory, and set you as His firstborn among the sons of Israel(?). [and said ‘My riches(?)’]
8. “and my favour I will give you”. Is not His goodness yours? <So> walk always in His faithfulness
9. your deeds. And you, seek His judgements from the hands of every adversary of yours, all [... He acts in...
10. toward all who]
11. love Him, and in mercy and kindness toward all who keep His word, but His zeal [is upon all who hate Him(?)].
12. And for you He opened insight, gave you authority over His storehouse and entrusted [you] with an
13. accurate ephah.
14. are with you. It is in your hands to turn aside wrath from the men of <His> favour and punish [the men of Belial(?)]
15. are with you. Before you take your portion from His hand, honour His holy ones, and be [fore you]
16. He opened [a fountain] for all the holy ones, all who by His name are called holy ones, they will be]
17. for all the eras the splendours of His sprout, an [eternal] planting[
18. [...] earth(?), it is to walk all those who inherit the land, for by [His] name [are they called(?)]
19. And you understand if He gave you a position of authority due to the skill of your [own] hands? Know[
20. an asset for all who walk [on the ways] of man. From there you will administer your food and[...
21. examine closely, and from the hand of all your teachers add insight[
22. Bring forth your needs for all who want to do business, and then you will understand [ [... you will be filled and satisfied with plenty of good things. By the skill of your hands[
23. for God portioned out the inheritance of all living, and every wise of heart He gave knowledge[

4Q418 55 (the fourth last column of 4Q418a = 4Q416 XX)
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

1. [ ] and his soul
2. [ ] Her ways are hewn in toil. We will be calm
3. [ ] There will be awakening in our hearts [ ] He will trust in all our ways
4. [ ] Knowledge. They did not seek understanding, and wisdom they did not choose. Did not [the] God of knowledge
5. [ ] On truth, to establish every [creature by <His> understanding? He portioned out to the heirs of truth
6. [ ] He will be awake on the earth[?] will He do. Is not peace and tranquility
7. [ Did you not know, or have you not heard that the angels of God’s holiness in heaven
8. [ Are you not like men - for he is lazy, and like a son of man - for he is silent? Will <they> not
9. [ ] Are they [not] like men - for he is lazy, and like a son of man - for he is silent? Will <they> not
4Q423 1-2 I (olim frgs. 2 and 1, second last column of 4Q423 = 4Q416 XXII)
Appendix. Texts of 4QInstruction

5. [ ] her child, and all the compassion of her that is pregnant[ ] you [...]ed all your resources(?)

6. [ ] in all your business(?), for everything it causes to sprout forth[ for you ] always not to

7. [ ] and in a planting[ ] them [ rejecting(?)] the evil and knowing the good,

8. [ ] between his way and the way of

9. [ ] and bread

4Q18 127 (last column of 4Q418a = 4Q416 XXIII)

1. [ ] your fountain, and you will not find what you lack, your soul will languish for want of all good things, unto death[

2. [ ] upon you will look all day, and your soul will yearn to come into her gates, that [the earth] bury and cover you(?)

3. [ ] your corpse, and you will be a tooth for food, and <there will be> consuming pestilence against ...

4. [ ] and those who seek pleasure you have oppressed in their lives.

5. [ ] for you. For God made all who desire assets, and meted them out by <His> truth[

6. [ ] with scales of righteousness He weighed out all their understanding, and by truth[ He determined their knowledge(?)

7. [ ] righteousness(?), their[ ] and[

4Q423 3

1. your strength will be spent) in vain[ in

2. by the mystery(?) to come. Thus you shall walk, and all your crops

3. as a portion of land. On His word will bear every womb[...

4. you shall come before your God(?) with the firstborn of your womb and the firstborn of all [your cattle

5. you shall come before you[ God(?) and say: 'I sanctify to God(?) everyone[ who opens the womb(?)]’

4Q423 4

[ ] 61

[ ] 82
An Analysis of 4QInstruction

1a. Take care lest you give back (?) to Levi the priest
1. [ ] the judgement of Korah. And He opened your ear
2. [ ] to the mystery to come
3. [ ] every hejad of your fathers and leader of your people
4. [ ] He divided the portion of all rulers and fashioned every [deed] by His hand, and the wages of
5. [ ] their deeds He knew. He will judge all of them in truth and visit upon fathers and sons,
6. [ ] upon proselytes together with every nativeborn. He will speak (?)
7. [ ] You are a man of the earth, observe the appointed times of the summer, gather your crops in their
time, and the season
8. [ ] of harvest in its appointed time (?) Look upon all your crops; in your labour give attention [to knowing the] good with the evil
7. [the man] of understanding with the man of folly [ ] Thus, a man of
8. [understanding ] every[ ] he will say[ the abundance of his knowledge [ ]
9. [he will be in all his ways(?) ], which [ ] without [ ]
10. [ ] among you and even[ ]