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Recent Trends in the Study of Early Jewish Wisdom Literature: The Contribution of 4QInstruction and Other Qumran Texts

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ABSTRACT

This essay reviews major trends in the study of the Qumran texts commonly identified as wisdom literature. Among these texts, 4QInstruction and the so-called book of Mysteries have received the most attention. These compositions are making a significant contribution to our understanding of the Jewish wisdom tradition during the late Second Temple period. A key achievement of recent scholarship on the Qumran wisdom literature is the recognition that Early Jewish sapiential texts could draw on traditions that have little to do with the older wisdom of Proverbs, including in particular apocalypticism and the Torah. The Dead Sea Scrolls illustrate that there is a wide range of diversity among the Early Jewish wisdom texts.

Keywords: 4QInstruction, book of Mysteries, Dead Sea Scrolls, wisdom and apocalypticism, wisdom literature

Introduction

One characteristic feature of biblical studies over the past generation has been renewed focus on the wisdom literature of the Hebrew Bible and the sapiential tradition in general. For a long time it was a neglected corner of the field. Crenshaw, in the revised edition of his influential *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction* (1998, originally published in 1981), gives several reasons for the rise of interest in sapiential literature in the 1970s and 80s (cf. Perdue 2007: 1-2). One is the 1972 publication in English of

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von Rad's *Wisdom in Israel*. The book describes in a theologically compelling way the 'sages' of ancient Israel, who for von Rad comprise a group of patrician intellectuals who are not only engaged in bureaucratic activity in the administration of the state but also immersed in noetic striving and searching to fathom the nature of God and the structure of the world (Crenshaw 1998: 1). Other factors, Crenshaw notes, include a decline in a theological interest in events recounted in the Bible 'as the recital of divine acts', and an increasing awareness of other ancient Near Eastern texts that resemble biblical wisdom. Wisdom literature, at least in the Hebrew Bible, is relatively uninterested in historical and literary traditions that are widespread throughout the rest of the Bible. As renewed skepticism and criticism led to new critiques of standard topics of biblical scholarship, such as the Yahwist source or the historicity of David, these challenges coincided with a renewal of interest in wisdom literature.

Since von Rad a plethora of scholarship on the wisdom tradition of Israel has appeared. In terms of the Hebrew Bible, all the wisdom texts have now received abundant treatment. For example, in the late 1990s the leading commentary on Proverbs was arguably still McKane's learned but outmoded 1970 volume. Since then several leading commentaries have appeared such as Fox's Anchor Bible volume on Proverbs 1–9 (2000; his volume on Proverbs 10–31 is forthcoming) and Clifford's 1999 book on Proverbs. However, the most dramatic explosion of scholarship on the Jewish wisdom tradition has not taken place with regard to the canonical wisdom books of Proverbs, Job and Ecclesiastes. The past twenty years or so has seen an incredible rise in scholarship on the apocryphal (or deuterocanonical) book of Ben Sira and the wisdom literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Wisdom of Solomon has also seen an increase in scholarship although it has not been as dramatic (see, for example, Burkes 2002; Collins 2003; and Goff forthcoming a). A review of recent scholarship on Ben Sira (covering 1980–1996) has been completed (Reiterer 2007: 51-87). Guided by the work of scholars such as Wright (2008) and the proceedings from a spate of conferences (e.g., Egger-Wenzel 2002; Xeravits and Zsengellér 2008), scholars have realized that Ben Sira, written in the early second century BCE, provides a wonderful vantage point for addressing issues such as the nature of the wisdom tradition in the late Second Temple period, the status and interpretation of the Torah, and the nature and function of the scribe. With multiple sources of the Hebrew of Ben Sira now available from Qumran, Masada and the Cairo Geniza, along with a diverse body of ancient versions of the book in Greek and Syriac, Ben Sira is also a rich topic for text-critical study (e.g., Beentjes 2006; van Peursen 2007).

Before the emergence of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira was the only wisdom text available in Hebrew from the vast period of time between the Hebrew Bible and the Mishnah. Now that number has substantially increased. Many scholars would list the following as Qumran wisdom texts:

1. 4QInstruction (1Q26, 4Q415-418, 423; also known as *Musar Le-mevin* ['Instruction for an Understanding One'])
2. The book of Mysteries (1Q27, 4Q299-301)
3. 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184)
4. 4QSapiential Work (4Q185)
5. 4QWords of the Maśkîl (4Q298)
6. 4QWays of Righteousness (4Q420-421)
7. 4QInstruction-like Composition B (4Q424)
8. 4QBeatitudes (4Q525)

Several surveys of Qumran wisdom literature have been written (van der Woude 1995; Caquot 1996; Collins 1997c; Kampen 1998; Bennema 2001; Lange 2002; and Lemaire 2006a). This material was the focus of a special issue of *Dead Sea Discoveries* in 1997 and the proceedings of two conferences, one from Tübingen in 1998 (Hempel, Lange and Lichtenberger 2002) and another that convened in Jerusalem in 2001 (Collins, Sterling and Clements 2004; cf. García Martínez [ed.] 2003).

This article provides the first review of scholarship on the wisdom texts from Qumran and how they have contributed to our understanding of the sapiential tradition of Early Judaism and ancient Israel (cf. the report on recent study of 4QInstruction by Harrington [2006]). I also refer the reader to my 2007 book, *Discerning Wisdom*, which treats the content and critical issues in the study of all the Qumran texts commonly identified as sapiential works (cf. Harrington 1996b). This article will not review all the issues addressed in that volume. All the major Qumran wisdom texts have been analyzed, but with regard to several of them (e.g., 4Q424, 4Q185) there has not been an extensive amount of commentary or disagreements among scholars. A substantial portion of the scholarship on these texts can be found in the bibliography appended to the end of this article. This essay concentrates on the major scholarly trends with regard to this corpus. I review the following foci:

1. Revelation, Creation Theology and Determinism
2. Wisdom vis-à-vis Apocalypticism
3. Eschatology

4. The Torah and biblical interpretation
5. Milieu
6. Genre

The realization that the Dead Sea Scrolls can make an enormous contribution to our understanding of the wisdom tradition during the late Second Temple period is relatively recent. Many of the texts enumerated above were officially published in the late 1990s in two *DJD* volumes—volume 34, edited by Strugnell and Harrington (1999), which is exclusively devoted to 4QInstruction, and volume 20, edited by Elgvin and other scholars (1997), which contains numerous texts such as 4Q298 and the Cave 4 fragments of the book of Mysteries. The recent availability of this material is exemplified by the fact that to date only one handbook on wisdom literature substantially engages the material from Qumran—Leo Perdue's 2008 volume *The Sword and the Stylus* (note also Collins 1997b, a study of Jewish wisdom in the Hellenistic age that includes Qumran texts). Perdue 2008 addresses a much wider range of material than the other leading surveys of wisdom literature by Crenshaw (1998) and R. Murphy (2002 [1990]; cf. Perdue 2007). The basic goal of Perdue's book is to examine a vast range of sapiential literature written in the 'age of empires', that is, the context of the social history in which this literature flourished. This 'imperial' model is useful for discussing wisdom literature in a broad sense but is less applicable to the Qumran sapiential corpus since many of the relevant texts are not clearly the product of a retainer or scribal class sponsored by the state (4QBeatitudes being an important exception). Perdue's volume contains, however, useful if brief treatments of core themes in Qumran wisdom literature, such as revelation and wisdom vis-à-vis apocalypticism (2008: 381-87).

This article will not cover recent scholarship on well-known Qumran texts that include sections that are reminiscent of the sapiential tradition, such as column 2 of the Damascus Document or select hymns of the Hodayot (Goff 2004; Antonissen 2007). The best study of the sapiential passages of core writings from Qumran remains that of Lange (1995). The Treatise of the Two Spirits in the Community Rule identifies itself as an instruction and has numerous affinities with 4QInstruction and Mysteries. I will cover the Treatise in my discussion of these two texts. Additionally, the review will not address the substantial amount of technical scholarship on Qumran wisdom texts that deals with the transcription and reconstruction of fragmentary material (for more on this topic see in particular see Tigchelaar 2001; 2003a; cf. Rey 2009).

1. *Revelation, Creation and Determinism*

With regard to the Qumran wisdom literature, the issue that has attracted by far the most attention is the presence of features that are more in keeping with apocalypticism than biblical wisdom. These include supernatural revelation, eschatological judgment and a deterministic conception of the cosmos. Of these the theme of heavenly revelation has engendered the most interest, along with the related idea that accurate knowledge of creation and history can be fully acquired through some sort of supernatural disclosure. However, by no means do such apocalyptic themes dominate the Qumran wisdom corpus as a whole. 4Q424 contains advice about hiring people and the management of practical affairs, without any interest in apocalypticism (Brin 1996; 1997a; 2001; Goff 2007: 179-97). Revelation, in a manner consistent with the apocalypses, is not a major theme in texts such as 4Q184, 4Q525, or 4Q420-421. The trope of heavenly revelation is most prominent in 4QInstruction and the book of Mysteries.

Strugnell and Harrington (1999: 31) argue that 4QInstruction should be understood as a 'missing link' 'in the history of the common (i.e. non-sectarian) Jewish wisdom tradition, datable between Proverbs and Sirach'. Their 'missing link' thesis, however, has not held up well in subsequent scholarship (Harrington 2006: 122). To call the wisdom of 4QInstruction 'common' suggests that the work contains only material that resonates with older wisdom compositions such as Proverbs. The importance of the רז נהיה (*rāz nihyeh*; generally translated as 'the mystery that is to be') in 4QInstruction indicates that this is not the case. The term *rāz* is of Persian provenance and in apocalyptic texts such as Daniel and the Aramaic Enoch fragments denotes supernatural revelation (e.g., Dan. 2.18-19; 4QEnoch^{c} 5 ii 26-27 [*1 Enoch* 106.19]). The expression רז נהיה is found throughout 4QInstruction (over 20 times) and in all other Early Jewish literature is attested only three times—once in the Community Rule (1QS 11.3-4) and twice in the book of Mysteries (1Q27 1 i 3-4). In all of these cases it refers to some form of supernatural revelation. In 4QInstruction it denotes the means by which the addressee acquires knowledge about history and creation. He is to 'study', 'examine' and 'grasp' this revealed mystery, as in 4Q417 2 i 10 and 4Q416 2 iii 9.

The initial scholarship about the meaning of the *rāz nihyeh* began not with 4QInstruction but the core text of the book of Mysteries, 1Q27 1 i. This fragment was provisionally published in 1949 by de Vaux (pp. 605-609), long before 4QInstruction was available. He translated the phrase

le mystère passé, on the grounds that the participle נהיה must refer to a completed action, as is the case at times in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Prov. 13.19). Reflecting the prominence of eschatological judgment in 1Q27, in the official edition of this text in DJD 1 Milik translated the phrase *le mystère futur* (Barthélemy and Milik 1955: 103; cf. Rabinowitz 1952). The term's association with the eschatological future in Mysteries has led to some confusion in terms of how the רז נהיה should be translated in 4QInstruction. 'The mystery that is to come', for example, is the translation used in DJD 34 (Strugnell and Harrington 1999). This understanding of the phrase implies that the *rāz nihyeh* refers exclusively to the future and eschatological judgment (see Goff 2003b: 33-34).

In both compositions the niphal participle נהיה conveys that the *rāz* (the revealed mystery) pertains to the past, present and future. In 4QInstruction this is explicit in texts such as 4Q418 123 ii 3-4, which associates the *rāz nihyeh* with a tripartite division of time—what has been, what is and what will be (cf. 4Q417 1 i 3-4). The participle has a similarly broad chronological meaning in other Early Jewish texts (e.g., CD 2.9-10). This bears on how the phrase should be understood. Collins and others have argued that the 'mystery that is to be' refers not just to the future but to a deterministic divine plan that structures the entire scope of creation, from creation to judgment (1997b: 122; Goff 2003b: 37; cf. Wolfson 2004; and Rey 2009: 337). 4QInstruction puts forward a deterministic conception of the natural order. It teaches that history and creation unfold according to a divine plan established by God, disclosed to the intended addressee as a revealed truth (4Q417 1 i 10-11).

The book of Mysteries also puts forward a deterministic concept of the natural order. The text does not exclusively associate the 'mystery that is to be' with the eschatological future but with the full scope of history, like 4QInstruction, although the expression is more explicitly connected to the final judgment in Mysteries than 4QInstruction. God, the book of Mysteries asserts, brings everything into being and has established an overarching framework that orchestrates the flow of events (4Q299 3a ii-b 10-13). In 1Q27 1 i 3-4 the *rāz nihyeh* is used in parallelism with the 'former things' (קדמוניות; see Kister 2004: 32-33). This probably refers to the distant past, functioning together with the 'mystery that is to be' to form a merism, with one term referring to the beginnings of creation and the other the end of history. Schiffman, the official editor of the 4QMysteries texts, has aptly characterized the term *rāz* in Mysteries as signifying 'the mysteries of creation, i.e. the natural order of things which depends on God's wisdom, and to the mysteries of the divine role in the processes of history' (Elgvin *et al*.

1997: 31). 4Q299 5 appears to preserve part of a hymn on the order of creation, which discusses, among other aspects of the natural world, '[migh] ty mysteries of light' (רזי אור). The Treatise on the Two Spirits also uses the word *rāz* to refer to the structure of the natural order that it discloses to its intended addressees (1QS 3.23). Lange (2002: 25-26) has observed that the determinism of Mysteries invites comparison to the Treatise on the Two Spirits and 4QInstruction (see also section 5a). The word 'plan' (מחשבה), like רז, for example, is used in the Treatise to make deterministic claims; this is also the case in 4QInstruction (1QS 3.15-16; 4Q417 1 i 11-12).

Accurate perception of the created order is an important issue in 4QInstruction and Mysteries, as in the book of Proverbs. A crucial difference in these two Qumran texts in comparison to older wisdom is that supernatural revelation has become an important source for such knowledge. Nevertheless, as in Proverbs, these texts display a connection between ethics and creation, an understanding that accurate perception of the natural order, and God's role in its guidance, should foster righteous conduct. Macaskill (2007: 108-10) and Tigchelaar (2001: 175-88) have rightly emphasized that the addressee's proper comprehension of the structure of creation as a whole is a key goal of 4QInstruction (cf. Goff 2003a). Macaskill aptly stresses that in this work understanding the full scope of God's plan demands fidelity to his will and ethical conduct (2007; cf. 2008).

a. *Astrological Knowledge*

It has been proposed that in 4QInstruction and Mysteries a deterministic conception of the natural world is expressed through astrological knowledge. Schmidt (2006: 59) has emphasized that the *rāz nihyeh* discloses astrological information, in particular *la science de l'horoscope ou généthlialogie* ('knowledge regarding one's horoscope or genethialogy', that is, the determination of one's destiny at birth). A key text for this perspective is 4Q417 2 i 10-11: '[Gaze upon the mystery] that is to be, grasp the birth-times of salvation (מולדי ישע) and know who is inheriting glory and who iniquity' (cf. 4Q415 2 ii 9). The word מולד occurs in an explicitly 'genethialogical' context in 4QHoroscope, in which it is often translated as the 'sign' under which one is born (e.g., 4Q186 1 ii 8). Morgenstern (2000) has also argued that מולד refers to human birth in an astrological sense. Elgvin (2000a: 233) has suggested that the phrase 'birth-times of salvation' refers to the '[birth] pangs of salvation' but there is little evidence in 4QInstruction that the phrase signifies the tribulations of the end-time (see section 3). It is reasonable to understand the 'birth-times of salvation' as the birth-times of the elect audience of the composition. Their established destiny, one

benefit of which is access to divine knowledge through the 'mystery that is to be', is part of God's larger plan for the cosmos as a whole and is thus discernible at birth (Goff 2003b: 194-96). In Mysteries the transmission of astronomical knowledge is suggested by the phrase 'the [p]lan of the time of birth (בית מולדים)', in which it refers to divine knowledge that has been revealed to the intended audience of the composition (4Q299 3 a ii-b 13; see further Lange 1995: 119; Tigchelaar 2003b: 88). The mindset in 4QInstruction and Mysteries is fully compatible with astrological determinism and in that sense Schmidt's thesis could be correct. But his position cannot be confirmed. The problem, and this pertains to both compositions, is that neither work shows extensive familiarity with any lore regarding specific stars or planets or their movements that one would expect in an astrological text. It has also been proposed that the 'magicians', an unknown group that is discussed polemically in the book of Mysteries, claimed to possess revealed astrological knowledge (see section 5b).

b. *The Vision of Hagu*

The theme of revelation is also expressed by the phrase 'the vision of Hagu' (חזון ההגוי). This expression is found only in 4QInstruction. 'The vision of Hagu' is found in a single pericope, 4Q417 1 i 13-18. This brief passage has received a great deal of attention and comprises a core locus of scholarship on 4QInstruction (e.g., Lange 1995: 80-90; Collins 1999; Goff 2003b: 80-126; Wold 2005b: 124-49; and Rey 2009: 292-304). The text states that the 'vision of Hagu' was given to אנוש (see below) and a 'spiritual people' (עם רוח) whom God created 'according to the likeness of the holy ones'. The vision was not given to 'the fleshly spirit' (רוח בשר) because it did not distinguish between good and evil.

While 4QInstruction is the only Early Jewish text that attests the vision of Hagu, writings from the Dead Sea sect mention a 'Book of Hagu' (1QSa 1.6-7; CD 10.6; 13.2; 14.6-8), as Werman (2004) and Hempel (2002) have observed (cf. Steinmetz 2001). While the term 'Hagu' is enigmatic (it may be derived from the verb להגות, 'to meditate, ponder'), it is associated with a heavenly book and can be assuredly identified as a reference to supernatural revelation. What is revealed by the vision of Hagu is not fully evident, but the disclosed content of the revelation probably included an assertion of divine judgment (Goff 2003b: 88).

Crucial for scholars' understanding of the Hagu passage is the interpretation of the word אנוש in 4Q417 1 i 16. The three major interpretative options for the word are 'Enosh', 'humanity' and 'Adam'. The term denotes an entity that receives the vision of Hagu, as do the spiritual people. If the word

means 'Enosh', the passage states that this patriarch has received divine revelation. The official editors of DJD 34 with considerable hesitation support the 'Enosh' translation (Strugnell and Harrington 1999: 164; so also Lange 1995: 87; Brooke 2002: 213). Collins has pointed out that the figure of Enosh is never associated with supernatural revelation in Early Jewish literature. He argues (1999) that אנוש can be plausibly read as a reference to the biblical Adam (cf. 1QS 3.17-18; Adams 2008: 259-61). So understood the passage puts forward a dualistic conception of humankind that is grounded in Genesis 1–3. This understanding of the passage is supported by its theme of the knowledge of good and evil, which also evokes Genesis 1–3. The theme of creation is also invoked by the word יצרו in 4Q417 1 i 17 (cf. Gen. 2.7), which can be understood as either a noun or a verb. Collins (1999: 615) contends further that the statement that the 'spiritual people' are created 'according to the likeness of the holy ones' (כתבנית קדושים) in 4Q417 1 i 17 is a paraphrase of the expression 'in the image of God' (בצלם אלהים) from Gen. 1.27, understanding the word אלהים as referring to angels rather than God. Following this interpretation, the passage means that the spiritual people were created in a way that gives them an innate affinity with the angels (as most commentators take the word 'holy ones') and that the spiritual people receive the same revelation (the Hagu) as Adam. Their likeness to the angels suggests that the spiritual people have the potential to attain eternal life after death. The fleshly spirit, by contrast, denotes the mortality of the body, and thus probably refers to the non-elect (cf. 1QH 5.19-20; Goff 2007: 34). It does not possess the knowledge of good and evil and denotes people who do not have the ability to attain a blessed afterlife. Since the fleshly spirit does not know good and evil, one can infer that the spiritual people do and that this is part of the knowledge (perhaps revealed by the vision of Hagu) that they share with Adam.

Wold puts forward a rather different understanding of the Hagu passage that is based on his understanding of the word אנוש as 'humanity' (2005b: 139). He argues that humanity as a whole was originally created in the likeness of the holy ones (not just the spiritual people) and that the separation of the spiritual people and the fleshly spirit occurred at a later date (cf. Fletcher-Louis 2002: 117). This latter point, which would imply that at some point the fleshly spirit possessed the vision of Hagu, can be supported by 4Q417 1 i 17, if one opts for the translation 'but no more (ועוד לוא) did he give Hagu to the fleshly spirit'. This is a valid rendering of the Hebrew and, in this case, the 'fleshly spirit' originally possessed the vision of Hagu. One must admit, however, that this fleshly spirit is never once explicitly associated with the possession of revelation (Goff 2007: 34; cf. Adams 2008:

258). It is also not clear at all how the fleshly spirit and spiritual people, if they were originally together, came to be separated. Wold's position regarding the fleshly spirit is unlikely but may be correct. Further scholarship on this issue would be welcome. His reading of אנוש as 'humanity', however, is unpersuasive. The word often has this meaning, as he observes, but it is not clear that it should be read in this way in the Hagu passage. The core problem with the 'humanity' reading, as Strugnell and Harrington point out (1999: 165), is that it is 'tautological'—it would not make sense for the text to state that the vision of Hagu was given to all of humanity *and* to the spiritual people, since the latter term presumably denotes one category of humankind. Otherwise there would be no reason to affirm that they are in the likeness of the holy ones. Since Wold's book examines allusions to Genesis in 4QInstruction, it is striking that he argues against reading אנוש as Adam, since this can be reasonably understood as one of the most important allusions to Genesis in the composition.

An anthropological distinction between flesh and spirit is a broad issue in the study of Early Judaism and Christianity. Scholars have begun to realize that the Hagu passage can contribute to this topic. Frey has argued (1999, 2000, 2002) that 4QInstruction indicates that the religio-historical background of flesh–spirit dualism in Paul should be reconstructed not exclusively in terms of Greco-Roman literature but also the Palestinian sapiential tradition. Collins has pointed out (1999: 617) that the Hagu passage has intriguing parallels with Philo (cf. Goff forthcoming b). The Alexandrian sage, for example, exegetes Genesis 1–3 as containing two distinct creations of man, one associated with a heavenly Adam, denoted by Gen. 1.27, the other with a creaturely, mortal Adam who is connected to Gen. 2.7 (*On the Creation of the World* 134; cf. Wold 2005b: 141-46). This supports the interpretative possibility that there are 'two Adams' in 4QInstruction—one associated with the spiritual people, the other with the fleshly spirit. However, at best this view is implied and אנוש, however one translates the term, is explicitly associated with the spiritual people, not with the fleshly spirit. There is also an intriguing parallel with the Wisdom of Solomon, as Collins has observed (2003: 299-303). The Wisdom of Solomon does not emphasize that there are 'spiritual' and 'fleshly' types of humankind but supports its understanding of the righteous by appealing to Genesis 1–3 in a way that is similar to 4QInstruction (Goff forthcoming a). The Wisdom of Solomon teaches that while the wicked cease to exist after physical death, the souls of the righteous enjoy immortality. This is presented as a restoration of the original condition of humankind: 'God created us for incorruption, and made us in the image of his own eternity'

(Wis. 2.23). The composition describes the righteous by alluding to Gen. 1.27, as does 4QInstruction with regard to the spiritual people. The possibility that this Qumran text attests exegetical traditions that influence the Wisdom of Solomon, Philo and Paul are topics of scholarship that have only begun to be explored and merit consideration in the future (for the unexplored issue of comparing the Hagu passage to rabbinic texts, see Wold 2005b: 146-47).

2. *Wisdom and Apocalypticism*

The question of how traditional wisdom and apocalypticism are combined in Qumran wisdom literature has been a prominent focus of scholarship. Yet the topic hinges on 4QInstruction much more than this corpus as a whole. As mentioned above, hallmark features of apocalypticism are not widespread in these texts. The book of Mysteries has much in common with apocalypticism but is substantially different from traditional wisdom (see section 6).

Numerous scholars have discerned that 4QInstruction comprises a combination of influence from older wisdom and the apocalyptic tradition (Larsen 2002; Collins 2003; García Martínez 2003; Harrington 2003; Puech 2003b; Goff 2003b: 24-27; and Macaskill 2007; cf. Nickelsburg 2005). How the 'mystery that is to be' sheds light on the interplay of sapiential and apocalyptic influences in 4QInstruction, however, has been a matter of debate. In this regard the most significant development in the field has been the countervailing construals of the issue put forward by Lange and Elgvin.

Lange, whose 1995 study *Weisheit und Prädestination* was one of the first scholarly books to examine 4QInstruction, underscores the essential continuity between the *rāz nihyeh* and the traditional sapiential assertion that the cosmos has been endowed by God with an orderly structure, which he calls a '*präexistenten weisheitlichen Urordnung*' (a pre-existent sapiential order; p. 40; cf. 2002: 17-26). The *rāz nihyeh* is a new formulation of the sapiential view that the world is governed by a principle of order (1995: 62). To understand how this transformation came about, Lange turns to the 'crisis of wisdom' represented by Job and Ecclesiastes (cf. Adams 2008: 6). This 'crisis', as it is commonly formulated, portrays these two biblical books as a critical response to the conservative and conventional view of Proverbs that righteousness is rewarded and wickedness punished. Job and Ecclesiastes expose the bankruptcy of traditional wisdom. 4QInstruction, in turn, re-asserts the traditional sapiential conviction that the world is gov-

erned by a coherent and rational structure, now in a form that is impervious to empirical questioning since the '*weisheitliche Urordnung*' is raised to the status of heavenly revelation. So understood, Lange argues (1995: 301-306), 4QInstruction confirms von Rad's well-known hypothesis that apocalypticism is better viewed as emerging from the wisdom tradition than biblical prophecy (his *Eschatologisierung der Weisheit* ['eschatologizing of wisdom']; von Rad 1965: II, 301-308).

Whereas Lange stresses 4QInstruction's continuity with the sapiential tradition, Elgvin argues (2000a: 231) that '4QInstruction's understanding of the world and man is determined more by apocalypticism than traditional wisdom' (cf. García Martínez 2003: 14). He contends that the work is a conflation of two distinct literary layers—one which is consistent with biblical wisdom and another, later stratum which is apocalyptic and eschatological. The original document was a work of 'secular' wisdom that consists of sayings and admonitions, after the fashion of Proverbs 10–31. This putative document was then radically reworked by apocalyptically minded lay teachers who were close to the circles responsible for some of the Enochic literature (Elgvin 2000a: 247). So understood, the *rāz nihyeh* represents 'an apocalyptic reinterpretation of the concept of divine Wisdom' (2000a: 237).

It is more important to understand that wisdom and apocalypticism are combined in 4QInstruction than to seek which tradition is more important in the work (Goff 2003a: 164; cf. Larsen 2002). Nitzan (2005: 279) has argued that the combination of sapiential and apocalyptic elements should not be attributed, *contra* Elgvin, to the conflation of a stratum of traditional wisdom and one of apocalyptic material (cf. Adams 2008: 220). She suggests that the practical ethics and eschatological elements in the text can be understood as different kinds of literature written by the same author that are unified in that 4QInstruction orients the conduct of its addressee to the reception of eschatological rewards (see section 3). Moreover, Elgvin's strata are consistent with a rigid conception of generic purity that reinforces a distinction between wisdom and apocalypticism when the evidence of 4QInstruction shows the two traditions mingled together. The *rāz nihyeh* cannot be understood apart from the overarching pedagogical goal of the composition, one of its core markers as a sapiential text (Goff 2005b). This issue also has consequences for debates regarding Q and the historical Jesus, since scholars have made a distinction in the sayings source between an earlier, sapiential stratum and a later, apocalyptic one (Goff 2005a). In addition, there is not enough evidence to support the view that 4QInstruction is directly dependent on a version of *1 Enoch*, although the works

have traditions in common, as Stuckenbruck (2002) and Tigchelaar (2001: 212-17) have argued.

Lange's view that the 4QInstruction is shaped by a 'crisis of wisdom' is intriguing and merits further speculation. The problem is that 4QInstruction never shows any interest whatsoever in Job and Qoheleth—a striking absence found generally in Qumran wisdom literature. These biblical books critique traditional wisdom. The question is whether from this one can conclude that there was a widespread 'crisis of wisdom'. It does not appear that 4QInstruction endorses the position that there was. At the very least the composition indicates that the influence of such a crisis did not impact every post-biblical wisdom text. Moreover, few scholars accept von Rad's *Eschatologisierung der Weisheit* at face value today, although it has sparked fruitful discussion (see the review of relevant scholarship in DiTommaso 2007: 374-81). The wisdom tradition in the late Second Temple period took on influences and attitudes that were dominant in that period. The introduction of hallmark apocalyptic themes such as revelation and determinism into the wisdom tradition is consistent with a prevailing intellectual climate in the Hellenistic age that has been associated with widespread sense of alienation, political upheaval, and the decline of national independence in the Near East. This backdrop may be the 'crisis' against which the theme of revelation in 4QInstruction should be understood rather than a crisis of wisdom (Goff 2003a: 181-86). The prominence of poverty and economic distress in 4QInstruction (discussed below in section 5a) is compatible with these broader cultural trends and can help explain the work's themes of revelation and rewards for the righteous after death, as Adams (2008) has stressed.

3. *Eschatology and Life After Death*

Eschatology is an important issue in the study of Qumran wisdom literature. Topics such as the final judgment or life after death can be found in several texts of this corpus, although several of them, including 4Q424 and 4QWays of Righteousness, have little to no eschatological content. Puech and de Roo have argued that eschatology is an important motif in 4QBeatitudes (4Q525). De Roo (1997: 343) has argued that the eschatology of 4QBeatitudes should be likened to that of the biblical book of Joel, in which the theophanic 'day of the Lord' is prominent. She bases her argument in part on references to 'wrath' in 4Q525 15, 22 and 23, which she interprets as a coming 'day of wrath'. The sequence of beatitudes in the composition mentions a crown (4Q525 2 ii + 3 9), and according to Puech,

the official editor of 4QBeatitudes, this refers to an 'eschatological reward' (1998: 122; cf. 1993a: 364). In my own work on this question, I have agreed that eschatology is a theme in the work but one should not overstate its importance (Goff 2007: 218; cf. Wright 2004b: 248). 4Q525 10 5 is fragmentary but may state that all of humankind will be judged (cf. 4Q525 8 3) and eschatological rewards may be mentioned in fragments 11 and 12 of the work. Eschatological judgment, however, is not a prominent theme in the composition. It does not contain a scene of final judgment. There is no sense that it is coming soon or any unambiguous delineation of eschatological awards awaiting the righteous. 4Q525 14 ii affirms that one will inherit 'glory' and 'eternal rest' after death but the focus is on colleagues of the deceased remembering him rather than his eschatological fate. The passages that de Roo mentions are very fragmentary. 4Q525 15 discusses the underworld and fire, and probably understands this fate as awaiting those who do not follow the Torah or pursue wisdom. Such expectations are never explicitly placed in the context of an ultimate, eschatological judgment of humankind.

The most important Qumran wisdom texts in terms of eschatology are 4QInstruction and Mysteries. With regard to Mysteries the issue centers on a composite text that comprises 1Q27 1 i, 4Q299 1 and 4Q300 3. The wicked, the passage states, do not know 'the mystery that is to be' and at the moment of judgment they will not be able to save themselves 'from the mystery that is to be' (1Q27 1 i 3-4). Unlike 4QInstruction, in Mysteries the *rāz nihyeh* is explicitly associated with eschatological judgment. On the basis of 4Q299 10, Elgvin has argued (2004: 76) that the document envisages a moment of national restoration that includes 'hope for a future king'. It is not clear, however, that nationalistic, quasi-messianic aspirations are prominent in Mysteries (Tigchelaar 2003b: 83).

Several scholars have contributed to the topic of 4QInstruction's eschatology. Puech (2005) has provided his own transcription of the main fragments for this topic, 4Q416 1 and 4Q418 69 ii, both of which include judgment scenes (cf. 2008; Tigchelaar 2001: 175-93). Collins (2004b: 50) observes that most references to judgment in the work are brief allusions rather than extended discourses. The larger judgment scenes in the composition, especially 4Q416 1, are in the tradition of the 'theophany of the divine warrior' (p. 52). Elgvin (1996a: 142) makes the astute observation that 4QInstruction, while it emphatically stresses the inevitability of judgment, shows 'no clear signs of a tense *Naherwartung*' (imminent expectation). There is no sense that the world is rapidly coming to an end. He also notes (p. 141) that messianism plays no role whatsoever in the composition.

Elgvin has argued further that 4QInstruction attests a form of 'realized eschatology'. In his opinion 'salvation is a present reality' (1996a: 144) for the intended audience, in that their affinity with the angels in the present (see section 5a) is considered a manifestation of the eschatological rewards they will enjoy after death. This would make the eschatology of the work similar to that of the Hodayot, in which the elect enjoy communion with the angels. 4Q416 2 iii 11-12, which states 'with the nobles he has placed you, and he has given you authority over an inheritance of glory', can be used to support the view that 4QInstruction has a 'realized eschatology', especially if one interprets the term 'nobles' (נדיבים) as a reference to angels, as I (2003b: 209) and Wold (2005b: 155-56) do (cf. Collins 2004b: 58). One must grant, however, that in 4QInstruction the communion of the elect with the angels in the present is not as full-blown as one finds in the Hodayot. In 4QInstruction one never gets the impression that the *mēbin* ('understanding one', the composition's preferred term for its addressee) is in liturgical communion with the angels. Rather, the angels are presented as models for conduct for the addressee to follow. The addressee is exhorted to act like them (4Q418 55 8-11; 4Q418 69 ii 13-14). 4Q417 2 i 10-12 teaches that the *mēbin* is not 'to rejoice in your mourning lest you toil in your life' because 'eternal joy' is promised for those in mourning. The eschatological context of 4Q417 2 i 10-12 suggests that 'eternal joy' is a reference to eternal life. Since this 'joy' is established for those who are mourning, one can reasonably conclude that the *mēbin* will experience 'eternal joy' after death. The 'joy' represents a state quite different from the addressee's current life, which is associated with mourning. This should qualify any sense of 'realized eschatology' in 4QInstruction. Given that the addressee is in the lot of the angels (see the discussion of 4Q418 81 4-5 in section 5a) and is told to act like them, it makes sense to posit that he is to join the angels after death, a trope in other Early Jewish texts such as Daniel 12. The addressee of 4QInstruction has been born in the angelic lot but must fulfill this destiny through righteous conduct (Collins 2004b: 60).

Whether 4QInstruction attests a belief in resurrection or not has been a topic of debate. The question hinges on 4Q418 69 ii 7. The key statement of the line, in Elgvin's formulation, is: 'the seekers of truth will wake up to the judgments [of God?]' (1997a: 114). Viewing *1 Enoch* as a source for 4QInstruction, he suggests this statement reformulates *1 En.* 93.10, which asserts that 'the righteous one will arise from sleep' (1998: 144; cf. Stuckenbruck 2002). He compares the eschatology of 4QInstruction to that of the Essenes as reported by Hippolytus, who claimed that they believed in a bodily resurrection. Puech has also asserted in several publications that

resurrection is important in 4QInstruction (2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2005). As is well known, Puech has argued (e.g., 1993b) that the theme of resurrection is present in numerous Qumran texts, and that it is a key element of Essene thought (for discussion of this topic, see Collins 1997a: 110-29). 4QInstruction, in Puech's view, is another manifestation of this broader phenomenon. Discussing 4Q418 69 ii 7, he argues (2003a: 143) that the eschatology of 4QInstruction (and of other texts) 'is identical to that of Isaiah 26 and Daniel 12'. Several scholars, however, including Tigchelaar (2001: 211), Collins (2004b: 56), and myself (2003b: 176-79), have challenged the view that 4QInstruction contains an expectation of resurrection. The key phrase 'judgments of' (משפטי) transcribed by Elgvin in 4Q418 69 ii is rendered as 'yo[ur] judgment' ([משפטכ]ם) by most commentators, including Puech (2003a: 140) and others (including Strugnell and Harrington 1999: 281; Tigchelaar 2001: 210). The second person plural refers to the 'foolish at heart'. They are addressed in lines 4-9 of this fragment as those who will be destroyed in the final judgment. In line 7 the 'seekers of truth' are referred to as כל נהיה עולם, a phrase that can be rendered, 'all who exist forever'. 4Q418 69 ii also states that the angels have eternal life (l. 13). Those who seek truth who exist forever can thus be reasonably understood not as the righteous who 'wake up' during a general resurrection of the dead but rather as the eternal angels who 'arise' to judge the 'foolish of heart'.

The most recent contributions to the eschatology of 4QInstruction are by Macaskill (2007) and Adams (2008). Macaskill gives the composition extended treatment as part of a broader thematic examination that covers three other texts (*1 Enoch*, the Gospel of Matthew, and *2 Enoch*) that are similar, he argues, with regard to the themes of revealed wisdom and what he terms 'inaugurated eschatology'. The motif of inauguration refers to the advent of the revelation of heavenly wisdom, which is construed as an eschatological event: 'the *eschaton* is inaugurated by the revealing of heavenly wisdom' (2007: 113). This relates to the issue of whether the eschatology of 4QInstruction is 'realized' or not. In Macaskill's formulation, the eschatology of the work 'is neither entirely futurist nor entirely realized but rather inaugurated' (p. 89). The eschatology of the composition should not be separated, he stresses, from the broader understanding of the order of the cosmos disclosed to the *mēbin* by the *rāz nihyeh* (cf. Tigchelaar 2001: 185). He writes: 'The eschatological paradigm operative in *4QInstruction* means that, ultimately, all ethical behavior is eschatological insofar as it represents the recovery of a state of fidelity to patterns within creation, facilitated by the eschatological revelation of wisdom' (Macaskill 2007: 113). Macaskill is certainly right that, in the mindset of 4QInstruction, the

final judgment is an important component of the overarching plan guiding the created order that is made known to the addressee. Highlighting the eschatological backdrop against which the ethical instruction of the composition should be understood is one of the main contributions of Macaskill 2007 (cf. 2008). But 4QInstruction does not, it seems to me, connect the 'inauguration' of the *eschaton* to a specific moment when the 'mystery that is to be' was disclosed. Oddly, 4QInstruction shows no interest whatsoever in the revelation of the *rāz nihyeh*. The reader is not told at what point it was disclosed or how. 4QInstruction emphasizes the study of the 'mystery that is to be', not its revelation as an 'inaugural' event. If the addressee does not study and contemplate this mystery, he would not acquire knowledge of the created order. The reception of the revelation in itself is not sufficient (cf. Macaskill 2001: 111).

Adams's study (2008) is a broad thematic examination of wisdom literature, from Egyptian instructions to 4QInstruction. He focuses on the *Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang* (deed-consequence relationship), a phrase coined by Klaus Koch to describe the results from one's good and bad actions in sapiential literature (p. 2). In traditional wisdom, exemplified by Proverbs, the relationship between deed and consequence is an inherent part of the natural order. Fools are done in by their own folly rather than direct intervention by God (e.g., Prov. 1.32-33). Adams observes (p. 221), as does Macaskill, that the teachings of 4QInstruction are grounded in an eschatological framework, which forms a context in which the moral instruction of the document should be understood. Viewed in relation to themes of reward and retribution in the older wisdom of Proverbs, 4QInstruction exhibits, in Adams's words, 'a revolutionary *Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang*' (p. 216). He observes that the document holds out the prospect of life after death for both the righteous and the wicked. The author of 4QInstruction knew that righteous conduct can result in beneficial consequences in this world but the composition's eschatology transforms the traditional this-worldly relationship between act and consequence found in Proverbs. Ultimate rewards and punishments are meted out after death. Adams's study illustrates that eschatology triggers change in the wisdom tradition during the late Second Temple period.

4. *The Status of the Torah and the Interpretation of Biblical Texts*

The Torah is considered authoritative in the Qumran wisdom texts, as is commonly the case throughout Early Jewish literature. These sapiential compositions contain many allusions and interpretations of biblical pas-

sages. The scholar who has made the most extensive contribution to this topic is Lange (2002, 2003; see also Brooke 2002). He concludes (2002: 30) that among the relatively well-preserved Qumran wisdom texts, all of them except for 4Q424 display *Toraweisheit* (Torah wisdom). That is, they connect the topoi wisdom and Torah in ways that are compatible with Ben Sira (24.23) or the wisdom poem in Baruch (3.9–4.4). Lange also argues (1995: 58, 90) that in 4QInstruction the *rāz nihyeh*, since it represents a cosmic principle of order, can be understood as a cipher for a heavenly version of the Torah, not unlike the presentation of the Torah in the rabbinic text *Bereshith Rabbah* (cf. Sanders 2001).

It is certainly true that there are numerous interpretations of biblical texts in the Qumran wisdom corpus. 4Q184 contains a creative reformulation of the 'wicked woman' of Proverbs 7, who is a promiscuous and dangerous female, recasting her as a mythological denizen of the netherworld (Aubin 2001; Jones 2003; Naudé 2006; Goff 2007: 104-21; and Tigchelaar 2008). The book of Mysteries, in its condemnation of a rival group derisively referred to as the 'magicians', shows familiarity with the book of Daniel (see section 5b). The author of 4QInstruction apparently utilized some form of the Hebrew Bible in his teaching. The composition uses material from Genesis 1–3 in important ways (see sections 1b and 5a).

Some wisdom texts do accord with the sapiential developments evident in Ben Sira and Baruch—the combination of the thematization of the Torah and the history of Israel with traditional wisdom. This is clear from 4Q185 and 4Q525. Commentators have generally agreed that both of these compositions combine the pursuit of wisdom with Torah piety. 4Q185 urges its addressees to observe 'the words of [his] covenant' (4Q185 1-2 iii 9; cf. 1-2 ii 3; for scholarship on 4Q185, see Tobin 1990; Harrington 1996b; Verseput 1998; and Goff 2007: 122-45). The composition also urges one to find and hold onto wisdom, a classic goal of the sapiential tradition (4Q185 1-2 ii 8-12). The work also encourages one to revere God by invoking the power he demonstrates in the Exodus story (4Q185 1-2 i 13-ii 2).

The beatitudes of 4Q525 contain the most explicit identification of wisdom and Torah in the Qumran sapiential corpus (4Q525 2 ii + 3 3-4): 'Happy is the man who has obtained wisdom, follows the Torah of the Most High, sets his heart toward her ways, controls himself with her disciplines and takes pleasure alw[ays] in her chastisements' (see Puech 1993a; Harrington 1996b: 68; and Goff 2007: 198-229). This work shows several affinities in terms of theme and terminology with 4Q185 and Ben Sira, although scholars have not explored this to the extent that they have evaluated 4QBeatitudes' significance for the beatitudes in the Sermon on the

Mount of the Gospel of Matthew (e.g., Brooke 1988–89; Viviano 1993; and Charlesworth 2000). Like Ben Sira 14 and 4Q185 1-2 ii 13-14, 4Q525 uses the beatitude form to encourage the pursuit of wisdom (Goff 2007: 209).

Lange's thesis that the Qumran wisdom corpus almost uniformly reflects *Toraweisheit* identifies an important theme in this material but is a maximalist construal of the issue. 4Q185 and 4Q525 certainly testify to the thematization of the Torah in a way that is compatible with Ben Sira, but they are the only Qumran wisdom texts that do so. 4QInstruction clearly utilizes the biblical text but never appeals to it as a locus of power or revelation. It assumes rather than celebrates the authority of the Torah, a mode of operation that is substantially different from Ben Sira. The word 'Torah' is never even found in the extant fragments of 4QInstruction (Strugnell and Harrington 1999: 27). Since the Torah is never an explicit theme of the composition, it is difficult to assert that the *rāz nihyeh* should be identified as a cipher for the Torah, as Elgvin counters (2000a: 237). Moreover, Lange's proposed allusions to biblical texts at times seem rather forced. For example, he argues that the word שגג ('inadvertent sin') in Mysteries (1Q27 6 2) should be understood as a response to Ecclesiastes 5.5 (1998: 145).

5. *Milieu*

Several of the Qumran wisdom texts do not provide enough evidence to allow sufficient speculation on their provenance. This is the case, for example, with 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman and 4QWays of Righteousness. The thesis that the Qumran wisdom texts stem from the same milieu or social movement has not been substantively argued (but see Harrington 1996b: 85). In terms of social setting there is too much diversity in the material for this conclusion.

The Qumran wisdom writings that do indicate some sense of the milieux in which they functioned do not endorse the long standing view that the sapiential literature of Israel should be attributed to sages who are scribes and bureaucrats who serve the state administratively. The only plausible exception is 4QBeatitudes whose intended addressees, I have argued (2007: 225), were in training to be teachers who would interact with nobility and people of influence. The practical wisdom of 4Q424 is clearly designed for a person of means but there is no indication that this addressee should be considered a scribe or member of a retainer class (Goff 2007: 195; see also Brin 2001: 265). It is clear, as commentators have recognized, that 4Q298 (4QWords of the *Maśkîl* to all the Sons of Dawn) was written by members

of the Dead Sea sect (Pfann 1994; Kister 1994; Hempel 2002; and Goff 2007: 146-59). There has been no substantive challenge to this consensus. The claim is reasonable since the *Maśkîl* (instructor) is an important pedagogical functionary in the Qumran rulebooks (e.g., 1QS 9.12-26). There has been speculation that 4QWays of Righteousness was redacted by the *Yaḥad*, and to date there has been no substantial rebuttal of this claim (Elgvin *et al.* 1997: 173; Tigchelaar 1998b: 371-72; and Goff 2007: 173). Traditionally scholarship on 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman interpreted its evil female as a coded reference to a rival group or enemies of the Dead Sea sect (e.g., Carmignac 1965). More recent studies of the compositions tend to doubt that 4Q184 was written by the *Yaḥad* and thus do not understand the evil woman as an allusion to a person or group despised by the sect. Rather scholars have focused on issues such as gender and pedagogy (Aubin 2001; Jones 2003; and Goff 2008). The majority of scholarship on the social settings of the Qumran wisdom texts has concentrated on 4QInstruction and the book of Mysteries.

a. *The Social Setting of 4QInstruction*

Strugnell and Harrington argue (1999: 21) that the intended audience of 4QInstruction is in training to take scribal and administrative positions in the service of the state. The thesis has not been endorsed in subsequent scholarship. The *mēbin* of 4QInstruction is clearly a student who is being taught by a teacher. However, it is not at all clear, in contrast to 4QBeatitudes, that he is in training to join a patrician scribal class. The fact that some of 4QInstruction's intended addressees are women (4Q415 2 ii 1-9), a rarity in the wisdom tradition and ancient literature in general, problematizes the view that the *mēbin* is to enter the ranks of a state bureaucracy (Wright 2004a; Wold 2005b). He is repeatedly urged to keep in mind that he is poor—'you are poor' (using רישׁ or אביון) is common refrain in the text, particularly in 4Q416 2 iii. The work contains several teachings regarding the prompt payment of debts, as in 4Q417 2 i 21-22, and other types of financial instruction. These topics have been the subject of a significant amount of scholarship (Harrington 1996b: 45; Murphy 2002: 163-209; Fabry 2003; Goff 2003b: 127-67; and Wright 2004a). The general view is that these themes indicate that the intended audience of 4QInstruction experienced a significant degree of material hardship, although not necessarily destitute poverty (for a somewhat different view, see Tigchelaar 2000a). The rhetoric of poverty is also used at times in a metaphorical, rather than a literal, sense, signifying ethical ideals that the *mēbin* is to emulate or his elect status (e.g. 4Q416 2 iii 11-12, 15-16; Murphy 2002: 167, 173; Goff 2003b:

162-66; and Wold 2007). There is no indication, *contra* Strugnell and Harrington, that the addressee envisioned in 4QInstruction is being educated to join the retainer class, unlike the students of Ben Sira (Harrington 1997b; Wright 2004a: 121; Elgvin 2004: 85-86; and Rey 2009: 333-34).

4QInstruction assumes that its intended addressees have a variety of humble professions. Among this group were farmers, artisans and servants (e.g., 4Q423 3 2; 4Q416 2 ii 9-18). For Tigchelaar (2000a) the range of professions suggests the work is not written to a particular group but rather comprises instruction to people at all levels of society, although he later qualified this claim with the view that 4QInstruction presupposes some sort of pedagogical setting (2001: 245-46). Strugnell and Harrington suggest that the text is not written to one community 'but rather was a general offshoot of Jewish wisdom…and not sectarian at all' (1999: 22). Collins, by contrast, has argued (1997b: 125) that the affirmation of elect status and claims of supernatural revelation suggest the work was written in some sort of sectarian milieu, which is similar to, but should not necessarily be equated with, the Dead Sea sect (see further below). It makes sense to understand 4QInstruction as written to a specific group. Typically the *mēbin* is addressed in the singular but the author does use the word in the plural (*mēbinim*; e.g., 4Q418 123 ii 4), suggesting that a group of students is being addressed. The extraordinary claims made about these 'understanding ones', such as that they have access to the 'mystery that is to be', problematize the view that the work could in principle be addressed to anybody.

Several commentators of 4QInstruction have discerned that 4Q418 81 is written to somebody with elect status (Tigchelaar 2001: 230-36; Fletcher-Louis 2002: 176-87; Stuckenbruck 2004; and Elgvin 2004: 81-84). The text states that God placed him in the 'lot of the angels' and has separated him from the 'spirit of flesh' (ll. 1-5). Some have argued that 4Q418 81 indicates that the community to which it is addressed comprises priests. This is based to a large extent on line 3, which tells the addressee that God 'is your portion and your inheritance'. This is a reference to Num. 18.20, an Aaronid text. Scattered references to halakha and cultic issues in the text (4Q418 103 ii 3 and 4Q423 3 4-5) can support this position (Schiffman 2004). The priestly thesis is advocated by Lange (1998). Strugnell and Harrington also suggest this possibility (1999: 21; for a unique formulation of this opinion, see Fletcher-Louis 2002: 182-87). Lange goes so far as to posit that 4QInstruction is the product of priestly circles based at the Jerusalem Temple. This is also the case, he argues, with the book of Mysteries and the final redaction of Qoheleth. Elgvin (2004: 82) has refuted the

opinion that 4QInstruction was written to priests. He plausibly argues that the work's priestly language should be interpreted symbolically, designed to describe the elect status of the addressee. This position offers a plausible explanation of the fact that, while the composition contains some interest in cultic matters, on the whole they are not that prominent.

4Q423 1, a text about which there has not been extensive scholarly disagreement, metaphorically describes the elect status of the addressee with the fascinating assertion that he has been given dominion over the garden of Eden (Chazon 1997; Tigchelaar 1999; Dochhorn 2002; and Wold 2005b: 204). The text mentions a garden in which every tree is 'pleasing to give knowledge' (l. 1). There is no mention of a prohibited tree (Gen. 2.17). Referring to the garden, the text goes on to state 'over it he has given you authority to serve it and till it' (Gen. 2.15). 4Q423 does not assert a 'fall of mankind' (Collins 2004a). Rather the elect status of the addressee is presented as a restoration of Adam in the garden (Macaskill 2007: 85-89). This implies that the revealed knowledge disclosed by the 'mystery that is to be' is a recovery of knowledge once possessed by Adam. This is consistent with other Early Jewish texts that associate Adam with angelic knowledge (e.g., *Jub.* 3.15; 1QS 4.22-23). The image of tilling the garden as a metaphor for the elect status of the *mēbin* implies that this demands effort and labor, affirming that he acquires wisdom through study and contemplation of the 'mystery that is to be'.

How the community behind 4QInstruction should be related to the Dead Sea sect has also been a significant topic of discussion. There is a minority opinion that the composition should be considered a product of the *Yaḥad*, like the Hodayot or the Community Rule. Jefferies argues for this position (2004: 323), situating the work in the 'camps' described by the Damascus Document (cf. Scott 2001). A more predominant view is that the community behind 4QInstruction is a specific group that should not be identified as the Dead Sea sect. Elgvin understands 4QInstruction as a 'pre-Essene' document. He has argued (1996a: 164-65) that 4QInstruction used a version of *1 Enoch* as a source and thus served as a 'bridge' connecting the Enochic literature to the Dead Sea sect (Stuckenbruck 2002). Scholars have recognized that there are striking similarities between 4QInstruction and the core texts of the *Yaḥad*. Several parallels have been clearly enumerated by Lange (e.g., 2002: 24-26). He understands the document as 'pre-Essene' in the sense that it is older than and exerted influence upon compositions that are important for the *Yaḥad*, such as the Treatise on the Two Spirits. Tigchelaar (2001: 194-203) has also conveniently laid out the terminological links between the Treatise of the Two Spirits and 4QInstruction (and the book

of Mysteries as well). They use the term 'God of Knowledge' (אל הדעות), for example, when putting forward a deterministic theology, although the determinism of the Treatise is more extreme than that of 4QInstruction (1QS 3.15; 4Q417 1 i 8; cf. 4Q299 35 2). There is also a verbatim match between 1QH 18.27-28 and 4Q418 55 10. The Hodayot and 4QInstruction also both associate the term 'mystery' with the structure of the created order. I have argued that the Hodayot used some form of 4QInstruction as a source (Goff 2004). Moreover, the existence of at least six copies of 4QInstruction at Qumran suggests that it was read and studied by members of the Dead Sea sect.

At the same time, core markers of the *Yaḥad* are not present in 4QInstruction. There is no awareness whatsoever of the Teacher of Righteousness or the offices of leadership described in the Community Rule and the Damascus Document. In 4QInstruction the term יחד is never used in a sectarian sense. The presumption of the work is that the addressee is free to make his own decisions in terms of marriage and finances. The composition encourages him to act prudently with regard to these spheres of life. This is quite different from the stringent restrictions placed on members of the *Yaḥad* with regard to such issues. 4QInstruction can be understood as 'pre-sectarian' in that it is the product of a group that wrote a text that later exerted influences on writings of the Dead Sea sect. This terminology, however can produce some confusion since the intended audience of 4QInstruction, with its elect status and special access to supernatural revelation, can itself be understood as a sect, as mentioned above. In that sense 'pre-Essene', or, perhaps better, pre-*Yaḥad*, is to be preferred. Endorsing this position should not be equated with the argument that 4QInstruction is 'pre-Essene' in the manner formulated by Elgvin (2004: 83). There may be a direct link between the group behind 4QInstruction and the Dead Sea sect, as he has advocated, with perhaps some *mēbinim* joining the *Yaḥad*, but there is not sufficient evidence to necessitate this position.

Most commentators place 4QInstruction in the second century BCE although when exactly it was written has been a topic of disagreement. The official editors of 4QInstruction suggest an earlier dating is possible, positing that it could have been written in the Persian, Ptolemaic or Seleucid periods (Strugnell and Harrington 1999: 21). Lange (1998: 157; 2002: 24) and Elgvin (2004: 83) have, in different ways, argued that 4QInstruction was written in the early (pre-Maccabean) second century BCE, or perhaps late third century. Adams (2008: 244) has put forward a late second century dating. The lower chronology of the archaeology of the Qumran site advocated by Magness (2002) pushes the origins of the Dead Sea sect

to the early first century BCE. This is later than the traditional view that it originated in the mid-second century and opens up the possibility that 4QInstruction, as a late second-century work, could have influenced works written by the *Yaḥad*. I have argued that 4QInstruction should be placed in the second century but that either a late or early dating in this period is possible (2003b: 231; 2007: 67). A later date for the beginnings of the *Yaḥad* does not in principle reject an early second century date and a lack of references to the Maccabean crisis does not mean it had to have been necessarily written before this period. It is not clear that enough indicators exist to establish a precise dating during the second century BCE for 4QInstruction.

b. *The Social Setting of the Book of Mysteries*

There has also been significant discussion about the social setting of the book of Mysteries. Its claim of supernatural revelation suggests that the text was written to a specific group (4Q299 8 6-8). Collins has argued (1997b: 128) that the work 'originated in a sectarian milieu'. This opinion is bolstered by the composition's disdain for the 'magicians' (חרטמים) in 4Q300 1a ii-b (Thomas 2008). They are condemned but not described as ignorant. Rather the knowledge they possess is disparaged. They 'hold fast to the mysteries of (רזי) wickedness'. This is generally taken as a claim of supernatural revelation made by a rival group against which Mysteries polemicizes. Lange (1995: 119) argues that the 'magicians' have a form of mantic wisdom associated with magic and the improper heavenly knowledge bestowed by the Watchers in *1 Enoch* (9.6; 16.3; cf. the word חרטמו in 4QEnoch^{a} 1 iv 2). The term חרטמים refers to Gentile sages in the Hebrew Bible, to Egyptian sorcerers in Exodus and Babylonian wise men in Daniel (e.g., Exod. 7.22; Dan. 2.27), from which Tigchelaar concludes (2003b: 83) that the 'magicians' of Mysteries are non-Israelite. He argues further (p. 88) that the basis of the dispute is astrology, a point also stressed by Lange (1995: 119), and suggests that the composition teaches that 'astrology is not a foreign or pagan science, but revealed or transmitted to Jews'. There is some basis for these views. 4Q300 1a ii-b 2 includes the phrase, in an unfortunately incomplete context, 'the signs of the heav[ens', followed by 'your folly' and the claim that the true 'vision' is sealed from the magicians. Mysteries' negative stance towards the 'magicians' with putative access to divine revelation supports the opinion that the work was written to a specific group that understood itself to have privileged revelation. No one has in recent years argued that the composition of Mysteries should be attributed to the Dead Sea sect, although this claim was occasionally made in earlier scholarship on the basis of 1Q27 (e.g., Rabinowitz 1952: 31-32).

In line with his Temple provenance thesis, Lange has stressed (1998: 133) that several texts of the book of Mysteries deal with cultic and priestly concerns (e.g., 1Q27 6 2-3; 4Q299 79 6-7). Tigchelaar has argued (2003b: 78) that at least some parts of the work have a priestly provenance and goes so far as to suggest that the work operates with a distinction between Jewish priests (the addressees) and Gentile magicians. Elgvin disagrees (2004: 76) with Lange's Temple provenance proposal, preferring to understand Mysteries as the product of pre-Maccabean scribes. The addressees of Mysteries may be, in his view, close to the משכילים of Daniel, who are instructors (e.g., 11.33). Elgvin (2004: 86) admits that some passages deal with priestly issues and suggests that, like Ben Sira, the circles behind Mysteries are perhaps close to and influenced by priests but are not necessarily priests themselves. He understands (p. 76) the intended audience of Mysteries as looking forward to the restoration of Israel, a hope he discerns in Daniel and Ben Sira 36 as well. There are indeed a striking number of passages in Mysteries that deal with priestly and/or cultic concerns. Urim and Thummim, for example, are mentioned in 4Q299 69 2 and priests appear in 1Q27 3 2 (see further Goff 2007: 90). In general the references to priestly issues in Mysteries occur in unfortunately fragmentary contexts. Some or all of the addressees may be priests but there is not enough evidence in the text to endorse such views conclusively.

While Elgvin is inclined to consider the groups behind Mysteries and Daniel to be roughly contemporaneous and possibly related, Lange sees the book of Daniel as exerting influence on Mysteries. He discerns (1998: 132) in the 'magicians' text, 4Q300 1a ii-b, an allusion to Daniel 2, the story in which the Jewish visionary through the assistance of revelation trumps the Babylonian 'magicians' by successfully interpreting the dream of Nebuchadnezzar. Schiffman has argued (Elgvin *et al.* 1997: 102) that the prophecy of the seventy weeks in Daniel 9 'is formative for the language and conception' of 4Q300. I have suggested (2007: 90-91) that Mysteries borrows language from Daniel, but that this should be qualified with the realization that this biblical book is not a major formative influence on the composition. At the very least one should recognize that language from Daniel is reconfigured for purposes that are quite different from the biblical book itself. While *rāz* terminology and the word 'magicians' are prominent in Daniel 2, this biblical book is never polemical against the knowledge of the Babylonian sages to the extent that is the case in Mysteries in relation to its 'magicians'. Daniel's success over the Babylonian magicians saves them from being executed. By contrast, assuming that the wicked of 1Q27 includes the magicians of 4Q300, Mysteries eagerly proclaims their

destruction. There is less hostility in Daniel towards 'magicians'. Daniel 9 asserts that a vision is sealed, as does 4Q300 1 a ii-b. This language of sealing in Daniel signifies that the prophecy of the seventy weeks will occur. Here again Mysteries is more polemical than Daniel. The Qumran text employs the phrase 'the seal of the vision is sealed from you' (l. 2) to assert that true divine knowledge is hidden from the magicians. In Mysteries there is never any sense that the Temple will be defiled by a Gentile king, in marked contrast to Daniel. Also unlike this book, there is no sense that the righteous are suffering unjustly. Neither Michael nor any angel plays a prominent role in Mysteries. In Daniel the wicked are destined to face 'shame and everlasting contempt' (12.2), whereas in Mysteries the wicked are to disappear like smoke (1Q27 1 i 5-7). Such factors suggest that one should not posit a link between the groups behind the two documents, as Elgvin is inclined to do. It is more likely that Mysteries exhibits some familiarity with the book of Daniel, as Lange has argued.

This would establish, as Lange recognizes (e.g., 2002: 13), a *terminus a quo* for the book of Mysteries (see also Ibba 1999: 83). If one takes the position that Mysteries appropriates Danielic language, the text was written after the Maccabean crisis. If one also adopts Lange's suggestion that the Treatise incorporates ideas found in the book of Mysteries and elaborates them, this would provide, loosely speaking, a *terminus ad quem* for the work. The dating of the Treatise is a difficult problem that is beyond the scope of this essay (see Lange 1995: 130), but placing Mysteries between Daniel and the Treatise allows the composition to be reasonably dated between 160 and 100 BCE. Lange prefers (1998: 158; 2002: 13) a date of composition to the middle of the century, or somewhat before this point.

The notable similarities between Mysteries and 4QInstruction, such as their use of the 'mystery that is to be' or their appeals to eschatological judgment, suggest that they are influenced by the same traditions. In that sense they can be placed, broadly speaking, in the same milieu (Elgvin 2004: 87). It is not clear, however, *contra* Lange's Temple provenance thesis, that Mysteries and 4QInstruction should be attributed to the same social circles (Goff 2007: 101-102). Mysteries never addresses a *mēbin*. The intended audience of Mysteries is not considered 'poor', and, when compared to 4QInstruction, there is much less concern for financial issues. While humble professions such as farming are important for discerning the social status of the intended audience of 4QInstruction, such occupations are of no concern in Mysteries. Moreover, 4QInstruction never makes polemical statements against the 'magicians'.

6. *The Qumran Wisdom Literature and the Issue of Genre*

So far this review, like much scholarship on the subject, has proceeded from the assumption that several compositions from the Dead Sea Scrolls are wisdom texts and that they, as sapiential texts, shed light on the nature of the Jewish wisdom tradition during the late Second Temple period. Broadly speaking this is true but avoids the problem of genre. Determining which texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls are wisdom texts is difficult because of the ambiguity of wisdom as a genre label and the fragmentary state of the material (Lange 2002: 4-9). For this reason, while there is a general consensus about which texts constitute the main Qumran wisdom writings, the exact number of sapiential texts found at Qumran is not at all clear. It has been argued, for example, that the Aramaic Levi Document is a wisdom text (Drawnel 2004), and in principle one could make this argument about other writings from Qumran. Classifying a Qumran composition as wisdom is also problematized by the fact that the Early Jewish wisdom writings can be substantially different from those of the Hebrew Bible. Thus it is possible to consider a Qumran work to be a sapiential text even if it has little in common with biblical wisdom. The best example of this problem is the book of Mysteries. (There has also been some debate as to whether 4QWays of Righteousness should be considered a wisdom text or not; see further Tigchelaar 1998b; 2000b; Goff 2007: 161-78.) Mysteries includes a prominent scene of eschatological judgment but, unlike 4QInstruction, contains little by way of admonitions or practical advice that accords with traditional wisdom.

Two different approaches to the genre of Mysteries have been established. One is represented by Ibba (1999), the other by Kister (2004). Ibba argues that the document should not be considered a wisdom text. In his opinion (1999: 80), Mysteries does not attest the forms of speech that one finds in 4QInstruction. The book of Mysteries, he suggests (p. 82), represents not wisdom but rather '*un nuovo genere di profeti*' (a new genre of prophecy) that is characterized by an eschatological perspective. Kister, by contrast, argues that Mysteries can be understood as a sapiential text but one that is very different from traditional wisdom. The book of Mysteries, and other works such as Ben Sira and 4QInstruction, comprises 'a fusion of concepts and genres' (2004: 47; cf. Collins 2004b: 63). Kister discerns that Mysteries utilizes the wisdom tradition. He sees this, for example, in the 'wisdom contest' between the intended audience of Mysteries and the 'magicians' (see section 5b). He understands, like Ibba, the prophetic tradi-

tion to be an important source for Mysteries as well (see also Tigchelaar 2007: 186; Thomas 2008: 165-70). The judgment scene of 1Q27 1 i states, for example, that 'the oracle (המשא) is true' to affirm that it will take place (l. 8), using a term that is common in the biblical prophets. Mysteries draws on the sapiential, prophetic and apocalyptic traditions.

In my own work on the genre of Mysteries I have favored the approach of Kister over that of Ibba (Goff 2007: 93-99). 4QInstruction establishes that the Early Jewish wisdom tradition had the flexibility to change and take on ideas and language from sources alien to traditional wisdom. 4QInstruction is a wisdom text with an apocalyptic worldview. Given the prominence of eschatology and supernatural revelation in Mysteries, it is not difficult to argue that this composition exhibits an apocalyptic worldview as well. The composition also has some material that resonates with traditional wisdom, although notably not nearly as much as 4QInstruction. 1Q27 1 ii 4-6, for example, contains remnants of a teaching that wealth will ultimately be of no benefit to the evil-doer. 4Q299 7 is a warning about people who bear grudges. The speaker of Mysteries at times takes on the appearance of a teacher who asks his students questions about ethical issues and the nature of the revelation they have received. 4Q300 7 1 is an example of an ethical question: '[what is worse for a human being than] evil, and what is more exalted for a man than righteousness?' (cf. 4Q299 6 ii 5). In 4Q299 3c 3-4 he presumably asks them to contemplate the 'mysteries' that have been disclosed to them: 'Listen: for what is hidden wisdom?' (cf. 4Q299 8 5-6). Such texts in Mysteries suggest that its intended audience was to derive knowledge not simply from receiving divine knowledge but also from the study of revealed wisdom. Such considerations support Kister's understanding of Early Jewish wisdom as a new fusion of older genres, some of which derive from traditional wisdom. The book of Mysteries can be reasonably understood as a wisdom text, although one that is substantially different from the biblical book of Proverbs.

The book of Mysteries, and the diversity of the Qumran sapiential material in general, casts the age-old problem of defining wisdom in a new light. The range of diverse material that is now labeled 'sapiential' forces scholars to revisit the issue of the coherence of wisdom literature. A traditional view in scholarship, as expressed by Crenshaw (1998: 11), is that sapiential literature can be defined by 'a marriage of form and content'. Wisdom consists of perceptive observations about the nature of reality. The forms in which wisdom, such as the proverb or instruction, is expressed are pithy, concise and didactic, and as such, Crenshaw argues,

themselves reflect a sapiential worldview. Collins concludes (1997c: 280) that with the Qumran wisdom literature 'the marriage of form and worldview seems to end in divorce'. He suggests that this corpus illustrates that wisdom 'cannot be identified with a single worldview' (p. 281). The coherence of wisdom as a category of literature should rather, in his view, be identified 'in its use as instructional material' than with a particular perspective. Collins's opinion makes sense but it depends on what one means by 'worldview'. The apocalyptic worldview, as it is commonly understood in the field (Collins 1998), is found in 4QInstruction and Mysteries but nothing of the sort is present in several Qumran wisdom texts such as 4Q424 or 4QWays of Righteousness. These writings contain a variety of perspectives. In that sense it is not clear there is a single worldview evident throughout this corpus. But if by worldview one means an approach to life that is noetic and eudaemonistic, one finds this posture in Qumran wisdom literature and throughout the sapiential tradition more broadly. The caveat is that basic questions such as how one obtains knowledge of the world, or how and when the rewards of wisdom are conferred upon someone are posed in a substantially different manner in the wisdom literature of Qumran when compared to the traditional wisdom of Proverbs. Adams, in his study of retribution in the sapiential tradition, has stressed this important point by demonstrating that 4QInstruction transformed older wisdom norms by embracing common Early Jewish tropes such as the prospect of a blessed afterlife for the righteous (2008: 276). In terms of the problem of genre, the upshot of the transformation of wisdom in the late Second Temple period is that there is a great variety of attitudes and perspectives found in the literature classified as wisdom, some of which accords with traditional wisdom and others with more contemporary tropes such as apocalypticism and veneration of the Torah. This, in line with Kister's general conclusion, means that one cannot merely formulate a simple list of criteria to define wisdom as a genre. The label 'wisdom' has value as a heuristic umbrella term that encompasses a wide range of material—a term that we employ (not the ancient authors writing in Hebrew) to describe texts with an explicitly pedagogical perspective and a noetic impulse which encourages their addressees to study and understand the nature of the created order and God's role in its formation and existence. This makes wisdom as a genre fluid rather than rigidly defined. The Qumran wisdom texts illustrate that the category 'wisdom' is an inductive category based on the texts themselves, rather than a category of literature precisely demarcated by ancient Jewish authors.

Conclusion

In 1964 James Sanders wrote that 'no work has been done…on Wisdom thinking generally in Qumran literature' (p. 65). This statement remained essentially true until the late 1990s, when, for the first time, scholars had access to numerous Qumran texts that were widely recognized as wisdom compositions. Since then there has been an enormous amount of interest in this material. Scholars are coming to grips with the level of diversity in these texts and how this bears on our understanding of wisdom as a literary category. Some of the Qumran wisdom literature accords with developments within the sapiential tradition that were already established. Two good examples of this phenomenon are 4Q185 and 4Q525. Since both are Early Jewish sapiential texts that incorporate the national history of Israel and veneration of the Torah, they confirm the view, already evident from Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon, that in this period these tropes entered the wisdom tradition. The Qumran wisdom texts also illuminate sapiential trajectories that were not nearly as evident before the emergence of the Dead Sea Scrolls. 4QInstruction is the best example of a wisdom text with an apocalyptic worldview. The book of Mysteries and the Treatise on the Two Spirits, which identifies itself as an instruction (1QS 3.13), can also be understood as sapiential teachings with an apocalyptic perspective. Taken as a whole, these three works shed light on one type of sapiential literature in this period that is characterized by extensive influence from the apocaplyptic tradition, as evident in their use of 'mystery' terminology to signify heavenly knowledge and their appeals to eschatological judgment.

There are also striking omissions when looking at the Qumran wisdom literature in relation to the wisdom tradition more broadly. Solomon, for example, plays no role in the corpus whatsoever. The personified figure of Woman Wisdom, a central figure not only in Proverbs but also in Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon, is not prominent in the Qumran wisdom texts, although some of them show familiarity with this tradition (e.g., 4Q525 24 ii; 4Q185 1-2 ii 13-15; see further White Crawford 1998; Goff 2007: 290-91). Also, the Qumran wisdom texts do not confirm that Job and Ecclesiastes testify to a crisis of wisdom that reverberated throughout the sapiential tradition.

The most important contribution of recent scholarship on the Qumran sapiential texts for our understanding of Early Jewish wisdom is that these texts, in particular 4QInstruction, illustrate that the sapiential tradition during the late Second Temple period was both flexible and conservative.

Wisdom texts were able to appropriate ideas and motifs from traditions that are alien to the older wisdom of Proverbs, most notably from apocalypticism and the Torah, while displaying significant continuity with the traditional wisdom of Israel. The study of the wisdom literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the potential it opens up for understanding the sapiential literature of Early Judaism, is in many ways in its early stages and will continue to be a fruitful arena for future research.

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