ENOC AND QUMRAN ORIGINS

New Light on a Forgotten Connection

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The Yahad Is More Than Qumran

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In this chapter I will point to some obstacles for the Groningen Hypothesis with regard to dates and geography. In the Groningen Hypothesis the *yahad* is identified with the Qumran community and settlement, and with the Righteous Teacher establishing his stronghold at Qumran after a break with the wider Essene movement during the reign of Hyrcanus I. This movement to the desert is traditionally seen as a fulfillment of Isaiah 40:3.

Roland de Vaux tried to pull period Ia of Khirbet Qumran back to circa 135 B.C.E. or a little earlier (Vaux 1973, 5). One may suspect that this early dating was influenced by his reading of the scrolls and the consensus dating of the exodus of the Teacher and establishment of the *yahad* to 152. But Jodi Magness has convincingly argued that period I, the sectarian settlement, was established between 160 and 50, preferably later in this period (Magness 2002, 69). If she is right, it places the foundation of this center substantially after the copying of some central *yahad* scrolls, e.g., the oldest copies of the Community Rule, circa 125.

The establishment of the *yahad* (different from the center at Qumran) should perhaps now be dated to circa 175-150, preferably early in this period. The following reasons can be mentioned for such an early dating of the community.

1. Some of the scrolls copied in what Emanuel Tov has defined as the Qumran scribal school (characterized by orthography, morphology, and scribal practices: see Tov 1993) were copied long before the sectarian settlement at Qumran. The earliest are 4QpHab and 4QDibMeor, copied in the mid-second century B.C.E. (according to personal communication from Tov). This scribal
sions with them to Qumran. If, however, the yahad was limited to this location alone during the period 150–31 B.C.E., it is difficult to perceive why a small and closely knit community would develop and keep largely different versions of the same basic documents. According to Metso and other scholars, 4QSa manuscripts which preserve S editions that are earlier than 1QS are paleographically younger than 1QS. It is difficult to imagine such a complicated process of writing and transmission going on within the small scribal milieu at Qumran without causing serious headache for the scribe responsible for the archive.

The early dating of scrolls copied within the Qumran scribal school as well as two central sectarian writings (4QSa, 4Q249) puts a question mark to the traditional Essene Hypothesis identifying the Evil Priest with Jonathan or Shim'on, dating the exodus of the Teacher from Jerusalem to 152 or 143. The Groningen Hypothesis suggests that the designation hakohen harashah refers to a number of consecutive Hasmonean rulers/high priests from Judas Maccabee onward is also difficult to uphold if sectarian writings predate 150 by a number of years. Judas would be the latest possible candidate, but critics have questioned the historicity of Josephus's ascription of high priesthood to Judas (Ant. 12:414, 419, 434; Lim 1992, 465).

The suggestion of identifying hakohen harashah with Jason or Menelaos and moreh haseedaq with Onias III and the break in 174 (Pfann 2004) may be worth considering. But the short career of Onias III after 174 argues against this option.

One needs to discern between three sociological entities: (1) a wider Essene movement inspired by apocalyptic theology, such as in Enochic books and 4QInstruction; (2) the yahad, an elite movement among the Essenes; and (3) Qumran, one (but not the only) center of the larger yahad.

This picture is close to Qimron, who asserted that there were two separate groups in the Dead Sea sect (Qimron 1992, 292). He distinguished those who dwell in camps and conduct family life (CD 7:6-7) from the yahad members who had to be celibate. The yahad considered itself a substitute for the temple and therefore maintained a state of priestly temple purity for all members during the period of wickedness (Hebrew: hamithalkim ba’alleh hitemim godesh, “walking in the perfection of holiness”, CD 7:4-5; Qimron, 287-94). Qimron seems to identify the yahad with the Qumran dwellers, but does not make a clear statement on this issue. He adds that non-yahad sectarian dwellers in Jerusalem might have been permitted to marry as long as they kept their families outside the temple city, to avoid sexual contact there (cf. 1QT 45:7-12; 46:16-18; CD 2.1:2). Women and children are not mentioned in 1QS, which is the rule for the yahad only, while the Damascus Document refers to both groups.

There are many good points in Qimron’s analysis. The material is, however, more easily explained if one allows for two kinds of lifestyles based on purity limitations within the yahad. 1QSa 125–29 describes the assembly of the yahad (Hebrew: ‘asat hayahad, 126; 22), where those of perfect behavior sanctify themselves for three days. There is no indication at all that those of the assembly are different from the true Israelites portrayed in 12:25, who marry and conduct family life. In the movement founded by the Teacher there would be voluntarily celibacy from purity considerations, but celibate life or sexual abstinence would normally be temporally limited. 4Q270 7:13 points in this direction (“...the one who is fornicating when he lies with his wife contrary to the ordinance”).

Recent research on the Qumran cemetery and excavated skeletons indicates that only males were interred in the main cemetery (Sheridan 2003). Zias concludes that Qumran represents a celibate community of males (Zias 2000). Zias seems to argue that all Essenes were celibate, and that Josephus, the only ancient writer reporting about a second order of Essenes with families, deliberately covered up the celibate image for a Jewish audience. However, Zias also refers to Pfann’s edition of 4QSa, which confirms that there were both married and unmarried members of the community at an early stage of its history (Zias, 2000, 248; DJD 36, pp. 548, 558, 567). While some passages in the scrolls suggest sexual abstinence due to purity reasons, 1QSa and the Damascus Document clearly refer to families, thus supporting Josephus’s picture of both married and celibate Essenes. It seems far-fetched to postulate, as Zias does, that the Essenes or the yahad could recruit enough members through initiation and adoption of minors to survive and flourish for more than two hundred years.

The main graveyard at Qumran was for men only, while texts related to the community at Qumran refer to families (1QSa 14.11; CD 4:20–5:2; 5:6–11; 7:6-9; cf. Schuller 1994). Thus, the men doing service at Qumran had close links to covenanters living a family life. The easiest way to interpret this material is to postulate a yahad organization which included Qumran but was not restricted to this settlement. As for the men living and serving at Qumran, they could have pledged a lasting celibate life or have volunteered for a service that entailed sexual abstinence as long as they stayed at this holy camp.

There would be other centers of the yahad. One would probably find a center in or close to Jerusalem; cf. MMT B 29–31: “Jerusalem is the ‘camp’...the encampment of their settlements”; 1QM 311 Hebrew: ha’veidah yerushalayim; and the Qumran-style graveyard unearthed in Beit Safafa south of Jerusalem (Zissu 1998). One may note the centrality of Jerusalem also in a nonechadological text such as MMT. In this context the Essene Gate must also be mentioned (Bauckham 2005, 66–72).

Josephus (Ant. 18.21) and Philo (Quod omnis probus liber sit 75) number
school testifies to a socioreligious milieu (Essene or yahad) present at Qumran, but not only there.

2. Stephen Pfann argues that two sectarian cryptic texts must be dated to 190-140 B.C.E., preferably early in that period. Palaeographical dating of the title in square script of 4Q249 Midrash Sefer Moshe places this scroll early in the second century, a date confirmed by carbon 14 examination. Pfann further dates the script of four cryptic copies of Serekh ha'edah (4Q249ab) to the early second century (Pfann 2000, 522-34; 2001).

3. Enocic texts may point to an origin of the yahad early in the second century B.C.E. The Animal Apocalypse, written circa 164 (Charles 1932, 180-81; Milik 1976, 44; cf. Nickelsburg 2001, 361), ascribes the period of the Greeks to 360/59-199/98, 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 En 905-8), a fold of lambs, which probably should be identified with a parent group of the yahad (Dimant 1993, 65). The horn that appears after a lapse of time, by which the eyes of the sheep are opened (909-16), may be identified with the 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 B.C.E. With a twenty-year period passing before the rise of the Teacher (cf. CD 15:11), the founding of the yahad would happen circa 170. Such an early dating of the origins of the yahad has been advocated by some scholars (Dimant 1983; Wacholder 1983; Kister 1986-87), and is now supported by other arguments.

4. A number of texts referring to the righteous planting may be dated to the first half of the second century B.C.E. This suggests that the planting of the yahad was shooting up well before 152. Here one may mention 1 Enoch 10:3 (Greek, Synccellus); 10:16; 84:6; 93:3, 5, 8, 10; 4QInstruction (4Q418 8:11-14), as well as the testing of the righteous remnant in 4Q159:Time of Righteousness 1 (Elgvin 2003). For this theme in writings of the yahad, see CD 17, 1QS 7:5-6, 11:8, 10H 14:6, 15:6, 15:8, 4.26. In the sectarian writings the planting is used of a more defined entity (the community) than in 1 Enoch and 4QInstruction. At the same time, there are a number of similarities between all these planting passages. Thus, one should not postulate an excessively long time between the presectarian and sectarian planting texts.

According to Nickelsburg (and Dimant 2002, 234-37 as well), the poem referring to the planting in 1 Enoch 10:16-11:2 should not be pulled back to the third-century composite growth of 1 Enoch 6-11. It is rather a separate editorial unit added when chapters 6-10 were combined with 11-16, perhaps around 180-170 B.C.E. This passage is a repetitive interpretation of 103:7. Chapters 11-16 do not repeat the themes of 103:6ff., which suggests that these chapters represent an interpretation of chapters 6-10 without this addition (Elgvin 2003; cf. Nickelsburg 2001, 24-25, 169-72, 224-28, 444-45).

If 1 Enoch 10:16 can be dated around 170, it would be close in time to the other Enocic references to the planting (8:45 in Dream Visions, 9:6 in the Apocalypse of Weeks). The similarities between 10:16-11:2 and the Apocalypse of Weeks (Nickelsburg 2001, 226 n. 38) can thus be explained by closeness in time and milieu.

In his contribution to the present volume, Stuckenbruck argues that planting passages in 4QInstruction and 1 Enoch need not have influenced each other. They may be parallel attempts to come to terms with the plant of Isaiah 5, 60, and 61 within an apocalyptic framework. In my opinion, it is hardly accidental that both traditions refer to an eternal planting (in, respectively, Aramaic and Hebrew). In the small milieu of pre-Hasmonean Yehud, apocalyptic exegetes would hardly operate without knowledge of each other or their close predecessors. So if there is no literal dependence one way or the other, a closeness in milieu seems likely (on the relation between 4QInstruction and Enocic material, see Elgvin 1997, 125-31, 168-72; Tigchelaar 2001, 212-17).

We have seen that the yahad cannot be identified with the Qumran settlement only; it predates the sectarian settlement at Khirbet Qumran by 50-120 years. Also after the establishment of the community at Qumran the yahad was a wider entity. If the commune at Qumran indeed functioned as center of the yahad, one would expect to find membership rosters, financial records, and documents relating to disciplinary procedures. With two exceptions (4Q477 Rebukes Reported by the Overseer; 6Q26seapAccount or Contract ar), such documents have not been identified. Yardens argues for a provenance outside of Qumran (probably Seiyal/Hever) for seventeen documentary texts, 4Q342-360a (DJD 28, p. 283). The depository in the Qumran caves represents a religious library reflecting a close-knit organization, but probably not the center of this organization. Further, one needs a period of some years between the rise of the Teacher (CD 1:11) and the compilation of 1QS as the earliest community order of the yahad (thus Stegemann 1973, 159-63, confirmed by Pfann's dating of 4Q249ab-4).
the Essenes in the land of Israel at 4,000, a number that includes only adult males, not their families. The number of yahad men living at Qumran may be calculated to 90–150, a fact that also points to the yahad as a movement larger than this settlement alone.

It is an open question whether the break between the Teacher and the Man of Lies is a schism within the yahad or the actual splitting of the yahad from the larger Essene movement. An early dating of the yahad could suggest that the community functioned for a certain period of time before such a bitter split occurred in its midst.

In the Qumran library/depository we can identify:

1. Scrolls copied within the Qumran scribal school, but not necessarily at this site. Copying is different from authorship. A designation such as the yahad scribal school would be more fitting. The careless style of these scrolls may be a purely conscious socioreligious feature. Alternatively, it could reflect lack of education. One may speculate that the Teacher did not convince the best scribes of Jerusalem to follow him. This school copied both biblical and extrabiblical scrolls. It presupposes a tight milieu of scribes from the mid–second century onward, so it rather belongs to the yahad than the larger Essene movement. A couple sectarian scrolls written in a different orthographic system do not cancel the larger picture. These scrolls could have been penned by scribes who had just joined the yahad. The yahad scribal school may have inherited some orthographical features from scribes or texts earlier than the yahad, but developed this tradition further as new facets were added in this milieu.

2. Literary works authored within the yahad. On criteria for classifying works as sectarian, see Newsom (1990), Chazon (1992), and Dimant (1995).

3. Literary works from the “fathers” of the yahad, which by different scholars are designated Essene (García Martínez and van der Woude 1990), Enochic (Boccaccini 1998), presectarian (Dimant 1995), apocalyptic (Nicksburg 2001). There are many borderline cases, which may or may not stem from the yahad.

4. Literary works from the wider Jewish (non-Essene) milieu. Both the Groningen Hypothesis and Boccaccini are rather daring as to dating and allocating certain writings to specific milieus. Dimant and other scholars have designated a number of Qumran scrolls as presectarian. However, many of these may rather be extrasectarian, namely, contemporary with the yahad (cf. Tigchelaar 2000, 309: “can one classify documents both chronologically and ideologically?”). If so, the yahad with its Qumran center was less isolated than posited by the Groningen Hypothesis and Boccaccini. Works such as the prayer for King Jonathan in 4Q448 (which preferably should be related to Janneus) point to open communication channels between Qumran and other Jewish streams long after the establishment of the yahad. We should not forget that the

large majority of scrolls at Qumran represent not this narrow community but the wider Jewish literary heritage.

Further, there are scrolls which may place the roots of hekhalot mysticism close to the yahad and its predecessors. The Hymn to the Creator in 11QS presents a precursor of the hekhalot psalms, built upon the throne visions of Isaiah and Ezekiel. The human worshipers are united with the angelic chorus and thus elevated to God’s entourage (Chazon 2003, 93–94). 4Q260 (4QGlyn?) fragment 3 is a hymnic text describing God’s majesty in a style similar to hekhalot hymns (Schipperijn, DJD 20, pp. 114, 118), and fragments 4–6 represent the same kind of text. God’s holy people on earth praise him who is exalted in the heavens and rules on the earth. Also, the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice prefigure the later hekhalot tradition, with a close identity between the singers and visionaries on earth and their heavenly counterparts (Schipperijn 1987). More than the two other texts, these songs of praise describe the heavenly realms and actors in detail.

These compositions are not necessarily written within the yahad. Scholars such as Fletcher-Louis have argued for a sectarian provenance of Shirit ‘Olat Hashabbat. The lack of yahad terminology and references to this narrow ecclesiola on earth makes it more probable to see it as a presectarian work widely used in the yahad. Thanks to Schipperijn (DJD 20, pp. 99, 119), we note that 4QMysteries is not a yahad text. It may have its origins in circles close to the pre-Maccabean (Elgvin 2004; Tigchelaar 2003) or Maccabean temple milieu (Lange 1998, 131–34). 4Q301 may be a fourth copy of 1Q4QGlyn (with 4Q127, 4Q299, 4Q300, thus Lange 1998, 131; Tigchelaar 2003: either the same work or a different edition of Mysteries). Alternatively, it is a separate but related writing from the same milieu (Schipperijn, DJD 20, p. 113; Elgvin 2004).

I would like to suggest that also Shirat ‘Olat Hashabbat and the Hymn to the Creator together with other nonbiblical psalms of 11QS and 4QPs have their origin in a pre-Maccabean priestly or Levite milieu that saw the earthly temple as a counterpart to the heavenly one, with the celebrants below participating with the angels above. The Teacher and the priestly core of the yahad brought these hymnic traditions with them as part of their heritage. The image of the community as a spiritual temple facilitated their active use in the yahad (1QS 4 and the Self-Glorification hymn are specific yahad contributions to this theological line). So far we know of these writings only through the library or depository of the yahad, except for the Sabbath songs found at Masada, perhaps brought there by Essenes during the revolt. The links between these texts and the later merkavah tradition point to a stronger Wirkungsgeschichte of this community than is often presupposed. This hymnic tradition underlines the priestly origin of the community and the essential place the temple occupies in its thinking.