READING BEYOND WISDOM

Rethinking the Textual Identity of 4QInstruction

by

Charles P. Comerford

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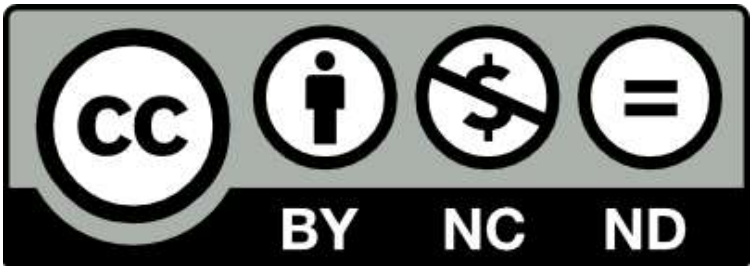
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Abstract

This study re-examines the textual identity assigned to the Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts 1Q26, 4Q415–4Q418, 4Q418a+c, and 4Q423. These manuscripts are understood to be copies of a composition that was identified as a wisdom text during the early stages of its reconstruction. It is currently referred to by a variety of names, such as 4QInstruction, *Musar le-Mevin* ("Instruction for an Understanding One") or חכמת רז נהיה ("Wisdom of the *Raz Nihyeh*"). This thesis contends that the generic identity assigned to this work has become an interpretative straitjacket that limits our understanding of the textual remains to the domains of wisdom and instruction. The first half shows how the earliest identification of these manuscripts as "wisdom" and "sapiential" by early editors established the tone for future scholarly engagement, and the second half attempts to disentangle this assigned identity by re-evaluating key concepts within the surviving text that have been principally interpreted through the lens of wisdom. By setting aside its longstanding sapiential identity—by reading beyond wisdom—this study seeks to contribute a fresh interpretation of these manuscripts and to pave the way for new perspectives to come to the fore.

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Abbreviations

Excluded are items listed in Billie Jean Collins, Bob Buller, and John Kutsko (2014) *The SBL handbook of Style*. Second Edition. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press. Translations of the Hebrew Bible are taken from NRSV. Transcriptions of Hebrew Sirach follow Pancratius Beenjtes (1997). Transcriptions and translations of 4QInstruction are provided by the present writer in consultation with various editions and in consideration of the PAM photographs accessible via the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library (LLDSSDL). This study takes a moderate approach when transcribing the text of 4QInstruction. In many cases, I do not attempt to provide a reconstruction of lacunae in the surviving fragments. When reconstructions are provided in translation, these are indicated by use of italics. Recommended joins and alternative reconstructions are given in the Textual Notes.

DJD 1 *Qumran Cave I*. By D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik. DJD 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.

DJD 4 *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^{a})*. By J. A. Sanders. DJD 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.

DJD 5 *Qumrân Cave 4, Part 1 (4Q158–4Q186)*. By J. Allegro. DJD 5. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.

DJD 6 *Qumrân Grotte 4, Part 2. Volume 1: Archéologie. Volume 2: Tefillin, Mezuzot et Targums (4Q128–4Q157).* By R. de Vaux and J. T. Milik, with contributions from W. B. Barns and J. Carswell. DJD 6. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977.

DJD 7 *Qumrân Grotte 4, Part 3 (4Q482–4Q520).* By M. Baillet. DJD 7. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

DJD 11 *Qumran Cave 4. VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1.* By E. Eshel, H. Eshel, C. Newsom, B. Nitzan, E. Schuller, and A. Yardeni, in consultation with J. C. VanderKam and M. Brady. DJD 11. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

DJD 19 *Qumran Cave 4. XIV. Parabiblical Texts, Part 2.* By M. Broshi, E. Eshel, J. A. Fitzmyer, E. Larson, C. Newsom, L. H. Schiffman, M. Smith, M. Stone, J. Strugnell, and A. Yardeni, in consultation with J. C. VanderKam. DJD 19. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

DJD 20 *Qumran Cave 4. XV. Sapiential Texts, Part 1.* By T. Elgvin, M Kister, T. Lim, B. Nitzan, S. Pfann, E. Qimron, L. H. Schiffman, and A. Steudel, in consultation with J. A. Fitzmyer. DJD 20. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

DJD 21 *Qumran Cave 4. XVI. Calendrical Texts.* By S. Talmon, J. Ben-Dov, and U. Glessmer. DJD 21. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001.

DJD 22 *Qumran Cave 4. XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3.* By G. Brooke, J. Collins, T. Elgvin, P. Flint, J. Greenfield, E. Larson, C. Newsom, É. Puech, L. H. Schiffman, M. Stone, and J. T. Barrera, in consultation with J. C. VanderKam. DJD 22. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

DJD 25 *Qumrân Grotte 4. XVIII. Textes Hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579).* Par É. Puech. DJD 25. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

DJD 29 *Qumran Cave 4. XX. Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2.* By E. Chazon, T. Elgvin, E. Eshel, D. Falk, B. Nitzan, E. Qimron, E. Schuller, D. Seely, E.

Tigchelaar, and M. Weinfeld, in consultation with J. C. VanderKam and M. Brady. DJD 29. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.

DJD 30 *Qumran Cave 4. XXI. Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*. By D. Dimant. DJD 30. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001.

DJD 34 *Qumran Cave 4. XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2. 4QInstruction (Mûsār Lĕ Mēvin): 4Q415ff. With a Re-Edition of 1Q26 and an Edition of 4Q423 by Torleif Elgvin*. By J. Strugnell and D. J. Harrington. DJD 34. Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.

DJD 35 *Qumran Cave 4. XXV. Halakhic Texts*. By J. Baumgarten, T. Elgvin, E. Eshel, E. Larson, M. R. Lehmann, S. Pfann, and L. H. Schiffman. DJD 35. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.

DJD 36 *Qumran Cave 4. XXVI. Cryptic Texts.* By S. J. Pfann. *And Miscellanea, Part 1.* By P. Alexander, M. Broshi, E. Chazon, H. Cotton, F. M. Cross, T. Elgvin, D. Ernst, E. Eshel, H. Eshel, J. Fitzmyer, F. García Martínez, J. C. Greenfield, M. Kister, A, Lange, E. Larson, A. Lemaire, T. Lim, J. Naveh, D. Pike, M. Sokoloff, H. Stegemann, A. Steudel, M. Stone, L. Stuckenbruck, S. Talmon, S. Tanzer, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, E. Tov, G. Vermes, and A. Yardeni, in consultation with J. C. VanderKam and M. Brady. DJD 36. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000.

DJD 39 *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judean Desert Series*. By E. Tov, with contributions by M. G. Abegg Jr., A. Lange, U. Mittman-Richert, S. J. Pfann, E. J. C.

Tigchelaar, E. Ulrich, and B. Webster. DJD 39. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002.

DJD 40 *1QHodayot[a]. With Incorporation of 1QHodayot[b] and 4QHodayot[a–f]*. By H. Stegemann and E. M. Schuller, with translations by C. Newsom. DJD 40. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009.

DSSANT *The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Translation*. Revised Edition. Edited by Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, Jr. and Edward M. Cook. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005.

DSSR *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*. Edited by Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov. 6 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2004–2005.

DSSSE *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. Edited by García Martínez, F. and Tigchelaar, E. J. C. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1999.

DSST *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated. The Qumran Texts in English*. Edited by García Martínez, F. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1994.

HAWTTM 1 *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zu den Texten vom Toten Meer: Einschleißlich der Manuskritpe aus der Kairoer Geniza.* Edited by Reinhard G. Kratz, Annette Steudel, and Ingo Kottsieper. Volume 1. א – ב. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017.

HAWTTM 2 *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zu den Texten vom Toten Meer: Einschleißlich der Manuskritpe aus der Kairoer Geniza.* Edited by Reinhard G. Kratz, Annette Steudel, and Ingo Kottsieper. Volume 2. ג – ז. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019.

HTSSE *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QH^a*. Edited by Eileen M. Schuller and Carol A. Newsom. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2012.

LLDSSDL Leon Levy Dead Sea Scroll Digital Library.

ThWQ 1 *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten*. Edited by Heinz–Josef Fabry and Ulrich Dahmen. Volume 1. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2013.

ThWQ 2 *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten*. Edited by Heinz–Josef Fabry and Ulrich Dahmen. Volume 2. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2013.

Introduction

In November 1991, a number of previously unpublished manuscripts discovered in the late 1940s were made publicly accessible by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). Among these were several manuscripts published with the preliminary name "Sapiential Work A."[1] Since its publication, researchers have unanimously identified this composition as a wisdom text, and several names have been proposed by scholars that further reflect this textual identity, such as 4QInstruction,[2] *Musar le-Mevin*,[3] and חכמת רז נהיה.[4] The purpose of this study is to consider how the names and genre labels assigned to this composition have influenced the way contemporary scholars read and understand the text. In addition, this study seeks to demonstrate that, by setting aside its textual identity as a "wisdom text"

[1] Manuscripts associated with this composition include 1Q26, 4Q415–4Q418, 4Q418a, 4Q418c, and 4Q423. There is, however, some disagreement about the division of 4Q418. In DJD 34, the editors separated the composition of 4Q418 into four separate manuscripts: 4Q418, 4Q418a, 4Q418b, and 4Q418c (although the editors did not consider 4Q418b to be a copy of the present composition). Elgvin separated 4Q418 into two manuscripts: 4Q418a, 4Q418b (Elgvin 1995b), and Tigchelaar divided 4Q418 into three manuscripts: 4Q418* (= 4Q418 frgs. 1 and 2), 4Q418, and 4Q418a (Tigchelaar 2001, 16–17).

[2] For ease of referencing, this study sometimes uses the name "4QInstruction" when referring collectively to manuscripts noted in footnote 1. However, in order to avoid using a name that prompts one to think of the document as a "wisdom text," this study will more often use the expressions "the present composition" or "the present document" when referring collectively to these manuscripts.

[3] In DJD 34, the editors proposed the name *Musar le-Mevin* with the translation "Instruction for a Maven/Student" (DJD 34:3), though most translate it as "Instruction for the Understanding One."

[4] This can be partially translated as "Wisdom of the *Raz Nihyeh*". For discussion concerning the various translations of *raz nihyeh* (רז נהיה) see Chapter 3 (§3.2.1.).

The name *Musar le-Mevin* is often written in its transliterated form (rather than its Hebrew form: מוסר למבין), whereas the name חכמת רז נהיה is always written in its Hebrew form in academic works. Issues with the various names suggested for the present composition are discussed in Chapter 3. For clarity on the use of key vocabulary, this study accepts and employs Liv Ingeborg Lied's understanding of the terms "work" (a conceived compositional unit), "text" (the words on the page), and "manuscript" (a text-bearing object) (Lied 2015, esp. 512–13). The word "work" is understood and treated as a synonym of "composition" and "document" in this study.

and an "instruction," one can read the text in a different light and so contribute new perspectives on the present composition.[5]

But what exactly does the concept of "textual identity" mean in the context of this study, and why is it important to think about the names and genre labels assigned to a composition? Other studies that have explored the textual identity of ancient Jewish writings such as 1 Enoch (Reed 2005) and 2 Baruch (Lied 2013) provide some methodological basis for this study's analysis of the textual identity of the present composition. For instance, with regards to 2 Baruch, Lied has observed that the categorisation of 2 Baruch as an "Old Testament Pseudepigraphon" can imply that the writing is less important than the books within the Hebrew Bible, which are regarded by some readers as "scripture" and therefore as "authoritative" (Lied 2013, 403). Lied demonstrates how this particular identity is problematised when one considers how extracts from 2 Baruch (2 Bar. 44:9–15 and 72:1–73:2) found in several medieval West Syrian lectionary manuscripts were used in service of liturgical Christian worship. These extracts take on a different textual identity and function in an alternate way within this context, challenging conventional classifications that depict 2 Baruch exclusively as a composite whole that was distinct from the biblical canon.

The benefit of analysing compositions like 1 Enoch and 2 Baruch is that there are various witnesses of these writings throughout history, permitting one to examine how a composition (or parts of a composition) was(/were) used at different times and in different settings and traditions. However, with regards to the present composition, there are no

[5] Key terms and phrases used by researchers in contemporary discussions on the topic of wisdom, such as "wisdom text," "wisdom literature," "wisdom tradition," "wisdom worldview," "wisdom genre," and "wisdom influence," are explained in Chapter 1 (see Table 1.1.).

further textual witnesses beyond those discovered in Cave 4 at Khirbet Qumran.[6] This presents a number of difficulties when considering its textual identity. For instance, the remains of the composition are preserved in an extremely fragmentary condition within multiple manuscripts that contain a handful of (sometimes questionable) points of overlap. The editors in DJD 34 have estimated that only around 60% of the surviving text can be discerned and arranged into a comprehensible unit (DJD 34:18; cf. Elgvin 1995b). One immediately wonders how prudent it is to attempt to construct an identity for a composition that is only partially preserved (cf. Bakker 2023, 8–9). Moreover, it is not entirely clear how much of the surviving material was maintained in all of the manuscripts that are today associated with the composition. Researchers have often described and treated these manuscripts as "copies" that have facilitated various attempts to reconstruct missing parts of a manuscript by cross-referencing it against other manuscripts that appear to repeat the same section of text (Ben Dov, Gayer, and Ratzon 2022, 5; Elgvin 1997a, 5–10; Goff 2013, 2; Tigchelaar 2001, 148–50; Wold 2018, 8). However, just because it is possible to discern points of overlap between some manuscripts does not necessarily mean that those manuscripts were all direct witnesses to the same work. One of the many insights that have emerged from the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus is that extracts from known biblical and non-biblical works were reused and reworked for various purposes in all kinds of settings and contexts (see Brooke 2005; Feldman 2007; Zahn 2008; 2011). One cannot therefore exclude the possibility that some of the manuscripts associated with the present composition may have taken a different trajectory. Future

[6] Although no extracts from the present composition can be found in other ancient writings, its influence in other works, such as *Mysteries* (1Q27; 4Q299–301), the *Hodayot* (1QH^{a}; 1QH^{b} [1Q35]; 4Q427-432), the Community Rules (1QS [1Q28]; 4Q255–265; 5Q11), Wisdom of Solomon, and the book of James has been discussed in several studies (Bakker 2015; Moran 2019; Tigchelaar 2001, 194–207; Wold 2020; 2021).

studies of the present work may benefit from examining the associated manuscripts not necessarily as copies that help us fill in the blanks, but as separate versions or editions that contributes a more nuanced understanding of this textual tradition.[7] Nonetheless, for the purposes of this study, questions concerning the textual identity of the present composition are considered on the commonly held opinion that the manuscripts 1Q26, 4Q415–4Q418, 4Q418a, 4Q418c, and 4Q423 are by and large reflective of the same work.

Since its discovery, readers have primarily identified the present composition as an example of Jewish wisdom literature written in the Second Temple period, and the names and genre labels that have been assigned largely reflect and refresh this textual identity. One might question the value of exploring the importance of names and labels when one could simply read the text to come to an understanding of the document. However, the names and labels scholars have assigned to compositions are not so innocent. In the fields of lexicology and cognitive linguistics, numerous studies have shown that there is a deep connection between the linguistic domain and the cognitive domain, demonstrating how names and labels (categories, genres, etc.) provide the structural framework within the mind that creates an expectation about what a thing is before a person has even begun to engage with it.[8] As an example, Staffan Nyström has shown how names, apart from their lexical and proprial meanings, can stimulate other kinds of presuppositions about the named thing that may or may not have any bearing in reality (Nyström 2016, 47–48). The

[7] Analogous examples of this kind of research—where manuscript variants are analysed in conversation with one another—can be found in recent studies of manuscripts associated with the Community Rules (1QS [1Q28]; 4Q255–265; 5Q11) by Hempel (2020) and Nati (2022).

[8] Different theories and approaches have been developed in studies that analyse connections between linguistic and cognitive domains, such as Fauconnier and Turner's theory of "Conceptual Blending" (Fauconnier and Turner 2002), Lakoff's "Idealised Cognitive Models" (Lakoff 1987), and other studies that explore cognitive representations of semantic categories (Berlin and Kay 1969; Heider 1970; 1971; Lenneberg 1967; Rosch 1973; 1975; 1976; 1978; de Valois and Jacobs 1968).

name *Fido*, for instance, may lead one to assume that the name belongs to a dog and not to any other kind of animal. By extension, in the fields of biblical and Dead Sea Scrolls research, when one identifies a composition as a wisdom text (or indeed by any genre label), one creates a paradigm within which that text is then read and interpreted. This is not in itself a problematic way to read the text. There are many ways in which a text can be examined through the lens of a specific genre (and in combination with a specific method of analysing genre) that can enhance our understanding of a work (see Newsom 2010). However, problems emerge when the names and labels we assign become so relied upon that it is difficult to break free from the reins of their interpretative influence. In some cases, emphasis on a text's perceived genre can become so dominant in the mind of a reader that it is regarded as the *only* proper way a text can be read. Reading a composition as a wisdom text can be helpful when one is seeking to highlight a text's pedagogical and didactic features or examine how the concept of wisdom emerges and functions within a particular literary context. However, issues arise when the names and labels assigned to compositions become so fossilised within the foundations of our interpretative structures that they are no longer regarded as alternative frameworks for analysing compositions, but instead operate as *rules* that govern the way we approach and understand the texts (Comerford and Scales 2023, 7). With regards to the present composition, its designated identity as a wisdom text has had a significant influence on how scholars have understood and discussed its content, to the point where some have gone to great lengths to try to identify parts of the surviving material as wisdom even when at times the label does not seem to fit that specific portion of the text. This thesis therefore joins chorus with a number of studies that have reflected on the influence of names and genre labels with regards to understanding ancient Jewish literature (see Justnes 2015, 19; Nickelsburg 2005a, 36; Ulrich 2004, 11; Zahn 2011, 93). Relevant are

questions raised by Hindy Najman and Eibert Tigchelaar in their article, "A Preparatory Study of Nomenclature and Text Designation in the Dead Sea Scrolls."

> What kind of influence does a text's title or designation have over the way we teach it or read it? Do names of texts govern the way we read and interpret the identified fragments or works? And how does the name we assign a text determine the way later generations of scholars classify the texts? Does the designation of a particular text determine its interpretation, reception or inclusion in existing authoritative canons or collections? Does it compromise or enable the integration of such a text into an already established corpus, e.g., the biblical corpus? (Najman and Tigchelaar 2014, 306).

Najman and Tigchelaar broadly analysed the influence of nomenclature and text designation throughout the Scrolls corpus. This study, however, will focus on how the textual identity of the present composition as a wisdom text has impacted scholarly interpretations of the document. It will then demonstrate how the text can be analysed in fruitful ways when its conventionally assigned textual identity is set aside, thus enabling one to read beyond the framework imposed by wisdom.

This study is divided into two parts. The first part examines the history of scholarship relating to the emergence and development of the category of wisdom literature in biblical scholarship and explores how that category has been used in relation to the present composition (and wider Scrolls corpus).[9] The second part attempts to disentangle the present composition's conventionally assigned textual identity by analysing key concepts within the surviving text that have historically been interpreted through the wisdom lens.

[9] The biblical wisdom works are generally regarded as being comprised of the books of Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Sirach, and Wisdom of Solomon. The word biblical is understood in the broadest sense to include works that are accepted as canonical in some Chrisitan traditions.

Beginning with an evaluation of the relevant literature, Chapter 1 establishes the context within which this study is situated by examining the history of wisdom research in both biblical and Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship. Though there are significant points of overlap in both disciplines, there are some striking differences in the general approach to the study of wisdom in both corpora that are best drawn out by examining them as separate streams of research. Most crucial are differences in the emergence of research on the subject of wisdom in both disciplines, as well as attitudes to the study of wisdom in the present day. Concerning the former, in biblical wisdom research, scholars initially began with the assumption that the wisdom books (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Job, Sirach, and Wisdom of Solomon) emerged from a class of scribal sages. By contrast, in Scrolls research before the 1990s, it was at first believed that the community associated with the discovered writings was not sapiential in character, and therefore the majority of compositions could not be identified as wisdom literature (DJD 4:69, n. 1; Lipscomb and Sanders 1978). This perspective soon changed, however, with the publication of hundreds of new manuscripts in the 1990s, many of which were initially identified by their editors as potential new wisdom texts on the basis of perceived similarities with biblical wisdom writings. Thus, the template of biblical wisdom literature gave rise to new wisdom compositions in the Scrolls corpus, the emergence of which inspired a proliferation of studies on the subject of wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls (Collins, Sterling, and Clements 2004; Falk, García Martínez, and Schuller 2000; Hempel, Lange, and Lichtenberger 2002; Najman, Rey, and Tigchelaar 2016).

In recent years, however, a growing number of biblical scholars have begun to question the usefulness and reliability of the wisdom literature category (see Dell 2015; Millar 2021; 2022; Kynes 2015; 2019; 2021; Sneed 2011; 2015; Vayntrub 2021; Weeks 1994; 2016). With

confidence in the cogency of the wisdom literature category at an all-time low, questions arise as to whether the category of wisdom remains a useful hermeneutical lens when reading fragmentary compositions comprised of diverse literary characteristics.

In Chapter 2, this study analyses how the first editors in the 1950s used their knowledge of the wisdom literature category to identify and reconstruct previously unknown works in the Scrolls corpus. The chapter finds attestations for use of the wisdom literature category among the first editors in various letter correspondences, handwritten labels in the PAM images, preliminary lists of manuscripts, and in the initial card concordance developed by the editors to demonstrate that the wisdom literature category has, from the beginning, played a significant role in the reconstructive process which has contributed to shaping the textual identity of the present composition.

Another important part of this reconstructive process is examined in Chapter 3, which considers the many names that have been suggested for the present composition. Most of the names currently used by contemporary scholars emphasise the sapiential qualities of the text (e.g., 4QInstruction, *Musar le-Mevin*, חכמת רז נהיה). However, before the present document was officially published in DJD 34, different scholars had suggested alternative names, some of which accentuate other prevalent characteristics in the text. This chapter seeks to highlight the different ways in which the text has been characterised through use of names and argues that having a plurality of names for a single composition may be beneficial for typifying fragmentary manuscripts that contain diverse literary features and various topics of interest.

In the second part, this study evaluates the text of the present composition with a particular focus on three key concepts that have contributed to the document's identity as a wisdom text: *musar*, *maskil,* and *mevin*. Chapter 4 considers the word *musar*, which is

used as both a name (*Musar le-Mevin*) and as a genre (commonly translated as "instruction") for the present composition. However, this chapter raises the question: "Is 4QInstruction an Instruction?" and in doing so seeks to interrogate the generic identity assigned to this document from two standpoints. First, it considers the meaning of *musar* in the Hebrew Bible and Dead Sea Scrolls and analyses its (limited) use in the text of the present composition. Second, it examines several fragments within the document that have been used to verify its identity as an "instruction," as well as other significant and well-preserved passages that attest to another ambiguous literary category: apocalyptic. The chapter demonstrates that the form and content of significant portions of the surviving text are largely incompatible with the wisdom genre (as defined by conventional form-critical analysis), thereby making it difficult to affirm the composition's identity as a wisdom text based on taxonomic modes of categorisation used in biblical and Scrolls research.

Chapters 5 and 6 address two other important concepts that have contributed to an understanding of the document as a wisdom text: the identity of the speaker and addressee. Chapter 5 considers the identity of the speaker, who is presumed by some to be a teacher (or more specifically, a *maskil*), that was responsible for educating those addressed within the document. The chapter begins by examining the use of the participle *maskil* in the Hebrew Bible and in other parts of the Scrolls before considering its use in the text of the present composition. Based on a study of its usage, the chapter finds that there are no obvious examples in the text that clearly attests to the function of a *maskil* figure as a teacher in the composition, and neither are there any other unambiguous clues that point to the existence of a formal teacher within the document.

Chapter 6 explores the identity of the addressee, whom most scholars refer to as a *mevin* throughout the document based on various instances where a recipient is addressed by the vocative formula ואתה מבין ("and/but you, understanding one"). Following the same pattern of analysis as in Chapters 4 and 5, this chapter begins by analysing the meaning of *mevin* in the Hebrew Bible and other parts of the Scrolls. Significantly, it is discovered that in no other composition is the participle *mevin* used to refer to a student, but there are several instances where the term is used in reference to figures with teaching responsibilities (e.g., Neh. 8:9; 1 Chr. 25:8; 2 Chr. 26:5, 35:3). Looking at the use of *mevin* in the present composition, it becomes clear that the participle is used to refer to a particular kind of addressee in the text who is compelled to increase their knowledge and understanding of a concept called the *raz nihyeh*.[10] However, this chapter also considers the presence of other figures from various social and vocational backgrounds that are addressed within the extant text. Such figures include debt slaves, husbands, wives, fathers, daughters, priests, and individuals with "skilled-hands" (חכמת ידים)—an expression that may have been used to refer to craftspeople, farmers, and others who were capable of providing resources by the skill of their hands. Importantly, most of these figures are not addressed or described as *mevin* within the document. The chapter concludes that the participle *mevin* was likely used to describe a particular characteristic trait of a specific kind of addressee, but was not necessarily used for all those addressed within the document. Interpretations of the text that (1) assume the participle *mevin* is used to refer to all those addressed in the composition and (2) hold that those addressed as *mevin* were students of wisdom is an oversimplified reading of the document that does not account for the complex and diverse audience attested throughout the surviving text.

[10] Different translations of *raz nihyeh* are discussed in Chapter 3 (§3.2.1.). The expression is left untranslated in this study.

Thus, there is a dual purpose to the second part of this thesis. First, it demonstrates how the textual identity of the composition as a wisdom text has inclined modern readers to interpret important terms, phrases, and concepts through a sapiential lens that often distorts rather than illuminates the meaning of these key aspects of the text. Second, by showing how these aspects can be interpreted free from the constraints imposed by its textual identity, this study seeks to contribute a new perspective and encourage future studies to take different approaches and apply different reading lenses when attempting to make sense of this composition.

First Part: Understanding the History of Wisdom Research and the Development of the Textual Identity Assigned to 4QInstruction

Chapter 1. A Crumbling Consensus: Wisdom Research in the Hebrew Bible and Dead Sea Scrolls

This chapter provides an overview of how the subject of wisdom has been studied in the fields of biblical and Dead Sea Scrolls research. Beginning with an explanation of several key terms and phrases that scholars commonly use when talking about wisdom (e.g., wisdom literature, wisdom worldview, wisdom tradition), this study sets out to explain how these constructs developed in the field of biblical studies and demonstrates how they have provided a basis for contemporary discussions of wisdom in both fields. In addition, this chapter examines how presuppositions relating to the use of these constructs have been problematised in recent years—especially by biblical scholars—and explores how these challenges have been received and responded to by scholars in both fields. With the field of wisdom research in a state of turbulence and reflection, this chapter concludes by proposing that now is a good time to begin to search for new ways of talking about historically defined "wisdom texts" without relying on constructs and presuppositions that have governed scholarly discourse since the origins of wisdom research.

1.1. What We Talk About When We Talk About Wisdom: Understanding Contemporary Wisdom Discourse

> For it is upon the concept of the 'wisdom of the sages,' viewed as a distinct class within Israelite society, that the whole structure of Old Testament wisdom research has been built (Whybray 1974, 5).

Research of wisdom in ancient Jewish literature is traditionally built upon a number of interrelated constructs which are each tied to specific presuppositions. The base

assumption—as Norman Whybray illustrates in the quotation above—is that there existed in ancient Israel a tradition (wisdom tradition) that was comprised of a professional class of scribal sages. These sages could be distinguished by their unique worldview (wisdom worldview), which was distinct from the worldviews of the priests and prophets. The sages also produced literature (wisdom literature) that was written in their own unique style (wisdom genre), but which would occasionally influence other writings that were not believed to have been composed by the sages (wisdom influence). For ease of understanding, Table 1.1. provides a list and explanation of the core constructs that scholars often use when talking about wisdom.

Construct	Explanation (or Associated Presupposition)
wisdom tradition	The belief in the existence of a class of sages or intellectual groups in ancient Israelite society.
wisdom worldview	The belief that the sages had their own distinct understanding of and approach to reality (sometimes referred to as "wisdom thinking").
wisdom movement	The belief that the tradition of the sages functioned in different ways and in various settings throughout Israel's history (e.g., family/clan, court, scribal; see Crenshaw 1969, 130).
wisdom school	A constructed formal institution in which would-be sages were educated.
wisdom literature (wisdom books)	The belief that Israel's sages were responsible for composing and preserving a selection of literary works containing their thoughts, ideas, and beliefs (the following books are generally regarded as wisdom literature in the biblical corpus: Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Sirach, and Wisdom of Solomon).
wisdom genre	The belief that scribal sages used specific written forms, themes, and motifs that were indicative of their writings (this construct is sometimes conflated with wisdom literature, see Kynes 2019).

wisdom forms	Literary forms associated with the Wisdom genre (e.g., instruction, admonitions, wisdom sayings, commands and prohibitions; see Murphy 1981, 4–6; 2002, 7–13).
wisdom vocabulary	Words commonly found in the wisdom books (e.g., ערמה, שכל, בינה, דעת, חכמה; see Fox 1993).
wisdom influence	The belief that the worldview of the sages had in some way influenced the worldview of other classes/social groups (e.g., priests, prophets) and that this influence could be seen in writings associated with these groups.

Table 1.1. A list and explanation of constructs used by scholars when talking about wisdom

But how did these constructs come about in the field of biblical research? What are the underlying presuppositions behind their usage? And how have these constructs and their associated presuppositions influenced the way the discovered writings from the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus have been categorised, named, and subsequently interpreted?

1.2. Wisdom as Philosophy: The Origins of Biblical Wisdom Research

Reviews of historical research on wisdom trace the origins of study back to the early nineteenth century (see Dell 2013; Kynes 2016; 2019, esp. 82–104; Schwáb 2013, esp. 4–29; Smend 1995).[11] During this time, research of wisdom in the Hebrew Bible was carried out in the context of a philosophical era that prized, above all else, the pursuit of human reason. In Immanuel Kant's 1784 essay "An Answer to the Question: "What is Enlightenment?" he provided the following answer:

> *Sapere aude!* Have courage to make use of your own understanding! is thus the motto of enlightenment (Kant 2012 [1784], 17).

[11] For a more general survey of biblical research in Germany and England throughout the nineteenth century, see Rogerson (1984).

Sapere aude. In other words: "dare to be wise" (Kant 2012 [1784], 17, n. b). Such was the zeal for the fruits of philosophical thinking before the beginning of the nineteenth century. Yet this fervour often came with a comparatively low view of religious thinking, and especially that which could be traced to the Jewish writings in the Hebrew Bible, which Kant omitted in his analysis of the universal history in his 1793 book, *Religion within the Boundaries of Mere Reason*.[12]

> ... we can only deal with the history of the church which from the beginning bore with it the germ and the principles of objective unity of the true and *universal* religious faith to which it gradually being brought nearer. – And it is apparent, first of all, that the Jewish faith stands in absolutely no essential connection, i.e. in no unity of concepts, with the ecclesiastical faith whose history we want to consider, even though it immediately preceded it and provided the physical occasion for the founding of this church (the Christian) (Kant, 2018 [1793], 153).[13]

For Kant, the particularities of the Jewish faith—which for him disregarded the principle philosophical virtues of rationalism, universalism, and humanism—contributed nothing of value in the quest for enlightenment and human flourishing, which was believed to be humanities' telos.

Turning to biblical research in the early nineteenth century, studies that considered the historical development of the Hebrew Bible utilised a similar philosophical and supersessionist lens when examining the progression of the Hebrew scriptures. In 1801,

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[12] *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft*.

[13] Christianity was also regarded by some as being ideologically opposed to the philosophical movement. As Marquis de Condorcet wrote: "Disdain for the humane sciences was one of the first characteristics of Christianity. It had to avenge itself against the outrages of philosophy, and it feared that spirit of doubt and inquiry, that confidence in one's own reason which is the bane of all religious beliefs" (de Condorcet 2012 [1795], 51).

Georg Lorenz Bauer sought to distinguish between what he identified as older, unsophisticated, and particularistic writings (e.g., the historical books) against what he defined as later, more refined philosophical works in the Hebrew Bible (Bauer 1801, 286–88, 306). "It is undeniable," Bauer claimed, "that the historical books follow the common principles of popular religion more than the ideas that wiser and talented Israelites have acquired themselves through reflection and learned education" (Bauer 1801, 152).[14] For Bauer, the best example of this more educated literature could be found in the book of Job, which he favoured above all other writings because it appeared to abandon its religious heritage and adopt a broader, more universalistic approach. Thus, the book of Job mirrored the philosophical virtues of his time.

> As this book [Job] is the most beautiful and sublime poetic work of the Hebrews, a true masterpiece of antiquity, to which I know of no counterpart, so it also has the most excellent religious content and the purest concepts of God. Here God is not a national God. The name of the Israelite national God, Jehovah, is carefully avoided even in the languages of the speakers... To what height of insight and wisdom did the noble sage of antiquity rise, who thought and wrote like this! He completely forgot his Israelite prejudices, popular religion, national faith, and taught a pure religion of reason and morality (Bauer 1801, 154–55).[15]

[14] "Es ist unleugbar, das die historischen bücher mehr den gemeinen Grundmassen der Volksreligion folgen, als den Ideen, welche sich weisere und talentvolle Israeliten selbst-durch Nachdenken und gelehrte Bildung erworben haben.„ Translation my own.

[15] "Die dieses Buch [Hiob] das schönste und erhabenste poetische Werk der Hebräer ist, ein wahres Meisterstück der Alterthums, zu dem ich kein Gegenstück kenne: so hat es auch den vortrefflichsten religiösen Inhalt, und die reinsten Begriffe von Gott. Hier ist Gott kein Nationalgott. Der Name des israelitischen Nationalgottes, Jehova, wird sogar in den Gesprachen der Redenden sorgfältig vermieden ... Zu welcher Höhe der Einsicht und Weisheit hat sich der edle Weise der Alterthums aufgeschaungen, der so dachte und schrieb! Er vergaß völlig seine israelitischen Vorurteile, Volksreligion, Nationalglauben, und lehrte eine reine Vernunftreligion und Moral.„ Translation my own.

Similarly, Wilhelm Vatke in 1835 praised Israel's "wisdom teachers" (*Weisheitslehrer*)—chiefly identified in the books of Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes—for "stripping off the particularistic elements" of their religious identity to address more common spiritual and human interests. Because of their development towards more philosophical ideals, Vatke claimed that the wisdom teachers had "surpassed all the prophets" at least in terms of their moral progression (Vatke 1835, 563–64; cf. Kynes 2019, 94).

It should be noted that there were others, such as Heinrich Ewald, who expressed his disapproval of studies that allowed the prevalent philosophical theories of the time to colour their interpretations of Israelite history (see Rogerson 1984, esp. 91–103). Yet even Ewald accepted the emerging custom of characterising the concept of wisdom in the Hebrew Bible as a kind of philosophy: "[that] which we are accustomed to call philosophy… we might just as well call wisdom" (Ewald 1878 [1847], 276).

The equation of Hebrew wisdom and nineteenth-century philosophy is most explicitly expressed in the research of Johann Bruch, whom Kynes credits as the true progenitor of the wisdom literature category as understood by contemporary readers (Kynes 2019, 82–104).[16] In *Weisheits-Lehre der Hebräer: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Philosophie* (1851), Bruch asserted that the works of Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Ben Sira, and Wisdom of Solomon best reflect what he considered to be the philosophy of the Hebrews. In keeping with the philosophical scepticism against religious particularism that was typical of his time, Bruch characterised the Hebrew sages (i.e., the authors of these books) as a group that were suspicious of the historical traditions and cultic ceremonies associated

[16] Franz Delitzsch also identified Bruch as "the first to call special attention to the Chokma or humanism of as a peculiar intellectual tendency in Israel" (Delitzsch 1874–75 [1873], 1.46).

with their faith and who were averse to the "narrow-minded spirit of the priesthood" (Bruch 1851, 59–60).[17]

Bruch's study was not entirely well received by his peers. Several of his contemporaries were critical of Bruch for negatively depicting the sages in the Hebrew Bible as being opposed to the priests, prophets, and to the "people's religion" (*Volksreligion*) (see Oehler 1883 [1873–74], 538; Delitzsch 1874–75 [1873], 1.38). Yet even those who dissented from this aspect of Bruch's analysis were generally satisfied with his overall representation of wisdom as a distinctly Jewish style of philosophy that was predominantly expressed within the books of Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Sirach, and Wisdom of Solomon. As a result, Israel's sages and the literature ascribed to them were widely characterised in the latter-half of the nineteenth century by the most approved philosophical virtues of the enlightenment era. In 1873 Franz Delitzsch wrote that wisdom in the Hebrew Bible could be succinctly summarised as "universalistic, or humanistic" in its scope (Delitzsch 1874–75 [1873], 41). In 1887, Thomas Cheyne claimed that "the wise men are not prophets but philosophers... it would be best to call them the humanists, to indicate their freedom from national prejudice... and their tendency to base a sound morality on its adaptation to human nature" (Cheyne 1887, 119). Similarly, Samuel Driver in 1891 proclaimed Israel's sages as "the *Humanists* of Israel" (Driver 1891, 393), and in 1891 John Genung further equated the concept of wisdom in the Hebrew Bible with "what other nations call philosophy" (Genung 1891, 92).

By the end of the nineteenth century, most were content to identify wisdom in the Hebrew Bible as a kind of philosophy, held by a group of sages, that was preserved in

[17] "... mochte auch der engherzige Geist des Priesterschaft sie anwidern.„ (Bruch 1851, 60).

specific literary works that for some appeared to digress from particularistic and nationalistic aspects of the Jewish faith. Moreover, descriptions of the character of the sages and the content of their literature agreed with the philosophical virtues of the enlightenment era, and so the Hebrew sages were commonly described as humanistic, universalistic, and secular. Although the constructs of wisdom tradition, wisdom literature, and other related constructs had not yet formally developed, nineteenth century research of wisdom in the Hebrew Bible lays important groundwork for the progression of these constructs, which would begin to take shape in the following century (see Table 1.1. for a reminder of these constructs).

1.3. The Crystallisation of a Consensus: Biblical Wisdom Research in the Twentieth Century

Belief in the notion that certain books in the Hebrew Bible expressed ideals that agreed with modern philosophical values persisted for a short time following the turn of the twentieth century (see Kautzsch 1914). However, this understanding of Hebrew wisdom eventually fell out of favour with the emergence of form criticism and the discovery of the Egyptian document: *Instruction of Amenemope*,[18] both of which significantly shaped the field of biblical wisdom research.

[18] Nineteenth-century research on biblical wisdom was largely overlooked by several late-twentieth-century scholars, whose attempts to trace the origins of biblical wisdom research reached only as far as the beginning of the Twentieth century. For example, Crenshaw (1995 [1976], 92) and Whybray (1989, 229–30) both credited Johanne Meinhold as being the first to consider Israelite wisdom and its historical development in his 1908 book, *Die Weisheit Israels in Spruch, Sage und Dichtung*.

1.3.1. Form Criticism

The development of form criticism by Hermann Gunkel was intended to examine the formal characteristics of a text in order to establish an understanding of the historical reality *behind* the text. As James Muilenburg explains in his introduction to Gunkel's form-critical examination of the Psalms:

> The task of the literary historian is first of all to isolate the individual literary unit by determining its beginning and ending; he must then seek to identify its type or genre (*Gattung*) by observing its formal characteristics, style, mode of composition, terminology, and rhetorical features. Once the literary genre has been recognized and described, then its origin must be traced back to its provenience in the pre-literary stage of formulation (Muilenburg 1967 [1930], v).

There are a handful of assumptions in play with Gunkel's form-critical methodology. For one, the approach presumes that compositions are made up of "genres" (*Gattungen*), which were believed to have emerged in a pre-literary (or oral) form that was connected to a specific context or *Sitz im Leben* (life setting). As Gunkel explained, "these oldest genres have a quite pure style: they are designed for a definite situation and correspond to it thoroughly" (Gunkel 1909, 93; trans. Buss 1999, 237). In addition, it was further supposed that certain types of genres were intrinsically tied to specific literary traditions, and so it was thought to be unlikely that one scribal group would have written in the style of another: "just as an individual person in Israel would consider it a crime to act in a way not done in Israel, so an author would stand under the strong command of the traditional styles of a particular genre" (Gunkel, 2003 [1906], 28). Gunkel's form-critical method therefore reinforced the already prevalent belief that certain texts were composed by particular professional classes in ancient Israel, "such as the priests and their Torah, or

the prophets and their oracles" (Gunkel 2003 [1906], 30). As for Israel's sages, Gunkel theorised that the pre-literary history behind their writings was originally orally transmitted within various professional and societal classes in the ancient world.

> The *life setting* [*Sitz im Leben*] was originally very exclusive. Wise teaching was given to the "vizier," and to those who would become "scribes," in other words the young officials... In other cultures, "wisdom" came to a certain middle group. Elders who were experienced in the ways of the world sat together in the gate or at street corners where they exchanged proverbs with one another. The unexperienced young man was admonished to go there and learn wisdom (Gunkel 1998 [1933], 293).

Concerning the "Elders" who "sat together in the gate or at street corners," Gunkel envisioned this as the contextual setting where short proverbial sayings, use of the direct address (e.g., בני "my son"), and the skilful application of rhetoric and riddles first developed in Israelite society (Gunkel 1998 [1933], 299–300). Thus, the construct of a wisdom genre (and its corresponding wisdom forms) had begun to take shape through Gunkel's form-critical approach.[19]

1.3.2. Instruction of Amenemope

The Egyptian document known as the *Instruction of Amenemope* was first acquired in 1888 and officially published by Earnest Budge in 1923. A year later, Egyptologist Adolf Erman published his article, "Das Weisheitsbuch des Amen-em-ope," in which he claimed

[19] Notably, the idea that the role of the wise person was primarily one of moral teaching and that elders might have gathered followers at the city gates is found in earlier nineteenth century studies (Ewald 1848; Delitzsch 1873, esp. 32; Cheyne 1887; Kent 1899; see Weeks 1994, 2, n. 2). Gunkel's form critical method served to reinforce this imagined life setting in which moral teaching and the forms attributed to their way of teaching emerged.

that Proverbs 22:17–24:22 was largely based on *Amenemope*. Erman's article provoked the interest of biblical scholars, who were quick to build upon Erman's general assessment of the relationship between the two literary works (see Greßmann 1924; Griffith 1926; Simpson 1926; Oesterley 1927).

Before the publication of *Amenemope*, biblical scholars rarely explored the possibility that the biblical books might have been directly derived from or influenced by foreign sources (see Schwáb 2013, 10). However, according to Walter Baumgartner, the discovery of *Amenemope* provided concrete evidence that "the wisdom of Israel fitted perfectly into that of the ancient Near East just like a link in a chain" (Baumgartner 1933, 23). By the middle of the twentieth century, the alleged affinity between Israel's sages and earlier Egyptian and Mesopotamian viziers/sages added fuel to the existing belief that the literature of the sages was distinct—and possibly at odds—with other kinds of literature in the Hebrew Bible. For example, based on correspondences between Proverbs and Egyptian literature, Harmut Gese argued that "the wisdom literature constitutes an alien body in the world of the Old Testament" (Gese 1958, 2; trans. Crenshaw 1995 [1976], 91). Thus, Israel's sages—imagined by some nineteenth-century scholars to be a distinct yet complementary group in ancient Israelite society—were now thought to be the forebearers of a foreign belief system that had succeeded in infiltrating the biblical canon.

1.3.3. Implications of Form Criticism and *Instruction of Amenemope*

The question arises, what influence did the emergence of form criticism and the discovery of the *Instruction of Amenemope* have on the development of biblical wisdom research in the twentieth century? One of the more notable changes in scholarly discourse concerns

how the understanding of wisdom in the Hebrew Bible as a particular kind of Jewish philosophy gradually gave way to a more literary approach. In the twentieth century, wisdom had begun to be conceptualised as the literary product of a class of scribal sages whose approach to reality could be ascertained by analysing their distinctive style of discourse in their purported writings. This emphasis on the lexical, thematic, and structural features of the biblical wisdom writings contributed to the crystallisation of the idea of wisdom as a genre with all its related forms, which developed in large part because of the widespread use of Gunkel's form-critical method. Thus, rather than imagine wisdom as a type of Jewish philosophy, wisdom could now be more forensically identified by discerning and assessing its literary features in select writings and traced to a life setting wherein the fruits of wisdom might have flourished (e.g., elders, family clan, courtly advisors, scribal sages). Moreover, in light of the discovery of *Amenemope*, biblical scholars were prompted to cross-examine the features and forms associated with the wisdom genre (especially in the book of Proverbs) alongside a broader network of comparable literature identified in older Egyptian and Mesopotamian writings. Ironically, the construct of wisdom as a category of literature did not exist in Egyptian or Mesopotamian studies before biblical scholars took an interest in comparing their wisdom writings. Notably, nineteenth-century biblical scholars rarely consulted with ancient Near Eastern literature when examining the biblical writings (see Kynes 2019, 50–51; Smend 1995, 263).[20] Thus, while the biblical wisdom books were believed to be derived from older, foreign sources from Egypt and Mesopotamia that had infiltrated the biblical canon,

[20] Wilfred Lambert's *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (1960) is commonly cited as the seminal study that inspired greater use of the wisdom literature category in Egyptian and Mesopotamian scholarship (see Williams 1981, 1; George 2007, 56–57).

the construct of wisdom literature had simultaneously succeeded in imposing itself on an entirely alien corpus of ancient Near Eastern texts.

Nonetheless, the development of form criticism and the discovery of Amenemope contributed significantly to authenticating the wisdom books as representing a specific kind of literature that expressed the concerns of a particular kind of people in ancient Israelite society, and that this tradition could be further contextualised within a broader network of ancient Near Eastern literature.

1.3.4. Tightening the Borders of Wisdom Literature: A Reaction to the Spread of "Wisdom Influence" Throughout the Biblical Corpus

As researchers grew more familiar with the forms of wisdom through analysing its literary features both within the Hebrew Bible and comparatively with works outside of the biblical corpus, it was not long before some began to notice that these forms could be found in writings outside of the conventional wisdom books (Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon). Examples can be found in the work of Robert Pfeiffer, who in 1934 argued that the influence of Egyptian ideas found in Israelite wisdom literature is also attested in the first eleven chapters of Genesis, and further attributed sage-like qualities to "three men of genius" whom he claimed were responsible for transforming "the national God of the Israelites into a deity of universal scope and unspotted moral character" (Pfeiffer 1934, 97, 101). Pfeiffer identified these three wise figures as "Amos, the author of the book of Job, and the Second Isaiah" (Pfeiffer 1934, 101). Additionally, in 1967 John McKenzie characterised Israel's historians as scribes of wisdom that were, in their own way, preserving a mode of thinking that was thought to have been practised by earlier

scribal traditions in the ancient Near East. Wisdom, McKenzie argued, was understood by Egyptian and Mesopotamian scribes as an intellectual quality that could be cultivated through wilful reflection on the human experience. By extension, McKenzie proposed that wisdom was deeply entrenched in the lived experience of Israel's scribes, and so "identified the wise men of Israel with the historians, and thus effectively designated the historical books as wisdom literature" (McKenzie 1967, 8). Other claims of wisdom influence throughout the Hebrew Bible can be found in works by Gerhard von Rad (1953: wisdom in the Joseph Narrative), Samuel Talmon (1963: wisdom in Esther), and Norman Whybray (1968: wisdom in the Succession Narrative). By the end of the 1960s, the spread of wisdom influence throughout the biblical canon had extended to the point where some had begun to wonder, "where has Old Testament wisdom failed to appear?" (Murphy 1969, 290).

On the other end of the interpretative spectrum, there were those who feared that wisdom was at risk of losing its distinctive character by being filtered through seemingly every avenue of the Hebrew Bible. The most vocal opponent against the growing spread of wisdom influence was James Crenshaw, who throughout his career has published a significant number of studies that push back against the spread of wisdom influence (see Crenshaw 1969; 1995 [1974; 1976]; 1981 [first edition]; 1998 [second edition]; 2010 [third edition]). The root of the problem for Crenshaw stemmed from a broad definition of wisdom that permitted scholars to discern it wherever they could imagine it to emerge. See, for example, Crenshaw's reflections on Gerhard von Rad and John McKenzie's descriptions of wisdom.

> If one views wisdom as 'practical knowledge of the laws of life and of the world, based on experience' and thinks that 'wisdom had to do with the whole of life, and had to be occupied with all of its departments,' [von Rad 2001 (1962, 418, 428)], or that wisdom is an 'approach

> to reality,' 'a firm belief in the validity of experience,' [McKenzie (1967, 2, 4)] it is little surprise to discover wisdom everywhere, for what literature does not grow out of and reflect experience? (Crenshaw 1969, 131).

Thus, rather than develop an analysis of wisdom from one specific and subjective definition, Crenshaw instead claimed that wisdom ought to be understood as "an attitude [or worldview], a body of literature, and a living tradition" (Crenshaw 1976, 94; 1981, 24–25). Building on the presupposition that the five core wisdom books of Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Sirach, and Wisdom of Solomon could be taken as "normative for wisdom thought" (Crenshaw 1974, 46), Crenshaw proposed that the best course of action was to limit the study of wisdom to a strictly defined corpus of literature that more reliably reflected the worldview of Israel's sages and its associated tradition. In other words, so long as there was a strong consensus on which books could unequivocally be categorised as wisdom literature, there existed clear and concrete parameters for examining wisdom in the Hebrew Bible.[21]

In Crenshaw's approach, we see most clearly the working assumptions that underlie the constructs of wisdom tradition, wisdom worldview, wisdom literature, and wisdom genre (with its associated wisdom forms), as well as how they correspond to and are intrinsically entwined with one another. This is most explicitly expressed in the first edition of Crenshaw's book, *Old Testament Wisdom*.

> If we are correct in *assuming* that the wise constituted a distinct class within Israel, we may make another *assumption*: that these sages used a characteristic mode of discourse. It follows that the literary forms within Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, Sirach, and Wisdom

[21] An example of Crenshaw's advocation for tighter borders for the category of wisdom literature can be observed in his discussion with Kenneth Kuntz regarding the legitimacy of "wisdom psalms" in the biblical corpus (see Crenshaw 2000, 2003; Kuntz 2003).

> of Solomon comprise a special world of communication which can only be understood in terms of its own categories (Crenshaw 1981, 36–37; emphasis added).

By the turn of the twentieth century, Crenshaw's approach to the study of biblical wisdom had gained considerable support. This is evidenced by the publication of several monographs in which the authors limit their analysis of wisdom to the confines of a small number of representative wisdom writings (see Murphy 2002 [1990]; Perdue 1994; Dell 2000; Hunter 2006). Even in more recent years, there are many studies that continue to employ Crenshaw's minimalistic approach of analysing wisdom strictly within the commonly accepted wisdom books (see Balentine 2016; 2018; Bartholomew and O'Dowd 2011; Longman 2017; McLaughlin 2018; 2021; Penchansky 2012). However, as Crenshaw demonstrates in the quotation above, each idea relating to wisdom as a tradition, a worldview, or a corpus of literature with its own distinct set of literary forms is heavily dependent on the validity of the others. This means that if one construct is proven to be problematic, then the whole consensus becomes at risk of crumbling under the weight of evaluation, which is precisely what has happened in recent years.

1.4. Challenges to Constructs Used in Contemporary Wisdom Discourse

Annette Schellenberg rightly acknowledges that opinion on the traditional consensus for approaching the subject of wisdom has always been variable (Schellenberg 2015, 115, n. 1). For instance, Gerhard von Rad in his study of biblical wisdom in *Weisheit in Israel* (1970) highlighted that the idea of wisdom literature is a scholarly phenomenon that is "by no means directly rooted in the sources" (von Rad 1972 [1970], 7). In 1974, Norman Whybray raised several important points in his book on Israel's *Intellectual Tradition* in which he challenges several important aspects of the prevailing consensus. Whybray

argued that the term חכם was not used to refer to a professional class in the Hebrew Bible, that wisdom literature was not linked to an institution of sages, and that an "intellectual tradition" could be seen in other books within the biblical corpus. In 1991, Katharine Dell problematised the accepted arrangement of wisdom books by suggesting that the book of Job does not properly qualify as a wisdom composition. In 1994, Stuart Weeks published his thesis on *Early Israelite Wisdom*, wherein he argued against the commonly held assumption that Israel's wisdom literature functioned primarily as an administrative and pedagogical tool for scribal sages.

For the most part, however, these criticisms were outliers that did little to disturb the general pattern of research. It is only with the publication of Mark Sneed's seminal 2011 article, in which he raises the question, "Is the 'Wisdom Tradition' a Tradition?" that we begin to see significant changes in the field of biblical wisdom research. Sneed raised several points that set out to challenge the common view that Israel's scribal sages were responsible for the composition and preservation of the biblical wisdom books.

First, though Sneed admitted that a distinct class of sages might once have existed in the ancient Israelite milieu, he contended that it is not possible to determine the extent of their influence and worldview by analysing their alleged writings. Going against Gunkel's form-critical approach which closely ties literary forms to specific social groups, Sneed argued that there "is no one-to-one correspondence between setting and genre" and that "genres produce conventional worlds, not worldviews" (Sneed 2011, 55, 59). Important for Sneed is the notion that the "worlds" produced by literary works are not complete. They do not cover every facet of life, and thus they are not meant to be understood as a "lens through which all life is to be viewed" (Sneed 2011, 60). This means that—though a composition may be silent on a number of matters (e.g., God's covenant with Israel, the

Exodus event, or God's promises to David and his offspring)—it does not necessarily follow that the authors were uninterested in those topics. One cannot therefore claim that a book was written by a certain group simply because it lacks specific references to themes found in other types of literature.[22]

Second, Sneed draws on archaeological and literary evidence from Sumerian sources to argue that "the same authors who composed the Wisdom Literature are also responsible for the composition and/or preservation of the other types of literature" (Sneed 2011, 54).[23] After considering evidence of early scribal activity in the ancient world, which shows that young scribes-in-training learned their craft by writing basic proverbial sentences and other simpler literary forms in the early stages of their scribal education, Sneed proposed that the book of Proverbs might similarly have "served as an educational tool for learning literary Hebrew" (Sneed 2011, 65). As such, Sneed argued that any trained scribe in the ancient world—regardless of what their profession might have been in later life—would likely have been capable of reproducing literary forms associated with various other literary traditions as delineated by modern scholars.

The momentum generated by Sneed's publication engendered a wider interest in the re-examination of Israel's wisdom tradition. The subject was a key talking point at the SBL annual meeting in 2012, which considered the question, "Is there a 'Wisdom Tradition' in the Biblical Corpus?" Three years later, the fruit of these discussions took shape in a

[22] Menahem Kister makes a similar argument with reference to several prayers in the writings of Ben Sira, especially the long "Praise of the Fathers" pericope (Sir. 44:1–50:24), which does not use distinctive sapiential vocabulary. Kister writes, "the almost totally unfelt presence of wisdom in the Praise of the Fathers is a strong warning not to judge the worldview of an author by what he does *not* mention" (2004, 16; emphasis original).

[23] For studies concerning early scribal learning practices in the Babylonian period, see Alster (1997); Veldhuis (2000).

volume of collected essays—edited by Sneed—which provides different responses to the question, *Is There a Wisdom Tradition?* It is significant that only one of the twelve contributors in this volume affirms the traditional consensus without modification, while the remaining eleven authors all make alterations to conventional methods for approaching the subject of wisdom to greater or lesser degrees (see Sneed 2015, 3–7).

In addition to Sneed's assessment of the notion of a wisdom tradition in ancient Israel, others have raised questions about the usefulness and reliability of the category of wisdom literature. Stuart Weeks's 2016 article, "Is 'Wisdom Literature' a Useful Category?" draws attention to the lack of literary continuity between the biblical wisdom books and suggests that researchers would do better to "scrap the phrase 'Wisdom Literature' altogether, along with its related ideas, than to persevere with a way of characterizing material that succeeds in carrying so much baggage but so little precision" (Weeks 2016, 4).

In the same year, Will Kynes published an article that set out to examine the scholarly origins of the wisdom literature category in the nineteenth century. In his analysis, Kynes uncovers a crucial link between the interests of those nineteenth-century scholars who helped formulate the wisdom literature category and the characteristics that are commonly attributed to wisdom compositions by modern researchers.

> In nineteenth-century Germany, Christians were struggling to reconcile the universalistic, humanistic, and philosophical aspects of their religion with its particularistic connection with a history that was becoming increasingly problematic under the intense examination of eighteenth-century rationalism and nineteenth-century historical criticism. This was fertile soil in which Wisdom Literature might sprout as the "universalistic, humanistic,

> philosophical" collection within the Old Testament… independent of Israel's particularistic theocracy, cult, and law (Kynes 2016, 97).[24]

Recognising a need to move away from relying on what Kynes described as an "ill-defined, circularly justified, modernly developed, and extrinsically imposed corpus" (Kynes 2016, 100), Kynes's 2016 article set the stage for his 2019 book, *An Obituary for "Wisdom Literature"*. Though the book is promoted as an "Obituary" for the category of wisdom literature, the actual objective appears to be far more modest. Rather than say outright that the category should no longer be used, Kynes instead repeatedly downplays the longstanding hegemony of the wisdom literature category by claiming that it is only *one* way of grouping the books of Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes, rather than as *the* way (Kynes 2019, 144, 248, 254).[25] To illustrate his point, Kynes sought to show how the three most representative wisdom books in the Hebrew Bible (Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes) participate in a more expansive textual network that, when viewed from different thematic perspectives, can at once become part of multiple groupings that stretch beyond the boundaries of the wisdom literature category. Building on a "constellational metaphor" used by Wright (2010) and Najman (2011), Kynes proposed that the biblical books are like individual stars and that constellations represent subjective generic groupings, with wisdom literature representing one kind of textual constellation. According to Kynes, different constellations emerge when one views the biblical writings through different thematic lenses. For instance, the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs come

[24] A version of this paper is published as a chapter in Kynes's 2019 book, *An Obituary for "Wisdom Literature"* (Chapter 3, pp. 82–104; quote from pp. 98–99).

[25] Though in a recent Twitter (X) post, Kynes admitted: "If I'm sharing my hopes, I might as well say I'm hoping the use of the category [of wisdom literature] dies altogether" (Twitter [X], 15.09.2023).

to the fore when examining the biblical corpus through the lens of the figure of Solomon,[26] and the motif of misfortune brings the books of Job, Ecclesiastes, and Psalms of lament into a new thematic arrangement (Kynes 2019, 132; cf de Wette 1807).

The culmination of criticism aimed at key constructs that have historically served as the backbone of biblical wisdom research has seen significant changes to the field. Notably, the program chair of the "Wisdom in Israelite and Cognate Tradition" unit at the SBL annual meeting has been occupied by individuals who have played a key role in challenging the consensus. Stuart Weeks served alone as program chair from 2015 to 2018, and in 2019 and 2020 Weeks was joined by Mark Sneed. In 2021, Weeks moved on from the program and was replaced by Will Kynes, who continues to run the program together with Sneed.[27] Moreover, introductions to the *Oxford Handbook of Wisdom and the Bible* (2021) and the *Cambridge Companion to Biblical Wisdom Literature* (2022) reflect on the fast-changing state of the field and the scrutiny directed towards conventional paradigms, boundaries, and assumptions commonly found in discussions of biblical wisdom (see Dell, Millar, and Keefer 2022, 3; Kynes 2021, 2).[28] The field is therefore ripe for new ideas and

[26] Katharine Dell has examined this particular grouping in her book, *The Solomonic Corpus of 'Wisdom' and Its Influence* (2020).

[27] In the middle of 2023, Will Kynes left his post as co-chair of the "Wisdom in Israelite and Cognate Traditions," being replaced by Bernd Schipper.

[28] The following remarks in the *Cambridge Companion* and *Oxford Handbook* are significant:

> Study of the wisdom literature of the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible (OT/HB) is an exciting and fast-moving field. Ideas regarding the definition and scope of the literature are of particular concern at the present time – old boundaries and assumptions are under review, even include the nomenclature of 'wisdom literature' itself! (Dell, Millar, and Keefer 2022, 3)
>
> Interest in biblical wisdom is high, as recent publishing trends indicate. However, confidence in Wisdom Literature as a scholarly category is low. Questions have begun to be raised with increasing frequency and urgency about issues fundamental to the category's definition and interpretation, including its delimitation, the tradition associated with it, and even its usefulness (Kynes 2021, 2).

alternative ways of engaging with compositions that have historically been interpreted through the limiting filter of the wisdom literature category.

But how have recent developments in the field of biblical wisdom research impacted studies of wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls? And how in turn has the field of Scrolls research influenced discussions of biblical wisdom literature?

1.5. Studies of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls

In the first 42 years of Scrolls research (1948–1990), only a handful of manuscripts published in this time had been identified as "wisdom" or "sapiential" literature by the early editors,[29] and there were very few studies that examined wisdom in the then-known Scrolls.[30] This was partly due to the prevailing belief that the community responsible for the production of the available Scrolls was mostly apocalyptic in character. Thus, in keeping with Gunkel's hypothesis of generic purity, it was thought that this predominantly apocalyptic community would not have been capable of producing wisdom literature. See, for example, Lipscomb and Sanders's remarks in their 1978 article, "Wisdom at Qumran":

> The focal thought of the Essene community was apocalyptic, not sapiential, and the sapiential terminology employed at Qumran provides only the external garb which clothes

[29] John M. Allegro referred to 4Q184 as a "sapiential work" (Allegro, 1964, 53–55). John Strugnell first claimed that 4Q185 is "sapiential in its language and in its themes" in "Notes en Marge," (Strugnell 1970, 163–276, quote from p. 269). James A. Sanders referred to "three sapiential hymns" in DJD 4, (1) 11QPs[a] 154, Syriac Psalm II, col. 18 (DJD 4:64–70); (2) 11QPs[a] Sirach 51, col. 21 (DJD 4:79–85); and (3) 11QPs[a] Creat., Hymn to the Creator, col. 26 (DJD 4:89–91).

[30] In 1964, James A. Sanders wrote that "no work has been done, to my knowledge, on Wisdom thinking generally in Qumrân literature" (DJD 4:69, n. 1). For a review of early studies of wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Kampen 1998; Comerford forthcoming.

> the central concern of the sect about God's predestined plan and the imminent eschaton (Lipscomb and Sanders 1978, 278).[31]

However, in 1991, the IAA approved the public release of hundreds of previously unpublished manuscripts from the Scrolls corpus, revealing several new compositions that had been identified by their editors as wisdom literature.[32] With the publication of this material, it was not long before researchers began to compare newly identified sapiential writings with existing biblical wisdom literature, which provided the foundations of an emerging consensus on what compositions could rightly be recognised as wisdom works. For example, in 1995 Adam van der Woude remarked: "I consider those Qumran texts as chokmatic [i.e., texts relating to חכמה ("wisdom")] whose contents include enough elements that remind us of Old Testament sapiential writings" (Woude 1995, 244–45). Similarly, in 1996 Daniel Harrington wrote that the "pertinent biblical Wisdom Texts" served as a guide for discerning "common sapiential material" in the Scrolls corpus (Harrington 1996a, 3–4). Thus, the biblical wisdom books were quickly relied upon to help verify new wisdom compositions among the Dead Sea findings.

The proliferation of wisdom material in the Dead Sea Scrolls prompted a series of publications that reflect on emergent features within the newly identified wisdom writings. One important development was that several wisdom compositions in the Scrolls corpus were found to contain literary features traditionally regarded as belonging to works composed from alternative literary traditions. This finding substantially problematised the

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[31] An alternative view can be found in James Worrell's unpublished dissertation, "Concepts of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls" (1968). Worrell argued that the community at Qumran could be characterised as a "wisdom community" (Worrell 1968, 120, 405).

[32] See separate inventories published in Reed (1992) and Tov (1992). The work that went into developing these inventories will be explored in Chapter 2.

standard form-critical method of designating works into separate literary categories based on assessment of their lexical features, themes, and vocabulary. For example, the blending of wisdom and apocalyptic features observed in many of the newfound compositions prompted scholars to reassess the relationship between wisdom and apocalyptic literature, which were traditionally believed to stem from discrete literary traditions (Collins 1993; 1997a; 1997b; 2004 2010; Elgvin 1995a; 2000a; 2000b; García Martínez 2003; Goff 2003b; 2010; 2014; Kister 2004).[33] Thus, many were beginning to recognise that most compositions designated as wisdom writings in the Scrolls corpus did not fit neatly within the contours provided by the biblical wisdom literature category.

As generic expectations continued to be subverted by further analysis of these recently published texts, some had begun to rethink the purpose and application of generic categories conventionally used in studies of ancient Jewish literature by appealing to recent developments in the field of genre studies. In 2005, Carol Newsom reflected on the old method of textual categorisation, which organised texts by identifying "distinctive recurring characteristics which constitute a recognizable and coherent type of writing" (Newsom 2005, 438; citing Collins 1979, 1). However, turning to more recent ideas in genre theory, Newsom argued that the boundaries between genres are not always so clearly demarcated, and a composition's membership in one genre does not necessarily exclude it from being part of another (Newsom 2005, 439; cf. Fowler 1982, 37). Most modern literary theorists and cognitive category specialists generally agree that genres do not fundamentally provide a means of classification. Rather they are tools used by readers

[33] See also collected essays in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (2003) and *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (2005). For studies that reflect on literary connections between wisdom, poetical, and liturgical literature, see collected essays in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran* (2000).

to help facilitate the process of interpretation.[34] Applying this theory in the context of the Scrolls, Newsom produced another article in 2010 wherein she sought to illustrate how different models of category formation (e.g., family resemblance, prototype theory) might be appropriate for answering different kinds of research questions. Others have since begun to make use of these relatively new developments in genre theory to better understand how texts relate to one another in the Scrolls corpus (see Brooke 2020; Collins 2010; 2021; Darby 2022; Goff 2010; Najman 2017; 2019; Williamson 2010; Wright 2010; and Zahn 2011; 2012).

The implementation of new models of categorisation adopted from the field of genre studies has done much to improve our understanding of the relationships between compositions and the development of Jewish writings in the Second Temple period. However, while in the field of biblical studies these advances have encouraged some scholars to explore other ways of examining wisdom outside of the confines of conventional wisdom literature (see Dell 2015; 2021; Kynes 2019; 2023; Paavo 2023), others have utilised more flexible models of genre theory to reaffirm the use of the wisdom literature category in the context of the Scrolls. Benjamin Wright, for example, has appealed to prototype theory as a means of identifying and delineating wisdom literature in the Scrolls corpus by comparing them with prototypical exemplars of wisdom from the biblical corpus—that is with Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Sirach, and Wisdom of Solomon—which is really no different to how scholars identified wisdom compositions in the Scrolls in the first place (Wright 2010, esp. 268–79). Similarly, in response to recent criticism of the wisdom literature category in biblical scholarship and implementation of

[34] For studies of genre theory and the development of cognitive categories, see Fowler (1982); Frow (2015); Lakoff (1987); Rosch (1973; 1975; 1976; 1978); Rosmarin (1985); Sinding (2002; 2010; 2012; 2016).

new developments in genre theory, Matthew Goff has advocated for the on-going use of wisdom literature for the Scrolls on the grounds that it remains "intellectually valuable insofar as it draws attention to their affinities, in terms of theme, form, and content, with biblical texts conventionally classified as Wisdom Literature" (Goff 2021, 618). Finally, using prototype theory to identify correspondences and divergences between Sirach and other accepted wisdom writings (including those within the Scrolls corpus), John Collins has argued that it is necessary for a composition's generic character to be kept in view in order to identify the dominant features of a text and so properly interpret it (Collins 2022, 28–29). Thus, for some scholars, new developments in genre theory have provided a means of holding together a literary category that was on the verge of crumbling under the weight of evaluation.

Arjen Bakker has recently claimed that "scholars generally agree that these [generic categories] are not native concepts and that we should be careful not to use them as pigeonholes in which we deposit texts" (Bakker 2023, 30). Yet scholarly discourse concerning the present composition continues to be governed by the generic identity that was assigned to it during the early stages of its reconstruction. Since manuscripts of the present composition were made accessible in 1991, it has been ubiquitously described as a wisdom text, appearing in every study of "Sapiential Texts" or "Wisdom Literature" identified within the Scrolls corpus (Collins, Sterling, and Clements 2004; Falk, García Martínez, and Schuller 2000; Hempel, Lange, and Lichtenberger 2002; Goff 2007; 2019; Kampen 2011; Najman, Rey, and Tigchelaar 2016; Schipper and Teeter 2013). Even Bakker—who is mindful of the category's shortcomings and influence within the field of Scrolls research—remains dependent on the framework provided by wisdom, describing

his recent examination of the present composition as offering “a fresh perspective on the topic of wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls” (Bakker 2023, 1).

How do we begin to consider other modes of discourse when wisdom continues to operate as the central paradigm for discussions relating to the present composition? One important aspect of its on-going influence lies in the collective trust placed on the early editors who were responsible for identifying and categorising new textual discoveries in and around Khirbet Qumran, and especially those found in Cave 4. But what were the main factors involved in this process, and how have they impacted contemporary discussions of the discovered texts? In Chapter 2, this study takes a deeper look at the process behind the reconstruction of compositions that were identified as wisdom (or sapiential) by the early editors to trace the origins of the textual identity assigned to the present composition.

Chapter 2. 4QInstruction: The Making of a Wisdom Text

In order to evaluate the textual identity of the present composition, we must first try to understand the context in which this identity was first conceived. This means investigating the early history of Scrolls research and examining the variables that led to the identification, reconstruction, and presentation of the discovered materials. But who were the first to work on the Scrolls, how did they work, and—most importantly for the purposes of this study—in what ways did their approach for deciphering and grouping fragments influence how many of the Scrolls are characterised and discussed by contemporary researchers?[35]

2.1. Scrolls Team, Assemble!

Throughout the 1950s, a team was recruited to take on the task of cleaning, deciphering, and identifying connections between the many thousands of fragments that were steadily being gathered in the Palestine Archaeology Museum (PAM).[36] After a period of recruitment headed by Gerald Lankester Harding and Roland de Vaux, the Scrolls Team consisted of the following members (appearing in the order in which they joined according to Weston Fields 2009, 193–229): Frank M. Cross (1953), Józef T. Milik (1953),[37] John M.

[35] I am grateful to Stephen Reed—the primary cataloguer for the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Centre (ABMC) between 1989–1993—for his many insightful comments about this particular period in the history of Scroll research. Reed and I had several discussions on this topic during my time at the University of Agder (Oct–Dec 2022), and his remarks have added much to the precision of the statements made in this chapter. I am also indebted to Judith Brown for kindly sharing with me several letters between John M. Allegro and other members of the Scroll Team.

[36] Now called the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum.

[37] According to Fields, though Milik had already done some work on the Cave 1 materials, it was not until later that he was formally invited to join the Scrolls Team. However, Milik was also involved in the excavation of Cave 4 before Cross arrived. Someone had to put together the first plates to be photographed from the fragments that had been purchased. Reed proposes that this responsibility likely fell to Milik (Reed,

Allegro (1953), Jean Starcky (1954), John Strugnell (1954), Claus-Hunno Hunzinger (1954), Patrick W. Skehan (1955), and Maurice Baillet (1958).[38] Harding and de Vaux had therefore succeeded in hiring a (largely Western and Christian) group of scholars educated in Semitic and biblical languages. Crucially, each member was a trained biblical scholar and so they were engrained in the paradigms and presuppositions described in Chapter 1, which will become clear as this study begins to examine their working practices.[39] These eight scholars formally worked under the supervision of Roland de Vaux. However, de Vaux was often pre-occupied with his other various roles and responsibilities, and so in practice did little to influence the daily activities of the Scrolls Team.

> When the scholar arrived in Jerusalem, he was under the authority of de Vaux as supervisor of the Cave 4 Team, but it must be remembered that de Vaux was wearing (at least!) four hats. As president of the trustees of the museum, he probably approved of the over-all plan, and in some or all cases, approved the individual choice; as director of the École biblique et Archéologique he was responsible to invite the École's two allotted scholars; as chief editor of *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*, he was at least loosely in charge of the work of the team in general; and as director of the excavation at Qumran de Vaux also made decisions about what to include and not include in DJD about the archaeology of the site (Fields 2009, 193).

In an interview between Fields and Cross on 6 February 2006, Cross provided his perspective on where de Vaux's main interests lay and explained how the Scrolls Team operated under his loose guidance.

"Allegro" paper). Moreover, Milik was responsible for creating the system of sigla for the Dead Sea Scrolls: "The entire system of *sigla* for the Dead Sea Scrolls (abbreviations, such as 1QGen= Cave 1, Qumran, Genesis) was invented by him [Milik]" (Fields 2009, 204).

[38] This group of scholars have elsewhere been referred to as the "International Team" (DJD 39:1). Fields also referred to these scholars as the "Cave 4 Team" to emphasise that the Cave 4 materials made up the bulk of their workload (Fields 2009, 191–240).

[39] Particularly the trends that had begun to emerge in the mid-twentieth century (see Chapter 1, §1.3.).

> De Vaux chose to do archaeology. He chose to publish none of the scrolls himself, although he was capable. His primary role was in acquiring manuscripts. Distribution of materials emerged out of the consensus of the team, but only with the blessing of de Vaux. He would only rarely visit us, usually just for a good time. And we went down and visited him on the dig (Fields 2009, 546).

With de Vaux adopting a more passive role as supervisor, it fell to the members of the Scrolls Team to decide among themselves how to divide the fragments.

2.2. Deciphering and Distributing Fragments

Before the fragments could be divided among the Scrolls Team, they first needed to be cleaned, read, and identified. Cross's version of events as told in an interview with Fields gives the impression that this work was carried out equally among the members, and that the distribution of fragments occurred in accordance with the interests of the scholar.

> Initially we all worked on all materials, only specializing when the team had to split up. We searched out and identified particularly manuscripts which interested us, but also we all contributed to the plates of manuscripts belonging to others. Often we passed over whole manuscripts to others. I got rid of the so-called Pentateuchal paraphrases as soon as Strugnell agreed to take them. The lots remained somewhat fluid until 1956. Three hundred thirty manuscripts had been identified, on 420 glass plates. Eighty plates of unidentified fragments remained. The more difficult or esoteric materials were distributed to scholars who could remain all year in the scrollery; Milik, Starcky, and Strugnell. Allegro had a small lot, mostly pesharim (Fields 2009, 232).

Though the materials were "fluid" in the sense that members of the Scrolls Team were not in the beginning assigned to work on manuscripts that could be associated with a specific

literary category, there were certainly manuscripts that were regarded as "belonging" to a scholar before 1956. References to manuscripts and their "owners" can be found in a letter from Strugnell to Allegro dated 13 December 1955. Not only does this letter provide information about the kind of manuscripts Allegro worked on in 1955, but it also gives a sense of the camaraderie that was felt among the members of the Scrolls Team who seemed eager to encourage and assist one another with their respective projects.

> Dear John. The main news that you will be waiting for concerns, of course, the new purchase. Last Friday Harding bought £3000 of 4Q for the Vatican including some very nice pieces. Everyone of them was a large piece, there were no isolated small fragments, and most were in a good state of preservation: within an afternoon, moreover, every piece was identified and assigned to its owner. Within a week the photographs will be ready, and the pictures belonging to you will be sent to you. There are 2 or 3 largeish pieces of Is. Peš, one of your genesis-exodus paraphrase, and one of your wisdom works – the one that starts sentences regularly with אישׁ. There is also one piece of your Is Peš that at the moment we are photographing as it is, somewhat badly damaged, in that the top and bottom of the leather often part company: if you want, Milik and I will repair it for you, gluing it together and then cleaning it, and then send you a legible photograph – you will get at the moment a photograph of it as it is: but that depends on how you succeed in getting time to come out here, as Pat was mentioning that you were wanting – if that will be soon, we can leave it for you.[40]

However, while there was certainly a co-operative spirit within the Scrolls Team, there was also a hierarchy of sorts among the members which influenced the way fragments were assigned. At the top was Milik, who had already worked on the Cave 1 materials

[40] Extracts from personal letters between John Allegro and other members of the Scrolls Team are reproduced by permission of the Allegro Estate.

before the Scrolls Team was formed. Fields comments, "of the members of the Cave 4 Team, Milik is usually singled out by his colleagues and others as the giant, the one who had a special talent for matching pieces among the thousands and thousands of fragments the team worked on" (Fields 2009, 206). As the most established member of the Scrolls Team, Milik appeared to have his pick of the fragments, which was sometimes joked about in letters between Strugnell and Allegro.

> Strugnell to Allegro, 3 January 1956: "As soon as he [Milik] sees anything he likes, he says, 'Ah, Mysteries' (a) or (b) or anything up to (p)... and then it is gone."
>
> Strugnell to Allegro, "undated, but after 21 February 1956": "I enclose also one photograph of something probably yours, but which I forgot to put in the last order because Milik was considering incorporating it into his octopus-like Book of Mysteries."

Then there was Baillet, who was the last among the eight to join the Scrolls Team and was assigned a portion of Starcky's material, as well as many smaller fragments from other caves. This was not, according to Baillet, the kind of task that was taken on according to his interests. Rather, Baillet bemoaned his responsibility over the smaller fragments.

> During 1959, when the sorting and distribution of the most attractive pieces of Cave 4 was being completed, we found ourselves in the presence of a whole mass of papyrus fragments that were too uninteresting and, as such, had not found an admirer. Decidedly convinced that I liked small pieces, a member of the team proposed to de Vaux that he allocate them to me. After a cursory examination, I thought I should—and could— refuse. It was a bad idea. Terrified by the wrath that fell upon me, I had to resign myself. With a heavy heart, I set to work in the middle of this mess. There were 1659 fragments, 398 of which had a

> reverse side, making 2057 pieces of text. Thank God many of them were so insignificant that it was better to discard them (DJD 7:xi).[41]

The fragments were therefore allocated partly in alignment with the individual interests of each scholar, but also according to the pecking order that was established among the members. Still, before fragments could be formally divided among the team, they first needed to be identified and, where possible, joined. This process of sorting and grouping fragments involved several factors, such as analysing the materiality of the fragments; their script, ink, quality of leather, or by discovering joins which permitted them to be fitted together by their edges (Benoit 1956b, 80). In addition—and significant for this study—members of the Scrolls Team also looked for affinities in the language or subject matter of the fragments, which Strugnell explained in an interview with Fields.

> The first thing is always to identify the hand [scribe]... Then, once you did this, then you had to play a little jigsaw puzzle, but you knew that nine-tenths of the puzzle were missing... You try to do that as much as you can, but [just] as much, you try to recognize the nature of the text, what sort of words... you have: is this a piece of law or is it a piece of prayer addressed to God and so on. And this tells you all the fragments written in one hand... seem all to be part of a narrative, say, or half of them seem to be narrative and the other half could be narrative, or they could be hymnic, prayer, legal, and so on. So you have a hypothesis, then, about the nature of all the fragments written in a given... hand... What you do next is

[41] "Dans le courant de l'année 1959, alors que s'achevaient le triage et la répartition des morceaux les plus attrayants de la grotte 4, on se trouva en présence de toute une masse de fragments de papyrus trop peu intéressants et qui, à ce titre, n'avaient pas trouvé d'amateur. Décidément persuade que j'aimais les petits morceaux, un membre de l'équipe proposa au P. de Vaux de me les attribuer. Après un examen sommaire, je crus devoir—et pouvoir—refuser. Mal m'en prit. Terrassé par les foudres qui s'abattirent sur moi, je dus me résigner. La mort dans l'âme, je me mis au travail au milieu de ce fatras. On y dénombrait 1659 fragments dont 398 comportaient un verso, ce qui faisait 2057 débris de textes. Dieu merci, nombre d'entre eux étaient si insignifiants qu'il valait mieux les écarter."

> you look at the words and see the sort of repertoire or phrases and the like that you expect in such a legal work or a hymnic work: do any patterns begin to emerge? (Fields 2009, 235).[42]

Significant in Strugnell's remarks is his allusion to the criterion of discerning certain words or forms that were reminiscent of the language associated with a known biblical genre. Although the members of the Scrolls Team did not yet know what type(s) of literature they had in their possession, it appears they assumed early on that the discovered materials would accord with the categories of literature known from the biblical texts. Editors Jean-Dominique Barthélemy and Milik also remarked on the importance of determining the genre of a fragmentary text as part of the reconstructive process in DJD 1, commenting that "the largest number of fragments had to be classified according to purely empirical criteria; based on the literary genre or certain allusions that were thought to be found in some scantly preserved snippets of texts" (DJD 1:43).[43] In addition, Pierre Benoit made a similar remark in his 1956 report on "Editing the Manuscript Fragments from Qumran."[44]

> When biblical books are involved identification and placement is relatively easy; it is a wholly different matter when one is dealing with non-biblical documents for which there may be no good concordance, or which may be known only partially, either indirectly through versions, or solely by title, if they are not totally unknown! It is then that the scholar must be able to bring to bear a great familiarity with this *genre* of literature, as well as an intuitive 'flair'... and a great deal of patience! (1956b, 80; emphasis original).

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[42] Fields' endnote 117: "Strugnell, interview. Slightly corrected and smoothed out" (2009, 546).

[43] Enfin le plus grand nombre des fragments a dû être classé selon des critères purement empiriques, en se basant sur le genre littéraire ou certaines allusions que l'on a cru déceler dans cer misérables bribes de textes (DJD 1:43). Translations from French to English are my own.

[44] Benoit's report (cited here in English) was published in *The Biblical Archologist* in December 1956. This report is a translation of the original report published in French in *Revue Biblique,* January 1956 (see Benoit 1956a and 1956b in bibliography).

Guided by their understanding of the biblical genres, the Scrolls Team gradually worked through and sorted the fragments into clusters that corresponded with these generic categories. After most of the fragments had been gathered according to their supposed literary genre, they were eventually distributed among the members, which is described by Allegro of his 1959 book, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*:

> The division of work has been roughly that the two American scholars, Dr Frank Cross and Father Patrick Skehan, have taken the biblical section, in all the remains of about a hundred different manuscripts, Father Jean Starcky the Aramaic works, Dr Claus Hunzinger the copies of the war scroll and some papyrus manuscripts, Father Milik the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical works, the Manual [of Discipline][45] and Damascus Document manuscripts, and other sectarian works, Mr John Strugnell the hymn scrolls and other non-biblical works, and myself the Biblical commentaries and some wisdom literature... The material from other caves has been put in the care of Father Maurice Baillet of France (Allegro 1959, 42–43).

Though Allegro claimed he was assigned to work on fragments that had been classified as wisdom literature, it should be noted that not all the works that are today regarded as wisdom literature were under his care in the 1950s and 1960s. Most notably, Strugnell reported in 1956 that he was at the time working on a "*sapiential work*"[46] made up of multiple manuscript copies. This "sapiential work" would later be reconstructed into the text of the present composition.

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[45] The Manual of Discipline was the original named designated for the work now commonly known as "The Community Rules" (1QS).

[46] Allegro tends to use the word "wisdom" when referring to his fragments, while Strugnell (perhaps following Milik) prefers to use the word "sapiential." There does not appear to be any semantic difference between the use of these terms by members of the Scrolls Team.

> The text of the *sapiential work* known as 4Q26 [*sic* 1Q26][47] is likewise enlarged to a considerable extent by the fragments of a MS from 4Q. In addition, it may well be identical with a work represented by four MSS; the largest of these occupies 7 plates and thus is probably the most extensively preserved non-biblical MS from 4Q; nevertheless, the identity of the group with 1Q26 is still only a possibility. The text has certain peculiarities of vocabulary and doctrine which suggest that we may have here a sapiential work composed by the Qumran sect suitable to aid us in reconstructing its moral theology (Strugnell 1956b, 93; emphasis original).

Strugnell also referred in his report to "four or five other *sapiential* MSS" that were assigned to him in the early years, though he claimed that the scarcity of their remains did not permit him to provide names or sigla for them at the time of writing (Strugnell 1956b, 93; emphasis original). With regards to discovering which editors worked on the manuscripts of the present composition, Strugnell provided some explanation about the history of research on these manuscripts in the Preface to DJD 34.

> At an early stage some reasonably large fragments of 4Q418 were grouped together by J. T. Milik and F. M. Cross, and were characterized by them as sapiential and nonbiblical. J. M. Allegro did likewise for some of the fragments of 4Q416. At the commencement of my participation in the work in September 1954, Milik, who had made a start at grouping some of the small pieces of 4Q418 with the larger ones, suggested I take over the edition of these manuscripts, and I gradually began to associate the text of 4Q418 with other groups of fragments. 4Q416 formed part of J. M. Allegro's allotment at the time but its nature was still not very clear, since the large and clearly sapiential fragment of it (4Q416 2) had not at that time been purchased. The small, though easily identifiable, fragments of the opisthographic

[47] This appears to be a typo for 1Q26. See Strugnell's report in the earlier French version of this paper, where in which he provided the correct siglum (Strugnell 1956a, 64).

> manuscript 4Q415 (i.e. a manuscript inscribed also on the *verso*) seemed to be related in subject matter and script to 4Q418 and its congeners, but they contributed little to an understanding of the work. Later purchases brought in not only 4Q416 2 but also the more substantial frgs. 1 and 2 of 4Q417. The process of identifying smaller fragments by their handwriting continued throughout. A few years later 4Q418 81 was purchased, and that established on formal, lexical, and textual grounds the fact that 1Q26 and its parallel text 4Q423 clearly belonged also to the corpus of manuscripts of 4Q415 ff. (DJD 34:xiii).

In addition to the personal testimonies and letter correspondences from members of the Scrolls Team, there are also several handwritten labels observable in photographs taken by Najib Anton Albina between 1953 and 1960 that contain the words "Wisdom" or "Sapiential" (or some abbreviated form of these terms) alongside certain fragments. These labels provide us with deeper insight into the working patterns of the Scrolls Team and further attest to the influence of the biblical categories of literature. In the following section, this study will examine the use of wisdom labels in these early PAM images.

2.3. Wisdom Labels in PAM Images

Consideration of handwritten labels created by members of the Scrolls Team is a topic that has received little scholarly attention. Stephen Reed's 1994 *Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue* provides some clarity with regards to the manuscripts and their corresponding PAM numbers, as well as useful information concerning the initial sigla assigned to certain manuscripts. Reed also examined some of Allegro's early labelling practices in his paper, "John Marco Allegro's Preparation of Cave 4 Documents for Publication," which he presented at the *Dead Sea Scrolls as a Scholarly Phenomenon* conference at the University

of Agder, Norway, 12–14 December 2022.[48] However, there is currently no study which provides an analysis of the handwritten labels observable in some of the PAM images.[49] Yet these labels shed light on the formation of the names and generic categories that continue to influence our understanding of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Before examining this material, this study will provide an explanation about the method for assessing labels, as well as some comments about the types of labels one encounters and the kinds of challenges one faces when attempting to analyse this type of material.

Concerning methodology, this study examines the labels first according to the scholar who wrote them (or, in uncertain cases, according to the scholar who most likely wrote them), and then according to the chronology of the photographs as recorded in the photographer's logbook in the *Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche* (Pfann 1993, 73–95), which is cross-referenced with information reported on the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library website (LLDSSDL).[50] Since Allegro was the first to use the wisdom label (and since he was by far the most prolific and consistent user of the label), this study begins by examining his labels, followed by Strugnell and finally Milik's labels. The author of a label is identified by considering one or more of the following factors. In the clearest cases, some labels display the name or initials of the scholar who wrote them, making it easy to determine the author. For example, most of Allegro's labels are signed with his initials "JMA", and Strugnell sometimes marked his labels with a preliminary sigla (e.g., "SL60",

[48] I am grateful to Reed for kindly sharing with me a version of his presented paper.

[49] Eibert Tigchelaar has considered PAM images and discussed the process of assembling manuscripts relating to 4Q184 (Tigchelaar 2010). Ingunn Aadland has analysed PAM images relating to 4Q185 in her unpublished dissertation (Aadland 2016, 34–38). However, neither study gives much attention to handwritten labels observable in some PAM images.

[50] In this chapter, instances where LLDSSDL deviates from the photographer's logbook are recorded in the footnotes.

"SL61").[51] In cases where no names or initials are provided, one can try to identify the fragments on the plate and see if they correspond with a group of fragments that were assigned to a member of the Scrolls Team. Connections between fragments and scholars can sometimes be identified by cross-referencing manuscripts with their authors in publications (either in DJD or independent journals). One can also try to match the handwriting to the scholar, which can sometimes be determined by comparing labels where the author is known next to labels where the author is uncertain. The subject entries in the photographer's logbook also provides useful information about which batch of photographs corresponds with material assigned to a specific editor. Yet despite these important clues, there remains some margin for human error which will be noted throughout the analysis.

Concerning the types of labels and challenges that one encounters, there are several that, for ease of understanding, can be broken down into the following categories.

- *Blank* or *faded labels.* These are labels that have either been placed on a plate and left blank (e.g., 41.307; 41.323) or written so faintly that it is difficult to make out the words (e.g., bottom label in 41.306; 41.585).[52]
- *Poorly written labels.* These include cases where the handwriting is visible, but it is either partially or almost completely unintelligible (e.g., 42.269).
- *Cryptic labels.* These labels are written in a style that may have been clear to members of the Scrolls Team, or perhaps only to the scholar who wrote them (e.g., 41.908 "? ψ+ Rubric";[53] 42.046: "?10313").

[51] Tov remarked on early sigla used by members of the Scrolls Team: C = Cross; M = Milik; SL = Strugnell; Sn = Skehan; Sy = Starcky; Ul = Ulrich" (Tov 1992, 101).

[52] Most of the labels were written in pencil, which is unfortunate for the aims of this study.

[53] The Greek letter ψ was used to indicate that a fragment may be connected to a known biblical Psalm.

- *Conflicting labels.* These are cases where similar labels have been used to refer to different fragments or manuscripts (e.g., "4QWisd[a]" in 41.815, 42.621, 43.432, "Wis A" and "Wis[a]" in 41.894, and "Wisdom[a]" in 42.556).
- *Imprecise labels.* This refers to instances where it is not clear what fragment(s) the label is referring to (e.g., 41.866).
- *Compromised labels.* These are labels that were (either partially or fully) covered or obscured in some way, either because the label had been folded over (e.g., 42.813), torn off or cropped out of the photo (e.g., 42.034), or because another label had been placed on top of an earlier label (e.g., 43.479; 43.480; 43.481; 43.483; 43.484; 43.487; 43.488).[54]
- *Unrelated labels.* This refers to labels that were placed (perhaps mistakenly) on the same plate as fragments that do not correspond with the label in any obvious way. This is sometimes made clear when a label is placed in an awkward position, such as on its side or upside down (e.g., 41.819).

Finally, there are other details worth explaining about the kind of information one might find on a label. For instance, a label may sometimes include a place name (e.g., 42.556 contains the word "Heidelberg;" see §2.3.2.6.). According to de Vaux (with some notes of clarity added by Fields), these place names referred to institutions that donated money to support the purchase of fragments, with the promise that some fragments would one day be delivered to these institutions.

> Upon Mr. G. L. Harding's recommendation, the [Jordanian] government authorized foreign institutions to purchase fragments which remained in the hands of Bedouin and antiquities dealers, through the agency of the Director of Antiquities, provided that the fragments

[54] All cited photographs from PAM 43.479 onwards were reportedly taken May 1960.

> remained together at the Palestine Archaeological Museum while preparatory work was being done toward publication. Each institution was eventually to receive a quantity of fragments, not the actual mixed-up, disassociated ones its money had bought, but a batch of associated fragments equal in quantity to the amount for which money had been spent. These fragments were classified according to the manuscripts to which they belonged. [Until today some tags remain on Cave 4 plates of fragments identifying which donor would eventually receive them].[55] The institutions participating in this rescue, in the (chronological) order of the donation of their financial support are: McGill University, Montreal; the Vatican Library; Manchester University; Heidelberg University; and McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago (DJD 6:4; translation by Davina Eisenberg and Fields).

Therefore, when a place name is visible in a photograph, one can reasonably assume that the fragments on the plate were at the time intended to be delivered to that institution.[56]

Some plates contain fragments that are found to be tagged with single numbers in sequence. These numbers referred to layers of "wads," which are layers of fragments that had become stuck together while deteriorating, resulting "in a pile of fragments stemming from the same area of a scroll" (Ben-Dov, Gayer, and Ratzon 2022, 63). The most detailed example of a wad numbered in this way among the PAM images is 40.511, which contains

[55] This parenthesis is included by Fields in his *Full History* (2009, 142).

[56] De Vaux, however, continued: "Finally [5 August 1961], the Jordanian government saw these manuscripts as belonging to its national heritage and thought that they should stay in the country. It decreed that all manuscripts found in the region of the Dead Sea belonged to the State, and the State had to repay the institutions which had procured the funds necessary for their purchase" (DJD 6:4–5; trans. Eisenberg and Fields; notes of clarity added by Fields [2009, 143]). As a result, initial promises to deliver fragments to donors were, in most cases, never honoured. Baillet in DJD 7 wrote a brief note of gratitude on behalf of the Scrolls Team and included the full list of benefactors in thanks of their generosity (see DJD 7:ix).

fragments of a wad from 1Q22. There are twelve fragments in total on the plate, each numbered 1–12, with number 1 being used to refer to the base of the wad.[57]

Labels citing biblical passages can be found attached to specific fragments, although this does not necessarily mean that the text was thought to be biblical. In most cases, these fragments were found to be related to compositions that were later identified as "Non-Biblical." For example, the label "Dt 24/14" (plus some *poorly written/*possibly *cryptic* words) can be found placed next to a fragment that was later identified as 4Q418 frg. 146.

Finally, because each scholar had their own personal system for labelling materials, there are some cases where the language used to refer to fragments and manuscripts is inconsistent. For instance, Allegro exclusively used an abbreviation of the word "Wisdom" in his labels (4QWisd^{a}, 4QWisd^{b}, etc.), while other scholars referred to reconstructed manuscripts as "Sapiential," either in their handwritten labels, formal publications, or informal letter correspondences with one another. De Vaux, for example, in a letter to Allegro dated 9 January 1963, referred to Allegro's manuscripts as "Sap b/Sap c/Sap d", even though earlier photographs show that Allegro had already labelled them as "4QWisd^{b}/4QWisd^{c}/4QWisd^{d}".[58] This inconsistency perhaps simply comes down to a preference of language. De Vaux in his letter uses the abbreviation "Sap" in much the same way Milik referred to certain manuscripts as "Sap (A/B/C)" in his labels. On the other hand, Allegro preferred to use an abbreviation of the "Wisdom", while Strugnell switches between using abbreviations of "Wisdom" and "Sapiential" in his labels (e.g., 41.907: "Wisd^{e} I"; 41.997: "4Q Misc Sap"; 42.556: "Wisdom^{a}"). However, when it came to publications, Strugnell appears to have preferred to refer to possible new wisdom

[57] For further information on 1Q22, see DJD 1:91–97.

[58] Letter from de Vaux to Allegro, 9 January 1963, with notations added by Allegro.

compositions as “Sapiential”,[59] and he would eventually assign preliminary names “Sap. Work” (A, B, etc.) to several of these manuscripts. Strugnell also had a close working relationship with Milik, which may have influenced his way of referring to certain manuscripts (one label displays the names of Milik and Strugnell, with Milik’s name written in main and Strugnell’s in superscript, see 42.511). There does not appear to be any semantic difference between the way early editors used the terms “Wisdom” and “Sapiential” in their labels.

The information provided above about the handwritten labels is not exhaustive. However, it demonstrates some of the difficulties involved in this type of research before moving onto this study’s preliminary analysis of these labels.

2.3.1. Allegro’s Wisdom Labels

In Judith Brown’s biography of her Father, John Marco Allegro, she quotes from a letter from Allegro to Joan (his wife) dated 8 July 1954, which reads: “By mid-July, my fragments are now at the stage of being laid out and pinned onto their glass plates, neatly labeled, for photographing” (Brown 2005, 50). Allegro had by far the most sophisticated system for grouping and labelling clusters of fragments that he identified as possible new wisdom compositions. The table below provides a summary of the information found in Allegro’s wisdom labels.

[59] See Strugnell’s report in English and French (Strugnell 1956a 92–94 1956b, 64–66). Additionally, see Strugnell’s lengthy “Notes en Marge,” written entirely in French (Strugnell 1970, 163–276).

Wisdom Label	Numbering	Roman Numerals (Plate Numbers?)	Initial Sigla	Current Sigla
4QWisd[a]	14 (Jan 1955); 114 (July 1958)	XXVI (Apr 1960)	4Qa 23	4Q184
4QWisd[b]	17 (Jan 1955 & July 1958)	--	4Qa 19	4Q424 (4Q180?)
4QWisd[c]	31 (Jan 1955)	XXVIII (Apr 1960)	4Qa 20	4Q181
4QWisd[d]	19 (Jan 1955); 119 (Apr 1960)	XXVII (Apr 1960)	4Qa 21	4Q185
4QWisd[e]	32 (Jan 1955)	--	--	--

Table 2.1. Allegro's Wisdom Labels

The first column refers to wisdom labels used by Allegro. It is noteworthy that Allegro does not mention his labels in DJD 5 or any other of his publications on these manuscripts. However, some of the preliminary names proposed for several of these manuscripts demonstrate that many of these manuscripts were regarded by Allegro at a very early stage as potential new wisdom compositions. For example, with regards to 4Q184 (4QWisd[a]), this manuscript was first formally named by Allegro in his 1964 article, "'Wiles of the Wicked Woman,' a Sapiential Work from Qumran's Fourth Cave" (although it is left unnamed in DJD 5). Intriguingly, even before this article was published, Allegro (perhaps jokingly) used another name for this manuscript, which Strugnell mentions in a letter sent to Allegro on 13 December 1955: "Wisdom of the Naughty Lady."

> Incidentally I will include with the photographs also a photo of a piece that was smuggled into America: unfortunately it is not a life-size photograph but somewhat enlarged – however there is a scale with it: I think that, if one reduces it to life-size, it probably goes

> with your "*Wisdom of the Naughty Lady":* it is more like that than any other work, but of course you have the option of refusing it: even if reduced, the writing may prove too big.[60]

In addition, the manuscript 4Q185 (4QWisd[d]) is also unnamed in DJD 5. However, in an early "List of MSS from 4Q edited by J. M. Allegro," one can see that Allegro referred to this manuscript as "The Teaching of 'One Who Knows'",[61] again underlining the perceived sapiential characteristics of the text. There is some uncertainty regarding which manuscript was associated with the label 4QWisd[b], which will be examined in §2.3.1.8. The label 4QWisd[c] was used when referring to the manuscript 4Q181 (and later occurring together with the preliminary sigla "4Qa 20" in PAM images taken during and after 1958). 4Q181 is not named in DJD 5 or other known lists, and Milik would later claim that 4Q181 represented another manuscript copy of 4Q180 (Milik 1976, 251).[62] Finally, Allegro's use of the label 4QWisd[e] in PAM 41.809 is something of an anomaly that will be discussed in §2.3.1.5.

Concerning the numbers in the second column, according to Reed in his recent conference paper, Allegro was the first to arrange his manuscripts in sequence with a number for each text. Initially there is a list (from 1–32). However, it is not clear why Allegro numbered the texts in this way. His arrangement does not fit the later order of the publication of these fragments, and they do not correspond with the plate numbers in DJD 5. Also curious is that Allegro began numbering his manuscripts from 1–32, and he later added 100 to most (though not all) of these numbers. Concerning the Roman numerals in the third column, it is possible that these referred to the plates upon which fragments

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[60] Emphasis added. Extracts from personal letters between John Allegro and other members of the Scrolls Team are reproduced by permission of the Allegro Estate.

[61] Information courtesy of the Allegro Estate.

[62] For further discussion concerning connections between 4Q180 and 4Q181, see §2.3.1.8. below.

were placed. It is clear, for example, in DJD 5 (and in Allegro's earlier "List of MSS from 4Q") that Allegro used in Roman numerals for the plate numbers. However, the labels displaying Roman numerals in the PAM images do not match with the Roman numerals that appear in DJD 5 or other known lists.

2.3.1.1. PAM 41.306: "4QWisd[om](?)" (October 1954)

This PAM image contains the first observable use of a Wisdom Label. The plate itself is divided into two halves by two labels, one *blank* and one *faded*. The top half contains fragments of 4Q424 (frgs. 1, 2, and 4), as well as small fragments of 4Q27. The bottom half contains fragments of 4Q416 (frgs. 2 and 4), and again some small fragments of 4Q27 (Reed 1994, 314). The label separating the top half is completely blank, and the label at the bottom appears to contain the letters "4QWisd[om]", although the writing is severely faded. This photograph is one of a series of photographs that contained material that Allegro would later publish (41.303 to 41.323 or 41.324).[63] One intriguing feature from this PAM image is the presence of a portion of 4Q416 frg. 2. In Strugnell's summary of the history of research behind the publication of DJD 34, he commented that the "clearly sapiential fragment (4Q416 2) had not at the time been purchased" at a time when Allegro was working on fragments of 4Q416 (DJD 34:xiii). However, this is not strictly true. The present photograph contains a portion of what would eventually be identified as 4Q416 frg. 2 cols. i– ii, which was eventually joined with the larger fragments of 4Q416 frg. 2 cols. i–iv after they were purchased. Thus, at least *some* pieces of 4Q416 2 had been acquired at this time.

[63] Information from Reed's conference paper on "Allegro's Preparation of Cave 4 Documents," University of Agder, Norway, 12 –14 Dec 2022.

Concerning the author of the label, Strugnell's account of events in DJD 34 confirms that Allegro worked on fragments of 4Q416. In fact, this photograph dates back to a time before Strugnell had even joined the team. One can therefore reasonably deduce that this Wisdom Label was created by Allegro.

2.3.1.2. PAM 41.711: "4QWisd 19 JMA" (June 1955)[64]

This PAM image contains fragments of 4Q185 (frgs. 1 and 2), as well as some smaller fragments of 4Q8 (Reed 1994, 328). Allegro here used the Wisdom Label, "4QWisd". However, as will be clear from subsequent PAM images (some of which are reported taken in the same month and year on LLDSSDL), Allegro more consistently referred to fragments of 4Q185 as "4QWisd^{d}".

2.3.1.3. PAM 41.795: "4QWisd^{d} 19 JMA" (August 1955)[65]

This PAM images contains only 4Q185 frg. 1 and is the first of a series of photographs where the Wisdom Label, "4QWisd^{d}", is used in reference to fragments of 4Q185 (Reed 1994, 330).

2.3.1.4. PAM 41.798: "4QWisd^{d} (app) 19 JMA" (January 1955)

This PAM image contains fragments of 4Q8, 4Q9, 4Q50, 4Q185, and 4Q419 (Reed 1994, 330).[66] Though there are fragments from multiple different manuscripts on the plate, one

[64] LLDSSDL date: January 1955.

[65] LLDSSDL date: January 1955.

[66] Incidentally, 4Q185 frg. 5 (third fragment from the bottom on the far-right of the plate in PAM 41.798) is also elsewhere attributed to 4Q419 frg. 11 (see PAM 43.534 dated June 1960). The fragment is treated as

can be relatively certain that this Wisdom Label was used by Allegro with reference to fragments of 4Q185 (as he does elsewhere in PAM images containing these fragments). The clue here is Allegro's inclusion of the note "(app)". The meaning behind this abbreviation is clarified in correspondences between Allegro and Strugnell. The first letter comes from Strugnell and is dated 22 November 1959.

> Dear John. Today I had the occasion to look at your plate of fragments of Wisd[d], thinking that one of my fragments might belong to that work. It didn't but my eyes popped out at the number of fgs on that plate which themselves belong to 4 fragments join [sic] to other biblical MSS.

Strugnell continued by detailing the fragments that joined with the biblical manuscripts, to which Allegro responded with another letter dated 29 November 1959.

> Dear John, Thanks for your letter; I am so glad to hear that you have managed to find homes for all those horrible little pieces. I think you must have already mentioned the Genesis tag before, however, since I have it so marked in my i/r pix. Please do keep an eye on all those plates of mine – particularly the "appendix" type, where there is a good deal that is not mine. If you like, put them into the unidentified batch, so that they will be constantly under everyone's eye.

From this exchange, one can infer that when "app" is present on a label, it must have been used by Allegro to refer to a specific fragment (or group of fragments) on a plate containing other fragments that were unrelated to the label. In this case, the Wisdom Label was clearly used with reference to fragments of 4Q185.[67]

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both 4Q185 frg. 5 and 4Q419 frg. 11 in separate volumes in the DJD series (DJD 5:87 and DJD 36:332). For more examples of "Migrating Fragments," see Reed (forthcoming).

[67] However, sometimes it is not always obvious what fragment(s) is(/are) associated with the label.

2.3.1.5. PAM 41.809: "4QWisd[e] 32 JMA" (September 1955)[68]

This PAM image contains fragments from various manuscripts,[69] several of which were published by Allegro in DJD 5 (4Q161, 4Q167, 4Q172). Intriguingly, there are no fragments on the plate connected to any accepted (or partially accepted) Wisdom Texts by contemporary scholars. This begs the question why did Allegro use the Wisdom Label "4QWisd[e]" for the fragments on this plate? There are two possible explanations. First, Allegro was perhaps attempting to reconstruct part of a whole manuscript, which is evidenced by the way the fragments are arranged on the plate. The top-right fragment, for example, has a large margin before the writing begins, indicating that Allegro may have suspected this was the beginning of the manuscript. The handwriting of the fragments is also similar. One might therefore surmise that "4QWisd[e]" was used to refer to a failed attempt at reconstructing a manuscript. Another possible explanation relates to the appearance of a similar Wisdom Label used by Strugnell in PAM 41.907 which reads, "Wisd[e] I" attached to two fragments of 4Q418 (167a and 167b). This possibility will be further explored in §2.3.2.4.

2.3.1.6. PAM 41.815: "4QWisd[a] 14 JMA" (September 1955)[70]

This PAM image contains fragments of 4Q184 (Reed 1994, 331). It is the first of three appearances of the Wisdom Label "4QWisd[a]". In all cases, Allegro's label refers to fragments of 4Q184 (see 42.621 and 43.432). Strugnell would also use a similar Wisdom Label in other PAM images (e.g., "Wis A" and "Wis[a]," in PAM 41.894 and "Wisdom[a]" in

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[68] LLDSSDL date: June 2005.

[69] 4Q161; 4Q167; 4Q172; 4Q215; 4Q534 (Reed 1994, 330). LLDSSDL also includes 4Q525, although I cannot identify any fragment of 4Q525 on the plate.

[70] LLDSSDL date: January 1955.

42.556). However, these Wisdom Labels do not correspond in any way with Allegro's use of 4QWisd[a].

2.3.1.7. PAM 41.818: "4QWisd[c] 31 JMA" (September 1955)[71]

This PAM image contains fragments of 4Q181 (Reed 1994, 331). The use of the Wisdom Label "4QWisd[c]" is consistently found in later photographs containing fragments of 4Q181 (43.346 and 43.421).

2.3.1.8. PAM 41.819: "4QWisd[b] 17 JMA" (September 1955)[72]

This PAM image contains fragments of 4Q180 (Reed 1994, 331). However, in later photographs, one can see that a different label was used for fragments of 4Q180. For example, PAM 42.624 (dated July 1958) contains two labels placed one above the other that are used in reference to fragments of 4Q180. The top label reads: "4Qa15", and the bottom label reads, "4Q pAzazel 30 JMA". In PAM 42.425 (dated April 1960), the information in the two labels from PAM 42.624 are combined into one label which refers again to fragments of 4Q180, "4Q pAzazel 130 (4Qa15)". The word "Azazel" refers to a figure that is mentioned in fragments of 4Q180 frg. 1 (lines 7 and 8). This seems to have been considered as a preliminary name for the manuscript by Allegro before eventually deciding on the name, "Age of Creation". In a letter received from de Vaux dated 9 January 1963—in which de Vaux enclosed a list of Allegro's manuscripts from Cave 4—one can see that Allegro made several amendments to de Vaux list in his own handwriting. This

[71] LLDSSDL date: January 1955.

[72] LLDSSDL date: January 2005.

included an instance where Allegro crossed out de Vaux's reference to "Azazel" for 4Q180 and replaced it in writing with the name, "Ages of Creation".

Also significant is that Allegro would later use the Wisdom Label "4QWisd^{b}" to refer to fragments of 4Q424. Reed's 1994 *Catalogue* includes the following detail relating to 4Q424, which can also be found in Fascicle 9 of the *Dead Sea Scrolls Inventory Project*: "Sapiential Work (formerly A19 Wisdom^{b}) CC: SL61" (Reed 1994, 112).

If the Wisdom Label 4QWisd^{b} can be so clearly identified with 4Q424 in later PAM images and publications, why then does it appear in a photograph containing fragments of 4Q180? One possible explanation is that Allegro may have been trying to indicate some connection between 4Q180 and 4Q181 by referring to them respectively as 4QWisd^{b} and 4QWisd^{c}, (it is also noteworthy that the PAM images containing these fragments are numbered in sequence: 41.818, 41.819). According to Milik, both Allegro and Strugnell eventually concluded that 4Q180 and 4Q181 could be understood as separate manuscript copies of the same composition.

> Strugnell is quite right when he suggests (with some hesitation) that 4Q180 I and 181 2 belong to the first column of the scrolls, the *incipit* of the work. He and the first editor [Allegro] naturally saw close connections linking the two manuscripts; in my opinion, we are certainly dealing with two copies of the same text, though this does not rule out possible variants (Milik 1976, 251).[73]

Yet other evidence would suggest that Allegro did not consider 4Q180 and 4Q181 to be separate copies of the same text. For example, Allegro only gave the name "Ages of Creation" to 4Q180, leaving 4Q181 unnamed in DJD 5 (see pp. 77–80). Moreover, there

[73] Contra Dimant, who argues that 4Q180 and 4Q181 are different works (2014a; 2014b).

are no PAM images that contain fragments of both 4Q180 and 4Q181, and in PAM images containing fragments of 4Q180 taken during and after 1958, the Wisdom Label "4QWisd^{b}" is never again used. In its place one finds the preliminary siglum "4Q pAzazel 30 JMA" (see PAM 42.624 and 43.425). Meanwhile, "4QWisd^{c}" is repeatedly used for 4Q181 (see 42.607, 43.346, and 43.421).

However, a second and perhaps more plausible explanation is that this is simply an example of an *unrelated label*. The label itself is placed awkwardly on its side, which is something members of the Scrolls Team often did to make clear distinctions between items on a plate.[74] It is therefore possible that the Wisdom Label was placed on this plate alongside fragments of 4Q424 either before or after fragments of 4Q180 were photographed. If this was the case, then 4QWisd^{b} was never intended to be read in connection with the fragments of 4Q180.

2.3.1.9. PAM 42.607: "4Qa 20 Wisd^{c}" (July 1958)

This PAM image contains frgs. 1 and 2 of 4Q181, as well as some smaller fragments of 4Q252 (Reed 1994, 360). The Wisdom Label "4Qa 20 Wisd^{c}" is located at the bottom-left corner of the plate and refers to the fragments of 4Q181 (as it does in other PAM images). In photographs taken during and after 1958, Allegro developed a new set of sigla which are sometimes present in later images. In this example, the siglum "4Qa 20" can be broken down accordingly. "4Q" refers to the cave, "a" refers (perhaps) to himself,[75] and "20" refers to the manuscript. In addition, there is a second label which reads, "4QPatr. Bless. 10 JMA

[74] Members of the Scrolls Team also rotated fragments to distinguish them from other fragments (e.g., 43.222, 43.425).

[75] It could also have been Allegro's attempt to distinguish between manuscripts discovered in Cave 4a and those found in Cave 4b. However, there are no PAM images containing references to "4Qb".

(App)", which is situated on the bottom of the plate underneath small fragments of 4Q252. As learned in §3.1.4, the reference to "(App)" was used here by Allegro to highlight that this label was connected to the fragments of 4Q252 and not with any other fragments on the plate.

2.3.1.10. PAM 42.611: "4QWisd[b] 17 JMA" (July 1958)

This PAM image contains all accepted fragments of 4Q424 (Reed 1994, 360). The Wisdom Label "4QWisd[b] 17 JMA" is located at the bottom-left corner of the plate and is identical in form to the Wisdom Label present in PAM 41.819, though it is not the same label (the writing is clearly different, though still Allegro's). There is also a second label on the plate located directly above the previous label, which reads "4Qa 19". Parts of this second label were later used by Strugnell to refer to fragments of 4Q424 in PAM 43.502 (dated May 1960). Strugnell's label in PAM 43.502 reads, "A19 Vat SL61". In this case, Strugnell omits the Wisdom Label "4QWisd[b]", but maintains the reference "A19", which links back to Allegro's label. He also includes "Vat" (short for "Vatican"), as well as his own reference "SL61".

2.3.1.11. PAM 42.621: "4QWisd[a] 114 JMA" (July 1958)

This PAM image contains fragments of 4Q184 and two handwritten labels (Reed 1994, 360). The first label reads "4QWisd[a] 114 JMA", which is consistent with its earlier appearance in PAM 41.815, though the plate number appears to have changed from "14" to "114." The second label reads "4Qa 23" and corresponds with Allegro's later way of numbering manuscripts.

2.3.1.12. PAM 43.346 "4Qa 20 Wisd^{c}" (April 1960)

This PAM image contains frgs. 1 and 2 of 4Q181 (Reed 1994, 376). In addition, there are two observable labels. The first is located in the top-left corner of the plate and completely blank. The second label is located in the bottom-left corner of the plate and reads "4Qa 20 Wisd^{c}". The reference "Wisd^{c}" corresponds with Allegro's Wisdom Label used for fragments of 4Q181 in PAM 42.607.

2.3.1.13. PAM 43.432: "4QWisd^{a} XXVI 114 JMA" (April 1960)

This PAM image contains fragments of 4Q184 (Reed 1994, 378). There are two labels present on this plate which are identical in form to the two labels that were used for fragments of 4Q184 in PAM 42.621. The first label is located in the top-left corner of the plate and reads, "4Qa 23". The second label is located in the bottom-left corner of the plate and reads "4QWisd^{a} XXVI 114 JMA". Intriguingly, this later photograph of 4Q184 includes two small unidentified fragments and does not include 4Q174 frg. 4. Based on Allegro's edition of this manuscript in DJD 5, it appears that Allegro used his earlier reconstruction of 4Q184 from PAM 42.621, rather than PAM 43.432 (see DJD 5:84–85). Although noteworthy is that the Roman numerals in the Wisdom Label "4QWisd^{a} XXVI 114 JMA" do not match the Roman numerals associated with 4Q184 in DJD 5 (XXVIII), and nor do they match those found in Allegro's preliminary list of manuscript numbers, names, and plates (XXIX).

2.3.1.14. PAM 43.439: "4QWisd[d] 4Qa 21 119 JMA XXVII" (April 1960)

This PAM image contains all known fragments of 4Q185 (Reed 1994, 378). The Wisdom Label, "4QWisd[d] 4Qa 21 119 JMA XXVII", includes comprehensive information about the manuscript, such as references to Wisdom ("4QWisd[d]"), Allegro's new siglum ("4Qa 21"), his updated number (change from "19" to "119"), his initials ("JMA"), and the plate number ("XXVII"). Again, however, the plate number referenced in this Wisdom Label does not correspond with the plate number in DJD 5 (XXIX), nor in Allegro's preliminary list of manuscript numbers, names, and plates (XXX, XXXI).

2.3.1.15. PAM 43.514: "4QWisd[d] 4Qa 21 119 JMA XXVII" (June 1960)

This PAM image contains all known fragments of 4Q185, as well as frgs. 1 and 2 of 4Q170 (located in the top-right corner of the plate) and four small unidentified fragments (Reed 1994, 380). The Wisdom Label "4QWisd[d] 4Qa 21 119 JMA XXVII" is identical in form and hand with the Wisdom Label that was used for fragments of 4Q185 in PAM 43.439. However, in the two months that separate these photographs, there are some notable changes to the label. First, the Wisdom Label in this PAM image has been torn and covered on the right side by a larger piece of textured paper, thus making it a (partially) *Compromised label*. Second, there appears to be new writing on the label that was then erased before this photograph was taken. The additional (now faded) notation "-2" follows immediately after the words "4Qa 21". Had the notation had not been erased, this part of the label would have read "4Qa 21-2". This additional note was perhaps a way of referring to the two additional fragments of 4Q170 on the plate that were not associated with 4Q185. Thus, it could be read in the mathematical sense: 4Qa 21 minus 2 fragments.

2.3.2. Strugnell's Wisdom Labels

Strugnell's system of labelling is notably more inconsistent than Allegro's. In the clearest cases, Strugnell included the letters "SL" to indicate that the label was his own. In most cases, however, this marker is not present. Moreover, Strugnell was inconsistent with his references to manuscripts that he was (at least partially) responsible for reconstructing. Examples include references to "Wisd b", "Wis A", "Wis[a]", "Wisd[d]", "Wisd[e] I", "Sap", and "Wisdom[a]". The lack of personal markers and general inconsistency when referencing manuscripts makes it difficult to be certain that Strugnell was responsible for the handwritten labels in this section. The best indication is often the handwriting itself. Strugnell's writing was characteristically untidy, writing mostly in cursive, while other preferred to write in print.[76]

2.3.2.1. PAM 41.761: "4Q=1Q26" (June 1955)[77]

This PAM image contains fragments of 4Q423 with the label "4Q=1Q26" situated in the top-left corner of the plate (Reed 1994, 329). Though the present label does not contain references to the words "wisdom" or "sapiential," the plate is significant because it contains information pertaining to certain manuscripts that were eventually identified as another manuscript copy of the present composition. In 1955, the manuscript 1Q26 was cited as "Un Apocryphe" ("An Apocryphal") by editors Milik and Barthélemey in DJD 1 (see p. 101). However, in 1956, Strugnell referred to this manuscript as a "*sapiential work*"

[76] Strugnell's messy handwriting is noted by Fields: "Strugnell's handwritten letters are not always easy to decipher: He does not cross half of his t's, his punctuation is erratic, he seldom dates his letters, and the lettering itself is obscure" (Fields 2009, 259).

[77] LLDSSDL date: January 1955.

that may be "enlarged to a considerable extent by the fragments of a MS from 4Q" (Strugnell 1956, 93; emphasis original). Even without knowing Strugnell's account of the reconstruction of the present composition in DJD 34, it would be possible to identify from this PAM image that the manuscript Strugnell was referring to in his report was 4Q423. Nonetheless, the citation below confirms the link between 1Q26 and 4Q423, as well as their connection to other manuscripts.

> The overlaps, which had been noted already in 1956 between 1Q26 1 and 4Q423 4 and again between 1Q26 2 and 4Q423 3, showed then that 4Q423 was another copy of 1Q26; in both of these manuscripts, it was mainly agricultural sections which seemed to have survived. A further overlap, of 4Q423 8 with 4Q418 81 (a fragment acquired only later) showed decisively that both 4Q423 and 1Q26 were, in fact, further copies of the same long sapiential work that was found in 4Q418 and consequently also in 4Q415, 4Q416, 4Q417, and 4Q418a (i.e. other copies of 4Q415ff.), that is, of '4QInstruction', a work that is far from confining itself to agricultural themes. Indeed, the contents of 1Q26 must be interpreted in the context of the varied topics treated elsewhere in 4Q415ff., a work which resembles e.g. similar sapiential collections in Proverbs and Sirach in its multifariousness (DJD 34, 535).

2.3.2.2. PAM 41.866: "Wisd b" (October 1955)

This PAM image contains various fragments that were later assigned to the manuscripts 4Q51, 4Q369, 4Q385, and 4Q525 (Reed 1994, 333).[78] Frgs. 11 and 12 of 4Q525 are located near the middle and below a label written in cursive which reads "Hodayot". The label "Wisd b" is slightly tilted and is located on the bottom-middle of the plate above three

[78] LLDSSDL includes the manuscripts 4Q427 and 4Q522.

small fragments, each containing only a few broken words.[79] Nothing on these fragments is indicative of sapiential content. One explanation for the placement of this label "Wisd b" is that the surrounding fragments might have been believed to correspond in some way with Allegro's reconstruction of 4Q424 (then labelled "4QWisd^{b}"). However, this is only conjecture.

2.3.2.3. PAM 41.894: "Wis A"; "Wis^{a}"; "Wisd^{d} Join"; "1Q26" (October 1955)[80]

This PAM image contains fragments from various manuscripts (4Q35; 4Q375; 4Q464; 4Q464a; 4Q477; 4Q507; 4Q510, and 4Q525; see Reed 1994, 335),[81] as well as several handwritten labels, some of which fall into the category of *poorly written labels*. One label located on the right side of the plate is attached to a small fragment. The label shows a question mark ("?") and some unintelligible cursive handwriting written underneath. Another label is located at the bottom near the centre and appears to have been written on multiple times by separate hands. Again, the writings are practically unreadable. To the right of this label is another that reads, "! deut 22^{17}", although it is unclear from the location of the label which fragment was believed to correspond with the label. Yet another label near the bottom-right corner of the plate reads, "7ψ Jer".

In addition, there are several more wisdom labels observable on the plate. At the top-centre of the plate are two labels placed side-by-side. The one on the left reads, "Wis A", and the one of the right reads, "Wis^{a}". It is unclear what these labels refer to. Likewise, there is another wisdom label located slightly above and to the right of the middle of the

[79] There is also another label located directly above the "Wisd b" label which reads, "MS א". It is unclear to what this *Cryptic Label* is referring.

[80] LLDSSDL date: January 1955.

[81] LLDSSDL includes fragments from the following manuscripts: 4Q364, 4Q365, 4Q389, and 4Q417.

plate which reads, “Wisd d Join”. Again, it is difficult to know what purpose this label served on this plate. It is possible that Strugnell believed one or more of the surrounding fragments could be joined in some way to the fragments of Allegro’s on-going reconstruction of the manuscript 4Q185 (which he labelled “4QWisd[d]”). However, none of the fragments on the plate can be identified with the fragments that are today associated with 4Q185. With the exception of 4Q525 frg. 23 (the large fragment located on the bottom-left corner of the plate),[82] there are no other manuscripts on the plate that can be identified as wisdom literature. There is, however, one final label on the plate that appears to correspond with a manuscript of the present composition. The label falls into the category of *Compromised labels*, since the top-left corner has been slightly torn with the effect of partially obscuring the first two letters. Nonetheless, the label appears to read, “1Q26” and it is placed directly underneath a small fragment with two visible letters: ב (or possibly מ) and ר (or possibly ד). It is possible that this label was placed underneath this fragment because the letters ב and ר were thought to have overlapped with the opening lines in 1Q26 frg. 1: יה]בֹּרז נהֿ[.

[82] The plate itself has a somewhat controversial history. In Fields’s *History*, he records an extract from a letter written by Jean Starcky to Yusef Saad on 26 April 1960, where Starcky reports the disappearance of the large fragment [Starcky’s letter to Saad]:

> Further to our conversation, I hereby confirm this morning, 26 April, I noted the disappearance of a fragment of Dead Sea Scroll from the batch whose decipherment had been entrusted to me. It appears on the photo PAM 41.894 at the bottom left corner and measures 6 x 9 centimeters. It was on my work table in the archive room of the museum between two plates of glass, and I had seen it again on Saturday, April 23. I did not work at the museum on Sunday and Monday (Fields 2009, 463).

Fields reports that the stolen fragment was a piece from Deuteronomy (4Q35, Deuteronomy[h]; see 2009, 559). However, this is incorrect. In fact, the stolen fragment was 4Q525 frg. 23. Credit for this observation goes to James Tucker, who remarked on this error in conversation with Årstein Justnes over Twitter, 25 Feb 2021.

2.3.2.4. PAM 41.907: "Wisd[e] I" (December 1955)[83]

This PAM image contains several fragments of 4Q418 (Reed 1994, 335). The label "Wisd[e] I" is found in the middle of the plate and is connected to two fragments (4Q418 frgs. 167 a+b). Eibert Tigchelaar remarked on this label in his 2001 book, "4Q418 frags. 167a and 167b are connected by this tag referring to 'Wisd[e] I' (referring to the overlap with 4Q415 11)" (Tigchelaar 2001, 6). Textual overlap between 4Q418 frgs. 167a and 167b with 4Q415 11 is shown in the underlined parts of the text in the table below.

4Q415 f11:3]לאיפה ואי[פה לעומרֹ ועומר [--	**4Q418 f167a+b:4** [--]אשר לוא [לאיפה
. ⟦ ? ⟧]	ו]איפה לעמר ועומֶ[ר --]
4Q415 f11:4[--] ל אשר לוא ביחד[-- ליפי	**4Q418 f167a+b:5** [ ] אשר לוא ביחד [--
מראיה --]	]וחֻמה ליפי מראיה [מבינים כי לפיא רוחות יתכנ
4Q415 f11:5[--] מְבִינים כי לִפְיֹא רוחות	--]
ית[כנו -- תכנתה ביחד רוחמה --]	**4Q418 f167a+b:6** [ ]תכנתה ביחד רוחמ[ה --
4Q415 f11:6 כ]ול מוֹמִיה ספר לו ובגויֹתיה	כו]ל מומיה ספר לו ובגוי[תיה הבינָהְ[ו --]
הבינָהְ[ו -- . כיא נגף]	**4Q418 f167a+b:7** [יהיה לו]כמכשול לפנָ[יו --
4Q415 f11:7 בְּאוֹ[פ]ל[ ]תְּהיה לו כמכשול לפנֵיוֹ	כי]אְ נגף באפלה והֹ[יה --]

In addition, further clarity can be provided on the numbering of these manuscripts by looking at other PAM images that deal exclusively with fragments of 4Q418 (PAM 41.904–41.909). From these PAM images, Tigchelaar further observes in PAM 41.906 the label "MS[e]2 col 1" situated next to 4Q418 236. Tigchelaar suggests this can be identified as a reference to 4Q415 based on the appearance of the term יהתחדש in both 4Q418 236 1 and 4Q415 2 i 9. The numbering of these fragments is also further elucidated by reference to another label in PAM 41.904, which reads, "=MSS A, C." located next to 4Q418 8.[84]

[83] LLDSSDL date: January 1955.

[84] Both the fragment and the label have been placed upside-down on the plate.

Tigchelaar surmises that "A" and "C" likely referred to the manuscripts 4Q416 and 4Q417, meaning that 4Q418 was probably referred to as "MS B".[85]

Tigchelaar's observations regarding 4Q415 are undoubtedly correct, meaning that the label "4QWisd^{e} I" (and "MS^{e}2 col 1" in PAM 41.906) was utilised by Strugnell to refer to the manuscript 4Q415. Tigchelaar's conjecture regarding references to MS A, B, and C are also plausible. But how do we account for the missing manuscript: "MS D"? Based on the numbering system identified from the PAM images, it seems there were five manuscripts that were thought to be copies of the present composition. This information, however, does not square well with Strugnell's report in 1956, wherein he proposed that the manuscripts 1Q26 and 4Q423 "may well be identical with a work represented by *four MSS*" (Strugnell 1956a, 93; emphasis added). Inventories published in 1992 by Stephen Reed and Emanual Tov identified these four manuscripts reported by Strugnell as 4Q416 (Sap. Work^{b}), 4Q417 (Sap. Work^{c}), 4Q418 (Sap. Work^{a}), and 4Q419 (Sap. Work^{d}) (see Reed 1992; Tov 1992, 123). The information matches Strugnell's 1985 catalogue, which formed the basis of Reed and Tov's inventories.[86] Tigchelaar later argued in his 2001 book that these inventories contained inconsistencies, and that 4Q415 (not 4Q419) was identified as the fourth manuscript of 4QInstruction by Strugnell in his report in 1956 (Tigchelaar 2001, 12–13). However—based on Strugnell's numbering of the manuscripts noted in this section, and particularly his use of the label "4QWisd^{e} I" in reference to

[85] I am grateful to Tigchelaar for kindly sharing with me these observations following our meeting at *The Dead Sea Scrolls as a Scholarly Phenomenon* conference at the University of Agder, Norway, 12–14 Dec 2022.

[86] I am again grateful to Tigchelaar for kindly sharing with me images of Strugnell's unpublished catalogue.

4Q415 in PAM 41.907—it is possible that Strugnell may have regarded 4Q415 as a *fifth* manuscript of 4QInstruction, in addition to 4Q416, 4Q417, 4Q418, and 4Q419.[87]

2.3.2.5. PAM 41.997: "4Q Misc Sap" (April 1956)

According to an (as-yet) unpublished list by Reed, this PAM image contains fragments of 4Q82, 4Q167, 4Q364, 4Q414, 4Q415, 4Q418a, 4Q421, and 4QUnid Frgs.[88] There are also several labels on this plate which require explanation. There are five labels in total and in most cases the handwriting is cursive and messy (indicative of Strugnell's hand). One exception is a label reading "JOIN" located near the top-middle of the plate and attached to a fragment with a wide margin. Further down and near the centre of the plate is a *poorly written label* which appears to read "6 Photographed 2 Destroyed". It is possible that this label refers to the eight fragments of 4Q418a which run directly below the label and across the centre of the plate. At least one of these fragments (frg. 6) has been broken into many pieces.[89] On the right side of the plate is the label "4Q Misc Sap" and underneath are more *poorly written* words that may read "small pieces under שנא כן". Many fragments on the plate correspond with manuscripts that are today associated with wisdom compositions in the Scrolls corpus (e.g., 4Q415, 4Q418a, 4Q421),[90] and so this label could well refer to any or all of these supposedly sapiential fragments.

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[87] For more on this discussion and for further evidence that 4Q419 may once have been regarded as a copy of the present composition, see Comerford (2023).

[88] I am grateful to Reed for sharing with me his updated list.

[89] For a clearer image and explanation of these eight fragments of 4Q418a, see Figure 36 in Ben-Dov, Gayer, and Ratzon's *Material and Digital Reconstruction* of 4Q418a (2022, 124).

[90] 4Q421 was initially referred to by Strugnell as "Sap. Work IV^{b}" in Fascicle 9 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Inventory Project*. Since its formal publications in DJD 20 *Sapiential Text, Part 1*, scholars have debated whether 4QWays of Righteousness (4Q420–4Q421) should be regarded as a Wisdom Text or a "rulebook". For those that support its designation as a Wisdom Text, see Elgvin (1996); Strugnell (2002, 31–60; esp.

Finally, near the bottom-left of the plate is a large label with the numbers 1–4 (and arrows pointing to the letters "a" and "b" either side of the number 2) situated to the left of another *poorly written label* which may be read "Patr. Hist" (possibly a reference to the fragments of 4Q364). It is possible that the numbered label referred to yet another "wad" that was analysed by the Scrolls Team.

2.3.2.6. PAM 42.556: "SL 4Q48, Heidelberg, Wisdom[a]" (May 1958)

This PAM image contains fragments of 4Q416 (Reed 1994, 358). The present plate reflects a development in Strugnell's use of labels. The information provided here is far more comprehensive and clearly written than in some of Strugnell's other labels. First, the present label is marked with Strugnell's signature: "SL", and the reference "4Q48" was an earlier siglum used for the manuscript before SL53, before it was eventually referred to with the siglum 4Q416 (Reed 1994, 111). The reference to "Heidelberg"—one of the institutions that donated money for the purchase of Scrolls—informs us that the fragments on this plate were intended to be delivered to the University of Heidelberg. However, it seems that a relatively sizeable fragment of 4Q416 (containing parts of frg. 2 cols. i–ii) that is present on this plate was later moved to another plate intended for McCormick Theological Seminary. PAM 43.511 (dated June 1960) displays a label at the bottom-right which reads, "4QSL48 McC Mss LIII", while PAM 43.524 (also dated June 1960) contains a smaller number of the fragments from PAM 42.556 and a label at the bottom-right which reads, "4QSL48 Hdbg LIII". Concerning Strugnell's use of "Wisdom[a]",

44–46); Goff (2007, 160–78); Kampen (2011, 284–99). For those against, see Tichelaar (1998); Hempel (2002, 277–95, esp. 283); Lange (2002, 3–30, esp. 7). 4Q420–4Q421 in the *DSSR* and DJD 39 can be found among "Texts Concerned with Religious Law" and not in "Sapiential Texts" (see *DSSR* 4 and DJD 39:132).

it is here clearly used to refer to the manuscript 4Q416. However, it is noteworthy that Strugnell's "Wisdom[a]" label does not appear to correspond with (1) his earlier use of "Wis A" and "Wis[a]" in PAM 41.894 or (2) Allegro's label "4QWisd[a]", which was used by Allegro to refer to fragments of 4Q184.

2.3.2.7. PAM 43.421: "4Qa 20 Wisd[c(?)] XXVIII" (April 1960)

The fragments in this PAM image are divided into two halves on the plate. The bottom half contains a selection of small fragments relating to the manuscripts 4Q171 (4QpPs A) and 4Q172 (4Q pUnid). Corresponding with these fragments is a label located at the bottom-left corner of the plate, which reads, "Fgts. 4Q p. Pss Hos Isa 13 IX[b]". The handwriting looks to be Allegro's. However, his usual signature "JMA" is missing. The top half of the plate contains three fragments of 4Q181, above which are two labels.[91] The label in the top-left corner of the plate is a *blank label*, and the label next to it is a *faded label*, which may be read, "4Qa 20 Wisd[c(?)] XXVIII".[92] One might assume that this label was written by Allegro based on the reference "4Qa 20," which corresponds to its use in other PAM images that contain fragments of 4Q181 (see, for example, PAM 42.607, 43.346, and 43.514). Moreover, in Strugnell's account of the history of the photographing of the Scrolls, PAM 43.421 is included in Allegro's lot (see Strugnell 1993, 123). However, the handwriting—though faint—is noticeably different from Allegro's. Most striking is the way the word "Wisd" is written in a cursive style that is characteristic of Strugnell's

[91] For information relating to the fragments in this PAM image, see Reed (1994, 378).

[92] It is possible that the letter "c" was written in superscript next to "Wisd", but the handwriting is too faint to be sure.

handwriting. Yet without further clarification, it is difficult to be certain about the author of this label.

2.3.3. Milik's Wisdom Labels

Milik's lot was the largest among the members of the Scrolls Team, having what he estimated to be around 75 manuscripts contained on more than one hundred plates, as well as several phylacteries.[93] Milik reports to have worked on three manuscripts of the book of Tobit, five manuscripts of Jubilees, eight manuscripts of the book of Enoch (all Aramaic), eleven 4Qmanuscripts of the Rule of the Community (1QS), seven manuscripts of the Damascus Document, an estimated two (or four) 4Qmanuscripts of the Book of Mysteries (1Q27), as well as several manuscripts written in cryptic script and others relating to legal and liturgical matters (see Milik 1956b, 88–90). Despite working on such a variety of material, Milik does not claim to have worked on any sapiential manuscripts when this report was published in 1956.[94] However, there are several wisdom labels that can be identified as belonging to Milik. This is mostly evidenced by the corresponding siglum (4Qm),[95] as well as the handwriting, which resembles earlier labels that display Milik's initials "JTM" (see, for example, 41.351 [dated October 1954]: "4QM^{c} 45. JTM"). In addition, the manuscripts in the PAM images examined in this section are attributed to

[93] According to reports, Cross estimates to have worked on 61 manuscripts and 80 plates, Skehan estimates 32 manuscripts and 51 plates, Allegro estimates 24 manuscripts and plates, Strugnell estimates 80 manuscripts and plates, Starcky estimates 30 manuscripts and plates, and Hunzinger—having a smaller lot—worked on seven manuscripts contained 22 plates (see Benoit 1956b).

[94] Although the Book of Mysteries would later be categorised as a Wisdom Text in DJD 39 and DSSR 4.

[95] Compared with Allegro's "4Qa" siglum in 42.607, 43.346, 43.439, and 43.514.

Milik in Fascicle 10 (Qumran Cave 4, 4Q196–363) of Reed's *Dead Sea Scrolls Inventory Project*.

2.3.3.1. PAM 43.395: "4Qm122 Sap A (Sap B)" (April 1960)

This PAM image contains fragments 2, 3, 3a, 3b, and 3c of 4Q302 (Reed 1994, 377). The Wisdom Label "4Qm122 Sap A (Sap B)" is located on the bottom-left corner of the plate.

2.3.3.2. PAM 43.396: "4Qm123 Sap A (Sap B)" (April 1960)

This PAM image contains fragments 1, 1a, 1b, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18 of 4Q302 (Reed 1994, 377). The label "4Qm123 Sap A (Sap B)" is located on the bottom-right corner of the plate. Combined with the previous PAM image, these two photographs display all known fragments of 4Q302. Reference to the bracketed "(Sap B)"—which appears to have been written in a slightly faded hand when compared with the rest of the content in both labels—perhaps demonstrates that Milik had not yet decided on an order for manuscripts that he had identified as potential new wisdom compositions.

2.3.3.3. PAM 43.397: "4Qm124 Sap C, D, E etc" (April 1960)

This PAM image contains fragments of 4Q303, 4Q304, 4Q305, 4Q306, and 4Q307 (Reed 1994, 377). The label "4Qm124 Sap C, D, E etc" is located on the bottom-left corner of the photograph. Some of the writing is very faded ("4Qm124" is barely visible). However, it is possible to make out the words "Sap C, D, E, etc". The positioning of the label does not make it clear which fragment(s) were thought to correspond with Sap C, Sap D, Sap

E, etc. In the top right is a fragment of 4Q303, and directly underneath it is the very small fragment of 4Q304. The three fragments gathered in the top-left corner of the photograph are frgs. 1, 2, and 3 of 4Q306, and underneath those is the fragment of 4Q305. Finally, at the bottom of the photograph are nine small fragments of 4Q307 (although frg. 1 is roughly three times the size of the other frgs. of 4Q307).[96]

2.3.4. Summary of the Wisdom Labels

The preceding sections that examine wisdom labels used by Allegro, Strugnell, and Milik provides some preliminary observations on previously overlooked handwritten labels present in early PAM images taken by Najib Anton Albina. But how significant have these labels been in influencing later interpretations of the Scrolls?

Not all manuscripts that were assigned a wisdom label in these early years would be counted among the wisdom compositions recognised by contemporary scholars. In many cases relating to Strugnell's labels, it is not always clear what fragments were associated with the wisdom label present on the plate. For example, in 41.894 and 41.966, most of the fragments in these PAM images were not later classified as wisdom literature. Among Milik's wisdom labels, the manuscripts 4Q302, 4Q303, 4Q304, and 4Q305 were eventually published in DJD 20 *Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (1997), and the manuscripts 4Q306, while 4Q307 were published in DJD 36 *Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (2000). In 2002, the manuscripts 4Q302, 4Q303, and 4Q305 were classified in DJD 39 as "Sapiential Texts Too Fragmentary for Further Classification", and the manuscripts 4Q304, 4Q306, and

[96] According to data from the LLDSSDL, this PAM image is the only photograph taken by Najib Anton Albina that contains fragments of 4Q307.

4Q307 were categorised as “Unclassified Manuscripts with Specific Names” (see DJD 39:140 and 39:146). Another puzzling example is Allegro’s use of the label 4QWisd^{c} for the manuscript 4Q181, which was later classified as an “Exegetical Text” under the sub-heading “Thematic Persharim” (see DSSR 2 and DJD 39:130). Based on an examination of the extant content of 4Q181, one struggles to find reasons for why Allegro chose to label these fragments as “wisdom.” There are some terms that may have been construed as wisdom vocabulary, such as in 4Q181 frg. 2, lines 5 and 7, which refer to the eyes of all “who know him” (יודעיו) and the “wonders of knowledge” (נפלאי מדעֹ). Yet these are minor instances, and the concept of wisdom does not seem to play a large role in the remains of this manuscript. Nonetheless, Allegro was consistent in his use of the label 4QWisd^{c} when referring to fragments of 4Q181 (41.818, 42.607, 43.346, and possibly 43.421).

The editors’ use of labels reflects their reliance on literary categories known from the biblical corpus when identifying new wisdom compositions. However, inconsistencies between the editors’ use of wisdom labels demonstrates the high degree of subjectivity involved in the process of categorising manuscripts by their purported literary genre. Moreover, recent studies have shown that the generic categories used for the biblical corpus do not always map neatly onto the kinds of literature present in the Scrolls corpus. The benefit of hindsight makes it easy to question this particular principle of organising and reconstructing new material. Yet one must also appreciate the immensity of the task that the Scrolls Team had to overcome in trying to understand and piece together thousands of fragments of previously unknown compositions. Few would have questioned the empirical reliability of the biblical categories in the 1950s and 1960s, and so it stands to reason that the biblical categories would have been regarded as solid foundations upon which one could attempt to manufacture new compositions.

2.4. The Crystallisation of a Composition

It has been shown that the handwritten labels observable in PAM images taken in the 1950s and 1960s provide key information about how the discovered fragments were initially identified and characterised by members of the Scrolls Team. Yet during this period—in addition to working on identifying, deciphering, and organising fragments in the scrollery—members of the Scrolls Team also worked on other tasks that have contributed to the construction and characterisation of new compositions. For example, the editors were responsible for transcribing manuscripts into a provisional handwritten concordance, which in the 1950s and 1960s were prepared into concordance cards by Joseph Fitzmyer, and later by Raymond Brown, Willard G. Oxtoby, and J. Teixidor. It was not until 1985 that multiple copies of these concordance cards had begun to be produced, and in 1988 a *Preliminary Concordance* (*PC*) was privately published and distributed to select scholars who were involved in the editing of unpublished texts.[97] Eibert Tigchelaar highlighted some interesting insights derived from his examination of the *PC* and PAM images in his 2001 book.

> Consultation of the *PC* together with examination of the subsequent series of PAM photographs allows one, for example, to determine which fragments were identified as part of a manuscript, which joins were made, how the editors deciphered the fragments in those days, as well as which manuscripts were identified as copies of the same composition (Tigchelaar 2001, 9).

[97] Strugnell provided some explanation of how events unravelled in his short review of the history of the edition of DJD 34 (see pp. xiii–xv). Reports on this period are also provided by Tigchelaar (2001, 3–14), VanderKam and Flint (2002, 381–403), and Schiffman (2002).

In addition to insights noted by Tigchelaar, examination of these materials provides one with a sense of how members of the Scrolls Team first characterised the reconstructed manuscripts, which in turn helped lay the foundations for how some compositions would be named and categorised in later publications. The *PC* displays several card-index covers, each containing information about the siglum, editor, language, and sometimes a one-word description of the text. The table below shows all manuscripts described as "Sapiential" or assigned a wisdom siglum in the *PC*.

Siglum in *PC*	Description	Current Siglum	Initial Editor
SapA	Sapiential(?)	4Q302, 4Q302a	Milik
SapB	Sapiential(?)	4Q306	Milik
SapC	Sapiential(?)	4Q303	Milik
SL52	Sapiential	4Q415	Strugnell
SL53	Sapiential	4Q416	Strugnell
SL54	Sapiential	4Q417	Strugnell
SL55	Sapiential	4Q418	Strugnell
SL56	Sapiential	4Q419	Strugnell
SL61	Sapiential	4Q424	Strugnell
SL63	Sapiential	4Q426	Strugnell
SL82	Sapiential	4Q412	Strugnell
SL84	Sapiential	4Q408	Strugnell
Wisd[a]	-	4Q184	Allegro
Wisd[c]	-	4Q181[98]	Allegro

Table 2.2. "Sapiential" manuscripts listed in the *PC* (see also "List of Card Concordance Correlations" prepared by Marilyn Lundberg in Reed's 1994 *Catalogue*, 530–41).[99]

[98] This siglum is incorrectly recorded as "4Q180" in Reed's catalogue (Reed 1994, 541; cf. *PC,* vol. 1, 14).

[9999] There are some unaccounted-for details in the *PC*. For example, on page 8 in vol. 1 of the *PC*, there is a card cover with the unnumbered siglum "SL" in the top left corner of the cover and the description: "Strugnell – Hebrew – Sapiential" in the top right corner. This pile contained 43 cards and one fragment. It is not clear what document the cover was used for. Additionally, on page 12, there is a cover displaying the reference and description "SL107 Strugnell – Hebrew – Sapiential" with the added note "To change to SL48". It is again not clear what document this cover was originally used for (see Reed 1994, 540).

In addition to helping create the concordance cards, Strugnell (together with Elisha Qimron) had also begun to prepare a catalogue containing provisional names and sigla for the as-yet unpublished manuscripts from Cave 4. Strugnell and Qimron's preliminary catalogue was a key resource for Stephen Reed, who worked for several years at the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center (ABMC) in his project of producing a database that provided information about photographs, documents, and museum plates of the Scrolls. Reed's *Inventory* (fascicles 1–15) was utilised by the newly appointed editor-in-chief of the DJD series Emanuel Tov in the production of his own inventory published in 1992. Reed and Tov's inventories were among the first publications that enabled scholars to learn more about manuscripts that had only just begun to filter into the public domain. In many cases, the provisional names designated to manuscripts in these lists reflect the supposed genre of the manuscript as understood by the editor of that text. Several manuscripts in these lists are identified as "Sap. Work" or "Sapiential Work" (see Table 2.3.). Tov, however, anticipated that many of the names were likely to change in future as a result of improved knowledge of the text (Tov 1992, 102). When one compares the names provided in Reed and Tov's preliminary lists with the names that were eventually designated to manuscripts in the DJD volumes, one can see that most of the manuscripts were indeed renamed, as Tov predicted. Moreover, not every manuscript listed as "sapiential" in Reed and Tov's inventories were published in DJD 20 and DJD 34, that is, in *Sapiential Texts, Part 1* and *2*.

Reed (1992)		Tov (1992)		DJD Series		
4Q#	**Name**	**4Q#**	**Name**	**4Q#**	**Name**	**Volume**
4Q302	Sap A Sapiential(?)/Praise of God and Parable of the Tree	4Q302	Pap Praise of God	4Q302	4QpapAdmonitory Parable	*20. Sapiential Texts, Part 1*
---	---	4Q302a	Parable of the	---	---	---
4Q303	Sap C Sapiential(?)/Meditation on Creation 1a	4Q303	Meditation on Creation A[a]	4Q303	4QMeditation on Creation A	*20. Sapiential Texts, Part 1*
4Q304	Meditation on Creation 1b(?)	4Q304	Meditation on Creation A[b]	4Q304	4QMeditation on Creation B	*20. Sapiential Texts, Part 1*
4Q305	Meditation on Creation 2	4Q305	Meditation on Creation B	4Q305	4QMeditation on Creation C	*20. Sapiential Texts, Part 1*
4Q306	Sap B Sapiential(?)/The men of the people who erred	4Q306	Men of the People who Err	4Q306	4QMen of the People who Err	*36. Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1*
4Q307	Fragments of sapiential writings?/Halakha A	4Q307	sapiential frgs?	4Q307	4QText Mentioning Temple	*36. Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1*
4Q308	Fragments of sapiential writings?	4Q308	sapiential frgs?	---	---	---

Reed (1992)		Tov (1992)		DJD Series		
4Q#	**Name**	**4Q#**	**Name**	**4Q#**	**Name**	**Volume**
4Q408	Sapiential/Prayers	4Q408	sapiential work	4Q408	4QApocryphon of Moses[c]?	*36. Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1*
4Q410	Sap. Work	4Q410	sapiential work	4Q410	4QVision and Interpretation	*36. Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1*
4Q411	Sap. Work	4Q411	sapiential work	4Q411	4QSapiential Hymn	*20. Sapiential Texts, Part 1*
4Q412	Sap. Work	4Q412	sapiential work	4Q412	4QSapiential-Didactic Work A	*20. Sapiential Texts, Part 1*
4Q413	Sap. Work	4Q413	sapiential work	4Q413	4QComposition concerning Divine Providence	*20. Sapiential Texts, Part 1*
4Q415	Sap. Work II[b]	4Q415	Sap. Work B[a] Sap. Work B[b]	4Q415	4QInstruction[a] (*Mûsār Lĕ Mēvîn*): 4Q415 ff.	*34. Sapiential Texts, Part 2*
4Q416	Sap. Work I[b]	4Q416	Sap. Work A[b]	4Q416	4QInstruction[b] (*Mûsār Lĕ Mēvîn*): 4Q415 ff.	*34. Sapiential Texts, Part 2*
4Q417	Sap. Work I[c]	4Q417	Sap. Work A[c]	4Q417	4QInstruction[c] (*Mûsār Lĕ Mēvîn*): 4Q415 ff.	*34. Sapiential Texts, Part 2*

Reed (1992)		Tov (1992)		DJD Series		
4Q#	**Name**	**4Q#**	**Name**	**4Q#**	**Name**	**Volume**
4Q418	Sap. Work I[a]	4Q418	Sap. Work A[a]	4Q418	4QInstruction[d] (*Mûsār Lĕ Mēvîn*): 4Q415 ff.	*34. Sapiential Texts, Part 2*
---	---	---	---	4Q418a	4QInstruction[e] (*Mûsār Lĕ Mēvîn*): 4Q415 ff.	*34. Sapiential Texts, Part 2*
---	---	---	---	4Q418c	4QInstruction[f] (*Mûsār Lĕ Mēvîn*): 4Q415 ff.	*34. Sapiential Texts, Part 2*
4Q419	Sap. Work I[d]	4Q419	Sap. Work A[d]	4Q419	4QInstruction-Like Composition A	*36. Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1*
4Q420	Sap. Work IV[a]	4Q420	Sap. Work D[a]	4Q420	4QWays of Righteousness[a]	*20. Sapiential Texts, Part 1*
4Q421	Sap. Work IV[b]	4Q421	Sap. Work D[b]	4Q421	4QWays of Righteousness[b]	*20. Sapiential Texts, Part 1*
4Q422	Sap. Work	4Q422	Sap. Work	4Q422	4QParaphrase of Genesis and Exodus	*13. Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*
4Q423	Sap. Work on Tree of Knowledge	4Q423	Tree of Knowledge	4Q423	4QInstruction[f] (*Mûsār Lĕ Mēvîn*): 4Q415 ff.	*34. Sapiential Texts, Part 2*
---	---	4Q423a	Sap. Work E	---	---	---

Reed (1992)		Tov (1992)		DJD Series		
4Q#	Name	4Q#	Name	4Q#	Name	Volume
4Q424	Sap. Work II	4Q424	sap. work	4Q424	4QInstruction-Like Composition B	*36. Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1*
4Q425	Sap. Work	4Q425	Sap. Work C	4Q425	4QSapiential-Didactic Work B	*20. Sapiential Texts, Part 1*
4Q426	Sap. Work II[b]	4Q426	sap. work	4Q426	4QSapiential-Hymnic Work A	*20. Sapiential Texts, Part 1*
4Q472	Sapiential Text	4Q472	sap. work	4Q472	4QEschatological Work B	*36. Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1*
4Q473	Misc. Sap. Work	4Q473	Sap. Work-2 Ways	4Q473	4QThe Two Ways	*22. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*
4Q474	Misc. Sap. Work	4Q474	sap. work	4Q474	4QText Concerning Rachel and Joseph	*36. Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1*
4Q475	Misc. Sap. Work	4Q475	sap. work	4Q475	4QRenewed Earth	*36. Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1*
4Q476	Misc. Sap. Work	4Q476	sap. work	4Q476	4QLiturgical Work B	*29. Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*
4Q525	Wisdom Text with Beatitudes	4Q525	Wisd text with Beat	4Q525	4QBéatitudes	*25. Textes Hébreux*

Table 2.3. Inventories by Reed (1992) and Tov (1992), as well as manuscripts published in DJD vols. 13, 20, 22, 25, 29, 34, and 36.

From the 32 manuscripts referenced in Table 2.3., thirteen were published in five other volumes that considered other kinds of literature. Moreover, DJD 20 (*Sapiential Texts, Part 1*) included two texts that were not assigned sapiential or wisdom-related names in Reed and Tov's inventories: 4Q298 ("4QcryptA Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn") and 4Q299–301 ("4QMysteries$^{a–b, c?}$").

This genre-based approach to gathering and presenting materials is characteristic several DJD volumes that were published during Tov's time as editor-in-chief of the series: *Poetic and Liturgical Texts, Parts 1* and *2* (DJD 11 and 29), *Parabiblical Texts, Parts 1, 2, 3,* and *4* (DJD 11, 19, 22, and 30), *Sapiential Texts, Parts 1* and *2* (DJD 20 and 34), *Calendrical Texts* (DJD 21), and *Halakhic Texts* (DJD 35). This observation does not intend to imply that the method for organising and presenting the material in these volumes was misguided. Tov's editorial approach was very much in keeping with the approach attested by Barthélemy and Milik in DJD 1 (see DJD 1:43). It is reasonable when organising new and unknown material to search for the familiar, and so it should come as no surprise that members of the Scrolls Team and later editors relied on what was perceived to be known, such as allusions to the biblical texts and aspects of their genres. However, it is important to acknowledge that this approach has undoubtedly played a role in establishing the tone for scholarly engagement with these compositions. Hindy Najman and Eibert Tigchelaar in their critical reflection on "Nomenclature and Text Designation in the Dead Sea Scrolls" asserted that, "on the whole, the names given in the *DJD* series and then presented in *DJD* 39 in the subsequent *Revised List* have been viewed as authoritative" (Najman and Tigchelaar 2014, 309; emphasis original). When one looks at subsequent publications that examine wisdom compositions in the Scrolls corpus, one finds that most studies of "sapiential literature" in the Scrolls have focussed on those

wisdom works listed by Armin Lange and Ulrike Mittmann-Richert in DJD 39 (see Goff 2007;). In fact, several more recent studies have sought to further refine and restrict the number of wisdom compositions in the Scrolls corpus. In Matthew Goff's 2007 book, *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, he removed 4Q302, 4Q303–305, 4Q411, and 4Q413 from his survey (though he reincluded 4Q420–421), and John Kampen's 2011 study of *Dead Sea Scrolls: Wisdom Literature* is even more conservative, excluding 4Q425 and 4Q426 from his analysis. In 2021, Goff provided another list of what he considered to be the core wisdom works among the Scroll finds, which includes even fewer texts than his survey in 2007.

> It has become common since the 1990s to designate a core group of Qumran texts as Wisdom Literature, chief among them 4QInstruction (1Q26, 4Q415–4Q418, 4Q423), the book of Mysteries (1Q27, 4Q299–301), the Wiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184), 4QSapiential Work (4Q185), and 4QBeatitudes (4Q525) (Goff 2021, 618).

Genre-based modes of analysis can continue to be helpful when seeking to highlight shared themes and forms across differing compositions. However, studies of wisdom in the Scrolls corpus becomes at risk of stagnating when analysis is limited to a strictly defined corpus of literature. Before the publication of new wisdom compositions in the 1990s, many early studies highlighted wisdom as a prevalent concept in other writings that are not classified as wisdom literature, such as the Community Rules and *Hodayot* (Bardtke 1956; Hengel 1974, esp. 1.218–46; Küchler 1979, esp. 88–109; Tanzer 1987). It may therefore be beneficial to revisit this practice of examining conceptions of wisdom throughout the Scrolls corpus to better appreciate its widespread significance (cf. Comerford, forthcoming).

Concerning the present composition, its designation as a wisdom text was formally established with the publication of DJD 34; a volume dedicated to analysing the content of this particular work.[100] Intriguingly, however, the final form of DJD 34 does not correlate with Strugnell's original vision for the volume during his short time as editor-in-chief of the series. In the preface, Strugnell explains that he had initially intended to examine a greater number of manuscripts that were feasibly related to the manuscripts of the present composition.

> When, toward the end of my stay in Jerusalem (1988–90), the demands on my time as Editor-in-Chief became even more pressing, and when I was delegating the edition of many of my other manuscripts to other scholars (though usually under some residual supervision of mine), I planned to gradually involve with me a larger number of colleagues in the work on 4Q415 ff. Each was to be responsible for a special area of competence (e.g. material reconstruction, language, etc.), all working with me over the summers in a seminar, so as to produce within five years an extensive *editio maior* of 4Q415 ff., together with the other smaller and perhaps related wisdom manuscripts to be found between 4Q409 and 4Q426 (DJD 34:xv; emphasis original).

One can only imagine how studies of this composition might look today if Strugnell's original plan had come to fruition. Yet in reality, DJD 34 has served to establish the manuscripts 1Q26, 4Q415–4Q418, 4Q418a+c, and 4Q423 as manuscript copies of a single work. The publication of DJD 34 therefore marks the crystallisation of a composition that would become a central point of reference in discussions of wisdom in the Scrolls. Significantly, the editors in DJD 34 proposed several names within the volume that have

[100] There are several studies examined parts of the present composition before the publication of DJD 34 in 1999, such as those by Elgvin (1994; 1995b; 1997a; 1997b), Lange (1995a; 1995b), and Harrington (1994; 1996a; 1996b).

further contributed to how the text has been characterised in subsequent studies. However, there are many other names that have been proposed for the present composition, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 3. What's in a Name? The Many Names of 4QInstruction

> The names given to the texts from the Judaean Desert are by implication subjective as they reflect the editor's understanding of the composition (DJD 39:11).

What makes a good name? Names are often the first thing a reader encounters when they come to read a text, and this first impression has a lasting impact on the way the reader subsequently forms an understanding of the composition. As Molly Zahn has remarked, "once an object or phenomenon is given a particular name or placed in a particular category, we approach that object or phenomenon with specific expectations in mind regarding what sort of thing it is" (Zahn 2011, 93). Today, most English-speaking scholars refer to the composition examined in DJD 34 as "4QInstruction" or "*Musar le-Mevin,*" while Israeli scholars prefer to use the name חכמת רז נהיה. However, there are many other names that have been suggested by the editors as well as others outside of the core editorial team, each loaded with their own set of interpretative assumptions and implications. The present chapter examines the history of the naming of this composition, assessing the merits and limitations of each proposed name. There are two core objectives to this chapter. First, it attempts to highlight the various ways in which the text has been characterised by Scrolls researchers and how each given name reflects a different aspect of the composition's textual identity. Second, by highlighting the existence of several competing names for the composition that are regularly used by scholars in contemporary studies, this chapter demonstrates that the jury is still very much out with regards to deciding on a suitable name for the text.

3.1. Previous Names

3.1.1. "Un Apocryphe," "Wisdom Apocryphon," and "1QInstruction" (1Q26)

Before all the manuscripts associated with the present composition were acquired, identified, and assembled, there was at first 1Q26. Discovered among other more sizeable texts from Cave 1, 1Q26 was found preserved in five small fragment pieces. The largest fragment (frg. 1) contains nine lines of broken text, frgs. 2 and 3 contain a few words on two or three lines, and frgs. 4 and 5 contain only some letters.

1Q26 was published in the first volume of the DJD series in 1955 and referred to by editors Barthélemy and Milik as "Un Apocryphe" ("An Apocryphon"). It was also described in the edition as belonging "to the genre of Testaments and Instructions" and as being written "in a Deuteronomic and sapiential style."[101] A year later in 1956, Strugnell reported the possibility that 1Q26 could be identified as a copy of the manuscript 4Q423, and his workings on this theory can be observed in PAM 41.761 (see §2.3.2.1.). Several decades later in fascicle 1 of Reed's *Dead Sea Scrolls Inventory*, 1Q26 appeared with a new name: "Wisdom Apocryphon" (Reed 1991a, 21). It is unclear who was responsible for the name change. However, it may reflect an emerging assurance among those who worked on the manuscripts of the present composition that 1Q26 was related to the other manuscripts associated with this text. Torleif Elgvin—one of the editors of DJD 34 who was chiefly responsible for working on the manuscript 4Q423—identified 1Q26 as another manuscript copy of the present work (then "Sapiential Work A," see §3.1.3.) in a conference paper delivered in 1992. Meanwhile Daniel Harrington—another editor who

[101] "Autant qu'on peut juger du style et du contenu, ces fragments pourraient appartenir au genre des Testaments et des Instuctions, en style deutéronomique et sapientiel" (DJD 1:102). Translations from French to English are my own.

worked closely with Strugnell on most of the manuscripts examined in DJD 34—was at first hesitant to affirm that there was a connection between 1Q26 and the other manuscripts of the present composition when discussing the complexities of the process of determining relations between manuscripts in his 1994 article, "Wisdom at Qumran."

> Imagine that you have three (or six) jigsaw puzzles of the same basic scene. But you do not know what the scene is, the pieces of each puzzle have been cut according to different patterns, and most of the pieces from each puzzle have been lost. Our task is to try to make sense out of this textual puzzle. We have been concentrating our research on the larger pieces. When we have fully edited them, we will try to see where the smaller pieces fit. Of course, in some cases it is possible to restore lacunae in the larger texts with the parallels in the smaller texts, since there are overlaps among 4Q415, 416, 417, 418, and 423 (and perhaps 1Q26) (Harrington 1994, 140).

However, two years later in a paper entitled, "The Rāz Nihyeh in a Qumran Wisdom Text," Harrington wrote with assurance about the connection between 1Q26 and the manuscripts of the present composition.

> The Qumran sapiential text of which *1Q26* is a part is [*sic*] a wisdom instruction expressed in small units and put together without much obvious concern for logical or thematic progression. We now know that *1Q26* belonged to this wisdom instruction because there are substantial overlaps between *1Q26* 1 5–6 and *4Q423* 4 1–2, and between *1Q26* 2 2–4 and *4Q423* 3 2–4. These texts come from the "agricultural" section of the work. Whether we are to take the "agricultural" vocabulary literally or metaphorically, is not clear. Since there are other overlaps among *4Q415*, *416*, *417*, *418*, and *423*, it follows that *1Q26* was part of the same work as the five Cave 4 manuscripts were (Harrington 1996b, 550; emphasis original).

With the consensus affirmed among all the editors, 1Q26 was included in the appendix of DJD 34 as a re-edition of its original publication in DJD 1 and renamed "1QInstruction".

This new designation corresponded with the names given to other manuscripts in the volume (e.g., 4Q415: 4QInstruction[a]; 4Q416: 4QInstruction[b]; 4Q417 4QInstruction[c]; etc.).

Returning to the very first name designated to 1Q26, "Un Apocryphe," this name was heavily criticised by later scholars. The editors of DJD 34 called it "imprecise, if not meaningless" (DJD 34:535), and Najman and Tigchelaar critiqued the name and description given by the editors of DJD 1 for implying that 1Q26 was in some way imitating the biblical texts or even aspiring to a kind of biblical status (Najman and Tigchelaar 2014, 317). Its later given name, "Wisdom Apocryphon," is not much of an improvement. It suggests only that the manuscript was believed to correspond with the textual identity of a wisdom composition, owing largely to the discovery of its connection to other manuscripts of the present composition which contains a significant number of sapiential features. Its designation in DJD 34—"1QInstruction" —identifies it entirely as a manuscript copy of the present document.

3.1.2. "Sap. Work on Tree of Knowledge," "Rule for the Farmer," and "Sap. Work V/E" (4Q423 and, by extension, 1Q26)

Unlike the nebulous names assigned to 1Q26, the manuscript 4Q423 was initially designated by various names, some of which appear to convey its extant content. Among the 24 identified fragments of 4Q423, many of the larger fragments contain references to agricultural themes as well as allusions to the Garden of Eden (see DJD 34:505), and some early names suggested for this manuscript alluded to these elements of the text.

The first of the names for 4Q423 appeared in fascicle 9 of Reed's *Dead Sea Scrolls Inventory Project* (Reed 1992). Building on earlier lists provided by Strugnell and Qimron,

Reed recorded two names for 4Q423. The name "Sap. Work on Tree of Knowledge" was used four times, and the name "Sap. Work V" was again used four times.[102] Reed also noted several times that 4Q423 was thought to be related to the manuscript 1Q26.[103] The names "Sap. Work on Tree of Knowledge" and "Sap. Work V" were again used by Tov in his 1992 inventory, albeit with minor changes. Tov, however, did not include any reference to the connection between 4Q423 and 1Q26 in his inventory. Instead, Tov assigned the name "Tree of Knowledge" to 4Q423, and on a separate row below he assigned the name "Sap. Work E" to 4Q423a (Tov 1992, 124; see Table 3.1.). 4Q423 was again divided in Reed's updated *Catalogue* in 1994. Here 4Q423 was designated "Sap. Work A^{e} (olim Tree of Knowledge)" and 4Q423a was designated "Sap. Work E = 1Q26" (Reed 1994, 112).[104] Elsewhere, the name "Sapiential Work V" was used by Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin Abegg in fascicle 2 of their *Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls* (Wacholder and Abegg 1992, 166). Wacholder and Abegg claimed that they had followed the names recorded in the fascicles produced by Reed (Wacholder and Abegg 1992, xv).

In another inventory produced by Devorah Dimant in 1994, Dimant used a different name for both 4Q423 and 1Q26: "Rule of the Farmer" (Dimant 1994, 44). It is unclear what source Dimant used to obtain this name for 4Q423 and 1Q26 in her inventory. One possible source could have been an updated list that Dimant claimed to have received from Tov prior to the publication of her inventory. Dimant remarked in a footnote: "I thank Emanuel Tov for placing at my disposal a more up-to-date version of his list" (1994, 23,

[102] The name "Sap. Work on Tree of Knowledge" is found on pages 18, 31, 39, and 59, and the name "Sap. Work V" is found on pages 9, 18, and twice on page 63.

[103] This detail is repeated on pages 18, 39, and twice on page 63.

[104] The division of 4Q423 was likely based on the fact that the fragments were recorded on two separate museum plates in Reed and Tov's inventories. To make matters more confusing, Reed referred to these as "museum plates" while Tov referred to them as "inventory numbers" (see Reed 1992, 6).

n. 3). It is possible that Dimant was referring to changes found in Tov's updated list, or else the name is perhaps Dimant's own suggestion.

Beyond this point, most scholars had begun to recognise and accept that 4Q423 and 1Q26 could be counted as additional copies of the present composition, and so the abovementioned names for these manuscripts were never used thereafter. Instead, before the manuscripts were assigned new names in DJD 34 in 1999, they were collectively referred to in most publications with the preliminary name: "Sapiential Work A."

3.1.3. Sapiential Work A

The name "Sapiential Work A" represents the first attempt by the editors to refer to all the manuscripts associated with this newly reconstructed text. However, when the bulk of the Cave 4 manuscripts were made accessible in 1991, the manuscripts associated with Sapiential Work A were still in a state of flux. In 1992, Robert Eisenman and Michael Wise acknowledged only the manuscripts 4Q416 and 4Q418 as part of the same text in *Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered*, (Eisenman and Wise 1992, 241).[105] In the same year, Reed and Tov identified the following manuscripts of Sapiential Work A in their respective inventories: 4Q416, 4Q417, 4Q418, and 4Q419 (see Table 3.1.).

4Q#	Reed's List	Tov's List
4Q415	Sap. Work II^{b}	Sap. Work B^{a}; Sap. Work B^{b}
4Q416	**Sap. Work I^{b}**	**Sap. Work A^{b}**
4Q417	**Sap. Work I^{c}**	**Sap. Work A^{c}**

[105] Although Eisenman and Wise's analysis of what they labelled "Fragment 9 Column i" actually comes from a fragment of 4Q417 (Eisenman and Wise 1992, 247). See also Harrington and Strugnell (1993, 492) and Table 3.2.

4Q418	**Sap. Work I[a]**	**Sap. Work A[a]**
4Q419	**Sap. Work I[d]**	**Sap. Work A[d]**
4Q423	Sap. Work on Tree of Knowledge Sap. Work V = 1Q26	Tree of Knowledge
4Q423a		Sap. Work E

Table 3.1. Table adapted from Reed and Tov's inventories (Reed 1992; Tov 1992, 123–24)

Speaking at the *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls* conference in December 1992, Elgvin shared new insights that significantly altered scholarly opinion concerning which manuscripts should be identified as Sapiential Work A. Mirroring the inventories of Reed and Tov, Elgvin claimed that he at first began his investigation of these writings "with the presupposition that Sap. Work A existed in four copies, 4Q416/417/418/419, and that 4Q415 and 4Q423 were separate works" (Elgvin 1994, 180). However, after remarking on several points of overlap in 4Q415, 4Q418, 4Q423, and 1Q26, Elgvin concluded that 4Q415, 4Q423, and 1Q26 were also copies of Sapiential Work A. In addition, Elgvin elected to remove 4Q419 on the basis that its content does not contain enough sapiential elements for it to be included among the others.

> My study seems to indicate that 4Q419 is not another copy of Sap Work A. It has some phrases in common with the latter composition, but does not represent the same text. 4Q419 frg. 1 is concerned with the status and duties of the Aaronic priests, a theme not found in the other texts. It seems therefore more reasonable to consider 4Q419 as a separate composition (Elgvin 1994, 180).

According to Elgvin, the different copies of Sapiential Work A could be designated as such: "Sap. Work A[a,b] (418), Sap. Work A[c] (416), Sap. Work A[d] (417), Sap. Work A[e] (415), Sap. Work A[f] (423), Sap. Work A[g] (1Q26)" (Elgvin 1994, 181). Aside from some revisions

regarding the division of the manuscript 4Q418,[106] it was agreed among the editors of DJD 34 that the manuscripts noted above by Elgvin represented all the known copies of the text examined in their volume.

Rooted in the wisdom labels used by members of the Scrolls Team in the early years of Scrolls research, the name Sapiential Work A carries with it the expectation that the manuscripts associated with the name should be mostly sapiential in character. Consequently, the manuscript 4Q419 was determined to be mostly priestly and legal in character by Elgvin (1994, 180), Harrington (1994, 139; 1996, 73), and John Kampen (1998, 1.236), and so it was removed because its content did not align with the sapiential character that had become so integral to the identity of the text.[107]

The name Sapiential Work A would continue to be used in several publications throughout the 1990s (García Martínez 1994; 1996; Harrington 1996a; Elgvin (1994; 1995a; 1995b 1997a; 1997b). However, in 1996, Strugnell claimed in a paper presented at the International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Provo, Utah, 17 July 1996 that Sapiential Work A "was never intended to be a final title—only a working one" (Strugnell 1999, 595). Thus, the name Sapiential Work A was officially discontinued with the publication of DJD 34 in 1999.

[106] In DJD 34, the editors separated the composition of 4Q418 into four separate manuscripts: 4Q418, 4Q418a, 4Q418b, and 4Q418c. However, the editors did not consider 4Q418b to be a copy of the present composition. Elgvin separated 4Q418 into two manuscripts, and Tigchelaar divided 4Q418 into three manuscripts: 4Q418*, 4Q418, and 4Q418a (cf. Bakker 2015, 1, n. 1).

[107] For a detailed look at the history of scholarship on 4Q419 and assessment of its eventual removal from the manuscripts of the present composition, see Comerford (2023).

3.1.4. The Children of Salvation (Yesha‘) and the Mystery of Existence (4Q416 and 4Q418)

Among the discontinued, rejected, and existing names, the name proposed by Eisenman and Wise offers something quite different. Their joint publication entitled *Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* has been largely discredited and dismissed by the Scrolls community; partly because of numerous errors identified in the publication and partly because of the imposed framing of some texts as emerging from a "Jewish Christian" context, which Eisenman was known for advocating in some of his earlier works (see Eisenman 1983; 1986). However, the most troubling thing about the publication for many Scrolls researchers was the misleading way the book was presented and apparent disregard for the foundational work of previous scholarship displayed by the authors. Several scholars were critical of the book for claiming to be *The First Complete Translation and Interpretation of 50 Key Documents Withheld for Over 35 Years*, when in fact many of the texts had already been published elsewhere. In addition, the authors' claim that they had depended on "*no one else's work*" was seen as insulting to those scholars who had worked on sorting, reconstructing, and editing the examined texts (Eisenman and Wise 1992, 4; emphasis original).[108] As a result, few scholars have since returned to the *Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* for insights about how one might read and understand the texts.

For the purposes of this study, however, the way the texts were named and categorised in this publication presents an alternative approach to the way the texts were named and

[108] See reviews by Philip Alexander (1993), Harrington and Strugnell (1993), George Brooke (1994a), Mark Harding (1995), and John Reeves (1996), as well as numerous points of criticism raised by various scholars in the panel discussion on "Ethics of Publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls" at the *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site* conference on 14–17 December 1992 (conference proceedings volume was published in 1994, see pp. 455–97).

categorised by those who worked (or were associated with those working) on the DJD series. The book itself was published in 1992 shortly after the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) had announced that images of the Scrolls would be made publicly accessible in November 1991, thus making it one of the first publications to offer an interpretation of the newly available materials. It was important (at least for Eisenman) that the book was published as quickly and as widely as possible so that their interpretation could read without fear of being eclipsed by "official" interpretations offered by members of the recently expanded Scrolls Team. This much is expressed (presumably by Eisenman) in the introduction of the book.[109]

> Because of the existence of an International Team, giving the appearance of 'official' appointment, the public naturally came to see the editions it produced (mainly published by Oxford University Press in the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series) as authoritative. These editions contained interpretations, which themselves came to be looked on as 'official' as well. This is important. Those who did not have a chance to see these texts for themselves were easily dominated by those claiming either to *know* or to have *seen more*.
>
> This proposition has been put somewhat differently: control of the unpublished manuscripts meant control of the field. How did this work? By controlling the unpublished manuscripts – the pace of their publication, who was given a document to edit and who was not – the International Team could, for one thing, create instant scholarly 'superstars'. For

[109] Though throughout the book it is never clear whether Eisenman or Wise is "speaking" at any given moment, one can reasonably presume that Eisenman was responsible for these kinds of comments, since they mirror his earlier remarks about wanting to challenge the interpretative hegemony of the Scrolls Team. See for example in Eisenman's 1983 book, *Maccabees, Zadokites, Christians and Qumran. A New Hypothesis of Qumran Origins*, wherein he wrote:

> In providing an alternative historical and textual framework in which to fit the most important Qumran sectarian documents, it is hoped that most of the preconceptions that have dominated Qumran research for so long will fade away, and that new ideas will be brought into play and previously unused sources given their proper scope (Eisenman 1983, xvii).

> another, it controlled the interpretation of the texts. For example, instead of a John Allegro, a John Strugnell was given access; instead of a Robert Eisenman, a Frank Moore Cross; instead of a Michael Wise, an Emile Puech. Without competing analyses, these interpretations grew almost inevitably into a kind of 'official' scholarship" (Eisenman and Wise 1992, 4–5; emphasis original).

For Eisenman, the publication was intended to pave the way for different perspectives that might challenge more established interpretations offered by members of the expanded Scrolls Team, from which he was excluded.

Concerning the manuscripts of the present composition, Eisenman and Wise identified and named only two manuscripts: 4Q416 and 4Q418. The manuscripts were collectively named "The Children of Salvation (Yesha') and the Mystery of Existence" and placed in the category of "Hymns and Mysteries" on the basis that the eschatological and mystical elements stood out more for the editors than the sapiential features of the text. Thus, not only did Eisenman and Wise provide an alternative name for the text, but they also placed the text within a different generic category.

> Strictly speaking, the work as a whole has the character of an admonition and belongs in Chapter 5 [Testaments and Admonitions], but because of its eschatological thrust, mysticism, emphasis on the mysteries of God and parallels with the preceding works and Hymns from Cave 1, we have chosen to place it here [Hymns and Mysteries] (Eisenman and Wise 1992, 241).

In addition, Eisenman and Wise provided subheadings for the examined fragments based on what they perceived to be a key phrase or important imagery in that section of the text (see Table 3.2.).

Fragment Name	Fragment Number (according to Eisenman and Wise)	Actual Fragment Reference
"The Eternal Planting"	"Frg. 1"	4Q418 81+81a
"The Fountain of Living Water"	"Frg. 2"	4Q418 103
"All the Eras of Eternity"	"Frg. 3"	4Q418 2, 2a, 2b, 2c
"The Foundations of the Universe Shout out Judgement"	"Frg. 4"	4Q418 69 col. ii
"Eternal Glory"	"Frg. 5"	4Q418 126 col. ii
"The Scales of Righteousness"	"Frg. 6"	4Q418 127
"The Angels of God's Holiness"	"Frg. 7"	4Q418 55
"The Mystery of Existence"	"Frg. 8"	4Q418 43(_45 col. ii)
"The Salvation (*Yeshaʿ*) of His Works"	"Frg. 9 col. i"	4Q417 2 col. i
"Your Holy Spirit"	"Frg. 9 col. ii" & frg. 10 col. i	4Q416 2 col. ii
"All the Ways of Truth"	"Frg. 10 col. ii	4Q416 2 col. iii

Table 3.2. Fragment Names and Numbers in Eisenman and Wise's study, as well as Actual Fragment References (Eisenman and Wise 1992, 244–48).

Practically every editorial and interpretative decision made by Eisenman and Wise with regards to their understanding of these fragments was met with criticism in Harrington and Strugnell's review of the work. With respect to their chosen name, "The Children of Salvation (Yeshaʿ) and the Mystery of Existence", Harrington and Strugnell raised several significant points that problematised the designated name for the manuscripts 4Q416 and 4Q418.

> The choice of the overall title is haphazard, has no chance of being the ancient title of the work, and misleads as to its nature. The title given this work does not even have a firm textual foundation. The first element rests on a dubious reading in frag. 9 (4Q417, frag. 1, col. 1), line 8 where [*wʾlyšʿ mʿśyw* is read rather than the more likely *ršʿ mʿśyw* and on a

questionable translation in line 11 of *myldy yšʿ* ("from the children of salvation") rather than the more likely *mwldy yšʿ* ("birth times/pangs of salvation") (Harrington and Strugnell 1993, 492–93).

With regards to Eisenman and Wise's subheadings, these are likewise dismissed by Harrington and Strugnell as "meaningless" on the basis that they are erroneously inspired by the unlikely historical hypothesis imposed upon the text (i.e., that the texts originated from a Jewish-Christian context; cf. Harrington and Strugnell 1993, 493–94).

Overall, the ideas expressed within Eisenman and Wise's 1992 book have been reasonably and unanimously rejected by Scrolls scholars. However, notwithstanding the numerous errors and editorial oddities peppered throughout Eisenman and Wise's analysis of these fragments, the outcome of their approach to naming and categorising the manuscripts of the present composition is noteworthy simply because it prompts one to think differently about the surviving text. By placing the composition in the category of "Hymns and Mysteries," readers are invited to focus on the hymnic and mystical elements within the text, rather than its more commonly discussed sapiential features.

3.1.5. "The Book of Hagi" and "*Raz Nihyeh*"

The identity of the Book of Hagi (ספר ההגי)[110] is something of an unsolved puzzle. The word "Hagi" (הגי) is derived from the root הגה, which can mean "meditate, study" or "utter, pronounce" or "moan, groan" (DCH 2.487–88; Rabinowitz 1961, 111). Because of the

[110] Sometimes called the "Book of Haguy" or "Book of Hagu". Elgvin noted in his 1997 dissertation that "there is no uniformity in the spelling of 'Hagi' in the Qumran scrolls" (Elgvin 1997a, 92, n. 129). See, for example, הֹהוגי in 4Q267 (4QD[d]) 9 v 12; ההגי in CD 14:8, 1QSa 1:7, and 4Q266 8 iii 5; בהגיא in 4Q491 11 i 21; הגוֹי/הֹהגוֹי in 4Q417 1 i 16, 4Q417 1 i 17; הגוי in 11Q14 2:1.

context in which the expression often appears, most scholars have translated it as "The Book of Meditation." The expression most clearly occurs in parts of the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa 1:7) and the Damascus Document (CD 10:6; 13:2).

1QSa 1:6–7[111]

6. ומן נע[וריו]
7. [לל]מדהו בספר ההגי

6. From [*early ch*]ildhood each boy
7. [*is to be in*]structed in the Book of Meditation

CD 10:4–7[112]

4. ⟦ ⟧ וזה סרך לשפטי העדה עד עשרה אנשים ברורים
5. מן העדה לפי העת ארבעה למטה לוי ואהרן ומישראל
6. CD ששה מבוננים בספר ההגי וביסודי הברית מבני חמשה
7. CD ועשרים שנה עד בני ששים שנה

4. vacat And this is the rule for the judges of the congregation. A quorum of ten men chosen
5. from the congregation, as appropriate to the time, four from the tribe of Levi and Aaron, and from Israel
6. six, learned in the Book of Hago, and the foundations of the covenant, from the age of
7. twenty-five years to the age of sixty years

CD 13:2–3[113]

2. ובמקום עשרה אל ימש איש כהן מבונן בספר ההגי על
3. פיהו ישקו כולם

2. And in a place of ten (men), there shall never be lacking a priest learned in the Book of Hagi. By
3. his command (mouth) they shall all be ruled

But what exactly *is* the Book of Hagi? Different theories have been suggested in light of the discovery of the above-quoted texts. For instance, building on the work of Wieder,

[111] Translation of 1QSa by Wise, Abegg, and Cook (DSSR 1.195).

[112] Translation of CD by Steven D. Fraade (2021, 91–92).

[113] Translation by Fraade (2021, 111).

Goshen-Gottstein, Rabinowitz, and Licht, Lawrence Schiffman asserted in his 1975 book that "it has been established that *Sefer He-Hagu* is a synonym for the Torah" (Schiffman 1975, 44).[114] However, Elgvin noted in his 1997 dissertation how others have argued that the Book of Hagi is a composition containing the code of sectarian halakhah,[115] and Yigael Yadin has even suggested the Temple Scroll as a candidate for the Book of Hagi (Yadin 1983, 1.393–97).[116]

Yet the publication of the manuscripts of the present composition—in particular, one section from 4Q417 1 i—added yet another puzzle piece that engendered a new explanation for the identity of the Book of Hagi. In 1992, Wacholder and Abegg proposed in fascicle 2 of their *Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls* that the Book of Hagi mentioned in 1QSa and CD "refer to a work other than either the Hebrew Scriptures or the standard sectarian texts" (Wacholder and Abegg 1992, xiii). Going against more conventional interpretations, Wacholder and Abegg devised a new theory based on their understanding and translation of 4Q417 1 i 14–18 (previously 4Q417 2 i 15–18):

> For the law (*meḥoqeq*) is etched by God for all [ ] sons of Seth. And the Book of Memory (*zikkaron*) is inscribed before him (God) for those who observe his word. And it (Book of Memory?) is the Vision of the Haguy (*hehaguy*), as a Book of Memory. And he (Seth?) bequeathed it to Enosh with the people of the spirit. Because he created it as a sacred blueprint (*tabnith*). But Haguy had not as yet been entrusted to the spirit of flesh since it (spirit of flesh) had as yet not known the distinction between good and evil (Wacholder and Abegg 1992, xiii)

[114] Although Rabinowitz more broadly identified the Book of Hagi with "what came later to be called 'the Holy Scriptures' and 'the Bible' (Rabinowitz 1961, 114).

[115] Elgvin cited Honeyman (1953), Ginzberg (1976, esp. 49–50), and Rabin (1954, esp. 50; cf. Elgvin 1997a, 92–93; 93, n. 131, 132).

[116] For a review of the different theories concerning the identification of the Book of Hagi, see Elgvin (1997a, 92–94).

For Wacholder and Abegg, this passage provided key new information that clarified the identity of the Book of Hagi cited in 1QSa and CD.

> Puzzling as this passage is, it resolves the problem of the identity of the book [of Hagi] cited at Qumran. It was evidently etched on the heavenly tablets for Seth, son of Adam, who in turn handed it over to Enosh, who kept it secret, since the people did not know the difference between right and wrong. Every member of the sect studied this mysterious work and judges were obliged to be experts in it (Wacholder and Abegg 1992, xiii).

In summary, Wacholder and Abegg concluded that the "Vision of Hagi" mentioned in 4Q417 1 i 16 is synonymous with the *raz nihyeh* (which they translated as "Mystery of Being"), and that both were once used to refer to the manuscripts of the present composition. However, Wacholder and Abegg's hypothesis has not been widely accepted by Scrolls researchers. The theory was briskly dismissed by the editors of DJD 34 on the basis that the Book of Hagi is referred to internally within the same passage, and so argued that it would be illogical for a composition to reference itself in such a way (DJD 34:3). However, strictly speaking, this remark is not true. In 2004, Cana Werman rightly observed that the expression occurring in 4Q417 1 i 16 is חזון ההגוי and not ספר ההגוי (that is, "the *vision* of Hagi," not "the *Book* of Hagi"). In light of this phrasing, Werman speculated that "when *4QInstruction* was written, there was no *Sefer ha-Hagu*" (Werman 2004, 140). Werman further alluded to the possibility that the Book of Hagi might have been born from the insights of the *mevin* who are frequently mentioned in the surviving text of the present composition.[117]

> *Sefer ha-Hagu*, the *Book of Hagu*, is mentioned in the Qumran community writings. What was written in that book? Were the conclusions of the meditated vision on the course of

[117] The identity of the addressee as a *mevin* will be examined in Chapter 6.

history put into writing? Did the writing crystallize what was formally free for each *Mevin* to decide for himself?" (Werman 2004, 140).

However, most Scrolls scholars have not entertained the possibility that the Book of Hagi may be synonymous with the preserved writings of the present composition. However, Wacholder and Abegg proposed a *second* possible name in their fascicle based on their understanding of the *raz nihyeh*, which they translated as "the mystery of being". Based on their preliminary readings, Wacholder and Abegg suggested that both *raz nihyeh* and The Book of Hagi were once separate names for the same text (Wacholder and Abegg 1992, xii–xiii).

The notion that the Book of Hagi can be equated with the concept of the *raz nihyeh* has not proven to be a popular one. However, many scholars acknowledge that the *raz nihyeh* is a central feature within the surviving text of present composition.[118] In view of its significance, the phrase has been incorporated in various names proposed by Eisenman and Wise (§3.1.4.), Wacholder and Abegg (§3.1.5.) and two other names that are still to be examined (§3.1.6. and §3.2.1.).

3.1.6. The Secret of the Way Things Are

In 1996, Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, and Edward Cook published *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*. Within this edition, the authors contributed new names to several compositions in line with their understanding of the surviving material. For example, the authors renamed the manuscripts 1QS, 4Q255–264a, 5Q11 (i.e., the Community Rules) as a "Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association," arguing that the term "community" is

[118] The concept of the *raz nihyeh* in the present composition is examined in Chapter 4 (§4.5.5.).

misleading since it implies a group limited to a specific geographical location, when, in their view, the manuscripts address various scattered groups (Wise, Abegg, and Cook 1996, 123).

Regarding the present composition, the authors used the name "The Secret of the Way Things Are," which represents their translation of the expression: *raz nihyeh*.[119] The name is helpful in directing the reader to this significant concept within the surviving text. However, while their chosen name does not imply an imposed sapiential identity for the examined manuscripts, the authors quickly fall into the usual pattern of analysing the content within a wisdom framework in their brief introduction to the text.

> The *Secret of the Way Things Are* represents a further development of the "wisdom instruction"... in which a sage delivers his teaching to his disciples, addressed as his children... the teacher appeals to "the secret of the way things are" [*raz nihyeh*]—that is, knowledge of the inflexible purposes of God acquired by study of Scripture and the laws of the sect (Wise, Abegg, and Cook 1996, 378; cf. DSSANT, 481).

In addition to 4Q415–4Q418, 4Q423, and 1Q26, the authors included several other manuscripts, most of which have never before been associated with the present composition: 4Q410, 4Q412–4Q413, 4Q419, 4Q420–4Q421.[120] No explanation is given for the inclusion of these manuscripts.

The Revised Edition published in 2005 (DSSANT), the manuscripts 4Q410, 4Q412–4Q413, 4Q419–4Q421 were removed from the manuscripts of the present composition and provided with new names. 4Q410 is referred to as "An Unknown Prophecy"

[119] Other translations of *raz nihyeh* are discussed in §3.2.1.

[120] Early inventories show that 4Q419 was at one time considered to be a manuscript of the present composition (see Table 2.3; Comerford 2023).

(DSSANT, 477), 4Q414 is identified as a copy of 4Q512 and referred to as "A Liturgy of Ritual Washings" (DSSANT, 477), 4Q419 is referred to as "An Instruction" (DSSANT, 494), and 4Q420–4Q421 are inexplicably not included in the Revised Edition. However, despite an emerging consensus among contemporary researchers to use names recommended by the editors of DJD 34, the Revised Edition defiantly preserves the name "The Secret of the Way Things Are" for the present composition.

3.2. Current Names

3.2.1. חכמת רז נהיה

In 2009, Menahem Kister proposed an alternative name to those suggested by the editors in DJD 34. Writing for a Hebrew-speaking audience, Kister asserted that, "in my opinion the proper Hebrew name for it [the text] is 'חכמת רז נהיה'" (Kister 2009, 304).[121] Kister did not explicitly explain the rationale behind his preferred name in this paper. However, the name can be inferred from Kister's frequent referral to the composition as "the Wisdom Text" (טקסט החכמה) and his acknowledgement of the *raz nihyeh* (רז נהיה) as a focal feature of the text (2009, esp. 1.304–16). A year later, Kister's suggested name was announced as replacing the "problematic" names proposed in DJD 34 in the first of three volumes edited by Elisha Qimron entitled, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings*. (Qimron 2010, xix).

[121] 'חכמת רז נהיה' ולדעתי השם העברי הראוי לו הוא – Translation my own. In an earlier publication written in English, Kister translated the expression רז נהיה as the "mystery of things to come" (Kister 2004, 31).

Qimron's three volumes have been acclaimed for providing an alternative and oftentimes superior translation of the Scrolls than those presented in the DJD volumes.[122] However, Qimron's assertion that the name חכמת רז נהיה should now be used in place of "the work formerly entitled Instructions" was optimistic. No English-speaking scholars have since referred to the text exclusively with the name used in this volume. Qimron's justification behind his approach to naming and organising the material in his volumes has also been questioned by Najman and Tigchelaar. Qimron explained some editorial principles in the introduction of his volumes.

> All the non-Hebrew names have been translated into Hebrew. Some of the Hebrew names begin with a word designating the work's genre, so that the various compositions belonging to a single genre will appear together in alphabetical order. For example, the titles of works on wisdom begin with the word חוכמה (Qimron 2010, xix).

Though Najman and Tigchelaar approved of Qimron's efforts to assign Hebrew names to compositions, they were critical of his principle of including the purported genre of the composition as part of the proposed name, claiming that Qimron had climbed "out of the pit of the canonical-apocryphal distinction, only to be caught in the snare of genre" (Najman and Tigchelaar 2014, 323). Najman and Tigchelaar also questioned the inclusion of חכמה ("wisdom") based on their understanding that "the authors of the composition go out of their way to avoid using the term חכמה altogether" (Najman and Tigchelaar 2014, 323).[123]

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[122] See reviews by Ariel Feldman (2013; 2019) and Tigchelaar (2015).

[123] Varied forms of the noun הכמה occur ten times: 4Q416 2 ii 12 (par 4Q418 8:13); 4Q417 1 i 6 (par 4Q418 43_45 i 4); 4Q417 1 i 9 (par 4Q418 43_45 i 7); 4Q418 81+81a:15, 19, 20; 4Q418 102a+b:3; 4Q418 126 ii 5; 4Q418 137:2; 4Q418 139:2. In five out of ten occurrences, the term is used in the collocation חכמת ידים (see discussion in Chapter 5 (§5.3.4.2.). For different theories on the limited use of the word חכמה in the extant

But what about Kister and Qimron's use of *raz nihyeh*? The phrase is, after all, widely understood as being the central concept that is referenced time and again throughout the text (see Bakker 2015, 85–156; 2023, 106–39; Goff 2003, 30–79; 2013, 14–17; Harrington 1996b; Kampen 2011, 46–50).

The main problem with using *raz nihyeh* as a stand-alone name for the present composition is that there is no consensus among scholars about how best to translate the phrase. The first word: רז—a Persian loanword—has been unanimously translated as "mystery" or "secret." However, the second word: נהיה—the niphal participle form of the Hebrew word היה ("to be, happen, exist")—has proven to be far more difficult to comprehend. This is partly because the verb היה has both the connotation of "to happen" and "to be" (and the participle form does not help to clarify the temporal aspect of the expression), and partly because it is difficult to determine whether the participle form functions as an adjective or a noun.[124] European languages struggle to convey the depth of nuance packed into this small Hebrew phrase, and so translations have often fallen short of capturing the fullness of its meaning. Roland de Vaux initially sought to emphasise the past aspect of the phrase, translating it as "le mystère passé" ("the past mystery") (1949, 605–06). However, going in the other temporal direction, Barthélemy and Milik chose instead to emphasise the future aspect of the phrase, translating it as "le mystère futur" ("the future mystery") (DJD 1:102, 104). While some contemporary scholars have followed either de Vaux's past sense or Barthélemy and Milik's future sense

manuscripts of the present composition, see Worrell (1969, 119, 186, 406); Newsom (1990, 374, n. 3); Kampen (2011, 220); Bakker 2015, (68–69).

[124] For further information about the technical difficulties that scholars have encountered when attempting to translate the expression, see Bakker (2015, 85–90).

of the expression,[125] others have sought to convey the shifting temporal sense of the phrase by translating it as the "mystery of existence" or "mystery of being/becoming" (DSSSE, 1.67; Wold 2005, 234–35; Lange 2008, 275–76; Rey 2009a, 291–92; Kampen 2011, 48).[126] Most recently, Arjen Bakker has proposed that the expression be paraphrased as "the secret of time" (Bakker 2023, esp. 106–138).

Without there being a clear scholarly consensus on how one should translate the *raz nihyeh*, it is difficult to justify its use as a name for the text without also providing some accompanying information about the inherently challenging (and perhaps incomprehensible) facets of the expression. The present study will return to this point when it comes to reaching its own conclusions about providing a possible alternative name for the composition. However, for now, this study will move onto examining the names proposed in DJD 34.

3.2.2. Names in DJD 34

The names proposed in DJD 34 have by far contributed the most to influencing the way contemporary scholars refer to and understand this composition. The volume introduces two names in particular that have been used by the majority of Scrolls researchers in subsequent publications, which is discussed in §3.2.2.2. below. However, the editors also included several other different ways of referring to the manuscripts examined in this volume that have been largely disregarded by the Scrolls community. These non-starter names deserve attention apart from the discontinued and rejected names considered above

[125] Past sense: Maier (1960, 1.43); DJD 20:36–38. Future sense: Collins (1998, 272–73); DJD 34:154–55; Goff (2003, 8; 2013, 9); Kister (2004, 31).

[126] See DSSSE 1.67; Wold (2005, 234–35); Lange (2008, 275–76); Rey (2009a, 291–92); Kampen (2011, 48).

to illustrate that there was not only variation, but also uncertainty about how best to name the text within this edition of DJD. Before considering existing names and the implications of their usage by contemporary researchers, this study will first examine the neglected names that were proposed by the editors in DJD 34.

3.2.2.1. Overlooked Names and References that Appear in DJD 34

3.2.2.1.1. 4Q415 ff.

Although technically a siglum, one overlooked feature of DJD 34 is the fact that the manuscripts are most often referred to collectively as "4Q415 ff." within the volume. This reference was included in the title of the volume: *4QInstruction* (*Mûsār Lᵉ Mēvîn): 4Q415 ff.,* and the editors noted at the outset that the "siglum 4Q415 ff. will be used to refer to the manuscripts of the work as a whole" (DJD 34:2). Surprisingly, apart from the volume title, the name "4QInstruction" is only elsewhere used as section headings for each of the Cave 4 manuscripts (e.g., 4Q415: 4QInstruction[a]; 4Q416: 4QInstruction[b]; etc.), and "*Mûsār Lᵉ Mēvîn*" (as well as its Hebrew form, מוסר למבין) only appears on page 3 as part of a brief discussion on different prospective names for the text. In every other instance, the manuscripts are collectively referred to as "4Q415 ff."

This begs the questions of why the manuscripts were referred to in this way and why no one has since utilised this way of referring to the manuscripts examined in DJD 34. The first of these questions is difficult to answer. However, it is at least possible to determine *who* was responsible for choosing this particular way of referring to the manuscripts in this volume. At a conference held at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, 15–17 July 1996, Strugnell presented a paper entitled, "The Sapiential Work 4Q415ff. and Pre-Qumranic Works from Qumran: Lexical Considerations," which was

eventually published in 1999. At this conference, Strugnell expounded on editorial developments relating to the naming of the text while conveying some of his own personal preferences.

> This lecture is a by-product of the introduction to the *DJD* edition, which I am preparing in association with Daniel J. Harrington and Torleif Elgvin, of one of the longest nonbiblical texts found at Qumran, a wisdom text for which we propose as an abbreviation 4Q415ff. This is a work attested in at least seven MSS if not more, all of Herodian date, 4Q415, 4Q416, 4Q417, 4Q418, 4Q418^{a}, 4Q423, and 1Q26. Others have used for it a preliminary title I proposed at an earlier time, "Sapiential Work A," but that was never intended to be a final title—only a working one. In fact I now prefer as a title מוסר למבין or "Instruction for a Mēvîn"—this is more likely to have been the original title, but in this lecture we will stay with the abbreviation 4Q415ff." (Strugnell 1999, 595).

After the publication of DJD 34, the other editors—Elgvin and Harrington—went onto refer to the composition as 4QInstruction in later articles (see Elgvin 2000; 2004; 2009; Harrington 2006). Strugnell, on the other hand, continued to use 4Q415 ff. in his 2002 article. One can therefore surmise with some assurance that Strugnell was responsible for the decision to collectively refer to the manuscripts in DJD 34 as 4Q415 ff.

There are several issues with this way of referring to the manuscripts in DJD 34 that have perhaps deterred scholars from utilising it in later studies. For one, "ff." is typically used to indicate items that follow in a sequence. However, this abbreviation does not specify the end point of the sequence (i.e., 4Q423), and neither does it make clear that there are manuscripts within the sequence that are not considered by the editors to be copies of the text (i.e., 4Q419, 4Q420, 4Q421, and 4Q422). Moreover, the siglum does not give any indication that the manuscript 1Q26 was also regarded as a copy of the text.

It is possible that the neutrality of the siglum was seen as a beneficial way of referring collectively to the manuscripts by Strugnell, who—after working longer than any other scholar on the manuscripts in DJD 34—was no doubt acutely aware of the different possible ways the text could be read and understood. However, later scholars inevitably preferred the more descriptive names proposed within the volume, and so 4Q415 ff. finds itself in the company of other disregarded names suggested for this text.

3.2.2.1.2. "The Great Instruction" and "תורה/תעורה למבין"

The names "The Great Instruction" and תורה/תעורה למבין were also proposed in a paragraph which presents the editors' thought process with regards to deciding on a name for the composition in the volume.

> With some uncertainty regarding the name of the precise genre-definition used for 4Q415 ff., a word that was in fact used to indicate a wisdom composition (מוסר, חכמה) should be included in the title. Such a title can then be made specific by a reference to either the author (although in 4Q415 ff. he is almost never mentioned: cf. perhaps משכילכה in 4Q418 81 17) or, with equal validity, to the addressee. Here one could use the form of address that is characteristic of the work and almost unique to it; that is, with למבין or מבין properly transliterated *mēvîn*. This might be transposed into English as 'maven', intending its sense of 'expert' or 'expert in the making', rather than in the sarcastic sense of 'dullard', 'too clever for his own good', which can also be found in English. If, however, a translation rather than a transliteration is required, a choice between 'student' and 'learned one' might be proposed. Hence the suggestion 'Instruction for a Maven/Student' and in Hebrew מוסר למבין *Mûsār Lᵉ Mēvîn*. Since 'Instruction for a Maven' is insufficiently specific, a possible alternative would be 'The Great Instruction', following the lead of the Peshitta's title for the Book of Wisdom, 'The Great Wisdom'. A third alternative would be to propose, following the indications of

> the Egyptian wisdom tradition, another word for 'Instruction'; this would suggest a title of תעורה למבין or תורה למבין (DJD 34:3).

As in earlier editions of DJD, emphasis is once again placed on signalling the supposed genre of the text by the editors in DJD 34. In keeping with this editorial principle, the editors advised that a name should include a word that, in their view, was used to indicate a wisdom composition (in this case, חכמה or מוסר). The next step was to incorporate some reference to either the purported author or addressee of the text. Since the author is not so easily discernible from the extant text, the addressee became the chosen candidate. Combining these principles resulted in the proposed name: *Musar le-Mevin* or "Instruction for a Maven/Student," as they translated it. Intriguingly, the editors criticised their own proposal, calling it "insufficiently specific", which in turn led to them proposing the alternative suggestions: "The Great Instruction" and "תורה/תעורה למבין" (which can also be translated as "Instruction for a *Mevin*/Student").

Little need be said about the lack of scholarly uptake for these two neglected names. The fragmentary remains of this text do not stand out against the myriad of other ancient works that fall within the category of "instructions" or "admonitions" enough for it to be singled out as "The Great Instruction," and תורה/תעורה is more commonly associated with the books of the Pentateuch, rather than sapiential teaching. However, one unifying factor among all the names proposed in this paragraph is that they each recognise and accentuate the word "instruction" as the primary feature of the composition, and this characterisation of the text is similarly underscored by the two names that most scholars continue to use today.

3.2.2.2. "4QInstruction" and "Musar le-Mevin"

The names 4QInstruction and *Musar le-Mevin* have become the most commonly used names among those proposed in DJD 34 and other publications. Of these two names, 4QInstruction appears to be favoured in terms of its overall frequency of use in subsequent studies.[127] However, the name 4QInstruction is not without its problems. Most obviously—like the siglum 4Q415 ff.—the name does not accommodate the inclusion of 1Q26. Elgvin made clear in the introduction to his 1997 dissertation that this issue was anticipated by the editors, revealing that he, Harrington, and Strugnell had initially intended to refer to the composition as "1Q/4QInstruction." Yet despite acknowledging this potential problem, Elgvin went on to state that the editors "decided to use the designation '4QInstruction,'" providing no explanation as to why this name was preferred over 1Q/4QInstruction (Elgvin 1997a, 5). To get around the inherent exclusivity within the name 4QInstruction, some scholars have continued to utilise 1Q/4QInstruction (see Beyerle 2021; Meike 2021), while others have opted to refer to the text simply as "Instruction" (see Bakker 2023; Brooke 2020; Gayer 2020; Tigchelaar 2001; Wold 2019), thereby demonstrating that even the most commonly used name is not without inconsistency.

[127] The following scholars have used the name 4QInstruction (or some variation of this name) in their studies: Elgvin (2009), Gayer (2020), Goff (2013), Harrington (2006), Kampen (2011), Najman (2017), Rey (2009a), Shirav (2022), Tigchelaar (2001; 2018), Uusimäki (2020), and Wold (2018). Others have elected to use *Musar le-Mevin*, including Ben-Dov (2021) and Lange (2010; 2023). Some scholars have alternated between referring to the present composition as 4QInstruction or *Musar le-Mevin* in different publications, such as Bakker (*Musar le-Mevin* in 2015 and 2016; Instruction in 2023) and Wold (*Musar le-Mevin* in 2005 and 2007; 4QInstruction in 2018), and Larden simultaneously utilised both names in his 2002 article entitled "Visdom og Apokalyptik i Musar leMevin (1Q/4QInstruction)."

Concerning "*Musar le-Mevin*," this name appears to have been singled out by the editors as the desired replacement for the text's previous designation, "Sapiential Work A."

> From the various manuscripts, it is clear that the book, often referred to in earlier scholarly literature by its provisional working-title 'Sapiential Work A' (a title whose use should henceforth be discontinued), contains not only ethical and professional admonitions of a type familiar in biblical wisdom texts from Proverbs to Sirach, but also cosmological and eschatological considerations (perhaps as the basis for the above mentioned admonitions). It is also characteristic of these sapiential admonitions that they are addressed to a מבין or a בן מבין (apparently like the בני address of other proverbial literature, i.e. addressed to a son or a student), though it is not known how advanced a student was envisaged. Consequently, the title מוּסָר לְמֵבִין (Instruction for a Maven) is proposed (DJD 34:3).

Moreover, in Strugnell's presented paper at the 1996 conference in Utah, he explicitly made clear his belief that *Musar le-Mevin* was "more likely to have been the original title" of the text (Strugnell 1999, 595).

Yet there are issues with this name that scholars have drawn attention to. Most notably, Tigchelaar observed in his 2000 article that "the word מוסר is hardly used at all in the composition, and may therefore not be the most appropriate word" (2000b, 66). In fact, מוסר occurs only three times among the extant fragments (four if one includes parallels). The term can be found in 4Q416 2 iii 13 (par 4Q418 9+9c:13), as well as in two very small fragments that provide no context for its usage (4Q418 169+170:3 and 4Q418 297:1, the latter being a tiny fragment where only the letters ו and ס are clearly visible). It is also significant that the word חכמה—which occurs ten times in total throughout the

composition[128]—was considered by Najman and Tigchelaar to be an unfit term to use as a name for the text since the word was, in their view, avoided by the authors of the composition (2014, 323). By the same logic, מוסר would therefore be even less suitable to include as part of the name, since it is even rarer than חכמה.

However, the generic traits of wisdom and instruction have evidently been highlighted not because of the frequency of the appearance of the terms חכמה and מוסר throughout the extant remains of the text, but because the text as a whole has been predominantly understood to contain various instructions that serve to guide an addressee towards discovering a greater form of knowledge, understanding, and wisdom. In the second part, this study will begin to investigate how this characterisation of the text has impacted subsequent readings while asking whether the hegemony of this characterisation might be impeding other possible ways of interpreting and understanding the text.

[128] 4Q416 2 ii 12 (par 4Q418 8:13); 4Q417 1 i 6 (par 4Q418 43_45 i 4); 4Q417 1 i 9 (par 4Q418 43_45 i 7); 4Q418 81+81a:15, 19, 20; 4Q418 102a+b:3; 4Q418 126 ii 5; 4Q418 137:2; 4Q418 139:2.

Second Part: *Musar, Maskil,* and *Mevin*: Investigating the Text of 4QInstruction

Chapter 4. *Musar*: Is 4QInstruction an Instruction?

In the first part, this study examined the history of wisdom research in biblical and Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship, highlighting presuppositions behind the use of key terms and phrases in contemporary wisdom discourse, and remarking on how these constructs have been deeply criticised in recent years by both biblical and Scrolls researchers. It then traced the origins of the reconstruction and crystallisation of the present composition, which was—from the outset—identified and labelled by early editors as a wisdom composition. This textual identity has been further reinforced by several recommended names that are today widely used for the document: 4QInstruction, *Musar le Mevin*, and חכמת רז נהיה, while other proposed names which indicate different aspects of the text have been largely overlooked within the field.

The objective of the second part of this thesis is to demonstrate how the textual identity assigned to the document has influenced interpretations of this text, while simultaneously showing how key concepts within the document can be interpreted differently when one sets aside the lenses of wisdom and instruction.

This chapter begins with an investigation of the composition's instructional content, looking first at the meaning and background of the term *musar* (understood as "instruction" by the editors in DJD 34) as used in the biblical text and throughout the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus. It will then explore the use of *musar* in the present composition to determine whether the term is appropriate for describing the contents of the document. Turning to the generic traits presented within the surviving text, this chapter examines the literary forms that correspond with other known wisdom texts (e.g., instructions, admonitions, commands, prohibitions), before considering other important parts of the text that preserve literary elements not typically found in the biblical wisdom writings.

Such elements include scenes of eschatological judgement framed in deterministic and dualistic language, observation of angelic activity, and a focus on the cosmological organisation and outworking of creation. Finally, this chapter considers the concept of the *raz nihyeh* alongside the concept of wisdom (חכמה), to which it has been compared to by some (Wold 2005, 224; Elgvin 2005a, 25). However, this chapter demonstrates that not only does the expression *raz nihyeh* appear significantly more frequently in the surviving text than חכמה, it also possesses alternative qualities that set it apart from conventional wisdom as attained through sapiential teaching.

Reflecting on the form and content of the surviving material, this chapter takes its first steps towards disentangling the textual identity that has long been assigned to the present composition. It argues that the identity of the document as wisdom and *musar* ("instruction") is not only an inadequate summary of the extant text, but that this description also obfuscates other important literary features and further facilitates a misreading of significant concepts within the composition.

4.1. *Musar* in the Hebrew Bible

The form *musar* (מוסר) is a masculine singular noun of the verbal root יסר, which can mean "to discipline, chasten, punish, or admonish" (BDB, 415–16; DCH, 4.238–40; 5.177–78). In the Hebrew Bible, יסר/מוסר occur in various literary contexts, but almost always with the objective of conveying a life lesson or delivering moral instruction by means of verbal or physical reprimand. This form of reproof is often administered by a parental figure and directed towards a child: "My father disciplined (יסר) you with whips, but I will discipline (איסר) you with scorpions" (1 Kgs. 12:11, 14 and again in 2 Chr. 10:11, 14). Other modes of correction associated with יסר/מוסר can, in some circumstances, be quite

severe. For example, Deut. 21:18–21 teaches how a stubborn and rebellious child who repeatedly fails to heed the correction of their parents runs the risk of being stoned to death. Use of יסר/מוסר in the context of parental discipline is especially prevalent in the book of Proverbs, where the forms are most commonly found:[129] "Discipline (יסר) your children while there is hope; do not set your heart on their destruction" (Prov. 19:18); "Do not withhold discipline (מוסר) from your children; if you beat them with a rod, they will not die" (Prov. 23:13); "Discipline (יסר) your children, and they will give you rest; they will give delight to your heart" (Prov. 29:17). Moreover, in what is regarded as the prologue to the book of Proverbs (chap. 1–9),[130] *musar* is strongly linked with notions of knowledge, understanding, and wisdom; with the terms often occurring close together or in a collocation: "To know wisdom and correction; to comprehend words of understanding" (לדעת חכמה ומוסר להבין אמרי בינה) (Prov. 1:2); "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge; fools despise wisdom and correction" (דעת חכמה ומוסר) (Prov. 1:7); "Listen to correction and become wise (מוסר וחכמו)" (Prov. 8:33).

In most cases, the correction that comes from יסר/מוסר—though mostly unpleasant—is ultimately regarded as a positive experience that inspires growth of moral character and draws one closer to God by teaching them to walk in his way: "How happy is the one whom God reproves; therefore do not despise the discipline (מוסר) of the Almighty" (Job 5:17); "For the commandment is a lamp and the teaching a light, and the reproofs of discipline (מוסר תוכחות) are the way of life" (Prov. 6:23); "Happy are those whom you discipline (אשר־תיסרנו), O Lord, and whom you teach out of your law" (Ps. 94:12).

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[129] From the 95 occurrences of יסר/מוסר throughout the Hebrew Bible, 35 of them appear in Proverbs (the book of Jeremiah has the second most occurrences: 15 out of 95).

[130] Fox has argued that these opening chapters were written at a later stage and prefixed to the earlier chapters 10–29 to serve "as a hermeneutical guide to the old sayings" (Fox 2008, 391).

In other instances, it is God who corrects his people "as a parent disciplines (ייסר) a child" (Deut. 8:5). For example, the verb occurs twice in the *piel* to denote divine reprove for persistent disobedience in the book of Leviticus: "And in spite of this you will not obey me, I will continue to punish you (ליסרה) sevenfold for your sins" (Lev. 26:18); "I will continue hostile to you in fury; I in turn will punish (ויסרתי) you myself sevenfold for your sins" (Lev. 26:28). Likewise, in Deut. 11:1–7, the addressees are persuaded to remain obedient to God's commandments by being reminded of the heavenly punishment (מוסר) that was brought upon the land of Egypt, to Pharaoh, and to his people in the wilderness. Moreover, in the book of Jeremiah, the cruelty and oppression carried out by the hand of opposing nations is interpreted as a consequence of Israel's failure to heed the correction (מוסר) of God: "In vain I have struck down your children; they accepted no correction (מוסר) (Jer. 2:30). Even their oppression is characterised as a form of divine punishment because of their continuous disobedience: "All your lovers have forgotten you; they care nothing for you; for I have dealt you the blow of an enemy, the punishment (מוסר) of a merciless foe, because your guilt is great, because your sins are so numerous" (Jer. 30:14).

Based on its usage in the Hebrew Bible, there are two key things to note about the meaning of *musar*. First, as Michael Fox has observed, the noun closely follows the meaning of its verbal root, "punish; discipline," and so *musar* is chiefly characterised by Fox as "correction, whether by verbal rebuke or by physical punishment" (Fox 2000, 34). Moreover, Jason Zurawski remarked that *musar*, "when related to instruction, is always connected to the *process* through which the instruction is given, specifically a form of chastisement or rebuke" (Zurawski 2016, 533; emphasis original). Therefore, in a pedagogical setting, *musar* can be associated with the (often robust) method by which instruction is taught.

Second, Fox draws attention to Rabbi Meir Leibush Malbim's observation that *musar* "is always given by a superior to an inferior, who is morally obligated but not forcibly compelled to listen and learn" (Fox 2000, 34). In other words, *musar* is strictly implemented within a relational dynamic where one person (or group) is expected to be subordinate to another, such as a child to a parent, student to a teacher, or humans to God.

4.2. *Musar* in the Dead Sea Scrolls

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, these two aspects of *musar* and the general meaning of the verbal stem יסר are used in a similar way to their usage in the Hebrew Bible. One new development is the more frequent use of the noun יסור, which occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible (Job 40:2) and twelve times in the Scrolls. However, as Maria Euteneuer has observed, יסר, מוסר, and יסור share a similar semantic range and appear to be used interchangeably in the Scrolls (ThWQ 2.181). In 1QS, for example, a person who refuses to join the community is identified as one "whose soul abhors the corrections of knowledge (ביסורי דעת) [and] of righteous justice" (1QS 2:26–3:1).[131] As a result, a person is permanently tainted and therefore is not suited to be "admonished (התיסר) in the community of his (God's) council" (1QS 3:6). Moreover, the noun *musar* also appears in a pericope in 1QS that seeks to explain what should happen when a person volunteers for enrolment into the community. In such a case, their character and deeds are to be assessed by one of the community leaders—the *paqid* (הפקיד)[132]—who must then decide whether

[131] געלה נפשו ביסורי דעת משפטי צדק (my translation).

[132] This form is taken from the root פקד, which has a broad range of meanings, including "to visit, appoint, observe, review" (see DCH, vol. 6, 737–45).

the potential recruit is fit for admission based on the following condition: "If they are able to receive correction (מוסר), they shall enter into the Covenant…" (1QS 6:14–15).[133] Like in the Hebrew Bible, the terms יסר, מוסר, and יסור are in 1QS (1) applied within a context where knowledge is gained through correction, (2) which is carried out by a perceivable figure (or figures) of authority.

In columns 10–17 of 1QH[a]—which Carol Newsom has distinguished as "the corpus of hodayot of the Teacher"—*musar* occurs twice (Newsom 2021, 9). First in reference to the teacher's role in correcting faithful members of the congregation: "But you have made me a banner for the elect of righteousness and an expert interpreter of wonderful mysteries in order to test [persons of] truth and to prove those who love moral discipline (מוסר)" (1QH[a] 10 15–16; HTSSE, 33); and again in reference to God's role in correcting the teacher: "[… *But you, O my God*,] have opened my ears with dis[*cip*]line (בְּמֹ[ו]סָ֫ר) (1QH[a] 14 6–7; HTSSE, 45).[134] In addition, *musar* is also tentatively reconstructed in 1QH[a] 5 17, where the term is believed to have occurred within a chain of superlatives that highlight God's greatness of character (DJD 40:75; HTSSE, 18).[135]

The nominal forms *musar* and יסור occur also in 4Q525 (4QBeatitudes), which contains several literary features and motifs that overlap with the book of Proverbs, as well as the biblical Psalms and Sirach.[136] Consider, for example, the reconstruction of 4Q525 1 2 with the opening remarks in Proverbs:

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[133] בברית ואם ישיג מוסר יביאהו (my translation). On the meaning of נשׂג, see DCH, vol. 5, 771–72.

[134] HTSSE translates במ[ו]סר in this passage as "with ins[*tru*]ction".

[135] Alternatively, Puech (1988a) and DSSSE reconstructed the verb יב[ין (DJD 40:80).

[136] See Puech (DJD 25:115, 355–56). For a detailed consideration of the literary heritage of 4Q525, see Uusimäki (2016, 73–161).

Prov. 1:2	4Q525 1 2
לדעת חכמה ומוסר להבין	[-- לדע]ת חוכמה ומו֯[סר] להשכיל[--]

Moreover, like in Proverbs, the connection between a love of wisdom and correction is emphasised in 4Q525: "Blessed is the man who attains wisdom, and walks in the instruction of the Most High: establishes his heart in his ways, retrains himself by its correction (ביסוריה), is continually satisfied with its punishments…" (4Q525 2 ii 3:3–4).

Based on an examination of the use of יסר, מוסר, and יסור in the Scrolls, it is evident that the meaning of these terms is largely compatible with how they are used in the biblical text. Most significant is how their usage appears to preserve the two core aspects associated with מוסר/יסר, maintaining the connotation of learning through chastisement or correction, which is administered by a human or divine figures of authority.

4.3. Musar in 4QInstruction

Variations of the verbal stem יסר do not occur in the extant manuscripts of the present composition. Only the noun form *musar* can be found (plausibly) three times throughout the document. Once in the comparatively well-preserved fragment 4Q416 2 iii 13—the content of which can be found in the parallel fragment 4Q418 9+9a_c 13—and elsewhere in the extremely small fragments of 4Q418 169+170:3 and 4Q418 297:1. Concerning 4Q418 169+170, these tiny fragments contain only one or two broken words over 5 lines.

1. [--]ם [ ]נחל○[--]
2. [--]עֹם פקו֯[דתו]ובהתה֯[לכו --]
3. [--]מוסר ובאהב[ת ח]סד ת○[--]
4. [--]דּ֯יו֯ ובכול ○[--]
5. [--]שקדכ○[--]

1. ... inherit ...
2. ... with [*his*] punish[*ment*] and in [*his*] walk[*ing* ...]
3. ... discipline and in lovin[*g kin*]dness ...
4. ... and in all ...
5. ... he will watch over yo[*u*] ...

4Q418 169+170 1–5

The appearance of *musar* in line 3 here is not completely certain. Notably, the editors in DJD 34 remarked that the opening word of line 3 should be read "מוסר, not the apparent מוסד," suggesting they understood the final letter as a *dalet* rather than a *reš* (DJD 34:392; see PAM 43.471). The fragment itself does not provide enough context to determine which reading is more appropriate. As such, the editors chose to read it as *musar* because the word fit better with their interpretation of the document as a wisdom text, with *musar* being "characteristic of Biblical wisdom literature and Sirach (DJD 34:392; cf. Tigchelaar 2001, 109).

Concerning 4Q418 297, this fragment is even smaller than the former, containing only two broken words across two lines. The word *musar* was believed by the editors to appear in the first line. However, only the letters *waw* and *samek* are clearly visible, with the editors further suggesting that the "*reš* could have been a *waw* or a *yod*" (DJD 34:472).

Given that the presence of *musar* is questionable in the extremely fragmentary remains of 4Q418 169+170 and 4Q418 297—and because these fragments do not provide enough content to facilitate a convincing interpretation of the possible usage of *musar*—only 4Q416 2 iii 13 and its parallel 4Q418 9+9a_c 13 are suitable for closer analysis.

4.3.1. *Musar* in 4Q416 2 iii 13 (par 4Q418 9+9a_c 13)

The only extant occurrence of *musar* can be found in the most extensively preserved extant segment of the text: 4Q416 2 i–iv, which is supplemented by several other fragments from different parallel manuscripts.[137] The precise context where *musar* appears is provided by the following verses (4Q416 2 iii 12–14).

12. *vacat* אביון אתה אל תאמרׄ רש אני ול[וא]
13. אדרוש דעת בכל מוסר הבא שכמכה ובכל[ ]○ צרוף לבכה וברוֹב בינָהׄ
14. מחשבותיכה

12. *vacat* You are poor—do not say, "I am poor, and so I will n[*ot*]
13. seek knowledge." Take upon your shoulder all forms of discipline (מוסר), and in all ... refine your heart and with much insight
14. your thoughts ...

4Q416 2 iii 12–14 (par 4Q418 9+9a_c 12–14 [underline])[138]

The pericope appears to admonish the intended recipient of this passage not to fall prey to self-pity in view of their poverty and so find excuses to abandon their pursuit of knowledge. It encourages them to maintain every kind of "discipline" (מוסר) and persist in their quest for greater knowledge and understanding. The line sentence בכל מוסר הבא שכמכה has been translated in various ways.[139] The translation proposed above seeks to maintain the original sense of *musar* as a difficult and demanding part of the process of growing in understanding. In this passage, the burden of *musar* weighs heavy on the shoulders of the recipient, but the benefits of knowledge and understanding far outweighs

[137] 4Q416 i overlaps with 4Q417 2 i 6–14, 23–28, 4Q417 2 ii 1–2, and 4Q418 7b:1–14 (most of these lines are better preserved in 4Q417 2 i–ii and 4Q418 7b). 4Q416 col. ii shares points of overlap with 4Q417 2 ii 2–26, 4Q418 7b:14, 4Q418 8:1–17, and 4Q418a 19 (D5) 1–4. 4Q416 col. iii shares points of overlap with 4Q418 9a_c 1–18 and 4Q418 10a, b 1–4. 4Q416 col. iv shares points of overlap with 4Q418 10a, b 5–10 and 4Q418a 18 (D4) 3–4.

[138] A full transcription and translation of 4Q416 2 i–iii with textual notes is provided in Chapter 6 (§6.4.1.).

[139] "Bring thy shoulder under all instruction" (DJD 34:113; DSSR 4 97; Goff 2013, 93); "Bend your shoulder to all discipline" (DSSSE, 2.853); "Apply yourself to every kind of discipline" (DSSANT, 488).

the cost of holding to discipline. Moreover, the accompanying verb צרוף with the root meaning "refine, smelt" (often by fire) supports the idea that this process of learning is both challenging and painful for the intended recipient (DCH 7.164–65). Notably, *musar* here functions differently to how it is typically used in the Hebrew Bible. In most cases, *musar* (understood as "discipline, correction") represents the harsh means by which a figure of authority encourages their subordinate to learn. Yet in this passage the responsibility lies with the addressee to take *musar* upon their own shoulders. Use of the reflexive *hiphil* form הבא ("take/bring upon") invites the addressee to apply a kind of self-discipline—or self-*musar*—that is rarely found in other ancient Jewish texts.[140]

The limited and atypical use of *musar* in the extant remains of the composition raises questions about its use as a name and identity marker for the document. The editors themselves admitted that "this modest frequency does not exactly support our proposal for a title of this work" (DJD 34:392). Moreover, as determined from an examination of its use in other ancient Jewish writings, the meaning of *musar* has less to do with instruction and more to do with the *process* by which instruction takes place, which is most commonly through some form of punishment, chastisement, or correction carried out by a senior figure (or figures) or authority. From its usage in the present composition, however, *musar* appears to be enacted by the addressee upon themselves (as evidenced by use of the reflexive *hiphil* הבא), rather than by any discernible figure of authority within the document.

[140] Jean-Sébastien Rey has pointed to similarities between this section and a passage in Sirach 6:25, where the addressee is invited to bend their shoulder to carry the personified figure of Wisdom (see also Sir. 51:26; Rey 2009a, 107–08).

Though justification for *musar* as a key part of the name for the composition is not well supported by its usage throughout the present composition, it may be justified by the general understanding that the text itself can best be characterised as a wisdom or instructional work because of the presence of literary features typically associated with this kind of writing.

4.4. Instructional Features in 4QInstruction

Several studies have analysed the content of present composition by dividing the surviving material into various generic categories based on analysis of its form and content. One study that is particularly helpful for identifying the parts the text that accord with its identity as an instructional work is Daryl Jefferies' 2004 monograph, *Wisdom at Qumran: A Form-Critical Analysis of the Admonitions in 4QInstruction*. Utilising Gunkel's form-critical method,[141] Jefferies distinguishes between what he identified as "Admonitions" from "Non-Admonition Material" among the larger fragments of the present composition (see Table 4.1).[142]

[141] Jefferies followed the steps of form-critical analysis as outlined by Gene Tucker, which included (1) analysis of the structure; (2) description of the genre; (3) definition of the setting or settings; (4) statement of the intention, purpose, or function of the text (Jefferies 2004, 2; citing Tucker 1989, 12).

[142] Jefferies briefly analysed what he identified as the "Non-Admonition Material in 4Qinstruction" on pages 70–74.

Admonitions	Non-Admonition Material
4Q415 2 ii	4Q416 1
4Q416 2 cols. i–iv	4Q418 55
4Q417 1 i–ii	4Q418 69
4Q417 2 i[143]	4Q418 126
4Q418 81	4Q423[144]

Table 4.1. Daryl Jefferies' organisation of the larger fragments of the present composition

Jefferies approach to dividing "admonitions" from "non-admonitions" was largely reliant on Roland Murphy's descriptions of the wisdom forms associated with the wisdom genre, which included "wisdom sayings," "admonitions," "commands," "prohibitions," "motive clauses," "better sayings," "rhetorical questions," "call to attention," "instruction," and "parenesis" (Jefferies 2004, 7–12; cf. Murphy 1981, 4–6; 2002, 7–13). Utilising Murphy's definitions, Jefferies identified several wisdom forms in the present composition in his section on "Genre and Forms" (Jefferies 2004, 90–108). This included examples of single and double commands, prohibitions, motive clauses, conditional clauses, monostiches (single-verse poems), rhetorical questions, a better saying, as well as numerous admonitions.

In total, Jefferies identified "fifty-two complete or mostly complete instructions" from the extant content of the present composition (Jefferies 2004, 100; see Table 4.2.).[145]

[143] 4Q417 2 ii is better preserved in 4Q416 i, and so Jefferies focusses his analysis on the latter fragment.

[144] Although the preserved words in 4Q423 8 appear to overlap with the first four and a half lines of 4Q418 81, meaning at least 1 of the 24 fragments associated with the manuscript 4Q423 aligns with Jefferies' category of "admonitions" (see DJD 34:525). Jefferies also acknowledged that "4Q423 has more in common with the admonitions in relation to form than the other 'discourse' material" (2004, 74).

[145] Table 4.2., however, contains fifty-three passages that Jefferies identified as Instruction. It is possible that the passage which Jefferies referred to as Section 6, A (4Q417 1 i 1–5) was regarded first and foremost as "Understanding Creation," rather than instruction.

Jefferies' Reference	Actual Reference	Identified Genre	Other Features
Section 1: Dealing with Others			
A	4Q417 2 i 1–2	Instruction	Commands, motive clauses, condition(?)
B	4Q417 2 i 3	Instruction	Prohibition
C	4Q417 2 i 4	Instruction	Command, prohibition, motive clause(?)
D	4Q417 2 i 5–6	Instruction	Possibly part of preceding motivational clauses, rhetorical question
Section 2: Requiring the Proper Lifestyle			
A	4Q417 2 i 7–9a	Instruction	Prohibition, command
B	4Q417 2 i 9b–10a	Instruction	Prohibition, rhetorical question (as motivation)
C	4Q417 2 i 10b	Instruction	Prohibition, motive clause
D	4Q417 2 i 11–12a	Instruction	Command (restated), result clause (or rhetorical question?)
E	4Q417 2 i 12b–14a	Instruction	Command (restated), prohibitions
F	4Q417 2 i 14b–17a	Instruction	Command (restated), result, motive clause, rhetorical questions
Section 3: Money Matters			
A	4Q417 2 i 17b–18	Instruction	Address/call to attention, conditions, command, prohibition
B	4Q417 2 i 19–20a	Instruction	Situation, command(?), promise
C	4Q417 2 i 20b–21a	Instruction	Command, prohibition, motive clause
D	4Q417 2 i 21b–23a	Instruction	Situation + reason, prohibition (restated), desired result, warning + motive clause
E	4Q417 2 i 23b–24	Instruction	Prohibition, Result clause, command + promise

F	4Q417 2 i 25–28a	Instruction	Situation, prohibition + motive clause, result clause
G	4Q416 2 i 21–2 ii 3a	Instruction	Call to attention, situation, conclusion(?), promise
H	4Q416 2 ii 3–6a	Instruction	Prohibition (+motive clause or restatement of command?), result clause, situation + command + result
I	4Q416 2 ii 6b–7a	Instruction	Prohibition, prohibition specified, motive clause
J	4Q417 2 ii 7b – 9a	Instruction	Situation, commands, result clause, prohibitions, motivation
K	4Q416 2 ii 9b–10a	Instruction	Situation, prohibition (restated), desired result
L	4Q416 2 ii 10b–12a	Instruction	Situation, prohibition, motive clause + consequences, didactic saying
M	4Q416 2 ii 12b–14a	Instruction	Condition, command + result clause, result
N	4Q416 2 ii 14b–15a	Instruction	Call to attention, Prohibitions + motivation, result
O	4Q416 2 ii 15b–16a	Instruction	Prohibition, result clause
P	4Q416 2 ii 16b	Instruction	Prohibition, motive clause
Q	4Q416 2 ii 17	Instruction	Prohibition, better saying (motivation)
R	4Q416 2 ii 17b–18	Instruction	Prohibition (restated), motive clause
Section 4: The Proper Conduct of "the Poor"			
A	4Q416 2 ii 18b–21a	Instruction	Prohibition + situation (various), motive clause
B	4Q416 2 ii 21b	Instruction	Prohibition
C	4Q416 2 iii 1–5a	Instruction	Commands, result(?), condition(?) + prohibition, motive clause, desired result

D	4Q416 2 iii 5a–8a	Instruction	Situation + prohibition, motive clause, result summary: conditional, result clause
E	4Q416 2 iii 8b–9a	Instruction	Condition, prohibitions, motive clause
F	4Q416 2 iii 9b–10a	Instruction	Conditional clause + commands, resultant clause, result
G	4Q416 2 iii 10b–12a	Instruction	Commands, motive clause
H	4Q416 2 iii 12b–15a	Instruction	Condition, prohibition, commands, result clause
I	4Q416 2 iii 15b–19a	Instruction	Commands, motive clauses, result clause
J	4Q416 2 iii 19b–20a	Instruction	Conditional clause
Section 5: Domestic Relationships			
A	4Q416 2 iii 20b–21a	Instruction	Condition(?) + commands
B	4Q416 2 iv 1–3a	Instruction	Paraphrase/quotation, statements
C	4Q416 2 iv 3b–4a	Exposition	Interpretation/descriptions
D	4Q416 2 iv 4b–7a	Exposition	Interpretation/descriptions, warning (restated)
E	4Q416 2 iv 7b–10a	Exposition	Restatement/paraphrases
F	4Q416 2 iv 10b–13	Exposition	Restatement/paraphrases continued, prohibition
G	4Q415 2 ii 1–9	Instruction	Command, prohibition, motivation, warning, expression of praise
Section 6: Achieving and Maintaining Your Inheritance			
A	4Q417 1 i 1–5	Understand creation (Instruction)	Address, command + object
B	4Q417 1 i 6–13	Instruction	Command (restated), result clause, reason, result clause

C	4Q417 1 i 13b–17	Appeal to the past	Address, promise of reward, statement of judgment, promise of salvation, promise of reward, description of reward, reason for exclusive promise
D	4Q417 1 i 18b–19	Instruction	Address, command (restated), description/result(?)
E	4Q417 1 i 20–23	Instruction	Command
F	4Q417 1 i 23b–24	Instruction	Prohibition + motivation, result
G	4Q417 1 i 25–27	Instruction	Address, command, prohibition
H	4Q417 1 ii 3–16	Promise and call to praise (3–11); Instruction (12–16)	Promise of relief(?), walk in perfection(?), calls to praise, result(?), prohibitions, command, motive clause
I	4Q418 81 1a	Metaphor	*Mevin* as "spring" to bless the holy ones
J	4Q418 81 1b–2a	Call to praise	Address/call to attention, command (to praise), description
K	4Q418 81 2b–3a	Instruction	Address/call to attention, command (restated), motive clause
L	4Q418 81 3b–6a	Instruction	Address/call to attention, command, rewards, promise
M	4Q418 81 6b–7a	Statement: Goodness as reward	Address/call to attention, statement/rhetorical question, motivation + command
N	4Q418 81 7b–8	Command: seek his judgment and love him	Address/call to attention, commands
O	4Q418 81 9–14	Statements or commands	Address/call to attention, description/condition/situations, command, promise(?)
P	4Q418 81 15–16	Instruction	Address/call to attention, condition (restated?), statement

Q	4Q418 81 17	Instruction	Command (restated?), statement
R	4Q418 81 18–20a	Instruction	Command + result clause, result, promise
S	4Q418 81 20	*Uncertain*	*Uncertain*

Table 4.2. All admonitions identified by Jefferies are examined in Chapter 6 of his study

There are some points of confusion with Jefferies' organisation and presentation of the material in his study. Most apparent is the use of his own unique system for citing the relevant passages of text,[146] which for convenience has been converted in the first and second columns of Table 4.2. Moreover, Jefferies use of generic categories is not always consistent. In some cases, Jefferies appears to understand admonitions as being a kind of sub-genre that falls within the broader category of instruction.

> The admonitions themselves are generally gathered into instructions, the most prevalent genre in 4QInstruction (Jefferies 2004, 98; cf. 127).

However, in Jefferies' form-critical analysis in Chapter 6, these categories are reversed; "admonitions" becomes to dominant category, and "instruction" is treated as a sub-genre. Finally, Jefferies' study largely operated on presuppositions that are conventionally associated with form-critical analysis relating to wisdom compositions. For example, Jefferies asserted that "wisdom literature was *governed* by the use of these (and other) conventional forms [admonitions, commands, prohibitions, wisdom sayings, etc.]" (Jefferies 2004, 12; emphasis added), which led him to making further assumptions about the original function and life setting of the composition:

[146] For example, instead of 4Q418 81:18, Jefferies would write "section 6, instruction R, line 1" (2004, 91).

> Because the topics and forms are appropriate to the wider wisdom tradition, the setting need not be restricted beyond positing a student/teacher relationship where rebuke and proper response are emphasized (Jefferies 2004, 127).[147]

Overall, Jefferies' study provides useful information pertaining to the use of forms that are commonly found in texts identified as wisdom compositions, with most of the examined admonitions occurring within the four columns of 4Q416 2 and in parallel manuscripts (41 of 52 instructions identified by Jefferies; Table 4.2.). However, the category of "Non-Admonition Material" used by Jefferies does not provide any indication about what other kinds of literature are present within the document. In this regard, other studies have signposted the various composite features present within the composition more clearly. For instance, Jean-Sébastien Rey divided his analysis of the larger manuscripts of the present composition into two parts in his 2009 book. First, "The Sapiential Pericopes," which included analysis of 4Q415 2 ii, 4Q415 9, 4Q415 11, 4Q416 2 i–iv, 4Q417 2 i, 4Q418 103 ii and 4Q423 5 (Rey 2009a, 41–221), and the second: "The Eschatological Fragments," which included analysis on 4Q416 1, 4Q418 69 ii + 60, and 4Q418 126 ii 1–10 + 122 ii (Rey 2009a, 228–326). In addition, Torleif Elgvin's proposed reconstruction of the composition provides a generic description of the larger surviving fragments (see Table 4.3.; Elgvin 1997a, 29–31).

[147] The teacher-student relationship that is sometimes presumed by scholars to exist within the surviving text of the present composition will be evaluated in Chapters 5 and 6.

Relative position in 4Q416	Main text, location in Scroll	Genre[148]	Contents
II 17–21	4Q417 2 i 1–5[149]	Admonitions	Argument with a neighbour
III 1–21	4Q417 (2 i) 5–28	Admonitions with doxology	Position of elect toward God and neighbour
	5–6	Rhetorical question	The uniqueness of God
	7–8		Separate from the ungodly
	8–12		Study of God's mysteries and your eschatological hope
	12–13		Argument about property
	14–17	Niedrigkeitsdoxologie ("doxology of lowliness")	God's might, man's humble state
	17–21		God provides for your needs
	21–27		Repay your loans
III 22 – *IV* 3	4Q416 2 i 3–2 ii 3	Hymnic description	God provides for your every living things
IV 3–*VI* 15	4Q416 2 ii 3–2 iv 13	Admonitions	
IV 3–18	2 ii 3–18		Business ethics: surety, relation to superiors and subordinates
IV 18–*V* 3	2 ii 18–2 iii 3		Decent and humble lifestyles
V 3–6	2 iii 3–6		Restore a deposit in full

[148] Elgvin explained his understanding of genre as derived from the "traditional concept of 'Gattung' from German scholarship," and so used "'genre' in the sense of a small textual unit characterized by specific formal elements and matters of content (some authors use 'form' instead of 'genre' in this sense), not about whole literary works such as gospels or epic works" (Elgvin 1997a, 36, n. 1).

[149] Elgvin used his own referencing system for fragments of the present composition in his dissertation. In the case of 4Q417 2 i 1–5, Elgvin referred to this section as "4Q417 *III* (1 i) 1–5." All of Elgvin's references have been converted in this table to match those used more commonly by contemporary researchers.

V 6–8	2 iii 6–8		The hope of the righteous through death
V 8–15	2 iii 8–15		Study God's mysteries and praise His name
V 15–*VI* 15	2 iii 15–2 iv 13; 4Q416 17		Family matters: relation to parents, wife (specifically: her oaths) and children
VI 17–*VIII* 15	4Q416 4, 1; 3	Discourse	Universal judgment
VI 17–20	4Q416 4	Exhortation	Rejoice, the elect is not under God's wrath
VII 2–7	4Q416 1 2–7	Announcement of judgement	God will judge all iniquity
VII 8–10	4Q416 1 8–10	Hymnic description	The Creator established the heavenly hosts
VII 11–19	4Q416 1 11–19	Theophany report with announcement of judgement and salvation	God will judge in heaven and on earth, every creature will acknowledge His sovereignty
VIII 9–15	4Q416 3	Exhortation, prayer, praise	God has given each one his portion, and will prevail over all evil. Praise Him for His miracles
IX (?)	4Q418 69 1–15	Trial speech	The judgement of the ungodly, the glorious portion of the elect
X	4Q417 1 i 3–29	Wisdom instruction	God's mysteries plan for creation and history
XI	4Q417 1 ii 4–18	Biblical paraphrase (?), narrative with exhortations	Apocryphal story about Noah (?) with parenesis

XV	4Q418 81 1–20	Wisdom instruction	The portion of the elect and his community
	4Q418 81 1–6		Praise of the angels and God who has given you a glorious portion
	4Q418 81 6–9		You have received insight, walk according to your calling
	4Q418 81 10–14		The elect community, God's eternal planting
	4Q418 81 15–20		God will sustain you. Use your insight and skills
XX	4Q418 55 1–12	Rhetorical dialogue	The God-given portions of men: the elect heed His will, the ungodly did not seek wisdom
XXII	4Q423 1–2 1–9	Biblical paraphrase and exhortation	The garden of God: the eschatological community and its knowledge
XXIII (last column)	4Q418 127 (last column of 4Q418a) 1–7	Warning	The disobedient will see trouble and death. God will test each one

Table 4.3. Elgvin's proposed ordering of the fragments (Elgvin 1997a, 29–31; cf. 1995b, 579–80).

Though most have disagreed with Elgvin's ordering of the fragments, favouring instead the hypothesis that the document most likely began with 4Q416 1, Elgvin nonetheless provides a more variegated portrait of the content of the present composition with his assessment of its generic features than Jefferies. Elgvin identified a large portion of the surviving material as wisdom instructions made up of admonitions, commands, and

prohibitions.[150] Yet he also remarked on several significant segments that he identified as "revelatory discourses" that focus on eschatology and the revelation of God's mysteries, noting that many of these discourses are conveyed in various forms, such as "wisdom instructions (*weisheitliche Lehrrede*), trial speech, rhetorical dialogue, announcement of salvation (*Heilswort*), announcement of judgement, and theophany report" (Elgvin 1997a, 40). Elgvin further observed that the forms typically associated with separate literary traditions are combined in interesting ways within the extant text of the present document, remarking that "wisdom admonitions are interspersed with eschatological statements," and "exhortations to praise are scattered throughout the book, interwoven with parenetic material" (Elgvin 1997a, 44).

In a separate study, Grant Macaskill investigated the blending of eschatological material with admonitions in 4Q416 1 and 6 and 4Q417 1 and 2, organising the discernible material into three categories: "eschatological admonitions in which the command itself is eschatological in nature; admonitions with eschatological motives; and admonitions with no obvious eschatological signatures (Macaskill 2007, 100; see Table 4.4.).

[150] According to Elgvin:

> "the wisdom instruction is a longer text unit where the teacher invites the student to appropriate the lessons he has to offer. The instruction is characterized by direct address ['my son(s)'], and consists of calls to attention, imperatives, prohibitions, motive clauses, etc. (wisdom admonitions can thus be integrated into a larger instruction)" (Elgvin 1997a, 40).

Eschatological admonitions	Admonitions with eschatological motives	Admonitions with no eschatological signatures
4Q417 1 i 2–12	4Q417 1 i 23	4Q417 2 i 17–28
4Q417 1 i 18	4Q417 2 i 2–7	4Q416 2 ii–iv[151]
4Q417 2 i 10–12	4Q417 2 i 13–16	—

Table 4.4. Macaskill's demarcation of admonitions (Macaskill 2007, 99–08).[152]

According to Macaskill's analysis, there are only two sections in the extant text of the present composition that can be regarded as typical wisdom admonitions (i.e., admonitions that are not also coloured by eschatological motifs).

Scholarly observations that have shed light on the heterogenous nature of the present composition inspires further investigation of other significant forms and features of the surviving material in order to determine whether the composition as a whole can best be described as a wisdom text or instructional work.

4.5. Other Literary Features in the Text of 4QInstruction

Among those fragments containing various admonitions, instructions, and other literary features typically found in biblical wisdom literature, there are also several significant fragments that contain forms not found in conventionally defined wisdom writings: 4Q416 1, 4Q418 55, 4Q418 69 ii, and 4Q418 126 ii 1–10.[153] In these fragments one finds

[151] Though Macaskill noted that some of these admonitions only make sense when understood in light of the preceding eschatological introduction in 4Q416 1 (e.g., 4Q416 2 iii 8–12; 4Q416 2 iii 15–19; 4Q416 2 iv).

[152] Macaskill clarified that this was not a comprehensive examination of the admonition material in the present composition, remarking that he had "chosen to limit the discussion of these fragments in order to allow a sufficient examination of the material" (Macaskill 2007, 100, n. 127.)

[153] These four fragments were identified by the editors in DJD 34 as being among the "ten most substantial fragments" of the surviving material (DJD 34:8). Another significant portion of a fragment (also identified

theological frameworks of cosmology and judgement, deterministic and dualistic language, as well as descriptions of an observable heavenly host that is to be emulated by those addressed. Much of the surviving form and content in these fragments can be found in works typically associated with another ambiguous literary category: apocalyptic. Like wisdom, the word apocalyptic has similarly suffered from having a loose definition that can be applied to various kinds of writings. To combat this vagueness—in the same way that James Crenshaw once appealed to form-criticism to assert that studies of wisdom should begin with an understanding of the core literature associated with the category (Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon; see §1.3.4.)—several scholars in the 1970s and 1980s contended that studies of apocalypticism in ancient writings should begin with a clear understanding of texts that can be identified as "apocalypse" based on correspondences in form and content (Collins 1979; Hanson 1976; Koch 1972, esp. 34; Rowland 1982, esp. 11–15; Stegemann 1983; Stone 1976; 1984). Much work has gone into distinguishing between "apocalypse" as a literary genre, "apocalypticism" as a social ideology, and "apocalyptic eschatology" as a set of ideas and motifs that may also be found in other literary genres and social settings (Collins 2003; 2016, 13; Hanson 1976; Stone 1984, 392–94). Such distinctions are mirrored by constructs invented by scholars of biblical wisdom to distinguish between the literary forms of wisdom (wisdom genre), the worldview of the sages/tradents of the wisdom writings (wisdom worldview), and the characteristic features of wisdom that may be found in other kinds of literature (wisdom influence; see Table 1.1.).

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in DJD 34 as one of the ten "substantial fragments") that does not fit within the wisdom genre by conventional form-critical metrics is 4Q418 81 + 81a 1–14, which appears to address a priestly figure. This fragment provides important information about a specific kind of recipient addressed within the document, and so will be examined in Chapter 6 (see §6.3.4. and §6.4.5.).

The publication of previously unknown manuscripts from the Dead Sea Scrolls in the 1990s provided new material that has begun to transform scholarly opinion of and approaches to notions of apocalyptic writings and movements, opening up new roads of analysis (see especially contributions in DiTommaso and Goff's 2023 edited volume, *Reimagining Apocalypticism*). The present composition has also played a significant role in inspiring scholars to re-examine the nexus between wisdom and apocalyptic (Collins 1997b; Kister 2004; Goff 2010). However, for the purposes of this studies, this section adopts a generic approach to highlight the presence of apocalyptic themes and forms found in several sizeable fragments that make up a significant portion of the surviving material of the present composition. In consideration of lists of features that have been proposed as criteria for identifying apocalypses, the following will be most relevant in the forthcoming analysis: a need to bring divine order into a disordered world, a focus on the meaning of history, cosmology, angelology, and the future salvation of an elected few, and revelation of divine knowledge branded as "hidden" or "secret" (Stegemann 1983, 526 – 58; cf. Elgvin 1997a, 47, n. 44).

In connection to the latter criterion, this section concludes by examining the concept of the *raz nihyeh*, which some have compared to the concept of wisdom (חכמה) as chiefly conceptualised in the books of Proverbs and Sirach (Wold 2005, 224).[154] However, this study demonstrates that the *raz nihyeh* is very much its own concept that in many ways surpasses conceptions of wisdom in the biblical text.

The goal is to demonstrate that, upon examination of what remains of the preserved text, one finds that a large part is not represented by current names and genre labels used

[154] Elgvin characterised the *raz nihyeh* as "an apocalyptic representation of the biblical and early Jewish concept of 'the Wisdom of God,' which stresses the esoteric nature of divine revelation" (Elgvin 2005a, 25).

by scholars to characterise the document, thus further problematising the imposed textual identity of the present composition as a wisdom text and instructional work. By highlighting the inadequacies of this assigned textual identity, this chapter prepares the way for a re-evaluation of key concepts within the document.

4.5.1. 4Q416 1: Establishing an Eschatological Framework

One of the most prevalent and distinctive features of the present composition is its eschatological perspective, which is pointedly emphasised at what is generally regarded as the beginning of the composition: 4Q416 1.[155] This fragment is widely believed to represent the first sheet of the composition because of the presence of a large margin above the first line of the visible text (PAM 43.524).

4.5.1.1. Transcription and Translation

4Q416 1. Parallels: 4Q418 1, 2, 2a, 2b, 2c (underline)[156]

1. כֹּ֖ל רֽוח[--]
2. לתכן חפצי[--]
3. מועד במועד ו֑[--]

[155] The majority of studies understand 4Q416 1 (4Q418 1) as representing the first sheet of the composition (see DJD 34:8, 8, 18–19, 79–80; Goff 2013, 8; Harrington 1996a, 41; Kampen 2011, 44; Puech 2005; Tigchelaar 2001, 43–44; contra Elgvin 1995; 1997a). It is also possible that 4Q417 1 preserves an alternative introduction (cf. Tigchelaar 2001, 192).

[156] Tigchelaar included several other fragments in his reconstruction of 4Q416 1, which others have generally followed or expanded upon (see Goff 2013, 81; Puech 2005, 90–91; Qimron 2013, 2.147; Rey 2009a, 229). Moreover, Tigchelaar regarded 4Q418 1, 2, and 2b as fragments belonging to a different manuscript other than 4Q418 (Tigchelaar 2002, 112). As noted in the preface, this study takes a minimalist approach when reconstructing lacunae or identifying points of overlap or joins between fragments. Consideration of how other fragments have been used to reconstruct the text of 4Q416 1 is addressed in the Textual Notes below.

4. לפי צבאם למשׂ[וֹר במשוֹרה ול○ --]
5. וממלכה למד[ינה ומדינה לאיש ואישׂ --]
6. לפי מחסור צבאם [ומשפט כולם לו --]
7. וצבא השמים הכִּין מ[-- ומאוֹרות]
8. למופתיהמה ואתות מו[עדיהמה -- יגידו]
9. זה לזה וכל פקודתמה י[--]ספרו[--]
10. בְּשׂמים ישפוט על עבודת רשׁעה וכל בני אמתו יִרצו לְ[פניו --]
11. קצה ויפחדו וירוֹעו כל אשר התגללו בה כי שמים יִרְאוּ ת[--]
12. [י]מים ותהמות פחדו ויתערערו כל רוח בשר ובני השמְ[ם --]
13. [מש]פטה וכל עולה תתם עוד וֹשלם קץ האמ[ת לעולם ○ ○ל --]
14. בכל קצי עד כי אל אמת הוא ומקדם שנִי[עולם -- ל]
15. להבִּין צדק בין טוב לרַעְ ל○[ ]רְ כל משפְ[ט -- א]
16. [י]צר בשר הוֹאה ומבינו[ם -- ל -- ל --]
17. בְּראתִו כְּי ה○[--]
18. [ ]וֹד○[--]

1. every spirit ...
2. to arrange the delights of ...
3. season by season and ...
4. according to their host to have dom[inion with authority and to ...
5. and kingdom, for pro[vince and province, man for man ...
6. according to the need of their host, [but the judgement of all of them belongs to him ...]
7. And the host of heaven he has established [... and luminaires ...]
8. for their wonders and signs of [*their*] se[*asons*... they *proclaim*(?)]
9. one after another. And all their assignments [...] they shall recount...
10. in heaven he will judge over the work of wickedness. But all the children of his truth will be favourably accepted b[*efore him* ...]
11. its end. And all those who polluted themselves in it (wickedness) will be terrified and cry out, for heaven will be afraid ...
12. [*s*]eas and depths are terrified. Every fleshly spirit will be laid bare but the children of heav[en ...]
13. its judgment. And all iniquity will come to an end forever and the period of tru[*th*] will be completed [*forever*...]
14. in all the periods of eternity, for he is a god of truth. From before the years of [*eternity* ...]
15. to make a righteous person understand the difference between good and evil to... every judgme[*nt* ...]
16. it is an [in]clination of flesh, but those (with) understand[*ing* ...]
17. his creatures, for ...
18. ...

4.5.1.2. Textual Notes

1. Tigchelaar has suggested that 4Q418 229 might overlap with parts of 4Q416, and so includes כוֹכְבי אור at the end of line 1 (Tigchelaar 2001, 175).

6. מחסור. Tigchelaar has proposed that this may be a misspelling, and so suggests the correction: מסחור. The root סחר usually refers to business or trading, denoting the "going around" of merchants. However, Tigchelaar has the suggested that the Akkadian use of *saḫāru*, which denotes the "going around" of stars and planets, may fit better within the context of the fragment (Tigchelaar 2001, 179; cf. Goff 2013, 48).

7.]מֹ֫ן הכֵּ֫ין. Alternatively, the editors proposed]ל עהכין on the basis that "על is extremely frequent with הכין" (DJD 34:82).

10. בְּשֹׁ֫מים. Alternatively, the editors and Puech read משמים (DJD 34:81; Puech 2005, 90).

11. [--]תֹּ֫ יִרְאֹ֫וּ. Building on Elgvin's observations, Tigchelaar discerned points of overlap between 4Q418 212 and 4Q416 1, and so proposed]יראו תרעש ממקומה ארץ in his reconstruction of the lacuna at the end of line 11, which others have since followed or modified (Tigchelaar 2001, 175; 2002, 106–08; cf. Elgvin 1997a, 97; Goff 2013, 43; Puech 2005, 90; Qimron 2013, 147; Rey 2009a, 229).

13. פטה[מש]. This reading is based on perceived points of overlap with 4Q418 212 (Goff 2013, 43; Rey 2009a, 229; Tigchelaar 2001, 175). Alternatively, the editors proposed פטה[הש] (DJD 34:81).

15. להבין. Materially, להכין is also possible (DJD 34:81; Tigchelaar 2001, 176). However, the parallel text 4Q418 2 7 reads להבין and so is preferred (Goff 2013, 43, 45; Rey 2009a, 229; Puech 2005, 91).

16. ומבינו[ם. Alternatively, ומבינו[ת "and from understand[*ing*" (DJD 34:81, 88).

4.5.1.3. Analysis

Breaking down the structure of the passage, 4Q416 1 can be divided into two sections. The remains of lines 1–9 convey the organisation of the cosmos and introduce a heavenly host who are given a measure of dominion over the created order. Lines 10–18 depict a scene of judgment that sees an end to all iniquity and brings about a time of truth that will last forever. The events unfold in accord with a deterministic perspective on reality, culminating in the future salvation of the elect which takes place at the climax of God's divine plan and continues on forevermore (4Q416 1 13–14). In addition, various motifs are juxtaposed in dualistic language. The exemplary order of nature stands out against the iniquity and impurity of humankind, the "spirit of flesh" (רוח בשר) is contrasted with the "children of heaven" (בני השמים; i.e., the angels),[157] and the wicked are compared to those who are favoured by God and can distinguish between good and evil.

Another interesting feature of this section is the use of plural forms in reference to the addressees within the composition. For instance, line 10 refers to a collective who are described as "children of his (God's) truth" (בני אמתו). Comparing this expression with another found in 4Q418 69 ii 10, where the recipients are similarly addressed in the plural:

[157] Contra Grant Macaskill, who has suggested that the "children of heaven" refer to the righteous, rather than the heavenly host (Macaskill 2007, 75).

"but you chosen ones of truth" (ואתם בחירי אמת; 4Q418 69 ii 10), one can surmise that this expression is used to refer positively to those who agreed with, participated in, and/or advocated for the theology and teaching espoused within the composition.[158] Use of plural expressions and vocative forms of address are rare within the surviving material. More common are second person singular forms of address (אתה or ואתה; see Tables 6.1. and 6.2.), which are often followed by an imperative or command (Tigchelaar 2000, 66, n. 17). As shall be explored in Chapter 6, significant portions of the surviving text provide guidance on how to behave in very specific situations (debt bondage, providing resources, agriculture, family), and in these cases singular forms can be found. However, in some passages examined in this section (4Q418 55; 4Q418 69 ii; 4Q418 126 ii), plural forms appear to be more prevalent when the topic shifts to these broader themes of cosmology, eschatology, and angelology.

Based on form-critical analysis, the communal and cosmological focus of the surviving text suggests that these potential opening lines were intended for a broad audience. The fragmentary remains of 4Q416 1 provides an eschatological and theological framework that is expanded on in other surviving fragments of the present composition.

4.5.2. 4Q418 55: Angels as Pedagogical Models

Building on the cosmology established in the opening lines of 4Q416 1, 4Q418 55 provides further information on the activity of the angelic host and their purpose as inspirational role models for those associated with the present composition.

[158] The identity of the addressees as "children of his truth" and "chosen ones of truth" will be explored in Chapter 6 (§6.4.6.).

4.5.2.1. Transcription and Translation

1. [--]הְ וְנַפְשׁוֹ[--]
2. [--] *vacat* [--]
3. [--]סָ[--]בעמל נכרה דרכיה *vacat* נרגיע
4. [--]וְשקד יְהִיה בלבבנו [--]וְבטוֹח בכול דרכינו *vacat*
5. [--]{תָ} דעה ולא שחרו בִּינָ[ה --]אָ בחרו *vac* הלוא אל [ה]דָּעות
6. [--]על אמת להכִין כול[-- ב]ינה הוא פלג לנוחלי אמת
7. [--]שקד בא[--]עָשׂ[ ]הלוא שלום והשקט
8. [-- הלוא יד]עְתם אם לא שמעתמה כיא מלאכי קודשׁ ל[ו] בשמים
9. [--]אמת וירדפו אחר כול שורשי בינה וישקדו על [דעה]
10. [-- ולפ]ְי דעתם יְכבדו איש מרעהו ולפי שכלו ירבה הדרוֹ
11. [--]○ הֲכאנוש הם כי יעצל ובן אדם כי ידמה הלוא
12. [--]ד○ והם אחזת עולם ינחלו הלוא ראיתם

bottom margin

1. ... and his soul ...
2. ... *vacat* ...
3. ... with toil we explore its ways. *vacat* We will be at rest...
4. ... And vigilance will be in our heart ... and assurance in all our ways. *vacat*
5. ... knowledge. And they have not diligently sought after understand[*ing* ...] they have [*no*]t chosen. *vacat* Is not [*the*] God of Knowledge ...
6. ... upon truth, to establish all [... *un*]derstanding. He has apportioned to those who inherit truth ...
7. ... vigilance in ... Are not peace and tranquillity ...
8. [... *Do*] you [*not kn*]ow or have you not heard that the angels of holiness belong to h[*im*] in heaven ...
9. ... truth. They pursue after all roots of understanding and are vigilant over ...
10. [... *And according*] to their knowledge they are glorified, each one more than his neighbour, and according to one's insight his splendour will be increased.
11. ... Are they (the angels) like humans? For a human is slothful. Or a child of Adam? For he is still. Is not ...
12. ... As for them, they will possess an eternal inheritance. Have you not seen ...

4.5.2.2. Textual Notes

1. וֹנפְשׁוֹ. Alternatively, the editors and Rey read וֹנפְ[ו]לֹה (DJD 34:265; Rey 2009a, 304). However, the editors noted that "too many uncertainties exist... for any one reading to be treated as any more than plausible (DJD 34:267).

4. In the lacuna after בלבבנו, most commentators provide the reconstruction בכול קצים "in/at all times" (DJD 34:265; Goff 2013, 211; Rey 2009a, 304; Tigchelaar 2001, 89).

5. [-- ה]בינ. Most commentators have reconstructed בינ[ה וברצון אל לו]א in the lacuna (DJD 34:265; Goff 2013, 211; Rey 2009a, 304; Tigchelaar 2001, 89). Alternatively, Elgvin has proposed בינ[ה וחכמה לו]א (Elgvin 1997a 247). However, the limited use of חכמה throughout the document attests against this reconstruction.

6. ינה[ב --]להכין כול. Goff, Rey, and Tigchelaar have proposed ינה[ב על דרכיהם]להכין כול "to establish all[*their ways upon un*]derstanding" (Goff 2013, 211; Rey 2009a, 304; Tigchelaar 2001, 89). Alternatively, Qimron has proposed ינה[ב ודעת הפציהם]להכין כול "to establish all[*their scattering and knowledge of un*]derstanding" (Qimron 2013, 150), and Elgvin has also proposed ינה[בב מעשה]להכין כול "to establish every [*creature by <His> un*]derstanding" (Elgvin 1997a, 326). However, the latter suggestion is not long enough to fill in the lacuna.

4.5.2.3. Analysis

The structure of 4Q418 55 is difficult to determine on account of its shifting use of first-, second-, and third-person plural forms, and the fragmentary state of the text makes it hard to identify precisely who is "we," who is "you" (pl.), and who is "they."

The *vacat* in line 2 suggests a significant break in the passage, indicating that the text in line 3 likely represents the beginning of a new section (PAM 43.483). First-person plural forms used in lines 3 and 4 make assertive claims: "we will explore" (נכרה, literally "we will dig"; DCH, 4.458–59), "we will be at rest" (נרגיע), "vigilance will be in our hearts" (שקד יהיה בלבבנו), "assurance in all our ways" (בטוח בכול דרכינו). However, one cannot be sure whether these first-person plural proclamations are made by humans or angels. Goff, for example, presumes that the forms can be attributed to the addressees (whom he refers to as *mevinim*, although this term is not found in this fragment; Goff 2013, 213–15). On the other hand, Wold supposes that the "we" encompasses both the speaker (whom he regards as a *maskil*)[159] and the addressee who is sometimes called *mevin* throughout the text (Wold 2018, 25). Yet one could also attribute the forms to angels who proclaim their responsibility as role models for aspirational members of the community associated with the present composition.

In Line 5, we find a third person plural form that introduces a negative "they" group who "have not sought understand[*ing*" (ולא שחרו בינ[ה). By not pursuing understanding, these negative figures go against the natural order established by "[*the*] God of knowledge" (אל [ה]דעות). Although there are no references to "wicked ones" or "fools" (cf. 4Q418 69 ii 4, 8) in the surviving text of this fragment, these negative figures can be reasonably compared with the wicked who subvert God's will in 4Q416 1, and who are further contrasted with the "children of his truth" (4Q416 1 10). 4Q418 55 6 re-emphasises this contrast between a negative out-group and a positive in-group who are identified with the plural construct as "those who inherit truth" (נוחלי אמת).

[159] The question of whether a *maskil* can be identified as a possible speaker or teacher in the present composition is discussed in Chapter 5.

Line 8 poses a series of rhetorical questions with second masculine plural forms (הלוא עֹ]תם אם לא שמעתמה(יד), prompting the addressees to consider the holy angels (מלאכי קודש) who belong to God. In line 9, the addressees are urged to observe how the angels constantly "pursue after all roots of understanding" (ירדפו אחר כול שורשי בינה) and are admonished to admire their vigilance.[160] However, it is unclear whether the second masculine plural forms are used in line 8 to address the positive in-group who will inherit truth, the negative out-group who go against God's will, or both. The passage becomes even more confusing as line 10 introduces third person plural forms which assert that "they" will be glorified by their knowledge (דעתם יכבדו). Again, it is difficult to ascertain if the ones who will be glorified because of their knowledge are people (DJD 34:267, 271) or angels (Goff 2013, 219), and the switch from third masculine plural forms to third masculine singular forms in the same line only adds to the confusion.

A further two rhetorical questions are introduced in line 11. Like in line 8, these rhetorical questions prompt the addressees (good and/or bad) to consider "they" (הם), which refers to the angels who, unlike humans, are neither slothful nor still. Finally, in line 12, another "they" (הם) group are described as "possessing an eternal inheritance" (אחזת עולם ינחלו). However, the identity of this "they" group is uncertain. One could again argue that הם in line 12 refers to either humans (Goff 2013, 220) or angels (Stuckenbruck 2004, 65), and the fragmentary remains do not facilitate a clear conclusion.

The textual remains of 4Q418 55 strongly attests to apocalyptic and liturgical genres in terms of form and content. Plural forms abound, giving a sense of communal engagement,

[160] References to "roots of understanding" after only elsewhere found in the book of *Mysteries* (4Q301 1 2 and 4Q301 2b 1). A similar expression שורש חוכמה ("root of wisdom") can also be found in 4Q301 1 a ii_b 3. See also negative expressions within the present composition: שורשי עולה ("root of iniquity"; 4Q416 2 iii 14 and 4Q418 9+9a_c 15) and שרש רעֹ ("root of evil"; 4Q418 243 3).

and the content is largely centred on the activity of the angels who, as Goff has observed, serve as pedagogical role models that humans are encouraged to emulate (Goff 2013, 217). This is an important aspect of the composition that has been largely overlooked. As we shall see in Chapters 5 and 6, it has been commonly assumed that the document attests a student-teacher relationship, and that the teacher was a sage (or *maskil*) and the student (or *mevin*) was a sage-in-training (see Bakker 2023, 56–57, Harrington 1996a, 40; Goff 2013, 12; Kampen 2011, 26–27). However, there is limited evidence that suggests the presence of a sage or teacher in the surviving text. Instead, it is the angels who stand out as the primary educators within the present composition, hinting at an autodidactic model of education whereby the addressees were responsible for their own personal and intellectual development.

4.5.3. 4Q418 69 ii: Expansion of Eschatology and Dualistic Theology

Details about the imminent eschaton envisioned in 4Q416 1 and the activity of the holy angels expounded in 4Q418 55 are further developed in this fragment.

4.5.3.1. Transcriptions and Translation

4Q418 69 ii. Parallels: 4Q417 5 1–5 (underline)

1. [--]פֹּחכה
2. [--]ותשכיל[ ]מות עם
3. [--]◦[ ]◦דתם הלוא באמת יתהלכו
4. [--]הֹם ובדעה כול גליהם *vacat* ועתה אוילי לב מה טוב ללוא
5. [-- ומה] השקט ללוא היה ומה משפט ללוא נוסד ומה יאנחו מתים על כ[ול יומ]ם
6. אֹתֹם[ ]◦ל נוצרתם ולשחת עולם תשובתכם כי תקיץ וֹתֹ[--]חֹטֹאכמהֹ[--]
7. מחשכיהֹ יצרחו על רֹבכם וכול נהיה עולם דורשי אמת יעוֹרו למשפטכֹ[ם ואז]

8. יִשמדו כול אֲוילי לב ובני עולה לוא ימצאו עֹוד[וכ]וֹל מחזיקי רשעה יבש[ו ואז]
9. במשפטכם ירִיעו מוֹסדי {ה}רקיע וירעמו כול צ[בא --]ל[--]ל אהבו[--]
10. *vacat* ואתם בחִירי אמת ורודפי[--]מִשחָ[רי בינה ו]שוקדָ[ים]
11. על כול דעה איכה תאמרו יגענו בבינה ושקדנו לרדוף דעת ○[--]○ בכול מָ[--]
12. ולא עִיף בכוֹל {נ}שני עולם הלוא באמת ישעשע לעד ודעה[לנצח]תשרתנו וגָ[ני]
13. שמים אשר חיים עולם נחלתם האמור יאמרו יגענו בפעלות אמת ויעפ[נו (?) *vac*]
14. בכול קצים הלוא באור עולם יתהלָ[כו] *vac* [כ]בָוד ורוב הדר אתם [--]
15. ברקיעִ[קודש וב]סוד אילים כול[--] *vacat* ואתה בן [--]

1. ... your...
2. ... and you will understand ... with
3. ... their ... Do not all their [*waves*?] move to and fro with truth?
4. ... their ... or with knowledge all their waves? *vacat* And now, foolish ones of heart, what is good for one who has not
5. [... *And what*] is tranquillity for one who does not exist? And what is judgment for one who has not been established? What do people groan about a[*ll*] their [*days*]?
6. You ... were fashioned, and to the eternal pit is your return. For it will awake and re[*veal*] your sin ...
7. its dark regions will cry out against your pleadings, and all who exist forever, those who investigate truth, will be stirred for yo[*ur*] judgment. [*And then*]
8. all the foolish ones of heart will be destroyed, those characterised by iniquity will be found no more, [*and a*]ll those who cling to wickedness will wither aw[*ay. And then*]
9. at your judgment the foundations of the firmament will cry out and every ... will thunder ... they have loved...
10. *vacat* But you, chosen ones of truth, who pursue ... who see[*k understanding, and*] who wat[*ch*]
11. over all knowledge. How can you say “We have toiled for understanding and we have been vigilant in pursuing knowledge ... in all ... ?”
12. and does not tire in all the years of eternity. Does he not delight in truth forever? And (does not) knowledge [*eternally*] serve him? And the ch[*ildren of*]
13. Heaven, whose inheritance is eternal life, would they really say “We have toiled in for the works of truth and [*we*] are weary of ...
14. in all periods”? Do they not mo[*ve*] to and fro in eternal light? *vacat* [*gl*]ory and an abundance of splendour are with them...
15. in the firmaments of ... council of the divine beings are all ... *vacat* And you who are characterised by ...

4.5.3.2. Textual Notes

ii 1. פֿחכה. Other suggested readings include בחכה (Tigchelaar 2001, 92), מֿחכה (DJD 34:281), and ש[בחכה] "your [*pr*]aise" (Qimron 2013, 151).

ii 3. דתם○[ ]○. Follows Tigchelaar's more conversative interpretation of the ink traces (Tigchelaar 2001, 92). Some commentators דתם[ו]בֿ[ע]בֿ (Goff 2013, 223; Puech 2005, 98; Qimron 2013, 151; Rey 2009a, 243). However, the traces in PAM 43.480 do not facilitate a reliable reconstruction.

ii 4. הֿם[--]. Commentators have included כול at beginning of line 4 (with varying reconstructions of the lacuna) based on perceived joins between 4Q418 69 ii and 4Q418 60 identified by Tigchelaar (Tigchelaar 2001, 92; cf. Goff 2013, 223; Puech 2005, 98; Qimron 2013, 151).

ii 5. [ומה --]. Like in line 4, commentators have included]נֿוצרֿ at the beginning of line 5 on the basis of joins tentative identified by Tigchelaar (Tigchelaar 2001, 92; cf. Goff 2013, 223; Puech 2005, 98; Qimron 2013, 151).

ii 6. ל○[ ]אֿתֿמֿ. Suggested reconstructions of the lacuna include אֿתֿמֿ [לשא]וֿל נוצרתם "you [*for She*]ol were fashioned" (Goff 2013, 223; Puech 2005, 99; Rey 2009a, 243) and אֿתֿמֿ [מהב]ל נוצרתם "you [*from brea*]th were fashioned" (Qimron 2013, 151).

ii 15.] בן ואתה. Most commentators include [מבין] בן ואתה "and you understanding son" (DJD 34:281; Tigchelaar 2001, 92, 210; Qimron 2013, 151). Alternatively, Elgvin has proposed [בכור] בן ואתה "and you, firstborn son" (Elgvin 1997a, 248). It is noteworthy that traces of the lower part of the final *nun* are not visible in the available PAM images (PAM 41.907, PAM 43.480). One could reasonably read *vav* or *yod* after *bet*.

4.5.3.3. Analysis

The structure of the fragment can be divided accordingly. Lines 1–4a are extremely fragmentary. The first word of line one is too broken to translate with any confidence (see Textual Note above). Line 2 contains a second masculine singular *hiphil* verb ותשכיל ("and you will understand"), while the remains of line 3 and the first half of line 4 contain several third masculine plural suffixes (though some of the connected verbs are not preserved), as well as the interrogative *hē* attached to the negative particle: הלוא ("is it not…"), which is common in 4Q418 55 and 4Q418 69 ii.[161] From what can be gleaned, these lines appear to be addressed to an in-group who are encouraged by way of rhetorical questions to observe the to-ing and fro-ing of the waves. In other words, like in previous sections, the addressees are admonished to take note of the orderliness of God's creation.

Following a long *vacat* in line 4, a new section is introduced with a new addressee: "And now, foolish ones of heart" (ועתה אוילי לב). The phrase "foolish ones of heart" occurs once more in line 8 together with another expression that is used to describe these negative addressees: "children of iniquity" or "those characterised by iniquity" (בני עולה). Lines 4–9 vividly describes the fate of these negative addressees who are destined to lament before the judgement of God and his angels before ultimately being destroyed for all eternity.[162]

[161] See 4Q418 55 5, 7, 11, 12; 4Q418 69 ii 3, 12, 14. See also 4Q417 2 i 11 (par 4Q416 2 i 6); 4Q417 19 3; 4Q418 81 + 81a 6; 4Q418 211 3; 4Q423 1_2 i 1.

[162] There is some disagreement as to whether in line 7 it is the angels who are roused or whether the positive addressees are described as rising from death to witness the judgement of the foolish ones of heart. Arguments for the former view have been proposed by Goff (2003, 176–79; 2013, 233–34), Collins (2004, 56–57), and Tigchelaar (2001, 211), while arguments for the latter have been proposed by Elgvin (1997b, 143–44) and Puech (2005 100–01).

Following another *vacat* of roughly the same size as the one found in line 4 (see PAM 43.480), a new, positive group are introduced by the plural form of address in line 10: "But you, chosen ones of truth" (ואתם בחירי אמת). A detailed analysis of the identity of these figures addressed as "chosen ones of truth" is provided in Chapter 6. However, when thinking about the formal features of this fragment, it is important to highlight that—as in 4Q416 1 and 4Q418 55—these positive figures are brought into contrast with the negative figures addressed in the preceding lines 4–9. The chosen ones of truth are, like the angels in, characterised by their willingness to pursue knowledge, understanding, and truth (4Q418 69 ii 7, 10–11; cf. 4Q418 55 9–10). Moreover, these positive addressees are reminded of their future inheritance of glory which is comparable to the inheritance of the angels (4Q418 69 ii 13–14; cf. 4Q416 2 iii 11–12). Dualism and determinism are therefore prevalent features in this fragment. However, the positive addressees in lines 10–15 appear to lack the mental endurance of the angels. Thus, a second kind of dualism emerges, this time forming a distinction between the positive addressees and the angels. Using second masculine plural forms, the addressees are rebuked for complaining about the hardships of their toiling in line 11. Where in lines 12–13 the addressees are informed that the angels would never make such a protest. Thus, a hierarchy of sorts is established between the "foolish ones of heart" who are destine for destruction, the "chosen ones of truth" who inherit glory and toil for understanding, and the angels who tirelessly seek truth and who live eternally. Finally, at the end of line 15—following another *vacat*—a new section opens with the second person singular address: ואתה (see Textual Notes above). Unfortunately, the remains of this new section have not survived.

On review of the fragment's formal features, apocalyptic elements are especially prominent. The main themes that emerge include eschatology, angelology, dualism, and

determinism, all of which attest to the genre of apocalyptic by conventional form-critical metrics. Moreover, as Tigchelaar has observed, one finds a significant number of formal correspondences between 4Q418 69 ii and 4Q418 55. Both fragments contain multiple second person plural forms (4Q418 55 8, 12; 4Q418 69 ii 6 [x2], 7 [x2], 9, 10, 11, 14), first person plural forms (4Q418 55 3 [x2], 4 [x2]; 4Q418 69 ii 11, 13), rhetorical questions introduced by the interrogative *hē*, הלוא ("is it not..."), איכה (how?), and ומה/מה ("what/and what"?) (4Q418 55 5, 7, 8, 11 [x2], 12; 4Q418 69 ii 3, 4–5, 5 [x3], 11, 12, 13, 14), as well as shared terminology, structure, and content (Tigchelaar 2001, 217–21). Several scholars have also remarked on significant points of overlap between 1 Enoch and surviving parts of the fragment. For example, both alternate between addressing a positive and a negative group using second masculine plural forms, both refer to the judgement of the wicked, both mention Sheol or the pit, and both depict the positive recipients as complaining about their toil (cf. 1 Enoch 91–92, 103–104; Elgvin 1997a, 169–70; Tigchelaar 2001, 212–17). The literary features in 4Q418 69 ii (and to a lesser extent 4Q418 55) stand out so strongly against what is found elsewhere in the present composition that some have suggested the content of this fragment might have originated from a different source that was later integrated into the present composition (DJD 34:14; Elgvin 1997a, 250). However, given our limited knowledge of the writing practices of the group associated with the manuscripts of the present composition, one cannot presume that an observable difference in form and content is indicative of any kind of reworking or integration of a different text. Moreover, there is enough surviving material that utilises plural forms and professes a distinct eschatological worldview that suggests the fragment fits within the wider context of the present composition.

4.5.4. 4Q418 126 ii 1–10: More Cosmology, Eschatology, and Dualism

This section analyses the form and content of 4Q418 126 ii 1–10. Following a *vacat* in line 11, there is a significant change in both topic and addressee. Thus, this portion of the fragment will be examined in Chapter 6 (§6.3.5.). Only the right portion of the fragment is preserved, making it difficult to determine the width of the column (PAM 43.481).[163]

4.5.4.1. Transcriptions and Translation

1. [-- ל]וֹא ישבוֹת אחד מכול צבֹאם ה[--]
2. [--]ן באמת מוֹד כול אוט אנשים א[--]
3. [--]בֹאי[פ]תְ אמת ומשקל צדק תכן אל כול מְ[--]
4. פֻרשם באמת הוא שמם ולחפציהם יִדרש[ו --]
5. יִסתר כול וגם לוא נהיו בלוא רצונו ומחוכְ[מתו --]
6. משפט להשיב נקם לבֹעלי און ופקודת שְׁ[--]
7. ולסגור בעד רשעים ולהרים ראוש דלים [--]
8. בכבוד עולם ושלום עֹד ורוח חיים להבדיֹל[--]
9. כול בני חוֹה ובכוח אל ורוב כבודו עם טובו [--]
10. ובאמונתו ישיחו כול היום תמיד יִהללו שמו וֹהְ[--]

1. [... *n*]ot one of all their hosts ever rests ...
2. ... in truth from the hand of all resources of people ...
3. ... with an eph[*a*]h of truth and a measure of righteousness God apportions all ...
4. He has spread them out, in truth he has established them and to those who delight in them [*they*?] are studied ...
5. is hidden. And also, nothing exists without his good will and apart from [*his*] wis[*dom* ...]
6. justice to repay vengeance towards the evildoers and the punishment of ...
7. to lock up the wicked and to lift up the head of the poor ...
8. in eternal glory and everlasting peace and a spirit of life to separate ...

[163] Tigchelaar has argued that 4Q418 122 ii can be joined with 4Q418 126 ii, which some scholars have followed (Goff 2013, 273; Qimron 2013, 171; Rey 2009a, 255–56). The editors in DJD 34 were aware of Tigchelaar's proposal yet chose not to include it in their transcription (DJD 34:350). Rey has also noted that the join is not materially clear (Rey 2009a, 255). See Textual Notes below.

9. all the children of Eve. And in the strength of God and an abundance of his glory with his goodness ...
10. and in his faithfulness they will extol all day. Constantly they will praise his name and ...

4.5.4.2. Textual Notes

2. ן[--]. After Tigchelaar proposed joins between 4Q418 126 i–ii and 122 i–ii, several commentators have reconstructed the beginning of line 2 with וא[תה מב]ינ֯ן (Goff 2013, 273; Qimron 2013, 171; Rey 2009a, 256; Tigchelaar 2001, 103). Deterioration of the fragment has meant that the final *nun*—which may also be read as *qoph* (DJD 34:351; Rey 2009a, 255–56)—is only visible in earlier photographs. For instance, traces are visible in PAM 41.909, but not PAM 43.481.

2 . אוט. This study follows those who understand this term as referring to material assets or "resources" from which the addressee benefits based on terminology used in the immediate context of אוט, such as מסחור ("goods, merchandise"), מחסור ("need, lack, poverty"), and טרף ("prey, food") (Bakker 2023, 52, n. 106; Goff 2003b, 152, n. 104; 2013, 9, 64; Rey 2009a, 33).[164]

3. ת֯[פ]באי֯[--]. Owing to Tigchelaar's proposal to join 4Q418 122 ii with 4Q418 126 ii, many scholars have reconstructed כי within the lacuna at the beginning of this line (Goff 2013, 273; Qimron 2013, 171; Rey 2009a, 256; Tigchelaar 2001, 103).

9. כול בני חוה. Alternatively, כול בני חיה "all children of life" (DJD 34:354–55; discussed in the Analysis below).

[164] Other translations of אוט include "secret" (DJD 34:32), "property, affairs" (Novick 2008, 339–43), "goodness, kindness" (DSSANT, 487, 493), and "measure" or "measured share/provisions" (Ben Dov 2021, 3–16; cf. Gayer 2020).

4.5.4.3. Analysis

From what remains of the text, lines 1–10 of the fragment can be divided into two parts. Lines 1–5 describe God's role in determining the order of creation, and lines 6–10 focus on the judgement of the wicked in contrast with an elect group.

Line 1 curiously refers to "their hosts" (צבאם) who do not rest, which may refer either to the ceaselessness of the angels (cf. 4Q418 55 9–11; 4Q418 69 ii 12–14) or to the perpetual movements of the stars and planets. Both would fit within the cosmology context of the section. In line 2, some reference is made to the "resources" (אוט) provided by people.[165] In light of line 3, which describes how God appoints all things with a measure of truth and righteousness, perhaps some comparison is being made with the balance and orderliness of the heavenly realm and the balance and distribution of assets on earth (cf. Goff 2013, 276–77). Lines 4–5 proclaim that God is the one who spread out and established the stars, which are to be studied by "those who delight in them" (חפציהם). It is unclear, however, whether the third masculine plural suffix is used to refer to angels or humans.

The remains of lines 6–10 depict the outcome of evildoers, who will be punished and "locked up" (סגור) for their iniquity, in contrast with another group who will live "in eternal glory and everlasting peace" (בכבוד עולם ושלום עד). Notably, the positive figures are described in line 7 in the plural as "poor" (דלים). The adjective דלים/דל is not elsewhere found as a description term for the positive addressee(s) in the surviving text of the present composition. However, there are many instances in 4Q416 2 i–iii (and parallel fragments) wherein an addressee is described as poor" (רש, רוש), "needy" (אביון), or "lacking" (מחסור),

[165] On the translation of אוט as "resources," see Textual Notes above.

which suggests that the poor here are regarded as part of a wider, positive in-group.[166] In line 9, one finds the peculiar expression כול בני הוֹה ("all children of Eve") or כול בני חיֹה ("all children of life"). Considering the former, it is uncertain whether "all children of Eve" should be equated with the positive or negative addressees within the section, and a lack of ancient parallels only adds to the difficulty of interpreting this expression.[167] On the other hand, the expression "all children of life" may accord with the preceding phrase "spirit of life" (רוח חיים) in line 8, which appears to distinguished in some way from others (להבדיל). This would suggest that the expression "all children of life" was used as a general way of referring to the positive addressees in this part of the document. The final line in the section uses third person plural forms to refer to the positive group who will constantly extol (ישיחו) and praise (יהללו) God's name.

The cosmological, eschatological, and dualistic features observable within the remains of lines 1–10 of this fragment appears to follow a similar pattern as some previously examined fragments in terms of its general structure and use of language. In terms of structure, the section opens with a reminder of God's involvement in establishing the order of creation, followed by a description of what happens to those who deviate from God's established order, which can also be found in 4Q416 1 and 4Q418 69 ii (cf. Rey 2009a, 261). In terms of language, 4Q418 126 ii 1–10 adds to an already eclectic array of terms and phrases that denote both positive and/or negative groups, such as "poor" (דלים), "evildoers" (בעלי און; literally "masters of iniquity"), "wicked" (רשעים), "spirit of life" (רוח חיים), and "all children of eve/life" (כול בני הוֹה/חיֹה). Crucially, as with the previous

[166] Descriptions of an addressee as a poor person in 4Q416 2 i–iii will be explored further in Chapter 6 (§6.4.1.).

[167] Caquot has suggested that the Ethiopic phrase *walda ʾeg*^{w}*āla ʾemma-ḥeyāw* ("son of the offspring of the mother of the living") may provide some context for its usage in 4Q418 126 ii 9 (Caquot 1996, 27).

fragments, all of these descriptive terms and expressions are plural forms, indicating that the broader cosmological and eschatological themes were more widely applicable than some other sections that utilise predominantly singular forms. It is also significant that the participle forms *mevin* and *mevinim* do not once occur in any of the fragments examined in this section, which problematises the commonly held view that a *mevin* is the principal recipient in the present composition (DJD 34; Goff 2013; Wold 2018). Additionally, it is striking how frequently the angels are identified as exemplars in terms of their piety and willingness to constantly pursue truth and understanding. In the absence of a clearly identifiable teacher—which will be further illuminated in Chapter 5—it appears the recipients addressed in these fragments were broadly encouraged to pursue an autodidactic model of personal growth.

With regards to form and content, the examined fragments contain a plethora of literary features that correspond with the genre of apocalyptic, taxonomically defined. However, perhaps the biggest contributing factor to the document's apocalyptic identity is the concept of the *raz nihyeh*, which is recurrent in many surviving fragments of the present composition. In the final section of this chapter, this study examines the usage of this concept throughout the document in contrast with the comparatively rare use of חכמה ("wisdom"), to which it is sometimes compared.

4.5.5. Centrality of the *Raz Nihyeh* over חכמה ("Wisdom")

On a quantitative level, *raz nihyeh* appears significantly more frequently than חכמה. The phrase occurs (plausibly in some cases) roughly 27 times throughout the composition, excluding parallels: 1Q26 1 1, 4; 4Q415 6 4; 4Q415 24 1; 4Q416 2 i 5 (par 4Q417 2 i 10–

11); 4Q416 2 iii 9, 14, 18 (par 4Q418 10 a-b 1), 21; 4Q416 17 3; 4Q417 1 i 3 (par 4Q418 43_45 i 2), 6 (par 4Q418 43_45 i 4), 8, 18 (par 4Q418 43_45 i 14), 21 (par 4Q418 43_45 i 16); 4Q417 1 ii 3; 4Q418 5 1; 4Q418 77 2, 4; 4Q418 123 ii 4; 4Q418 172 1; 4Q418 179 3; 4Q418 184 2; 4Q418 190 2; 4Q418c 1 8; 4Q423 3 2; 4Q423 5 2; 4Q423 7 7. By comparison, חכמה occurs ten times in the following passages, again excluding parallels: 4Q416 2 ii 12 (par 4Q418 8 13); 4Q417 1 i 6 (par 4Q418 43_45 i 4); 4Q417 1 i 9(?); 4Q418 81+81a 15, 19, 20; 4Q418 102a+b 3; 4Q418 126 ii 5; 4Q418 137 2; 4Q418 139 2. Notably, חכמה most commonly appears in the collocation חכמת ידים ("skilled hands"), which has an entirely different meaning to the concept of wisdom as expressed in the books of Proverbs and Sirach.[168] When searching for instances where חכמה is used (1) in an extant part of the text that contains enough content to facilitate a deeper analysis and (2) in the sense of "wisdom" as conveying the skilled application of a person's knowledge, understanding, and insight, only two occurrences can be found within a single pericope.[169]

[168] 4Q418 81 + 81a 15, 19; 4Q418 102a+b 3; 4Q418 137 2; 4Q418 139 2. This study's translation of חכמת ידים is discussed in Chapter 5 (§5.3.4.2.).

[169] Another possible example may be found in 4Q416 2 ii 12. The term occurs in the collocation חכמת אוטוֹ in a passage that identifies the addressee as עבד ("a servant") who is advised on how to appropriately serve their master. The expression חכמת אוטו is used in reference to the addressee's master. The difficulty in understanding the meaning of this expression lies in the word אוט, occurs only in the manuscripts associated with the present composition and once in 4Q424 1 6. Scholars have translated this term in various ways, such as "secret" (DJD 34:32), "property, affairs" (Novick 2008, 339–43), "goodness, kindness" (DSSANT, 487, 493), and "measure" or "measured share/provisions" (Ben Dov 2021, 3–16; cf. Gayer 2020). However, this study agrees with those who understand this term as referring to material assets or "resources" from which the addressee benefits based on terminology used in the immediate context of אוט, such as מסחור, מחסור, and טרף (Bakker 2023, 52, n. 106; Goff 2003b, 152, n. 104; 2013, 9, 64; Rey 2009a, 33). In this case, the expression חכמת אוטו, would refer to the master's ability to obtain material assets. It can therefore be understood as being similar to the expression חכמת ידים, since those identified as having "skilled hands" are also identified as being capable of gathering resources for those in need (see discussion in Chapter 6, §6.3.4. and §6.3.5.).

6. [-- יומם ולילה הגה ברז נ]הֶיה ודורש תמידְ ואז תדע אמת ועול חכמה
7. [ואול]ת תְ[ ]○○ מְעֻשֵׂ[יהם --]בכול דרכיהם עִם פקודתם לכול קצי עולם ופקודת
8. עד ואז תדע בֵּין [טו]ב לְ[רע כמ]עֲשֵׂיְ[הם כ]יְא אל הדעות סוֹדְ אמת וברז נהיה
9. פָּרַשׂ אֶת אֹושהּ וְעָשָׂהּ ○○○[-- בחכ]מה ולכל[בער]מה יצרה וְמִמַּשלת מעשיה

6. [... *day and* night meditate on the *raz n*]*inyeh* and study (it) constantly. And then you will know truth and iniquity, wisdom
7. [*and foll*]y. You ... [*their*] deed[*s*] in all their ways together with their punishment in all the everlasting ages and the punishment
8. of eternity. And then you will know the difference between [*go*]od and [*evil according to their]* deeds, [*f*]or the God of Knowledge is a foundation of truth. With the *raz nihyeh*
9. he spread out his foundation and indeed m[*ade (it) with wis*]dom and, regarding everything, [*with cunn*]ing he fashioned it.

4Q417 1 i 6–9 (par 4Q418 43_45 i 4–7 [underline])

חכמה occurs twice within a series of admonitions that encourage the addressee to continually seek the *raz nihyeh*. In the first instance (line 6), the addressee is informed that studying the *raz nihyeh* will grant them the knowledge of—and ability to distinguish between—truth and iniquity, as well as wisdom and folly. Possessing the competence to perceive the difference between wisdom and folly is a trope commonly found in the book of Proverbs (Prov. 12:23; 13:16; 14:8, 18, 24, 29; 15:2, 14, 21; 16:22). However, in the present composition, this ability is obtained through the addressee's unwavering devotion to understanding the *raz nihyeh* and not as a result of learning wisdom from a senior sage. Moreover, wisdom is described in this passage as a secondary quality that is obtained as a by-product of the addressee's pursuit of the *raz nihyeh* (see Goff 2003a, 163).

The second use of חכמה (line 9) again appears to mirror a passage from Proverbs 3:19, which acknowledges God as the one who establishes creation with wisdom. By comparison, the *raz nihyeh* is identified as the primary means by which God establishes the natural order of creation:

4Q417 1 i 8–9	4Q417 1 i 8–9 (Hebrew)
[f]or the God of Knowledge is a foundation of truth. With the *raz nihyeh* he spread out his foundation and indeed m[*ade* (it) *with wis*]dom and, regarding everything, [*with cunn*]ing he fashioned it.	כ]יא אל הדעות סודֹ אמת וברז נהיה פרֹש אתֹ אושהּ ועשיהּ ע[שה חכ]מה ולכל[בער]מה יצרה

Prov. 3:19	Prov. 3:19 (Hebrew)
The Lord by wisdom founded the earth; by understanding he established the heavens	יהוה בחכמה יסד־ארץ כונן שמים בתבונה

In this example, the concept of wisdom (tentatively reconstructed) appears in succession after the *raz nihyeh*, thereby taking its place as the leading instrument by which God establishes the earth.

There are other examples where the *raz nihyeh* appears to supersede the concept of wisdom. For example, in admonitions that urge the addressee to honour their parents:

4Q416 2 iii 17–18	4Q416 2 iii 17–18 (Hebrew)
And as he opened your ear to the *raz nihyeh*, glorify them (your parents), for the sake of your glory.	וכאשר גלה אוזנכה ברז נהיה כבדם למען כבודכה
Prov. 10:1	**Prov. 10:1 (Hebrew)**[170]
A wise child makes a glad father, but a foolish child is a mother's grief.	בן חכם ישמח־אב ובן כסיל תוגת אמו

Moreover, the addressee in the present composition is urged to focus their time and attention on understanding the *raz nihyeh*, whereas recipients of Proverbs and Sirach are encouraged to seek wisdom:

[170] See also Prov. 15:20; Sir. 3:1–16.

4Q417 1 i 6–8	4Q417 1 i 6–8 (Hebrew)[171]
… *day and* night meditate upon the *raz nihyeh* and study (it) constantly. And then you will know truth and iniquity, wisdom [*and foll*]y. You… [*their*] deed[*s*] in all their ways together with their punishment in all the everlasting ages and the punishment of eternity. And then you will know the difference between [*go*]od and [*evil according to their*] deeds.	[-- יומם ולילה הגה ברז נ]הי֫ה ו֫דורש תמיד֫ ו֫אז תדע אמת ועול חכמה [ואול]ת֫ ת֫[ ]○○ מ֫עש֫[יהם --]בכול ד֫רכיהם ע֫ם פקו֫ד֫תם֫ לכו֫ל קצי עולם ופקודת עד ואז תדע בי֫ן [טו]ב ל֫[רע כמ]עש֫י֫[הם

Prov. 8:17	Prov. 8:17 (Hebrew)
I (Wisdom) love those who love me, and those who seek me diligently find me.	אני אהביה אהב ומשחרי ימצאנני

Sir. 14:21–23	Sir. 14:21–23 (Hebrew)
Happy is the person who meditates on wisdom and reasons intelligently, who reflects in his heart on her ways and ponders her secrets, pursuing her like a hunter, and lying in wait on her paths.	אשרי אנוש בחכמה יהגה ובתבונה ישעה: השם על דרכיה לבו ובתבונתיה יתבונן: לצאת אחריה בחקר וכל מבואיה ירצד:

In addition, the *raz nihyeh* is described in the text as the principal means by which the addressee navigates their way through common life issues, such as money lending, social relations, food, and family relations (4Q416 2 i–iv; cf DJD 34:11), while in Sirach insight on how to deal these types of circumstances comes chiefly through wisdom (Sir. 7:18–36; 9:1–9; 29:1–13). Yet the knowledge that comes from the *raz nihyeh* does more than guide the addressee through the difficulties of life. It also enables the addressee to acquire a

[171] Par 4Q418 43_45 4–6. See also 4Q416 2 iii 9 (par 4Q418 9+9a_c 8); 4Q416 2 iii 14 (par 4Q418 9+9a_c 15); 4Q417 2 i 10–11 (par 4Q416 2 i 5).

more profound understanding of the nature of reality and of God's plan for humanity. This includes unravelling the secrets of the past:

4Q417 1 i 3 (par 4Q418 43_45 i 2)	4Q417 1 i 3 (par 4Q418 43_45 i 2 [underline]; Hebrew)[172]
and gaze [*upon the raz nihyeh* ... ancient times, at what exists and what has existed, at wh*at will be* ...	וֹהֹבֵט[ברז נהיה -- קדם למה נהיה ומה נהיה בְּמַה יהיה

Understanding the past enables the addressee to begin to understand their place in the world and to take comfort in the knowledge of their inheritance in view of the imminent eschaton:

4Q417 1 i 3 (par 4Q418 43_45 i 2)	4Q417 1 i 13–14 (Hebrew)
and you, understanding one, inherit your reward in remembrance of the per[*iod for*] it comes ...	ואתה מבין רוש פעלתכה בזכרון העֹ[ת כי]בא
4Q416 2 iii 9–10	**4Q416 2 iii 9–10 (Hebrew)**
and through the *raz nihyeh* study its origins. And then you will know its inheritance ...	וברז נהיה דרוש מולדיו וֹאָז תדע נחלתו

In addition, by understanding the *raz nihyeh*, the addressee can learn to grasp the true nature of humanity:

[172] Full transcription and translation is provided in Chapter 6 (§6.3.1.).

4Q416 2 iii 14–15	4Q416 2 iii 14–15 (Hebrew)
Study the *raz nihyeh* and examine closely all the ways of truth and all the roots of injustice discern. And then you will know what is bitterto a man and what is sweet to a person.	רז נהיה דרוש והתבונן בכל דרכי אמת וכל שורשי עולה תביט ואז תדע מה מר לאיש ומה מתוק לגבר

4Q417 1 i 18–19	4Q417 1 i 18–19 (Hebrew)
and you, who is characterised by understanding, gaze *vacat* upon the *raz nihyeh* and know [*the path*]s of all life and the manner of one's walking that is appointed over [*his*] deed[*s*]	ואתה בן מבין הבֵּט ⟦ ⟧ ברז נהיה ודע [ ]ת כול חי והתהלכו הֻפקַד עָלָ֫ מֻעֲשׂ[יו

Also significant is that the *way* one comes to understand the *raz nihyeh* in the present composition, which is strikingly different to how wisdom is obtained in the books of Proverbs and Sirach. In the latter, wisdom is described as being taught either by a senior sage or through the voice of personified Wisdom. By contrast, knowledge of the *raz nihyeh* is acquired in two ways. First, the addressee is urged to learn for themselves, rather than be passively taught. This is evidenced by the use of the reflexive *hitpolel* form התבונן ("understand [for] yourself"), which is recurrent throughout the surviving text and occasionally in connection with the *raz nihyeh* (4Q416 2 iii 14; 4Q417 1 i 25). Second, knowledge of the *raz nihyeh* is described as being revealed to those whose ears have been opened by God (4Q416 2 iii 17–18; 4Q418 123 ii 4; 4Q418 184 2; 4Q418 190 2[?]). This notion of having your ears opened by God is sometimes used in the biblical text in a technical sense to denote revelation (1 Sam. 9:15; 2 Sam. 7:27; Job 33:16; 36:10, 15; cf. Elgvin 2000a, 24). Thus, the addressee's understanding of the *raz nihyeh* is acquired

simultaneously through devoted self-study and is divinely facilitated through the revelation of God, which is a mark of their elect status.

Finally, knowledge that comes through continuous study of the *raz nihyeh* and the accompanying righteousness associated with those who understand it is comparable to the insight and piety that comes through constant devotion to the study of the Torah. 4Q417 1 i 6–8 appears to allude to an admonition in the book of Joshua, which calls for its addressee to "meditate day and night" (והגית בו יומם ולילה) on the book of the law.[173]

[173] See also Ps. 1:2 "but their delight is in the law of the Lord, and on his law they meditate day and night" (כי אם בתורת יהוה חפצו ובתורתו יהגה יומם ולילה). The movement associated with the S tradition presents itself as following this principle (1QS 6:6–7 [par 4QS^{d} 2:10], see Hempel 2013b, esp. 293–98; Lange 1995, 62). For further discussion on allusions to Josh 1:8 in the present composition, see Bakker (2023, esp. 58–68).

4Q417 1 i 6–8	4Q417 1 i 6–8[174] (Hebrew)
... day and night meditate upon the *raz nihyeh* and study (it) constantly. And then you will know truth and iniquity, wisdom [and foll]y. You... [their] deed[s] in all their ways together with their punishment in all the everlasting ages and the punishment of eternity. And then you will know the difference between [go]od and [evil according to their] deeds.	[-- יומם ולילה הגה ברז נ]הְיה וְדורש תמידְ וְאז תדע אמת ועול חכמה [ואול]תְ תְ[ ]○○ מְעְשְ[יהם --]בְכול דְרְכיהם עְם פקודְתְם לְכְול קצי עולם ופקודת עד ואז תדע בֵּין [טו]ב לְ[רע כמ]עְשֵׂיְהם

Josh. 1:8	Josh. 1:8 (Hebrew)
This book of the law shall not depart out of your mouth; you shall meditate on it day and night, so that you may be careful to act in accordance with all that is written in it. For then you shall make your way prosperous, and then you shall be successful.	לא־ימוש ספר התורה הזה מפיך והגית בו יומם ולילה למען תשמר לעשות ככל־הכתוב בו כי־אז תצליח את־דרכך ואז תשכיל

In this passage, the *raz nihyeh* appears to stand in for Torah as the central principle the governs the lifestyle of the elect. In this sense, the *raz nihyeh* not only surpasses the concept of wisdom as used in the books of Proverbs and Sirach, it also stands above later conceptions of Torah-wisdom as the primary source of understanding and motivation for higher learning for the elect.[175]

In summary, the *raz nihyeh* is an important concept in the extant text of the present composition that takes up a substantial portion of the addressee's time and attention.

[174] par 4Q418 43_45 4–6.

[175] Texts that identify wisdom with Torah include Sirach, Baruch, 4Q525, 11QPs[a] 154 (see Elgvin 1997a, 78).

Significantly, at no point in the surviving text is the addressee admonished to pursue wisdom directly. Rather, wisdom (חכמה) and its related cognate faculties (knowledge [דעת], insight [שכל], understanding, [בינה]) are described as qualities that are attained parenthetically as a result of the addressee striving to achieve their primary objective, which is to understand the *raz nihyeh*.[176] Benjamin Wold has argued that the *raz nihyeh* in the present composition operates "as a substitute for exalted wisdom and that sapiential instructions in the document falls under its umbrella" (Wold 2005, 244).[177] However, as this section has demonstrated, the *raz nihyeh* does not merely replace wisdom in the present composition. It surpasses it.

4.6. Conclusion

Reflecting on the compatibility of the names (4QInstruction, *Musar le-Mevin*, חכמת רז נהיה) and generic labels (wisdom, instruction) that have been used for and assigned to the present composition, this chapter has demonstrated that there are significant issues with these particular identity markers when one examines the formal features of the surviving material. Considering the term *musar* (broadly understood as "instruction" in reference to the present document), two core aspects of its meaning have been identified. First, *musar* primarily refers to the process by which a person is educated, which often occurs in the form of physical punishment or verbal reprimand. Second, *musar* is enacted by a

[176] This ultimate goal is demonstrated in several relatively well-preserved and lengthy passages containing admonitions targeted at the addressee to constantly pursue the *raz nihyeh*. 4Q416 2 iii 8–21 (par 4Q418 9+9a_c 6–18) and 4Q417 1 i 1–ii 16 (par 4Q418 43_45 4–17, 4Q418a 11 [B3] 2–5, 4Q418 123 i 1–2).

[177] See also Elgvin, who has argued that the "*raz nihyeh* is an apocalyptic representation of the biblical and early Jewish concept of 'the Wisdom of God,' which stresses the esoteric nature of divine revelation" (Elgvin 2000a, 25).

human or divine figure (or figures) of authority to a subordinate. In what remains of the present composition, the word *musar* occurs clearly in only one passage: 4Q416 2 iii 12–14 (par 4Q418 9+9a_c 12–14). In this instance, the discipline of *musar* is described as a something the addressee willingly carries upon their shoulders because they are motivated by the promise that preserving in their discipline will enable them to walk in line with the will of God and attain greater knowledge and understanding. Thus, use of *musar* in this part of the document carries a similar meaning to its use in other ancient Jewish texts. It is, on the surface, burdensome to endure, but it also leads one to a higher state of being. However, the second aspect of *musar* is missing. Instead of *musar* being enacted by human or divine figures of authority, it is the addressee who carries *musar* upon their own shoulders, thereby applying a kind a self-discipline, or self-*musar*.

Concerning the instructional content within the surviving fragments of the present composition, this chapter has examined various segments of the text that have been identified as conforming to the generic forms of wisdom by traditional form-critical analysis. Notably, most of the extant material that falls within this generic category can be found in the largest surviving fragment 4Q416 2 i–iv and in parallel manuscripts, which evidently played a large part in shaping the way the editors characterised the document as a whole (DJD 34:11, 19–20). However, this chapter has also examined other well-preserved parts of the present composition that attest to its cosmological and eschatological character, which are not qualities typically found in works conventionally identified as belonging to the category of wisdom literature. In the examined fragments, the addressees are urged to consider their place as God's chosen elect, to take comfort in the knowledge that the wicked will receive their final judgement, and to increase their understanding by considering the natural order of God's creation and by imitating the exemplary behaviour

of the angels. Moreover, this chapter has highlighted the centrality of the *raz nihyeh* over and above the concept of wisdom, which is a comparatively minor concept in the extant text of the present document. The addressees are admonished on numerous occasions throughout the surviving material to devote themselves fully to the pursuit and study of the *raz nihyeh* in order to develop their knowledge and guide their behaviour in challenging circumstances. In other words, it is not by the instruction of a senior sage that the addressee obtains wisdom and grows in understanding, but through an autodidactic model of self-study coupled with an attitude of self-discipline.

There is, however, another presupposition that has led scholars to identify and characterise the present composition as an instructional work that has not been addressed in this chapter. This is the notion that the purported author or speaker of the text is regarded as a figure of authority that was responsible for educating the intended recipients of the text. Those who hold to this theory often point to the regular use of the second person address: ואתה מבין (sometimes ואתה בן מבין), arguing that the formula is indicative of an educational context that is reminiscent of Sirach, wherein the addressees are frequently referred to as בני ("my son/pupil"). Thus, the speaker is often referred to by scholars as a "sage" or "teacher" and the figure addressed as *mevin* has been widely regarded as a "student" (DJD 34:19–20; Goff 2013, 12; Kampen 2011, 51–52; Rey 2009a, 6; Tigchelaar 2001, 245–46; Wold 2018, 12–94; DSSANT, 481). If this was in fact the original life setting and function of the text—that is, if a senior sage or teacher was responsible for the educational development of their student(/s) whom they called *mevin*(/*mevinim*)—then there may be reasonable grounds for the present composition to be called an instructional work. But is it possible to identify a teacher within the text? And

is the addressee (sometimes described as *mevin*) best characterised as a student? These questions will be addressed respectively in Chapters 5 and 6.

Chapter 5. *Maskil*: Is There a Teacher in this Text?

In Chapter 4, this study focussed on examining the various literary features in several well-preserved fragments within the present composition to demonstrate that a traditional form-critical approach to determining the textual identity of the document is unfitting for such a generically diverse composition. Yet the textual identity assigned to this document (wisdom, instruction) has inspired theories about the relationship between the speaker and addressee, which in turn have reinforced this particular textual identity. This chapter focusses on the speaker, who some have regarded as a senior sage and teacher within the document (Bakker 2023, 56–57, Harrington 1996a, 40; Goff 2013, 12; Kampen 2011, 26–27), and others have even gone so far as to specify the identity of the teacher as a *maskil*; a figure that is sometimes depicted as a teacher in other Scrolls, such as the Community Rules and the *Hodayot* (DJD 34:3; Wold 2018, 94). This chapter investigates the credibility of the assertion that there is a teacher in the text who can be identified as a *maskil* by first reflecting on the meaning of the participle *maskil* in the Hebrew Bible, Sirach, and in the Scrolls corpus before examining occurrences of the participle in the present composition.

5.1. *Maskil* in the Hebrew Bible

The form *maskil* (משכיל) is a *hiphil* participle of the verbal root שכל. The verb is used in the Hebrew Bible almost exclusively in the *hiphil*, with the exception of 1 Sam. 18:30 where it appears in the *qal* (Kosmala 1973, 235). The root verb שכל has a wide range of meanings (see BDB, 986; DCH, 8.150–53). When applied in reference to a person who diligently follows the law of Moses, the *hiphil* imperfect variant of the verb can mean "to be/become prosperous" or "to be/become successful": "Only be strong and very

courageous, being careful to act in accordance with all the law that my servant Moses commanded you; do not turn from it to the right hand or to the left, so that you may be successful (תשכיל) wherever you go" (Josh. 1:8); "Therefore diligently observe the words of this covenant, in order that you may succeed (תשכילו) in everything that you do" (Deut. 29:8); "...and keep the charge of the Lord your God, walking in his ways and keeping his statutes, his commandments, and his testimonies, as it is written in the law of Moses, so that you may prosper (תשכיל) in all that you do and wherever you turn" (1 Kgs. 2:3). In the Psalms, the verb is sometimes used with the connotation of "pondering" or "considering" the past deeds of the Lord: "Then everyone will fear; they will tell what God has brought about, and ponder (השכילו) what he has done"; (Ps. 64:10) "Our ancestors, when they were in Egypt, did not consider (לא־השכילו) your wonderful works..." (Ps. 106:7).

The participle *maskil* is mostly used to refer to a successful person that has achieved some form of prosperity by means of their ability to think and act correctly. Though there appears to be some variation with its use within the Hebrew Bible. In some cases, the participle refers positively to a prudent or cautious figure; not necessarily someone with profound insight or deep intellect, but a person of good sense and self-control: "A child who gathers in the summer is prudent (משכיל), but a child who sleeps in harvest brings shame" (Prov. 10:5); "Therefore the prudent (משכיל) will keep silent in that time; for it is an evil time (Amos 5:13).[178] The participle can also be used with the connotation "to give attention, to observe": "Those who are attentive (משכיל) to a matter will prosper" (Prov. 16:20); "The righteous one observes (משכיל) the house of the wicked" (Prov. 21:12). Arjen

[178] Although Hawley has argued that the participle here should be translated in the sense of "sage" or "wise man" (Hawley 2006, 44).

Bakker has observed that, in the books of Job, Proverbs, and Sirach, "the participle of *śkl+hiphil* is mostly used as an adjective to describe a person who is prudent and wise in everyday life" and "never denotes someone who gives instruction" (Bakker 2023, 41).[179] Elsewhere, the participle *maskil* is sometimes used as a technical term to designate highly competent and knowledgeable functionary figures. For instance, in 2 Chr. 30:22, the plural variant of the participle משכילים designates the Levites, while in the book of Daniel the same form is used to designate a group of intelligent and righteous figures appointed with the responsibility of guiding others to righteousness through their superior understanding (Dan. 11:33, 35; 12:3, 10) (see Elgvin 2013, 803). Also significant is the use of the participle *maskil* in Sirach. In most cases, the participle is used in reference to a poor person or a slave (Sir. 7:21; 10:23, 25; 13:22), which may provide further literary context that helps us understand its (possible) usage in 4Q417 1 i 25 (see §5.3.2.).

5.2. *Maskil* in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Sirach

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the participle *maskil* has sometimes been translated as "instructor" or "sage" when used in reference to an official functionary figure within a particular community (see Hawley 2006, 43; Kosmala 1973, 240, Newsom 1990, 374).[180] Most notable are examples where the *maskil* appears as a distinct figure in the heading of a text or pericope that is addressed "to the *maskil*" (למשכיל).[181] In these instances, the participle

[179] Job 22:2; Prov. 10:5, 19; 14:35; 15:24; 17:2; 19:14; Sir. 7:19, 21; 10:23, 25; 25:8; 40:23; 47:12 (Bakker 2023, 41, n. 47).

[180] In the *Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*, Martin Abegg identified 37 instances where the participle *maskil* is used in a nominal sense to denote a kind of "teacher" or "instructor" (Abegg 2003, 489)

[181] See CD 12:20–21; 13:22; 1QS 3:13; 9:12, 21 (par 4Q259 4:2); 4Q258 (4QS^{d}) 1:1 (par 4Q256 [4QS^{b}] 9:1); 1QSb 1:1; 3:22; 5:20; 1QM 1:1(?); 1QH^{a} 5:12; 20:7 (par 4Q427 [4QH^{a}] 8 ii 10); 25:34; 4Q400 1 i 1; 3 ii+5:8;

maskil is used to denote a formal position that was held by an especially gifted and authoritative individual within their given context. For example, the Community Rules (1QS) contains two sections that expound on the tasks and responsibilities of the *maskil* within the community: the Treaties of the Two Spirits (1QS 3:13–4:26) and the Statutes for a *Maskil* (1QS 9:12–25). In the opening lines of the Treaties of the Two Spirits, the pedagogical responsibilities of the *maskil* are made explicit: "For the *maskil* is to give understanding and to teach the sons of light" (1QS 3:13).[182] Similarly, in the Statutes for a *Maskil*, the figure is admonished "to guide them [other members of the movement] with knowledge and thus to give them understanding in the wonderful mysteries and truth in the midst of the people of the community" (1QS 9:18–19).[183] Another significant quality of the *maskil* figure is that he appears to speak in several manuscripts (1QH^a 20 14–16; 4Q510 1 4–5).

It is this idea of a *maskil* figure as depicted chiefly in 1QS and 1QH^a—who is intelligent, who teaches, and who speaks—that is often believed by some to serve a similar function within the text of the present composition.[184] However, the responsibilities of the *maskil* figure are more extensive than that of a teacher. The figure was expected to be an exemplar in adherence to the statutes and knowledgeable in all the laws (1QS 9:12–13, 23), and in

4Q401 1_2:1; 4Q403 1 i 30; 1 ii 18; 4Q405 8_9:1(?); 20 ii 22:6(?); 4Q406 1:4; 4Q433a 2:2; 4Q511 2 i 1; 8:4(?); 11Q17 7:9.

[182] למשכיל להבין וללמד את כול בני אור

[183] להנחותם בדעה וכן להשכילם ברזי פלא ואמת בתוך אנשי היחד cf. 1QS 9:20.

[184] Concerning the literary connection between the *Hodayot*, the Community Rules, and the present composition, Tigchelaar has argued that the group responsible for composing/editing 1QS 3 13–18 and 1QS 4 15–26 belonged to the same group as the authors/editors of the present composition, and that the authors/editors of 1QH^a 5–6 were likely influenced by the Treaties of the Two Spirits and 4QInstruction (Tigchelaar 2001, 207). Lange, however, argued that the Treaties of the Two Spirits, "4QInstruction," and *Mysteries* originated from the same circles, though the former expresses a more developed dualism (Lange 1995, 130). Contra Bakker (2023, 22–31) and Collins (2007, 185–88).

two other manuscripts of the Community Rules from Cave 4, the "halakhic sensibilities" of the *maskil* figure are attested in the heading of a section that addresses the leadership structure and aspirations of the community: "Midrash for the *maskil* over the people of the law" (4Q256 9:1; 4Q258 1; cf. 1QS 5:1, see Hempel 2020, 123, 131).[185] Moreover, the responsibilities of the *maskil* figure are further diversified in other Scroll compositions. For instance, a *maskil* is responsible for providing blessings for general members, priests, and community leaders in "The Rule of the Blessing" (1QSb 1:1; 3:22; 5:20). A *maskil* also provides apotropaic protection for members of the community in "Songs of the *Maskil*" (4Q510–511) and possess knowledge of cryptic languages in "Words of the *Maskil's* to All Sons of Dawn" (4Q298). Thus, as Hempel has remarked, the *maskil* figure in these texts "emerges as a multi-tasker par excellence with expertise and a remit in matters liturgical and calendrical, apotropaic, spiritual, cryptic as well as halakhic concerns with human conduct" (Hempel 2020, 251). Much like the diversity of literary forms found in certain compositions in the Scrolls corpus (including the present composition), the multifunctional role of the *maskil* figure in these passages makes it difficult to pigeonhole the figure into a single vocational category, such as "teacher" or "sage."

The question remains—given the broad range of meanings of the participle and its varied uses within the biblical text and the Scrolls—how should one interpret and translate the occurrences of *maskil* in the present composition?

[185] מדרש למשכיל על אנשי התורה

5.3. *Maskil* in 4QInstruction

The participle *maskil* occurs four times (seven including parallels) and has been understood and translated in various ways. This section examines each occurrence and considers its overall usage throughout the composition.

5.3.1. *Maskil* in 4Q418 238 1

The participle *maskil* is found in an extremely small and damaged fragment, with only the remnants of a few broken words visible for examination. However, despite its size and condition, this fragment has had a significant impact on scholarly opinion with regards to the role of the *maskil* figure in the present composition thanks to suggested reconstructions by Eibert Tigchelaar, which will be examined in the analysis below.

5.3.1.1. Transcriptions and Translation

1 [--]משכיל וא[--]
2 [--]א ובמעשה[--]
3 [--]נן בנהיי ע[--]
4 [--]י נצח ○[--]
5 [--] יום [--]
6 [--]ל[--]

1. ... insight and ...
2. ... and *in* the work ...
3. ... those who exist ...
4. ... enduring ...
5. ... day ...
6. ...

5.3.1.2. Textual Notes

3. [--]עֹ֫ נֵן בנהיי[--]. The editors reconstructed נן[התבו at the beginning of the line and עלום at the end, which Tigchelaar adopted in his reconstruction of 4Q418 238 at the beginning of 4Q416 1 (DJD 34:448; Tigchelaar 2001, 183). However, the limited traces a final *nun* (and before that the traces of a *bet*, *kaf*, or *nun*) at the start of the line and the traces of an ʿ*ayin*, *ṣade*, or *šin* at the end does not provide enough information to facilitate a convincing reconstruction of these words.

4.]-- נצח ֶ֫[. The editors reconstructed י[מְ֫ at the beginning of the line (DJD 34:448). Based on the scant remains, this reconstruction is, again, highly uncertain.

5. יום. Intriguingly, lines 5–6 were only later attached to the fragment by the original editors (compare its appearance in PAM 41.906 and PAM 42.823 with PAM 43.488). The editors do not mention this join in their analysis of the fragment.

5.3.1.3. Analysis

The surviving text of 4Q418 238 does not provide much context for analysis. The editors briefly commented that the fragment "seems to be devoted to eschatological matters" (DJD 34:448). However, this interpretation appears to derive from their reconstruction of lines 3–4, which they translate as "*consi*]der diligently those who are to exist et[*ernally*" and "*da*]ys everlasting", rather than from the surviving text itself (see Textual Notes).

The importance of 4Q418 238 in terms of understanding the participle *maskil* as referring to a figure of authority within the composition was first proposed by Tigchelaar in his 2001 book, wherein he theorised that 4Q418 238 might be plausibly reconstructed

somewhere near in the opening lines of 4Q416 1 (Tigchelaar 2001, 169). Tigchelaar's hypothesis was based on his understanding that some of the smaller fragments are physically similar in appearance to the material of the first sheet of 4Q418 (e.g., 4Q418 frgs. 207–224, and 229, 230, and 238). Additionally, Tigchelaar observed that the series of infinitives preserved in 4Q418 221 and 222, and especially the line להו]סֵ֫יף לקח למבינים (which Tigchelaar translated as "to increase learning for the understanding ones") would be comparable with the beginning of the Treaties of the Two Spirits (1QS 3 13) and 1QH^{a} 5 12–14. Though Tigchelaar noted that these observations were not entirely conclusive, he surmised that one should "allow for the possibility that the beginning of the composition introduced a משכיל who had to increase learning for the מבינים, 'understanding ones'" (Tigchelaar 2001, 245–46).[186]

Tigchelaar's tentatively proposed reconstruction of 4Q418 238 at the beginning of the composition has received mixed support. Bakker, for example, argued that that the limited available evidence makes it impossible to reconstruct the context of the beginning of the composition (Bakker 2023, 39–40, n. 37).[187] On the other hand, Benjamin Wold relies heavily on Tigchelaar's reconstruction to support his argument that a *maskil* figure both speaks and teaches in the present composition.

[186] Tigchelaar alternatively considered that the clauses preserved in 4Q418 222+221 might be understood as referring to the tasks of the addressee, rather than a *maskil* (Tigchelaar 2001, 189–91).

[187] Tigchelaar is similarly cautious about the tentativeness of this particular reconstruction in a later publication:

> If the fragment [4Q418 238] did indeed belong to the section, it would preserve the very beginning of the composition, and line 1 might be the first line of the column. In that case מ̇שכיל[might be part of an address to a בן משכיל (cf. 4Q417 1 i 25), or a reference to the "instructor". However, since the fragment does not overlap with 4Q416 1, and does not provide any plausible textual joins, this identification is no more than a possibility (Tigchelaar 2002, 123).

> First-person forms do indeed occur in 4QInstruction and these are significant for assessing how this composition is framed. Central to this chapter are passages that use first-person speech, particularly three fragments from 4Q418 (221+222, 238) that may be interpreted as a sage (i.e., *maśkîl*) speaking in the first-person to his pupils, the understanding ones (i.e., *mᵉvinîm*) (Wold 2018, 12).

Based on his understanding that fragments 4Q418 222+221 contain first-person speech and that these words were spoken by a *maskil*, Wold transcribed and translated the fragments as follows (see Wold 2018, 29–30, 35).

Wold's translation of 4Q418 222+221 and 238	**Wold's transcription of 4Q418 222+221 and 238**
4Q418 222	4Q418 222
1. [ ]in the heart. *vac* I spoke and ... [	[--]ה[ל]בב *vacat* דברתי ○○○לכ[--]
2. [he]ar *my* spirit and the outpouring of *my* lips, do not[	[-- שמ]עה רוחי ומזל שפתי א[ל --]
3. [ ]to reprove transgressor and to gain understand[ing	[--]להוכיח פושעים ולהבי[ן --]
4. [ ] know [ ] [] for in [	[--]ד[ע] [ ]○[ ] כיא ב[--]
5. ...	[--]ל[--]○[--]
4Q418 221	4Q418 221
1. [ ]them, and no [ ]mouth of/my mouth[	[--]המה ולוא[--]פי[--]
2. [ ]prophets, and to give insight to all the simple ones[	[--] נביאים ולהבין כול פותיים[--]
3. [and to] increase learning for the understanding ones *vac* [	[-- להו]סיף לקח למבינים *vacat* [--]
4. [ ].. and know *my* judgments, and then you will distinguish betwe[en	[--]נא ודעו משפטי ואז תבד[לו ב]ין --]
5. [and] you will understand to know good[*and evil*	[-- ו]תתבוננו לדעת טוב[--]
bottom margin	*bottom margin*
4Q418 238	4Q418 238
	[-- ואני]משכיל וא[--]
	[--]א ו[מ]עשה[--]
	[-- התבו]נן בנהיי ע[ולם --]
	[-- י]מי נצח ○[--]
	[--] יום [--]

1. [*and I the*]*maśkîl* and [2. [ ] and [in] deed[3. [cons]ider by those who have been fore[ver 4. [d]ays of everlasting [5. [ ] day [	

However, is that it is not certain that the forms in 4Q418 222+221 and 238 are first-person forms. In the handwriting of 4Q418, the letters *yod* and *waw* are often indistinguishable, and inevitably favoured the third-person singular in their translation on the grounds that first-person speech is not used elsewhere in the document except in *oratio recta* (DJD 34:4, 435–37; cf. Tigchelaar 2001, 189–91). Moreover, other theories have since emerged with regards to who might be identified as the speaker in these fragments. In a later publication, Tigchelaar suggested that Wisdom itself might conceivably be identified as the speaker in 4Q418 222+221+220 based on perceived allusions to Prov. 1:22–33, where first-person speech is attributed to the personified figure of Wisdom (Tigchelaar 2007, esp. 188–193; this reading is accepted by Qimron 2013, 184).

Given the limited evidence and uncertainties relating to the translation of ambiguous forms in the examined fragments, speculation concerning the placement of these fragments and theories that build on a particular interpretation should be treated with caution.

5.3.2. *Maskil* in 4Q417 1 i 25

The participle *maskil* occurs once in the comparatively well-preserved text of 4Q417 1 i–ii, wherein the recipient—most often addressed as *mevin* in this passage (4Q417 1 i 1, 13–14, 18)—is encouraged to seek the *raz nihyeh*. A more comprehensive analysis of this

fragment will be provided in Chapter 6 (§6.3.1.). However, this section focusses on interpretations of the expression בֹּן משכיל in 4Q417 1 i 25.

בֹּן משכיל התבונן ברזיכה ובאֹוֹש[

one characterised by insight, understand your mysteries and by the foundations of[

4Q417 1 i 25

An important textual note relating to this line is that the letters *bet* and final *nun* in the word בֹּן is not a certain reading (see PAM 42.578). Prior to the publication of DJD 34, Armin Lange instead transcribed the expression as כי משכיל, and so translated the line: "because the instructor has gained insight into your secrets and into a man..." (Lange 1995, 51, 53).[188] Consistent with this reading, Lange translated the preceding expression ואתה בן מבין in line 19 as ""And you, who are the pupil of a teacher...", and in doing so posited a clear teacher-student relationship between the *mevin* and the *maskil* in the document (Lange 1995, 53).[189] The editors notably remarked that כי משכיל is a viable reading (DJD 34:168). However, they elected to transcribe the expression as בן משכיל, and most studies of this passage provide this transcription (DJD 34:152; Goff 2013, 138; Kampen 2011; Tigchelaar 2001, 52; Wold 2018, 57).[190]

Interpretations of בן משכיל generally fall into one of two camps. On the one hand, there are those who understand this expression as referring to the addressee who is identified in this line as being in subordination to the guidance of a senior sage. John Kampen, for

[188] "denn der Unterweiser hat sich Einsicht verschafft in deine Geheimnisse und in einem Mann [...]"

[189] "Und du, der du Schuler eines Lehrers bist." In a later publication, Lange claimed that "the משכיל and the מבין designate the same type of sage in the *MLM* [*Musar le-Mevin*]," and so it seems his opinion on the interpretation of *maskil* in this passage had changed (Lange 2008, 277).

[190] However, the editors remarked that "materially, כי or פי would be as easy a reading, and the style of the work suggests this reading" (DJD 34:168).

example, translated the expression as “son of a sage,” and Wold more specifically translated the expression as “son of a *maśkîl*,” (Kampen 2011, 26–27; Wold 2018, 57).

On the other hand, there are those who have interpreted בן משכיל as a synonym for בן מבין, and so have understood the expression in an adjectival sense, rather than a nominal sense denoting a sage or teacher. The editors initially suggested that בן משכיל might be an alternative to the more frequent vocative formulae ואתה בן and ואתה בן מבין (DJD 34:168). Similarly, Matthew Goff has translated the expression as “intelligent son” (Goff 2013, 140), and Arjen Bakker has broadly interpreted the participles *mevin* and *maskil* as adjectives that modify the noun בן, translating both as different ways of referring to the addressee: “understanding son” (בן מבין) or a “wise son” (בן משכיל) (Bakker 2023, 36–37).

However, it is significant that word בן does not necessarily always refer to offspring or sonship. Other usages include references to individuals who possess certain characteristics. In such cases, בן in the construct can be translated as “possessor of, one who is (characterised by), one who is numbered among” (e.g., Isa. 5:1: בן שמן, “one who is fertile/fat”; Deut. 13:14: בני בליעל, “worthless ones”; see DCH, 2.186). In the present composition, the recipients in the composition are referred to in various ways both in the plural (4Q416 1 10: בני אמתו) and in the singular (4Q417 1 i 18: בן מבין; 4Q417 1 i 25: בן משכיל). It is plausible that these are not references to sonship or an indication of some kind of pedagogical lineage, but function more simply as alternative ways of referring to the characteristic qualities of the addressee(s).

“those characterised by his truth” בני אמתו 4Q416 1 10

“one characterised by understanding”	בן מבין	4Q417 1 i 18 (par. 4Q418 43_45 i 14); 4Q417 2 i 28(?); 4Q418 69 ii 15(?)
“one characterised by insight”	בן משכיל	4Q417 1 i 25

Though this study generally holds that the expression בן משכיל stands as but one of many ways in which the recipient is described within the document, it does not dismiss alternative readings and is especially wary of the material uncertainty regarding whether the open word in the line should be read as בן or כי. Textual ambiguities such as these make it difficult to justify the advocation of one interpretation over another.

5.3.3. *Maskil* in 4Q416 2 ii 15 (par 4Q417 2 i 19?, 4Q418 8:15[/4Q418 21:2; 4Q418a 19:2]

The appearance of the participle *maskil* in 4Q416 2 ii 15 has been established by several points of overlap by Strugnell and Harrington in DJD 34 (with advice from Eibert Tigchelaar, cf. DJD 34:244).[191] However, this reconstruction should be examined before providing further analysis. In 4Q416 2 ii 15, only the letter *lamed* of משכיל is preserved, and so the term has been reconstructed on the basis of Strugnell and Harrington’s assessment of other fragments which appear to overlap with this passage of text: primarily in 4Q417 2 ii, 4Q418 21 (identified by Tigchelaar as 4Q418 8c) and 4Q418a 19. The textual remains of these fragments were transcribed in DJD 34 as follows:

[191] Elgvin proposed an alternative reconstruction of the beginning of line 15 in 4Q416 2 ii in his 1997 thesis: ותדמה לו לעבד בכו]ל? [“[then you] would be his ser[vant in all thi]ngs(?)” (Elgvin 1997a, 39).

17. תיַעצנו והיית לוֹ[--]
18. כי אתה עבְ[ד --]
19. דמהֹ לו לעבְ[ד --]
20. ואז תהיה לו לעֹ[בד --]
21. וחרפתכה תרבה מֹ[אודה

4Q417 2 ii 17–21 (DJD 34:192)

1. [-- בחי]רו ואתה [--]
2. [-- ואתה דמה לו]לעבד משכיִל[--]

4Q418 21 (4Q418 8c) 1–2 (DJD 34:244)

1. [--]תֻבטח ○[--]
2. [-- מ]שכיל וגמֹ[--]
3. [-- אז תהי]הֹ לוֹ לאב [--]
4. [-- ח]רפֻתכהֹ[--]

4Q418a 19 (D5) 1–4 (DJD 34:491)

These fragments were then used by the editors to reconstruct the lacunae of several parts of 4Q416 2 ii 13–16, which will be the focus of this section.[192]

5.3.3.1. Transcriptions and Translation

Parallels: 4Q417 2 ii +23 (underline); 4Q418 8 (dotted underline); 4Q418a 19 (double underline); points of overlap between 4Q418 8 and 4Q418a 19 are highlighted in pink; points of overlap between 4Q417 2 ii + 23 and 4Q418a 19 are highlighted in grey.

13. [--]○○ תיַעצנ[וֹ והייתה]לוֹ לבן בכור וחמל עליכה כאיש על יחידו
14. [-- כי אתה עבדו ובחי]רו ואתה א[ל] תבטח למה תשנאֹ ואל תשקוד ממדהבכה
15. [דמה לו לעבד משכי]ל וגם אל תשפל נפשכה לאשר לא ישוה בכה ואז תהיֻה
16. [לו לאב --]○ לאשר אין כוחכה אל תגע פן תכשל וחרפתכה תרבה מאדהֹ

13. [...] you will advise him [so that you *u* may become] for him a firstborn son and he will be compassionate towards you, like a man towards his only son,

[192] Full treatment of 4Q416 i–iv is provided in Chapter 6 (§6.4.1. and §6.4.2.).

14. [for you are *his slave and his chos*]en one. But you, do not be too self-assured, lest you become hated, and do not be anxious over your distress.
15. [Become for him a wis]e [slave]. And also, do not lower yourself before one who is not your equal. And then you will become
16. [a father to him ...] For what is beyond your strength do not reach, lest you stumble and your shame will be very great.

5.3.3.2. Textual Notes

14. ורו[ובחי. Alternatively, Elgvin has tentatively proposed בכו]ל in his reconstruction (Elgvin 1997a, 39).

14. ואֹתה. There seems to be space between the letters *aleph* and *taw* for an additional letter (PAM 43.511).

14–15. ממדהבכה [דמה לו לעבד משכי]ל וגם. The editors noted that the "lacuna between ממדהבכה and ל וגם] can not be filled in completely, even after one incorporates 4Q417's ○ל דמה לו, 4Q418 21 2's לעבד משכיל and 4Q418a's שכיל וגם[מ" (DJD 34:104). The reconstruction is therefore only partially filled in by the additional fragments 4Q417 2 ii, 4Q418 21(8c), and 4Q418a 19. Additionally, editors also included ואתה at the beginning of line 15 before דמה in their reconstruction, though Rey remarked that this is "a bit long" for the lacuna (Rey 2009a, 74).[193]

16. לו לאב]. There is a discrepancy between the overlapping parts of 4Q417 2 ii 20 (לעֹ[בד) and 4Q418a 19 3 (לאב).

[193] "La restauration ואתה des éditeurs est un peu longue" (Rey 2009a, 74).

5.3.3.3. Analysis

At the outset, it should be noted that the discrepancies identified in the Textual Notes for this passage significantly problematise the reconstruction of the participle *maskil* in 4Q416 2 ii 15. In light of these inconsistencies, Elgvin opted not to include the participle in his transcription (Elgvin 1997a, 39).

Nonetheless, the majority of studies of this passage have proceeded with the presupposition that the participle occurs in line 15. The expression לעבד משכיל (known also from Prov. 17:2 and Sir. 7:21; 10:23, 25; 13:22) fits well within the context of the fragment, wherein the addressee—who is frequently characterised as someone who is "poor" (רש, רוש), "needy" (אביון), or "lacking" (מחסור) in 4Q416 2 i–iii—is advised on what to do should they become a debt slave (see §6.4.1.). Translations have tended to favour the attributive sense of the participle: "wise servant" (DSSANT, 487; DSSSE 2.851; DSSR 4:97; DJD 34:244); "intelligent slave" (Goff 2013, 60), and others have further advocated for this attributive use (see Bakker 2015, 38, n. 64; Elgvin 2013, 803; Hempel 2002, 287; Rey 2009a, 82). However, taking a different approach, Wold has interpreted the possible appearance of לעבד משכיל in 4Q416 2 ii 15 as "servant of a *maskil*" (Wold 2018, 42).[194] In light of the context in which the expression feasibly appears, the attributive use of the participle seems to be the more viable reading.

[194] For further context regarding Wold's general understanding of the addressee in these passages as "poor" in a metaphorical sense, see Wold (2007).

5.3.4. *Maskil* in 4Q418 81 + 81a 17

Among the examples where the participle *maskil* can be found in the present composition, its occurrence in the following passage has by far contributed the most to creating the impression of there being a student-teacher relationship between the speaker and addressee in the document. Following an address to a priestly figure in 4Q418 81 + 81a 1–14 (see §6.4.5.), a new section begins in 4Q418 81 + 81a 15–20.

5.3.4.1. Transcriptions and Translation

15. ואתה מבין אם בחכמת ידים המשילכה ודע[ת --]
16. אוט לכול הולכי אדם ומשם תפקוד טרפכה ו[--]
17. התבונן מודה ומיד כול משכילכה הוסף לקח[--]
18. הוצא מחסורכה לכול דורשי חפץ ואז תכין [--]
19. תמלא ושבעתה בֿרוב טוב ומחכמת ידיכה[--]
20. כי אל פלג נחלת[כו]ל[חי]וכול חכמי לב השכלו[--]

15. But you who understands, if he has given you mastery over skilled hands and knowl[*edge* ...]
16. provision to all humankind and from there you shall allocate your food and[
17. Improve greatly in understanding, and from the hand of all your masters acquire more learning ...
18. Offer your need to all those who seek sustenance and then (it) shall be established ...
19. you will be full and sated with much goodness and from your skilled hands[...
20. for God has distributed an inheritance to all humankind and all the skilful were made (to) prosper ...

5.3.4.2. Textual Notes

15. בחכמת ידים. The expression חכמת ידים can be found in lines 15 and 19 4Q418 81, as well as 4Q418 102 3, 4Q418 137 2, and 4Q418 139 2 (although the more direct חכמת ידיכה

"your skilled hands" is used in 4Q418 81 19 and 4Q418 139 2).[195] This study understands the use of חכמה in the sense of skill, as in passages like Exodus (31:1; 35:26, 31; 35; 36:1–2, 4; 8) and Isaiah (40:20), rather than wisdom (see Fox 2008, 382). Other translations of this expression include "manual artisans" (DJD 34:303); "manual skill" (Goff 2013, 241); "manual craft" (DSSSE, 2.873); "skill of your hands" (DSSANT, 491);[196] "wisdom of the hands" (Gayer 2020, 65); and "wisdom actualised" (Wold 2018, 58).

17. כול משכילכה. Although משכילכה contains a singular suffix, the fact that the word is prefaced כול by suggests that the term is to be translated in the plural. The proposed translation "all your skilled-handed masters" is discussed in the Analysis below.

5.3.4.3. Analysis

In line 17, the recipient—who is identified at the beginning of the section in line 15 as one addressed as *mevin* in the document—is told to acquire more teaching from כול משכילכה. Translations have been almost unanimous in rendering the expression as "all your teachers" (DJD 34:303; Elgvin 1997a, 269; ThWQ 2.803–04; Gayer 2020, 65; Goff 2013, 241; Hempel 2002, 287; 2013, 163; Kampen 2011, 133; Wold 2018, 59). However, the question arises, what exactly is being taught in this passage?

For many, the teaching in this section directly corresponds with the primary objective of the document, which is to increase the understanding of those addressed throughout the text. For instance, Bakker, Goff, and Wold have each commented on the use of similar

[195] There is also the peculiar expression וכול חכמי לב השכלו in 4Q418 81 20. References to חכמת ידיו and חכמת לבי are also found in 4Q424 3 6–7 (see Brin 1996).

[196] However, the expression חכמת ידים in line 15 lacks a second masculine singular suffix. "Your hands" is therefore not a precise translation of ידים (although the phrase חכמת ידיכה does appear in line 19).

language in 4Q418 81 + 81a 17: "acquire more learning" (הוסף לקח), and the admonition "*to increa*]se learning for the understanding ones" (ולהו]סיף לקה למבינים) in 4Q418 221, which for them connects to the overall pedagogical ethos of the composition (Bakker 2015, 33–34; 2023, 38–39; Goff 2013, 260; Wold 2018, 63–64).[197]

However, in the immediate context provided by lines 15–20 of 4Q418 81 + 81a, one finds no mention of secret knowledge and no admonitions directed towards the addressee to study the *raz nihyeh*. The focus instead appears to be on those addressed as *mevin* at the beginning of the passage who are explicitly identified as having been given mastery over "skilled hands" (חכמת ידים), which likely refers to the addressee's proficiency in manual skill, such as craftsmanship—or perhaps even referring to their ability to effectively work the land.[198] Having skilled hands is considered valuable, since it enables this particular addressee to offer "provision" (אוט) for others who likely do not possess the same means of providing sustenance for themselves.[199] Based on the professional context established by these opening lines, one might alternatively understand line 17 as an admonition directed to the skilled-handed *mevin* to improve their craft by learning "from the hand of all your *maskil(im)*" (מיד כול משכילכה). In other words, the skilled-handed *mevin* must learn from the hands of a person who is especially prosperous in their particular craft (see Puech 2005, 108–17).[200] This reading is more in keeping with the

[197] Kampen comes to a similar conclusion, remarking that the expression refers to the "teacher-sages" who were responsible for educating those addressed as *mevin* by introducing to secret knowledge of God's mysteries (Kampen 2011, 26–27).

[198] On this study's translation of חכמת ידים see Textual Notes above (§5.3.4.2.).

[199] The issue of poverty in the present document is considered in Chapter 6 (§6.4.1.).

[200] "become very competent, and with the help of each of your masters increase [your] competency [*professional; but if He has not favored you with some manual* skill] ("deviens très compétent, et avec l'aide de chacun de tes maîtres accrois [ta] compétence [*professionnelle; mais s'Il ne t'a pas favorisé de quelque habileté manuelle*]"; Puech 2005, 110; emphasis original).

context illustrated by the surviving text of 4Q418 81 + 81a 15–20 and also corresponds with other preserved passages that expound on the responsibilities of those described as having skilled-hands (see §6.3.4. and §6.3.5.).

5.4. Conclusion

Having reviewed the use of the participle *maskil* in the present composition, one finds that there is no fixed application of the term. Rather the meaning of the participle is dependent on the context of its usage. The word in 4Q418 238 occurs in a very small fragment that offers little context for further analysis. Tigchelaar's suggestion that this fragment may be reconstructed at the beginning of 4Q416 1 would have significant implications for how the document as a whole may be interpreted. However, as examined in §5.3.1.3., there is not sufficient evidence to support this reconstruction. In 4Q417 1 i 25, we are presented with an expression that may be read as בן משכיל or כי משכיל. Uncertainty regarding the material remains of this opening line again makes it difficult to arrive at a particular reading with much assurance. The expression לעבד משכיל was detected after the editors pieced together several fragments that appear to overlap with parts of 4Q416 2 ii 13–16. There are several notable discrepancies with this reconstruction, which raises some doubts about its legitimacy (see §5.3.3.2.). However, the expression fits well within the context of the fragment in which the addressee is advised on how to act should they borrow money and so find themselves to be in the position of a debt slave. In this case, the impoverished addressee must seek to impress their creditor by behaving like "a prudent slave." Finally, the appearance of the expression כול משכילכה in 4Q418 81+81a has been widely understood as referring to a teacher who was responsible for providing wisdom instruction for the addressee. However, this is not the only way of interpreting

the use of *maskil* in this passage, and neither is it the most plausible explanation. One may also interpret the expression in a professional sense to refer to someone who is a master of their craft, and so the addressee with "skilled hands" (חכמת ידים) is admonished to improve their own technical skills by learning from the hands of another more prosperous figure.

There is no example in the surviving text where the participle *maskil* can be clearly understood as referring to a teacher or sage. Such readings have largely been influenced by the prevailing view that the document is best characterised as a wisdom composition, and thus some have read into the text a wisdom teacher who bears the responsibility of educating the addressee. However, just as assumptions about the textual identity of the document have played a part in influencing interpretations relating to the presence of a teacher-like or *maskil*, so too has the textual identity assigned to the document influenced interpretations of the addressee, who is sometimes addressed as *mevin* in certain parts of the composition.

Chapter 6. *Mevin*: Understanding the Addressee(s)

> The מבין is named as the main character in 4QInstr: his task is to assimilate the teaching of this wisdom text—with the 'vision of *Hagu'* (→ הגה) and with the 'mystery of becoming' (רז נהיה)—and to translate it into everyday action (ThWQ 1.435).[201]

The participle *mevin* is without question a significant term in the document, occurring in both singular and plural forms approximately 22 times throughout the text (excluding parallels and including reconstructions): 4Q415 11 5 (plural; par 4Q418 167 a + b 5); 4Q416 1 16 (plural?) (par 4Q418 2 + 2a_c 8[plural?]);[202] 4Q416 4 3; 4Q417 1 i 1, 14 (par. 4Q418 43_45 i 10), 18 (par 4Q418 43_45 i 14); 4Q417 1 ii 10; 4Q417 2 ii 28(?); 4Q418 69 ii 15(?); 4Q418 81 15; 4Q418 102a + b 3; 4Q418 123 ii 4 (plural), 5; 4Q418 126 ii 12(?); 4Q418 158 4; 4Q418 168 4; 4Q418 176 3; 4Q418 221 3 (plural); 4Q418 227 1; 4Q418 273 1; 4Q418a 7 2, 3(?). Moreover, the word regularly appears in the collocation ואתה מבין (4Q416 4 3; 4Q417 1 i 1, 13–14 [par 4Q418 43_45 i 10]; 4Q418 81 15; 4Q418 102 a + b 3[?]; 4Q418 123 ii 5; 4Q418 126 ii 12[?]; 4Q418 168 4[?]; 4Q418 176 3[?]), or ואתה בן מבין (4Q417 1 i 18 [par 4Q418 43_45 i 14]; 4Q417 2 i 28[?]; 4Q418 69 ii 15[?]).

Recognising the prevalence of this particular form of address within the document, the editors in DJD 34 identified the addressee as a receiver of sapiential instruction and so suggested the translation: "student" (DJD 34:3). Others have since embraced a similar interpretation, with Benjamin Wright describing the figure addressed as *mevin* as "the

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[201] "Der מבין wird als die Hauptfigur in 4QInstr gennant: Seine Aufgabe ist es, sich die Lehre dieses weishietlichen Textes - mit der 'Vision des/von *Hagu*' (→ הגה) und mid dem 'Geheimnis des Werdens' (רז נהיה) - anzueignen und in das alltägliche Handeln umzusetzen (4Q417 1 i 13f.17f.; 4Q418 43-45 i 14). Diese Lehre umfasst Anweisungen über Speisen, Eheschließung, finanzielle Transaktionen sowie familiäre Angelegenheiten."

[202] In both fragments, the letters]ומבינו (or]ומבינ) are preserved (PAM 43.524 and PAM 43.484). The editors noted that this may be either participle, מן + בינות, or a plural of the noun מבונה (DJD 34:88).

recipient of the wisdom teaching of *4QInstruction*" (Wright 2004b, 109, n. 23). In view of the frequency of the participle *mevin* throughout the surviving text, studies of the present composition have often used *mevin* (or student) as a shorthand to refer to most of the figures addressed within the document, even when they are not referred to as a *mevin* in a particular part of text (Goff 2013, *passim*; Jefferies 2004, *passim*; Kampen 2011, 51; Wold 2018, *passim*). However, this chapter will demonstrate that the addressee in the present composition is not restricted to one particular characterisation, and it is not always certain that when ואתה appears the words מבין or בן מבין will follow. The addressee is identified and described throughout the text in various ways that highlight different aspects of their disposition, social situation, and vocational calling.

There are two core objectives to this chapter. First, as with *musar* and *maskil* in Chapters 4 and 5, the first part of this chapter will examine the use of the participle *mevin* in the Hebrew Bible and Dead Sea Scrolls to better understand its semantic range and to determine whether there is a precedent in other ancient Jewish writings that supports an understanding of *mevin* as "student" in the present composition. Second, this chapter will consider examples in the text where the intended recipient is addressed as *mevin*, followed by instances where the addressee is referred to in different terms. This chapter seeks to answer the following questions: Is the figure addressed as *mevin* best understood as a student of wisdom? Are there other recipients identifiable in the document who are not addressed or described as *mevin*? And, if so, are these other characteristic qualities attributed to the recipients in the present composition equally significant to the identity of the addressee as *mevin* (or perhaps even more)?

6.1. *Mevin* in the Hebrew Bible

The form *mevin* (מבין) is a *hiphil* participle of the verbal root בין. Etymologically, the root relates to the substantive בֵּין meaning "interval, space between," which is used as a particle preposition בֵּין ("between") in the Hebrew Bible. Consequently, as Ringgren remarked, "the original meaning of *byn* was 'to distinguish, separate,'" which was later adapted to convey other more nuanced connotations, such as "to be clear, perceive, understand" (Ringgren 1977, 99). Most dictionaries give the meaning of the *qal* forms as "to perceive, to give heed to" (BDB, 106–07; DCH, 2.144–45; *HALOT*, 1.122), while the *hiphil* participle can mean "understand, discern, observe" or in the causative "make someone understand" (Bakker 2023, 33).[203]

The *hiphil* participle *mevin* (and its plural forms) occurs 28 times throughout the Hebrew Bible.[204] Significantly, there are no examples where the *hiphil* participle form is used in reference to a student. The form is most commonly used in an adjectival sense to highlight the perceptive or observant characteristics of an individual or group (Isa. 57:1; Prov. 8:9; 17:10, 24; 28:2, 7, 11; Dan. 1:4; 8:23; Ezra 8:16; Neh: 8:2, 3; 10:29; 1 Chr. 25:7; 27:32; 2 Chr. 34:12), or sometimes in the verbal sense to highlight the act of someone understanding or observing a thing or situation (Dan 8:5, 27; 1 Chr. 28:9). There are also several examples where *mevin* is used in the causative sense to denote the action of teaching, either by a person, a group, or God (Ps. 119:130; Neh. 8:7, 9; 1 Chr. 15:22; 2 Chr. 26:5; 35:3). In one striking example in 1 Chronicles, the participle *mevin* is used in

[203] For discussion on the nuanced uses of *qal* and non-causative *hiphil* forms of בין in the Hebrew Bible, see Randall Garr (2013).

[204] Isa. 57:1; Ps. 33:15; 119:130; Prov. 8:9; 17:10, 24; 28:2, 7, 11; Dan 1:4; 8:5, 23, 27; Ezra 8:16; Neh. 8:2, 3, 7, 9; 10:29; 1 Chr. 15:22; 25:7, 8; 27:32; 28:9; 2 Chr. 26:5; 34:12; 35:3.

contrast with another figure identified as תלמיד, thus making it clear that *mevin* was used in this verse to refer to a teacher.

ויפילו גורלות משמרת לעמת כקטן כגדול מבין עם־תלמיד

And they cast lots for their duties, small and great, teacher and pupil like

1 Chr. 25:8

Additionally, in the books of 1–2 Chronicles and Nehemiah, attestations of the word *mevin* are most often connected to the Levites. The participle is used to affirm the Levites' proficiency as musicians (1 Chr. 15:22; 2 Chr. 34:12) and also to establish them as responsible for educating the masses in Torah teachings (Neh. 8:9; 2 Chr. 26:5, 35:3; see Lange 2008, 274–75).

Lack of a biblical precursor for understanding *mevin* as a student raises questions about how some scholars have interpreted the *hiphil* participle forms in the present composition. Evidence from the biblical text would suggest that the word *mevin* was used more so in reference to highly perceptive individuals and, in some cases, to Levites who are described as teachers rather than students. Use of *mevin* in relation to the Levites in Chronistic literature may contribute to our understanding of how *mevin* is used in some parts of the present composition, and especially in passages where the language strongly alludes to the Aaronic status of the addressee (4Q417 4 ii 2; 4Q418 20 2; 4Q418 81 + 81a 3; 4Q418 103 ii 2–9; 4Q423 3 4–5; 4Q423 5 1a–5).

6.2. *Mevin* in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Sirach

In Sirach, the *hiphil* participle form occurs five (or possibly six) times.[205] In most cases, the participle *mevin* is used in an adjectival sense, as it is in Proverbs. Moreover, like in Proverbs—in which the participle occurs 9 times in the *niphal*[206] and 6 times in the *hiphil*[207]—the *niphal* and *hiphil* forms of the participle appear to be used interchangeably in Sirach with seemingly no clear semantic difference between the two: "As the palate tastes the kinds of game, so an intelligent (מבין) mind detects false words" (Sir. 36:24); "Let your conversation be with intelligent (נבון) people" (Sir. 9:15).[208] There is, however, one example in Sirach where *mevin* is used in the causative sense to refer to one who imparts understanding or, more specifically, to a teacher (Sir. 42:21).

In the Scrolls, uses of the *hiphil* participle forms of בין outside of the present composition are scarce. Only five instances are clearly preserved, though in three of these examples the participle appears in a fragmentary context that makes it difficult to understand its intended meaning (e.g., 4Q303 1 1; 4Q372 8 4; 4Q381 47 3).[209] From the remaining two examples that provided enough context for analysis, the participle appears to be used in a similar way to its usage throughout the present composition. For instance, the plural participle *mevinim* occurs once in the *Hodayot* to refer to those who are capable of receiving knowledge, but who must also be wary of outsiders who seek to deceive them (1QH^a 10 16–21).[210] Also striking is the use of *mevin* in 4Q525 14 ii 18, where the participle

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[205] Sir. 4:11 (pl.); 10:1; 36:24; 38:4; 40:6(?); 42:21.

[206] Prov. 1:5; 10:13; 14:6, 33; 15:15; 16:21; 17:28; 18:15; 19:25.

[207] Prov. 8:9; 17:10, 24; 28:2, 7, 11.

[208] For other uses of *niphal* participle in Sirach, see Sir. 7.25; 33:3; 46:20; SirB 4v:2, 9.

[209] A further three instances can be found where the participle *mevin* has been tentatively reconstructed by contemporary editors 4Q299 34 3(?); 4Q408 3 + 3a 7(?); 4Q509 12 i_13 3(?).

[210] בינה שמתה בלבבו לפתוח מקור דעת לכול מבינים ("in whose mind you placed understanding, in order to open the source of knowledge for all who are able to understand") (1QH^a 10 19–20; HTTSE, 33)

occurs once in the vocative + imperative formula: ועתה מבין שמעה לי ("and now, understanding one, listen to me"), which is comparable to the vocative + imperative use of ואתה מבין and ואתה בן מבין in the present composition. Although it should be noted that the addressee in the present composition is never once admonished to "listen" (שמעה) to the words of a speaker in the extant text, which is common in both Proverbs and Sirach.[211]

In addition, observations by Arjen Bakker and Menahem Kister may provide important information with regards to understanding how the participle *mevin* is used in the present composition. First, Bakker has noted an important instance where wordplay is used in Sirach 4:11 "Wisdom teaches her children and admonitions all those who understand her" (חכמות למדה בניה ותעיד לכל מבינים בה). Bakker observed that the personified figure of Wisdom is here portrayed as a parental figure who teaches her children. However, the form בניה has a double meaning. It can be read in the genitive as "her children" and in the suffixed plural participle as "those who understand her," which is further enforced by the parallelism between the בניה (*qal*) and מבינים (*hiphil* plural). This wordplay emphasises the intended meaning of the line, which is that those who understand Wisdom are nurtured by her as if they were her children (Bakker 2015, 25–26).

A similar observation has been made by Menahem Kister with regards an expression found in 4QBeautitudes (4Q525) that appears to mirror an expression found in the book of Proverbs.

[211] Prov. 1:33; 5:7; 7:24; 8:32; 34; Sir. 4:15; 31:22; 33:19; 41:14; 51:28.

Prov. 5:7[212]	Prov. 5:7 (Hebrew)
And now, children, listen to me	ועתה בנים שמעו לי
4Q4525 14 ii 18	**4Q525 14 ii 18 (Hebrew)**
And now, understanding one, listen to me	ועתה מבין שמעה לי

The line in 4QBeautitudes is almost identical to the line in Proverbs with the exception of the alteration of בנים to מבין. Kister surmised that the author(s) of 4QBeatitudes made this change because they interpreted בנים as the *qal* plural participle "understanding ones" rather than "sons."[213] In addition, the author(s) elsewhere repeat the formula found in Proverbs (4Q525 2 ii+3 12: ועתה בנים ש[מעו), and so it appears the author(s) of 4Q525 was(/were) content to switch between using בנים and מבין (see Bakker 2023, 34). Reflecting on these examples in the Scrolls, Bakker asserted that the interchange between בנים to מבין "as a form of address to students of wisdom may provide the background for the usage of *mēbîn* in wisdom texts from Qumran" (Bakker 2023 35; cf. Bakker 2015 27).[214]

It is feasible that the terminological connection between the words בנים, מבין, בניה, and מבינים may have been utilised by ancient authors to convey a deeper layer of meaning when using these terms. However, there are no direct allusions to this kind of wordplay in the preserved text of the present composition. When thinking about the identity of the addressee(s), it is important to consider the (especially well-preserved) examples in the text wherein the recipient is addressed. In the following sections, this study will examine instances where the participle *mevin* is used throughout the present composition, followed

[212] Prov. 7:24; 8:32.

[213] See also מבנים in Jer. 49:7.

[214] On the exegetical significance of bilateral roots, see Hempel (2020, 249); Tov (2007, 459–82).

by instances where the addressee is referred to or characterised as something other than *mevin*.

6.3. *Mevin* in 4QInstruction

This section examines instances where the participle *mevin* (and its rarer plural form, *mevinim*) appears within the text of the present composition.[215] Significant attention will be paid to the form of address that occurs frequently in the text: ואתה מבין, as well as ואתה בן מבין and ואתה] בן משכיל (see Table 6.1.).

4Q416 4 3	And you, understanding one, rejoice in an inheritance of truth and in ...	ואתה מבין שמחה בנחלת אמת וב○[
4Q417 1 i 1	*And*] you, understand[*ing*] one	ו]אתה מבֿ[י]ן
4Q417 1 i 13–14	And you, understanding one, inherit your reward in remembrance of the ...	ואתה מבין רוש פעלתכה בזכרון ה○[
4Q417 1 i 18	And you who are characterised by understanding, gaze *vac* upon the *raz nihyeh* and know	ואתה בן מבין הבט *vac* ברז נהיה ודע
4Q418 81 15	And you, understanding one, if he has given you	ואתה מבין אם בחכמת ידים המשילכה ודע[

[215] The following fragments that contain the participle *mevin* or *mevinim* have been excluded from this study's analysis for one of two reasons. Either because their reconstruction is highly disputable, or because the participle appears in a context that does not facilitate a credible interpretation of how the terms were used: 4Q415 11 5 (par 4Q418 167a); 4Q416 1 16 (par 4Q418 2 8); 4Q418 69 ii 15 (see Textual Notes, §4.5.3.2.); 4Q418 158 5; 4Q418 168 4; 4Q418 176 3; 4Q418 221 3; 4Q418 227 1; 4Q418 273 1; 4Q418a 8 2, 3.

	mastery over skilled hands and knowl[*edge* ...	
4Q418 102 3	*and you,*] understanding one, truthfully (provide) from the hand of all you with skilled hands	ואתה]מבין באמת מיד כול חכמת ידי{ם}כה
4Q418 122 ii + 126 ii 5	And y[*ou, understandi*]ng one(?), truthfully (provide) from the hand all provisions (to) people...	וא[תה מב]ינ֯ באמת מיד כול אוט אנשים א[
4Q418 122 ii + 126 ii 15	And you who und[*erstands*	ואתה מ[בין
4Q418 123 ii 5	[*and*] you, understanding one, when you look upon all these things...	[ו]אתה מבין בהביטכה בכול אלה ○○[
4Q418 168 4	*And y*]ou, under[*standing one*	וא]תה מב[ין
4Q418 176 3	*And yo*]u, who has understanding of the distress of indebtedness(?)[216]	וא֯ת]ה מבין בהוות מדהבה

Table 6.1. ואתה מבין and variants, adapted from Tigchelaar's list (2000b, 66)

6.3.1. *Mevin* in 4Q417 1 i–ii: The Constant Pursuit of Knowledge and the *Raz Nihyeh*

The vocative expressions ואתה מבין and ואתה בן מבין occur more often in 4Q417 1 i–ii than in any other surviving passage preserved in the manuscripts associated with the

[216] The editors translated as מדהבה "tax-collector" and Elgvin as "creditor" (DJD 34:400; Elgvin 1997a, 212). Goff's interpretation of this rare word as referring to the economic distress of the addressee in view of their difficult financial situation as a debt slave is plausible (4Q416 2 i–iii).

present composition. In addition, the participle *mevin* appears again in the second column without the preceding (בן) ואתה (4Q417 1 ii 10).

6.3.1.1. Transcription and Translation

4Q417 1 i. Parallels: 4Q418 43_45 i (underline); 4Q418a 11 (dotted underline); both 4Q418 43_45 i and 4Q418a 11 (double underline).

1. [-- ו]אתה מבֿ[י]ן[--]
2. [--]○○ וה○○ [ו]ברזי פל[אי אל הנוראים תשכיל ראש --]
3. [--]○ו בפ○○○[ ]כה ○○○ והבט[ברז נהיה -- קדם למה נהיה ומה]
4. [נהיה במה יהיה --]ל○○ [עו]לם לתש[-- למה הויא]
5. [ולמה נהיה במה יהיה --]ש ○כול[--]מעשה ומ[עשה]
6. [-- יומם ולילה הגה ברז נ]היה ודורש תמיד ואז תדע אמת ועול חכמה
7. [ואול]ת ת[ ]○○ מעש[יהם --]בכול דרכיהם עם פקודתם לכול קצי עולם ופקודת
8. עד ואז תדע בין [טו]ב ל[רע כמ]עשי[הם כ]יא אל הדעות סוד אמת וברז נהיה
9. פרש את אושה ועשה ○○○[-- בחכ]מה ולכל[בער]מה יצרה וממשלת מעשיה
10. לכ[ו]ל[ ]○○למה זכול [א]ת כ[ו]ל ○○בא[פ]רש למ[ב]ינתם לכול מ[עשי]ה להתהלך
11. ב[יצר] מבינתו ויפרש לא[נוש]○○י[ ]○ריה ובכושר מבינות נודע[עו נס]תרי
12. מחשבתו עם התהלכו[כי ת]מי[ם בכול מ]עשיו אלה שחר תמיד והתבונן [בכו]ל
13. תוצאותמה ואז תדע בכבוד ע[וזו ע]ם רזי פלאו וגבורות מעשיו ואתה
14. מבין רוש פעלתכה בזכרון הע[ת כי]בא חרות החוק{כה} וחקוק כול הפקודה
15. כי חרות מחוקק לאל על כול ע[ו]נ[ו]ת בני שוא וספר זכרון כתוב לפניו
16. לשמרי דברו והואה חזון ההגות ספר זכרון וינחילה לאנוש עם עם רוח כ[י]א
17. כתבנית קדושים יצרו ועוד לוא נתן הגוי לרוח בשר כי לא ידע בין
18. [טו]ב לרע כמשפט[ר]וחו *vac* ואתה בן מבין הבט *vac* ברז נהיה ודע
19. [נתיבו]ת כול חי והתהלכו הפקוד על מעש[יו --]ל[ ]○ ועו[ל --]ל[--]
20. [הב]ין בין רוב למעט ובסודכמה[--]
21. [--]צי כה ברז נהיה[ל --]
22. [--]י כול חזון דע ובכול[-- ל --]
23. ות[ת]חזק תמיד אל תנגע בעולה[--]
24. בה לא ינקה כפי נחלתו בה יר[שע -- ואתה]
25. בן משכיל התבונן ברזיכה ובאושו[י עולם דע --]
26. [י]וסדו בכה כ[ול מע]שיהן עם פעולת[--]

27. לוֹא תתרו אחר[י] לְבָבכ[מה] ואחרי {וֹ}עי[נ]יכמה[עשר אתם זנים אחריהם]

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4Q417 1 ii. Parallel: 4Q418 123 i (underline)

3. ברז נֹהֶ[י]הָ[--]
4. נֹחומים לפֶ[--]
5. התהלך תמֻ[ים --]
6. ברך שמוֹ [--]
7. מֹשמחתכֶה הָ[--]
8. גדולים רחמי אֶ[ל --]
9. הלל אל ועל כול נגע ברֹ[ך --]
10. בְּרֹצונוֹ היו יהוֹאה מבין ○[--]
11. יַפקוֹד כול דרכיכה ע○[ ]○ [--]
12. אל תפתכה מחשבת יַצֹר רע[--]
13. לאמת תדרוש אל תפתכה מֻ[--]
14. בלוא צוה נבונות בשר אל תשגכ[ה --]
15. תחשוב [--] אל תאמֹרְ [--]
16. כֹּוְ [-- ○כול הוֹן --]
17. [-- וכחוֹקכה --]
18. [-- לְ --]

4Q417 1 i

1. [... *and*] you, under[*stan*]ding one ...
2. ... and ... [*and*] the wond[*ro*]us mysteries [of the God of awesome deeds you shall understand. The origin of ...]
3. ... your ... and gaze [*upon the raz nihyeh* ... ancient times, at what exists and what
4. has existed, upon wh*at will be*] ... [*for*]ever to ... [at what exists]
5. [and at wh*at* has existed, upon what *will be*] ... all ... deed upon d[*eed*]
6. [... *day and* night meditate on the *raz ni]hyeh* and study (it) constantly. And then you will know truth and iniquity, wisdom
7. [*and foll*]y. You ... [*their*] deed[*s*] in all their ways together with their punishment in all the everlasting ages and the punishment
8. of eternity. And then you will know the difference between [*go*]od and [*evil according to their*] deeds, [*f*]or the God of Knowledge is a foundation of truth. With the *raz nihyeh*
9. he spread out its foundation and m[*ade (it) with wis*]dom and, regarding everything, [*with cunn*]ing he fashioned it. The dominion of its deeds
10. for a[*l*]l ... and all [*wi*]th a[*l*]l ... He [*has l*]aid out for their un[*de*]rstanding every d[*ee*]d so that one may walk

11. in [the inclination of] his intelligence, and he spread out for A[*dam*] ... [for] ... and with precision of intelligence were made kn[*own the sec*]rets
12. of his plan, together with his walking [*for* (he is) *pe*]rfe[*ct in all*] his [*d*]eeds. These things seek constantly and understand [*al*]l
13. their consequences. And then you will know the glory of [*his*] st[*rengh together*] with his wondrous mysteries and the mighty acts of his deeds. And you,
14. understanding one, inherit your reward in remembrance of the per[*iod for*] it comes. Engraved is [the] statute and ordained is all the punishment
15. because engraved is that which is ordained by God against all the in[*iq*]uit[*ie*]s of the sons of Sheth. And the book of remembrance is written before him
16. for the ones who keep his word—that is, the vision of meditation of the book of remembrance. He bequeathed it to Enosh (אנוש) together with a spiritual [people] be[*cau*]se
17. according to the likeness of the holy ones he fashioned him. But no more did he give what is meditated upon to the fleshly spirit, for it did not distinguish between
18. [*go*]od and evil according to the judgment of its [*sp*]irit. *vacat* And you, who is characterised by understanding, gaze *vacat* upon the *raz nihyeh* and know
19. [*the path*]s of all life and the manner of one's walking that is appointed over [*his*] deed[*s*] ... and iniqui[*ty*] ...
20. [*under*]stand the difference between great and small. In your counsel ...
21. ... your ... in the *raz nihyeh* ...
22. ... every vision know. And in all ...
23. B[*e s*]trong constantly. Do not be touched by iniquity ...
24. it will not be considered innocent. According to his inheritance in it he will co[*nsider wicked* ...]
25. one characterised by insight, understand your mysteries and by the foundations of ...
26. founded by you are a[*ll*] their [*dee*]ds, together with the rewards of ...
27. do not follow afte[*r*] you[*r*] heart and [after] your e[*y*]es ...

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4Q417 1 ii

3. upon the *raz nih[*y*]eh ...*
4. comfort to ...
5. walk per[*fectly* ...]
6. bless his name ...
7. from your joy ...
8. great is the compassion of G[*od* ...]
9. praise God and upon every strike ble[*ss* ...]
10. by his will they came into being [and] he causes understanding ...
11. he will punish all of your deeds ...

12. Do not let the thought of an evil inclination mislead you ...
13. for truth you shall search. Let not ... mislead you ...
14. without [his appointing] understandings of flesh. Let not ... lead you astray ...
15. think ... do not say ...
16. thus ... [... all wealth ...]
17. [... and according to your statute ...]
18. [... to ...]

6.3.1.2. Textual Notes

i 1.]ן[י]מבֿ אתה[ו. The editors remarked with caution about the material uncertainty of this reconstruction (DJD 34:156). Nonetheless, this form of address fits well within the context of the fragment, wherein a figure who is frequently addressed and described as *mevin* ("understanding") and *maskil* ("insightful") is urged to pursue and understand the *raz nihyeh.*

i 9. מה[בער]מה ולכל[בחכ]מה --]○○○ ועשה. The ink traces are extremely faded in this line (PAM 42.578). Searching for a word to go with רמה[ע, the editors proposed חכמה (DJD 34:158–59). Tigchelaar, however, has noted that the lacuna is too large for this reconstruction, and neither is the *reš* of ערמה visible on the fragment. He therefore does not include ערמה in his reconstruction (though he does include חכמה; see Tigchelaar 2001, 52–53).

i 16. לאנוש. This study follows Lange's and Wacholder and Abegg's translation: "to Enosh" (Lange 1995, 53; Wacholder and Abegg 1992, xiii). Other suggested translations include "to Adam" (Collins 1999, 612) and "to humanity" (Elgvin 1997a, 88).

i 18. ברז נהיה *vac* הבט. The editors have explained the presence of a space between הבט and ברז נהיה in this line as an intentional act of the scribe in order to avoid a patch of skin that was unsuitable for writing (DJD 34:154).

i 25. בֵּן משכיל. Some commentaries reconstruct ואתה at the end of the preceding line and so interpret the expression as a synonym of ואתה בן מבין (Elgvin 1997a, 256; Goff 2013, 138; Qimron 2013, 148; Rey 2009a, 279; Wold 2018, 52). For discussion on the material uncertain of the reconstruction בֵּן משכיל, which can also be read as כי משכיל, see §5.3.2. above.

ii 9. בר]ך. Reconstructions of the lacuna include בר]ך שמו (Goff 2013, 173) and בר]ך עושיכה (Qimron 2013, 149). It is, however, plausible that *bet* may function as a preposition.

6.3.1.3. Analysis

Much of what remains of the text from these two columns is fragmentary, and so it is difficult to be sure about some of the particularities of its content. The opening line of the first column appears to contain the remains of a form of address directed to the *mevin* (]ן[י מבֵ]אתה אֹ[ו), which is followed in lines 2–13 by several appeals for the addressee to "gaze upon" (הבט: line 3) and "continually study/seek" (דורש תמיד: line 6; שחר תמיד: line 12) the *raz nihyeh*. These appeals are followed by the resultant clause: "and then you will know" (ואז תדע: lines 6, 8, 13), which in turn is followed by information about the kind of

knowledge that can be gained from studying the *raz nihyeh*.[217] This serves as motivation for the addressee to persist in their efforts to understand the *raz nihyeh*. The recipient is again addressed in lines 13–14 as ואתה מבין, and with it the subject changes to their inheritance and reward, as well as an appeal to remember the periods and inscribed punishment of the wicked; the details of which are described as being contained within the "book of remembrance" (ספר זכרון). Different theories have been suggested with regards to the identity of the book of remembrance, which is also found in Mal. 3:16.[218] However, for the purposes of this study, what is significant is that the secret knowledge contained within the book of remembrance is attainable for the addressee identified as *mevin*. The book is described in lines 16–17 as being "written before him (God) for those who keep his word." It was first given to Enosh,[219] who was fashioned in the likeness of the holy angels, and the addressee is entrusted as the inheritor of the knowledge of this heavenly book by revelatory means through the "vision of *hagi*" (חזון ההגוֹת).[220] Significantly, information concerning the book of remembrance and the vision of *hagi* are found only in this passage of text, which are directed to one addressed as *mevin*. The profoundly esoteric nature of this revelatory knowledge prompts one to question whether all those addressed throughout the document were expected to strive to attain this level of heavenly knowledge, or whether this assignment given only to those addressed as *mevin*.

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[217] Different translations of *raz nihyeh* are discussed in Chapter 3 (§3.2.1.) and its use throughout the present composition is discussed in Chapter 4 (§4.5.5.).

[218] Lange has suggested that the book of remembrance should be equated with the Torah (Lange 1995, 83), where Goff has proposed that it is a heavenly book accessible only through the "vision of meditation" (4Q417 1 i 16) (Goff 2013, 158–62; cf. Hempel 2013, 162).

[219] For alternative readings of לאנוש, see Textual Notes in §6.3.1.2. above.

[220] The passage may share some connection with CD 10 6, which refers to "six who have understanding in the book of *hagi*" (ששה מבוננים בספר ההגי). Cf. CD 14 7–8.

In line 18, the recipient is addressed in a slightly different way, as ואתה בן מבין, and with its appearance the topic shifts back to the *raz nihyeh*. Seeking to make sense of this change in address, Armin Lange initially suggested that the difference in the use of ואתה מבין in lines 1 and 13–14 and ואתה בן מבין in line 18 could be explained as an intentional effort by the author(s)/editor(s) to indicate a distinction between those identified as מבין and those identified as בן מבין in the document. Lange theorised that the one addressed as *mevin* is to be distinguished as a teacher or counsellor with the ability to understand and teach revealed knowledge, while the one addressed as ואתה בן מבין is to be understood as a student of the *mevin* (Lange 1995, 56–57).[221] This explanation is plausible. However, if the trace letters in the opening line can be read as ואתה מבין (see Textual Notes), then Lange's theory is problematised by the continuation of lines 18–24, wherein the figure addressed by ואתה בן מבין is encouraged to continually seek and understand the *raz nihyeh*. These admonitions appear to mirror the admonitions that occur in what can be read in the opening thirteen lines, which may be directed to a figure addressed by ואתה מבין in line 1. In this case, those addressed by ואתה מבין and ואתה בן מבין would share the same objective, and so it would be difficult to identify them as distinct figures in the document. One might therefore understand both expressions as synonymous ways of referring to the addressee in this section.

The remaining lines preserved in 4Q417 1 i are severely damaged. However, traces of the words בן משכיל or כי משכיל can be found at the beginning of line 25 (see Textual Notes, §5.3.2.2.). Mirroring the form of address found in line 18 (ואתב בן מבין), the editors in DJD

[221] "Das in 4Q417 2 I aus der Textgliederung deutlich ersichtliche Gegenüber von מבין (4Q417 2 l 1) und בן מבין (4Q417 2 l 18) deutet wohl auf ein Gegenuber von Lehrer und Schuler hin. מבין bezeichnet somit in 4QSap A eine institutionalisierte Lehrer-bzw. Ratgeberpersönlichkeit, die über die Fähigkeit verfügt, offenbartes Wissen zu verstehen und zu lehren" (Lange 1995, 56–57).

34 reconstructed the expression בן משכיל [ואתה. The material uncertainty of this expression and the different ways in which scholars have interpreted it has been discussed in Chapter 5 (§5.3.2.3.).

Finally, the participle *mevin* occurs once in 4Q417 1 ii 10. However, unlike in the first column, the participle is not used in reference to the addressee. The second column is significantly more fragmentary than the first, though the remains of the text would suggest that this column contained a hymnic section with God as its subject (ברך שמו: "bless his name" in line 6; גדולים רחמי א[ל: "great is the compassion of G[*od*" in line 8; הלל אל "praise God" in line 9). In keeping with the theme of praise, the textual remnants in line 10 pay homage to God's creative power as the one who "causes all things to come into being" and who "causes understanding" (יהוא]ה מבין). The rare use of the third person before the participle indicates its transitive usage (DJD 34:171). In other words, one finds that participle *mevin* is not always used to refer to the addressee in the present composition.

6.3.2. *Mevin* and *Mevinim* in 4Q418 123 ii: Thinking about the Plural

The plural participle *mevinim* is used irregularly throughout the present composition. In many cases, not all the letters are visible, which makes it difficult to determine its presence (4Q416 1 16 [par 4Q418 2 + 2a_c 8]), and in other instances the context in which it appears is too fragmentary to fully understand its usage (4Q415 11 5 [par 4Q418 167 a + b 5];

4Q418 221 3). The appearance of the plural participle *mevinim* in 4Q418 123 ii 4 provides the only clear example where the term is used in a context that permits further analysis.[222]

6.3.2.1. Transcription and Translation

1. וְלָ[--]
2. למבוא שנים ומוצא קצים [ ]○[ ]○○[--]
3. כול הנהיה בה למה היה ומה יהיה בו[--]
4. קְצו אשר גלה אל אוזן מבינים ברז נהיה[--]
5. [ו]אתה מבין בהביטכה בכול אלה ○○[ ]ל[--]
6. [ ]דה שקול מעשיכה עם קצ[--]
7. [ ]○ פְּוקד לכה השמר מאד מִי[--]
8. [-- שפ]וט עֲוֹוֹן ○[--]
9. [--]○○○[--]

1. and for ...
2. concerning the entry of years and the exit of periods ...
3. everything which has happened in it, why it was, and what will be in it ...
4. its periods which he (God) uncovered to the ear of those who understand the *raz nihyeh*
5. [*And*] you, understanding one, when you consider all these things ...
6. ... weigh your deeds with the time[s (?)
7. ... he will assign to you. Take good care ...
8. [... *jud*]ge iniquity ...
9. ...

6.3.2.2. Textual Notes

5.]○○. Tigchelaar has suggested הֹכְ or הֹבְ before the lacuna, though traces of these letters are not clearly distinguishable from the photographs (PAM 41.906, 43.475).

[222] There may also be some connection between the content of 4Q417 1 i–ii and 4Q418 123 ii. Tigchelaar has tentatively identified possible points of overlap between 4Q418 123 i and 4Q417 1 ii (Tigchelaar 2001, 54).

6.3.2.3. Analysis

This small fragment contains several key terms that are recurrent throughout the document, such as the enigmatic *raz nihyeh* in line 4 and the form of address ואתה מבין in line 5, which is familiar to us from the previously examined fragment 4Q417 1 i. Also striking is the occurrence in line 3 of the clause]נוֹ כול הנהיה בה למה היה ומה יהיה, which Tigchelaar has observed is reminiscent of 4Q418 43 2 (par 4Q417 1 i 3–4) למה ניהיה ומה נהיה במ]ה and 4Q418 43 3 (par 4Q417 1 i 4–5)]נהיה נמה[ ]למה הוֹיא ו[לֹמ[ה (Tigchelaar 2001, 162). Even if, as Tigchelaar suspected, the graphical overlap between 4Q418 123 i and 4Q417 1 ii does not necessarily indicate that both fragments represent the same section of the composition, similarities in language and themes attest to there being some connection between the fragments (Tigchelaar 2001, 166).

How is the plural participle *mevinim* in line 4 to be understood in relation to the use of the singular participle *mevin* in line 5? In line 4, God is described as the one who reveals the secrets of the era by uncovering the ear of those who understand (מבינים) the *raz nihyeh*. The recipient is then addressed in the singular in line 5 and admonished to consider "all these things" (בכול אלה), which presumably refers to all that has been said in the previous section. The plural participle *mevinim* in this example clearly seems to be referring to the same type of individual addressed in 4Q417 1 i—who is called to constantly pursue the *raz nihyeh*—and the figure addressed ו]אתה מבין in the following line must surely be included among those identified as *mevinim* in line 4. Goff has suggested that preference for the singular *mevin* throughout the document should be regarded as a rhetorical device designed to enhance the engagement of the addressees in a more direct manner (Goff 2003, 220). However, as we have seen from its use in 4Q417 1 ii 10, the participle *mevin* on its own is not always used to refer to the addressee. Thus,

in refinement of Goff's original statement, use of *mevin together* with the vocative ואתה can be regarded as a way of referring directly to those who are described in the plural as "those who understand the *raz nihyeh*" in 4Q418 123 ii 4.

6.3.3. *Mevin* in 4Q416 4 3: A Rare Occurrence of *Mevin* in 4Q416

Among the fragments identified as belonging to the manuscript 4Q416, 4Q416 4 3 preserves the only clear example where the participle *mevin* can be found. The fragment itself is small, containing only three lines of broken text. [223]

6.3.3.1. Transcription and Translation

1. קָ[--]חרון כי אוהב ○[--]
2. עברה כי עליהמה ינפח כורָ אָ[--]○[--]
3. ואתה מבין שמחה בנחלת אמת וב○[--]

bottom margin

1. ... wrath, because love ...
2. anger, for above them (the) furnace is fanned ...
3. But you, understanding one, rejoice in the inheritance of truth and in ...

bottom margin

6.3.3.2. Textual Notes

1. [--]קָ. With the exception of a few small ink spots located at the torn edges of this fragment, no clear traces of these letters are visible in the corresponding PAM images (PAM 40.617, 41.306, 41.783, 42.556, 43.524). Based on its appearance in other texts, some

[223] Tigchelaar has suggested there might also be points of overlap with 4Q418a 9 2 (Tigchelaar 2001, 49).

have suggested the following reconstruction in the lacuna: צי]קֻ (Qimron 2013, 162; Tigchelaar 2001, 49).

6.3.3.3. Analysis

Based on what remains of the text, it is plausible that the common form of address ואתה מבין is found in the midst of a judgement scene in which the fate of the wicked is contrasted with the fate of the addressee, a common trope within the document (cf. 4Q416 1; 4Q418 55; 4Q418 69 ii; 4Q418 126 ii + 122 ii). Following the form of address, the imperative שמחה encourages the addressee to "rejoice" in the inheritance of truth, which distinguishes them from the wicked. The words "truth" (אמת) and "inheritance" (נחל) occur frequently throughout the text; 41 times[224] for אמת and 39 times[225] for נחל (excluding parallels). These concepts are deeply connected to the identity of the addressee and will be discussed further in §6.4.6.

One particularly notable thing about this example is that it is the only instance where the word *mevin* can be found among all the surviving fragments of 4Q416.[226] This is

[224] 4Q415 31 2; 4Q416 1 10 (par 4Q418 2 2), 13 (par 4Q418 2 5), 14 (par 4Q418 2 6); 4Q416 2 iii 7 (par 4Q418 9 15), 14 (par 4Q418 9 15); 4Q416 4 3; 4Q417 1 i 6 (par 4Q418 43_45 i 4), 8 (par 4Q418 43_45 6); 4Q417 1 ii 13; 4Q417 13 4; 4Q417 20 5; 4Q418 45 ii 14; 4Q418 55 6 (x2), 9; 4Q418 69 ii 3, 7, 10, 12, 13; 4Q418 81 9; 4Q418 85 2; 4Q418 87 11; 4Q418 88 ii 8; 4Q418 102 a + b 2, 3, 5; 4Q418 122 i 3; 4Q418 126 ii 2, 3, 4, 11; 4Q418 127 5, 6; 4Q418 147 2; 4Q418 172 5; 4Q418 214 1; 4Q418 245 2; 4Q418a 24 3; 4Q423 5 4.

[225] 4Q415 2 i + 1 ii 6; 4Q415 15 1; 4Q416 2 i 6 (par 4Q417 2 i 11); 4Q416 2 ii 18 (par 4Q417 2 ii 23); 4Q416 2 iii 7 (par 4Q418 9 + 9a_c 7), 8 (par 4Q418 9 + 9a_c 9), 10 (par 4Q418 9 + 9a_c 10), 11 (par 4Q418 9 + 9a_c 12); 4Q416 2 iv 11, 12; 4Q416 3 1, 2; 4Q416 4 3; 4Q417 i 16 (par 4Q418 43_45 i 13); 19 (par 4Q418 43_45 i 14), 24; 4Q417 2 i 18; 4Q418 43_45 i 14; 4Q418 55 6, 12; 4Q418 69 ii 13; 4Q418 81 + 81a 3 (x3; par 4Q423 8 2), 11, 14, 20; 4Q418 88 ii 8; 4Q418 138 2; 4Q418 162 3; 4Q418 169 + 170 1; 4Q418 172 5; 4Q418 185 a + b 2, 4; 4Q418 201:1; 4Q418 234 1; 4Q418 251 1(?); 4Q423 5 3; 4Q423 12 2.

[226] Excluding the possible use of the plural form in 4Q416 1 16 (par 4Q418 2 8), although it is unclear whether this term was used here to refer to the addressee (DJD 34:83, 88; contra Goff 2013, 43; Kampen 2011, 61).

surprising, since the manuscript contains the largest intact fragment among all the discovered fragments belonging to the present composition: 4Q416 2. This fragment is comprised of four relatively well-preserved columns of text that are further supplemented and expanded by several other parallel manuscripts.

- 4Q416 2 i (par 4Q417 2 i 6–14; 4Q417 2 ii 1–2; 4Q418 7b 1–14)
- 4Q416 2 ii (par 4Q417 2 ii 2–26; 4Q418 7b+14; 4Q418 8; 4Q418a 19 [D5] 1–4)
- 4Q416 2 iii (par 4Q418 9+1–18; 4Q418 10a, b 1–14)
- 4Q416 2 iv (par 4Q418 10a, b 5–10; 4Q418a 18 (D4) 3–4)

It is striking that within the largest known passage of text preserved across multiple fragments there is not one reference to the addressee as *mevin*. This is especially notable when one considers that most of the admonitions preserved within the extant text occur within these columns (see §4.4.). Yet these admonitions are never once explicitly directed towards an addressee identified as *mevin*.

There is, however, one instance where the word *mevin* has been supplemented by scholars. This can be found in 4Q417 2 i 28, which overlaps with 4Q416 2 i 20–21.

ע[וד]<u>וגם</u> אתה[בן מבין

mo[re.] And also you, [who understands ...

4Q417 2 i 28 (par 4Q416 2 i 20–21 [underline])

The transcription above is based on the editors' understanding of the fragment (DJD 34:173). Tigchelaar, however, did not reconstruct the participle *mevin* in his transcription (Tigchelaar 2001, 55). Moreover, Tigchelaar noted other significant points of overlap based on his reconstruction of 4Q418 frgs. 64+199+66, 7b, 26+27, 8 + 8a + 8b, which others have since used for their textual analysis (Tigchelaar 2001, 76–77; see Goff 2013, 183–84; Rey 2009a, 43–44). Both Goff and Rey elected to follow the example of the editors

in DJD 34 by reconstructing בן מבין (or just מבין for Goff) in their transcription and translation of this fragment. John Kampen, however, has rightly observed that there "is no example in all of the extant *Instruction* texts where 'also' [גם] occurs preceding 'you, man of discernment,' or 'you, son of discernment'" (Kampen 2011, 107). Moreover, in view of the (possibly intentional) omission of the word *mevin* in the four columns of 4Q416 2 and in parallel manuscripts, it seems unlikely that the word *mevin* would be found in 4Q416 2 i 20–21 (par 4Q417 2 i 28).

The question remains, does the absence of the participle *mevin* in 4Q416 2 i–iv indicate a different kind of addressee or is it simply a more generic second person addressee? This will be addressed in §6.4.1. and §6.4.2.

6.3.4. *Mevin* with "Skilled Hands" in 4Q418 81 15–20 (and Other Associated Fragments)

Analysis has already been provided for lines 1–14 of fragment 4Q418 81 + 81a in Chapter 4, which focusses on a reference to כול משכילכה in line 17 (see §4.5.4). However, this section focusses on a new characteristic quality that appears to have been attributed to *some* of those addressed as *mevin* in 4Q418 81 15–20. In addition, this section of the fragment is considered alongside several other fragments that Asaf Gayer has reconstructed together with 4Q418 81 + 81a 15–20 based on his observation of physical similarities, corresponding line alignments, and shared content among the fragments (Gayer 2020, esp. 63, 71).[227] Gayer's material reconstruction spans three columns in total,

[227] 4Q418 81, 81a, 101, 102, 103, 122, 126, 137, 139. According to Gayer's new reconstruction, both 4Q418 81 + 81a and 4Q418 102 (+ 4Q418 101 i) would have appeared on the same column spanning 28 lines, with

and the content of these combined fragments focusses on an addressee who is gifted with "skilled hands" (חכמת ידים).

6.3.4.1. Transcription and Translation

Parallels: 4Q418 102 1–5 (underline); 4Q418 101 i (double underline).

15. ואתה מבין אם בחכמת ידים המשילכה ודע[ת --]
16. אוט לכול הולכי אדם ומשם תפקוד טרפכה ו[--]
17. התבונן מודה ומיד כול משכילכה הוסף לקח[--]
18. הוצא מחסורכה לכול דורשי חפץ ואז תכין [--]
19. תמלא ושבעתה בֹרוב טוב ומחכמת ידיכה[--]
20. כי אל פלג נֹחלתֹ[כו]ל[חי]וכול חכמי לב השכלוֹ[--]
21-23. [--]
24. [-- וא]תה בשחרֹ[כה --]
25. [--]○פץ ואמת צדק כול מעשיו ו○[-- מ]עֹשיו
26. [-- ואתה]מֹבין באמת מיד כול חכמת ידי{ם}כה[--]אוטכה
27. [-- הת]הלככה ואז ידריש חפצכה לכול מבקשיו[--]ואתה
28. [-- מ]עֹוֹן תועבה תנקה ובשמחת אמת תשת[--]שֹלום

bottom margin

15. But you, understanding one, if he has given you mastery over skilled hands and knowl[*edge* ...]
16. provision to all humankind and from there you shall allocate your food and[
17. Improve greatly in understanding, and from the hand of all your masters[228] acquire more learning...
18. Offer your need to all those who seek sustenance and then (it) shall be established [...
19. you will be full and sated with much goodness and from your skilled hands[...
20. for God has distributed an inheritance to all humankind and all the skilful were made (to) prosp[*er*
21–23. [--]
24. [... *and y*]ou, when (you) seek[...

4Q418 81 + 81a occupying the top part of the first sheet and 4Q418 102 being located at the bottom (Gayer 2020, 61).

[228] The meaning of כול משכילכה is discussed in Chapter 5 (§5.3.4.).

25. ... *(things that are) us*]eful and true, all His deeds are just and [-- *from*] his deeds
26. ... *and you,*] understanding one, with truth from the hand of all those with skilled hands [--] your provisions
27. [... *your con*]duct and then he will seek out your sustenance for all who to all who seek it [--] and you
28. [... *from*] abominable iniquity you will be cleansed and in the joy of truth you will[-- *in*] peace.

bottom margin

6.3.4.2. Textual Notes

15–20. For Textual Notes on these lines, see Chapter 5 (§5.3.4.2.).

24. בשחר[כה. The editors noted that]בשחתֿ ("in the pit") is material just as plausible (DJD 34:328). However, the notion of "seeking" appears to be a significant subject in this passage (see ידרוש and מבקשיו in 4Q418 102 4). Moreover, seeking (and the notion that there are "seekers" among those addressed) is also a prominent idea in other fragments that are part of Gayer's new reconstruction, which will be examined below.

26. מיד. Alternatively, the imperative form מד"ד could be read (Gayer 2020, 64; Qimron 2013, 208).

6.3.4.3. Analysis

As is sometimes the case in the present composition, ואתה מבין appears to mark the beginning of a new section.[229] Whereas in lines 1–14 the recipient is described in priestly terms and called to bless and glorify the angels, the addressee in lines 15–20 is described

[229] Tigchelaar has commented on instances where the form of address ואתה מבין is preceded by a blank space (4Q416 4 3; 4Q417 1 i 18; 4Q418 69 ii 15) or starts a new line (4Q416 4 3; 4Q418 81 15; 4Q418 126 ii 5; 4Q418 123 ii 5) (Tigchelaar 2000, 67).

as a special kind of *mevin* who has been gifted with "skilled hands" and is therefore capable of providing provisions for themselves and those around them.

Significantly, at the beginning of the new section in 4Q418 81 15, the conjunction אם ("if") is placed between the form of address ואתה מבין ("and you, who understands) and the following condition בחכמת ידים המשילכה ("he has given you mastery over skilled hands"),[230] implying that not all addressed as *mevin* were gifted with "skilled hands." This would appear to indicate that parts of this section were applicable to only a minority of skilled-handed individuals addressed within the document.[231] Additionally, in 4Q418 103 ii—which Gayer counted among the fragments closely connected with 4Q418 81 + 81a—a farmer (אכרים) is addressed and admonished to pay heed to rules concerning agricultural laws and practices.[232] It is plausible that references to "skilled hands" throughout the text might be applicable to anyone who possessed the means of providing sustenance, including craftspeople, artisans, and farmers.

This interpretation of 4Q418 81 and its corresponding fragments differs from the editors' reading of this passage in DJD 34, who instead understood המשילכה in line 15 as referring to God's establishment of the *mevin's* authority over those described as having "skilled hands." This understanding is based on a reading from Sirach, wherein working people are represented as inferior to sages (Sir. 38:24–24; DJD 34:309). Yet this reading becomes more difficult to maintain when confronted by the more direct reference to חכמת ידיכה "your skilled hands" in line 19, to which the editors remarked:

[230] On this reading of the *hiphil* מׄשׄל, see DCH, 5.351, 536.

[231] Although the singular is used, it is probable that the singular form of address served the purpose of

[232] 4q418 103 ii is located at the bottom of the third column in Gayer's reconstruction (Gayer 2020, 63).

> The attribution to the sage of artisanship (i.e., *ḥokma* of the hands) is paradoxical; in a wisdom text, the craftsman is usually contrasted unfavourably with the sage" (DJD 34:311).

A similar sentiment is expressed by the editors when trying to make sense of instances where the addressee is identified as a farmer in 4Q418 103 ii and in fragments of 4Q423. The editors admit that these different forms of address and its related subjects were regarded as "problems" because they do not correspond with the usual characteristics and topics associated with sages as understood from conventional wisdom literature (e.g., Proverbs and Sirach; DJD 34:330). However, if one sets aside this particular reading lens, one finds that it may not be so unusual (or indeed "paradoxical") that some of those addressed as *mevin* might also have had expertise in practical areas of life.

6.3.5. Seekers and Providers in 4Q418 126 ii 11–16

Further clarity on the role of those described as having "skilled hands" may be found in another significant combination of fragments that Gayer included in the third column of his reconstruction: 4Q418 126 ii (Gayer 2020, 63).[233] A transcription, translation, textual notes, and analysis of 4Q418 126 ii 1–10 has already been provided in Chapter 4 (§4.5.4.). However, this section focusses on the emergence of two distinct figures within lines 11–16 of the fragment: those who provide and those who seek.

6.3.5.1. Transcription and Translation

11. ואתה באמת התהלך עם כול דּוֹרְשׁי [--] *vacat*
12. ובידכה אוט֯ה ומטנאכה ידרוש חפצו ואתה מ֯[--]

[233] For a full analysis of 4Q418 126 ii, see Chapter 4 (§4.5.4.).

13. ואם לוא תסי֯ג ידו למחסורכה ומחסור אוטו[--]
14. [-- או]טֹהו ואל ישי֯ם מחפצו כי אל י֯[--]
15. [-- ב]ידכה למו֯תר ופרץ מקניכ֯[ה --]
16. [--] עו֯לם כנו֯ח֯לי֯כה[--]

11. *vacat* And you, in truth walk with all who seek ...
12. and in your hand are his resources and from your basket he will seek what he desires. But you ...
13. and if his means are not sufficient for what you lack or the lack of his resources ...
14. ... his [*reso*]urces. And God will arrange because of his desire, because God will ...
15. [... *from/in*] your hand with a surplus and you[*r*] livestock will increase ...
16. ... forever, according to your inheritors ...

6.3.5.2. Textual Notes

12.]מ֯ ואתה. Many provide the following reconstruction in the lacuna:]בין֯ מ֯ ואתה (DJD 34:350; Goff 2013, 274; Tigchelaar 2001, 103). The editors also suggested]ן ב ואתה or ואתה]אמת ב as possible alternatives (DJD 34:356). In addition, Qimron has reconstructed the lacuna: ואתה מ[מנו תדרוש חפצכה "and you, f[*rom him you will seek (what) you desire*" (Qimron 2013, 171).

6.3.5.3. Analysis

Following a *vacat* at the beginning of line 11, two figures are introduced by the vocative ואתה: one at the beginning of line 11 and another at the end of line 12. The editors in DJD 34 surmised that the first use of the second singular address is referring "almost certainly the maven" and that the recurring form of address in line 12 likely introduced a subsequent sentence intended for the same addressee (DJD 34:355). However, it is possible to discern a functional distinction between those who "provide" and those who "seek" in these preserved lines, which accords with other parts of the document that describe those

who—by the skill of their hands—are able to provide resources (אוט). The first ואתה addresses a provider, who is told to "walk in truth with those who seek." In line 12, we are informed that those who seek are reliant on the sustenance they provide: "for in your hand are his provisions and from your basket he will seek what he desires." At the end of line 12, the second ואתה addresses those who seek.[234] Lines 13–14 then provides assurance for those who seek with the promise that God will intervene to provide for the seeker should their needs not be satisfied by one who provides. Finally, though line 15 is significantly damaged, the remains of ידכה[("[*in/from(?)*] your hand") would suggest that the addressee here switches once more to those who provide, which is followed by a second promise (mirroring the promise given to the seeker) that God will ensure that the provider's resources are plentiful: "[… *from/in*] your hand with a surplus you[*r*] livestock will increase." The final lines of this passage can therefore be interpreted as providing comfort to the provider and the seeker by reassuring them with the knowledge that God will always ensure they will have the provisions that they require.

In consideration of resemblances between the skilled-handed addressee who provides resources in 4Q418 81 + 81a 15–20 (and related fragments) and those who are called to be providers for those who seek in 4Q418 126 ii 11–16—and also considering the relationship between these fragments in light of Gayer's recent reconstruction—it is plausible that the same kind of figure is being addressed in both sections. In other words, those with skilled hands (i.e., farmers, craftspeople, artisans, labourers) were responsible for providing sustenance for those called to seek truth and further develop their understanding of the *raz nihyeh*.

[234] The editors proposed ואתה מ[בין, but also suggested ואתה ב[ן or ואתה ב[אמת as alternatives (DJD 34:356).

6.4. Other Forms of Address

In the previous section, this study examined instances where the participle *mevin* is used throughout the present composition, paying special attention to the vocative clause ואתה מבין and ואתה בן מבין. However, this is not the only form of address that appears within the document, and neither is it the most common. As seen in Table 6.1., there are thirteen instances where ואתה is used in conjunction with מבין and בן מבין. By comparison, there are seventeen examples where ואתה is used in conjunction with a different combination of words, as well as further eight instances where אתה appears without the conjunction and after the subject, and one case where the plural ואתם is found without further references to *mevin* or *mevinim* (see Table 6.2.).

4Q415 6 2	Y[o]u are needy	אביון א[ת]ה
4Q416 2 ii 4	And you will be like him	ואתה תשוה בו
4Q416 2 ii 14	Because you are his slave and his chos]en one	כי אתה עבדו ובחי]רו
4Q416 2 ii 14	But you, do not be too self-assured lest you become hated.	ואתה אל תבטח למה תשנא
4Q416 2 ii 15	And you become for him a prudent slav]e	ואתה דמה לו לעבד משכי]ל
4Q416 2 ii 19–20	When you *vacat* lack bread	ואתה *vacat* חסר לחם
4Q416 2 ii 20	And(/when) you are poor	ואתה רושׁ
4Q416 2 iii 2	And remember because you are poor	וזכור כי ראש אתה
4Q416 2 iii 8	You are needy	אביון אתה
4Q416 2 iii 12	You are needy	אביון אתה
4Q416 2 iii 19	And if you are poor...	ואם רש אתה
4Q416 2 iv 5	And you are to be together with the woman of your bosom	ואתה ליחד עם אשת חיקכה
4Q417 2 i 17	And if you lack food in your poverty...	ואתה אם תחסר טרף מחסורכה
4Q418 68 5	And y]ou make yourself understand	וא]תה התבונן
4Q418 69 ii 10	And you (pl.) chosen ones of truth	ואתם בחירי אמת

4Q418 81 1	And you are like an eternal spring	ואתה כמקור עולם
4Q418 81 2	And you, separate yourself from all that he hates	ואתה הבדל מכול אשר שנא
4Q418 81 3–4	And(/so) you honour him in this (way)	ואתה בזה כבדהו
4Q418 81 6	And you, is not his goodness for you?	ואתה {ל}הלוא לכה טוּבי
4Q418 81 7	And(/so) you seek his judgement	ואתה דרוש משפטיו
4Q418 81 9	And you, he has [op]ened up insight for you	ואתה שכלّ[פ]תח לכה
4Q418 83 1	And you, you know[	ואתה יִדעתה[
4Q418 126 ii 11	And you walk in truth...	ואתה באמת התהלך
4Q418 177 5	You are poor	אתה רש
4Q418 206 5	And you are weary	ואתה יגעתה
4Q423 5a 2[235]	If you are a m[an of the ground	אם א]יש אדמה אתה

Table 6.2. Other instances of ואתה, ואתם, and אתה.[236]

The various combinations of ואתה, אתה, and ואתם and throughout the composition provide us with good cause to re-examine our understanding of the characteristics of the addressee(s).

6.4.1. 4Q416 2 i–iii: The Addressee as a Poor Person and a Debt Slave

> ... the Qumran text [4QInstruction] has no precedent in Jewish wisdom literature for its insistence on the poverty of the addressee (Collins 1997a, 118).

Among the various ways in which the audience is addressed, the next most common form of address after מבין (בן) ואתה are ones that explicitly draw attention to the poverty of some of the recipients, which is most acutely highlighted in 4Q416 2 i–iii and parallel fragments.

[235] See also 4Q423 5 5: אם אתה א]יש אדמה

[236] Instances where ואתה or אתה can be found in very small fragments that provide no further context for its usage include 4Q418 28:3, 4Q418 101 i 4, 4Q418 148 ii 4, and 4Q418 182 2.

In consideration of the full context of the surviving material, a transcription and translation of the extant text is provided below.

6.4.1.1. Transcription and Translation

4Q416 2 i* (4Q417 2 i).[237] Parallels: 4Q416 2 i (underline); 4Q418 7–8 + 64, 199, 66 (large-dotted underline); 4Q418a 22 (double underline). Points of overlap between 4Q416 2 i and 4Q418 7–8 + 64, 199, 66 are highlighted yellow.

1. בְּכֹ֥ל עת פן ישבעכה וכרֹוֹחוֹ דבר בו פן י֯[--]
2. בלוא הוכח הכשר עבור לו והנק שר ֯[--]
3. וגם את רוחוֹ לא תבלע כיא בדממה דברת[ה --]
4. וֹתוכחתו ספר מהר ואל תעֲבוֹר על פשעיכה [--]
5. יִצדק כמוכה הוֹאה כיא הוֹאה {כיא הואה} שר בשׂ[--]
6. יִעשה כיא מה הוֹאה יח֯ד בכול מעשה לבלתי ֯֯[--]
7. *vacat* ואיש עול אל תחשוב עזר וגם אין שוֹנֵא [-- לתי --]
8. רֹשע מעשיו עם פקדתו ודע במה תתֹהֹלך עמו [-- בקה --]
9. אל *vacat* תמוֹש מלבכה ואל לכה לבדכה תרֹחֹב [נפשכהֹ בראשכה --]
10. כיא מה צעיר מרש ואל תשם֯ באבלכה פֹן תעמֹל בחיכה[הבט ברז]
11. נהיה וֹקח מוֹלדי ישע ודע מי נוֹחל כבוד ועל הֹלוא[--]
12. ולאבליהמה שמחת עולם היה בעֹל ריב לחֹפצכה ואיֹן[--]
13. לכול נעוותי֯ה דבֹ[ר]משפטיכה כמושל צדיק אֹל תקֹ[ח --]הֹ
14. ואל תעבוֹר על[פש]עיכה היה כֹאיֹש עֲנִי בריֹבֹך משפט[--]
15. קח ואז יראה אֵל וָשֹב אפוֹ ועֹבר על חטאותֹכֹה [כי]אֹ לפי֯ אֹ[פו *vac*]
16. לוֹא יעמוד כול ומי יצדק במשפטו ובלי סליחה[א]יֹכה [-- ל]
17. אביון ואתה אם תחסוֹ טרף מחסוֹרכה ומותריכה [ה]בֹא בֹ[יחד א]ם
18. תותיר הובל למחוֹז חפצו ונחלתכה קח מֹמנו ואל תוסף עוֹ[ד ואם]
19. {וֹאם} תחסר לוא מבלי ה[ו]ן מחסורכה כיא לוא יחסר אוצרֹ[אל ועל]
20. פיהו יִהיה כול ואת אשר יטריפכה אֹכֹוֹל ואל תוסף עֹ[ו]דֹ פֹ[ן תקציר]

[237] Text parallel to 4Q417 2 i was found in a much better state of preservation than 4Q416 2 i. It will therefore serve as the basis for the transcription and translation of 4Q416 2 i (though the first few lines of 4Q417 2 i would certainly have been found in the column that preceded 4Q416 2 i, hence it is referred to here as 4Q416 2 i*).

21. *vacat* חייכה *vacat* אם הון אנש[י]ם תלוה למחסורכה אל [--]ה
22. יומם ולילה ואל מנוח לנפשכה [עד]השיבכה לנושׁ[--]אל תכזב
23. לו למה תשה עון וגם מחרפה ל○[-- ולא תאמין ע]וד לרעהו
24. ובמחסורכה יקפץ ידו כחכה[-- וכמוהו לוה ודע מאגר]
25. ואם נגע יפגשכה ואין[-- לב אל תסתר מנושׁה בכה]
26. פן יגלה חר[פ]תכה ה[-- מושל בו ואז]
27. לא יכנו בשבט [-- ח○○כה ואפס]
28. ע[וד]וגם אתה[-- בעברה]

Bottom margin

4Q416 2 ii. Parallels: 4Q417 2 ii + 23 (underline); 4Q418 7b [large-dotted underline]; 4Q418 8 [small-dotted underline]; 4Q418a 19 [double underline]). Points of overlap between 4Q417 2 ii + 13 and 4Q418 7b are highlighted yellow; points of overlap between 4Q417 2 ii + 13 and 4Q418 8 are highlighted green; points of overlap between 4Q417 2 ii + 13, 4Q418 7b, and 4Q418 8 are highlighted blue; points of overlap between 4Q418 8 and 4Q418a 19 are highlighted in pink; and points of overlap between 4Q417 2 ii + 23 and 4Q418a 19 are highlighted in grey.

top margin

1. פתח רח[מיו --]א כל מח[סורי אוטו ולתת טרף]
2. לכל חי ואין מ[-- ואם] יקפוץ ידו[ונאספ]ה רוח כו[ל]
3. בשר אל תק[-- ול בה ו]בחרפת[ו] תכסה פניכה ובאולתו
4. מאסור כמה[ו אם בהון הנושה בו -- מהר]שלם ואתה תשוה בו כי כיס
5. צפוניכה פקד[תה לנושה בכה בעד רעיכה נת]תה כל חייכה בו מהר תן אשר
6. לו זקח כיס[כה *vac?* ובדבריכה אל תמעט]רוחכה בכל הון אל תמר רוח ק[דשכה
7. כי אין מחיר שוה [בה -- כל אי]ש לא יטכה ברצון שחר פניו וכלשונו
8. דבר ואז תמצא חפצכה[מחרפתכה אל תמר]לו וחוקיכה אל תרף וברזיכה השמר
9. [לחיי]כה אם עבודתו יפק[ד לכה]אל מנוח בנפשכה וא]ל תנומה לעיניכה עד עשותכה
10. [מצותיו וא]ל תוסף ואם יש להצ[ניע -- ר מע --]ואל תותר לו אף הון בלו
11. [-- תנו פן יומר בזני ונפ]ל[ה א --]○○[וי]צו[ ]כה וראה כי רבה קנאת
12. [אנוש ועקוב הלב מכל --]○ו אם ברצונו תחזיק עבודתו וחכמת אוטו
13. [-- שו○ --]○○ תיעצנ[ו והייתה]לו לבן בכור וחמל עליכה כאיש על יחידו

14. [-- כי אתה עבדו ובחי]רו ואָתה א[ל] תבטח למה תשׂנאָ ואל תשקוד ממדהבכה
15. [דמה לו לעבד מ̇שכי]ל וגם אל תשפל נפשכה לאשר לא ישוה בכה ואז תהיֶה
16. [לו לאב --]◦ לאשר אין כוחכה אל תגע פן תכשל ותרפתכה תרבה מאדה
17. [אל תמ]כור נפשכה בהון טוב היותכה עבד ברוח וחנם תעבוד נוגשיכה ובמחיר
18. אל תמכור כבודכה ואל תערבהו בנחלתכה פן יורישׁ גויתכה אל תשביע לחם
19. *vacat* ואין כסות אל תשת יין ואין אכל אל תדרוש תענוג ואתה
20. *vacat* חסר לחם אל תתכבד במחסורכה ואתה רוש פן
21. *vacat* תבוז לחייכה וגם אל תקל כלי [ח]יכה

bottom margin

4Q416 2 iii. Parallels: 4Q417 2 ii (underline); 4Q418 9–11 (dotted underline)

1. [ונכון -- ל וא --]כה
2. וזכור כי ראש אתה [--]◦ ומחסורכה
3. ל[א תמצא ובמעלכה ת◦◦◦[--]◦ם פקוד לכה
4. אל תשלח ידכה בו פן תכוה [ו]באשו תבער גויתכה כא[שר לקח]תו כן השיבהו
5. ושמ *vacat* חה לכה אם תנקה ממנו וגם מכל איש אשר ל[א ידעתה אל תקח הון
6. פן יוסיף על רישכה ואם שמו ברא[שׁכה למות הפקידהו ורוחכה אל תחבל
7. בו ואז תשכב עם האמת ובמותכה יפר[ח לעו]לם זכרכה ואחריתכה תנחל
8. שמחה *vacat* אביון אתה אל תתאו זולתת נחלתכה ואל תתבלע בה פן תסיג
9. גבולכה ואם ישיבכה לכבוד בה התהלך וברז נהיה דרוש מולדין ואז תדע
10. נחלתו ובצדק תתהלך כי יגיה אל ת[אר]הו בכל דרכיכה למכבדיכה תן הדר
11. ושמו הלל תמיד כי מראש הרים ר[א]שכה ועם נדיבים הושיבכה ובנחלת
12. כבוד המשילכה רצונו שחר תמיד *vacat* אביון אתה אל תאמר רש אני ול[וא]
13. אדרוש דעת בכל מוסר הבא שכמכה ובכל[ ]◦ צרוף לבכה וברוב בינה
14. מחשבותיכה רז נהיה דרוש והתבונן בכל דרכי אמת וכל שורשי עולה
15. תביט ואז תדע מה מר לאיש ומה מתוק לגבר כבוד אביכה ברישכה
16. ואמכה במצעדיכה כי כאב לאיש כן אביהו וכאדנים לגבר כן אמו כי
17. המה כור הוריכה וכאשר המשילמה בכה ויצו על הרוח כן עובדם וכאשר
18. גלה אוזנכה ברז נהיה כבדם למען כבודכה וב[--]הדר פניהמה
19. למען חייכה וארוך ימיכה *vacat* ואם רש אתה כשה◦[--]
20. בלוא חוק *vacat* אשה לקחתה ברישכה קח מולד[ה --]
21. מרז נהיה בהתחברכה יחד התהלך עם עזר בשרכה[--]

bottom margin

4Q416 2 i*

1. at every time lest he have enough for you. And according to his spirit speak with him lest ...
2. without reproaching the prosperous person, forgive him. And a person of note is bound up ...
3. And also do not confuse his spirit, for calmly yo[*u*] have spoken ...
4. And quickly recount his reproach, but do not overlook your own transgressions ...
5. He is righteous, like you, because he {because he} is a person of note ...
6. he will do, for how unique is he in every deed, except ...
7. *vacat* And do not consider a person of iniquity as a helper, and also let there be no hatred ...
8. wickedness of his deeds (goes together) with his punishment. And know in what way you must walk with him ...
9. do not *vacat* let it be removed from your heart and do not for yourself expand [*your soul/appetite* in your poverty]
10. for what is more lowly than a poor person? And do not rejoice in your mourning lest you toil in your life [Gaze upon the *raz*]
11. *nihyeh* and seize the birthtimes of salvation, and know who will inherit glory and (who) iniquity. Has he not ...
12. and to those who mourn eternal joy? Be an advocate on behalf of your own interests and let nothing ...
13. to all your perversions. Spe[ak] your judgements like a righteous ruler. Do not ta[ke ...
14. And do not overlook your [*trans*]gressions. Be like a humble man when you strive for justice ...
15. take. And then God will appear, turn away his anger and forgive your sins, [beca]use before [his] an[ger *vacat*
16. no one can stand. Who will be righteous in his judgement? Without forgiveness [*h*]ow ...
17. needy. And you, if you lack food in your poverty, then [br]ing your surpluses to[gether. If]
18. you have a surplus, bring (it) to its trading place and take your share from it. Do not take any mo[re. And if]
19. you lack, borrow, being without mo[*ne*]y which you lack, for the treasury of [God] does not lack. [And upon]
20. his command everything comes into being. And eat what he provides for you, but not any more le[*st you* shorten]
21. *vacat* your life. *vacat* If you borrow other peo[*pl*]e's money for your lack, let there be no[*rest?* ...
22. day and night, and let there be no rest for your soul [*until*] you have returned to the cre[*ditor*(?) ...] Do not lie

23. to him, lest you carry guilt. And also a reproach for [... and you will no lo]nger [trust] his neighbour.
24. And when you lack he will close his hand. Your strength [... and like him borrow and know the one who gathe*rs*.]
25. And if a beating befalls you, and he urges [... do not hide *the* debt from the person who len*t* (*it*) to you,]
26. lest the [*creditor*] reveal your sh[*a*]me [... who rules over him. And then]
27. he will not strike him with a rod [... and no]
28. mo[re]. And also you [... *in* wrath]

4Q416 2 ii

1. has released (his) compas[sion ...] all the ne[eds of his resources to provide food]
2. for every living thing and no one d[... but if] he closes his hand, then [will be gather]ed the spirit of al[l]
3. flesh. Do not disho[*nour* -- *st*umble because of it and] with [his] shame you will cover your face. And with his folly (you will be covered)
4. by an obligation like h[im. If the creditor *loans* him money, quickly] repay. And you, you are like him for the bag of
5. your treasures [*you*] have entr[usted to the one lending to you on behalf of your neighbour.] You have gi[ven] your entire life in exchange for it (the bag). Quickly give what
6. belongs to him and take back [your] bag. [*vacat?* And with your words do not restrain] your spirit. For no wealth exchange your holy spirit,
7. because there is no price that is equal [*to it* ...] Do not let [*any* m]an deceive you. With pleasure seek his presence and according to his speech
8. speak. And then you will find (what) you desire [instead of your sh*a*me. Do not op*po*se] him and do not abandon your obligations. Observe your mysteries
9. [*for the sake of*] your [*life*]. If he assigns his work to you [let there be no rest in *your soul and let there be n*]o slumber for your eyes until you carry out
10. [*his* directives. *But do n*]ot do more. And if it is possible to act hum[bly ...] And do not let (anything) remain for him, even tax-money
11. [... lest he say "he has despised me" and has fal]le[n ... *And* he] has commanded you. See that great is the zeal
12. [of man and the heart is more crooked than *anything else* ...] If in his favour you hold fast to his service and the wisdom of his resources,
13. [...] you will advise him [so that yo*u* may become] for him a firstborn son and he will be compassionate towards you, like a man towards his only son,
14. [for you are *his slave and his chos*]en one. But you, do not be too self-assured, lest you become hated, and do not be anxious over your distress.

15. [Become for him a prude]nt [slave]. And also, do not lower yourself before one who is not your equal. And then you will become
16. [a father to him ...] For what is beyond your strength do not reach, lest you stumble and your shame will be very great.
17. [*Do not se*]ll yourself for wealth. It is good that you are a slave in spirit and without wages you serve your oppressors. For a price
18. do not sell your glory and do not pledge wealth for your inheritance lest he (God?) dispossess your body. Do not sate yourself with bread
19. *vacat* when there is no clothing. Do not drink wine when there is no food. Do not seek luxuries when you
20. *vacat* lack bread. Do not glorify yourself with what you lack when you are poor, lest
21. *vacat* you show contempt for your life. And also, do not dishonour the vessel of your [*bo*]som.

4Q416 2 iii

1. [And all ...] your ...
2. And remember that you are poor ... and what you need
3. you shall not find and in your disloyalty you will [...] one entrusts [something] to you,
4. do not set your hand upon it, lest you will be burned [and] with its fire your body will be ablaze. A[s] you [have tak]en it, so return it,
5. and you will have joy if you are free from it. And also, from any man whom you do not know do not take money,
6. lest it increase your poverty. And if he sets it on your head to death, take responsibility for it, but do not let your spirit be seized
7. by him. And then you will lie in repose with the truth and when you die your memory will bloss[om for ev]er and in the end you will inherit
8. joy. *vacat* You are poor, desire nothing except your inheritance. And do not be confused about it lest you move
9. your boundary. But if he restores you to glory, walk in it and through the *raz nihyeh* study its origins. And then you will know
10. its inheritance. With righteousness you will walk because God will make his cou[nten]ance shine upon all your ways. To the one who glorifies you, give honour.
11. Praise his name always, for from poverty he has lifted your head and with the nobles he has set you. Over an inheritance
12. of glory he has given you dominion. Seek his favour always. *vacat* You are poor—do not say, “I am poor, so I will n[ot]
13. seek knowledge.” Take upon your shoulders all forms of discipline, and in all ... refine your heart and with much insight

14. your thoughts. Seek the *raz nihyeh* and come to understand all ways of truth and all roots of iniquity
15. look upon. And then you will know what is bitter to a person and what is sweet for a man. Honour your father in your poverty
16. and your mother in your lowly state, for as God is to a person so is his father, and as Lord to a man so is his mother, for
17. they are the furnace that conceived you. And as he gave them dominion over you and appointed (them) over the spirit, so serve them. And as
18. he revealed your ear to the *raz nihyeh*, glorify them, for the sake of your glory and ... honour them
19. for the sake of your life and length of your days *vacat* And if you are poor as ...
20. without a statute. *vacat* The woman you have taken in your poverty, seize [her] birth times ...
21. from the *raz nihyeh*. When you marry, walk together with the help of your flesh.

6.4.1.2. Textual Notes

i 1. --]◦ין פן. Tigchelaar has proposed that, by joining 4Q417 26, one can reconstruct the ends of this line with וגם ישֻׂנאכה (Tigchelaar 2001, 56) Others have followed this proposal (Goff 2013, 183, 186; Qimron 2013, 152). However, Tigchelaar himself noted that the fragments do not actually join, admitting that the join is based on his "assumption that the word at the end of line 1 could have been ישנאכה on the basis of פן ישבעך ושנאך in Prov 25:17 (Tigchelaar 2001, 55).

i 2. --]◦ שר. Goff's translation of שר as a "person of note" rather than "prince" is used in this study's translation. Tigchelaar supplements בְּעֹוֹן בעת in the lacuna, again on his understanding that 4Q417 26 could be joined to the end of the first 2 lines of 4Q417 2 i. Alternatively, Goff has proposed מְעֹוֹן בעת (Goff 2013, 183).

i 5. --]שׂר בשׂ. Different reconstructions include שר בשׂ[רים ("prince among p[*rinces*"; DJD 34:179); שר בשׂ[רכה ("prince among your prince" Qimron 2013, 152); יעשה [שר רוח

בש[עריכה ובגבות (“a person of note in [*your*] ar[*ea and with a haughty attitude*] he may act”; Goff 2013, 183–84).

i 7. לתי --] שוֹנֹא אין. The letters לתי can be filled into the lacuna based on their appearance in 4Q416 2 i 2. Qimron has proposed אתּ as an alternative reading for אין (Qimron 2013, 152). However, as noted by Rey, the reading אין is clear from PAM 42.602 (Rey 2009a, 44). Tigchelaar has also proposed שבֹהֿ as an alternative reading for שוֹנֹא (Tigchelaar 2001, 56).

i 8. בקה. Goff and Rey instead propose צדֹקה in their reconstructions (Goff 2013, 183; Rey 2009a, 43).

i 28. וגם אֹתֹהֿ. Some commentators provide the reconstruction מבין אתה[or בן מבין אתה[(DJD 34:173; Goff 2013, 184; Qimrom 2013, 15). Kampen has raised several doubts about this reconstruction, such as that the address מבין (בן) אתה often begins a new paragraph and so would not begin with וגם and also remarked that there are no other instances in the text where וגם precedes מבין (בן) אתה (Kampen 2011, 107). In addition to these observations, in all the columns that deal with the topic of the addressee’s financial issues, the recipient is never once addressed as *mevin*.

ii 1. א[-- מיו]רחֹ. Rey and Goff supplemented the preserved text with the following reconstruction: א[למל – לכל מיו]רחֹ (Goff 2013, 57; Rey 2009a, 64; cf. Tigchelaar 2001, 46). Alternatively, Qimron has proposed א[למל – לתת לאיש מאוצרו מיו]רחֹ (Qimron 2013, 154).

ii 2. --]מֹ ואין. Rey and Goff supplement the lacuna with the following reconstruction: ואין מ[ת מפני הרעבה (“and no one d[*ies from hunger*”) (Goff 2013, 59; Rey 2009a, 64; cf. Tigchelaar 2001, 46). Alternatively, Qimron has proposed מֹ[חסור (Qimron 2013, 154).

ii 3. [וֹל בה ו. This follows Tigchelaar's more modest reconstruction of the lacuna, which is based on parallels with 4Q417 2 ii + 34 5. For other more extensive reconstructions, see Goff (2013, 58); Qimron (2013, 154), and Rey (2009a, 64).

ii 4. מהר -- בו. Goff has proposed בו ישה ומהר in his reconstruction (Goff 2013, 58; cf. Qimron 2013, 154; Rey 2009a, 64).

ii 9. כֹּה[לחיי]. The editors suggest כֹּה[לנפש], though Goff and Tigchelaar have argued that there is not enough space for this reconstruction (DJD 34:90; cf. Goff 2013, 58; Tigchelaar 2001, 47). Alternatively, Tigchelaar has suggested דֹּה[מא] and Qimron דֹּה[מוא] (Goff 2013, 58; Qimron 2013, 154; Rey 2009a, 64; Tigchelaar 2001, 47).

ii 11. תֹּנוֹ פן --. Qimron reconstructs the beginning of this line: חוק תננו פן (Qimron 2013, 154).

ii 14. תשׂנֹא תבטח למה [ל]א ואֹתה. The various translations of this expression are discussed below.

iii 3. לכה פֹּוקד ◦ים[. Goff has proposed reconstructing the conditional conjunction אם in the lacuna (Goff 2013, 91).

iii 6. למות שכֹּה ואם שמו בראֹ. The editors' suggestion that למות is referring to the addressee's lifelong obligation to repay their debt is plausible (DJD 34:155). However, as Goff has observed, the *lamed* preposition is often used in reference to someone who is about to die (cf. Prov. 24:11; Goff 2013, 98). It is more plausible, therefore, that the recipient is here advised on what to do if they are threatened with death for their payment.

iii 17. וי֯צוֹ. This follows Goff, Qimron, and Rey, though וי֯צרֹ is also plausible (Goff 2013, Qimron 2013, 156; Rey 2009a, 92; cf. DJD 34:110 ,122; Tigchelaar 2001, 48).

iii 21. Different reconstructions have been proposed for the final line of this column as a way of transitioning into 4Q416 2 iv, which predominately focusses on the theme of marriage and emphasises a husband's dominion over his wife (discussed in §6.4.2.). For example, Goff has suggested supplementing a quotation from Gen. 2:24 at the end of this line: ככתוב על כן יעזב איש ("*As it is written, 'therefore a man leaves*; Goff 2013, 92–93; cf. DJD 34:123), while Qimron has proposed כול ימי הייה כי ("*all the days of her life, because*") (Qimron 2013, 156).

6.4.1.3. Analysis

The characteristic traits of the addressee emphasised in these columns are quite different from what we find in other fragments where references to *mevin* are more commonly found. Breaking down the surviving material, the first column of 4Q416 2 i is better preserved by the textual remains of 4Q417 2 i and may be further supplemented by points of overlap in 4Q418 7–8 and possibly several other fragments identified by Tigchelaar 2001, 55). Lines 1–6 of 4Q417 2 i brings us right into the middle of a section wherein the addressee is advised on how best to resolve a dispute with a person of higher social status, informing them that they should act meekly so as not to incite the hatred of a prominent person.[238] In lines 7–8, the addressee is briefly advised on how to behave around a "person of iniquity" (איש עול). Line 9 introduces us to the prospect that some recipients of this text may have been poor, or on the verge of becoming poor. Philosophically, the poverty of the addressee is not viewed in a positive light within the document.[239] It is explained in lines

[238] On the translation of שר, see Textual Notes, 2 i.

[239] On the positive connotations associated with צעיר in Jer. 30:19; Zech. 13:7, and CD 19:9, see Goff (2013, 194–95).

10–12 that the joy of the addressee is not to be derived from rejoicing in their lowly state, but by understanding through the *raz nihyeh* the eternal joy, glory, and salvation that is their future inheritance. Lines 12–16 contain general ethical guidance on humility, righteousness, and keeping right with God in their poverty. Line 17 begins a lengthy section on the subject of financial advice which continues into columns ii and iii of 4Q416 2. Use of the conditional conjunction ואם ("and/but if") after the vocative ואתה ("and you") suggests that the ensuing advice may only be relevant to a portion of those addressed who were experiencing financial difficulty. The advice is largely pragmatic. The addressee is informed about how much they should take for themselves when surplus supplies are brought before them (lines 17–20) and how to conduct themselves when they must borrow money from another person (i.e., pay them back quickly, do not deceive them, and how to avoid a beating; lines 21–27).

The subject of the financial advice and the addressee's poverty continues into column ii of 4Q416 2. Lines 1–3 establishes God as the one who provides his resources (אוטו) and food (טרף) to all living things. 4Q416 2 ii 3–7 admonishes the addressee to quickly pay back their debts, while also reminding them that their holy spirit (רוח קודשכה) is more valuable than any earthly wealth. 4Q416 2 ii 7–17 directs the addressee on how to conduct themselves in the proper manner if they are (or should they become) a debt slave.[240] The column ends in lines 18–21 with a series of vetitives that summarises in more general terms the advice given in the preceding lines by encouraging the addressee to exercise caution and restraint in their impoverished state.

[240] For discussion on debt slavery and surety in the Ancient Near east in conventional wisdom literature (chiefly in Proverbs and Sirach), see Goff (2013, 65–68).

The opening three lines of column iii are extremely fragmentary. However, in line 2 the preserved words prompt the addressee to "remember that you are poor" (זכור כי ראש אתה), signalling that the forthcoming advice is applicable to those addressed in the previous columns. The advice in lines 3–8 of column iii is similar to that given in lines 3–7 in column ii. The addressee is again admonished to speedily pay back their debts and to maintain their spirit (רוחכה) against corruption even in the face of impending doom (see Textual Notes, iii 6). In 4Q416 2 iii 8–15, the addressee is urged to remain devoted to their study of the *raz nihyeh* in spite of their poverty, which is explicitly disregarded as an excuse to abandon their pursuit of knowledge in lines 12–13: "do not say, 'I am poor, so I will n[*ot*] seek knowledge.'"[241] The topic changes in lines 15–21 as the addressee—still characterised by their poverty[242]—is commanded to honour their parents and informed about the relational dynamic that is to be established between him and his family, which continues into column iv.

In 4Q416 2 i–iii (and parallel manuscripts), we see a change in emphasis with regards to the characteristic features of the addressee. Compare, for example, in 4Q417 1 i–ii where the focus of these columns are largely centred on encouraging the addressee to devote themselves entirely to seeking and studying the *raz nihyeh*, and so the addressee is predominantly characterised by their understanding (ואתה [בן] מבין) or their insight (בן משכיל) in these columns.[243] In 4Q416 2 i–iii, however, the addressee is chiefly advised on how to behave in several very specific circumstances that depict them in financially and

[241] אל תאמרֹ רש אני ול[וא] אדרוש דעת

[242] 4Q416 2 iii 15–16: כבוד אביכה ברישכה ואמכה במצעדיכה "honour your father in your poverty and your mother in your lowly state."

[243] Given there is no overlap between 4Q417 1 i–ii and any fragments of 4Q416 1 and that, by Tigchelaar's assessment, the passage is likely to represent the first two columns of a sheet, it is plausible that 4Q417 1 i–ii might have served as an alternative introduction to the document (see Tigchelaar 2001, 191–92).

socially unfavourable situations. Corresponding with this context, most instances where ואתה or אתה can be found in 4Q416 2 i–iii and parallel manuscripts address the recipient as "poor" (רש, רוש),[244] "needy" (אביון),[245] or as someone who "lacks" (מחסור).[246] Significantly, at no point in the preserved columns is the recipient addressed or described as a *mevin*. This is especially striking in light of this study's examination of the instructional features of the document in Chapter 4, where it was shown that the bulk of admonitions and instruction were identified as appearing in the four columns of 4Q416 2 (see esp. Table 4.2.). Yet at no point is the advice given in these columns ever explicitly intended for one identified as *mevin*. The begs the question, does the absence of the participle *mevin* indicate that a different kind of person is being addressed in these columns? Other identity markers of the addressee in 4Q416 2 i–iii would suggest that this is not the case. For example, in 4Q416 2 ii 8 the addressee is urged to "observe your mysteries" (ברזיכה השמר), which is similar to 4Q417 1 i 25, where the imperative "understand your mysteries" (התבונן ברזיכה) is directed towards those one characterised by insight (משכיל). The recipient in 4Q416 2 i–iii is also frequently reminded of the importance of their inheritance, which they are encouraged to understand and value above

[244] 4Q415 6 3; 4Q416 2 ii 20; 4Q416 2 iii 2, 6 (par 4Q418 9 + 9a_c 4), 11 (par 4Q418 9 + 9a_c 11), 12 (4Q418 9 + 9a_c 13), 15 (4Q418 9 + 9a_c 17), 19 (par 4Q418 10a_b 2), 20; 4Q417 2 i 9 (par 4Q416 2 i 4), 10 (par 4Q416 2 i 5); 4Q418 148 ii 4(?); 4Q418 177 5; 4Q418 249 3. It is noteworthy that the fourteen instances where רוש is used in the present composition (excluding parallels) is disproportionately higher than the six times the word is found elsewhere throughout the Scrolls (1QH^{a} 10:36; 13:16, 22; 4Q372 1 17; 4Q428 3 3; 4Q525 15 1). Additionally, it is only in the present composition that the word רוש is used in reference to the addressee.

[245] 4Q415 6 2; 4Q416 2 iii 8 (par 4Q418 9 + 9a_c 6), 12 (par 4Q418 9 + 9a_c 13); 4Q417 2 i 17 (par 4Q418 7b 1); 4Q418 249 3(?).

[246] 4Q415 9 9; 4Q416 1 6 (par 4Q418 1 3); 4Q416 2 ii 20 (x2) (par 4Q417 2 ii + 23 25); 4Q416 2 iii 2; 4Q417 2 i 17 (x2) (par 4Q418 7b 1), 19 (x3) (par 4Q418 7b 3), 21 (par 4Q418 7b 5); 4Q417 2 i 24 (par 4Q416 2 i 17; 4Q418 7b 7); 4Q417 2 ii + 23 3 (par 4Q416 2 ii 1); 4Q418 7b 14; 4Q418 14 1; 4Q418 16 3; 4Q418 81 + 81a 18; 4Q418 87 6; 4Q418 88 ii 5; 4Q418 97 2; 4Q418 107 3; 4Q418 126 ii 13 (x2); 4Q418 127 1; 4Q418 159 ii 5(?); 4Q418 240 3; 4Q423 12 1.

all else (4Q416 2 ii 18; 4Q416 2 iii 8; 10, 11–12). The addressee's need to understand their own inheritance—as well as the inheritance of others—is commonly found in other passages of the present composition (4Q416 3 2; 4Q417 1 i 24; 4Q417 2 i 11, 18; 4Q418 55 6, 12; 4Q418 69 ii 13; 4Q418 81 + 81a 3, 11, 14, 20; 4Q418 88 ii 8). Moreover, the command in 4Q416 2 iii 14 to "understand all the ways of truth" (התבונן בכל דרכי אמת) is mirrored by other instances where the addressee is identified as a seeker of truth or as one who belongs to truth (4Q416 1 10; 4Q416 4 3; 4Q417 1 ii 13; 4Q418 55 6; 4Q418 69 ii 7, 10; 4Q418 88 ii 8; 4Q418 102 a+b 3; 4Q418 126 ii 11; see discussion in §6.4.6.).[247] Yet the most obvious factor that suggests the addressee in 4Q416 2 i–iii is to be regarded as the same kind of addressee as those who are elsewhere addressed as *mevin* is that they too are urged to seek and learn more about the *raz nihyeh* and to apply the knowledge that comes from it in their everyday lives (4Q416 2 iii 9–10, 14–15 cf. 1Q26 1 4; 4Q417 1 i 3, 6–8, 18–19, 21; 4Q417 1 ii 3; 4Q418 77 2, 4; 4Q418 123 ii 4; 4Q418 184 2; 4Q423 3 2).

The points of overlap listed above suggests that those who are described as "poor," "needy," or "lacking" in 4Q416 2 i–iii would also have been included among those identified as *mevin* elsewhere in the document. But if this is true, why is the addressee not once referred to as *mevin* in this particular section of the text? One explanation for the omission of the form of address ואתה מבין in sections that deal with issues relating to finance, poverty, and low economic status may be because the author(s)/editor(s) were seeking to emphasise the addressee's impoverished condition over and above their cognitive faculties. One should not therefore understand *mevin* as a technical term that was universally attributed to every figure addressed within the composition. Rather, as we

[247] In some passages, the concepts of "truth" and "inheritance" appear in collocation: שמחה בנחלת אמת (4Q416 4 3); הוא פלג לנוחלי אמת (4Q418 55 6).

shall continue to discover, the assorted figures identified within the document are often addressed and described in various ways that accord with their individual circumstances.

6.4.2. 4Q416 2 iv: The Addressee as a Husband and Father

In 4Q416 2 iii 20, we are presented with a different situation, giving way to a new topic of discussion that continues into column iv: "The woman you have taken in your poverty." The line informs us that the addressee in column iv is still characterised by their poor state. However, no further references to the addressee as "poor," "needy," or "lacking" are preserved beyond this line, and there is no further mention of the addressee's financial problems. Instead, the focus shifts to the addressee's responsibilities as husband and father.

6.4.2.1. Transcription and Translation

Parallels: 4Q418 10 (underline); 4Q418a 18 (dotted underline). Points of overlap between 4Q418 10 and 4Q418a 18 are highlighted yellow.

1. את אביו [ו]את אמו וֹתֹ[-- אחד].
2. אותכה המשיל בה ותש[--]○[-- אביה]
3. לא המשיל בה מאמה הפרידה ואליכה [לַבְּבָהּ הִיא ותהיה]
4. לך לבשר אחד בתכה לאחר יפריד ובניכה[לִבְנוֹת רְעִיכָהּ]
5. ואתה ליחד עם אשת חיקכה כי היא שאר עו[וֹתְכָה]
6. ואשר ימשול בה זולתכה הסיג גבול חייהו בְ[רוחה --]
7. המשילך להתהלך ברצונכה ולא להוסיף נדר ונדב[ה]
8. השב רוחכה לרצונכה וכל שבועת אסרה לנדר נדֹ[ר --]
9. חפר על מוצא פיכה וברצונכה הניא[ה]ל[--]
10. שפתיכה סלה לה למענכה אל תרב[--]
11. כבודכה בנחלתכה [--]

12. בנחלתכה פן *vacat* [--]
13. אשת חיקכה וחרפ [--]
14. [--]לּ○○○○○ה[--]

1. his father [*and*] his mother, and you[... *become* one].
2. he has given you dominion over her and she will ob[*ey* ... and her father]
3. he has not given dominion over her and from her mother he has separated her. Rather towards you [is her heart *and she will become*]
4. for you one flesh. Your daughter he will separate to another and your sons [*to* the daughters of your neighbours.]
5. And you are to be together with the woman of your bosom because she is the flesh of [your] na[kedness].
6. And whoever rules over her aside from you has moved the boundary of his life. Over [her spirit]
7. he has given you dominion so that it (her spirit) may walk in accordance with your will. So as not to increase either vow or free-will offe[*ring*,]
8. turn her spirit to your will. And every binding oath to confirm a vo[*w*,]
9. annul (it) by an utterance of your mouth and at your pleasure nullify [it ...]
10. of your lips. Forgive her for your own sake. Let her not increase ...
11. your glory in your inheritance ...
12. in your inheritance lest *vacat* ...
13. The wife of your bosom and shame ...

6.4.2.2. Textual Notes

1. וֹתָּ]דבק. The editors proposed ק]בָּ○דָּוֹ, though they noted that traces do not exclude ותדבק or ודבק as possibilities (DJD 34:124; cf. Tigchelaar 2001, 48). Some have suggested that this opening line paraphrases Gen 2:24 and so have reconstructed the lacuna accordingly: וֹתָּ]דבק באשתכה ותהיה לבשר אחד (Goff 2013, 119); וֹדַּבֵ]ק באשתו וֹהיו לבשר אחד (Rey 2009a, 167).

2.]○[--]ותש. The editors did not opt to reconstruct the lacuna, but proposed ותש]וקתה or ותש]מע לקולכה as possible supplements (DJD 34:124). Goff and Rey both reconstruct a variation of the latter suggestion: ותש]מע בקולכה (Goff 2013: 119; Rey 2009a, 167).

3. לֵּבָּהּ הִיא]. The editors and Rey do not sanction the overlap between 4Q418a 18 and 4Q416 2 iv proposed by Tigchelaar (DJD 34:491; Rey 2009a, 167, n. 104; Tigchelaar 2001, 133–34). Tigchelaar suggested לֵּבּוֹ. However, Goff has rightly noted that the context demands a feminine suffix (Goff 2013, 120–21).

5. לִיחד. Follows the editors, Tigchelaar, and Rey, though Goff's reading לוֹחד is equally plausible within the context (DJD 34:123; Rey 2009a, 167; Tigchelaar 2001, 48; Goff 2013, 119).

9. חֹפר. The editors and Tigchelaar have noted that the first letter *ḥet* is a scribal error that should be *he*, thus reading הפר (DJD 34:124–25; Tigchelaar 2001, 48).

10. סלה. In the reverse situation of חֹפר in line 9, the editors and Tigchelaar have noted that the last letter *he* should be *ḥet*, thus reading סלח (DJD 34:125; Tigchelaar 2001, 49).

6.4.2.3. Analysis

The preserved lines of this column can be divided into two sections. In lines 1–7 (which continues from 4Q416 2 iii 20), the husband's authority over his wife is established by reworking language from Genesis 2–3, and lines 7–10 provides an example of the husband's dominion by highlighting his rights to annul her vows and oaths, which contains language that is reminiscent of Numbers 30 (DJD 34:13; Goff 2013, 121–22). Lines 11–13 are extremely fragmentary. The subject of the addressee's inheritance is once again brought up, but the context of its usage is impossible to discern from the textual remains.

The *hiphil* of the verb משיל is elsewhere used with reference to tasks and relationships that are ordained by God.[248] For example, it occurs several times in 4Q416 2 iv (2, 3, 6, 7) to convey that God has made it so that the husband has dominion over his wife. The transferral of authority from the would-be wife's parents to her husband is explained in line 3, and in line 4 the male recipient is informed that this process will happen again with his own daughter when she is eventually "separated" from her parents to marry. Notably, the woman is given no agency when leaving her parents. Instead, she is described as being separated by God, which is different from Gen. 2:24, where it is the man who leaves his parents to be with his wife (see Wold 2016, 344). The author(s) appears to rework language from Genesis 2–3 to further assert the husband's authority (Goff 2013, 127–28). For example, the phrase "and they become one flesh" (והיו לבשר אחד) in Gen. 2:24 is modified in 4Q416 2 iv 4 as "*and she will become*] for you one flesh" (ותהיה] לך לבשר אחד). The preceding word ותהיה is reconstructed by Goff. However, even without this supplement, the prepositional phrase לך suggests that this is not an equal union, but rather the husband's ownership over his wife is emphasised. This kind of language establishes an intensely patriarchal relationship between husband and wife, which is reinforced by instances where the husband is encouraged to "turn her spirit to your will" (השב רוחכה לרצונכה; line 8) and permitted to annul her vows should they displease him (line 9).

It is again important to point out that, like in the preceding columns, the addressee is not once referred to as *mevin* in 4Q416 2 iv. The language used in reference to the addressee is in keeping with his position as a husband and father in line 4. This column thus reveals another type of individual who is identified as a recipient of advice in the

[248] Tigchelaar has remarked on how המשיל is used in the present composition to denote dominion in a variety of relationships and settings, such as parents over their children (4Q416 2 iii 17), a farmer over the land (4Q423 1_2 i 1–2), and a craftsperson over their craft (4Q418 81 + 81a 15; see Tigchelaar 2000, 74).

present composition: the family man. This means that—in addition to those addressed as *mevin*, *maskil*, or "poor," "needy," and "lacking"—there were also women and possibly even children who made up some part of the audience. Women are not explicitly addressed in 4Q416 2 iv. However, they are addressed in 4Q415 2 ii, which is examined in the following section.

6.4.3. 4Q415 2 ii: Women Addressed in the Composition

In 1996, Daniel Harrington remarked on the fact that a woman is addressed in the text of the present composition was "highly unusual in Jewish wisdom literature" (Harrington 1996a, 57). However, from an examination of the material thus far, the text does not appear to be governed by any conventions associated with literary form. Rather the social and vocational circumstances of the addressees appear to have given rise to the particularities of the content of the present composition. In the case of 4Q415 2 ii, a wife and daughter(-in-law) of a male recipient is addressed directly in this passage and given instruction on how to participate in accordance with the values of those associated with the document.

6.4.3.1. Transcription and Translation

1. כאב כבדי ח֯[ות]נ֯ך֯ [--]
2. אל תמיסי מלבב֯ך ו֯ע֯[--]
3. כול היום ו֯בחיקו ב֯ר֯ [--]
4. פן תפרעי ברית קו֯[דש --]
5. ואויבת לנפשך ו֯מ֯[--]
6. א[י]שה עד לע֯[--]
7. בבית מכו֯[ ]ובבריתך ת[--]

8. תהלה בְּפִי כו̇ל אנשים [--]
9. [ ]ל[--]מִבֵּית מולדים [--]

1. Like a father honour your fa[*ther-in-l*]aw[...]
2. Do not depart from his heart and [...]
3. all the day long and in his bosom (is) [*your*] cove[*nant*(?) ...]
4. lest you neglect a ho[*ly*] covenant [...]
5. And one who is hostile to your soul and [...]
6. a w[*i*]fe fore[*ver* ...]
7. in the house of [*your origins*?]. Rather in your covenant you[...]
8. an object of praise in the mouth of all men [...]
9. ... from the house of (your) birth [...]

6.4.3.2. Textual Notes

1.]נְךָ[ח]וֹת[כאב כִּבְדִי. Understanding כבדי as a *piel* imperative feminine singular rather than a second masculine plural form, the editors suggested that the object for the imperative would likely be a father-in-law. They did not, however, include this reconstruction in their transcription (DJ 34:48). Wold has suggested that the object of כבדי refers to the addressee's husband, but the supplementary reconstructions of "your husband" (אישך or בעלך) do not correspond with the extant traces (PAM 43.549; see Goff 2013, 32–33). Alternatively, the masculine singular imperative with a singular suffix כבדו is also possible (Rey 2009a, 140).

2. מלבב̇ך. Alternatively, בלבבך is materially possible (DJ 34:47; Tigchelaar 2001, 33).

3.]רָ[. In keeping with the editors' suggestions, Goff includes]יתך[ר in his reconstruction (DJ 34:48; Goff 2013, 31).

6.]לְעָ[. Goff and Rey reconstruct this word as]ולם[לע, with Goff providing the additional supplement עוד לוא תשבי at the end of line 6 as a possible transition into the opening text of line 7 (Goff 2013, 31; Rey 2009a, 138).

7.]מכו. The editors recommend מכו[רותיך as a possible reconstruction, which Goff has implemented in his transcription (DJD 34:49; Goff 2013, 31). Tigchelaar, however, has argued that this may be too long for the lacuna, and so proposed מכו[ניך as an alternative (Tigchelaar 2001, 33).

6.4.3.3. Analysis

4Q415 2 ii is a small and severely damaged fragment with no identifiable parallels among the other extant fragments of the present composition. However, for the purposes of this study, there is important information pertaining to another kind of addressee who is distinguishable from those who are elsewhere characterised as *mevin*, *maskil*, or described in any other way within the document: women. As seen in 4Q416 2 iv, the author(s)/editor(s) of the document were exponents of a patriarchal worldview, which has resulted in there being few identity markers for the women addressed in this section beyond those that link them to a male counterpart; be that a husband or possibly a father-in-law. Concerning the addressee's identity as a wife of one of the males addressed elsewhere in the document, there is continuity between the expressions "all the days in his bosom" (כול היום ובחיקו) in line 3 and "the wife of your bosom" (אשת חיקכה) in 4Q416 2 iv 5 and 13, which addresses a husband. It is also probable that the addressee in 4Q415 2 ii may be the daughter-in-law of someone within the gathering if one understands כבדי in line 1 as a *piel* imperative feminine singular rather than the second masculine plural (see Textual Notes §6.4.3.2. above). The present composition might therefore have been significant for numerous generations of families associated with the document.

Based on what remains, the prescribed role of women does not appear to extend beyond that of total devotion and subservience to the males in their lives. Not even the woman's

body is depicted as being fully her own. Her blemishes are to be recounted by a man before she is given over to the groom (4Q415 11 6: ול[כ] מומיה ספר לו), the words of her mouth are silenced by her husband (4Q416 2 iv 8–9), and even her womb is described as belonging to her husband (4Q415 9 2: לחורות בטנכה). Though Goff has optimistically suggested that the text never explicitly states that the female addressee is not permitted access to the *raz nihyeh*, leaving open the prospect that they too might have been allowed to seek and study alongside those elsewhere addressed as *mevin* and *maskil* (Goff 2013, 34). However, the lack of agency attributed to women and frequent reminders throughout the text of their need to yield to the dominion of men attests against their inclusion in the quest to understand the *raz nihyeh*, at least not to the same degree as the men addressed in the composition. Goff has also suggested that, within the context of present composition, the women addressed are held in higher esteem than outsiders and that they too would have claimed a share of the promised inheritance by proxy of their connection to the males in the gathering (Goff 2013, 34–35). It is feasible that the inheritance of a male addressee would have extended to their wives and daughters, who are themselves described as extensions of his own body. Yet this too is not explicitly stated in the surviving text. The only verified reward for the woman's subservience to man is that she will be "an object of praise in the mouth of all men" (4Q415 2 ii 8). The success or failure of the woman addressed in the document appears to be solely dependent on her servility. This is her defining characteristic trait in the document.

6.4.4. 4Q418 103 ii (and Other Fragments): The Addressee as a Farmer

There are several fragments containing content that concerns agricultural matters in present composition. The most substantially preserved fragment on the subject of

agriculture is 4Q418 103 ii, in which a farmer is prompted to remember laws that prohibit them from "mixing things" in a way that is deemed unkosher.

6.4.4.1. Transcription and Translation

Parallels: 4Q418a 4 (underline)

1. [--]○○○[--]
2. [--]○○ אכרי֯ם עד כול אׄ[--]
3. [ ]דֹ֯ש הבא בטנאיכה ובאסמיכה כי֯○[-- <u>אדמתכה</u> --]○[--]
4. י֯שוה עת בעת דורשם <u>ואל תדם ב[ע</u>○ --]בֹוֹדו ולוא ת[--]
5. כֹ֯י <u>כולם</u> יֹ֯<u>דרשו</u> לעתם ואיש כפי חפצֹׄ[ו --]○<u>כה</u> וֹ<u>מצא</u> הלי֯כי֯ ○[--]
6. כמקור מים חׄיים אשר הכי֯ל א[ו]ט○[-- ב]מסחורכה אל תערֹוב אשר[לרעכה]
7. למה יהיה כלאים כֹּ֯בפרד והייתה כלוב[ש שעטנז]בצמר ובפשתים ועבודתכה כחׄור֯[ש]
8. בשור ובח[מו]רׄ [י]חד[ו]וגם תבואתכה תה֯[יה לכה כ]זׄורע כלאים אשר הזרע והמלאה ותבואׄ[ת]
9. ה[כרם] י֯קדׄ[ש יחדו] הונכה עם בשרכה[-- ב]חׄייכה י֯תמו יחד ובחייכה לוא תמצא

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2. ... farmers until all ...
3. [...] put into your baskets and in your storehouses, *for*[... your land ...]
4. he will compare season after season, examining them. But do not be like ... his ... and you shall not ...
5. for he will examine all of the seasons, and according to a person*'s* desire ... your ... and find the paths of ...
6. like a spring of living water that provides re[*so*]urce*s*, ... do not mix your merchandise [*with*] that which [*belongs to your neighbour,*]
7. lest it be of diverse kinds like a mule, and you be like one who wea[*rs sha'aṭnez*], with wool together with flax, and your work like one who plo[*ws*]
8. with an ox and a do[*nk*]ey [*to*]geth[*er*]. Your produce will bec[*ome for you like*] one who sows mixed things, such as the seed, the ripened fruit, and the produce [*of*]
9. the [*vineyard*]... *set it apart* [*together?* ...] Your wealth with your livestock [... *in*] your life they will be finished together, and in your life you will not find ...

bottom margin

6.4.4.2. Textual Notes

ii 2. --]א. Goff has reconstructed כבוא in the lacuna as a supplement to the beginning of line 3 (Goff 2013, 263).

ii 3. אדמתכה --]כי. The traces of כי could also be interpreted as כול (cf. DJD 34:329; Goff 2013, 263). Goff has also reconstructed פרי before אדמתכה in the lacuna.

ii 6. מסחורכה[ב. The editors speculated that this could be read as a scribal error for the more common מחסור ("lack, need, poverty"; DJD 34:332). However, within the context of the fragment, the farmer appears to be regarded as one who provides rather than one who lacks (see Analysis below).

ii 9. [יחדו ש]יקד. The editors reconstructed וגם after יחדו in the lacuna. However, there does not appear to be enough space to facilitate this reconstruction (PAM 43.475; see Goff 2013, 264).

ii 9. בשרכה. Goff interprets the second half of line 9 as the beginning of a new topic that concerns the wealth and well-being of the addressee, and so he has translated בשרכה as "your flesh" rather than "your livestock" (Goff 2013, 264, 272).

6.4.4.3. Analysis

The opening fragmentary lines of 4Q418 103 ii explicitly introduces a "farmer" (אכרים) who—from what can be understood from the surviving text—was very likely the recipient of the advice given in this passage.[249] In lines 4–5, the addressee is prompted to take note of the changing seasons to ensure they will yield a generous produce and so become a

[249] See also 4Q423 5 5: אדמה]איש אתה אם ("*if you are a pe*]rson of the ground").

"spring of living water" for those who require sustenance. The second half of line 6 begins a new section wherein the addressee is urged to carry out their farming work in accordance with laws that pertain to "mixed things" (כלאים).[250] In the Hebrew Bible, laws on mixed things range from prohibiting the breeding of animals of different species, ploughing the fields with mixed animals (oxen and donkeys), sowing different kinds of seeds, and wearing garments made from different materials (Lev. 19:19; Deut. 22:9–11). In 4Q418 103 ii, each of these laws are referenced, though the order of the material does not match either biblical text. Moreover, different terms are used, such as in lines 6–7, which forbids the addressee from mixing his "merchandise" (מסחור) with another person's goods "lest it be of diverse kinds like a mule."[251] The passage therefore appears to reapply laws known to modern readers from texts like Deuteronomy and Leviticus in a way that corresponds with the addressee's present context, while utilising language that the recipients were perhaps more accustomed to using based on their common appearance throughout the surviving text (e.g., מסחור; אוט). The incomplete final line of the fragment is difficult to understand. However, references to the addressee's wealth (הון) and cattle (בשר) sets them well apart from others in the document who are identified as poor, needy, and lacking.[252]

Use of agricultural language can be found in other fragments that further broadens our understanding of the farmer addressed within the document. For example, in 1Q26 1 (par 4Q423 4), the *raz nihyeh* is mentioned in close proximity to fragmentary references to the addressee's "produce" (תבואתכה) and before a warning: "and you will be cursed in all your

[250] For broader analysis of the law of mixed things in the present composition and other texts within the Scrolls corpus, see Schiffman (2004, esp. 94–97).

[251] Tigchelaar has suggested that מסחור refers to the farmer's crops. However, the opening clause in line 7 would suggest that מסחור likely included the farmer's livestock (Tigchelaar 2000, 35). See also its use in 4Q418 107 4; 4Q418 122 i 5, 7.

[252] For an alternative reading of בשר in this passage, see Goff (2013, 272; Textual Note ii 9).

produce and hu[*milia*]ted in all your work" (ונארותה בכול תבואתכה ונ[כל]מ֯תה בכול מעשיכה). This suggests that those identified as farmers likely had some understanding of the *raz nihyeh*, though the degree to which they would have been able to devote themselves fully to unravelling its secrets is difficult to determine. Realistically, a person with such demanding work responsibilities would not have had time to commit to the level of persistent study and discipline that is demanded of those addressed as *mevin* and *maskil* in 4Q417 1 i–ii. Is it plausible—like those who are elsewhere addressed as "skilled handed" individuals in 4Q418 81 + 81a 15–20 and in cognate manuscripts (see §6.3.5. above)—that the farmer would have been counted among those "providers" to support the "seekers" who were fully dedicated to understanding the *raz nihyeh*? The reference in 4Q418 103 ii 6 to the farmer as being "like a spring of living water that provides re[*so*]urce*s*" may attest to this identification (4Q418 103 ii 6).

Finally, not all examples of agricultural language are used in a seemingly practical setting as in 4Q418 103 ii (see also 4Q423 5 5–6). The fragmentary remains of 4Q423 1 includes a notable section wherein the addressee is given the responsibility of "working" (עבד) and "maintaining" (שמר) an Eden-like garden that is depicted as fertile grounds for making one insightful (להשכיל; 4Q423 1 1–2). The use of agricultural language in this passage may have served to encourage the farmer-addressee to walk on the path towards understanding the *raz nihyeh*, which seems to be the primary goal of the document.

6.4.5. 4Q418 81 + 81a 1–14 (and Other Fragments): The Addressee as a Priest

> More interesting are the specific tasks of the sage (or מבין) and especially intriguing are the statements in 4Q418 81 implying that he had a priestly or quasi-priestly authority (DJD 34:20).

There are several surviving segments of the present composition that suggest some of those addressed in the document might have had a priestly background. One of the most significant sections that points to the priestly authority of a type of addressee in the present composition can be found in 4Q418 81 + 81a 1–14.

6.4.5.1. Transcriptions and Translation

4Q418 81 + 81a 1–14. Parallels: 4Q423 8 (underline); 4Q423 23 (double underline)

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1. שפתיכה פתח מקור לברך קדושים ואתה כמקור עולם הלל [--]○ הבדילכה מכול
2. רוח בשר ואתה הבדל מכול אשר שנא והנזר מכול תעבות נפ̇ש̇[כי]א̇ הוא עשה כול
3. ויורישם אי̲ש̲ נחלתו והוא חלקכה ונחלתכה בתוך בני אדם[ובנ]ח̇לתו המשילכ̇ה ואתה
4. בזה כבדהו בהתקדשכה לו כאשר שמכה לקדוש קודשים[לכול בני]ת̇בל ובכו̇ל[מ]ל[אכים]
5. הפיל גורלכה וכבודכה הרבה מואדה וישימכה לו בכור ב[--]ל[--]
6. וטובתי לכה אתן ואתה {ל}הלוא לכה טו̇בו̇ ובאמונתו̇ הלך תמיד[--]
7. מעשיכה ואתה דרוש משפטיו מיד כול יריבכ̇ה בכול מו○[--]
8. אהבהו ובחסד {עו̇לם̇} וברח̇מים על כול שומרי דברו וקנאתו̇[--]
9. ואתה שכל̇[פ]תח לכה ובאוצרו המשילכה ואיפת אמת פ'קד[ה --]
10. אתכה המה ובידכה להשיב אף מאנשי רצון ולפקוד על̇[--]
11. עמכה בטו̇רם תקח נחלתכה מידו כבד קדושיו ובט[רם --]
12. פתח [מ]קי̇ר כול קדו̇שים וכול הנקרא לשמו קודשי'[ם --]
13. עם כול קצי̇ם הדרו̇ פארתו למטעת עו̇[לם --]
14. [ ]○ה תב̇[ל] בו̇ יתהלכו כול נוחלי ארץ כי בשמ[ים --]

1. Your lips he has opened as a spring to bless the holy ones and so you, as an eternal spring, praise ... he has separated you from every
2. fleshly spirit. And you, separate yourself from all that he hates and keep away from all abominations of the soul, [*beca*]use he has made everyone
3. and has bequeathed to each person their inheritance. And he (God) is your portion and your inheritance among humankind, [*and over*] his [*in*]heritance he has give you authority. So you
4. in this way honour him, by making yourself holy to him, as he has established you as most holy [*to all*] the world. And among all the [*a*]n[*gels*]
5. he has cast your lot and your glory he has greatly magnified. He has established you for himself as a firstborn son among ...
6. and my goodness I will give to you. And you, is not his goodness for you? So in his faith walk constantly ...
7. your deeds. So you, seek his judgments from every opponent of yours in all ...
8. love him, and with {eternal} kindness and compassion towards all who keep his word. And zeal for him ...
9. And you, he has [*op*]ended up insight for you and over his treasury he has given you dominion, and a measure of truth is entrust[*ed* ...]
10. they are with you and it is in your hand to turn away wrath from the men of (God's) pleasure and to visit upon ...
11. are with you. Before you receive your inheritance from his hand glorify his holy ones. And befo[*re* ...]
12. open [*a sp*]ring (for) all the holy ones, and everyone who is called by his name, holy ...
13. with all periods (is) his splendour, his grandeur (is) with the eter[*nal*] planting...
14. ... the wor[*ld*]. In it all those who inherit the earth shall walk to and fro, for in heav[*en* ...]

6.4.5.2. Textual Notes

1. ○[--] הלל. Various reconstructions of the lacuna have been proposed, such as ז[א] (DJD 34:300), ז[מא] (Tigchelaar 2001, 230), אָ[שמו כי] (Goff 2013, 239), and שָׂ[מו קוד] (Qimron 2013, 166).

12. פתח [מ]קֹוֹר. This reconstruction mirrors the expression found in line 1: פתח מקור (Goff 2013, 230; Stuckenbruck 2004, 63; Wold 2005, 162) Alternatively, reading *shin* instead of *qoph*, the editors have suggested שׁוֹר[ ] (DJD 34:308).

13. קצֹים הדרז. Tigchelaar does not include these words in his reconstruction (Tigchelaar 2001, 231). However, with the exception of *tsade* and *yod*, traces of these letters are clearly visible in PAM 43.479.

6.4.5.3. Analysis

The preserved passage opens with a call for a recipient—addressed frequently by second masculine singular forms—to bless the "holy ones" (קדושים) and to praise God for separating the addressee "from every fleshly spirit" (בכול רוח בשר).[253] Prompted by the second masculine singular vocative ואתה, the addressee in lines 1–2 is likened to "an eternal spring" and informed that they have been made separate from all that God hates and all abominations.

Line 3 provides information about the inheritance of the addressee. Each person is assigned a portion of inheritance that is appropriate to them, but the inheritance of the addressee in this passage is distinct in that God is identified as their inheritance. Many have noted how this utilises language known from Numbers 18:20 (DJD 34:305; Goff 2013, 246–47; Rey 2009a, 317).

[253] There has been some debate with regards to whether the term קדושים in line 1 can be understood as referring to those associated with the document (Fletcher-Louis 2002, 178; Puech 2005, 110–11) or to angels (Goff 2013, 243–44; Macaskill 2007, 87).

4Q418 81 + 81a 3	4Q418 81 + 81a 3 (Hebrew)
And he (God) is your portion and your inheritance among humankind.	והוא חלקכה ונחלתכה בתוך בני אדם
Num. 18:20 (NRSV)	**Num. 18:20 (Hebrew)**
I am your share and possession among the Israelites.	אני חלקך ונחלתך בתוך בני ישראל

At this point in the fragment, one finds strong indicators that the addressee in this passage is to be identified as a priest, or at least as someone of similar status. The addressee is granted authority over his/God's(?) inheritance and established as a "most holy" (לקדוש קודשים) and as a "firstborn son" (בכור) whose glory is comparable to the angels in lines 4–5. In lines 6–8, the addressee is called to walk faithfully, to seek his righteousness, and to show compassion to those who keep God's word and show zeal for him, indicating that the addressee has some measure of influence and authority over other pious figures associated with the document. Moreover, the addressee in line 10 is also given the power to turn away God's anger from his people, a feat performed by renowned figures such as Abraham (Gen. 18:23–33) and Moses (Exod. 32:11–14; Num. 14:13–19). In lines 11–14, attention shifts once more to the inheritance of the addressee, who is brought close to the angels to glorify them and to be made holy.

The priestly language in 4Q418 81 + 81a strongly attests to the priestly identity of the addressee in this passage. Yet scholars have been divided with regards to whether this language is to be interpreted literally or symbolically.[254] Use of priestly language in other

[254] Arguments for the priestly identity of the addressee in this passage have been made by Fletcher-Louis (2002, 175–87), Lange (2004, 39–48), and Tigchelaar (2001, 232–36), while arguments for the symbolic use of priestly language have been made by Angel (2015, 67–68), Elgvin (2004, 82–83); and Goff (2013, 246–

parts of the composition are indicative of the possibility that a priestly authority were part of the broader audience of those addressed. We have seen already that certain laws known from the biblical text are weaved into the general advice given to the relevant addressee at different points in the document. For example, the husband in 4Q416 2 iv 8–9 is reminded of his right to annul his wife's vows (cf. Num. 30:6–15), and the farmer in 4Q418 103 ii 2–9 is reminded of laws that prohibit them against mixing different kinds of seeds and animals (cf. Lev. 19:19; Deut. 22:9–11). Also significant is a direct reference to "Levi the prie[st" (ל]לוי֯ כוֹה[ן) that was later written by a different scribal hand above the first preserved line in 4Q423 5 1a (PAM 43.535). The text in this small fragment continues by referring to the "judgement of Korah" (את משפט קורח; 4Q423 5 1), which likely served as a warning not to oppose the priestly authorities (Elgvin 2004, 80). Moreover, in 4Q423 5 2–4 a figure is established as a "leader of your people" (נשיא עמכה; 4Q423 5 2) who is responsible for "judgi]ng(?) all of them in truth" (וישפו]ט כולם באמת; 4Q423 5 4) and who appoints duties to the people based on an evaluation of their qualities. Direct references to Levitical priests and to various laws that would have required enforcement points to the likelihood that literal priestly authority was addressed in 4Q418 81 + 81a 1–14.

The question of whether the priestly addressee in 4Q418 81 + 81a 1–14 can be identified as the same kind of recipient as those elsewhere addressed as *mevin* is difficult to determine. On the one hand, the beginning of 4Q418 81 + 81a 15 introduces a new section that starts with the typical form of address: ואתה מבין ("but you who understands"), which may indicate that a different kind of person other than those characterised by their understanding is being addressed in the preceding lines (see §6.3.4.). Yet it is also possible

47). Alternatively, Shirav has recently argued that those addressed in this portion of the composition are to be initiated into an elevated tier within the community associated with the document (Shirav 2022, esp. 98).

that those addressed as *mevin* had a similar kind of authority and status as the Levites who are described as "imparting understanding" in the books of 1–2 Chronicles and Nehemiah (Neh. 8:9; 1 Chr. 25:8; 2 Chr. 26:5, 35:3). A comparative study on the uses of *mevin* in 1–2 Chronicles, Nehemiah, and the present document may yield interesting finds and contribute towards a new perspective that informs our current understanding of the use of *mevin* in the present composition. In any case, use of priestly language and attestations to priestly laws throughout the composition strongly indicates that Levitical priests made up a portion of the audience addressed in the document, adding further layers of diversity and complexity to the social background of the recipients.

6.4.6. 4Q418 69 ii 10: The Addressees as "Chosen Ones of Truth"

Significantly, 4Q418 69 ii contains the only preserved examples where the plural form of address אתם is used within the document; once in reference to the "chosen ones of truth" (ואתם בחירי אמת; 4Q418 69 ii 10) and once in reference to those who are "fashioned for the eternal pit" (אתם ... נוצרתם ולשחת עולם; 4Q418 69 ii 6). In Chapter 4, this study provided an examination of the formal features of 4Q418 69 ii. However, this section will focus on the identity of the addressees as "chosen ones of truth," which appears to be a characteristic trait that was attributed to all those addressed in the composition.

What does it mean to be a "chosen one of truth"? In 4Q418 69 ii, this question is partially answered through use of poetic symbolism and by contrast with the disposition and fate of those who are not regarded as "chosen ones of truth." The opening lines are extremely fragmentary. However, from what can be understood from the textual remains, the passage appears at first to address a recipient who is regarded in a positive light. It is

explained in the form of a rhetorical question that this addressee should give attention to the waves and observe how they "move to and fro in truth" (באמת יתהלכו; 4Q418 69 ii 3). Through use of poetic imagery regarding the natural movements of the ocean, to be "in truth" is illustrated as being in accord with the natural order of creation and so with God's intended pattern of arrangement for the cosmos. Following a *vacat* in line 4, the passage continues by addressing new recipients who are regarded in a negative light: "and now, foolish ones of heart" (ועתה אוילי לב). The ultimate fate of these ill-regarded addressees is unpleasant. They are described as being "fashioned for the eternal pit" (נוצרתם ולשחת עולם; 4Q418 69 ii 6) and destined to be judged and destroyed by the "eternal ones who seek truth" (עולם דורשי אמת; 4Q418 69 ii 7, i.e., the angels). The characteristic features of these negative recipients are described in line 8. They are "foolish ones of heart" (אוילי לב), "characterised by iniquity" (בני עולה), and "clinging to wickedness" (מחזיקי רשעה). In short, contrary to the to-ing and fro-ing of the waves which move in harmony with the natural flow of creation, the thoughts and actions of the negative recipients go against the natural order of God's intended desire for those who live as humans. Thus, these negative addressees stand in antithesis to those who exist "in truth." In line 10, the positive recipients are again reintroduced: "but you chosen ones of truth" (ואתם בחירי אמת). In distinction with the negative addressees in lines 4–9, the positive addressees have their minds set on the pursuit of righteousness, seeking understanding, and watching over all knowledge (4Q418 69 ii 10–11). Though their temperament and actions are clearly preferred over those who are described as "foolish ones of heart", their resolution to pursue knowledge and understanding is brought into contrast with the angels who delight in truth and knowledge forever and without grievance (4Q418 69 ii 11–12; cf. 4Q418 55 8–11). The exclamation "we are weary" (יגענו) is an intriguing complaint, though not altogether unsurprising in light of the social background of the addressees considered thus

far. An audience that consisted of mostly working members of society (farmers, craftspeople), as well as those who may have fallen into debt or who simply need to support their family would likely have struggled to keep up with the demands of a community that called for its members to continual seek knowledge, understanding, and unravel the mysteries of the *raz nihyeh*. Yet no circumstance, however grim, is deemed a worthy excuse to neglect these core obligations (cf. 4Q416 2 iii 12–13). Set apart from the rest of humanity, those associated with this document are held to the highest standards set by the angels who delight in pursuing knowledge and truth and whose inheritance is eternal life (4Q418 69 ii 13). The angels in this passage therefore serve as the ultimate pedagogical role models that the positive addressee is to aspire to emulate, as Goff and Bakker have discerned (Bakker 2023, 73; Goff 2013, 236).

In broader consideration, the word אמת ("truth") is used as a descriptive quality in reference to various figures within the composition. For example, at the presumed beginning of the composition (4Q416 1), God is described as a "God of truth" (אל אמת הוא; 4Q416 1 14; cf. 4Q417 1 i 8), and "all those characterised by his truth" (כל בני אמתו) are identified as being favourably accepted by God over those who commit wicked deeds (4Q416 1 10). Elsewhere, the poor addressee in 4Q416 2 iii 14 is admonished to "understand all the ways of truth" (התבונן בכל דרכי אמת). The addressee who is described as *mevin* is urged to "rejoice in the inheritance of truth" (ואתה מבין שמחה בנחלת אמת; 4Q416 4 3). The priestly figure is granted "a measure of truth" (איפת אמת; 4Q418 81 + 81a 9) and admonished to "*judg*]e all of them (the people) in truth" (ישפו]ט כולם באמת; 4Q423 5 4). And those with skilled hands is urged to utilise their talents "in truth" (באמת מיד כול חכמת ידי{ם}כה; 4Q418 102 a+b 3) and to "walk in truth with those who seek" (באמת התהלך עם כול דורשי; 4Q418 126 ii 11). Truth is also closely connected with other significant

concepts within the document, such as understanding (4Q418 55 6, 9) inheritance (4Q418 88 ii 8) and the *raz nihyeh* (4Q416 2 iii 14; 4Q417 1 i 6, 8).

In short, while it is difficult to know with any certainty about the purpose, role, and precise relations between certain figures addressed within the composition, the textual remains appear to denote that all those positively addressed within the document—be they financially deprived, priests, skilled-handed, or chiefly characterised by their understanding—were regarded as chosen ones of truth.

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter has sought to question the inclination of modern readers to identify the addressee(s) within the present document as *mevin* or *mevinim*. The widely held notion that these participle forms and the vocative phrases ואתה מבין and ואתה בן מבין are catch-all terms and expressions that refer to all those addressed throughout the composition fits well within the context of a work that has been chiefly identified as a wisdom instruction. However, the textual remains indicate that the various uses of *mevin* are not necessarily applicable or attributed to all those addressed in the work. Upon reading the surviving fragments, one encounters a variety of figures addressed in different ways that accord with a specific situation or correspond with the vocational role of the recipient. Husbands and fathers are informed of their responsibilities over their wives and daughters (or in-laws), wives and daughters are told to be faithful and subservient to their husbands and fathers (or in-laws), skilled-handed workers (farmers, craftspeople) are urged to share their hard-earned provisions with those around them who are in need of sustenance, and those on the verge of destitution are advised on how to maintain their conduct during what is portrayed as a financially challenging phase of their lives. In addition, parts of the text

appear to address a figure (or figures) with priestly status and authority who were responsible for upholding and enforcing common Jewish laws and regarded as community leaders within the document. It is unclear from the surviving material whether these other figures can be identified with those addressed as *mevin* in other parts of the text. There is only one example where the participle *mevin* is found in reference to those identified as having "skilled hands" (חכמת ידים; 4Q418 81 + 81a 15). Crucially, the participle *mevin* is not once found in the well-preserved columns of 4Q416 2 i–iv and parallel manuscripts, wherein most of the admonitions are found (see Table 4.2.). Reflecting on the content of 4Q416 2 i–iv, the editors in DJD 34 initially claimed that "the material here takes the form of a wisdom instruction that moves from topic to topic" and that within this part of the text "the instructor addresses the one being instructed (i.e. the מבין)" (DJD 34:11). However, the absence of *mevin* prompts us to consider whether a different kind of figure is being addressed, or whether a different aspect of an addressee's disposition, social status, or societal responsibilities are being emphasised in this significant portion of the surviving text.

Most significant for our understanding of all the recipients addressed in the text are instances where plural forms are found, as well as expressions that explicitly identify the addressees as "chosen ones of truth" (ואתם בחירי אמת; 4Q416 69 ii 10) and "children of his (God's) truth" or "those characterised by his (God's) truth" (בני אמתו; 4Q416 1 10). In Chapter 4, it was observed that plural forms are typically found in fragments that discuss broader and grander themes of cosmology and eschatology (4Q416 1; 4Q418 55; 4Q418 69 ii; 4Q418 126 ii 1–10). In these parts of the text, the addressees are urged to reflect collectively on their place and purpose within the created order, standing above the foolish and the wicked while looking up to the angels as models of truth, zeal, understanding,

and righteous conduct. These are the chosen ones of truth who await God's final judgement and rejoice in their promised inheritance of glory.

Based on a comprehensive examination of the different forms of address within the surviving text, *mevin* does not appear to be a term that was universally applicable to all those addressed in the present composition. Rather, when plural forms are found and when the subject matter shifts to broader themes of creation and eschatological judgement, the addressees are collectively referred to as "chosen ones of truth." This appears to be the collective identity shared by all those who are addressed in a positive manner within the present composition.

Conclusion

This dissertation has examined how the names and genre labels assigned to the present composition have deeply influenced the way contemporary scholars read and understand this work. This was investigated in two parts.

The first part examined how the biblical category of wisdom literature was adopted and utilised by Dead Sea Scrolls researchers to help reconstruct and subsequently make sense of the present composition. It has sought to demonstrate that the wisdom labels initially assigned by early editors to previously unknown fragmentary works inevitably provided a framework for interpretation that remains effective to the present day. Moreover, it has shown how many of the names currently used by contemporary scholars align with the sapiential identity attributed to the present composition by the early editors, thereby reinforcing its identity as a wisdom text and instructional work.

In the second part, this study raised questions that challenge conventional assumptions concerning the composition's genre (*musar*, instruction, wisdom), its purported speaker (*maskil*, teacher, sage), as well as the proposed identity of the addressee(s) as *mevin/mevinim* (understanding one/ones). The notion that the surviving text is best generically classified as *musar*, instruction, or wisdom was contested on the basis of form-critical analysis of several significant fragments which contain literary features that attest to other genres (chiefly apocalyptic). Moreover, consideration of the pervasiveness of the concept of the *raz nihyeh* over the comparatively limited use of חכמה (typically translated as "wisdom" in the books of Proverbs and Sirach) suggests that wisdom is not the central focus of the present composition. In search of evidence for a teacher in the text, Chapter 5 analysed the use of the participle *maskil* throughout the textual remains. From its four occurrences, it was found that the participle appears to mean different things depending

on the context of its usage. Crucially, this study found no explicit examples where *maskil* is used in reference to a sage or teacher of wisdom, and that evidence of first-person speech which can be attributed to a teacher or sage within the document is scarce at best, if not completely absent. Finally, analysis of the participle *mevin* (and its rarer plural form *mevinim*) in Chapter 6 confirms that the recipient identified as *mevin*—usually by the vocative phrase ואתה מבין or ואתה בן מבין—is an important figure within the present composition. However, various kinds of figures emerge in other parts of the text that emphasise different characteristics of those addressed (farmer, craftsperson, priest, debt slave, husband, father, wife, daughter). Though it is uncertain whether all members of this eclectic audience were regarded as *mevinim*, it is clear that all figures positively addressed within the textual remains are regarded as a "people of truth" with claims to a glorious inheritance. This is indicated by several fragments that use plural forms in reference to the addressees: "children of his (God's) truth" or "those characterised by his (God's) truth" (בני אמתו; 4Q416 1 10) and addressed in the plural as "you chosen ones of truth" (אתם בחירי אמת; 4Q418 69 ii 10).

Until now, no study has questioned whether the present composition should be regarded as a wisdom text. Yet the goal of this study is not simply to discourage scholars from referring to or thinking of this composition as a wisdom text, and neither does it seek to deny the sapiential elements that are clearly discernible within the surviving material. The main issue that this thesis addresses is the way scholars have exclusively regarded the present composition as a wisdom text, which has resulted in readings being funnelled through the interpretative filters of "wisdom" and "instruction." Studies in cognitive linguistics and in the cognitive development of semantic categories inform us that the way we organise and label a thing has a profound impact on our understanding

of that thing, creating a "system of expectation" that shapes the way we interpret it (Sinding 2002, 194). This means that once we assign a genre label and a name to something—in this case, a fragmentary and ancient composition—it becomes difficult to detach that identity from the text and to think about it in different ways.[255]

In order to disentangle the sapiential identity assigned to the present composition, one of the primary goals of this thesis has been to identify the root cause of this identification through meta-critical reflection on the reconstructive practices exhibited by members of the Scrolls Team. Crucially, it was shown in Chapter 2 that some editors had begun to label certain fragments as "wisdom" or "sapiential" even before manuscripts had been formally identified and reconstructed. Moreover, it was shown how these handwritten labels were influential in both the naming and eventual textual analysis of the present composition. In a way, the wisdom labels have contributed as much to our general understanding of the present composition as the extant text itself. Yet it must be realised that these labels are not an intrinsic part of the text. Rather, these labels function as lenses that readers have instinctively placed upon themselves when examining the present composition. Thus, the main goal of this study is to highlight the interpretative influence of these labels and encourage researchers to remove this particular reading lens when engaging with the present composition. In doing so, one hopes that future studies will contribute new perspectives and stimulate new discussions that help us better understand this rich and diverse collection of manuscripts.

[255] This is not only relevant to wisdom compositions. It is also found in any other kind of writing in the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus (and beyond) that has been assigned a name or genre label. This is point emphasised by the ever-growing number of scholarly writings that have sought to revise, rethink, or reflect on the designated names and generic categories used in Dead Sea Scrolls research (Brooke 2011; Darby 2022; DiTomasso and Goff 2023; García Martínez 2000; Najman and Tigchelaar 2014; Zahn 2008; 2011; 2012).

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