LEGALISM AND APOCALYPTICISM IN EARLY JUDAISM

BY

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Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

(Ancient Near Eastern Studies)

at the University of Stellenbosch

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November 1999

I, the undersigned, D.J. Depoix, hereby declare
that the work contained in this thesis is my own
original work and has not previously in its entirety
or in part been submitted at any university for a
degree.

ABSTRACT

Early Judaism, between approximately 200 BCE and
70 CE, had developed two significant strains of belief
which affected the religious and social conduct of the
various sections of the population : legalism and
apocalypticism. They had evolved over a long historical
period, influenced by political developments and social
insecurity within Palestine, and by the destabilizing
effects of Hellenization on the traditional values of
Judaism. The literature of the period indicates separate
groups within the diversified culture of Judaism, in which
allegiance was to either Temple-based adherence to the Law
or to the dissident apocalyptic tradition, with different
eschatological expectations.

In contrast, the Qumranic, socially-integrated,
sectarians combined within their thought-processes and
praxis both an extremely strict legalism and also
significant elements of apocalyptic belief. They were
able to accommodate both aspects because of a realized
eschatology which considered the group to be the sole
chosen remnant of Israel, already in the company of the
holy angels and predestined for salvation.

Within the greater Jewish milieu, legalism and
apocalypticism were oppositional forces : within Qumran
they were complementary. Rigid legalism, to maintain
ritual purity, would hasten the imminent eschaton, with
apocalyptic annihilation of evil by God and his angels.

OPSOMMING

Gedurende die vroeë Judaïsme, tussen ongeveer 200 v.C. en 70 n.C., het twee betekenisvolle religieuse verskynsels ontwikkel wat die godsdienstige en sosiale optrede van verskeie seksies van die bevolking beïnvloed het, naamlik die legalisme en apokaliptisisme. Hierdie verskynsels het oor 'n lang historiese periode ontwikkel en is beïnvloed deur politieke verwikkelinge en sosiale onsekerhede binne Palestina, sowel as deur die destabiliserende effek van die Hellenisme op die tradisionele waardes van die Judaïsme. Die literatuur van hierdie tydvak dui op afsonderlike groepe binne die uiteenlopende kulture van die Judaïsme, waarin daar getrou gebly is aan 'n tempel-gebaseerde vaskleef aan die Wet, aan die een kant, of aan die afwykende apokaliptiese tradisie, met uiteenlopende eskatologiese verwagtinge, aan die ander kant.

In kontras hiermee, het die sosiaal geïntegreerde Qumran sekte binne hulle denke en praktyk beide 'n ekstreme streng legalisme, asook betekenisvolle elemente van apokaliptiese geloofsperspektiewe gekombineer. Hulle was in staat om beide aspekte te akkommodeer as gevolg van 'n gerealiseerde eskatologie wat die groep beskou het as die uitsluitlike uitverkore oorblyfsel van Israel, wat alreeds in die teenwoordigheid van heilige engele was en voorbeskik was vir redding.

Binne die groter Joodse milieu was legalisme en apokaliptisisme kontrasterende kragte; in Qumran daarenteen funksioneer hulle komplementerend. Strenge legalisme, om, onder andere, die rituele reinheid te handhaaf, sou die ophande *eschaton*, met die gepaardgaande uitwissing van die bose deur God en sy engele, verhaas.

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LEGALISM AND APOCALYPTICISM IN EARLY JUDAISM

CONTENTS

THANKS

I am most grateful for the ongoing help,
guidance and encouragement which I have
received from Professor Johann Cook,
making my studies a pleasure.

I have also enjoyed great moral support
from my sister and from numerous friends,
which is much appreciated.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

LEGALISM AND APOCALYPTICISM IN EARLY JUDAISM

"So, then, the Qumran group combined
within itself the two poles which
put a strain on the Judaism of the
period : halakhic interpretation and
apocalyptic revelation. "

(Trebolle Barrera 1995 : 67).

ONE : INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

It will be assumed that the Qumran Community formed part
of Early Judaism. They were closely associated with the
Dead Sea Scrolls material and had alienated themselves
from Second Temple Judaism, based in the Temple at
Jerusalem.

In discussing the above quotation, the sources will be
the literature of Second Temple Judaism, both Biblical
and extra-Biblical, as well as that of the Dead Sea
Scrolls, both Qumran sectarian and that pertaining to
the common Jewish literary heritage. The socio-political
and religious milieu which gave rise to the particular
writings will be borne in mind.

Particular attention will be paid to the religious sphere as disclosed by the relevant literature, but, in line with cultural-anthropological methodology, the history, socio-economic situation, and political developments of the period in question will be taken into account in evaluating the overall picture of Early Judaism. The totality of the cultural environment which gave rise to the particular literary works will be considered. An attempt will be made to uncover the thought-patterns arising from each particular socio-political setting and to discover what connection and interaction there may be between the religious and secular diversity of Early Judaism.

A survey will be made of the concept, cultural orientation and development of apocalypticism and particularly its appearance in one Biblical book, Daniel, and one extra-Biblical work, 1 Enoch.

The practice of halakhic interpretation in Jerusalem-based Judaism of the second and first centuries BCE will be considered, also taking account of any interaction with the Wisdom tradition, to determine the influence of the Law, the Temple and the cult on the belief and life-style of the various social and religious groups.

The validity of the above quotation will be considered
in relation to the sectarian writings and library of
the Qumran community. The position of the Torah will
be addressed in estimating the importance of Jewish Law
in the formulation of Qumran's sectarian halakhah. The
apocalyptic influence will also be addressed. Again,
the writings will be used to throw light on the actual
life-style of the sectarians from the formative period
to the later community.

The tensions between legalism and apocalypticism, as
they appear respectively in Jerusalem in Temple Judaism
and in the Qumran community, will be compared in order
to assess how they are accommodated within the social
and religious praxis and eschatological speculation
of the two groups.

CHAPTER TWO

EARLY JUDAISM : 200 BCE TO 70 CE

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2.1. Diversity

During the period of Jewish history including the last two centuries BCE and until the uprising against Rome ending in 70 CE, contrary to popular perception, there was considerable social and religious diversity, influenced by political upheavals and cultural confrontation. Thus there was no homogenous thought pattern, nor was there concensus on such matters as eschatology, free will versus determinism and so on.

Study of early Judaism has in the past been hampered by presuppositions and prejudices, many arising from the predominantly Christian viewpoint applied to the written sources of the period and to a reliance on Rabbinic texts of a later period, which had their own bias. The result has been a stereotyped view of post-exilic Judaism as a sterile, legalistic prelude to Christian dynamism or as a prototype for later Jewish orthodoxy. Modern scholarship, particularly with reference to the Dead Sea Scrolls material, is increasingly making use not only of all available historical data, but also of literary criticism and interdisciplinary models from

sociology and social anthropology, as well as archeological research in the search for new insight into this period. This has resulted in Early Judaism now being seen as a "complex and variegated phenomenon". (Kraft and Nickelsburg 1986 : 10-11).

2.2. <u>Sources for Early Judaistic History and Thought</u>.

The following literary sources will be consulted in approaching the currents of speculation and belief, firstly in the larger social and historical context of Early Judaism generally and then in the more specific area of the Qumran community.

2.2.1. <u>Josephus</u>

Josephus provides us with information on Jewish history not elsewhere available, although his accounts cannot be taken always at face value. Evaluation ranges from extreme scepticism about his reliability to accepting his usefulness critically in the light of all other available information. Allowance needs to be made for the limitations of ancient historiography and personal apologetics. (Grabbe 1992 : 11-12).

Some of the concerns regarding the reliability of Josephus are his obvious pro-Flavian tendencies, the trustworthiness of his sources, his Hellenization of Jewish traditions, improbabilities in his self-description and discrepancies between parallel accounts in the Life and the War. (Attridge 1986 : 324-5). He also shows little interest in the larger frame-work of the Graeco-Roman world of the time and gives only minimal information about events outside immediate Jewish history. (Cohen 1986 : 41). Bilde (1988 : 208 f) points out that Josephus has been used in the past as "ammunition" by various groups, Jewish, Christian and scholars generally, to "prove" a particular viewpoint, without due consideration of his overall context.

2.2.2. <u>The Maccabean Sources</u>.

We learn from 1 and 2 Maccabees that there was a revolt in response to the religious persecution of Antiochus IV and the profanation of the Temple. However, the motivation of Antiochus IV is unclear, leaving the way open for speculation. As the accounts in 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees, Daniel and Josephus are contradictory, it is not possible to take the information in any one of them as authoritative, without cross-checking, and also it must be realised that each account is written from a particular perspective. (Cohen 1986 : 42-43).

2.2.3. The Old and New Testaments.

The Old Testament, as redacted during the post-exilic period, provides texts of legal, prophetic and Wisdom material, as well as the book of Daniel. It may be seen as the matrix for both the main streams of thought during the early Judaic period, namely adherence to the Law and Temple observance as against the rising current of apocalyptic speculation. The New Testament gives some information on the various groupings, social and religious, of the period, but needs to be used with caution due to the obvious bias and "type-casting" regarding, for instance, Pharisees and Sadducees.

2.2.4. The Dead Sea Scrolls.

These texts have provided enormously valuable material, giving insight not only into the Qumran sect itself, but also regarding the formative period of the break-away group, as a pointer towards trends in the broader context of early Judaism. Philo and Pliny the Elder also provide some information on the Qumran community.

2.2.5. Pseudepigraphic and Apocryphal Material.

While appreciating the large volume of this material, covering a time-span from the third century BCE to the early centuries CE, the composite books of 1 Enoch will be used as the main focus regarding the apocalyptic genre, and the writings of Ben Sira will represent the Wisdom tradition of the period.

2.3. Religion.

2.3.1. Law.

In Jewish religion the Law has always assumed a prime
position, although not all strands of Jewish belief
necessarily lead directly back to Moses and the Law given
at Sinai. The Law embodies prescriptions regarding both
cultic and ethical behaviour. However, during the period
of post-exilic Judaism, the Old Testament Law, embodied in
the Pentateuch, which had developed over many centuries,
received a final redaction in Jerusalem. Under the
influence of the Deuteronomistic tradition, a great deal
more emphasis was placed on the legal aspects of the
Pentateuch (Torah). (Otzen 1990 : 65-66).

In early Israelite society, as evidenced in, for instance,
Genesis 8 : 22 (As long as the world exists there will be
a time for planting ..etc) there was seen to be a distinct
order to which all nature and human beings were subject.
Those who violated this law encouraged disaster and those
who obeyed it enjoyed prosperity. This law was not so
much a question of "right" or "wrong" but of "wise" and
"foolish", that is, a question of wisdom. Alongside this
view was the one that laws have been given by God and what
is required is obedience to an ethical system, which has
divine sanction. After the exile, with more emphasis
being placed on the Law of Moses, the Wisdom tradition

came to see the Law as an expression of the only true wisdom. (Deist 1986 : 186-192).

To the Jew, the Law is essentially divine revelation and a component part of creation and world order, thus going far beyond merely a set of regulations. All that is necessary for existence and relationship with God is contained in the Pentateuch. By keeping God's Law, the individual Jew was involved in the maintenance of creation. This election was seen as a gift and not a burden. Keeping the Law demonstrated love for God and not merely an expectation of reward or punishment. (Otzen 1990 67f).

In ancient times God's will had been revealed directly to God's chosen recipients, such as patriarchs and prophets. Following the Exile, with the redaction and canonization of the Old Testament writings, revelation was confined to "The Book" (1 Macc. 3 :48). However, the interpretation of Scripture, to deal with current everyday requirements, continued in the legal promulgations of the rabbis. This unwritten law was deemed to have been given to Moses at Sinai, together with the written Pentateuch (which was, however, acknowledged as the higher authority), and the oral law therefore had validity. In Early Judaism, because of the priority of the Pentateuch, the other Biblical writings were seen as mere amplification. (Otzen 1990 : 66-68).

Social and political reasons had contributed to the
importance of the Law in post-exilic Judaism. The
monarchy had been lost and, although the Temple had
been rebuilt, the cultic traditions from the old state
religion were no longer adequate as a rallying point
for the Jews. The prophets had shown the Exile to be
punishment for the sin of the people. Strict adherence
to the Law had become the defining characteristic of
the Jew and a means of avoiding further disaster.
(Bright 1972 : 453 f). Interest focused increasingly
on Sabbath, circumcision and ritual cleanliness, as
well as the Temple, the cult and its proper observance.
(Bright 1972 : 432).

In requiring that the Law be observed in all its
detailed prescriptions there was a danger of sterile
legalism. This was not the intention of the teachers,
but rather they wished to stress that any offence against
the Law, however small, was important. There was within
the Law an emphasis on ethical behaviour, which was also
espoused by the Wisdom tradition, for example,
Proverbs 19 : 16-17 (NEB) :

> "To keep the commandments keeps a man safe,
>
>   but scorning the way of the Lord brings death.
>
>   He who is generous to the poor lends to the Lord,
>
>   He will repay him in full measure."

There was a realization that God desired more than token
sacrifices, for example Ps. 51 : 17 (NEB) :

"My sacrifice, O God, is a broken spirit;

a wounded heart, O God, thou wilt not despise."

There was, however, a conception that all piety, all good
works and ultimate religious duty lay in obedience to
the Law.

In post-exilic Judaism the idea developed that the Law
given through Moses was pre-existent.   This is hinted
at in Ps. 119 : 160 (NEB).

"Thy word is founded in truth,

and thy just decrees are everlasting."

The theme is taken up in Ben Sira, 17 : 11-12 :

"He gave them knowledge as well

and endowed them with the life-giving law.

He established a perpetual covenant with them

and revealed to them his decrees."

Jubilees also presents the Law as an absolute authority,
existing before Sinai and before Israel.   "Covenant" was
expanded to cover not only the events of Sinai but also
the concept of the Law which was eternally valid.   To keep
the covenant then became a matter of the individual
obeying the Law in all its minute details.
(Bright 1972 : 441-444).

Hellenism was a force within Judaism, whether it was actively adopted or not. This is apparent from, for instance, the development of angelology, cosmic speculation, accounts of heavenly journeys and revelation through dreams. However, to counter foreign influence, there developed a "zeal for the Law" which was apparent as a central feature of Torah observance. Ben Sira equated the Law with pre-existent Wisdom. At the beginning of his work Ben Sira states :

> "All Wisdom is from the Lord;
>
> Wisdom is with him forever."

By identifying Wisdom with the Law (the gift of the God of Israel) he is rejecting the secular learning of Hellenism and emphasizing the necessity of maintaining the decrees of Jewish Law as an expression of piety.

The Torah became the centre-point of Judaism and the exclusive form of revelation. It became the defining expression of the desired unity of the Jewish people, in spite of varying interpretations, and represented the essential monotheism of all sectors of Judaism. This defence of the Law, in the face of Hellenistic syncretism, was not confined to Palestine but obtained also in Diaspora Judaism. Philo, for instance, for all his Hellenism, remained committed to the Law. (Hengel 1974 : 312-3, 138).

With reference to the pervasive influence of Hellenizing tendencies, Hengel (1974 : 162) quotes Gerleman (1956) that the translation of Proverbs in the Septuagint was executed earlier than the other books of the Old Testament and therefore showed more Hellenizing influence than the later translations, and exhibited traces of Stoic conceptions. However, Cook (1999 : 11-15) has demonstrated that additions in the LXX to the Hebrew text of Proverbs, notably in 9 :10 and 13 :15, (for to know the law is the sign of a sound mind), have been inserted by the translator to reinforce the importance of the Law of Moses, and to warn against the foreign influences of Hellenism. Those who are surrounded by the Law, as by a wall or fence, will be shielded from foreign encroachment. (Proverbs 28 :4).

The "dangers" of foreign influence were acutely felt by the emerging Pharisees and, in defence, they tried to make the Law the defining influence in every-day life. They went beyond the general requirements, as, for instance, adopting purity regulations only required of the priests in the Temple, in an endeavour to ensure that Israel would maintain its position as a holy people. Within the closed fraternities which developed, there was detailed discussion on the many facets of the Law and new regulations were formulated to deal with changing

everyday situations. In effect the requirements of the Law became ever more demanding and less able to be observed by the bulk of the population.

(Otzen 1990 : 117-123).

Davies (1999 : 30-31) suggests that "Judaism" as an idea, was constructed in post-exilic Judaism, with the production of the definitive Torah, as a means of uniting the people under a national identity. The laws presented were initially an utopian amalgamation of what Judaism should be, and were used as a means of defining Judaism and as a basis for exegesis. Praxis followed later, but in differing forms, depending on the particular understanding of the authority of Scripture by the divergent groups involved.

The increased importance of the Law was instrumental in the growth of the scribal tradition, to teach and discuss the correct interpretation, and it was used also in synagogue services. In the regular Sabbath worship services the reading and exposition of the Law played an important part.

(Bright 1972 : 438/9).

2.3.2. The Temple.

The Temple was the institution around which the religious life of the individual Jew revolved. Its architecture symbolized the degrees of holiness from the outer court, where Gentiles were allowed, becoming progressively more segregated, until the Holy of Holies was accessible only to the High Priest.

The cult was maintained by a series of rituals which were scrupulously carried out. Regular sacrifices were performed in accordance with the Law of Moses. The Temple was heaven's equivalent on earth, the meeting place of the earthly and the divine. The stability of the world-order depended on the absolutely correct performance of the rites laid down. The perception that this was not being done was one of the main contentious points between the Qumran separatists and the Temple authorities. The cult commemorated God's great deeds towards his elected people in the past and correctly keeping the rituals of the cult ensured God's continued favour. Sacrifices signified gratitude, praise and penitence, whether on the communal or private level. (Otzen 1990 : 97 f).

Temple ideology emphasized sacred space and sacred ritual and had the effect of defining the separation of those who participated in the cult from those who did not. The Temple was thus a rallying point for Judaism. It was a means of indicating God's favour, and participation

in the rituals and sacrifices enabled the worshippers to act in partnership with God to maintain the order of creation. Authority was recognized in those who participated significantly in the Temple cult, thus the High Priest, chief priests and members of the Sanhedrin, for example, exerted considerable power. They also occupied elevated social and political positions. (Berquist 1995 :149 f).

Synagogues arose possibly as early as 225 BCE in the Diaspora, to accommodate the worship of those who could not easily attend the Jerusalem Temple. However, the fact that synagogues existed in Jerusalem itself indicates that they supplemented Temple worship, which was carried out by priests with minimal lay participation. In the synagogue the individual participated in a way which allowed direct contact with the reading and exegesis of the Law and personal involvement in the prayers and blessings. (Otzen 1990 :97 f).

2.3.3. <u>The High Priest</u>.

During the Second Temple period, in the absence of a king, the High Priest played an increasingly prominent role. Even under foreign domination, Judah was termed by Josephus a "theocracy", the rule of God being signified by the effective rule of the High Priest. Under the Hasmoneans the High Priest even took the title of king. He was assisted by a powerful advisory council of priests,

aristocracy, scribes and other members - the Sanhedrin. However the question of his legitimacy was a later cause of conflict. (Grabbe 1992 : 74). At a later stage Herod severely curtailed the power of the High Priest and Sanhedrin. He appointed or dismissed the High Priest at will, and he executed many Jewish leaders, probably Sanhedrin members. (Otzen 1990 : 49).

2.4. Hellenization in Judaism.

It is not possible to view Palestine in isolation from the broader context of the Ancient Near East. It is an over-simplification to see a dichotomy between Palestinian Judaism, free from pagan influences, and Diaspora Judaism, which was "contaminated" by Hellenistic influences. (Kraft & Nickelsburg 1986 : 11). Hengel (1980 : 150) points out that, throughout the Ptolemaic period in Palestine, there was considerable economic and cultural integration, evidenced by the use of Greek in correspondence and the adoption of Greek names, even among "conservative" Jews in Palestine. However, at this time, the adoption of Hellenistic culture was generally voluntary, on a personal basis, and the life of the average person was not dramatically affected, unless there were seen to be trade or social advantages. Even those who enthusiastically welcomed Hellenism as, for example, Philo, still considered themselves to be loyal Jews. (Grabbe 1992 : 166 f.)

Hellenization is often cited as the prime cause of the Maccabean conflict, but this ignores underlying political currents. However, Judaism was confronted with a culture which was very different from that of ancient Israelite belief, and, whether these ideas were consciously adopted or not, certain issues arising from contact with Hellenism were to influence the religious outlook in the period after the Maccabean revolt. Astronomical speculation evolved, the concept of dualism developed and discussion on the relationship between soul and body, on the lines of Greek philosophy, presented a challenge to the Jewish idea of the individual as an integrated whole. (Otzen 1990 :20).

In the process of change in Early Judaism, Hellenism was an important factor inducing varied reactions. Some groups tried to avoid it entirely (such as the Qumran community), others adapted to it within the parameters of their own belief system (Pharisees) and some adopted it for pragmatic reasons as far as economic advantage went while retaining a religious conservatism (Sadducees). (Cook 1998 : 235).

2.5. <u>Sects, Movements and Social Groupings in Early Judaism</u>.

Baumgarten (1997 : 7-14) defines a sect as a voluntary association of protest, which uses boundary-marking mechanisms to differentiate between insiders and

outsiders. These boundary-markings have to do with food, dress, marriage, commerce and worship and so on. Ordinary Jews observed Biblical purity regulations, but sectarians usually were more rigid in observance and often despised non-sectarians.

Baumgarten (1997 : 23 - 28) differentiates between "reformist" sects, such as the Sadducees and Pharisees, who seek to reform larger society, while remaining members of it, and "introversionist", such as the Qumran community, who reject society as a whole and turn inwards in exclusivity.

The Maccabean period was particularly conducive to the maturing of the various sects, both those defined by Josephus and those less easily identified. Unrest had brought change in the old order. The encounter with Hellenism, the persecutions of Antiochus IV, the co-operation of some Jewish leaders with the "oppressors", the revolt itself with subsequent political independence and a new dynasty of High Priests, were some of the factors which precipitated sectarian division within Judaism.

From what we know of the sects in Early Judaism, they were formed predominantly by literate men. As they were associations of choice, it was only the relatively well-off who could join, and they formed only a small proportion of the general population.(Baumgarten 1997:73)

When describing Judaism to his Hellenistic readers, Josephus named four "philosophies", being the Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes and the "Fourth philosophy", probably comprising the rebellious groups. (Otzen 1990 :109). In this respect the evidence of Josephus is important, as he had personal experience and knowledge of the sects, claiming himself as a Pharisee, and also having first-hand acquaintance with the Essenes (although in somewhat improbable circumstances).

2.5.1. <u>The Pharisees</u>.

The Pharisees have been associated with the Hasidim - the "holy ones". Very little is actually known about this group, as they appear only briefly in I & II Maccabees. In I Macc. 2 : 42 (NEB) they are called "Hasidaeans, stalwarts of Israel, every one of them a volunteer in the cause of the Law". In I Macc. 7 : 12-16 (NEB) a group of Hasidaeans, who unfortunately trust the High Priest, Alcimus, are betrayed by him and put to death. In II Macc. 14 : 6 (NEB) they are associated with Judas Maccabeas and accused of "keeping the war alive and fomenting sedition."

From the information available they appear to be a militant group, which negates a claim that they could be the authors of the generally pacifist book of Daniel. There is little concrete evidence that they were a coherent group linked to Pharisees nor Essenes.

In War 2.8.14 : 162-63 Josephus describes the Pharisees as "accurate interpreters of the Laws" and to be a leading sect. They attribute everything to Fate and to God. They also hold that "to act rightly or otherwise rests for the most part with men " - but that Fate co-operates. There is thus a belief in human free-will. They believe that the souls of the good are preserved in resurrection, while the souls of the wicked suffer eternal punishment. The bias of Josephus shows in his report of the affectionate and harmonious behaviour of the Pharisees among themselves.

In another passage, Ant. 18.1.3 : 12-15, Josephus mentions their influence in the conduct of divine worship, as well as with the people generally. This is not, however, borne out in the historical context, where Hyrcanus suppressed their activities. Only later, under Salome Alexandra, did they have significant political power.

An important piece of information is that the Pharisees had passed on to the people "certain regulations handed down by former generations and not recorded in the Law of Moses, for which reason they are rejected by the Sadducean group". They are known as a "group of Jews priding itself on its adherence to ancestral custom." (Grabbe 1992 : 469 f).

Information about the Pharisees in the New Testament is problematic, as they appear mainly as foils for Jesus. Some indication of Pharisaic legalistic position does, however, occur within the gospels, such as ritual purity regarding meals (Mark 2 : 16-17), Sabbath observance (Mark 3 : 1 - 6) and tithing (Luke 11 :42). They endeavoured to translate the priestly Temple purity regulations into their own daily lives.

Rabbinic sources possibly referring to Pharisees and Sadducees are difficult to evalutate as they were redacted long after 70 CE and it cannot be determined to what extent any genuine pre-70CE material is reflected, or what has been "written-back" in the light of later Rabbinic perception.

The picture which emerges from the sources is of a group having the support of the masses, but possibly themselves from the middle and priestly classes. They were particularly concerned with halakhic matters and transmission of the oral tradition as well as the written Torah. Passages about their political and Temple authority are not well documented. (Grabbe 1999 : 59f).

2.5.2. Sadducees.

Our knowledge of the Sadducees stems from the same sources, which were generally hostile to them. Josephus considers them to be boorish and rude (War 2.8.14 :166). In Ant.13.10.6 :298 he mentions that they only consider

the written Torah to be valid, and not the oral tradition accepted by the Pharisees.

The New Testament associates the Sadducces with the High Priest, as being of his entourage (Acts. 5 :17). They had a prominent place in the Sanhedrin. By introducing the controversial subject of the resurrection, Paul was able to cause dissent between the Pharisaic and Sadducean members of the Council. (Acts 23 : 6-10). The Sadducees appear to have been politically-minded, with some measure of priestly connection, with similar religious conservatism. Josephus places them in the upper economic class. (Grabbe 1992 : 484 f).

Otzen (quoting William Buehler 1974 : The Pre-Herodian Civil War : Basel.pp.70-94) suggests that the Sadducees were of the new monied aristocracy with business interests, rather than the old hereditary upper class, which would account for their co-operation with the Hasmoneans and later rulers. Their nationalism took the form of Hellenization and foreign trade contact, rather than particularistic isolationism. Their contradictory religious conservatism was possibly in reaction to perceived destabilizing currents occasioned by the evolving halakhah of the Pharisees and the speculation of apocalypticism. (Otzen 1990 : 113-4).

2.5.3. The Essenes.

Information on the Essenes (prior to the Dead Sea Scroll material) comes from the Jewish writers, Josephus and Philo, and the Roman writer, Pliny. All agree that they were a free association of individuals. Josephus mentions them at the time of Jonathan Maccabee (161 - 143 BCE), as an established group (Ant. 13.171-72). The Jewish writers present them as a widespread phenomenon in communities throughout Palestine, with over four thousand members. They separated themselves within the wider community and maintained a distinctive lifestyle. Josephus mentions four individuals who were apparently engaged in urban occupations, for example, John, the Essene "was sent to the toparchy of Thamma" (Wars 2.567), thus he was serving in a military capacity. Philo also attests to their "active life".

Pliny, in contrast to the Jewish writers, speaks of the Essenes as an isolated group near the Dead Sea and archeology has revealed only a small settlement at Qumran.

Although there are points of agreement between the two descriptions, the differences could be consistent with the Roman author giving attention and emphasis to an extraordinary community for the interest of his Hellenistic readers, while the Jewish writers included the "parent" body within the scope of inclusive Judaism of the time.

The Qumran sect, viewed as an extreme breakaway body from the larger Essene movement, and who isolated themselves, because of ideological differences, to a remote settlement in the desert, will be dealt with more fully in the following chapter.
(Boccaccini 1998 : 21 f.)

2.5.4. <u>Revolutionary, Dissident and Popular Movements</u>.

In post-exilic Judaism, in the absence of the monarchy, Judea, according to Josephus, was a theocracy, that is, it was ruled by God. In actual fact the Persian authorities allowed the Temple hierarchy a large degree of autonomy as long as they worked within the requirements of Persian rule and acted as agents for the occupying power. The Council which supported the High Priest was initially composed of the leading priests as well as members of the hereditary aristocracy (that is, the later Sadducees). Scribes, by virtue of their literacy and expertise, were also part of the Council.

The middle-class became extensive in the favourable economic circumstances brought about by increased trade and contact with surrounding countries. Apart from the rural farmers there also developed a body of urban merchants, artisans, court officials and a large group

of lesser priests. At first this group did not have much
political or religious power, but with the later emergence
of the Pharisaic party the middle-class wielded more
influence.

In spite of the apparent prosperity, however, there
was the potential for social unrest, which later impacted
negatively on the middle-class. As the upper-class became
increasingly wealthy, by trade, they bought up more land,
often displacing the smaller owners, leading to a move
to the towns and consequent unemployment.

During the last two centuries of the old era there
was considerable political unrest, with successive
occupying powers. Taxation became oppressive. With
the weakening of the economic base of some of the middle-
class, there arose a substantial lower class who were
landless and therefore reduced to day-labour to exist.
There was thus an underlying current of social unrest,
which, coupled with political instability and religious
unease, held the potential for the emergence of
revolutionary movements and dissident groups. By the
Roman period there were several such movements of far
greater complexity than would appear from Josephus'
designation of a "Fourth Philosophy".
(Otzen 1990 47-53).

The position of the peasantry was increasingly being debased by economic pressure. Subsistence depended on owning a small plot of land, but many had been displaced, often due to inability to pay excessive taxes and tithes. Taxes to the Herodian rulers were used for government support and the maintenance of mercenary troops and bureaucrats, all of whom were seen to be oppressors. Much of the revenue was used to further Hellenistic cultural projects such as new buildings. Tithes which went to the Temple treasury were accumulated rather than being used to relieve the plight of the common people, and the priestly aristocracy were seen to be equally as oppressive as the Roman authorities. (Horsley 1986 : 18-20).

According to Josephus, the main defining factor of the "Fourth Philosophy" was extreme opposition to foreign rule. As described in Ant.18 :23, they acknowledged only God as their ruler and Lord. They regarded themselves as active defenders of Judaism, having a great passion for liberty, and they considered that paying taxes to the Romans was a form of slavery. (Ant. 18 : 4-10). Josephus describes the group as deriving from Judas the Galilean. The troubles in Galilee went back to the time of Herod the Great, when a revolt was led by a certain Ezekias, apparently a prominent Galilean with a substantial following from the lower classes.

Ezekias was caught and executed but the unrest continued. Some historians assume that the Judas who was responsible for later uprisings was his son.

At the time when Quirinius ordered a census in Palestine for tax purposes, it seems that "Judas the Galilean" was actively involved in a revolt against it, during which he was killed. However, his influence continued and, possibly under direct descendants of his, several rebellious groups were active in the country areas and later also in Jerusalem. (Otzen 1990 :127-8).

The term "zealot" has come to be used to designate any revolutionary group before the fall of Jerusalem, but Josephus uses it in a more specific sense. At the time of the revolt against Rome in 68 CE Josephus mentions the Zealots who seem to be an amalgamation of several groups of "social bandits". Josephus often uses the term "bandit" to denote troublesome groups. The motivation for these bands was a combination of socio-economic need and religious fervour against oppressive policies and foreign domination. The Zealots came to Jerusalem at the time of Vespasian's advance. There was initially internal fighting among various Jewish groups, but they amalgamated against the Romans, mostly being killed. (Grabbe 1992 : 500, 512).

Another revolutionary group mentioned by Josephus is that of the Sicarii. (War 7 :10:1). There is discussion among scholars as to whether they were a more extreme section of the Zealots or whether they were a separate association. Their name comes from "sica" which was a type of dagger, and they specialized in assassinating Jewish officials who were seen as collaborators with the Roman administration. They attacked property, kidnapped, killed and looted. Their aim was to destabilize Roman rule and they succeeded in causing considerable chaos. Under Menachem, a descendant of Judas the Galilean, they were for a time active in Jerusalem in 66CE, but after his death the survivors fled to Masada. (Grabbe 1992 : 500-1).

Antagonism to the ruling authorities was not all necessarily violent. The social inequalities and general climate of political unrest also gave rise to popular prophetic movements. They were active in the first century and were not apparently associated with any particular literate group, but appeared to be from the common people. (Horsley 1986 : 6)

The oracular prophets were individuals who gave predictions of divine judgment and salvation, referring to their current situation. They confined their activities to denouncing the perpetrators of abuse. There were also others, however, mentioned by Josephus, such as Theudas (Ant.20:5.1) and "the Egyptian" (War 2:261) who were

leaders of substantial movements and whose potential for
violence brought retribution from the Romans. These
leaders promised their followers an anticipated
participation in a great liberating act of God.
(Horsley 1986 : 6).

Horsley (1986 : 13) contends that these movements were
active among the discontented common people who looked for
a more equitable and just social order. From the size of
the movements one can assume that the feeling of
alienation was widespread. According to Josephus (War
2.261) "the Egyptian" had thirty thousand followers.

2.5.5. Other Groups.

The Herodians are mentioned in the New Testament.
In Mark 3 :6 the New English Bible translation calls them
"the partisans of Herod", while 12 : 13 refers to them as
"men of Herod's party", as does Matt. 22 : 16. There is
controversy among scholars as to whether the Herodians
were merely members of Herod's household or whether they
were a political party. There is also a view that they
were any supporters of Herod, not necessarily of his court
officials or of an organized party. (Grabbe 1992 : 502).

Although situated in Egypt, the sect of the
Therapeutae, described by Philo, has been linked to the
Essenes. In contrast to the Essenes, who lived an active
life, the Therapeutae devoted themselves to a

contemplative life. They renounced private property and
lived a hermit-like desert existence, engaged in scripture
study and meditation and were devoted to obedience to the
Law. (Lohse 1993 : 88).

2.6. Literature of Early Judaism.

2.6.1. Temple and Synagogue.

The Old Testament was a vital component of Early
Judaism. All known groups accepted the Pentateuch, some
exclusively, for instance the Samaritans. It is often
asserted that the Sadducees also accepted only the
Pentateuch as canonical, but this may be due to their
rejection of the belief in angels and spirits.
(Grabbe 1992 : 486).

Large sections of the Prophets and writings were
accepted by much of Judaism, as supplementing the
Pentateuch, but as the canon was still fluid until after
the destruction of Jerusalem, it is difficult to know
exactly the status ascribed to the various books. What
are now considered extra-Biblical writings, such as
apocalyptic and pseudepigraphic works, were apparently
taken as divine revelation by some Jews, but Temple
practice was regulated by the Pentateuch, as defining
the cult. (Grabbe 1992 : 542-3).

Torah provided not only the legal code by which Jews were bound, covering cultic and ethical behaviour, but also the narrative framework which entrenched their relationship to God by means of election and covenant. From this special status as chosen people developed the characteristics of Judaism such as circumcision, Sabbath observance, purity regulations regarding food and personal conduct, and the observance of the cult, with its rituals and festivals. Everything needed for salvation was contained in the Pentateuch. (Grabbe 1992 : 528 f).

As large numbers of the population were illiterate, their knowledge of the Scriptures would have come from Temple and synagogue attendance, from local teachers or within the family by paternal guidance.

2.6.2. Wisdom Literature.

The world-view of the Biblical Wisdom writers of Proverbs and some of the psalms is that creation is characterized by an essential order, which is the handiwork of God. In an attempt to come to terms with daily living, human beings seek to uncover this divine order and fit into it. They have the capacity to discover the supreme order, but human wisdom is subordinate to the control of God. Proverbs 9:10 states "To be wise you must first obey the Lord." The "wise" acknowledge God's authority and participate in his order. The "foolish",who disregard the laws, disrupt God's order.

Although Job and Qohelet operated within this same philosophical framework, they reflect an opposition to the assumption that the good will always prosper and the wicked will not. (Loader 1986 : 108 f.)

2.6.2.1. <u>Ben Sira</u>.

Ben Sira wrote in approximately 180 BCE, in the period of Hellenistic influence and when the earlier apocalyptic portions of 1 Enoch (Watchers and the Astronomical Book) were in existence. Ben Sira confronted the apocalyptic ideas and some of his themes included the relationship between Wisdom and the Law, the question of the origin of evil and the freedom of the human being to choose to follow God's will or not.

Whereas Job and Qohelet suggest that reason may be used to judge God's actions, Ben Sira questions human rationalism. "All Wisdom is from the Lord" (1:1) He says, however, that Wisdom goes to those who fear the Lord. (1:16). If one keeps the Law, God will bestow Wisdom(1:26). In 6:37 he advises "Ponder the decrees of the Lord and study his commandments at all times." Ben Sira gives no credence to "divination, omens and dreams" which are all futile (34 :5). The Law is a manifestation of Wisdom, within history. Wisdom itself is pre-existent. "Wisdom was first of all created things,intelligent purpose has been there from the beginning." (1:4).

By choosing to keep the Law, Wisdom will be given as a
gift.

"When he made man in the beginning, he left him free
to take his own decisions;

if you choose you can keep the commandments. Whether
or not you keep faith is yours to decide." (15:14-15).

Ben Sira is sure that humankind lives in an ordered
universe. "His works endure, all of them active for ever,
and all responsive to their various purposes" (15:23). In
the Enochic tradition, on the other hand, one concept is
that the original total order of the universe has been
corrupted, although God will eventually destroy evil and
display his authority.

Ben Sira acknowledges the ambivalence of human nature,
there being both good and bad instincts within the
individual. God's help is needed to overcome the power of
evil, but Ben Sira finds this within the Law and the
theology of the Covenant. His exhortation in 4 :28 "Fight
to the death for truth and the Lord God will fight on your
side" refers to the moral battle to uphold the precepts of
the Law and differs from the apocalyptic expectation of
the "End of Days". (Boccaccini 1991 : 80f).

Ben Sira held to the view that reward and punishment
would occur in this world. The repentent sinner would
receive mercy. The unrepentent would not prosper.

Whether the End of Days was seen prophetically as God's intervention within the world, or apocalyptically, as a final cosmic re-creation, the balance between God's judgment and his mercy and the question of individual responsibility as against determinism exercised the speculative concerns of Early Judaism. (Otzen 1990 : 76f).

2.6.3. Apocalypticism.

2.6.3.1. Definition.

The term "apocalypse" will be used to define a particular literary genre. "Apocalypticism" denotes a distinctive world-view and "apocalyptic" will be used as an adjective to describe this world-view and the eschatology and praxis which derives from it.

There is on-going discussion about what precisely constitutes an apocalypse and apocalypticism. Collins (1998 : 4f) analyses the definition arrived at in SEMEIA 14 in 1979.

"An apocalypse is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world."

The narrative framework discloses the manner of revelation, for instance by visions (often in historical

apocalypses, such as Daniel), or other-worldly journeys, linked to cosmological speculation. There is often the presence of an angel to interpret a vision or to act as a guide on an other-worldly journey. Whatever the revelation, it needs supernatural aid for interpretation. In Jewish apocalypticism the recipient of revelation is usually a venerable figure from the past, whose name is used pseudonymously, thus lending authority to the work.

The supernatural world is essential for an apocalypse. There is an important eschatological dimension, featuring judgment and destruction of the wicked. Unlike prophecy, this genre sees retribution after death. Exhortations and admonitions to the readers have a teaching function. The language used is usually symbolic rather than factual, using mythological and other allusions.

Apocalypticism acknowledges a hidden world of angels and demons which can affect humanity, which presupposes an element of dualism.

Apocalypses may have within them sub-genres, such as prayers, testaments and so on, and literary works which are not apocalypses may contain elements of an apocalyptic world-view, as, for instance, the Qumran War Scroll. (Collins 1998 : 4-13).

Russell (1992 : 13) elaborates on the differences between prophetic and apocalyptic eschatology. The former sees salvation in communal terms of a nation or a

righteous remnant within it, in this world, while the
latter perceives it in terms of the individual, with a
focus on a transcendent world, where the outcome will be
either bliss or condemnation, after judgment.

On the basis of an extended study of the components
of 1 Enoch, Sacchi (in Boccaccini 1991 : 130) identifies a
particular concept of the origin of evil, based on
contamination of humanity by rebellious angels before the
beginning of history. Boccaccini says "this is the
cornerstone on which and out of which the whole
apocalyptic tradition is built."

Deist (1982 : 13) considers that one should look
beyond classifying apocalypses in terms only of genre.
Following on the work of Hanson (1975 :The Dawn of
Apocalyptic) he looks to the historical matrix to find the
major themes of apocalyptic thought as they developed
among the powerless and disadvantaged. This sociological
approach seeks to take full cognizance of the total
cultural context of the phenomenon.

2.6.3.2. The Purpose of Apocalyptic Writings.

As apocalyptic writings and speculations commonly
appear in times of crisis, whether physically experienced
or mentally perceived, one of the aims is an exhortation
to react positively to such critical situations. Secrets
are revealed about cosmology and God's well-ordered

universe, to proclaim that God is totally in control of events and will at the End Time destroy all forces of evil and oppression. God has settled the course of history from creation and everything will occur according to his will. (Otzen 1990 : 155).

While apocalypses offer consolation and exhortation in time of crisis, the contents may vary in relation to the particular crisis involved. An apocalyptic writing may advocate a course of action, but this is not usually explicit, being conveyed by the world-view presented. Authority is given often by pseudonymity and the impression of "secrets revealed" by supernatural means, conveyed in involved symbolism. (Collins 1984 : 22). However, pseudonymity, though common, is not indispensible, and the main sectarian writings at Qumran do not rely on it. (Collins 1997 : 4).

2.6.3.3. <u>Derivation of Apocalypticism</u>.
Scholarly debate on this question is ongoing. Some of the theories are :

2.6.3.3.1. <u>Old Testament Prophecy</u>.

Earlier scholarship, for example H.H. Rowley (1963 : The Relevance of Apocalyptic), rather simplistically saw apocalypticism as a direct continuation of Old Testament prophecy, as both emphasized eschatology. However this evaluation did not give sufficient attention to the

complex constituents of apocalypticism.

(Otzen 1990 : 164).

Otto Plöger (1968 : Theocracy and Eschatology), quoted by Otzen (1990 : 165-166), also sees apocalypticism as deriving from Jewish prophetism, but with a group which arose in opposition to the priestly aristocratic establishment, and which built on the prophetic writings to present an eschatologically glorious future for the chosen, who were possibly powerless in the orthodox establishment.

Otzen (1990 : 167) discusses the views of P.D. Hanson (1975 : The Dawn of Apocalyptic). Hanson sees apocalypticism deriving from Old Testament prophecy, which showed two opposing parties in post-exilic Jewish society. There was the party governed by the priests (hierocratic) and an opposing faction - "the visionary heirs of Second Isaiah". This visionary group transposed the eschatological events expected by the prophets into a cosmic event, where the old world order would be destroyed and a new and better one would emerge. Hanson sees these apocalyptic ideas as having emerged from the historical situation within Judaism, and as providing an alternative ideology for the oppressed and alienated groups within Jewish society. Hanson uses sociological analysis in seeking the connection between historical situations and resultant apocalypticism which developed from prophecy.

Deist (1982 : 17 - 32) supplies additional arguments
to those of Hanson regarding the desirability of a fully
sociological approach to the derivation of apocalypticism.
In acknowledging the importance of the history of Israel
in the development of Jewish apocalypticism, however,
Deist goes further back historically in seeking the
causative features. He considers these to lie in the
"political, economic, social, religio-traditional and
other forces" which over many centuries, culminating in
sixth century post-exilic Judean Judaism, created a
specific atmosphere from which emerged the situations
conducive to apocalypticism. (Deist 1982 : 18).

Deist (1982 : 21) considers that the conflict which
gave rise to apocalypticism was far more complex than
between the hierocratic and visionary factions in sixth
century Judea. Differences occurred over a long period
between north and south, even before the split after the
death of Solomon, concerning both religious and political
orientation. After the fall of the northern kingdom,
refugees fled to the south and sided with anti-Zadokite
factions, including Isaiah, who opposed foreign contacts
and who already showed signs of expecting direct divine
intervention for deliverance.

Deist (1982 : 27) considers that, even at this
pre-exilic stage, there were opposing parties, namely
Zadokites, a pro-monarchical Deuteronomistic group

and prophetic circles. As the Zadokites retained power, there was a potential for frustration in other groups, eventually leading to apocalypticism. In the post-exilic period the Zadokites again emerged as the dominant force, prophecy appeared to be unfulfilled and the frustrations of marginalized groups remained.

The purpose of Deist's historical review is to indicate that apocalypticism goes beyond being a literary genre. It is also a mentality which has developed because of specific social conditions. (Deist 1982 : 32).

Although there are correspondences in apocalypticism to Old Testament prophetism, an essential component is missing in the latter, as there is no element of cosmological speculation. Prophetic eschatology is essentially based in this world, while apocalypticism sees a cosmic transformation with an expectation of resurrection and judgment. (Collins 1998 : 23-24).

2.6.3.3.2. <u>Old Testament Wisdom Literature</u>.

Gerard von Rad (1972 : Wisdom in Israel), quoted by Otzen (1990 :168-169), maintains that apocalyptic literature has more in common with the Wisdom tradition than with the prophetic. His view is based on their respective approaches to history. That of the prophetic school is based on salvation history (covenant and election) while the Wisdom tradition is more interested

in the divinely ordained world order, which is a prominent
feature in apocalypticism. The Wisdom tradition is based
on intellectual speculation, which fits well with the
concern of the apocalypticist in understanding the total
cosmos and its divinely appointed order. Von Rad
considers the eschatological dimension (not present in
Wisdom writings) to have evolved later in apocalypticism,
deriving from Persian influence.   (Otzen 1990 : 168-169).

Otzen (1990 : 169) refers to the presence of ethical
teaching in both Wisdom literature and in apocalyptic
writings. This derives from the fact that one who has
studied the creations of God and sees an inherent order
within them is receptive to the authority which is seen to
be underlying the universe. Otzen (1990 : 170) prefers to
see apocalypticism as an amalgam of various influences
including prophetism, Wisdom, as well as non-Jewish
components.

In Proverbs and Ben Sira wisdom is obtained by
induction, whereas in apocalypticism it is revelational.
However, von Rad's theory does place emphasis on cosmology
and speculation and does not reduce apocalypticism purely
to its eschatological component.
(Collins 1998 : 21).

2.6.3.3.3. Non-Judaic Influences.

Babylonian scribalism in the Hellenistic period had
wide-ranging interests in dreams and visions, as well
as in the ordering of creation, astronomy, cosmology and
the interpretation of oracles and omens. Although it
retained its own essential orientation, Judaic
apocalypticism could well have been influenced by its
Babylonian associations and by Hellenistic ideas
prevalent throughout the Mediterranean area.
(Russell 1992 : 21-22).

Although Jewish apocalypticism does share certain
key features with Persian writings, such as periodization
of history, resurrection, supernatural forces of good
and evil and ex eventu prophecy, the uncertainty regarding
the dating of the Persian works makes direct comparison
problematic. The Jewish apocalypses had their own
particular identity. The pseudonymous authors were
mostly from Biblical history and Biblical tradition
formed the basis of the writings even when they bore
the imprint of ideas common in the Hellenistic age.
(Collins 1998 : 32-36).

Thus Jewish apocalypticism cannot be linked merely
to one source. It owes certain features to prophetic
inheritance, but there are also aspects of Wisdom
tradition, as well as traces of a long period of contact
with surrounding cultures.(Otzen 1990 : 170).

2.6.3.4. <u>Important Motifs in Apocalypticism</u>.

Despite considerable variation in attempts to

isolate the main characteristics of apocalypticism,

certain features stand out as being of primary

importance, a defining feature being dualism.

Dualism is by no means unique to apocalypticism.

It appears in prophetic and Wisdom writings (the

wise/righteous versus foolish/wicked) as well as

in Persian writings. However, unlike the Persian

concept of absolute dualism between good and evil,

in Jewish theological thinking the dualism, even

in the apocalyptic tradition, always remains relative,

in that God will at all times remain in control of

the total creation, and evil forces will ultimately

be obliterated.   (Russell 1992 : 104).

2.6.3.4.1. <u>Cosmic Dualism</u>.

This concept recognizes the vast separation

between God and humankind, and between heaven and

earth. The Almighty God, who would ultimately judge

all living creatures, lives in splendour in the

realm of light with his holy angels. However, in

spite of the transcendence of God, apocalypticism

creates bridges between humanity through revelations

to certain selected people, who are to convey "secret"

knowledge to the chosen readers. The revelations may take
the form of dream visions or other-worldly journeys,
mediated by angels, as for instance in the Enochic
literature.

Within cosmic dualism is also the opposition
presented to God by the forces of evil or darkness,
personified by Satan (or Belial or Beliar). Because of
Jewish monism, however, these forces are depicted as
fallen angels, who chose to oppose God, but who would
eventually be destroyed at God's will.
(Russell 1992 : 104-105, Otzen 1990 : 171-184).

2.6.3.4.2. Ethical Dualism.

Jewish understanding was that human beings were torn
between two worlds, the good and the evil. Not only
are they attacked from without by the forces of Satan,
but they have within themselves a battleground between
good and evil desires. The Hellenistic concept of
the dichotomy between body and soul posited that the
body was inherently evil and acted as an earthly prison
for the soul, which,in turn, was the reflection of God
in the human being. The body had to be subdued to
release the soul to salvation. Jewish belief, on the
other hand, was that body and soul were one entity
created by God.

In the Wisdom tradition, humanity is capable of free

choice between good and evil, aided by adherence to the

Law. In apocalypticism the concept is that each person is

made exactly as God ordains, but is endowed with

conflicting spirits, the proportion of which determines

whether the individual belongs to the Children of Light or

the Children of Darkness. (Otzen 1990 : 185-190).

Within this dualism, tension arises between the extent

of free-will and the degree of predetermination applicable

to human individuals. To what extent is the battle

between good and evil played out within the human being

and how much is the individual's behaviour conditioned by

outside forces ? (Russell 1992 : 115).

2.6.3.4.3. Eschatological Dualism.

Eschatological expectations were a feature of Judaism

but they differed according to whether the orientation was

prophetic or apocalyptic.

Within the prophetic understanding, God was actively

engaged with his people throughout history. Catastrophic

events were interpreted as God's judgment and punishment

for infidelity and turning away from the covenant. Such

events were not necessarily final, but could be reversed

when the people repented. Deliverance was seen as

occurring within an earthly context. Having suffered

judgment and punishment (often by attack by foreign

powers), Israel would re-establish its special

relationship with God, earthly enemies would be overcome

and peace and harmony restored. These prophetic views conformed to the dualistic pattern of an opposition between past and present, with a significant change at the turning point. (Otzen 1990 : 191).

The dualism of the apocalyptic writers was more radical.   They saw the eschaton as being the complete ending of the present worldly order, to be replaced by the Kingdom of God on a super-human plane. This led to speculation as to the nature of this alternative environment, possibly influenced by the preoccupation of the Wisdom tradition with details of cosmic order.

What emerged was an interest in the determination of periods of history, seen as preordained. The end of history was seen as the victory of the powers of good over those of evil, but this would be preceded by cataclysmic events and judgment.   The apocalyptic interest in historical periods was largely concerned with determining when the End Time would occur and usually situating the author's present situation within the last phase.

In apocalyptic writings "this age" is often considered to be under the dominion of Satan, the perfect world having been contaminated at an early stage by angelic sin. The triumph of God would restore creation to its original pristine state. (Otzen 1990 : 195).

Messianic expectation in Early Judaism in the prophetic tradition focused on an ideal earthly king,

who would defeat traditional enemies and restore Israel to supremacy. In the apocalyptic works, the messiah has a relatively unimportant role, possibly appearing to announce the Kingdom of God, which God himself will bring into being.

In conjunction with the idea of final judgment is the concept of the resurrection of the dead. In early Israelite belief, a person lived on through his descendants, but the later reasoning was that an individual would, after death, have to account for his personal actions. In early Judaism there were varied speculations regarding this concept. However in the apocalyptic tradition, the dead, both righteous and sinful, would be resurrected in order to face judgment at the end of time. The evil, unrighteous would then be totally destroyed. (Otzen 1990 : 190 f).

2.6.3.5. The Setting for Apocalypticism.

Although by definition apocalypses have certain common features, it cannot be assumed that they were produced by a single movement. It is generally conceded that they arose from some form of crisis situation, whether actual or perceived. (Collins 1998 : 37-38).

There is no consensus as to the identity of apocalyptic groups within Judaism in the post-Maccabean

period. The theory of Otto Plöger (in Otzen 1990 : 165) is
that there was a dichotomy in post-exilic Judaism between
the "establishment" of the priestly and lay aristocracy,
who represented the status quo of priestly authority, and
another group interested in prophetic writings and
influenced by Persian dualism, who were socially and
religiously excluded from the power base. This group was
less interested in the Law and the cult than in an ideal
world, in opposition to their present perceived exclusion
- thus apocalypticism. However he fails to identify this
group exactly.

Berquist (1995 : 184-5) locates apocalypticism more
specifically in the scribal class in Jerusalem. They
occupied a lesser social position than the wealthy,
privileged sector which they served, and they perceived
themselves to be deprived. Apocalyptic literature had a
sophisticated and erudite form, including a knowledge of
international history, which would fit well into the
competence of this group, who possibly saw apocalypticism
as a means of social protest.

According to Otzen (1990 : 167) Hanson (1975 : The
Dawn of Apocalyptic) also sees a group in opposition to
the Temple establishment, but regards them as an extension
of Old Testament prophecy, where the expectation of divine
intervention has shifted from an earthly to a cosmic
plane, possibly influenced by Canaanite-Israelite

mythologies, where eschatology became the chief motif among oppressed and alienated groups in Jewish society.

These theories site the beginnings of apocalypticism well before the Antiochene crisis. Several scholars have linked apocalypticism with the later "Hasidim", but knowledge of this pious group is limited to three references in I and II Maccabees. They initially supported the Hasmoneans, but later withdrew their support. (Russell 1992 : 30-32).

Boccaccini (1998 : 71-79) equates what he calls Enochic Judaism with the greater Essene movement described by Josephus and Philo, and from which the Qumran community later broke away. This Enochic group is identified as the main opposition to "mainstream" Judaism in the post-Maccabean period. They had close associations with apocalyptic literature, centred on I Enoch and similar writings, which saw the advent of evil on earth in the contamination of the world by angelic sin.

Although there is no consensus regarding the precise time-frame of the emergence of apocalypticism nor the exact identity of its adherents, the tensions between those who held to the Law and the cult and those who sought an alternative are reflected in the literature of Early Judaism, which indicated the diversity of the period, socially and theologically.

2.6.3.6. <u>The Book of Daniel</u>.

The book of Daniel is the only apocalyptic book included in the Old Testament canon as we have it now. The Greek translations include four additional passages, not found in the Hebrew, these being the so-called apocryphal books of Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, the prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three.

Not only does Daniel consist of two disparate sections, but it is also bilingual in Hebrew and Aramaic, although the language and content divisions do not co-incide. Although the book purports to emanate from Jewish exiles in Babylon in the sixth century BCE, modern scholarship dates the first six chapters not earlier than the Hellenistic period, and the later chapters, 7 to 12, to the Maccabean period, provoked by the persecutions of Antiochus IV. (Collins 1984 : 28-29).

The first six chapters of Daniel are in the nature of folk-tales, which have been adapted for the purposes of the writer.

Initially relations between the Jews and the Gentile kings are cordial, but later deteriorate, giving a thread of unity between the early tales and the later apocalyptic section. Chapter 2 contains the story of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. Because of superior wisdom revealed by God to Daniel, he is able to fulfil the king's impossible request for the interpretation of his undisclosed dream. The key

to Daniel's success is his determined piety in the foreign milieu of the Babylonian court. Daniel himself receives his enlightenment through a vision, which ties in with the later apocalyptic theme, but also with general belief in the Ancient Near East that dreams were a means of communication between humanity and divinity. The theme of the four kingdoms equates with the apocalyptic idea of the division of history into epochs, which was also, however, a common theme in traditional folk-lore. The crux of the story is that God will destroy earthly kingdoms. "He will establish a kingdom which will never be destroyed." (Dan. 2 : 44).

The remaining stories in the first six chapters serve to present a similar viewpoint. The tale of the fiery furnace upholds those who obey the Law and put their trust in God. In both the story of the king's madness and Belshazzar's feast, the king is indicted for idolatry. However, God is superior to any king and can direct the course of history to save his faithful people. (Collins 1984 : 27f).

Although the early chapters appear to be different from the visions in the later chapters, there are themes which have anticipatory significance. Daniel is portrayed as a wise man, as are the "wise leaders of the nation" in 11 : 34. Both sections contain stories of Jewish encounters with Gentile kings and the later persecution

is anticipated in the fiery furnace and the lion's den.
Wisdom is presented as revelation by God, who protects his
faithful followers. (Collins 1998 : 90).

While it is possible that the tales in the first six
chapters may have been of Diaspora origin, the later
chapters can be definitely set in the period of Antiochene
persecution. They take the form of mostly ex eventu
historical apocalyptic prophecies and the author(s) would
have found the earlier stories appropriate to their
purpose. The visions "predict" that the four kingdoms of
oppression would be replaced by the Kingdom of God.
History has been predetermined by God and the end is
imminent, with an intimation of resurrection (12 : 2).

The authors belonged obviously to the learned classes,
and had a good knowledge of history and mythology.
However, it would seem, from their viewpoint, that they
did not belong to the Wisdom tradition of Ben Sira, who
stood in opposition to their views on the validity of
dream interpretation. (Collins 1984 : 34f).

Daniel does, however, uphold the legitimacy of the
Torah and puts the degeneration of history down to the
Jewish people breaking the Mosaic covenant. (Ch.9). This
is at variance with Enochic writings, which see sin as an
external force, precipitated by angelic sin. (Boccaccini
1998 : 84).

There is some affinity with the prophetic tradition as regards interest in eschatology, although the differences remain between the setting of prophetic earthly and apocalyptic cosmic eschatological expectations. The authors appear to have been quietists, not advocating violent opposition to the occupying powers but using the medium of apocalyptic visions to give encouragement to those who were oppressed. (Collins 1984 : 34f).

Interpretation of the "one like a son of man" in Chapter 7 continues to evoke controversy. This image may be taken to represent the Kingdom of God, which will succeed the heathen world empires. (Otzen 1990 : 161). Alternatively, there is the theory that the reference is to an angelic being, possibly Michael, as symbolizing supernatural support for Israel. However, it is only in later writings that the figure was related to a superhuman messianic figure. (Collins 1998 : 103).

2.6.3.7. I Enoch.

This body of writings is generally known as Ethiopic Enoch, as the only existing copy of the complete text is in the Ethiopic version. There are also partial texts in Greek, Latin and Syriac. At least a portion of each of the books, except the Similitudes, has been found at Qumran, written in Aramaic, providing the earliest known copies of I Enoch. (Reddish 1995 : 41-42).

The enigmatic figure of Enoch, who appears briefly in Genesis 5 : 18-24, forms the basis for a body of apocalyptic literature. The work known as I Enoch actually consists of five books, written at different times, by different authors. Enoch is named as the seventh in line from Adam and some scholars see analogies to the Mesopotamian myth of Enmeduranki, who was associated with the sun god and who was a receiver of revelations. However, Enoch developed as a Jewish character who, having been mysteriously "taken by God" was well qualified to reveal heavenly mysteries. Significantly he existed before Moses, and his association is with primordial history rather than with the historical tradition of Israel. (Collins 1998 : 44 f.).

2.6.3.7.1. The Astronomical Book (I Enoch 72 - 82) is considered to be the oldest section, dating possibly as early as the late third or early second century BCE.

Much of the book is devoted to cosmological speculation which reflects the order of the universe, as disclosed to Enoch by the angel Uriel in a heavenly journey. However, the book also supports the 364-day solar calendar, which is a subject of interest in Jubilees and the Qumran scrolls. This calendar was regarded as essential for the proper observance of cultic festivals. The beginning of the book also introduces eschatological concerns.

The regulations of the heavenly bodies was to be "until the new creation shall be made which will last forever". (72 :1).   Further details of disruptions, which will occur at the End Time, occur in Chapter 80.

Having gained knowledge from the "tablets of heaven", Enoch is returned temporarily to earth to pass on his testimony to his son Methuselah, before he is finally taken up to heaven. The revelations, largely concerned with preventing calendrical error, are given authority in that they have been mediated by the angel Uriel. (Collins 1998 : 59 f, VanderKam 1995 : 17 f).

2.6.3.7.2. The Book of the Watchers : 1 Enoch 1 - 36.

This is also one of the oldest Enochic books, probably dating from the first half of the second century BCE.   It is a composite book, possibly with different authors for the various sections. There are three main sections, although some scholars identify more.

Chapters 1 - 5 form an introduction. Enoch claims to have seen a "holy vision in the heavens which the angels showed to me". The fate of the sinners and the righteous is described. "The Holy and Great One" will appear with a heavenly host on Mount Sinai, amid catastrophic scenes of destruction, for a final judgment. "For the righteous he will make peace and he will keep safe the chosen and mercy will be upon them." (2 : 8). The "impious" will be destroyed. There is thus an eschatological motif,

consistent with apocalypticism. The rest of the
Introduction is more in line with Wisdom writings. In the
description of natural events, such as the progression of
the seasons, the writer notes "all his works serve him and
do not change, but as God has decreed so everything is
done". (5 :12). The wicked are portrayed as those who
have not "persevered" nor observed the law of the Lord.
(5 : 4). This does not relate to the Law of Moses given
at Sinai, but to the natural law which pre-dated the
Mosaic covenant. The wisdom which is given here is
through supernatural revelation, in accordance with
apocalyptic thought. (Collins 1998 : 48-49).

Chapters 6 - 16 tell the story of the "Watchers",
which is an elaboration of Genesis Chapter 6. Two
versions of the story have been integrated. One account
places the sin of the Watcher angels as sexual intercourse
with women, resulting in the production of giants. The
other account names their sin as the revelation of
heavenly secrets to humanity, with resultant depravity.
"And the world was changed. And there was great impiety
and much fornication, and they went astray and their ways
were corrupt." (8 : 1b - 2).

Because of the wickedness in the world, God pronounced
judgment in the form of a flood. All the wickedness was
to be wiped out and only Noah and his family would
survive. The End Time would bring peace and prosperity.

And all the sons of man shall be righteous, and all the
nations shall serve and bless me, and all shall worship
me." (10 : 21). (Reddish 1995 : 144).

The story of the Watchers reflects some sort of
crisis, possibly in relation to cultural change, such as
the influence of Hellenization. As the real or perceived
crisis is not specifically indicated, the writing has
continued relevance and application to later situations,
as a means of relieving anxiety in line with apocalyptic
perspectives. (Collins 1998 : 51).

The story of the Watchers, relating the rebellion and
sin of the fallen angels, became an important motif in
apocalyptic writing, offering an explanation for the
defilement of creation and the origin of human sinfulness,
in opposition to the explanation implicit in the story of
the downfall of Adam and Eve. (VanderKam 1995 : 42).
Boccaccini (1998 : 12), quoting P. Sacchi, identifies this
"particular conception of evil, understood as an
autonomous reality antecedent to humanity's ability to
choose" as the defining concept in "Enochic Judaism."

In chapters 12 - 16 Enoch is asked to intercede with
God for the evil Watchers. In a subsequent vision, Enoch
is taken up to heaven to the actual throne room of God.
Enoch is instructed by God to pronounce judgment on the
Watchers, whose sin has alienated them forever from God.
The Watchers are to be imprisoned and their giant sons

destroyed, but their evil influence will live on as
spirits or demons. "And these spirits will rise against
the sons of men and against the women because they came
out of them." (15 : 12).

The description of God's dwelling is awesome, with the
improbable juxtaposition of fire and ice together,
emphasizing its mystical nature. The fact that Enoch was
taken into the presence of God, when the Watchers and
celestial angels were kept at a distance, would serve to
enhance the authority of Enoch as a recipient of a
revelation. (VanderKam 1995 : 47-48).

Chapters 17 to 36 describe the otherworldly journey of
Enoch. He is led by angel guides to the very ends of the
earth, inaccessible to other humans. He sees wonders such
as the storehouse of the winds, the foundations of the
earth, "the prison for the stars of heaven and the host of
heaven." The stars had not properly carried out their
functions in accordance with God's cosmological plan.
Chapter 19 refers to "the great judgment day" and there is
significant eschatological material in Chapters 21 - 23.
Enoch sees the beautiful places created so that the souls
of the dead may be gathered in and kept there until the
"great judgment comes upon them." (22 : 3,4). There is
also a place for sinners and it seems that all, both
righteous and sinners, will be judged at the End Time.
These scenes of punishment and reward have the purpose of

giving hope as far as the righteous are concerned, in that
ultimately the wicked will be destroyed. This is an
important apocalyptic theme relevant to a crisis
situation, whether in a political, social or religious
conflict. The orderliness of the creation would also give
confidence that God is in control. (Reddish 1995 :144-5).

Enoch is given wisdom, but in the apocalyptic
tradition it comes directly from revelation by God.
Enoch's disclosures have divine authority and can be taken
as reassurance to humanity that their place in the cosmos
is assured as part of God's overall plan.
(Collins 1998 : 58).

2.6.3.7.3. The Dream Visions (including the Animal
Apocalypse). Chapters 83 - 90.

This work may be dated to the time of the Maccabean
revolt, on the basis of 90 : 9-16, which describes a ram
with a great horn, believed to be Judas Maccabeus.

The first two chapters deal shortly with a vision
which Enoch had while still young. The vision shows the
coming destruction of the earth by flood, due to
humanity's sinfulness. When the disturbed Enoch relates
the vision to his grandfather, Malalel, he is advised,
because he himself is faithful, to pray to God that "a
remnant may be left on the earth, and that he may not wipe
out the whole earth." (83 : 7-8). On observing the wonders
of nature, Enoch is reassured that creation operates

according to divine law.   However evil human beings are to
be wiped out, as well as rebellious angels, so that a
righteous "seed-bearing plant" may survive. (VanderKam
1995 : 70-83).

The second vision, unrelated to the first, is ex
eventu prophecy, in which biblical history is related
allegorically, from creation to the coming of the
messianic kingdom. Various biblical figures are
represented by animals. The Israelites are first described
as cows, but later degenerate into sheep, and the Gentiles
are wild animals.   In this Animal Apocalypse Enoch does
not undertake a heavenly tour, but his vision is assisted
by the angels.   The evil Watchers are portrayed as fallen
stars.   The travails of human history come to an end with
the appearance of the Lord of the Sheep, who will execute
judgment and punishment on the wicked.   At the end, the
evil Watchers, the unfaithful shepherds and the "blind
sheep" (apostate Jews) are destroyed.   A "new house" will
be set up in which all the animals reside.   There is a
possible reference to resurrection of those who have been
destroyed. (90 : 33).   Finally the animals are transformed
into white bulls, which is the symbolism used initially
for Adam, thus signifying a new creation which is as pure
as the original one.

In 89 : 73 there is an apparent reference to the
rebuilding of the Temple. "They raised up a tower...

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and they began again to place a table before the tower,
but all the bread on it was unclean and not pure." This
is an indication that the cult of the post-exilic
restoration period was regarded as impure by some
Israelites. (Collins 1998 : 67 f, Reddish 1995 : 42-43).

2.6.3.7.4. The Apocalypse of Weeks. (Part of the Epistle
of Enoch).

This short distinct apocalypse is contained in 1 Enoch
93 : 1-10, concluding with 91 : 11-17. Dating is
problematic, but it could possibly be just before the
Maccabean revolt, taking account that it appears to have
been alluded to in the book of Jubilees. (Collins 1998:63)

Enoch has received a vision. This, together with the
words of angels and access to the "heavenly tablets",
provides the substance of his revelation. The form is
mostly ex eventu prophecy in which the whole of human
history is divided into ten "weeks" (possibly allied to
the Persian idea of the millennium). The author sees his
own "apostate generation" as being in the seventh week,
with the eschatological crisis imminent. Seven and
seventy have significance in apocalyptic eschatological
writings, underlying which is the importance of the
Sabbath and the Jubilee years, mentioned in Leviticus 25,
as part of the Torah. In historical apocalypses, such as
Apocalypse of Weeks, the idea of periodization reinforces

the concept of an ordered universe. At the end of the
seventh week "the chosen righteous from the eternal plant
of righteousness will be chosen, to whom will be given
sevenfold teaching concerning his whole generation".
(90:10).

During the eighth and ninth weeks righteousness
prevails and the wicked will be judged and destroyed - and
"all men will look to the path of uprightness." In the
tenth week the evil Watcher angels will be destroyed, the
"great eternal heaven" will appear and an endless era
of goodness and righteousness will prevail.

Although this apocalypse cannot be tied to a specific
crisis, it conveys that justice will ultimately triumph.
As the readers are assumed to be in the seventh week,
where the eschatological crisis is about to be resolved,
they are assured of a speedy end to their current
suffering, as part of God's overall plan.

Within the rest of the Epistle of Enoch the wicked are
condemned for their behaviour, including blasphemy and
idolatry. However, there appears to be a distinct social
context, the condemnation being against the rich who
oppress the weak and righteous. The oppression appears to
take place by stronger, wealthier members of Enoch's own
nation - "those who extend evil to neighbours (90 :
11-15). However, the spirits of the righteous "will
rejoice and be glad" and they will have joy like the

angels in heaven (104 : 4). This idea is similar to the
Qumran belief that the sectarians will become associates
of the heavenly host (in the Hodayot). (VanderKam 1995 :
92 f).

The Epistle differs from other Enochic literature in
one major respect in that in 98 : 4 it states "..so sin
was not sent on earth, but man of himself created it."
This appears to contradict the theory of the angelic
source of evil in the Watchers. (Collins 1998 : 69).

The fifth book of Enoch, the Similitudes, has not been
found at Qumran. It was probably produced during the
early part of the first century CE, which could account
for its absence.

The Enochic tradition differs in some significant
respects from Old Testament literature. It does not give
importance to the Temple sacrificial cult nor to the Law
of Moses, but places stress on the Day of Judgment. The
speculation regarding cosmology goes beyond what appears
in Wisdom literature.   (Russell 1992 : 42).

2.7. Summary.

During the post-exilic period, from the occupation of Israel by the Seleucids until the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 CE, the effects of Hellenization and social and political unrest caused realignment in Jewish society. Literature of the period gives an indication of polarization between those groups which centred their belief on the scrupulous adherence to the Law, and those which adopted an apocalyptic standpoint. The Wisdom tradition was mainly allied to those who kept to the Law but was largely directed towards pragmatic teaching. The Pharisees, probably of the middle class and lower priesthood, tried to observe, or even surpass, the purity and sanctity of the Temple in their own home environment. Also they espoused the oral tradition which laid down the precepts which would make Pentateuchal law applicable to their daily environment.

The Sadducees accepted the centrality of the Torah, but acknowledged the benefits of Hellenistic culture and economic advantage. They were apparently connected with the priestly aristocracy, but there appears to have been some change from old aristocracy to new commercially-based aristocracy during the period.

The Essenes, although not socially placed by Josephus, are said to "pretend to a severer discipline." (War 2.8.2:119).

The Zealots "had a zeal for the Law". There were also many among the peasantry and less privileged classes who obeyed the main precepts of Judaic Law, without entering into theological questioning.

Thus, within social and sectarian diversity in Judaism, there was acceptance of the centrality of the Law as contained in the Pentateuch and partial acceptance of the oral tradition.

However, from the extant literature, a different viewpoint can also be seen, which saw the hoped-for change in the status quo in apocalyptic terms and which did not necessarily have the Temple and the Law code given to Moses as their central focus. Thus, the two distinct poles of legalism and apocalypticism were present in Early Judaism, although the precise nature of the apocalyptic grouping cannot be determined with any precision. (Otzen 1990 : 154).

Some matters which have been identified within Early Judaism will be significant in considering the Dead Sea Community at Qumran. These include the centrality of the Law, election and covenant, Temple worship, position of the High Priest, and purity laws as an element of sectarian divisions.

Dualism in its various forms is an important motif. Cosmic dualism touches on the essential differences, but yet contact, between God and humankind, and also the

presence and derivation of opposing evil forces within the
cosmos. Ethical dualism highlights the tension between
human free-will and predetermination, as to whether
humanity chooses good or evil. Eschatological dualism
deals with expectations of a new world, dividing past and
present, with varied speculations as to its "this-worldly"
or "other-worldly" situation. The concepts of messianic
involvement, judgment and resurrection are some of the
themes encountered.

The Qumran community developed their own particular
strict halakhic rules, yet also adopted apocalyptic
eschatology, thus accommodating both poles within one
small, introverted society, as will be discussed below.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD OF THE

QUMRAN COMMUNITY

THREE : THE FORMATIVE PERIOD OF THE QUMRAN COMMUNITY

3.1. Historical and Social Background.

After the defeat of the Babylonian Empire by the
Persian king,Cyrus, in 539BCE, and following about fifty
years of exile, the Jewish deportees were allowed to
return home. They consisted mainly of the more important
citizens, such as priests, administrators and artisans,and
their return possibly disrupted the society of those who
had remained behind. The renewed state of Judah, centred
in Jerusalem, had limited autonomy under the Persian
state. The rebuilding of the Temple and the re-establish-
ment of the cult was completed around 516BCE, later
consolidated by Ezra and Nehemiah. (Otzen 1990:11-12).

In the absence of a monarchy, the priests gained more
influence and control over society as a whole and the
importance of the Temple grew, as it became a symbol of
the unity of the populace. It was also the centre of the
educated elite. It became the mark of God's presence in
the world and gave the people a sense of assurance and of
being the recipients of God's favour. The priests had much
power in that they controlled access to God, and they also
enjoyed substantial financial benefits. The rewriting of
the Pentateuch and the writing of Chronicles also served
to emphasize the importance of the priesthood.
(Berquist 1995 : 150-152).

However,this power within the priesthood also gave rise to alternative dissenting currents within the religion of Judaism, which later developed into parallel apocalyptic strains over and above the political upheavals and the social impact of Hellenization. (Berquist 1995:157).

Alexander the Great conquered the Persian Empire about 330 BCE, which set the scene for the spread of Hellenistic culture throughout the Ancient Near East, and its impact upon Jewish society. The reactions ranged from total rejection to partial acceptance of the new values, with varying degrees of cultural shock. (Otzen 1990 : 13).

In the division of the empire after the death of Alexander, Palestine came first under the control of the Ptolemaic Kingdom of Egypt, during which essentially peaceful time the high priest retained an influential position. However, at a later stage, the Ptolemaic authorities meddled in the appointment of the high priest, by installing one of the newly-rich aristocracy, Joseph son of Tobias, as high priest in place of Onias II.

Around 200 BCE the Seleucids took over power in Palestine under Antiochus III. Initially he granted several concessions, especially regarding taxes, but these were later withdrawn to fund Seleucid dues to the Romans, who were gaining power in the region.(Otzen 1990:13-16).

There were tensions within Judaism between those for
Hellenization and those against it, as well as socially
between the old hereditary and the new monied aristocracy.
The position of the high priest was also ambiguous as his
appointment had to be ratified by the Seleucids, so that
he owed some allegiance to them, but he also was the
recognized leader of the Jewish populace.   The high
priest Onias III was deposed in 175 BCE to be followed by
the Hellenizing Jason.   A little later Antiochus awarded
the high priesthood to Menelaos, who was a Seleucid
supporter, but who did not belong to the priestly lineage.
Jason, supported by orthodox Jews, attacked Jerusalem with
mercenaries in an attempt to regain the high priesthood,
which led to retribution by the Seleucids, the loss of
Jewish privileges, the confirmation of the position of
Menelaos and the construction of a Greek-style "polis"
adjacent to the Temple, thus opening up the sacred
precinct to foreign "pollution".(Otzen 1990 :22-23).

Antiochus IV in 167 BCE promulgated various "reforms"
consisting of prohibitions on the traditional exercise of
the Jewish religion.   However, he was possibly led to
these measures by the Hellenistic faction within Judaism
itself, notably Menelaos.   Temple sacrifices were
prohibited in favour of new, heathen offerings.   Sabbath
and festival observance was stopped, as was circumcision

and the possession of Jewish scriptures.

These measures were violently contested by the
Maccabean family, leading to the uprising against the
Seleucid authorities. Eventually, under Judas Maccabeus,
the Temple in Jerusalem was retaken and reconsecrated in
164 BCE. The general struggle continued. Alcimus, a
Seleucid supporter, was named high priest. After the
death of Judas Maccabeus the war was carried on by his
brother Jonathan, who, with Roman help, became high priest
in Jerusalem in 153 BCE. It was only in 142 BCE that
another brother, Simon Maccabeus, was able to overcome the
Syrian garrison in the Acra in Jerusalem, and Jewish
society attained virtual autonomy under the Syrian state.
Rome was now in the ascendant.(Otzen 1990 : 24-28).

Simon combined the office of high priest with the
secular rule of Jerusalem, and founded the Hasmonean
dynasty, which lasted until Rome took over Palestine.
Under his successors, John Hyrcanus (135 - 104 BCE) and
Alexander Jannaeus (103 - 76 BCE) Judah made significant
military gains in surrounding territories.

While struggling for religious freedom the Maccabees
(Hasmoneans) had enjoyed wide support from virtually the
whole Jewish people. However their assumption of the high
priesthood (not being of the line of priestly succession)
as well as their pragmatic Hellenizing policies and
ruthless suppression of opposition, led to bitter

opposition among conservative Jews. There was an
atmosphere of religious, political and social unrest,
which contributed to the Roman take-over in 63 BCE and to
internal schisms within Judaism. (Otzen 1990 : 30-32).

3.2. <u>Theories relating to the Qumranic Schism</u>.

The early theory, that Qumran represented the main
Essene body, caused difficulties both regarding the
evidence of the classical writers and the apparent
discrepancies between the Damascus Document and the
Community Rule. Despite various attempts to "harmonize"
the evidence, seeing Qumran as the central or only
provenance of the Essenes has led to problems in
reconciling divergent accounts from the various sources.

"The Qumran-centric vantage point from which the
evidence of the Scrolls was being interpreted from the
earliest phase of Qumran studies has been a major factor
in establishing the view that we are dealing with a
'fringe' phenomenon." (Hempel 1997 : 46).

These early theories of Qumran have in recent years
been subjected to considerable revision in the light of
wider access to documents and new archeological
considerations. There has been movement away from the
earlier hypothesis that Qumran was the main Essene

centre, with possible off-shoots outside the settlement
itself. The new trend is to see the Qumran community as
having broken away from a larger body within Judaism, to
form a more radical, even fanatical, group. (See 3.2.1. to
3.2.8. below).

If the hypothesis of two different groups of Essenes is
accepted, many difficulties may be resolved. Philo and
Josephus present the Essenes as a wide-spread, relatively
large, free association within Judaism. They took part in
communal life to some extent, while observing a strict
lifestyle according to their own halakhic regulations.
They were by no means a completely isolated, introverted
group, and were active in Jerusalem, as well as being
spread in towns and villages. (Garcia Martinez 1995:11).
Josephus first mentions the Essenes at the time of
Jonathan Maccabeus, but does not give details of their
origins.(Ant.13:171-172). He puts their numbers at 4,000.

In contrast, the Roman writer, Pliny, speaks of an
isolated small group situated near the Dead Sea, who,
among other things, were celibate and who held all goods
in common. Archeologists have excavated a settlement at
Qumran which would fit his description of the location of
the group. (Boccaccini 1998 : 22 f.)

There are points of agreement between the classical
writers, such as the voluntary nature of the Essene
organization, its communal features and the sharing of

goods. They all mention a particular attitude towards
marriage. However, there are significant differences in
details within the various accounts and these could well
be consistent with there being a "parent" group and also a
more radical break-away community. This hypothesis would
also allow for the differences which appear between the
earlier Damascus Document and the later, composite
Community Rule. (Davies 1987:29,Boccaccini 1998: 21 f.)

This new trend towards seeing the Qumran sect as a
break-away group from a larger community is now receiving
wide support, as illustrated by the following theories.

3.2.1. Murphy-O'Connor (1986 :142) sees the history of the
Qumran sect as having initially proceeded from a Jewish
community in a gentile environment, identified by him as
Babylon. After the Maccabean success, a Jewish group
returned to Judea but, finding the religious climate
insupportable, they split from the Temple establishment,
and formed the Essene group. A later internal split led
to the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers moving
to Qumran, the balance of the Essene movement remaining in
groups within wider Judaism, as described by Philo and
Josephus. The Qumran community conserved, adapted and
used documents dated before the foundation of the Dead Sea
settlement.

3.2.2. <u>Davies</u> (1987 : 19-30) basically agrees with Murphy-O'Connor and stresses the difference between what is Essene and what is Qumran-Essene. He puts forward the latter as a messianic break-away group, not related to the Hasidim and not necessarily priestly.

3.2.3. <u>Garcia Martinez</u> (1995 : 11) sees the ideological roots of the Qumran community within the Palestinian apocalyptic tradition, in the third and second centuries BCE, which comprised the larger Essene movement. He concludes that the core of the original members of the group consisted of dissatisfied priests of the highest rank, accounting for Sadducean similarities in their halakhah . (Garcia Martinez & v.d. Woude 1989 : 540). Garcia Martinez considers the reference to the "age of wrath" in the Damascus Document to refer not to the Antiochene crisis but to the birth of the community, which would usher in the period terminating in the eschatological judgment (Garcia Martinez 1995 : 80). (According to Knibb (1987 : 20) the beginnings of the movement were perceived to usher in the final ending of Israel's state of exile.)

A split within the community itself led to the separation of the group under the Teacher of Righteousness to form a distinctive sect in the Judean desert. The cause of the split largely had to do with halakhic matters, such as the regulation of feasts in relation to

the calendar, and the conduct of the cult and purity
matters relating to the Temple. The Halakhic Letter
(4QMMT) gives details of points of contention with the
Temple authorities, raised by the early Qumran group, many
of which relate to purity. As examples, sacrifices from
Gentiles should not be accepted, there should be
prohibitions against the blind and deaf from approaching
the Temple (because they cannot comprehend the Law), and
no dogs should be allowed in Jerusalem, as they may eat
the bones from the sacrifices. Jerusalem as a whole
should be regarded as a holy camp. The correct method of
tithing is also addressed. (Garcia Martinez 1995 :92-93)

The Teacher of Righteousness was convinced of the
imminence of the End of Days and of his own correct
interpretation of Scripture, causing the final breach with
the parent group. (Garcia Martinez 1995 : 94).

The Qumran manuscripts themselves make reference to a
split which occurred in the early stages of the group.
The Teacher of Righteousness as well as his rival,
The Man of Lies, had previously belonged to the same
community. An example is IQpHab 5:9-12 :

"Its interpretation concerns the House of Absolom, and
the members of his council who kept silent at the time of
the rebuke of the Teacher of Righteousness and did not
help him against the Man of Lies who rejected the Law in
the midst of their whole Community."

Thus there was a long period of tension during the formative period of the Qumran community. The Man of Lies "misled many with deceptive words" and so they did not listen to the Teacher of Righteousness, thus causing a split within the group. (4Q171 : 1 : 26-27). It was the non-acceptance of the break-away group's halakhic viewpoint which caused the final move to Qumran to "prepare the way of the Lord in the desert". (Garcia Martinez 1992 : liii, 1995 : 92 f.).

3.2.4. Stegemann (1992 : 161-162) sees the Essenes as stemming from the main Jewish Union which developed during the troubles with Antiochus IV. The Teacher of Righteousness, whom Stegemann identifies with the High Priest ousted by Jonathan, endeavoured to unite the main Jewish groups of the time, consisting of the Temple establishment, the Synagoge Asidaion and a group called the New Covenant, who were the forerunners of the Essenes. They were a pious group who had fled literally to the surroundings of Damascus. The Teacher had some limited success in founding a Union opposed to Jonathan and the Temple, but later lost influence due to the Man of Lies. Part of the group returned to Temple observance as Pharisees, the Temple Establishment formed the Sadducees and the Teacher's group became the Essenes who, Stegemann says, were the largest group. The split thus took place before the inception of the Essene movement.

Qumran became the central study centre for the whole
Essene community for teaching newcomers and for
meditation. This would account for the large library.
Members visited Qumran for a period, then returned home to
towns and villages.

3.2.5. <u>Trebolle Barrera</u> (1995 : 73) points out that for
more than 150 years apocalyptic-style works were produced,
which leads to the conclusion that an apocalyptic social
movement was in existence in Israel. 1 Enoch, for
instance, in the Animal Apocalypse 90 : 6 refers to "small
lambs born of those white sheep .. but the sheep did not
listen but were excessively deaf, and their eyes were
extremely and excessively blinded". However, according to
the Apocalypse of Weeks 93 : 9-10, after the seventh
"week" in the historical cycle, "the chosen righteous from
the eternal plant of righteousness will be chosen, to whom
will be given seven-fold teaching concerning his whole
creation".

    This apocalyptic strain, which Trebolle Barrera sees
as having its early roots in Mesopotamian, Graeco-Roman
and Persian soil, would develop into the Essene movement,
from which the Qumran community later separated.

3.2.6. <u>Schiffman</u> (1994 : 83-89) on the basis of the
Halakhic Letter and its contentions about sacrificial law
and racial purity, sees a connection to Sadducean halakhic
views. The letter would have been written by the

collective leadership of a sectarian group in its initial years, before the advent of the Teacher of Righteousness. Schiffman sees the early sectarians as Sadducees, who were unable to accept the inferior position given to them by the Hasmoneans and who were dissatisfied with the new Temple regime, against whom the polemics were directed. They tried reconciliation, on their terms, but when this failed they developed a fully sectarian mentality. Schiffman does not claim that the Dead Sea Scroll community, as we know it, was Sadducean, only that its origins and the roots of its halakhic tradition lie in the Sadducean Zadokite priesthood. The sect later developed apocalyptic trends when they realized that the split from the Temple regime was complete.

3.2.7. Maier (1999 : 87 f.) also follows the premise that the early beginnings of the parent group, from which the Qumran group eventually evolved, lay in a reform body within Judaism, but before the Antiochene crisis. The break-away cannot simplistically be mooted as a conflict between Hellenizers and traditional Jews, but as primary differences concerning Torah practices within the priestly elite. The group, called in the Damascus Document "the Covenant in the Land of Damascus", looked for reform, but this coalition split due to the extreme claims of the Teacher of Righteousness to be a "Torah prophet like Moses". The implications of this title are that Moses

was the recipient of the Law directly from God, whereas
his successor, Joshua, was merely commanded to keep the
Law, already given. (Jos. 1 : 8 - 9).

Maier places this rift before the period of Jonathan.
The position of the "illegitimate" priesthood became an
important issue, but halakhic differences were a primary
cause of the split.

3.2.8. In an enquiry into the antecedents of the Qumran
group, based on the evidence of non-sectarian documents
and those of the early formative period found in the Dead
Sea Scrolls, Boccaccini (1998 : 11 - 16) links what he
calls "Enochic Judaism" with the greater Essene movement
within Judaism, that is, the group identified by Josephus
and Philo. He sees a distinct apocalyptic party in Second
Temple Judaism, defined by its writings, which have a
particular conception of evil, as having been caused by
contamination of the world due to angelic sin. This
Enochic tradition claimed pre-Mosaic revelation and stood
in opposition to the Temple-based Zadokite halakhic
concern with the cult and the priority of the Temple,
based on a redacted post-exilic Pentateuch. 1 Enoch was
an important, but not the only, writing associated with
this dissident group, and there were also other
apocalypses which had no direct connection with it, for
instance Daniel.

The literature of the Temple included the "biblical"
books as well as some works commonly called apocryphal,
such as Tobit and Ben Sira. Although, during the Persian
and Early Hellenistic periods, these documents had been
collected and edited, they were still in a fairly fluid
state in Early Judaism.

Some Enochic literature, previously thought to be
post-Maccabean, such as the Watchers and the Astronomical
book, have been shown by the Qumran finds to be
pre-Maccabean, and to have developed alongside the
"Zadokite" writings. There was thus a non-conformist
priestly tradition active in Judaism, which challenged the
concepts of God having created everlasting order and of
the human being's ability to choose to conform to this
order by obedience to moral laws. For the "Law" group the
Temple stood as the earthly symbol of God's purity and
sanctity, and adherence to its cult and precepts would
ensure the continued health of the entire cosmos. The
Enochians, on the other hand, saw the cosmos as having
been corrupted, with a consequent lessening of human
ability to account for their actions. This viewpoint
inherently undermined the authority of the Temple and its
ability, in its present form, to counter corruption, for
which the Enochians saw only an apocalyptic, direct
intervention by God as being able to bring salvation.
(Boccaccini 1998 : 70 - 75).

Boccaccini sees a line of progression from the ancient texts to the sectarian writings of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The book of Daniel formed a bridge between the Mosaic Torah with the Law, and the apocalyptic writings starting with 1 Enoch. The later book of Jubilees, in the same tradition as the Enochian works, also acknowledges the Mosaic tradition and purports to enlarge on that revelation, with additional halakhic material. (Boccaccini 1998 : 86 f.)

Like Jubilees, the Temple Scroll also presents itself as a Mosaic revelation, parallel to the Torah. It claims to have received its revelation directly from the heavenly tablets, so is not dependent on the existing Mosaic tradition. The work shows serious doubts about the legitimacy of the Second Temple, and also deals with the contentious matter of the solar calendar. While the document was revered at Qumran and deals with matters of importance to that group, it is now considered to be pre-sectarian and does not propose isolationism. It calls for an interim Temple for the present world, and a new, stricter code of purity laws going beyond the Temple itself to the whole of Jerusalem. (Boccaccini 1998 : 99f).

The Halakhic letter (4QMMT) describes the very early stages of the schismatic group, stating the group's reasons for separation from the majority party, and bears a resemblance to the Temple Scroll. The document deals

with halakhic concerns, regarding purity, the calendar and Temple legitimacy, but does not show the later determined isolationism of the sectarian writings. (Boccaccini 1998 : 113 f.)

The Damascus Document, as early sectarian, may be seen as linking pre-sectarian writings, which were revered at Qumran, such as Jubilees and the Temple Scroll, and the later Community Rule. It is a key text for understanding the origins of the Qumran community and reflects a society which is exclusive, but not as yet completely isolated from the social and religious institutions of Judaism. However, it presents the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness as the true chosen, the remnant who will participate in the salvation of all Israel.

Boccaccini sees the Damascus Document as relating to a stage immediately preceding the Qumran settlement, during which the Teacher of Righteousness tried, but failed, to gain control over the larger movement. It reflects the way of life in the wider Essene communities and lays down prescriptive rules for their conduct. (Boccaccini 1998 : 119-128).

Garcia Martinez (1995 : 84) also emphasizes the importance and length of the pre-Qumran phase or formative stage. It was a fertile period for the writings which developed the ideological framework of the split from the larger Essene group.

3.2.9. The Date of the Move to Qumran.

There is some controversy as to the date of the move to Qumran. There has previously been concern to identify the "Wicked Priest" who was in conflict with the Teacher of Righteousness. However, the Groningen Hypothesis of Garcia Martinez and van der Woude suggests that the term does not refer to a single Maccabean ruler, thus giving a wider time-frame for the retreat to Qumran. Trebolle Barrera (1995 : 65) suggests a mid-second century BCE date for the emergence of the Teacher, the installation at Qumran being accomplished during the period of John Hyrcanus (135-104 BCE). van der Woude (1998 : 29) refers to archeological data which show that the 1-a building phase did not precede the reign of John Hyrcanus, and sets the probable earliest date of settlement at 125 BCE. There seems to have been a time-lapse between the first appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness in the already-established Essene sect and the eventual move to Qumran. (Garcia Martinez 1995 : 84).

3.2.10. The Teacher of Righteousness.

The Teacher of Righteousness was a pivotal figure in the Qumran community. He is described in the texts as being a man appointed by God to lead his followers in the direction chosen for them by God.

"And he raised up for them a Teacher of

Righteousness, in order to direct them in

the path of his heart." (CD 1 :11).

The Teacher was considered to be a recipient of

special revelation and understanding of the Scriptures by

whom "God has disclosed all the mysteries of the words of

his servants, the prophets." (1 QpHab 7 : 4 - 5).

If one ascribes the authorship of some of the Hymns to

the Teacher, the reference to having been shown "wondrous

mysteries" would also apply to him.

"These things I know through your knowledge,

For you have opened my ears to wondrous

mysteries." (QH 9 : 21).

The Teacher of Righteousness has a double mission. As

his revelations are directed to the "last generations",

that is, his followers, there is an apocalyptic dimension.

However, he also has a legalistic mission in the

interpretation of halakhah for the present conduct of the

sect, to keep them in purity until the coming of the

eschaton. This dual role characterizes the Qumran sect,

which had concerns with both apocalyptic eschatology and

halakhic regulations. (Trebolle Barrera 1995 : 67)

As an illustration of the importance of both present

and future concerns, one of the main points of contention

of the sect with the Temple establishment concerned the

festival calendar. The calendar had legal significance

regarding the ordering of the cult, but it also had the function of dividing history into periods and providing a means to calculate the End Time. (Trebolle Barrera 1995 : 67).

Essentially the Qumran halakhah derived from a particular interpretation of biblical prescriptions. The Teacher of Righteousness had a conviction of having received the only correct interpretation of the biblical text by divine revelation. This interpretation was therefore inspired and binding and was accepted by his followers as such. The sectarians believed the biblical text contained mysteries which could only be revealed by inspired interpretation. David is excused from his wrong-doing on the grounds that, until the Law was revealed by the illumination of Zadok, he was unaware of its provisions. (CD 5 : 2-5). Similarly, until the coming of the Zadokite Teacher of Righteousness, the sect members were like "blind persons and like those who grope for the path." (CD 1 :9). Like Zadok, the Teacher would bring a new understanding of the Law. (Garcia Martinez 1995 : 94).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE COMMUNITY OF QUMRAN

FOUR : THE COMMUNITY OF QUMRAN

4.1. Laws of the Community.

4.1.1. Derivation of the Laws.

The Qumran community divided the Law into two
categories. The "nigleh" was the "revealed" law, whose
interpretation, as it appeared in scripture, was obvious
to anyone. The "nistar" referred to the "hidden" law, the
correct interpretation of which was known only to the
sect. According to Schiffman (1983 : 14-16) the sectarian
ability to reveal the "nistarot" was the result of a
process of inspired biblical exegesis emanating from
regular study sessions, which were divinely guided.The
Sons of Darkness only knew the revealed law, which they in
any event interpreted incorrectly. (IQS 5 : 10 - 12).
Only the Sons of Light, that is the sectarians, properly
understood the scriptures and their legal provisions.
Schiffman (1983 : 213/4) says that the "nigleh" (revealed)
law, known to all Israel, was not usually stated in the
sectarian texts. Those laws which were only known to the
sectarians, through inspired exegesis, appear in the
community texts, together with organizational regulations
(not usually scripturally based). These latter are
designed to facilitate the smooth running of the enclosed
community, and include the Code of Court Procedure in the
Damascus Document and the Penal Code in the Community
Rule. These provisions in the two documents are

interdependent, in spite of their different perspectives.

However, it is not absolutely clear whether the nightly study sessions by members of the community under priestly leadership (to teach and to interpret) were designed merely to reflect on the law or whether, from exegesis, laws were actually derived from the Torah. It would appear that revelation may have been considered as an ongoing process, involving a continued search for new insights by constant study of the law.(Fraade 1998 :67)

> "This is the study of the Law which he commanded through the hand of Moses, in order to act in compliance with all that has been revealed from age to age, and according to what the prophets have revealed through his holy spirit." (IQS 8 : 15-16).

The importance of the Law of the Torah to the community is shown in the ceremony of admittance to the sect, where the initiate takes an oath to return to the Torah of Moses and the divine commandments (IQS 5 : 7-10). The implication is that it is only within the Qumran community that the prescriptions of the Torah are correctly observed. (Fraade 1998 : 64).

In spite of preoccupation with the Torah, very few actual direct scripture quotations are observed in the legal prescriptions of the sect. The scriptures are paraphrased, rather than directly quoted.

Fraade (1998 : 74) points out a difference between rabbinic and Qumranic legal midrash, in that the former poses a question and looks to scripture for the answer. In the Damascus Document a rule is provided, and scripture is used as a warrant of acceptability . (CD 11 : 17-18).

Metso (1998 : 200) is of the opinion that the fragmentary material from Cave 4 demonstrates that scriptural quotations were a later addition to IQS to legitimate the strict already-existing practices peculiar to the Qumran sect, which had been criticized. Thus, even if the rules of the community were derived from communal discussion (IQS 6 : 8 - 13, 9 : 7), the sectarians believed their legislation to rest on biblical authority, even when scripture is not specifically quoted.

So the Qumran community viewed its legal prescriptions as being a continuation of divine revelation to Moses and the prophets. The enlightenment came firstly through the Teacher of Righteousness, and then through a successive line of priestly teachers and leaders. The whole community was involved through their dedicated life and collective study and practice of God's will. The laws of the Qumran community were considered valid because of divine election and inspiration, reinforced by the purity of the community's life-style.

In contrast, the Pesharim used explicit scriptural

quotation and employed commentary on prophetic texts to justify their preconceptions about the community being the fulfilment of prophetic predictions. (Fraade 1998:77-78)

4.1.2. Types of Law at Qumran.

There has been an inclination to divide the Essene rules into two groups, halakhic and constitutional. This assumption places "constitutional" rules as those relating to the community's own lifestyle, regulating its day-to-day life, while "halakhic" refers to religious life and such matters as purity. It is, however, not possible to draw a definite line between the two categories. If one assumes halakhic regulations to be those which have a quoted Biblical basis, this also does not give a satisfactory distinction, as the Qumran sectarians appear to have given equal weight to their own regulations, as exemplifying an existence which was completely holy and conducive to the atonement from sins. (Metso : 1998 : 186/7).

Civil law has such close associations with halakhic aspects of purity and ritual santification that it is difficult to study any one aspect in isolation. (Schiffman 1983 : 2-3).

4.1.3. Some Texts with Legal Perspectives.

Through a study of the legal texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls it is possible to understand many of the concerns of the

sectarian community. These texts define how the
sectarians tried to serve God in this world in
expectation of God's final redemption of the contaminated
cosmos.

4.1.3.1. The Community Rule 1QS.

This document is composite in character. The earliest
copy (4 QSa) derives from the end of the second century
BCE. The work starts with the basic requirements for
members of the Essene community, the acceptance of new
candidates, and defines matters of rank. The Teaching on
the Two Spirits is contained in some, but not all, copies
of the Rule. The scroll also contains organizational
prescriptions for the community and the regulation of
daily life within the community.

There is an annual revision of members' ranks within
the sectarian body (5 : 20-25), obligation of mutual
admonition in the event of misconduct (5 : 25 - 6 : 1) and
regulations for communal gathering. There is a
comprehensive section on penal law, stating the penalties
for various misdemeanours. The Rule also indicates that
the Essenes see themselves as the true Temple of God on
earth, with the priests as its Holy of Holies. They will
make expiation for the whole of Israel by their strict
adherence to the true interpretation of the Law.
(Stegemann 1998 : 108-112).

The various sections are interdependent, thus the legal sections are determined by the need to uphold the theological beliefs, such as the maintenance of extreme purity. The Qumran cult was a substitute for the sacrificial cult and its purity and separateness prepared members for the eschaton. Purity defined the sect in the present age as it would in the Messianic age. (Schiffman 1983 : 215/6).

4.1.3.2. The Damascus Document.

This work was previously known from medieval manuscripts found in 1896 in the Cairo Genizah by Schechter. Subsequently copies of the work were found in Caves 4, 5 and 6 at Qumran, which have added to the original text. The work falls into two parts : the Admonition and the Laws. (van der Woude 1998 :17).

In the Groningen Hypothesis of Garcia Martinez and van der Woude (1989 : 534) the long redactional history of the work is accepted. It is taken as of pre-Qumranic origin but with later adaptations in the Qumran context. While it originally legislated for a different community, it shares the basic ideology of the Qumran sect, for instance regarding the calendar and halakhah. Thus, in spite of differences between the Damascus Document and the Community Rule, there is no inconsistency in its appearance within the Qumran community.

The Document stresses that only the sect and its
leadership is capable of properly interpreting Jewish law.
Because of the sin of all other groups, it is necessary to
effect physical and spiritual separation from the rest of
Israel, under the Teacher of Righteousness.   While the
ideology is similar to the Community Rule, the legal texts
cover a much wider range of topics. Although much of the
subject matter is similar to general Jewish concerns, such
as lost and stolen property, ritual purity, Sabbath, cult
and sacrifices, the sect considered they had the monopoly
on the correct understanding and observance of these laws.
Schiffman 1983 : 7).

Between the Damascus Document and the Community Rule
there are similarities in vocabulary, themes and
theological ideas, despite the differences. The Damascus
Document shows an interest in the history of the movement
which is lacking in the Community Rule, which in turn has
the Doctrine of the Two Spirits which is lacking in the
Damascus Document. Membership procedures also differ.
The Damascus Document mentions women and children, while
the Community Rule does not. (Metso : 1998 : 195-196).

Even allowing for differing historical and
sociological factors between the two documents, there is
no scholarly consensus regarding the differences. Some,
for example Baumgarten, (1990 : 13-24) consider the Qumran
community to have been celibate while others, for example

Schiffman (1983 : 12-13) disagree.

In the light of new material from Cave 4, it would appear that there is no longer necessarily a clear distinction between the community of the Damascus Document and that of the Community Rule, as each document is composite, with a complex redactional history. (Metso 1998 : 188 - 196).

4.1.3.3. Serek-Damascus (4Q265).

The manuscript 4Q265, Serek-Damascus, contains features from both the Community Rule and the Damascus Document. It includes rules typical of the Damascus Document, such as Sabbath regulations, demanding the wearing of clean clothes, not carrying vessels or food on the Sabbath day and so on. (Frag. 2. Col. 1 : 4). The document also mentions women and children. Serek-Damascus also lists transgressions and punishments which appear in the Community Rule, such as falling asleep in a community meeting, (Fragment 1. Col. 2 : 2) and cheating. (Frag. 1. Col.1 :9).

The material discovered in Cave 4 confirms that both the Damascus Document and the Community Rule were composite documents and that it is not possible to draw clear-cut divisions between them nor to assume their application only to entirely different communities. It is difficult to link various stages of rule texts to specific historical periods, as it appears that older versions

continued to be copied even when later material was available. (Metso 1998 : 203 - 209).

With regard to Serek-Damascus, Schiffman (1994 : 278 - 281) also finds evidence that it illuminates elements of laws in the Damascus Document and the Penal Code of the Community Rule. One provision concerns the question of whether the Sabbath Code may be broken to rescue a human being. The Damascus Document (11 : 16-17) indicates that "as to any human being who falls into a place of water ... let no-one bring him up with a ladder, rope or instrument." However, Serek-Damascus (7 : 1) indicates that one may "extend to him his garment to bring him up with it", thus using an acceptable means of rescue without violating the Sabbath prohibition on using tools.

The composite nature of this document shows sectarian law as evolving and developing from its pre-sectarian state to meet the changing needs of the community.

4.1.3.4. The Halakhic Letter 4QMMT

The publication of the Halakhic Letter has provided conclusive proof of the importance of the Temple and its cult in the belief system of the sectarians. Their break-away from the priestly establishment was due to its alleged corruption. However, the sect believed the schism to be temporary and that their strict adherence to their own more rigid requirements would hasten the reversal of the period of illegitimate practice and inaugurate

the advent of the End Time. (Harrington 1997 : 110, 1998 :
162).

The Halakhic Letter throws light on Qumran ideology by
illuminating the major cultic and related purity issues
which separated the sectarians from the main cult in
Jerusalem. Although from the early formative period, it
continued to have importance for the group.

4.1.3.5. <u>The Rule of the Congregation, 1QSa</u>.

Schiffman (1983 : 6) considers this document to be a
mirror-image for the End Time community of the community
of purity and moral perfection which the Community Rule
strives to create before the eschaton. However others,
including Stegemann, consider it to be directed towards
the present community. (Metso 1998 : 191).

The Rule describes the functions of the community
members at various stages of life. There is an exclusion
of anyone with physical blemishes, in keeping with
Biblical views that these signified moral imperfections.
The Messianic Banquet at the End of Days is described.
(2 : 11 - 22).

Schiffman (1989 : 9-10) suggests that a study of the
legal materials in the Rule of the Congregation will give
a good indication of the actual every-day life of the
sect. This sectarian legal material indicates how the
community looked forward to an era of absolute purity and
perfection, when their utopian eschatological aspirations

would be fulfilled.

The command system and military organization for the eschatological future would be based on that of the desert community of early Israel, and would give priority to the priests. As the early Israelites had escaped from bondage and were moving towards a promised (utopian) future, after sufferings in the desert, so the sectarians had removed themselves to the desert from their perceived sufferings to await the eschatological salvation at the End Time.

The material in the Rule of the Congregation sees a merging of the concepts of law and messianism. Strict adherence to the law would atone for all Israel. The exclusion of the handicapped was necessary to maintain the purity of a community of which the holy angels were a present part. (2 : 8-9). (Schiffman 1989 : 25).

4.1.4. <u>Questions of Purity and Holiness</u>.

Harrington (1997 : 110 f.) examines these issues on the socio-anthropological basis of space, persons and food. The standpoints in 4QMMT show a high degree of congruence with other scrolls found at Qumran, which, in spite of some differences, are united in protest against the way in which the Jerusalem establishment observed the requirements of holiness.

According to the Torah, a proper observance of the
cult and of ritual purity was demanded because, in
Deuteronomy 23 : 12 - 14 "the Lord your God goes about in
your camp ... and your camp must be kept holy for fear
that he should see something indecent and go with you no
further". (NEB). The detailed holiness and purity
requirements of the Wilderness camp are set out in the
books of Exodus and Numbers. The camp was organized in
degrees of exclusivity regarding holy space, culminating
in the Holy of Holies, then the hierarchy of persons
allowed in the holy space, and the purity of the food
which divided insiders from outsiders.(Harrington
1997:111). The writer of 4QMMT observed these concepts. As
far as holy space is concerned, the whole city of
Jerusalem was regarded as a holy area, not only the
sanctuary. Other texts related to Qumran bear out this
viewpoint. The Temple Scroll (11 QT 45:12-14) completely
bans the blind from entering the holy city as the dwelling
place of YHWH may not be defiled. The War Scroll similarly
denies such people access to the war camp of the eschaton.

"And no lame, blind, paralysed person nor any man
who has an indelible blemish on his flesh, nor any man
suffering from uncleanness in his flesh, none of these
will go out to war with them." (1 QM 7 : 4-5).

According to the Damascus Document, the laws relating
to people with skin diseases and to those with abnormal

bodily discharges are also more stringent than the laws
acknowledged by the rabbis. Also the degree to which
corpses could contaminate the environment was more
far-reaching in the sectarian literature.

Immersion pools for ritual cleansing had to be of
sufficient size for total immersion (CD 10 :11) and
purification was not considered to be complete until the
sun had set on the day of immersion which was longer than
normal Jewish practice. (Harrington 1998: 171).

The Temple Scroll and the Damascus Document prohibit
sexual intercourse within Jerusalem. (11 QT 45 : 11-12,
and CD 12 : 1-2).

> "No man should sleep with his wife in the city of
> the Temple, defiling the city of the Temple with their
> impurity."

The sect considered the whole sanctuary area to be
"Holy of Holies", unlike the scriptural reference which is
only to the central area solely accessible to the High
Priest. (11 QT 35: 8-9). Harrington 1997 : 115).

4QMMT also has more stringent regulations regarding
"holy" people. Scripture regards priests as "holy" but
4QMMT refers to them as "most holy" and to Israelites as
"holy". (Harrington 1997 : 117).

Priests are given priority in the Damascus Document,
both as regards their authority and privileges, for
example, unclaimed property is to be given to the priests

(CD 9 : 13 - 16) and priestly tithes are strictly
enforced.

Regulations regarding avoidance of Gentiles are
particularly stringent, for example nothing may be sold to
them. (CD. 12 : 11). (Harrington 1998 : 166).

1QS 9 : 2 - 4 refers to the "Community of holiness"
(the sectarian community) which will "obey the rules in
order to establish the spirit of holiness in truth eternal
in order to atone for the fault of the transgression and
for the guilt of sin..". "The Sons of Aaron" (the
priests) hold a higher position and level of holiness in
the hierarchy. "Only the Sons of Aaron will have authority
in the matter of judgment and of goods.." (1QS 9 : 7).

While 4QMMT is part of the literature of the formative
period of the later Qumranic group, it would appear that
the sectarians saw themselves as a replacement, even if
temporarily, for the Jerusalem Holy City and Temple.
Therefore, while awaiting messianic redemption and the
proper reinstatement of the Temple cult, they tried to
replicate in their community the strict requirements of
the document. (Harrington 1997 : 117-122).

Much of the concern in 4QMMT regarding sacred food has
to do with the sacrifices of the Temple and the disposal
of the slaughtered animals, where again the desired rules
would be much stricter than those of the rabbis. Gentile
food was to be excluded completely from the community,

due to idolatrous influence and possible contamination of ritual purity.

The Damascus Document also follows a very strict code regarding dietary laws. According to Torah, all animals had to be properly slaughtered to drain off the blood. (Lev. 17: 13-14). According to CD even fish had to be treated in the same way. (CD.12 : 13-14). (Harrington 1998 : 166-168).

The concept of ritual purity and impurity pervades most aspects of sectarian law, even to the courts, testimony and penal law. There are strong links between the entire legal system and the theological beliefs of the sect. The concept that purity resides within the community and that all those outside the sect are impure is also reflected in the regulations for the acceptance of new members. The initiation process allows the candidate to become gradually less impure, first allowing him to partake of the food of the sect and later of liquids (considered to be more subject to contamination by impurity). (IQS 6 : 20-21).(Schiffman 1983 : 216).

Having eventually joined the pure community, the sectarian had to remain in a state of ritual purity. Impurity was equated with sinfulness. Ritual purification was synonymous with atonement. Those who transgressed could be removed from the pure food or, in stubborn cases,

expelled permanently from the community. (1QS 7 : 18-19).

(Schiffman 1983 : 217)

4.1.5. The question of Celibacy.

With regard to the reports in Josephus that only

certain Essenes married, while many did not (Ant. 18:21,

War 2 : 120/121, 160/161), Stegemann (1998 : 193 f.)

contradicts what he regards as the exaggerated reports of

other Jewish writers, for example Philo of Alexandria,

that there was general celibacy among all Essenes. An

alternative view has been that those at Qumran were

celibate and those in the other Essene groups were not, on

the basis of the apparent differences between the rules in

the Damascus Document and the Community Rule and the

reports of Josephus. Stegemann puts forward cultural

reasons which would explain the apparent celibacy of the

Essenes.

In Judaism, a man's intentional rejection of marriage

was regarded as contravening the instructions in the Torah

to "be fruitful and multiply". The perception that

Essenes were celibate could rest on misconceptions.

Firstly, the Essenes met three times a day for

assembly, but no women were seen to accompany them.

Secondly, whereas in Judaism boys were regarded as

reaching their majority at thirteen, and thus

theoretically being free to marry, in the Essene

regulations young men had to wait until the age of twenty
to achieve manhood. They were thus still unmarried at a
later age than most Jews. Thirdly, the Essenes were
allowed to marry only once in a life-time, according to
their strict interpretation of the Torah. (CD 4 :20 to 5
:2). In the social context of Early Judaism, a bride was
often as young as twelve years. Frequent pregnancies,
coupled with the strenuous physical work entailed in
maintaining a household, could result in early death. In
the Essene context the man could not remarry. These
factors together could have given the impression of
celibacy throughout the group. (Stegemann 1998 :193-5)

The Qumran documents assume normal marriage and family
life. 1QSa 1 : 4 (The Rule of the Congregation) states
"When they come, they shall assemble all those who come
including children and women ..". This work also provides
for the training of children, for example "during ten
years, he will be counted among the boys", and so on.
The Damascus Document stipulates only one marriage in a
lifetime (CD 4 : 2 - 5 :2) and regulates sexual activity
(5 - 6-11). 1QS 4 : 7 promises "plentiful offspring".
(Stegemann 1992 : 129 - 134).

Schiffman (1983 : 13) suggests that Qumran could have
been a central academy and retreat for the Essenes.
The most devoted members stayed there permanently, while
others left their families temporarily and then returned

home. This would account for the small number of graves
of women and children at the Qumran site.

4.1.6. <u>Summary</u>

From sectarian writings with a legal perspective it is
possible to gain some idea of the basic conduct of the
Qumran community, although the various documents do differ
in details. Members had voluntarily withdrawn to the
desert, under their leader, the Teacher of Righteousness,
for mainly halakhic reasons. The society was
hierarchical, with the Zadokite priests enjoying priority
followed by Levites and laity. Life was strictly
regulated according to Torah observance and cultic and
halakhic prescriptions. Conditions of entry were
stringent, and during the probationary period the
candidate achieved progressive degrees of purity.
Communal meals were an important part of the life of the
sect, for which ritual purity was a prerequisite. There
was a special relationship between such purification and
repentence within the privileged membership of the
community (and only within the sect).

"He will not become clean by the acts of atonement,

nor shall he be purified by the cleansing waters,

nor shall he be made holy by the seas or rivers, nor

shall he be purified by all the water of ablutions.

Defiled, defiled shall he be all the days he

spurns the decrees of God, without allowing

himself to be taught by the community of his

counsel. "

1QS 3 : 4-6.

The "cleansing waters" are linked to "the waters of

repentence" to achieve holiness.

There is discussion among scholars as to the degree to

which property was held in common. The Damascus Document

refers to participation in trade.

"And no-one should make a deed of purchase

or sale without informing the Inspector of the

camp and making a contract..." (CD 13 : 15-16).

The Community Rule on the other hand refers to "placing

his possessions in common". (1QS 6 : 22).

According to Schiffman (1994 : 110) "on entrance to

the sect, members made their property available for common

use, but did not fully surrender ownership".

Within the Qumran community, relationships with

outsiders were minimal. The community member had to

"swear by the covenant to be segregated from all the men

of sin who walk along paths of irreverence" - that is,

from everyone except fellow sectarians. (1QS 5 : 10-11).

Within the community the priests and levites

occupied a central position in the hierarchy. However,

with the development of the sect their position appears

to have become more ceremonial, with the development of an administrative system including more lay participation. This may be observed in the court system where priests and levites are a minority in the court of ten. (Schiffman 1983 : 215).

At the End of Days the priests were expected to retain their leadership role.

There is no reason to believe the sect was entirely celibate, although sexual relations may have been limited for purity reasons. The Damascus Document provides for family life and the Rule of the Congregation provides for the education of children. (Schiffman 1989 : 69).

Another important area of legislation concerned Sabbath observance which was generally stricter than that which obtained in Judaism of the period.

The Qumran sect made full provision for civil law, having a court system, laws of witnesses and a graded system of punishments, which ranged from fines, separation from the pure food of the sect and, for more serious offences, expulsion from the sect.
(Schiffman 1983 : 211).

The purpose of the system of laws at Qumran was to observe a life of purity for sectarians, which would be a preparation for the End of Days, which they saw as imminent. Members had to fulfil the commands of Torah as they understood them. The sectarian halakhah was

considered to be scripturally based, even when there was
no direct quotation and therefore equally valid as a means
of ensuring that the community remained in a state of
purity consonant with the immediate presence of the holy
angels among them. (Schiffman 1994 : 97 f.)

Thus although the laws were promulgated with a view to
immediate present practice in this world, the focus was on
the eschatological End Time, when evil would finally be
overcome and when the rules of Torah law could be
perfectly observed in God's purified world. The vision of
the sectarians was thus firmly fixed on the eschatological
End Time and their apocalyptic aspirations are documented
in their writings.

4.2. Apocalypticism at Qumran

4.2.1. Influence of 1 Enoch and Daniel.

Among the books found at Qumran are multiple copies of
1 Enoch and Daniel (and Jubilees), which seem to have been
regarded as authoritative writings, and which indicate an
interest by the sect in apocalyptic revelations. This,
however, denotes only one source of influence, as the
sectarians had a fundamental concern with the Torah,
especially its halakhic and legal formulations, and also
showed some indication of sapiential influence.
(Collins 1998 : 145-146).

In spite of the multiple copies of 1 Enoch at Qumran, there is little direct quotation from nor reference to the Enochic tradition in the major sectarian documents. The Watchers are referred to in the Damascus Document (2 : 15-16) in the context of not choosing what pleases God. The cause of both the fall of the Watchers and of human beings is seen as the bad inclination of the heart, which is more in line with the Wisdom teaching of Ben Sira. (Collins 1997 : 36).

There is, however, a relationship to Enoch as regards the predetermination of historic periods : .."and before they were established he knew their deeds". (CD 2 : 7-8). Also some of the themes in the Enochic books would have been in accord with Qumranic background and belief.

The oldest part of the Enochic books found at Qumran, the Astronomical Book, refers to the order of the heavens and the movements of the sun, moon and stars. It also supports the 364-day calendar, disagreement about which appears to have been one of the main reasons for the Qumran community's split from the Temple establishment. The Animal Apocalypse refers to a splinter group which moved away from a main group, and the Epistle of Enoch has hopes for an afterlife with the angelic host.(104:2,4,6)

The Apocalypse of Weeks provides a 10-period division of history into "weeks of years" with the appearance in the seventh week of the "chosen righteous" (93 :10).

In the eighth and ninth weeks judgment and destruction
will come upon the wicked and in the tenth week "the great
eternal heaven" will appear to bring in an endless
righteous era (91 :16). The periodization of history and
the emergence of an elect group is reflected in the
Damascus Document (for example 1 : 4, 3 :13).

Thus, although direct quotations from 1 Enoch are
relatively rare, the world-view and some of the themes
obviously were found to have relevance for the Qumranic
sectarians. (Collins 1997 : 19-23)

Daniel shares many of the apocalyptic conventions,
such as the periodization of history and a belief that
only divine intervention will defeat evil and initiate the
final eschatological era. However, Daniel sees the
prevalence of evil as a result of Israel's falling away
from the Law of the Torah, as given to Moses. This work,
therefore, embraces both major aspects of Qumranic belief
by endorsing an apocalyptic world-view together with a
strict law observance. (Boccaccini 1998 : 81-85).

In spite of an apparent apocalyptic world-view, none
of the specifically Qumranic writings is in the
traditional form of an apocalypse. The movement had its
own forms of expression, such as the serek (rule book),
the pesher (commentary) and the Hodayot (Thanksgiving
hymns). (Collins 1998 : 147).

Although there is evidence of extensive dualistic belief, as well as periodization of history as it moves towards the End Time, and an expectation of final judgment, there is no indication of heavenly revelations to an ancient respected prophet or seer. This can possibly be attributed to the veneration of the Teacher of Righteousness, on whose instruction depended the authoritative texts of the sect and whose interpretation of scripture was considered to be definitive. Thus the Qumran writings are orientated towards the Torah of Moses more significantly than towards 1 Enoch or Daniel. (Collins 1998 : 147)

The Pesharim do however show some affinity with apocalyptic revelation. The use of the word "pesher" underlines a connection with Daniel's dream interpretation in Chapter 9. The Qumran community saw the contents of scripture as mysteries. They considered that these mysteries had not been understood by the original authors, but could now be revealed as relating mainly to the history of the sectarian community. The initial revelation to the Teacher of Righteousness would presumably be continued by a line of succession of later authoritative teachers.

However, the Pesharim are not apocalypses, as their manner of revelation is different and their content is not primarily eschatological, although their scriptural

exegesis does require revelation by a higher power and
goes beyond mere Torah adherence. (Collins 1998 :
151-152).

4.2.2. Dualism at Qumran

As was seen in the discussion of the apocalyptic
tradition within Judaism, dualism in its various forms was
an outstanding feature of the writings. The dualistic
world-view is also apparent within the sectarian writings
at Qumran. Although adapted to the individual
circumstances of that community, it follows the basic
categories seen in other Jewish apocalyptic writings.

4.2.2.1. Cosmic Dualism.

The aspect of cosmic dualism, which emphasizes the
great distance between God and humankind, is apparent at
Qumran, particularly in the Hodayot, for example :

"I am dust and ashes,

What can I plan if you do not wish it?

What can I devise without your agreement?"

(1QH 18 : 5).

In Jewish apocalypticism a bridge is created between
God and humanity by revelations to certain selected
people, often through the mediation of angels.(Otzen 1990:
171-172). In the Qumran context this revelation is given
to the Teacher of Righteousness "to whom God has
disclosed all the mysteries of the words of his servants

the prophets" concerning the End Time. (1QpHab. 7 : 4-5).
The specifically sectarian writings do not contain
heavenly journeys as do, for instance, the Enochic books.
However angels are important in the sectarian scrolls, but
more in line with a realized eschatology by which the sect
already enjoyed angelic fellowship and joined in their
worship as a substitute for Temple worship in Jerusalem.
(Collins 1998 : 175).

The cosmic opposition to God by the forces of Belial
is depicted most significantly in the War Scroll (War of
the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness), where
their part in the eschatological battle before the final
defeat of the forces of darkness is clearly depicted.
Demonic influence is also apparent within the realm of
ethical dualism, where humanity is an area of attack by
forces opposed to God and the Kingdom of Light.
(Otzen 1990 : 189)

Although Jewish, and specifically Dead Sea Scroll,
dualism shows evidence of Persian influence in the cosmic
opposition of forces of Light and Darkness, there is never
any suggestion of the absolute dualism of equally
empowered forces. Within all of Judaism the dualism is
relative, in that it is always evident that God has final
and absolute control of the entire cosmos and will at the
appointed time determine the ultimate outcome, when the
victory of the forces of Light is assured.(Otzen 1990:181)

4.2.2.2. Ethical Dualism

Within the Community Rule (although not in all copies) is
the Instruction on the Two Spirits. This latter section
follows on the covenant renewal ceremony of the community,
which itself has a dualistic orientation in acknowledging
that, during the present period, the world is under the
dominion of Belial (1 :18). This concept also appears in
the Damascus Document. CD 4:13 reads : "And during these
years Belial will be sent against Israel."

The Instruction on the Two Spirits (1QS 3:13 to 4 :
26) falls within the literary genre of Wisdom literature,
as instruction and teaching, but the world-view is akin to
that of Enoch and Jubilees, in seeking an explanation for
the origin of evil. It displays the concerns of ethical
dualism, which sees the human being torn between two
worlds. There is conflict between the opposing forces of
good, under the Prince of Light and of evil under the
Angel of Darkness. The human being is divided by the
internal conflict of the spirits within himself, which God
has endowed, as well as by external cosmic forces. Those
who are ruled by the Spirit of Light display
commonly-accepted desirable attributes, such as patience,
humility, generous compassion, love of justice, goodness
and wisdom. (4 : 3-6). They are destined for a peaceful
and long life, followed by eternal blessings.

Those who come under the influence of darkness display
bad characteristics like greed, irreverence,deceit,
cruelty, "lustful passion" and general falsehood, and they
are destined for punishment at the hands of the angels of
destruction, leading to final annihilation. (1QS 4:9-14).

There is some tension regarding the degree of free
choice allowed to the individual. At the beginning of the
discourse it appears that people are completely in one
camp or the other. Later it seems that each person has a
varying amount of each spirit and "the spirits of truth
and of injustice feud in the heart of man and they walk in
wisdom or in folly." (4 :23-24) (Collins 1997 : 38-39)

The Damascus Document is in parts less deterministic
and seems to give more rein to human free-will, in line
with the Wisdom tradition. CD 2 : 14 reads :

"And now, my sons, listen to me and I shall
open your eyes so that you can see and under-
stand the deeds of God, so that you can choose
what he is pleased with and repudiate what he
hates, so that you can walk perfectly ..."

However, there is also tension within this Document
regarding the degree of human free-will as 2 : 13 says
"but those he hates, he causes to stray." (Collins 1997:48)

In affirming both the spirits of good and of evil as
creations of God, the responsibility for evil is seen to
rest with God. However, this concept also affirms that

creation in its entirety is under the control of God and that, in his appointed time, the evil forces will be destroyed. The influence of the Spirit of Darkness is of limited duration, in spite of any appearances to the contrary. This belief would have the effect of validating the decision of the sect to distance itself from parties who did not agree with it, on the premise that the majority were under demonic influence and would therefore be destroyed, leaving the faithful "remnant", the Children of Light, to enjoy the rewards preordained for them. (Collins 1997 : 44)

4.2.2.3. Eschatological Dualism.

The apocalyptic world-view looks towards the eschaton as bringing a final end to the present world with its evil influences. All wickedness will be obliterated and the Kingdom of God will be established on a super-human plane.

The "End of Days" is the period immediately before the final divine intervention. The two aspects are a time of testing, which was already experienced by the sect, and the messianic age, which was still to come. There are more than 30 references to the "End of Days" in the scrolls referring to an eschatological, final period before the time of salvation. The time of testing and distress is also the period after which the messiahs will come. The Qumran community, according to 4QMMT 107,

occasion of his visitation he will obliterate it forever."
(1QS 4 :19). The Rule of the Congregation (1QSa) is for
"the congregation of Israel in the final days".

The Damascus Document has a chronological scheme to
calculate the End of Days (CD 20 :14) and the Habakkuk
pesher says "God's end times will come according to their
fixed order", (1QpHab 7 : 6-13), although there appears to
have been a delay to the original expectation of the
occurrence. (Collins 1998 : 156-157).

Messianic expectations in Early Judaism were varied.
In the pre-exilic period there had been an awaiting of the
restoration of the Davidic kingdom. The Exile broke the
Davidic succession, although there was some prophetic
expectation of a "righteous branch or root" from David who
would restore the earthly kingdom of Israel. There
appears to have been little messianic expectation in
Maccabean times, but later, possibly due to
dissatisfaction with Hasmonean rule, there may have been a
revival of messianic hope, which is likely to have
affected the community of the Scrolls also.
(Collins 1998 : 157-158).

There are biblical references to a warrior messiah who
would liberate Israel and drive out the Gentiles.
(Isaiah 11, Numbers 24, Psalm 2, Jeremiah 23). A similar
reference appears in 1QSb (the Scroll of Blessings), which
refers to the Prince of the Congregation.

"With your sceptre may you lay waste the earth,

with the breath of your lips may you kill the wicked."

(5 : 24-25). (Collins 1998 : 158).

Within the Qumranic tradition there developed a
distinctive belief that, besides a royal messiah, there
would also be a priestly messiah, who would have priority.
There has been some discussion as to whether the reference
is in fact to one messiah of Aaron and Israel (CD) or to
two messiahs of Aaron and of Israel (1QS 9 :11). However,
by taking account of further texts, dual messiahship is
accepted. For instance,in 1QSa, the Messianic Rule, it is
definitely stated that the priest will take precedence
over the messiah of Israel. (1QSa 2 :17-21).

It is possible that the idea of two messiahs arose
from the perception of an abused priesthood in Early
Judaism, coupled with the corrupted political power of the
Hasmoneans. Thus both areas required to be restored to
legitimacy. (Collins 1998 : 160-161).

There is no indication in the Scrolls that the
messiahs are other than human. Their role is involvement
in an ideal community. They signify the coming of the
eschatological age but it will be inaugurated by God. The
fact that the messianic banquet in 1 QSa resembles the
current practice of the sect would indicate that the
community considered itself to be already anticipating
the practices of the messianic age. (Collins 1998:162).

The identity of the prophet who is mentioned in
1QS 9 : 11 remains unclear, although there may be a
reference to the prophet Elijah. (Collins 1998 : 165).

The eschatological war in the Scrolls presents a
rather ambiguous definition of the areas of imminent
conflict. On the one hand the antagonism would be towards
the traditional Gentile enemies, and on the other hand the
final war would be between the Sons of Light and the Sons
of Darkness on a cosmic plane. Having first destroyed the
"Kittim" there would be a further battle "and savage
destruction before the God of Israel, for this will be the
day determined by him since ancient times for the war of
extermination against the Sons of Darkness. On this day
the assembly of the gods and the congregation of men shall
confront each other for great destruction." (1QM 1:9-10)

Among the earthly enemies were not only the Gentiles
but those sections of Israel (the wicked of the covenant)
who did not accept the beliefs of the Qumran sect, who saw
themselves as the true elect "remnant".

In the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch and in Daniel
Chapter 10, war with the Gentiles is a prominent feature,
with victory being assured by heavenly intervention.
However, in Daniel, the war is not between the total
cosmic forces of good and evil, but between Michael, the
"prince" of Israel and the angelic "princes" of Persia and
Greece. In the Qumran context the final war will be

between the totality of the Sons of Light and the Sons of
Darkness. The War Scroll reflects the dualism of the
Instruction on the Two Spirits, but also some traces of
Persian influence in the personalization of the leaders of
both groups. However, in the Jewish context both leaders
are playing out the role ascribed to them by God in
creation. (Collins 1997 : 100-105).

The War Scroll is a composite document, as is obvious
from the fundamental differences between the material in
columns 1 and 15-19 and columns 2 - 9, which present
differing contexts for the war, the first-mentioned
depicting a metaphysical war and the second being more
concerned with human participation. An additional text,
4Q285, and other fragments more recently found, provide
variant readings, notably the appearance of a Davidic
messiah with a significant role in the conflict.

"A shoot will emerge from the stump of Jesse ..

the bud of David will go into battle."

(4Q285 Frag. 5 : 2). (Collins 1998 : 167).

The columns which describe the human participation may
show similarities to Hellenistic and Roman military
strategy, but they are strongly ritualistic, and the main
focus is on an organization based on the book of Numbers
and the recorded deployment of the Israelites in the
Wilderness. The War Rule refers to the camp, the tribe,
the division into thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens,

with the use of standards and ceremonial trumpets. The
priests play an important mobilizing role in the battle.
A very significant feature is the reflection of the
Qumran-sectarian extreme concern with purity. No-one with
any physical blemish or lack of ritual purity is to be
allowed in the camp, neither are women and young boys.
The reason is that the holy angels will be present in the
battle and therefore no contamination is permissible.

> "For the Lord is holy
>
> and the King of glory is with us
>
> together with his holy ones.
>
> The heroes of the army of his angels
>
> are enlisted with us; "   (1QM 12:8)(Collins 1998:168).

The functions which are assigned to various groups are
spelled out, according to age and ability. References to
the Temple service in Column 2 would apply to the
idealized, restored Temple, rather than to the existing
Jerusalem establishment.

Although the War Scroll describes the eternal
annihilation of the forces of evil, this does not seem to
refer to the destruction of the world. The Community Rule
states that "God has determined an end to the existence of
deceit and on the occasion of his visitation he will
obliterate it for ever. Meanwhile truth shall rise up
forever in the world..." (1QS 4 " 18-19). Neither the War
Rule nor the Community Rule speaks explicitly about the

end of the world. (Collins 1998 : 171).

There has been debate regarding the afterlife which the Qumran sectarians expected. The Community Rule and the War Scroll refer to reward and punishment after death, but not to resurrection. Fellowship with the angels was a frequent theme in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Community Rule we read : "He unites their assembly to the sons of the heavens in order to form the council of the Community.." (1QS 11 :8). (Collins 1998 : 173-174).

The purpose of the strict purity laws is to enable the sect to be worthy of communion with the angels in their midst. Although the concept of resurrection was known from the books of Enoch and Daniel, it is possible that the relative unimportance of the resurrection theme in the sectarian Qumranic documents could be due to the realized eschatology of the sect, which considered itself to be already living in the presence of the angels of God. (Collins 1998 : 174).

According to Schiffman (1989 : 70) after the eschaton the sect looked for the restoration of the former glories of Israel in the monarchy, and the true high priesthood under the "righteous of Israel". There would be a level of purity and Torah observance which was not attainable in the present age. Thus the eschatology was both restorative and utopian, recreating the past and inaugurating a perfect future for the righteous.

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"The expected New Aeon will unfold as an age in which terrestrial-historical experience coalesces with celestial-spiritual utopia. Salvation is viewed as transcendent and immanent at the same time. The new order to be established by the Anointed is not otherworldly but rather the realization of a divine plan on earth, the consummation of history in history." (Talmon 1987 : 131).

4.3. Wisdom at Qumran

Included in the Scrolls material are remnants of Biblical Wisdom books, that is Proverbs, Job, Qohelet and Ben Sira, which are part of the common tradition of Second Temple Judaism.

Wisdom writings at Qumran, specifically the Sapiential Work A, owe some features to these Biblical Wisdom texts. There is a similar vocabulary and form as regards Proverbs, with reference to wise/foolish, justice, knowledge, wise business dealings, family relationships, and so on. Like Ben Sira, the address is often from a teacher to a young male student. Ben Sira has a long discourse on Wisdom, equating it with Torah, and he shows an interest in the cosmos, as do the Qumran texts, but with more emphasis on eschatology in the latter. The theory of Ben Sira of "pairs", primarily to account for the origin of evil, would appeal particularly to the dualistic outlook of Qumran.

In spite of the presence of Job and Qohelet at Qumran
there is no evidence of any direct influence on sectarian
works. (Harrington 1996 : 8-12).

The language and theology of the Sapiential Work A are
similar to themes in other sectarian writings, such as the
Community Rule, Thanksgiving Hymns and Damascus Document.
Generally, however, the content would appear to belong to
a more secular setting, as there is reference to normal
family life and business dealings. The text could be
pre-Qumranic, or intended for the larger parent Essene
movement. However, as parts of six copies have been found
at Qumran, it obviously enjoyed popularity there. Much of
the instruction covers conventional wisdom teaching
regarding social relationships, the management of money
and the need to study to become wise. However, there is
emphasis on the fact that God is the real source of status
for human beings. The section on family relationships is,
in many instances, very like the Biblical wisdom texts,
as, for instance, honouring one's parents. There is a
parallel text to the Damascus Document 16 : 10-12
regarding the annulment of a wife's vows, suggesting that
the two writings may have originated in a similar milieu
in the formative period of the sect.

Throughout the work there is reference to "the mystery
that is to be/come", which is to be studied. This mystery
seems to have an eschatological orientation. Knowledge

of proper ethical behaviour draws attention to the results
of human actions and judgment regarding them.
(Harrington 1996 : 40-58).

The Sapiential Work A has certain similarities to
wisdom references in the Community Rule and the
Thanksgiving Hymns. The Community Rule contains the
Instruction on the Two Spirits in which new entrants are
to be instructed by the Maskil, to endow them with perfect
wisdom and a pattern of correct behaviour. (1QS 3 :
13-15). The Hymn of Praise at the end of the Community
Rule celebrates the wisdom that comes from divine
revelation.

"My eyes have observed what always is,

Wisdom that has been hidden from mankind,

knowledge and understanding (hidden) from the

sons of man .." (1QS 11 : 5-6).

There is some indication of wisdom orientation in the
Thanksgiving Hymns, for instance in appreciation of the
writer being enlightened in "knowledge of marvellous
mysteries". However, in the Qumran writings wisdom comes
more from revelation than by observation.
(Harrington 1996 : 75-80).

In spite of an apparent difference in the
"Sitz-im-Leben" of the sectarian documents and the wisdom
material at Qumran, the latter appears to have been
accepted as still relevant. (Harrington 1996 :81-85).

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

FIVE : CONCLUSION

5.1. Concluding Summary

In comparing the main features of Second Temple Judaism with the sectarianism of Qumran one encounters a contrast between cultural diversification and particularism. Legalism and apocalypticism were present in both contexts, but the essential situational differences, together with the exclusivist self-definition of the Qumran community, resulted in a sectarian-specific form of both phenomena in the closed community.

Second Temple Judaism presents a picture of diversification in all cultural spheres. The destruction of the First Temple and the devastation of Jerusalem ended the period of the monarchy which, with Temple cultic observance, had been a focal point for Jewish nationalism, with prophetism providing an occasional dissenting voice.

Deportation of mainly an elite section of the population of Judah was at first seen as a total calamity, but was later rationalized as a punishment for failure to keep the Covenant and the Law of Moses. The exile in some ways strengthened the cohesiveness of the deported group in maintaining or possibly actively defining the historical heritage of early Israel. They adapted to exile by adopting a stricter adherence to the Law, to ensure that a similar catastrophe did not occur again. There was a perception that the blessings of God were

conditional on human behaviour. Emphasis was thus placed on such cultic matters as Sabbath observance, circumcision and celebration of festivals.

After the victory of Cyrus of Persia over the Babylonians, the Jews were allowed to return to Palestine, but not all chose to do so. Those who did, although they had held to their faith and had avoided integration with foreign ideology, had inevitably been affected by ideas gained from the Babylonian and Persian milieu. On their return they formed an exclusivistic group within the rest of society, which had not been in exile.

Those Jews who had not been deported had carried on with their lifestyle much as they had always done, although probably incurring economic hardship and having to adapt to foreign colonialist administration. The experiences and perceptions of the returnees did not necessarily have the same relevance for all sections of the population.

Jewish society became polarized on many fronts. In the post-exilic era the Pentateuch had been redacted, giving more emphasis to the Law and to the enhanced importance of the priests and the Temple establishment. The written word came to have more authority than prophetism. There was thus an influential religious hierarchy. The Temple had also a great degree of political power, as well as being the centre of the

literate section of society, notably the scribes.

After the Hasmoneans took over the high priesthood as
well as the political power, following the Maccabean
conflict, there was the potential for opposition from
those priests who had been displaced, from scribes who
resented their own less exalted position and from those
who saw the Temple establishment as illegitimate and
corrupt.

In the political sphere, Judah had to contend with a
succession of foreign rulers, from the Babylonians through
to the Seleucids and the Romans. Even when a degree of
religious freedom was allowed under the High Priest there
was an ambivalent situation of divided loyalty on his part
between maintaining his religious integrity while avoiding
political repercussions from the occupying powers.

Hellenization had introduced a disturbing element into
the Jewish cultural and economic scene. While the
influence of Greek literature, philosophy and life-style
had been welcomed by some, as a "modernizing" feature
conducive to economic prosperity, it was seen as a threat
to orthodoxy and to the very foundations of Judaism by
others and aroused varying degrees of opposition.

In response to Hellenization, as well as to the above
political and religious developments, Jewish society
became more sectarian, with the growth of the Pharisees as
an exclusive ultra-pious group (essentially middle-class)

often opposed by the mainly aristocratic and wealthy Sadducees, who pragmatically worked with the occupying powers in the political and economic fields while retaining a religious conservatism.

The Essenes formed an exclusivist group which joined in economic and possibly political activities but which held themselves separate socially and religiously. They are generally now considered to be the "parent" body of the Qumran group.

The "people of the land" apparently maintained at least a degree of Torah piety, while struggling on the economic side to achieve a mainly subsistence rural existence.

Active resistance movements, which were religiously and politically opposed to the occupying gentile powers, found ready support among the working people. However, apocalyptic writings, originating in obviously highly literate circles, could also have had support from those who felt themselves oppressed, whether socially, economically or in the religious sphere.

From the political, economic and social circumstances of post-exilic Judaism there developed two main streams which defined religious thought and observance, these being legalism and apocalypticism.

The writings circulating at the time are an indication of the diverse beliefs and concerns in the two centuries

before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in
70 CE.

The redacted Pentateuch served as legitimation for an
increasingly constricting legal orientation, where Torah
observance (together with the Pharisaic oral tradition)
became the measure of piety and salvation. There was,
however a strong current of apocalyptic writing, which may
be seen as resistance literature, challenging the orthodox
view regarding Mosaic authority and the legitimacy of the
Temple and its hierarchy. Although it is not possible to
define precisely the group or groups from which the
apocalyptic writings stemmed, nor the exact ideological
matrix for writings such as 1 Enoch and Jubilees,
apocalypticism presents a world-view different from that
of the Temple establishment. It looked for an
other-worldly solution to the problems of the dissident
members of society, to be inaugurated by God and heavenly
powers at a time which was divinely pre-ordained.

The Wisdom tradition, while mostly offering pragmatic
advice to cope with everyday life situations, tended on
the other hand towards the final authority of the Law and
the attainment of salvation in this world by adhering to
its precepts.

Thus, within Second Temple Judaism both legalism and
apocalypticism, with their differing approaches to
theological concerns, each had their spheres of influence.

However they manifested themselves in different sections
of society. Although there were areas where the two
streams came together, such as in the book of Daniel,
generally the apocalyptic strain was opposed to "orthodox"
Judaism and presented a resistance both to the political,
gentile " oppressors" as well as to the religious
establishment. Within greater Judaism the diversity
encompassed all cultural sectors, occurring in religuous
sectarianism, social stratification, economic
differentiation and varied political affiliations.

The Qumran community presents itself as an elitist,
introverted society which had withdrawn from the greater
diverse Jewish environment. Their application of Torah
law, coupled with their own halakhic prescriptions, was
more stringent even than the Pharisaic demands. The
hierarchy in their society was based on strictly-applied
criteria of purity and cultic seniority. Their economic
interaction with outside bodies was minimal. They had
withdrawn from the immediate political scene, although
their writings contain polemics against gentiles and
"dissident" Jews. Their aspirations on the material front
were ascetic, while on the metaphysical plane they looked
for the eschaton. Whereas, within greater Judaism, the
two aspects of legalism and apocalypticism were
distributed throughout a diverse and multi-faceted
society, at Qumran both concepts were accommodated

within the one small, closely-controlled and regulated
body. The fact that this was possible is due to the
particular self-consciousness of the Qumran group. They
considered themselves to be the only authentic "remnant"
of Israel, to whom had been given divine enlightenment
regarding the eschaton and the requirements for achieving
the salvation of all Israel (provided, of course, that the
majority conformed to the sectarian vision). All the
legal requirements of the sect were aimed at achieving a
life of such purity that it would hasten the End Time and
prepare them for the Messianic Age when evil would have
been finally defeated and God's perfect kingdom
inaugurated.

5.2. Assessment of Proposition.

The proposition under discussion is :

"So, then, the Qumran group combined

within itself the two poles which put

a strain on the Judaism of the period :

halakhic interpretation and apocalyptic

revelation."

Both Qumran and the Judaism of the period display
conspicuous legalism as well as apocalypticism. The two
concepts address the religious dialogue of the time, such
as the origin of evil, degrees of self-will as against

pre-determinism, messianic expectation and eschatological hopes.

While greater Judaism carried these two strains within disparate sections of a diverse society, as mainly conflicting concepts, the Qumran society were able to reconcile them and amalgamate them within their small group. Because of their realized eschatology they saw themselves as the already-chosen people of God, the only true "remnant" who waited in a state of purity for the final annihilation by God of the forces of evil on an earthly and on a cosmic plane. Thus in all respects their earthly way of life was to reflect the utopian aspirations of the perfect society which would follow in the eschatological age to come.

The proposition may therefore be considered valid in that there were two main separate ideological concepts within Early Judaism, with the potential for strain. Within the area of greater Judaism the tension between legalism and apocalypticism manifested itself in divisiveness. Within the Qumran community, on the other hand, there was an accommodation between the concepts, which led to a close, interwoven relationship between the halakhah of the group and their apocalyptic orientation.

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