

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

CHARLESWORTH

Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts
with English Translations

Damascus Document, War Scroll,
and Related Documents

Mohr Siebeck

Westminster John Knox Press

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts
with English Translations

Volume 2

Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents

The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project

Editor: James H. Charlesworth

Graphic Concordance

to the Dead Sea Scrolls

Tübingen/Louisville 1991

The Dead Sea Scrolls

Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations

1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents

2: Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents

*3: Damascus Document Fragments,
More Precepts of the Torah, and Related Documents*

4: Angelic Liturgy, Prayers, and Psalms

5: Thanksgiving Hymns and Related Documents

6: Targum on Job, Pesharim, and Related Documents

7: Temple Scroll and Related Documents

8: Genesis Apocryphon, New Jerusalem, and Related Documents

9: Copper Scroll, Greek Fragments, and Miscellanea

10: Biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Lexical Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts
with English Translations

Volume 2

Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents

edited by

JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH

with

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J. C. B. MOHR (PAUL SIEBECK) · TÜBINGEN
WESTMINSTER JOHN KNOX PRESS · LOUISVILLE

Distributors

for the United States and Canada

*Westminster John Knox Press
100 Witherspoon Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40202-1396
USA*

for Europe

*J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck)
Wilhelmstr. 18, Postfach 2040
D-72010 Tübingen
Germany*

All other countries are served by both publishers.

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek texts with English translations; [The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea scrolls project] / ed. by James H. Charlesworth with J. M. Baumgarten ... – Tübingen: Mohr; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.

NE: Charlesworth, James H. [Hrsg.]

Vol. 2. Damascus document, war scroll, and related documents. – 1995
ISBN 3-16-146305-6

Library of Congress Cataloging-in Publication Data

Dead Sea Scrolls. Selections.

The Dead Sea Scrolls : Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek texts with English translations / edited by James H. Charlesworth with J. M. Baumgarten ... et al.

p. cm. – (Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea scrolls project)

Contents: v. 1. The Rule of the community and related documents. v. 2. Damascus document, War scroll, and related documents.

ISBN 0-664-21994-2 (v. 1)

ISBN 0-664-22037-1 (v. 2)

1. Dead Sea Scrolls—Criticism, interpretation, etc.

I. Charlesworth, James H. II. Dead Sea Scrolls. English. 1993. III. Title. IV. Series.

BM487.A3 1993

296.1'55—dc20

93-34036

© 1995 by J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck)
P.O. Box 2040, D-72010 Tübingen

Printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on acid free stock paper;
bound by Heinrich Koch in Tübingen.

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Preface

The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project was launched in 1985; since then the Project has benefited from scholarly societies, libraries, museums, foundations, and philanthropists. The Computer Committee, the Board of Editorial Advisors, the Editor's assistants, and especially the subeditors have labored to make this series the critical and comprehensive edition of the non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls, with texts, English translations, and introductions.

Societies, Libraries, and Museums. A large majority of individuals assume that the Dead Sea Scrolls are preserved primarily in the Shrine of the Book and the Rockefeller Museum. Almost all of the Dead Sea Scrolls may be found in these two locations, but they are also preserved in other places. The Editor is appreciative that each institution which (or individual who) preserves scrolls and fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls or the *Damascus Document* has made them available for study, and has either provided improved photographs or permitted the rephotographing of the Scrolls. The project is indebted to the following:

The ASOR Ancient Manuscript Committee,
The Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums,
The Shrine of the Book,
The Rockefeller Museum,
The Museum of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum,
Jerusalem,
The Antiquities Department of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan,
The Bibliothèque Nationale,
The University of Cambridge Library,
The Musée Terre Sainte, Paris
The Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center,
Florida Southern College
The West Semitic Research Project,
Kodansha Ltd.,
The Huntington Library, and
Archbishop Mar Athanasius Y. Samuel.

Foundations and Philanthropists. The Project has received funding and support from numerous sources. Its success has been made possible by funding from the Foundation on Christian Origins, the American Interfaith Institute, the Institute for Semitic Studies, the Edith C. Blum Foundation, Inc., and especially Princeton Theological Seminary. Special appreciations are also expressed to Irvin J. Borowsky, Frances M. and Wilbur H. Friedman, and Irma Lou Wilcox for their generous support.

Computer Committee, Board of Editorial Advisors, and Assistants. When the Project began, a special Computer Committee was formed. It recommended that the Project work with the

IBYCUS Computer System and develop software for the preparation of Semitic texts with appropriate sigla in order to present both on screen and hardcopy the exotic forms found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Professor James F. Armstrong served as chair of the Committee. The other members were D. Packard, R. E. Whitaker, J. J. M. Roberts, and the Editor.

The Editor has been guided by a Board of Editorial Advisors. These are F. M. Cross, J. A. Sanders, D. N. Freedman, and S. Talmon. John Strugnell offered valuable advice and insight. The Board advised the Editor of documents which should be included in early volumes, as well as those which should not be published presently due to the state of research on these unpublished fragments. The Board, *inter alia*, also suggested scholars who should be chosen as subeditors.

The second volume of texts and translations has been prepared thanks to the labors of gifted assistants, namely Mark A. Arnold, and Loren L. Johns. Jerry L. Gorham served as an assistant from the beginning; he entered texts into the computer, and helped the Editor type the correspondence and retype the introductions and translations. Worthy of special thanks are three assistants who labored indefatigably, especially over the last year. Michael A. Daise, Michael T. Davis, John B. F. Miller, and Brent A. Strawn helped organize research and assisted in editing the contributions. Henry W. L. Rietz served as special assistant to the Editor for volumes one and two; he helped the Editor double check all translations and assure the consistent rendering of technical terms. Professor Richard E. Whitaker was in charge of the final preparation and printing of all Hebrew texts. The Project is indebted to each of these individuals.

Subeditors. The Project is dependent on the expertise and cooperation of the specialists who prepared the critical texts and translations. The two main criteria employed in selecting a scholar for this work are proven expertise in Qumran research, especially on the document to be assigned, and demonstrated skill with English. Fortunately, virtually everyone invited accepted the invitation. The team of subeditors is from the U.S.A., Canada, Germany, Great Britain, and Israel (see the List of Contributors).

Princeton Theological Seminary. Most importantly, the Project is indebted to Dr. Thomas W. Gillespie, President of PTS, who in the mid-eighties saw the unusual significance of preparing a critical text and translation of all the non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls. The Board of Trustees of Princeton Theological Seminary has officially endorsed and supported the Project. The launching of the Project and its success are directly related to the full support of the Board.

Finally a personal note: The dedication of all concerned was

encouraging. The enthusiasm of the subeditors, and especially the dedicated assistants, helped me in ways that are known only to editors of massive and seemingly impossible projects. Georg Siebeck and his staff – and their commitment to making this Project an example of state-of-the-art publishing – has been a special blessing. The cooperation of the editorial staff of Westminster/John Knox Press is deeply appreciated. To all men-

tioned above, and to many others, I am both indebted and grateful.

James H. Charlesworth
October 6, 1994
Princeton Theological Seminary
Princeton, N. J.

Foreword

(with Signa and Sigla)

The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project was established to make available the first comprehensive edition of texts, translations, and introductions to all the Dead Sea Scrolls that are not copies of books in the *Biblia Hebraica*. Hence, the documents composed at Qumran, as well as the Jewish writings composed elsewhere but found in the eleven Qumran caves, are collected in this series. Volume 10 in the series is devoted to Qumran versions of documents considered to be part of the biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

All documents are translated so that technical terms are rendered in the same manner (see the Consistency Chart following the Foreword). On the one hand, the Editor and his staff (in consultation with the Board of Advisors) had to decide how to translate *termini technici*; for example, we voted against “the Teacher of Righteousness,” in favor of “the Righteous Teacher,”¹ and against *Yahad* in favor of “Community.” On the other hand, words or phrases with more than one meaning had to be translated consistently, yet with some variety, so as to reflect the literary context, or social setting.

Obviously, each introduction must be tailored both for the corpus and for the idiosyncracies of the scroll under consideration. When the scroll was extensive, introductions could be organized according to an accepted pattern and a recognized order. For the convenience of the reader the guidelines for introductions may be summarized as follows:

Texts. The contributor presents all textual evidence for the document in light of the present state of research.

Original Language. The scholar discusses the language of composition.

Date. After assessing the date of the earliest witness to a document, the subeditor discusses the probable date of composition.

Provenience. No longer is it possible to state that all the Qumran documents not collected within the *Biblia Hebraica* were composed at Qumran. Some were composed there; but others were written elsewhere in Palestine (in Jerusalem or perhaps somewhere in Galilee), and perhaps derive from documents (not merely traditions) that took initial shape in Babylon or elsewhere. In light of these insights the specialist discusses the provenience of the document.

History. This section attempts to discern the history or historical episodes reflected in the scroll.

Theology. The expert discusses the major theological ideas and symbols in the writing.

Relation to the Hebrew Bible. The contributor assesses how, if at all, the document is related to the *Biblia Hebraica* (and perhaps to the versions of it extant before 70 C. E.).

Relation to Other Jewish Writings. The scholar discusses possible links to other Jewish writings, especially the Books of Enoch, Jubilees, and the earliest portions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The specialist also reflects on how the document helps us reconstruct Early Judaism (or types of Judaism during the period of the Second Temple).

Relation to the New Testament. The specialist discusses the significant ties with the documents collected into the New Testament and with the figures (like John the Baptist), symbolic language, or world view mentioned or preserved in these documents. Finally, the contributor presents an assessment of how the document may affect the reconstruction of Christian Origins.

Working with the Editor and his assistants, the subeditors reproduce as accurately as possible the texts of the manuscripts. Contributors use the best available photographs. When necessary, the manuscripts are rephotographed for their use. Whenever feasible, the contributors consult the actual manuscripts. Initial, medial, and final forms of consonants in anomalous positions are reproduced in the transcription precisely as seen. The following signa, sigla, and script are employed in the transcriptions of texts:

א̇	= essentially certain reading of a damaged character ²
א̈	= uncertain reading of a damaged character
א̊	= illegible character
א̋, א̌, א̍	= deletion by a scribe ³
אשר-אין	= deletion by a scribe
ל/ו, ל/ו	= supralinear correction by a scribe
[]	= lacuna.
בני א[ור]	= restoration of lacuna
[]	= join between fragments
()	= area of erasure
(העם)	= area of erasure with legible character or characters
→	= separating mark supplied by scribe in margin

² The dot added by a transcriber is always above the character.

³ A scribe's use of a single dot over a character is usually indicated in a footnote to distinguish it from the sign for an essentially certain reading of damaged character.

¹ The *môrêh haš-šedeq* was not one who taught “righteousness”; he was the right teacher to whom God had revealed all mysteries (cf. 1QpHab 7.4–5).

י, י	=	a <i>waw</i> which could be a <i>yodh</i> (or a <i>yodh</i> a <i>waw</i>)
vac, vacat	=	uninscribed surface ⁴
§	=	end of line mark supplied by scribe in margin of CD
יהוה		Palaeo-Hebrew script for יהוה
אל		Palaeo-Hebrew script for אל
אלוהים		Palaeo-Hebrew script for אלוהים
אלי		Palaeo-Hebrew script for אלי
אֵל		Ligature (only in CD) signifying אֵל
....		Signifies יהוה
×		Palaeo-Hebrew ת

Only obvious restorations of lacunae are attempted in the text and are circumscribed by brackets []. These restorations are based on comparisons with similar passages in the Qumran corpus; the *GC* serves as our guide. When appropriate, restorations of passages from the Hebrew Bible are made according to the Aleppo Codex, Codex Leningradensis, or the Masoretic Text; this practice is most evident in the *Pesharim*. In the case of documents which are attested in multiple available manuscript

witnesses, a critical apparatus is employed.⁵ Whenever possible, each manuscript witness is presented separately with its own critical apparatus or textual notes. In exceptional instances, a composite text is reconstructed from the fragments of various manuscript witnesses; this method is obvious in the 4QD material in volumes 2 and 3.

Finally, the translators present in English the literal *meaning* of the Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek. They avoid free idiomatic renderings. The following signs are employed in the translations:

[...]	=	lacuna ⁶
Sons of Li[ght ...]	=	restoration of lacuna
(God)	=	additional words necessary for meaningful English
◦	=	illegible consonant

Italics are used to transliterate consonants or forms that are not translatable.⁷

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Princeton Theological Seminary

⁴ This term is demanded by the ambiguity of many fragments. To avoid the intrusiveness of a Latin term in a Semitic (or Greek) manuscript, we use *vacat* sparingly. Aligning the text so as to clarify an uninscribed surface, especially when the line is indented, serves the intended purpose without intruding editorially into the transcription.

⁵ Underlined footnote numbers indicate significant textual variants.

⁶ Elipses indicate various lengths.

⁷ Transliteration of Hebrew characters are according to the Society of Biblical Literature's, "Handbook for Editors and Authors." Since *šīn* and *šīn* are not distinct forms in the text, both are rendered as *š* in the translation. However, they may be distinguished in the notes. When relevant, vocalizations appear in the notes following the conventions of the Society of Biblical Literature.

Consistency Chart

The PTS Dead Sea Scrolls Project primarily intends to present an improved critical text – with an *apparatus criticus* where appropriate and possible – to all the non-biblical documents found in the eleven Qumran caves (that means all the documents not collected within the *Biblia Hebraica*). The translation provided is dependent on the text and is an aid to comprehending it; hence, it is as literal as good English will allow. Notes to the translation indicate other possible renderings, clarify how a word or phrase has been previously translated, or draw attention to a variant reading in another copy of the document.

Two principles have been followed so as to present a faithful and coherent translation. First, the meaning of a word must be discerned within its context; that is, within the cluster of contiguous words, and within the flow of the document (or a section of it). Previously, translations of Qumran Hebrew were prepared in light of Biblical Hebrew; now, however, the subeditors have decades of experience in reading and translating Qumran Hebrew in over 200 documents. Second, technical terms must be translated uniformly and consistently throughout the extensive corpus. The following list of terms clarify the decisions obtained from the Editor's dialogues with the subeditors and with the Board of Editorial Advisors (words in parentheses indicate examples of how the word or words have been translated in non-technical contexts).

אביונים	Poor Ones
אודכה אדוני כי	I praise you, O Lord, because
איש הכוזב	the Man of the Lie
אלים	divine beings
אסף	gather
ארץ	earth, land
בינה	discernment
בית קודש	House of Holiness
בליעל	Belial
בני אהרון	Sons of Aaron
בני אור	Sons of Light
בני אמת	Sons of Truth
בני השחר	Sons of Dawn
בני חושך	Sons of Darkness
בני צדוק	Sons of Zadok
בני צדק	Sons of Righteousness
גורל	lot
דביר	inner room
דעת	knowledge
הדרך	the Way, the way
חוק	statute, boundary; (assigned)
חטא	sin
חכמה	wisdom
חסד	mercy
יום הכפורים	Day of Atonement

יום המשפט	Day of Judgment
יום נקם	Day of Vengeance
היחד	the Community; (community, common, each other, together, one, unity)
יעד	be summoned; (appointed)
הכוהן הרשע	the Wicked Priest
הכתיאים	the Kittim
מבקר	Examiner
מועד	appointed time, holy day, season; (meeting, feast, festival)
מורה הצדק	Righteous Teacher
מטע	planting
מטיף הכוזב	Spouter of the Lie
מעין	fountain
מעשים	works
מצוותיו	his ordinances
מקור	spring; (discharge – 1QM 7.6)
משכיל	Master
משפט	judgment, precept; (justice)
נגלות	revealed, revealed (laws)
נפש	soul, being; (life, human being, self)
נצר	shoot
נקמה	(time of) vengeance
סוד	foundation, assembly, principle
עדה	congregation, Congregation
עול	deceit
עון	iniquity
עצה	counsel, the council, the Council
העת, עת	time, the Endtime; (now, age, continually)
פקיד	Overseer
צדקות, צדק	righteous, righteous deeds
קדושי קדושים	Most Holy Ones
קדושים	Holy Ones
קהל	assemble, assembly
קץ	Endtime, end, time
רוח קודש	Holy Spirit (holy spirit)
הרבים	the Many
רז	mystery
תבל	world
תורה	Torah
תירוש	new wine
תכון	norm, measure
תמים, תם	perfect, perfectly; (perfection, continually, always, every, complete)
תעודה	fixed times, convocation, distinction; (testimony, instruction)

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Abbreviations

Modern Publications			
AB	Anchor Bible	BN	Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la bibliothèque nationale
AcOr	<i>Acta orientalia</i>	BR	<i>Biblical Research</i>
ABD	Freedman, D. N., ed. <i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> , 6 vols. New York, 1992.	Broshi, DDR	Broshi, M., ed. <i>The Damascus Document Reconsidered</i> . Jerusalem, 1992.
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library	BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums	BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
AHDSS	Schiffman, L. H., ed. <i>Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin</i> . JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series 2; JSPS 8; Sheffield, 1990.	BZRG	Beihefte der Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte
ALBO	Analecta Iovaniensia biblica et orientalia	Carmignac,	Carmignac, J. <i>La Règle de la Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils de Ténèbres</i> . Paris, 1958.
ANRW	Haase, W., and H. Temporini, eds. <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> . Berlin, New York, 1979–.	Règle	
ANTI	Arbeiten zum Neuen Testament und Judentum	CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
AO	Analecta Orientalia	CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
AOT	Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament	CCWJCW	Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200
APAT	Kautzsch, E., ed. <i>Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments</i> , 2 vols. Tübingen, 1900.	COR	Christian Origins Library
APOT	Charles, R. H., ed. <i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English</i> , 2 vols. Oxford, 1913.	CRB	Cahiers de la Revue biblique
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research	CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
ATR	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>	Cross, AL	Cross, F. M. <i>The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies</i> , rev. ed. Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1961.
BAGD	Bauer, W., W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. <i>A Greek-English-Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , 2nd ed., rev. and aug. F. W. Gingrich and F. W. Danker. Chicago, 1979.	Cross, "Dating"	Cross, F. M. "Excursus on the Dating of the Copper Document," DJD 3; pp. 217–21.
BASORSS	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplementary Studies</i>	Cross,	Cross, F. M. "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in <i>The Bible and The Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright</i> , ed. G. E. Wright. Garden City, New York, 1961; pp. 133–202.
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>	"Development"	
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>	CTSRIR	College Theological Society Resources in Religion
BibOr	<i>Biblica et orientalia</i>	DBSup	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément</i>
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford, 1907.	Delcor, Ancien	Delcor, M. <i>Religion d'Israël et proche orient ancien</i> . Leiden, 1976.
BETL	<i>Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium</i> , Paris and Leuven	Delcor, Hymnes	Delcor, M. <i>Les Hymnes de Qumrân (Hodayot)</i> . Paris, 1962.
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>	de Vaux,	de Vaux, R. <i>Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> , rev. ed. in an English translation. London, 1973.
BJRULM	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>	Archaeology	
		DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
		Dupont-	Dupont-Sommer, A. <i>Les Écrits Esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte</i> , 4th ed. Bibliothèque historique; Paris, 1980.
		Sommer, EE	
		EncInt	Dupont-Sommer, A., M. Philonenko, et al., eds. <i>La Bible écrits intertestamentaires</i> . [Paris] 1987.
		EncBibl	Encyclopaedia Biblica, Jerusalem
		EncJud	Wigoder, Geoffrey, ed. <i>The Encyclopedia of Judaism</i> . New York and London, 1989.

Abbreviations

ETL	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>	JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch römischer Zeit. Gütersloh, 1973—.
EvT	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>	JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
ExpT	<i>Expository Times</i>	JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
Fitzmyer,	Fitzmyer, J. A. <i>The Genesis Apocryphon of</i>	JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
Apocryphon	<i>Qumran Cave I</i> , 2nd rev. ed. Rome, 1971.	JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
Fitzmyer, Tools	Fitzmyer, J. A. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study</i> , rev. ed. SBLRBS 20; Atlanta, 1990.	JSPS	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments	JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
Gaster, DSS	Gaster, T. H. <i>The Dead Sea Scriptures : In English Translation with Introduction and Notes</i> , 3rd ed. New York, 1976.	JSSR	<i>Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion</i>
GC	Charlesworth, J. H., et al., eds. <i>Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> . Tübingen and Louisville, 1991.	JThC	<i>Journal for Theology and the Church</i>
GKC	Kautsch, E., ed. <i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> , 2nd ed., rev., A. E. Cowley. Oxford, 1910.	JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
GNMM	<i>Good News for Modern Man</i>	KB	Koehler, L. and W. Baumgartner, <i>Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros and Supplementum</i> . Leiden, 1985.
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament	Knibb,	Knibb, M. A. <i>The Qumran Community</i> . CCWJWC 2; Cambridge, 1987.
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion	Qumran	
Hengel, JudHell	Hengel, M. <i>Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period</i> , 2 vols. trans. J. Bowden. Philadelphia, 1974.	Lampe	Lampe, G. W. H., ed. <i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> . Oxford, 1961.
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament	Leaney, Rule	Leaney, A. R. C. <i>The Rule of the Community and Its Meaning</i> . NTL; London, 1966.
Horgan,	Horgan, M. P. <i>Pesharim: Qumrân Interpretations of Biblical Books</i> . CBQMS 8; Washington, D. C., 1979.	LibCong	Sussmann, A. and R. Peled, eds. <i>Scrolls from the Dead Sea: An Exhibition of Scrolls and Archaeological Artifacts from the Collections of the Israel Antiquities Authority</i> . Washington, 1993.
Pesharim		Licht, RS	Licht, J. <i>The Rule Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judea</i> . Jerusalem, 1965. [Hebrew]
HSCPh	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology	Licht, TS	Licht, J. <i>The Thanksgiving Scroll</i> . Jerusalem, 1957. [Hebrew]
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs	Lichtenberger,	Lichtenberger, H. <i>Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde</i> . SUNT 15; Göttingen, 1980.
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies	Menschenbild	
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>	Lohse, Texte	Lohse, E., ed. <i>Die Texte aus Qumran</i> . Darmstadt, 1981.
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies	LSJM	Liddell, H. G. and R. Scott. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9th ed., rev. H. S. Jones and R. McKenzie. Oxford, 1940 with a Supplement of 1968.
IDBS	Crim, K., et al., eds. <i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume</i> . Nashville, Tennessee, 1976.	Maier/Schubert,	Maier, J. and K. Schubert. <i>Die Qumran-Essener</i> . Uni-Taschenbücher 224; Munich, 1982.
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>	Milik, Books	Milik, J. T. with M. Black. <i>The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4</i> . Oxford, 1976.
JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>	MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
Jastrow,	Jastrow, M. <i>A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature</i> , 2 vols. New York, 1950, reprinted in Israel.	MQ	Moraldi, L., ed. <i>I Manoscritti di Qumrân</i> . Turin, 1971.
Dictionary		NEB	<i>New English Bible</i>
JB	<i>Jerusalem Bible</i>	Newsom, Songs	Newsom, C. <i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition</i> . HSS 27; Atlanta, 1985.
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>	NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
JDS	Charlesworth, J. H., ed. <i>John and the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> . COR; New York, 1990.	NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
JDSS	Charlesworth, J. H. et al. <i>Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> . ABRL; New York, 1992.	NRSV	<i>New Revised Standard Version</i>
Jeremias,	Jeremias, G. <i>Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit</i> . SUNT 2; Göttingen, 1963.	NRT	<i>Nouvelle Revue Théologique</i>
Lehrer		NTL	New Testament Library
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>	NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
Joüon-	Joüon, P. and T. Muraoka. <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> , 2 vols. Subsidia Biblica 14. Rome, 1991.		
Muraoka,			
Grammar			
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>		

Abbreviations

<i>Of Scribes</i>	Attridge, H. W., J. J. Collins, T. H. Tobin, eds. <i>Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins</i> . CTSRIR 5; Lanham, Maryland, 1990.	<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>OTP</i>	Charlesworth, J. H., ed. <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> , 2 vols. New York, 1983, 1985.	<i>SNT</i>	Stendahl, K., ed. <i>The Scrolls and the New Testament</i> . New introduction by J. H. Charlesworth; COR; New York, 1992.
<i>OTS</i>	Oudtestamentische Studiën	<i>SNTS MS</i>	<i>Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas</i> Monograph Series
<i>PDS</i>	Murphy-O'Connor, J. and J. H. Charlesworth, eds. <i>Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> . COR; New York, 1990.	Sokoloff, <i>Dictionary</i>	Sokoloff, M. <i>A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period</i> . Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash and Targum 2; Ramat-Gan, 1990.
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>	Sokoloff, <i>Targum</i>	Sokoloff, M. <i>The Targum to Job from Qumrân Cave XI</i> . Ramat-Gan, 1974.
Pouilly, <i>Règle</i>	Pouilly, J. <i>La Règle de la Communauté de Qumrân</i> . CRB 17; Paris, 1976.	<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
Qimron, <i>HDSS</i>	Qimron, E. <i>The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> . HSS 29; Atlanta, 1986.	<i>STDJ</i>	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
<i>Qumrân</i>	Delcor, M., ed. <i>Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu</i> . BETL 46; Paris and Leuven, 1978.	<i>StNT</i>	<i>Studien zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>Qumran</i>	Grözinger, K. E. et al., eds. <i>Qumran. Wege der Forschung</i> 410; Darmstadt, 1981.	SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
Rabin, <i>QumSt</i>	Rabin, C. <i>Qumran Studies</i> . New York, 1957.	SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
Rabin, <i>ZadDoc</i>	Rabin, C. <i>The Zadokite Documents</i> , 2nd rev. ed. Oxford, 1958.	Talmon, <i>King</i>	Talmon, S. King, <i>Cult and Calendar in Ancient Israel</i> . Jerusalem, 1986.
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>	Talmon, <i>World</i>	Talmon, S. <i>The World of Qumran from Within</i> . Jerusalem, 1989.
Reed, <i>Inventory</i>	Reed, S. <i>Dead Sea Scroll Inventory Project: Lists of Documents, Photographs and Museum Plates</i> . Claremont, 1992–.	<i>TANAKH</i>	<i>TANAKH: A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures According to the Traditional Hebrew Text</i> . Philadelphia, New York and Jerusalem, 5746, 1985.
ReScRel	<i>Recherches de Science Religieuse</i>	TAPA	Transactions and Proceedings, American Philological Association.
<i>RGG</i>	<i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i>	<i>TDNT</i>	Kittel, G. and G. Friedrich, eds. <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , 10 vols., trans. G. W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids, Michigan and London, 1964–76.
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>	<i>TDOT</i>	Botterweck, G. J. and H. Ringgren, eds. <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> , 6 vols., trans. D. E. Green. Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1974–.
<i>RSV</i>	<i>Revised Standard Version</i>	<i>TdQ</i>	Carmignac, J., P. Guilbert, É. Cothenet and H. Lignée. <i>Les textes de Qumran traduits et annotés</i> , 2 vols. Paris, 1961, 1963.
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization	<i>Thesaurus Syriacus</i>	Payne Smith, R. <i>Thesaurus Syriacus</i> , 2 vols. Oxford, 1879–1901; reprinted Hildesheim, 1981.
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature	<i>ThRu</i>	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series	<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series	<i>TWNT</i>	Kittel, G. and G. Friedrich, eds. <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> , 10 vols. Stuttgart, 1932–1979.
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study	<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology	<i>USQR</i>	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
<i>ScEs</i>	<i>Science et Esprit</i>	<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
Schuller, <i>PsPsalms</i>	Schuller, E. M. <i>Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection</i> . HSS 28; Atlanta, 1986.	Vermes, <i>DSS</i>	Vermes, G. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls in English</i> , 3rd ed. London and New York, 1987.
ScrHie	Scripta Hierosolymitana	<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies	Wernberg-Møller, <i>Manual</i>	Wernberg-Møller, P. <i>The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction</i> . STDJ; Leiden, 1957.
<i>SEA</i>	<i>Svensk exegetisk Årsbok</i>	Wise, <i>Temple</i>	Wise, M. O. <i>A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumrân Cave 11</i> . SAOC 49; Chicago, 1990.
Sekine, <i>DSS</i>	Sekine, M., ed. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls</i> . Tokyo, 1979.		
<i>Sem</i>	<i>Semitica</i>		
<i>ShaTalmon</i>	Fishbane, M. and E. Tov, eds. "Sha'arei Talmon" <i>Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon</i> . Winona Lake, Indiana, 1992.		
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity		

Abbreviations

WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament.	inter.	interlinear
WO	Waltke, B. K. and M. O'Connor. <i>An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax</i> . Winona Lake, Indiana, 1990.	l., ll.	line, lines
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament	Lat.	Latin
WZ Leipzig	Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig	lt.	left
Yadin, <i>Message</i>	Yadin, Y. <i>The Message of the Scrolls</i> . New introduction by J. H. Charlesworth; COR; New York, 1992.	lit.	literally
Yadin, <i>Temple</i>	Yadin, Y. <i>The Temple Scroll</i> , 2 vols. Jerusalem, 1983.	ltr., ltrs.	letter, letters
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>	LXX	Septuagint
ZKT	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i>	mg.	margin
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>	MH	Mishnaic Hebrew
		MS, MSS	Manuscript, Manuscripts
		msg.	missing
		MT	Masoretic Text
		n., nn.	note, notes
		NT	New Testament
		OG	Old Greek
		orig.	original/originally
		OT	Old Testament
		p., pp.	page, pages
		Pl., Pls.	plate, plates
		poss.	possible/possibly
		prob.	probably
		prps.	perhaps
		pt., pts.	part, parts
		QH	Qumran Hebrew
		rdg., rdgs.	reading, readings
		recop.	recopying
		repet.	repetition
		rest.	restoration
		rt.	right
		sim.	similar
		sp.	space
		supral.	supralinear
		synt.	syntactically
		Syr.	Syriac
		vert.	vertical
		vs., vss.	verse, verses
		writ.	writing/written

Additional Abbreviations

ab.	above
add.	added/addition
alt.	alternative
appar.	apparently
assump.	assumption
beg.	beginning
BH	Biblical Hebrew
bl.	below
bot.	bottom
btw.	between
c.	circa
cf.	compare, confer
ch., chs.	chapter, chapters
cit.	citation
col., cols.	column, columns
cons.	consistent
Cop.	Coptic
corr.	corrected/correction/correctly
cpr.	corruption
d.leather	defect in the leather
del.	deletion/deleted
diff.	different/differ
eras.	erasure/erased
ET	English translation
Eth.	Ethiopic
excl.	excluding/excluded
extd.	extended
frg., frgs.	fragment, fragments
Gk.	Greek
HB	Hebrew Bible
Heb.	Hebrew
incons.	inconsistent
init.	initially
(in mg.)	letter or word written in the margin

Ancient Documents

Bible and Apocrypha

Gen	Genesis
Ex	Exodus
Lev	Leviticus
Num	Numbers
Deut	Deuteronomy
Josh	Joshua
Judg	Judges
Ruth	Ruth
1Sam	1 Samuel
2Sam	2 Samuel
1Kgs	1 Kings
2Kgs	2 Kings
1Chr	1 Chronicles
2Chr	2 Chronicles
Ezra	Ezra
Neh	Nehemiah

Abbreviations

Esth	Esther
Job	Job
Ps(s)	Psalms(s)
Prov	Proverbs
Eccl, Qoh	Ecclesiastes, Qohelet
Song	Song of Songs
Isa	Isaiah
Jer	Jeremiah
Lam	Lamentations
Ezek	Ezekiel
Dan	Daniel
Hos	Hosea
Joel	Joel
Amos	Amos
Obad	Obadiah
Jonah	Jonah
Micah	Micah
Nah	Nahum
Hab	Habakkuk
Zeph	Zephaniah
Hag	Haggai
Zech	Zechariah
Mal	Malachi
2Ezra	2 Ezra
Tob	Tobit
Jdt	Judith
AddEsth	Additions to Esther
WisSol	Wisdom of Solomon
Sir	Sirach
1Bar	1 Baruch
LetJer	Letter of Jeremiah
PrAzar	Prayer of Azariah
Sus	Susanna
Bel	Bel and the Dragon
1Mac	1 Maccabees
2Mac	2 Maccabees
Mt	Matthew
Mk	Mark
Lk	Luke
Jn	John
Acts	Acts
Rom	Romans
1Cor	1 Corinthians
2Cor	2 Corinthians
Gal	Galatians
Eph	Ephesians
Phil	Philippians
Col	Colossians
1Thes	1 Thessalonians
2Thes	2 Thessalonians
1Tim	1 Timothy
2Tim	2 Timothy
Tit	Titus
Phlm	Philemon
Heb	Hebrews
Jas	James
1Pet	1 Peter
2Pet	2 Peter

1Jn	1 John
2Jn	2 John
3Jn	3 John
Jude	Jude
Rev	Revelation

Pseudepigrapha

All abbreviations are according to *OTP*.

Philo

<i>Abr</i>	<i>De Abrahamo</i>
<i>Cher</i>	<i>De Cherubim</i>
<i>Conf</i>	<i>De Confusione Linguarum</i>
<i>Ebr</i>	<i>De Ebrietate</i>
<i>Flacc</i>	<i>In Flaccum</i>
<i>Gaium</i>	<i>De Legatione ad Gaium</i>
<i>Heres</i>	<i>Quis Rerum divinarum Heres</i>
<i>Migr</i>	<i>De Migratione Abrahami</i>
<i>Mut</i>	<i>De Mutatione Nominum</i>
<i>Op</i>	<i>De Opificio Mundi</i>
<i>Post</i>	<i>De Posteritate Caini</i>
<i>Praem</i>	<i>De Praemiis et Poenis</i>
<i>Quaes Ex I–II</i>	<i>Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodus I–II</i>
<i>Quod Det</i>	<i>Quod Deterius Potiori insidiari solet</i>
<i>Quod Deus</i>	<i>Quod Deus immutabilis sit</i>
<i>Sacr</i>	<i>De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini</i>
<i>Somn I–II</i>	<i>De Somniis I–II</i>
<i>Spec Leg I–IV</i>	<i>De Specialibus Legibus I–IV</i>
<i>Virt</i>	<i>De Virtutibus</i>
<i>Vita Mos I–II</i>	<i>De Vita Mosis I–II</i>

Josephus

<i>Ant</i>	<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
<i>Apion</i>	<i>Against Apion</i>
<i>Life</i>	<i>Life of Josephus</i>
<i>War</i>	<i>Jewish Wars</i>

Rabbinics

ARN	Abot de-Rabbi Nathan
b.	Babylonian Talmud (before a rabbinic text)
Ber	Berakot
GenR	Bere' sit Rabbah
Hag	Hagigah
m.	Mishnah (before a rabbinic text)
Meg	Megillah
Sanh	Sanhedrin
SifDeut	Sifre Deuteronomy
Sot	Sotah
t.	Tosephta (before a rabbinic text)
TK	Lieberman, S., ed. <i>Tosefta Kifshutah</i> . New York, 1955–.
TargPsJon	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
y.	Jerusalem Talmud (before a rabbinic text)

General Introduction

JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH

Scholars as well as those who are not research specialists on the Dead Sea Scrolls might appreciate a brief introduction to this collection. The following introduction thus attempts to summarize the position of most Qumran experts. Many of the thoughts mentioned now will be developed in the introductions to the documents in this corpus; they will be supported in various ways in the texts, translations, and footnotes.

The Dead Sea Scrolls have revolutionized scholars' understanding of Early Judaism (Second Temple Judaism) and Early Christianity (Christian Origins). Prior to their discovery, scholars tended to reconstruct pre-70 Judaism in terms of the opening of *Aboth*, according to which Moses received Torah from Sinai, committed it to Joshua, he to the elders, the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the men of the so-called Great Synagogue. Three things were imperative: be deliberate in judgment, train many disciples, and *construct a fence around Torah*. Accordingly, Early Judaism was considered to be monolithic, orthodox, and isolated (fenced-off) from the rest of the world. This depiction of Early Judaism was constructed out of improper analyses of the Mishnah, the New Testament, and Josephus.

Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947, and their subsequent intensive study beginning in the early fifties, scholars have come to affirm that this reconstruction does not reflect the complexities of Judaism before the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. Now, we know – thanks to exhaustive research on the transmission of the tractates in the Mishnah – that this corpus of Jewish documents was shaped by post-70 Jewish concerns, and was codified by Judah the Prince around 200 C.E. It thus embodies the struggle of Hillel's group of Pharisaism first against the Zealots of 66–70 (the first Jewish revolt against Rome) and then against the zealous warriors who from 132–135 C.E. followed Bar Kosiba (whom Akiba probably hailed as the "Messiah"). Hillel's followers (the House of Hillel) also had to struggle for self-identification and survival against the "Christians" (who made apocalyptic and increasingly exclusivistic claims about their Messiah, Jesus of Nazareth). Further, the Hillelites had to struggle over the meaning of Torah against their fellow Pharisees, notably the followers of Shammai. The Mishnah (and the later Tosephta and Talmudim) nevertheless preserve early traditions and thus provide valuable information regarding religious life in pre-70 Judaism, especially in the Temple cult. Rabbinic literature, therefore, should be read as an edited record of Early Judaism.

The New Testament was another main source for reconstructing the Judaism of Jesus' day. Today, however, scholars have

been forced to admit that passages preserved in this canon of scripture are sometimes anti-Jewish (or anti-Semitic), and received their present shape because of many social pressures and needs, including the struggle for self-definition against other Jewish groups. Hence, Paul and the authors of Matthew and John, for example, do not present us with reliable records of what Judaism was like when Hillel was a Rabbi and Jesus was an eschatological prophet from Galilee. Rather, the New Testament documents represent the attempts of some Jews (and also a few Gentiles) to establish and convert others to their own proclamations. Many of the sayings of Jesus preserved in the canon, therefore, reflect the polemical ambience of the period from circa 30 (the date of Jesus' crucifixion) to 100 C.E. (the probable date of the latest gospel, the Gospel of John). The New Testament does provide invaluable data regarding the life and teachings of Jesus, as well as life in Galilee and in Jerusalem when the Temple was the economic and religious center for millions of Jews living in the Hellenistic world. The New Testament gospels, however, are not biographies of Jesus, and the New Testament documents, with the exception of Paul's authentic letters, reached their definitive form after 70, perhaps decades later, and often in places far removed from ancient Palestine.

Finally, before 1947 many specialists considered Josephus to be a reliable and unbiased historian of Jewish thought and history prior to 100 C.E. It was commonly accepted by almost all that he correctly depicted the Judaism of Hillel's and Jesus' time as quadrifurcated into four "sects" like the Greek philosophical schools: Pharisees (the dominant sect), the Sadducees, the Essenes, and the Zealots. Now scholars widely affirm that Josephus' report is biased and at times unrepresentative. There were not "four sects"; and they were not modeled after the Greeks. There were certainly more than 12 groups, and it is unwise (without careful definition) simply to continue to use the sociologically loaded term "sect." Josephus, however, is a reliable source regarding the topography of ancient Palestine, the mood of Palestinian Jews before the War of 66–70, the causes of this revolt, the movement and success of Roman troops, and the general concerns and fears of Jews. Even so, he surely shaped his presentation of Judaism, especially Jewish thought, to win the admiration of his Roman readers, especially the Roman establishment and the Emperor, who paid him an annual stipend.

Now, thanks to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, we have Jewish documents that are not in any way altered by thoughts, redactions, or additions that date after 68 C.E., the year when the Qumran Community was burned by Roman soldiers. All the Dead Sea Scrolls antedate 68 (with the exception of the *Copper*

Scroll). They were once held and studied by Jews contemporaneous with Hillel and Jesus. Some of the Jewish documents found in the Qumran caves were composed by Jews who lived in the Qumran Community from circa 150 B.C.E. to 68 C.E. Other documents were composed elsewhere and were brought to the Community. Some of them (e.g. 1En) contain traditions that may be so early as the third, or even fourth, century B.C.E.

Established scholars around the world affirm the indispensability of archaeology and palaeography (which is not simply an art but is also a science which can date a document within plus or minus 50 years). Using these methods scholars can demonstrate that the Qumran Community is where some of the Dead Sea Scrolls were composed and studied. The Dead Sea Scrolls contain allusions to past history; hence, it is possible to reconstruct the origins of the Qumranites. They were priests who left the Temple around 150 B.C.E. because of factions within the priestly circles in Jerusalem. They went into the wilderness of Judaea and found at Qumran an abandoned Israelite ruin, perhaps an old border fort. They built a crude dwelling at this site. Later, the group became a Community and Qumran was considerably expanded. There were many incentives for the move from the Temple to the wilderness: the corruption of the Temple cult by priests who compromised Torah in face of Greek influences from Syria, the conviction that the Righteous Teacher (probably of the lineage of Aaron and Zadok, King David's high priest) alone had been given special powers and revelations by God, the allegiance to a different lunar-solar calendar, the profession of halakot different from the priestly establishment (cf. 4QMMT), and the clarion words of Isaiah 40:3, which were interpreted to mean that they were to heed the Voice and prepare *in the wilderness* the way of the Lord.

Over the next two hundred years converts came from many of the Jewish groups (probably also including the precursors of the Sadducees and Pharisees). After a period of initiation lasting at least two years the novitiates became full members of the Community. The Community existed until the spring of 68 C.E. At that time the Roman legions, under the direction of Vespasian (the future emperor of Rome), had just conquered the last holdouts in Galilee and, before moving up to Jerusalem, quelled all resistance in the environs of Jericho. Qumran is less than 15 kilometers or 10 miles south of Jericho.

Today, most experts recognize that the Qumran library was not a genizah or a depository of scrolls that belonged to only one group of Jews. Rather, experts affirm that the eleven caves – especially Cave IV – preserved documents from a variety of Jewish groups and constituted an early Jewish library. In this Jewish library were preserved all the books of the TANAK or “Old Testament” (with the exception that Esther has not been recognized among the tiny fragments), some of the Apocrypha (esp. *Tobit*) and the Pseudepigrapha (esp. the *Books of Enoch* and *Jubilees*), writings peculiar to and composed at the Qumran Community (notably 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSB, 1QH, and the Pesharim), and documents written elsewhere by other related groups or subgroups (viz. *Prayer of Joseph*, *Second Ezekiel*, the *Copper Scroll*).

This ancient library contained early Jewish writings of different genres. Hence, the corpus of this series is divided into the following categories: Rules, Hymns, Liturgies, Targumim,

Commentaries, Qumran Apocryphal Works, Miscellanea, and Biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

One final caveat: as early Jewish writings must not be interpreted as if they represent a normative system, so Qumran ideas must not be pressed into a unified system. The documents in this corpus demonstrate many competing ordinances regarding purification and cleansing, different types of calendars (all variations of the lunar-solar calendar), and contrasting rules (the *Rule of the Community* was clearly a late “vulgate” text that incorporates different documents with various textual histories – a theory probably confirmed by the fragments of the document preserved in Cave IV). Most of these clashing concepts, explanations, exhortations, and rules existed at Qumran, if not simultaneously, then at least during the extended history of its existence from 150 B.C.E. to 68 C.E. Therefore it is prudent to speak not about Qumran theology, but about “theologies” at Qumran.

Qumranites seemed to refer to themselves as “the Poor Ones,” members of “the Way,” the “Sons of Righteousness,” “the Most Holy Ones,” and notably the “Sons of Light.” All others – including Jews and especially the ruling priests in the Temple – were the “Sons of Darkness” and the “Sons of Perversity.” As the Qumranites developed their special ordinances, cosmic speculations, and rules they were influenced by the TANAK or Old Testament (especially Isaiah, Deuteronomy, and the Psalms), some so-called extracanonical works (like the *Books of Enoch* and *Jubilees*), and previously hitherto-unknown writings (notably the *Moses Apocryphon*, the *Psalms of Joshua*, *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, and more “Davidic” Psalms).

The Dead Sea Scrolls present data that are essential for any reconstruction of Early Judaism and Early Christianity. They disclose a variety of creative issues, perspectives, and concerns that were current in many Jewish circles before the destruction of 70 C.E. Most important among these are innovative prescriptions and provisions for ritual purification, the impossibility of obtaining forgiveness except through God’s “mercy,” speculations on the nature of the human and the origin of evil in the world, and the presence and efficaciousness of good angels. Probably unique to Qumran – at least in terms of development – are the following concepts: The cosmic dualism centered in the opposition between the Angel of Light and the demonic power of the evil angels, notably Belial, who is probably identical (in some scrolls) with the Angel of Darkness, the development of the concept of the Holy Spirit from God (which obviously influenced the development of Christian proclamations and social identity), the cosmic hymnic celebrations at twilight (in the evening for protection from the darkness, and in the morning participating in the bringing of light [the sun] back to God’s created order), the clarifications of the importance of the lunar-solar calendar with the special feast days, the weeks, the Sabbaths, the months, and the yearly celebration (perhaps the Day of Atonement), the descriptions of the heavens above filled with angels chanting praises to God (the Creator), the eschatological expectations for God’s visitation (the Day of Judgment), and the joyous time when the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel will appear.

The Qumran Community was in existence during the time of Jesus’ ministry; but there is no reference to him or to any of his disciples. There is no reason to be surprised by this fact. There

were many groups within Early Judaism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls do not mention any known first-century Rabbi or Jewish leader. It is not the alleged direct influence from the Dead Sea Scrolls upon any New Testament document that is significant (with the exception of the Gospel of John which seems to be influenced by the thoughts preserved in a unique way in the Dead Sea Scrolls). What is paradigmatically important is this internationally acknowledged insight: The Dead Sea Scrolls reveal ideas once considered unique to “Christianity” and this discovery

proves that Early Christianity was for many years one of the groups (perhaps a sect) within Judaism. Now, the milieu – the intellectual and social matrix – of earliest Christianity is coming into view. The importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls, however, must always remain firmly grounded in the invaluable and precious insights preserved in them. They were once held, studied, and revered by Jews who lived in an erudite and deeply religious community that eked out an existence on the western shores of the Dead Sea, waiting for the fulfillment of God’s promises.

Damascus Document

(CD)

JOSEPH M. BAUMGARTEN and DANIEL R. SCHWARTZ

Introduction

1. CD and the Qumran Scrolls

The *Damascus Document* is exceptional in the corpus of Qumran texts, for the two main manuscripts were found not in Qumran but rather in Cairo (hence the first half of the conventional siglum, CD—"Cairo Damascus [Document]"). Moreover, these Manuscripts, A and B, have been dated not to the Greco-Roman period, but rather to the tenth and twelfth centuries, respectively. These two manuscripts were found in the Cairo Genizah more than half a century before the first Qumran finds. During the decades which transpired between their first publication by Schechter in 1910 and the Qumran discoveries beginning in 1947, scholars defended the most diverse assessments of the document's provenience and of the sectarian community which it represented. The title of Ginzberg's 1922 volume, *An Unknown Jewish Sect*, summed up the best results of responsible scholarship. With the Qumran discoveries, however, it soon became clear that CD's world of ideas and language corresponded largely, and in many details, to that of the Qumran Scrolls.¹ Finally, the 1950s saw the discovery in Cave IV of several fragments of the text; these clinched the matter. CD is to be treated as part of the Qumran corpus.

Initial study of the fragments from Cave IV indicates that the main Genizah text (MS A) appears to be a substantially reliable copy, where we now have ancient parallels, despite occasional modifications of Qumran orthography. In view of the gap of over a millennium which separates the Genizah text from the earliest 4QD text and the absence of any known manuscript history, interest will likely be aroused again in the accounts of early medieval discoveries of ancient scrolls.²

Nevertheless, it is wise to note that comparison with Qumran texts at times indicates that the medieval copies are less than perfect texts.

2. Contents and Structure

Of the two Cairo manuscripts, MS A comprises sixteen columns (actually pages) of 20–23 lines each. Generally, it is quite legible. MS B, in contrast, comprises only two columns, the first of 35 lines and the second of 34; and it is frequently difficult to read. Although somewhat confusing and misleading, it is conventional, since Schechter, to number the columns of MS A from 1 to 16, and to designate those of MS B as 19–20.

The text, as we know it, divides easily into two parts of fairly equal length. The first part (frequently termed "The Admonition"), represented by cols. 1–8 and 19–20 (19 paralleling 7.5–8.21) of the Cairo manuscripts, is a parenetic review of Israelite history focusing upon its past and future punishment, as well as upon God's gracious salvation of a portion of the people. That saved portion, variously termed "a root of planting" (1.7), "a sure house in Israel" (3.19), "the House of Judah" (4.11), "those who entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus" (6.19; cf. 6.5; 7.19—hence the siglum), etc., is the sect behind the document. The Admonition, after three opening addresses laying down the basics, cyclically elaborates upon the two segments of Israel.

The second part of the text, which is all legal and contains elaborations of biblical law as well as organizational rules of the Community, is contained in cols. 9–16.

On the basis of the 4QD fragments, however, it now becomes clear that the Genizah text has omitted major sections from the beginning, the ending, as well as the middle portions of the composition. It also becomes obvious, as Milik has indicated,³ that cols. 15–16 belong before col. 9.

¹ See, *inter alia*, H. H. Rowley, *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford, 1952).

² See O. Eissfeldt, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. R. Sellheim and F. Maass (Tübingen, 1966) vol. 3, pp. 71–74 [= *TLZ* 74 (1949) cols. 597–600].

³ J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (SBT 26; London, 1959) p. 151.

3. Outline

The following outline serves to give an idea of the extent of the ancient version as well as to place tentatively the omissions relative to the Genizah text as now known from the Qumran fragments. Column and line numbers for the Cairo texts are given, while the segments known only from Qumran are marked by asterisks.

Admonition

*A. A first-person call by a teacher to the Sons of Light, calling upon them to separate from transgressors and remain faithful to the law of Moses

B. 1.1–2.1—an exhortation, an account of the Community's origins, a contrast with sinners

C. 2.2–2.13—an exhortation, God's love of good and hatred of evil

D. 2.14–3.12a—an exhortation, an account of those biblical figures who wantonly rebelled against God and were punished

D¹. 3.12b–4.12a—God's covenant with those who entered the "sure house" until the foreordained "fullness of time"

E. 4.12b–6.1—the cardinal sins of the rebels against God in the interim

E¹. 6.2–7.8 parallel 19.5a (MS B)—the terms of God's covenant with those faithful to him

F. 7.9–8.21 parallel 19.5b–20.27a (MS B)—God's future punishment of the wicked and backsliders

F¹. 20.27b–34 (end of MS B)—the blessings reserved for the penitent and faithful

Laws

*A. Introduction to the laws, a catalogue of transgressions ending with an appeal to those who know to choose between the paths of life and perdition

*B. The priests and their communal role, rules about priestly disqualification

*C. The ordeal (before the priests) of the wife suspected of adultery (Num 5:11–31)

*D. Diagnosis (by the priests) of skin diseases

*E. Impurity resulting from fluxes and childbirth

*F. The law of fraud (Lev 25:14) applied to the arrangement of marriages

*G. Levitical laws pertaining to harvest

*H. Impurity of metals used in pagan cults

I. 15.1–15a—the oath of those entering the covenant to return to the Law of Moses

J. 15.15b–20—the exclusion of the physically and mentally incompetent from communal assemblies

K. 16.1–20—further laws about oaths, vows and bans

L. 9.1—a law about a "ban" of destruction against a person

M. 9.2–8—laws about reproof and vengeance

N. 9.9–10.10a—further laws about oaths, lost articles, testimony and judges

O. 10.10b–13—"concerning purification in water"

P. 10.14–11.18—"concerning the Sabbath"

Q. 11.19–12.2—laws concerning the purity of the Temple and its city

R. 12.2–6a—treatment of transgressors

S. 12.6b–11a—treatment of Gentiles

T. 12.11b–15a—dietary laws

U. 12.15b–22a—two impurity rules, end of the סרך (rule) for cities of Israel

V. 12.22b–14.19—communal סרך (rule) for those dwelling in camps

W. 14.20–22—a fragment of an extensive penal code for infractions of communal discipline

*X. A ritual for expulsion from the Community at the time of the annual renewal of the covenant in the third month.

The Cave IV additions to our understanding of CD pertain predominantly to the laws and communal rules. These can now be estimated to have constituted about two-thirds of the work. The Admonition, which repeatedly calls for adherence to the proper interpretation of the Law, may thus be viewed essentially as an introduction to a corpus of Torah interpretation and sectarian rulings—a corpus which the end of the longest fragment (4QD^a) terms a פרוש המשפטים ("the explanation of the precepts").

In this introduction the opponents of the Righteous Teacher are denounced for "seeking smooth things" and turning aside from the "paths of righteousness" by following the false teachings of the "man of mockery" (1.14–18). The adherents of the sect, who "held fast to God's ordinances" have revealed to them "hidden things in which all Israel had strayed" (3.12–14). Those who join them must swear "to return to the Torah of Moses" (15.12), that is, to act according to the exegesis embodied in the accompanying collection of laws.

These laws display affinities with the whole range of Qumran *śerākīm* and halakic sources. Thus, the penal code is closely related to that of the *Rule of the Community*, though it is modified to suit the organization of those who lived in "camps," "take wives and beget sons" (7.6–7). The subject of marriage is prominent among the topics of law treated in the 4QD fragments, including a rule which was apparently followed by the non-celibate Essenes.

Methodologically, the laws in the *Damascus Document* have much in common with the Ordinances (4Q159), an anthology of elaborations on various biblical laws. These laws are not presented in scriptural sequence, but do have some clusters with topical rubrics. The laws within each section are grouped by topic, sometimes announced by explicit headings, such as "Concerning Oaths" (9.8), "Concerning one who purifies himself in Water" (10.10), "Concerning the Sa[bba]th, to guard it according to its precept" (10.14). Within each section, moreover, one may at times discern the logical or associative reasons for juxtaposing certain laws. Thus, for example, within the Sabbath laws some juxtaposed laws are worded in strikingly similar terms (for example, 11.7), even when their meaning is somewhat different (as in 11.17).

In substance, the laws include salient congruities with the *Temple Scroll* such as the ban on polygamy and uncle-niece marriages, the prohibition of marital relations in the city of the sanctuary, and the rule requiring the scraping of oil and liquids from walls because they are potent transmitters of impurity. In genre, however, the laws of CD are distinct from the *Temple Scroll* and the *Book of Jubilees*. The use of exegesis, though sporadic, sets the laws of CD apart from directly revealed statutes.

It is more difficult to discern the larger economy of the laws or what led the editor(s) in arranging the different sections. The 4QD fragments indicate that a significant amount of material was not preserved in CD. Moreover, although the Cave IV fragments now demonstrate that the Admonition is part of the same composition as the laws (and serves to introduce them), it appears that the preparation of MS A was divided among two scribes: one produced columns 1–8, and the other – who, according to Rost, wrote “viel flüchtigerer, sehr nervöser Quadratschrift”⁴ and who used two more lines per column/page – prepared columns 9 to 16. Thus, with regard to original order and contents we may be less confident about the Laws than the Admonition. Could this reflect the greater difficulties Jewish copyists would have had with sectarian halakah than with the general parenthesis of columns 1–8? At present, we can do little more than speculate concerning the selective criteria which guided medieval copyists in preserving some laws while omitting others.

Similarly, we may note that while the view that the *Damascus Document* is a composite work is widely shared, there has been no consensus among those applying various techniques of analysis concerning the segmentation of the text. We shall at present limit ourselves to the observation that the laws appear to be compilations representing the whole spectrum of Qumran exegesis and legislation.

4. Text and Editions

In 1896 Manuscripts A and B were brought to Cambridge, England, from the Cairo Genizah in Egypt. Schechter published the first edition (1910), including a transcription of the text, an annotated translation, and a photograph of CD 20. The manuscripts' text was unintelligible or faulty in various places, so Schechter's edition includes many suggested emendations. Since Schechter, many scholars have contributed to the restoration of the text. Some, such as Rost and Rabin – whose editions of 1933 and 1954, respectively, listed numerous emendations suggested by others – had access to photographs or to the original manuscripts. In 1952, Zeitlin published a set of photographs of the two Cairo manuscripts, but they are not consistently legible.

In 1992 an edition of CD, *The Damascus Document Reconsidered*, was issued under the auspices of the Israel Exploration Society through the Shrine of the Book, the Israel Museum, under the editorship of M. Broshi. This edition contains excellent photographs of both MSS A and B and a transcription by E. Qimron. J. M. Baumgarten adds a concluding essay on “The Laws of the Damascus Document in Current Research.” F. García Martínez contributes a bibliography of studies on CD

from 1970 to 1989. The edition, however, contains no translation.

For the preparation of the present edition, we also have had the benefit of a superb set of photographs, prepared for the Princeton Theological Seminary Project by the Bibliothèque Nationale. Thus, as a result of decades of scholarly work, and with the aid of new sets of photographs, there remains little doubt as to the text of CD. The more important exceptions are dealt with in the notes. J. M. Baumgarten is presently preparing for publication the 4QD fragments originally assigned to J. T. Milik (see vol. 3 in the present series).⁵ For discussion and description of the 4QD material in general, see the “Qumran Fragments” section of the Bibliography as well as the introduction to the selected fragments re-edited in this volume.

One additional problem must be broached: the question of recensions. Comparison of the parallel sections in MSS A and B (in cols. 7–8; 19) shows considerable divergence, ranging from matters of phrasing to entire exegetical discussions. Thus, where MS A links passages from Isaiah, Amos, and Numbers via an involved interpretation (7.10–21), MS B ignores those three books but quotes from Zechariah and alludes to Ezekiel (19.7–13). Immediately thereafter, however, the two manuscripts return to virtual identity. While it is possible that the two manuscripts are faulty descendants of an original text which included both sets of midrashim, it may also be that some copyist deliberately replaced one group of biblical quotations with another. The matter must remain open in our present state of research.⁶ Here, we present the Hebrew texts separately and translate them in parallel (hence the redundancy).

5. Date and Provenience

As noted in Section I, CD is definitely a Qumran text. This is shown by vocabulary, by references to the organization of the sect, by attitudes toward insiders and outsiders, and by much more. Especially probative are the references to the Righteous Teacher as the sect's teacher (1.11; 20.32; cf. 6.11; 20.1, 14) and the explicit dependence (16.3–4) upon the *Book of Jubilees* (whose calendar the Qumran sect followed).

Nevertheless, it is not quite clear that CD is a document of the Qumran Community *sensu stricto*. First of all, the document apparently refers to the sect it represents as one formed by “the penitents of Israel who depart from the land of Judah and dwell in the land of Damascus” (6.5) and “who entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus” (8.21). In 7.18–19, we hear of the “interpreter of the Torah,” apparently a sectarian teacher, who

⁴ L. Rost, *Die Damaskusschrift* (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen 167; Berlin, 1933) p. 3.

⁵ A small selection of these fragments has already been preliminarily published by Baumgarten in “The 4Q Zadokite Fragments on Skin Disease,” *JJS* 41 (1990) 153–65; and in “The Disqualifications of Priests in 4Q Fragments of the ‘Damascus Document’, A Specimen of the Recovery of pre-Rabbinic Halakha,” in *Proceedings of the International Congress on the*

Dead Sea Scrolls—Madrid, 18–21 March 1991, eds. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner (STDJ 11; Madrid and Leiden, 1992) vol. 2, pp. 503–15.

⁶ For an attempt to interweave the two overlapping manuscripts, see Rabin's edition. For an explanation of the genesis of the differing versions as a result of scribal error, see J. Murphy-O'Connor, “The Original Text of CD 7:9–8:2 = 19:5–14,” *HTR* 64 (1971) 379–86.

“came to Damascus.” There is no other evidence that the Qumran sect was ever in Damascus.

Second, the makeup and organization of the Community depicted by CD’s laws conflict with some of what is usually assumed regarding the Qumran Community on the basis of the *Rule of the Community*. While the latter document seems to reflect a Community of celibate men without private property, CD legislates concerning women (14.15–16; 16.10–12) and children (7.7; 15.5), and assumes that the group’s members have their own private income, from which they were to contribute to the common fund only two days’ wages per month (14.12–13).

Third, while other Qumran texts usually either ignore the Temple cult (e.g. 1QH), spiritualize it (e.g. 1QS), or criticize the way it is currently maintained (1QpHab 12.8–9), CD (11.19–12.2; 16.13ff.) suggests that the Temple is pure, shows a concern to maintain its purity, and reflects participation in its cult.

Fourth, CD agrees with 1QS and other Qumran texts by ascribing prominence and authority to the priesthood; but it contrasts with 1QS by not ascribing any special importance to specifically Zadokite descent. On the contrary, the only time the “sons of Zadok” are mentioned in it is in the context of a quotation from Ezekiel which is immediately interpreted metaphorically (3.21–4.4).

Fifth, finally, in the realm of theology, the whole point of the Admonition is that evil men can and should repent so as to gain access to salvation, and that even members of the sect can backslide or betray. 1QS, 1QH, and some other Qumran texts, in contrast, assume that individuals are assigned by the divine will to one “lot” or the other, and they themselves have no role to play in the process.

True, one could overcome these and other contrasts between CD and the mainline Qumran texts. The references to “Damascus” have often been viewed merely as allusions to Amos 5:27’s reference to a place of exile.⁷ Again, there are some problems regarding the assumptions that Qumran was without women and private property. The CD laws about the Temple could be meant for better times; CD 4.17–18 and 5.6–7 do complain that the current Temple has been polluted, albeit indirectly, and 6.12–14 calls those who avoid the Temple desirable in God’s eyes. What 1QS really means by “Sons of Zadok” can be debated; and the theology of justification and salvation presents certainly more than one option. Indeed, CD 2.7–8 includes a fairly explicit echo of the type of predestinational theology so familiar from 1QS3–4.

Nevertheless, it seems wiser to consider CD a product of the same general movement, but to bear in mind that its laws take account of a sectarian framework which, in comparison to that of the *Rule of the Community*, was less completely separated from the outside world and its norms. Indeed, just as Josephus records the existence of marrying Essenes, alongside the ones who do not (*War* 2.160–161), CD recognizes the same dichotomy; there are those who live in “perfect holiness” (7.5) and others who “live (in) camps, according to the rule of the land, and take wives and beget sons” (7.6–7; see note to 7.5).

6. Relationship to the Hebrew Bible, Other Jewish Writings, and the New Testament

The *Hebrew Bible* is frequently quoted by CD. At times, it only cites a phrase in order to illustrate a point (for examples, see 1.13; 4.12; 5.16; 6.8, 13–14). More usually, however, a verse is cited in order to prove a point (see 3.21ff.; 4.13–19; 5.1–2, 8–11; 6.2–11; 7.8–21; 10.16; 11.18–21; 13.23–14.1; 16.15). Finally, as often in the legal sections of CD (e.g., 9.2, 9; 16.10), a verse may be cited (with the formula “as to that which he said” or the like), and then its import is explained. At times the exegete’s rationale is obvious and even convincing; at times it is opaque or even forced.

Beyond explicit quotations from the Hebrew Bible, CD is thoroughly informed by it, especially in the first half. For example, the first several columns, with their repeated denunciations of the majority of Israel, seem to be a concerted application of Hosea’s denunciation of “whoring” Israel to the present context. Although the explicit quotations from Hosea are not numerous, they are central; the opening address in 1.1–2 (see Hos 4:1), the reference to the sect’s teacher as a righteous teacher in 1.11 (Hos 10:12), and the formal quotation from Hos 4:16 in 1.13–14, as a theme sentence, all make Hosea the central background of the argument beginning with column 1. The incidental characterization of the sect as “the house of Judah” in 4.11, harking back to Hosea 1:7 (and the prophet’s frequent references to “Judah” as the object of God’s love, in contrast to the faithless “Israel”), reveals that the same prophecies have remained ever present in the author’s mind. Similarly, when CD 1.19 explains that the wicked sought “the fair neck,” and when 4.19 characterizes the wicked as those “who walked after *šw*” (whatever these expressions mean), it is clear that the author took them from Hosea’s invective against Israel (5.11; 10.11). Thus, finally, it becomes apparent that the long account in 2.16–3.12, chronicling all those who had gone astray due to “licentious eyes,” is also a function of Hosea’s fundamental characterization of Israel’s sin as “whoring.” However, it goes without saying that the author has not written anything like a commentary on Hosea. Rather, Hosea is used for the author’s own purposes, as an example of divine warning to a faithless people, and calls upon them to repent, in a situation when there is some other well-defined part of Israel (then Judah, now the sect) with which God is pleased. Similarly, given the fact that the sect is proudly termed the one which departed “from the land of Judah” (4.3; 6.5) or even specifically left the Holy City (20.22), it can be no accident that Isaiah 28:13–14’s attack upon the rulers of Jerusalem is applied to the sect’s enemies in 1.14 and 4.19–20.

Another prominent section of the Hebrew Bible in CD’s parenthesis is Isaiah 59–60, from which CD takes a direct quotation (59:5–6 is used in CD 5.13 to characterize the sect’s enemies). Also—and more importantly—the phrase “those who repent (of) rebellious sin” (Isa 59:20) as a standard term for the members of the sect (CD 2.5; cf. 4.2, 8.16, 20.17) and the charac-

⁷ Perhaps, accordingly, the conventional title “Damascus Document” places too much importance on that toponym,

and “Zadokite Work” (Schechter) or “Zadokite Documents” (Rabin) should have been preferred (see 4.3–4; 5.5).

terization of it (CD 1.7) as a firmly rooted “planting” (Isa 60:21) which began its career by “groping” (CD 1.9, parallel to Isa 59:10) ground CD on Isaiah 59–60. Given the fact that the very next chapter of Isaiah begins with a literally “messianic” proclamation, which figures prominently in *Melchizedek* (11Q13), CD thus exemplifies how broad sections of the Hebrew Bible were made to function in the self-understanding of the sect.

Finally, under this heading, it should be noted that the text is frequently quite pregnant and allusive, implying a high level of familiarity with the biblical text. For four examples, see the notes to 2.18–19 (which presuppose an extended biblical syllogism), 3.19 (“sure house”), 4.11 (“join”) and 4.12 (“Belial”). Together, the latter three show that 1 Samuel 2 has been on the author’s mind, although never quoted. Apparently, the author could take such familiarity for granted.

Early Jewish Literature rarely significantly clarifies an understanding of CD. Apart from the general reference to the *Book of Jubilees* in 16.3 (noted above), there is only one other explicit reference. CD 4.15–18 refers to something said by Levi the son of Jacob, apparently alluding to a version of the *Testament of Levi* (see note *ad loc.*). Otherwise, although various ideas and phrases may also be found in the *Testaments*, *Jubilees*, and the *Books of Enoch*, thus indicating the general context within which this author wrote (see the index to Rabin’s second edition, pp. 85–86), there is little reason to suspect any specific dependence.

As for the *New Testament*, CD’s significance is two-fold. First, with regard to its general approach, CD provides evidence for the Qumran predilection for reading the Bible as if it refers to the author’s own sectarian history. Thus, for example, if Hosea 3:4 says there will be “no king and no prince,” CD understands this as referring to the time after the death of the Righteous Teacher (20.16). This exegetical method is essentially the same as that followed in Acts 4:25ff., in which the persecuting kings and rulers mentioned in Psalm 2:2 are turned into Pilate and Herod Antipas; that is, they were prophesied to kill Jesus. There are numerous similar cases in which the author of CD and the authors of the New Testament documents use scripture to explain their own sectarian history.

Second, with regard to substance, CD, as the New Testament, shows a sect expecting the salvific return of a teacher who was once in its midst and, therefore, denies the finality of his death. Indeed, CD avoids a plain formulation of the very fact of his death (see note to 6.10–11). The same prophecy from Amos 9:11 is used as a promise of the teacher’s return in CD 7.16 and Acts 15:16–18. History, however, has to work itself out according to a divinely-ordained schedule; only in “the completion of time” (CD 4.8–10, parallel to Mk 1:15, Gal 4:4, etc.). In the meantime, both communities pride themselves as adhering to a higher morality than outsiders, especially in the sensitive spheres of marriage and divorce. Compare CD 4.13–5.11 to Mk 10:1–12, esp. CD 4.21 to Mk 10:6, and recall that John the Baptist, whose affinities to Qumran are well-known, was arrested and executed after complaining about a case of royal incest (Mk 6:17–18 and parallels). In general, moreover, the only explanation for outsiders remaining outsiders is that they are simply devoid of understanding—as expressed in Isaiah (CD 5.16–17, quoting Isa 27:11; cf. Acts 28:25–27, quoting Isa 6:9–10).

Thus, CD shows us the life, outlook, and approach to the Bible, of a sect very similar to earliest Christianity. If we are correct in viewing the sect of CD as one including members in scattered non-sectarian settings (“camps”) rather than off by itself, then CD would seem to represent a situation even closer to that of earliest Christianity than that behind the more strictly Qumranic documents. Nevertheless, any assessment of CD’s significance as part of the background of earliest Christianity must keep CD’s maintenance of the authority and centrality of Jewish law, now underlined even more boldly by the Qumran fragments, firmly in view.

7. This Edition

Responsibility for this edition is shared by Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz. Schwartz was responsible for columns 1–8 and 19–20, while Baumgarten was responsible for columns 9–16, for which he was able to consult the Qumran fragments graciously made available by J. T. Milik. Pointing and diacritics have been supplied by the Editor.

Except as otherwise noted, the text of CD given here is according to the Cairo manuscripts. As noted above, new photographs of the Cairo manuscripts were also made available to us by the Editor, who obtained them from the Bibliothèque Nationale. Additionally, Robert Brody kindly rechecked the readings of MS B against the original in Cambridge, and supplied several significant corrections. We have also had the advantage of comparing the transcription of CD by E. Qimron. Finally, while we have, of course, gained from the labors of many previous scholars, it is only proper to single out Rabin’s edition as the central tool of our research.

8. Bibliography

The following bibliography includes only editions of CD, publications of Qumran fragments of CD, and volumes devoted to it. Bibliographies of scholarly literature on CD may be found in Rost’s edition, in Fitzmyer’s “Prolegomenon” to the 1970 reprint of Schechter’s edition, and in F. García Martínez’s update, “Damascus Document: A Bibliography of Studies 1970–1989,” in Broshi’s edition.

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Appendix

Vocalization Signs in the Cairo Geniza Manuscripts of the Damascus Covenant

YOSEPH OFER

The Hebrew vocalization signs have numerous fixed functions: Most significantly, they indicate the vowels of a word, the doubling of a consonant, and the pronunciation of the letters בגדכפת. Two main vocalization systems survive, and each is represented in the CD manuscripts; these are the Tiberian and Babylonian vocalization systems. Each of these systems has its own set of signs and unique linguistic characteristics.

Two CD manuscripts from the Cairo Geniza fragments (MSS A and B) preserve vocalization signs. These signs are not added to every word, but rather only to isolated words which the scribe feared might be misinterpreted by the reader. Several of these words have been emended; the redactor added vocalization signs to ensure that the words would be read in accordance with the emendations.

Manuscript A of eight pages contains approximately forty words with vocalization signs; most of these appear in the first three pages. These signs are of two types: about 16 words are vocalized in the Babylonian system; the rest are in the Tiberian system. For example: לָחֹרֶץ (MS A 2.16) have the Babylonian signs, but אֶל אֵל (MS A 1.10) bear the Tiberian signs. Several words appear with mixed Tiberian-Babylonian signs; note the following examples: בְּמַהֲלֹחַ (MS A 1.18), which has three Tiberian *pataḥ* signs and one Babylonian *ḥōlem*; עֲשֵׂיהֶם (MS A 3.8), which has the Babylonian *ḥōlem* and *šērē*, with the Tiberian diacritical point over the letter שׁ.

The Babylonian symbols also influenced the use of Tiberian signs. For example, when the letter *Yōdh* follows a letter vocalized with *hireq* or *šērē*, the Tiberian vowel sign generally appears under the letter denoting the consonant, while the corresponding Babylonian symbol appears over the *Yōdh*. In Manuscript A the Tiberian signs for *hireq* or *šērē* usually appear under the *Yōdh*, apparently as a result of the influence of the Babylonian system (1.9: אֲשִׁמִּים; 2.11: הַתִּיר; 3.1: נִכְרַתִּים; 11.3: בְּגִדִים; yet 1.9: וְכִימִגְשִׁים; 1.21: וְיִסִּיר). The concentration of vocalization signs, of both types, in the first pages only, as well as their mixed usage, creates the impres-

sion that all were inserted by a single redactor making use of both the Babylonian and Tiberian systems. This scribe made no differentiation. Such usage is not unusual in ancient manuscripts. In this regard the Tiberian Torah manuscript, Jerusalem Heb. 24^a 5702 (previously Sassoon 507) is an example worthy of mention. In the Masoretic notes appearing in this manuscript there are numerous signs of Babylonian vocalization alongside the Tiberian system. Even in the Aleppo Codex, a typically Tiberian manuscript, there are signs of Babylonian vocalization.

Manuscript B of two pages contains approximately 35 words with vocalization signs. The vocalization system used in this manuscript is Babylonian (only a single word has the Tiberian signs, and two Tiberian signs appear in words otherwise using Babylonian signs). However, while Manuscript A represents the *simple* Babylonian system, Manuscript B represents the *complex* Babylonian system. This system includes more signs, and makes more distinctions; e. g.: in addition to the regular *hireq* (as in MS B 20.2: תַּמִּים), the complex Babylonian system includes a special sign denoting a *hireq* which appears in a syllable closed by a *šewā quiescens* (MS B 19.34: וַיִּבְגְּדוּ), and another sign denoting a *hireq* appears in a syllable closed by a *dāgēs forte* (MS B 19.15: דָּבָר).

Words in which Babylonian vocalization definitely reflects typically Babylonian linguistic features are extremely rare. For example, in the word הִסְגִּיר (MS B 19.13) the ה is vocalized with a *šūreq*, whereas Biblical *hop'al* forms according to the Tiberian system are generally vocalized with a *qāmeṣ ḥātūp*. One should note that in Manuscript A the *hatepim* are missing in the words vocalized according to the Tiberian system, and that the ה in the word בְּמַהֲלֹחַ (MS A 1.18) is vocalized with a *pataḥ*. In contrast, a *qāmeṣ ḥātūp* appears under the ל in the word גְּבַהֶם (MS A 2.19), with the vowel reflecting Tiberian pronunciation. For a description of the vocalization of the manuscripts see also I. Yeivin, *The Hebrew Linguistic Tradition Reflected in Babylonian Vocalization* (Jerusalem, 1985 [5745]) p. 236 (MSS 6ר, 7ר [in Hebrew]).

¹ The vowel names listed here are those of the Tiberian vocalization signs. Only a few of the names of the Babylonian vowels are known: the sign corresponding to the *pataḥ* is called "*mipṭaḥ puma*," that corresponding to the *qāmeṣ* "*miq-*

paṣ puma," and the sign corresponding to the vocal *šewā* – "*ḥiṭpa*" (Yeivin, 1984, p. 54).

² The vowel sign ם in the Babylonian system corresponds to Tiberian *pataḥ* or *šegōl*. The letter ס in the word כִּסְרוֹ has the