

4QINSTRUCTION



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Number 2

4QINSTRUCTION

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By

Matthew J. Goff



Society of Biblical Literature
Atlanta

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For Meegan

בת חכמה ישמח אב

Proverbs 10:1 (with some modification)

אב

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Unless otherwise noted, translations of Ben Sira and the Hodayot are from, respectively, Alexander di Lella and Patrick W. Skehan, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987), and Hartmut Stegemann, Eileen Schuller, and Carol Newsom, *Qumran Cave 1.III: 1QHodayot^a with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot^{a-f}* (DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon, 2009).

My wife Diane has been unstinting in her support of my work, and I am enormously grateful. I am lucky to have her in my life. Our two children, Meegan and Liam, have been a continuous source of delight and inspiration during my work on this project. I dedicate this book to Meegan, who asked me if it was about unicorns. The next one will be for Liam.

Tallahassee, Florida

July 2, 2013



ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ATM	Altes Testament und Moderne
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BInS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BSIH	Brill's Studies in Intellectual History
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CBR	Currents in Biblical Research
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CPJ	<i>Corpus papyrorum judaicorum</i> . Edited by V. Tcherikover. 3 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957–1964.
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DJD 1	<i>Qumran Cave 1</i> . Edited by Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik. DJD 1. Oxford: Clarendon, 1955.
DJD 34	<i>Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2. 4QInstruction (Mûsâr Lē Mēbîn): 4Q415ff. With a Re-edition of 1Q26</i> . Edited by John Strugnell and Daniel J. Harrington. DJD 34. Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.
DJD 36	<i>Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1</i> . Edited by Stephen J. Pfann. DJD 36. Oxford: Clarendon, 2000.
DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>

<i>DTT</i>	<i>Dansk teologisk tidsskrift</i>
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GDNES	Gorgias Dissertations in Near Eastern Studies
GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Edited by E. Kautzsch. Translated by A. E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910.
HALOT	Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm. <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999.
HS	<i>Hebrew Studies</i>
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
JANESCU	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JLA	<i>The Jewish Law Annual</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
LASBF	<i>Liber annuus Studii biblici franciscani</i>
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
NES	Near Eastern Studies
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
PAAJR	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research</i>
PAM	Palestinian Archaeological Museum
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
RHPR	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
SB	Subsidia Biblica

SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLSP	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>
SBSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
STAC	Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
TAD	<i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt</i> . Edited by B. Porten and A. Yardeni. 3 vols. Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1986–1993.
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WDSP	Wadi Daliyeh Samaria Papyri
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YJS	Yale Judaica Series
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>



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A NOTE ON THE CRITICAL TEXT

This commentary offers a critical text of the major fragments of 4QInstruction. Two factors complicate this effort: the physically degraded nature of the material and the fact that there are several copies of the composition, which often overlap. The second issue means that text which is missing or illegible in one fragment of 4QInstruction can be reconstructed with material from another fragment. While people in the field of Qumran studies will be familiar with the system I have adopted in the presentation of the text in this commentary, for the sake of clarity I explain it to the general reader.

- A line over a *yod* or *waw* (ȳ) designates that the orthography of these two letters is very similar and that I understand the letter in question as one of these two, while acknowledging that it could be the other.
- A dot over a letter (ḵ) indicates that the letter in question is not fully extant and that I regard it as a probable, but not fully certain, reading.
- A circle over a letter (ḵ^o) means that the letter in question is very poorly preserved and that my reading is possible but far from certain.
- A circle (o) in the main text (not above another letter) denotes that there is a letter at the location in question but not enough of it survives to identify it.
- Text in brackets indicates that it is not in the fragment at hand. The material within the brackets for the most part comes from overlapping fragments of 4QInstruction. Any text that overlaps with material from other fragments of the composition is marked with a type of underlining. This format is explained at the outset of each critical text of the book.

- Any letter within brackets that is in a shadow font (⌘) is not based on physical evidence but is rather supplemented on semantic grounds. In the translation this material is in italics.

The diacritical remarks explained above are present in the critical text and textual notes sections of each chapter. For the sake of simplicity, they are not retained when I cite the Hebrew of 4QInstruction in the main body of the commentary.

The critical text of each chapter is accompanied by instances in which one or more of the major editions of 4QInstruction texts (e.g., DJD 34, Tigchelaar, Rey) offer a different reading than the one offered here (in the textual notes section). Because of the fragmentary nature of the composition, there will inevitably be texts that qualified scholars transcribe in different ways. People should consult the images of the original fragments and decide for themselves how to transcribe a given word or letter of 4QInstruction. After the writing of this book was completed, Google launched a project in collaboration with the Israel Museum to make new high-resolution images of the Qumran scrolls readily available online. This is an exciting development, and it will be interesting to see how this resource can enable advances in the study of 4QInstruction.



INTRODUCTION

1. MANUSCRIPTS AND DISCOVERY

4QInstruction (1Q26, 4Q415–418, 4Q423), also known as *musar le-mebin*, is the longest sapiential text found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. There has been a great deal of interest in this composition in recent years.¹ 4QInstruction was officially published in 1999 in DJD 34 by John Strugnell and Daniel Harrington.² 1Q26 was originally published in DJD 1, which appeared in 1955.³ Strugnell correctly suggested in August 1955 that 1Q26 might be part of a larger sapiential text, perhaps written by the Qumran sect, which is represented by four manuscripts from Cave 4, now numbered 4Q415–418.⁴ By 1959 the basic form of the text was understood. Its manuscripts had been transcribed for the card index of the preliminary concordance of the Qumran scrolls, and its fragments had been photographed.⁵ Strugnell's work on 4QInstruction took on renewed focus in 1992 when Emanuel Tov, as the new editor-in-chief of the Dead Sea Scrolls, appointed Daniel Harrington to become a partner with Strugnell to see the official edition of 4QInstruction to completion.⁶ The first publication of 4QInstruction texts also occurred in 1992, in the works of Wacholder and Abegg, and Eisenman and Wise, both well known in the history of the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁷

1. Major studies include Rey 2009; Wold 2005b; Goff 2003b; Tigchelaar 2001; Elgvin 1997a (an important study that remains unpublished). For additional scholarship, consult Goff 2009b, 376–416; Harrington 2006, 105–23.

2. Strugnell and Harrington (1999) gave the name *musar le-mebin* to the text. Before this edition appeared, the document was often called Sapiential Work A.

3. Barthélemy and Milik 1955, 101–2.

4. Strugnell 1956, 64–66. According to Strugnell and Harrington (1999, xiii), when Strugnell joined the editorial team in September 1954, Milik had already begun to assemble some of the fragments of 4Q418. See also Tigchelaar 2001, 5–13. For the relation between 4QInstruction and the Dead Sea sect, see §10 below.

5. Strugnell and Harrington 1991, xiv; Tigchelaar 2001, 6–8.

6. Shanks 2002, 33; Strugnell and Harrington 1991, xv.

7. Wacholder and Abegg 1992, 44–154, 166–71; Eisenman and Wise 1992, 241–

4QInstruction is a lengthy composition, of which only fragmentary remains survive. It has been proposed that one copy of the work, 4Q418, was as lengthy as the Temple Scroll or the Hodayot, two of the longest texts from Qumran.⁸ DJD 34 presents over 425 fragments as from 4QInstruction. Most of them are quite small. Since the composition's official publication, three minor texts of 4QInstruction have surfaced (XQ7; 4Q416 23; PAM 43.674 frg. 7).⁹ The large number of fragments associated with the composition prevents this commentary from treating all of them in depth. Instead, this book examines in detail the largest and most important fragments of 4QInstruction:

1. 4Q415 2 ii
2. 4Q416 1
3. 4Q416 2 ii
4. 4Q416 2 iii
5. 4Q416 2 iv
6. 4Q417 1 i
7. 4Q417 1 ii
8. 4Q417 2 i

55. Wacholder and Abegg reproduced the transcriptions of texts of 4QInstruction based on the preliminary concordance. Eisenman and Wise based their work on the photographs of the scrolls at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. For evaluation of the former work, see Tigchelaar 2001, 14–15; for the latter, see Harrington and Strugnell 1993, 491–99. For the story of the scrolls' publication in the early 1990s, consult VanderKam 2010, 233–40.

8. Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 2.

9. Puech and Steudel 2000, 623–27; Eshel and Eshel 2007, 277–78. The first fragment was published by Armin Lange in DJD 36 as XQ7, "XQUnidentified Text." The text is small, preserving remnants of thirteen words. A Finnish pastor purchased the scrap from an Arab in 1960. Upon the death of the pastor, the fragment was bequeathed to the state of Israel and became the possession of the Israel Antiquities Authority. John Strugnell was never informed of the text's existence during the years he worked on the edition of 4QInstruction (personal correspondence in 2002). The fragment published by the Eshels is even smaller than XQ7, with only two legible words surviving. They classify it as belonging to 4Q416 as fragment 23 of this copy. (Strugnell and Harrington in DJD 34 attribute 22 fragments to this manuscript.) PAM 43.674 frg. 7, which appears in Pike and Skinner 2001, has recently been identified by Tigchelaar and should be placed at the left end of 4Q416 2 i 10–12. See Tigchelaar 2001, 125; 2011, 317–22; Pfann 2000, 492–93; Kampen 2011, 189–90; Pike and Skinner 2001, 70.

9. 4Q418 55
10. 4Q418 69 ii
11. 4Q418 81
12. 4Q418 103 ii
13. 4Q418 126 ii + 122 ii
14. 4Q423 1
15. 4Q423 5

The vast majority of the extensive scholarly interest in this composition has focused on these texts, in particular 4Q416 1 and 2, 4Q417 1 and 2, and 4Q418 81.

The fragments of 4QInstruction derive from seven or perhaps eight copies of the work. They are: 1Q26, 4Q415, 4Q416, 4Q417, 4Q418, 4Q418a, and 4Q423.¹⁰ This number of copies rivals that of major Qumran texts such as the War Scroll (seven) and the Damascus Document (eight). The multiple copies of 4QInstruction often produce a synoptic situation, in which several versions of the same passage are attested.¹¹ This allows poorly preserved passages to be reconstructed through other attestations of the same text, as is evident in the commentary that follows.

The major characteristics of the manuscripts of 4QInstruction are as follows:

1Q26

One of the smaller manuscripts of 4QInstruction, only five small fragments are attributed to it. 1Q26 1 overlaps with 4Q423 4 and 1Q26 2 with 4Q423 3.¹² The handwriting of the manuscript is classified as “rustic semi-formal” and dated to the early or middle Herodian period.¹³

4Q415

Thirty-two fragments are associated with this manuscript, most of

10. The determination of the number of manuscripts depends on the assessment of the material attributed to 4Q418, as discussed below.

11. Tigchelaar 2001, 148–50.

12. As mentioned above, this text was published originally in DJD 1. It is republished in Strugnell and Harrington 1999 (535–39). 1Q26 is at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The others manuscripts of 4QInstruction are in Jerusalem at the Israel Museum. See also Tigchelaar 2001, 146–47; Kampen 2011, 189.

13. For overviews of these script styles, see Cross 1961, 133–202; Yardeni 2002.

which are quite small.¹⁴ The most substantial are fragments 2 ii, 9, and 11, which all deal in various ways with marriage and childbirth (see chapter 1). The overlap between 4Q415 11 and 4Q418 167a + b confirms that the manuscript is a copy of 4QInstruction. The handwriting is early Herodian and similar to 4Q418 and 4Q418a. The editors of DJD 34 suggest that the fragments of 4Q415, on the basis of their paleographic affinities with 4Q418, may stem from sheets that were once part of the latter manuscript but then removed from it.¹⁵ 4Q415 is the only text of 4QInstruction that is opithsographic, meaning that its leather has writing on both sides. On the *verso* is 4Q414 (4QRitual of Purification A), a liturgical text.¹⁶ It is written in a different hand from the *recto* and, in relation to 4Q415, is upside down. This suggests that the manuscript was reused at a later date by the author of 4Q414.¹⁷ It is possible that 4Q415 was considered at that time a discarded or unnecessary manuscript.

4Q416

Twenty-two fragments comprise this copy.¹⁸ Most of them are minor, but two of the most important texts of 4QInstruction belong to 4Q416: 4Q416 1, widely considered to be the beginning of the composition (see §2 below), and 4Q416 2, the longest and arguably most important fragment of 4QInstruction. It preserves a substantial amount of text from four columns. 4Q416 2 overlaps with material in 4Q417 2 and 4Q418 7–10. The paleography of 4Q416 suggests that it was written in the late Hasmonean or early Herodian periods (early to mid-first century B.C.E.). The editors

14. Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 41–71; Tigchelaar 2001, 28–41; Kampen 2011, 84–94.

15. Strugnell and Harrington (1999, 1) do not endorse this view consistently. See, for example, pp. 42 and 214. Tigchelaar (2001, 30) grants the similarities between 4Q415 and 4Q418 but is skeptical of the proposal in Strugnell and Harrington 1999 for explaining them.

16. The editor of 4Q414 is Esther Eshel. See Baumgarten et al. 1999, 135–54.

17. Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 41–42. Elgvin argues that 4Q414 was written before 4Q415. Tigchelaar (2001, 28–30) points out, in addition to arguments given above, that the *recto* or hair side of the leather (the 4Q415 side) was the side normally used for writing. See Eshel in Baumgarten et al. 1999, 135; Elgvin 1995a, 577.

18. Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 73–141; Tigchelaar 2001, 42–50; Kampen 2011, 60–83. 4Q416 has twenty-three fragments according to Eshel and Eshel 2007, 277–78, as discussed above.

of DJD 34 suggest that 4Q416 is the oldest copy of 4QInstruction, being perhaps twenty-five years older than 4Q415, 4Q417, and 4Q418.¹⁹

4Q417

Twenty-nine fragments belong to 4Q417.²⁰ As with 4Q416, most of these are quite minor, but 4Q417 1 and 2 are important fragments of 4QInstruction. They are crucial for understanding core topics of the work, such as its eschatology, creation theology, and financial advice. The handwriting of the manuscript is early Herodian formal. The numbering of 4Q417 1 and 2 was switched by the official editors of the composition. In pre-DJD 34 scholarship 4Q417 1 is called 4Q417 2 and vice versa.²¹

4Q418 AND 4Q418A–C

A vast number of fragments are associated with 4Q418.²² They present more problems than the other manuscripts of 4QInstruction. The handwriting of 4Q418 is late Hasmonean or early Herodian (early to mid-first century B.C.E.). In DJD 34 the enumeration of 4Q418 fragments goes from 1 to 303, but several of these numbers are null and do not represent distinct fragments of 4QInstruction.²³ 4Q418 includes several well-known

19. Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 76.

20. Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 143–210; Tigchelaar 2001, 51–60; Kampen 2011, 94–118.

21. Tigchelaar 2011, 51. In Strugnell and Harrington (1999) the sequence of some of the other fragments of 4Q417 was rearranged. For example, 4Q417 11 was originally fragment 5. Five other small texts of 4Q417 were reclassified as 4Q468l–p. They are available in Pfann 2000, 422–25.

22. Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 211–474; Tigchelaar 2001, 61–125; Kampen 2011, 118–75.

23. For example, 4Q418 12 and 21 are now understood as belonging to fragment 8 (classified as 4Q418 8d and 8c, respectively). 4Q418 213 has been joined to fragment 2 and is now identified as 4Q418 2c. 4Q418 125 is an empty number since the fragment in question is now fragment 116. 4Q418 256–58 no longer have fragments associated with them since they have been joined to other manuscripts. Additional null numbers are discussed below. Strugnell and Harrington (1999, 474) doubt whether fragment 303 actually belongs to 4Q418. It is published by Ernst and Lange in Pfann 2000 (420–21) as 4Q468k (4QHymnic Text B?). Strugnell and Harrington (1999, 474) also include a list of over fifty small fragments that are presented as part of 4Q418, about which they express doubt as to whether they are actually from this manuscript. See also Tigchelaar 2001, 70–72.

and much-discussed fragments, such as fragments 55, 69 ii and 81. Several texts of 4Q418 overlap with other fragments of 4QInstruction.²⁴

DJD 34 also describes three other manuscripts, classified as 4Q418a–c. Twenty-five small fragments are attributed to 4Q418a and two and one, respectively, to 4Q418b and 4Q418c.²⁵ On the basis of physical differences between the two groups of fragments, the 4Q418a fragments are considered in DJD 34 to come from a copy of 4QInstruction that is separate from 4Q418.²⁶ The editors hesitatingly suggest that 4Q418b and 4Q418c may be from still other copies of 4QInstruction.²⁷

The classification in DJD 34 of the fragments that comprise 4Q418 has been criticized. Elgvin argued that several fragments (1, 2, 2a, 2b, 2c, 4, 286, 296, 297) of 4Q418 are actually from a separate manuscript, which he designates “4Q418b.”²⁸ Strugnell and Harrington agree with Elgvin that the fragments which comprise 4Q418 1–2 are different from the rest of

24. 4Q418 1–2, for example, overlaps with 4Q416 1; 4Q418 7–10 overlaps with portions of 4Q416 2 and 4Q417 2; 4Q418 43–45 i (which are joined to comprise a single text) corresponds to 4Q417 1 i and 4Q418a 11; 4Q418 69 ii overlaps with 4Q417 5; 4Q418 77 with 4Q416 7; 4Q418 81 with 4Q423 8; 4Q418 167a + b with 4Q415 11; 4Q418 188 with 4Q423 9.

25. Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 475–503; Tigchelaar 2001, 124–39. Tigchelaar never endorses the separation of 4Q418b and is critical of some of the classifications and joins of fragments in the 4Q418a material as presented in Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 138–39.

26. The 4Q418a material consists of four multi-layered wads of fragments, most of which are quite thin. Also the 4Q418a fragments are in general much darker in color than those associated with 4Q418. See Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 475; Tigchelaar 2001, 126–30.

27. 4Q418b 1 and 2 were originally classified as fragments 116 and 112 of 4Q418, respectively. 4Q418c was originally 4Q418 161. The column length of 4Q418b is much narrower than that of the 4Q418 and 4Q418a fragments, suggesting it does not stem from these manuscripts. Strugnell and Harrington suggest that 4Q418c is not part of 4Q418, because of their differing column heights and the use in 4Q418c of geographical terms (i.e., Mount Carmel in l. 10), which are not found elsewhere in 4QInstruction. The editors grant that such arguments are not overwhelming, but nevertheless separate 4Q418c from 4Q418. Tigchelaar sees no convincing reason to endorse this separation. See Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 498, 501; Tigchelaar 2001, 124–25.

28. Elgvin 1995a, 570–71. Elgvin’s 4Q418b should not be confused with the 4Q418b of Strugnell and Harrington 1999. Also, he classifies the rest of 4Q418 as “4Q418a” (referring to material classified in Strugnell and Harrington 1999 as 4Q418, not 4Q418a).

4Q418.²⁹ They dismiss, however, the possibility of a separate manuscript. Instead, they suggest that 4Q418 1–2 represents a sort of patch or repair sheet that was appended to 4Q418, because its original beginning page had become damaged. Tigchelaar suggests that 4Q418 1–2 represents the beginning of another copy of 4QInstruction, which he terms 4Q418* (to distinguish it from 4Q418 and 4Q418a), the rest of which has not survived.³⁰ The poorly preserved condition of the 4Q418 fragments prevents firm conclusions regarding the number of copies they contain. It is entirely possible that 4Q418 1–2 are remnants of a manuscript aside from 4Q418. These debates do not have a major impact on the interpretation of the surviving content of 4QInstruction (see §2 below).

4Q423

Twenty-four fragments belong to this manuscript.³¹ Fragments 3 and 4 overlap, respectively, with 1Q26 2 and 1. 4Q423 5 has text that accords with 4Q418a 3.³² 4Q423 1 depicts the *mebin* as entrusted with the garden of Eden, an important motif for understanding the nature of his elect status. Several texts of 4Q423, in particular fragment 5, help establish that at least some of the intended addressees were farmers (see chapter 15). The hand of 4Q423 is middle or late Herodian (first half of the first century C.E.), placing it, along with 1Q26, among the latest copies of 4QInstruction. One small fragment that was once part of 4Q423 was reclassified by the editors of DJD 34 as 4Q468q.³³

2. THE STRUCTURE OF 4QINSTRUCTION

Considerable effort has been made to determine the sequence of the texts of 4QInstruction in its original form. Elgvin made a proposal of the work's original structure in his 1997 dissertation, and the editors of DJD

29. The 4Q418 1–2 material is much darker and thicker than is normally the case in 4Q418. See Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 226–27; Tigchelaar 2001, 62.

30. Tigchelaar 2001, 61–64. See p. 16, for a table that helps explain the nomenclature regarding copies of 4Q418 material used by Elgvin 1997a, Strugnell and Harrington (1999), and himself. Consult also Rey 2009a, 3.

31. Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 505–33; Tigchelaar 2001, 140–45; Kampen 2011, 182–89.

32. 4Q423 8 overlaps with 4Q418 81, 4Q423 9 with 4Q418 188, and 4Q423 11 with 4Q418 184.

33. Ernst and Lange in Pfann 2000, 423, 425–26.

34 report a (still unpublished) reconstruction of 4Q418 by Annette Steudel and Birgit Lucassen.³⁴ The most secure data point in this endeavor is that 4Q416 1 represents the beginning of the composition. This, however, is not a fact, but rather a reasonable explanation of its wide right margin (approximately 3 cm.).³⁵ Also, the column's emphasis on divine judgment would be fitting as an introductory text since it would establish an eschatological horizon for the rest of the composition (not unlike 1 Enoch 1).

Beyond the identification of 4Q416 1 as the beginning of 4QInstruction, relatively little can be plausibly inferred about the original structure of the composition. It is also not evident that there is a great deal at stake regarding this issue. The composition is generally, and reasonably, considered a wisdom text (see §4 below). Other sapiential texts, such as Proverbs and Ben Sira, are characterized by the often seemingly haphazard sequence of their contents. In terms of reconstructing narrative texts, such as the fragmentary Book of Giants, how one arranges the fragments is an important issue, since it reflects one's understanding of the sequence of events in the narrative. There is, by contrast, no narrative in 4QInstruction. It appears to be, like other wisdom texts, a loose collection of didactic teachings. Were a reconstruction of its original sequence possible, it is not clear that this would be of great assistance for the interpretation of the text.

However, in some cases a "relative reconstruction" of 4QInstruction texts is possible.³⁶ At times one can determine the placement of a given text not in relation to the original structure of the composition but to another text of 4QInstruction. For example, 4Q418a 15 and 18, which both derive from the same wad of texts, overlap respectively with 4Q418 167 and 4Q416 2 iv. Understanding the layers of the wads that intervene between the two fragments of 4Q418a as preserving actual revolutions of the physical scroll, one can infer that text which corresponds to 4Q418 167 was between three and five columns to the left of material that accords

34. Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 18–19; Elgvin 1997a, 29–31; 1995a, 564.

35. Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 73. Elgvin is exceptional in viewing 4Q416 1 as not from the beginning of the work, understanding it as from column 7 of the work, although he has since disavowed this view (personal correspondence). See also Tigchelaar 2001, 156–57. This issue is discussed in more detail at the beginning of chapter 2.

36. Tigchelaar 2001, 161.

with 4Q416 2 iv.³⁷ Such inferences are interesting but do not have a significant impact on the interpretation of 4QInstruction.

3. LANGUAGE AND STYLE

The Hebrew of 4QInstruction has several notable features. There are several words that are characteristic of the document.³⁸ They include:

- רז נהיה. This is the most distinctive term of the composition (see further §5 below). The term *raz* is a Persian loan-word and *nihyeh* is a *niphal* participle of the verb “to be.”³⁹ It is often translated “the mystery that is to be.” The expression signifies supernatural revelation that has been disclosed to the addressee.
- מבין. A *hiphil* participle that means “understanding one.” It is the composition’s preferred term for the addressee (consult §4 below).
- אוט. This enigmatic term probably refers to material resources that are available to the addressee, the exact nature of which cannot be recovered. See further the commentary on 4Q416 2 ii 1.
- המשיל. This *hiphil* verb denotes “to give dominion.” It is often used in 4QInstruction, typically in the perfect with a second person singular suffix. At key points of the document this verb signifies that God has given the addressee a form of elect status. For example, 4Q423 1 2 employs the term to claim that he has been entrusted with the garden of Eden. In 4Q416 2 iii 11–12 the term helps convey that the deity has bequeathed to the *mebin* an “inheritance of glory” (see further the commentary on this text and 4Q418 81 3).
- חפץ. This term, which is attested over twenty times in the composition, refers to one’s “desire.” The term normally signifies in

37. Tigchelaar 2001, 163.

38. Several surveys of the distinctive terminology of 4QInstruction are available. See Kampen 2011, 46–54, Rey 2009a, 33–38, Tigchelaar 2001, 237–44, Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 31–32.

39. Morphologically, נהיה could be a perfect verb, but syntax suggests this is not the case. While I understand the term as a participle that modifies the word “mystery,” it could be a nominal participle, in which case the two terms have a construct relationship, “the mystery of that which is.” For the Persian background of the term *raz*, see Thomas 2009, 245–51. Consult also Rey 2009a, 287.

4QInstruction a person's (typically the addressee's) desire to meet his material needs. The word may refer to God's desire in 4Q416 1 2 (see commentary on this text). More detail on חפץ is provided in the commentary on 4Q418 126 ii 12.

- **מחסור**. The word denotes “lack” in a material sense and is important for conveying that the addressee is at times unable to meet his basic needs. Additional discussion of this word is offered in the commentary on 4Q417 2 i 17.
- **מולד**. This term is translated here as “birth time.” In 4Q186 (4QHoroscope) the term has an astrological sense, signifying the “sign” under which one is born. While 4QInstruction shows no knowledge of astronomical lore, it has a deterministic conception of the natural order. It follows that the timing of human birth occurs according to a divine plan. The text urges the *mebin* several times to “seize the birth times” (4Q415 11 11, 4Q416 2 iii 20; 4Q417 2 i 11; 4Q418 202 1). This probably refers to the process of determining whether the prospective wife of the addressee (or his children) is among the elect, but some of the relevant texts are ambiguous. See further the commentary on 4Q417 2 i 11.
- **פקודה**. Meaning “visitation,” this word denotes eschatological judgment several times in 4QInstruction, as discussed in the commentary on 4Q417 1 i 7–8. The term can also signify the divinely structured nature of the created order (4Q416 1 9).

In terms of style, several features are prominent in 4QInstruction. One is the work's preference for the second person singular, referring to the addressee. This is the case even though the composition is designed for a group of *mebinim* rather than a single individual. This is indicated by the fact that the word appears several times in the plural (4Q415 11 5; 4Q418 123 ii 4; 4Q418 221 3). 4Q418 81 17 suggests that there was more than one teacher as well. It is reasonable to think of the preference for the second person singular as a rhetorical device, intended to convey instruction to each *mebin* more personally and directly. However, it is possible that, while the document was produced for a group of people, instruction took place on a one-to-one basis. Very little can be determined about how instruction actually took place in the community to which 4QInstruction is addressed. Some texts prefer the second person plural, most notably 4Q418 55 8–12 and 4Q418 69 ii 4–15 (see commentaries on these texts; cf. 4Q417 1 i 20; 4Q423 5 10).

4QInstruction often begins new topics of discourse with the term *mebin* in an exhortation that urges him to acquire knowledge. A common formula is *ואתה מביין* plus an imperative (4Q416 4 3; 4Q417 1 i 1, 13, 18; 4Q417 2 i 28; 4Q418 69 ii 15; 4Q418 81 15; 4Q418 123 ii 5; 4Q418 126 ii 12; 4Q418 168 4; 4Q418 176 3). Parallelism is another common feature of 4QInstruction, as is often the case in ancient Hebrew literature.⁴⁰ A clear example is in the call for filial piety in 4Q416 2 iii 15–16: “Honor your father in your poverty and your mother in your lowly state, for as God is to man so is his father, and as Lord is to a person so is his mother” (cf. 4Q417 1 i 8–9; 4Q418 55 4; 4Q418 123 ii 4–5).

Regarding the syntax of 4QInstruction, several items should be noted. 4QInstruction is rather unusual in its preference for the phrase *ואז* (“and then”). In the Hebrew Bible the conjunction is almost always used without a *waw* (for exceptions, see, e.g., Exod 12:48 and Jer 32:2). This is also the case in Ben Sira (50:16, 20). Aside from 4QInstruction, *ואז* is found in the scrolls but is relatively rare (e.g., 1QS 3:11; 1QM 1:16).⁴¹ 4QInstruction uses the expression several times with the verb *ידע* (second person singular) to convey what the addressee can learn if he follows the text’s advice to study constantly. 4Q417 1 i 6–7 reads, for example, “[... day and night meditate upon the mystery that] is to be and study (it) constantly. And then (*ואז*) you will know truth and iniquity, wisdom [and foll]y” (cf. ll. 8, 13; 4Q416 2 iii 9). 4QInstruction also prefers *וגם* (“and also”) over *גם*.⁴² *וגם* begins a new section several times in the composition (e.g., 4Q416 2 ii 21; 4Q417 2 i 28). Another distinctive syntactic feature of 4QInstruction is the construction ... *אל תקטול ... פן* (“do not X ... lest ...”; e.g., 4Q416 2 ii 16, 18; 4Q416 2 iii 4), which is quite rare elsewhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁴³ The work also several times uses *למה* in the sense of *פן* (“lest”), as does Ben Sira (e.g., 1Q26 1 5; 4Q416 2 ii 14; Sir 8:1; 12:5).

40. For more on parallelism, see Reymond 2011; Berlin 2008.

41. For a fuller treatment of this issue, see Tigchelaar 2001, 237.

42. *וגם* is used in various constructions in the Hebrew Bible and Early Jewish literature. See for example Gen 6:4; Zech 9:11; Neh 5:8; Ezek 16:28; Sir 3:13; 7:32; 12:11; CD 5:11; 15:1; 1QM 11:3. Consult also Rey 2009a, 34.

43. Rey (2009a, 18–19, 334) points out that this construction is also found consistently in Ben Sira and should be viewed as a stylistic element that is distinctive to both works. This forms part of his argument that the two works not only have a common milieu but that their authors debated one another. As discussed in sections 9 and 10 below, both texts were written during the second century B.C.E., but their notable differences in terms of social class problematizes the extent to which one can posit that

4. GENRE: 4QINSTRUCTION AS A WISDOM TEXT

The wisdom tradition of ancient Israel comprises pedagogical literature, written by teachers for students, that is eudemonistic and didactic, provides instruction on specific topics, and intends to foster in them a desire to learn and seek knowledge.⁴⁴ Sapiential texts contain teachings about practical topics that pertain to ordinary life, such as marriage or the payment of debts. They also engage more speculative topics such as God's creation of the world or theodicy. The wisdom tradition is represented in the Hebrew Bible by Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes and in the Apocrypha by Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon. Aside from 4QInstruction, there are several other Qumran texts that are widely considered wisdom texts.⁴⁵

4QInstruction is considered a sapiential text primarily because of its explicit and insistent pedagogical nature. The addressee is often referred to as a *mēbin* (“understanding one”), a term that portrays him as someone who is learning and thinking.⁴⁶ By contrast, virtually nothing is said in the text about the speaker. Due to the didactic nature of the text, the speaker can reasonably be understood as the teacher who instructs the addressee. The teacher figure of 4QInstruction never emerges as a distinct personality. In principle more than one person could have assumed the role of teacher in the circles in which 4QInstruction was produced.

The term *mēbin* is typically used in the singular, but several attestations in the plural help establish that 4QInstruction was written with a particular community in mind, as discussed above. The term elsewhere often refers to students and signifies a person who wants to learn. In Proverbs the term describes someone who wants to attain knowledge and understanding.⁴⁷ The word is parallel to “scribe” (סופר) in 1 Chr 27:32

their authors interacted with one another. See also Rey 2008, 155–73; Adams 2010, 555–83.

44. Crenshaw 2010, 12; Perdue 2008.

45. For a review of the Qumran texts often identified as sapiential, see Kampen 2011; Goff 2007; 2010c, 286–306; Harrington 1996b.

46. The term occurs approximately twenty times in 4QInstruction (not including instances in which it is reasonably supplemented). See, e.g., 4Q417 1 i 1, 14, 18; 4Q417 1 ii 8; 4Q418 81 15; 4Q418 102a + b 3; 4Q418 123 ii 5; 4Q418 158 4; 4Q418 168 4; 4Q418 227 1. Consult Kampen 2011, 51–52.

47. Prov 17:24: “Wisdom is before the face of the perceptive man (מבין) while the eyes of the dolt are in the ends of the earth.” This translation is from Fox (2009,

and describes courtiers trained in “every branch of wisdom” in Dan 1:4.⁴⁸ In the Hodayot the word denotes the elect community who has received revealed knowledge from their teacher (1QH 10:20). In the wisdom text 4QBeatitudes the term occurs in an exhortation that urges a student to listen to a teacher: “And now, understanding one, listen to me” (4Q525 14 ii 18; cf. 4Q303 1). The prominence of this term in 4QInstruction exemplifies its devotion to the education of students and helps establish it as a wisdom text.

In terms of content there is much in 4QInstruction that resonates with the wisdom tradition. 4Q418 221 2–3 explains that the work is intended to make both the simple (פּוֹתִיִּים) and the intelligent ones (מְבִינִים) understand (cf. 4Q418 81 17). A variant of the term “simple” is in the pedagogical prologue of the book of Proverbs, which, like the 4Q418 passage, calls for the instruction of both the uneducated and the learned.⁴⁹ 4QInstruction shows a marked interest in the ordinary life of the addressee, dispensing ample advice on commonplace topics. There are lessons, for example, on marriage and filial piety (e.g., 4Q416 2 iii 15–21). The composition gives extensive advice on financial topics, urging the *mebin* to pay debts promptly and avoid going surety (as in 4Q416 2 ii 4–6). The view that indebtedness poses grave risks and should be remedied as soon as possible fits not only with the low economic status of the *mebin* but also with traditional wisdom.⁵⁰ Proverbs and 4QInstruction give compatible financial advice using common imagery. Proverbs 6:4, for example, urges the addressee to go without sleep, as part of a teaching that emphasizes the risks of going surety. 4Q416 2 ii 9 uses this same image as part of its instruction for a debt slave and 4Q417 2 i 21–22 urges that a borrower should give his soul no rest until the debt is paid. One should not simply imagine 4QInstruction as influenced by the wisdom tradition in a vague or abstract sense. Rather, the author of the document, as part of his own education, was exposed to the study of teachings preserved in the book

635–36), who explains that the “understanding one” of the verse does not yet possess wisdom but has the potential to acquire it (cf. 8:9; 17:10).

48. The word occurs twenty-seven times in the Hebrew Bible. For a more in-depth study of the term, see Lange 2008, 274–77.

49. Prov 1:4–5: “to teach shrewdness to the simple (פּוֹתִיִּים) ... let the wise (חֲכָמִים) also hear and gain in learning” (cf. v. 22; 8:5; 4Q185 1–2 i 14).

50. The poverty of the addressee and the fact that Proverbs and 4QInstruction show comparable caution towards borrowing are discussed in §9 below.

of Proverbs. In this respect, he can be compared to Ben Sira, in that both figures are teachers whose pedagogy is steeped in the traditional wisdom of Israel, as represented by Proverbs.

5. REVELATION, ESCHATOLOGY AND DETERMINISM IN A QUMRAN WISDOM TEXT

While there is much in 4QInstruction that accords with Proverbs, the work contains important material that is alien to biblical wisdom. This is most evident in the theme of revelation. 4QInstruction's most important expression is *רז נהיה*, an enigmatic phrase that is normally translated "the mystery that is to be."⁵¹ To underscore the importance of this expression, Menachem Kister has suggested that an appropriate title for the work would be *רז נהיה חכמת* ("the Wisdom of the Mystery That Is to Be").⁵² The expression *raz nihyeh* is not in the Hebrew Bible and elsewhere in ancient Jewish literature is attested only three times—twice in the book of Mysteries (1Q27 1 i 3–4 [par. 4Q300 3 3–4]) and once in the Community Rule (1QS 11:3–4). In the former instance the *raz nihyeh* is associated with eschatological judgment (the wicked who will perish do not know it), and in the latter text it signifies supernatural revelation given to the elect.⁵³ 4QInstruction uses the expression over twenty times.⁵⁴ The phrase normally signifies something that should be studied, fronted with the *bet* preposition and accompanied by an imperative that encourages contemplation, as in, for example, 4Q417 1 i 6–7: "[... day and night meditate upon the mystery that] is to be (*ברזו נהיה*) and study (it) constantly. And then you will know truth and iniquity, wisdom [and foll]y ..." (par. 4Q418 43 4).⁵⁵ Several texts remind the addressee that the mystery that is to be

51. Goff 2007, 51–79; Thomas 2009, 150–60; Collins 2003, 287–305.

52. Kister 2009b, 1.304.

53. 1QS 11:3–4: "For from the source of his knowledge he has disclosed his light, and my eyes have observed his wonders, and the light of my heart the mystery that is to be."

54. 4Q415 6 4; 4Q416 2 i 5 (par. 4Q417 2 i 10); 4Q416 2 iii 9, 14, 18, 21 (par. 4Q418 9 8, 15; 4Q418 10 1, 3); 4Q417 1 i 3, 6, 8, 18, 21 (par. 4Q418 43 2, 4, 6, 14, 16); 4Q417 1 ii 3; 4Q418 77 2, 4; 4Q418 123 ii 4; 4Q418 172 1; 4Q418 184 2; and 4Q423 4 1, 4 (par. 1Q26 1 1, 4). The phrase is reconstructed in 4Q415 24 1; 4Q416 17 3; 4Q418 179 3; 4Q418 190 2–3; 4Q418 201 1; 4Q418c 8; 4Q423 3 2; 4Q423 5 2; and 4Q423 7 7.

55. The expression is joined to the *mem* preposition in 4Q416 2 iii 21. It is unaccompanied by any preposition in 4Q416 2 iii 14. He is to "gaze upon" (*נבט*; 4Q416 2 i

has already been disclosed to his ear (1Q26 1 4; 4Q416 2 iii 18; 4Q418 123 ii 4; 4Q418 184 2; cf. 4Q418 190 1).⁵⁶ He has access to this mystery and should study it.

4Q417 1 i 8–9 makes the striking claim that God created the world with the mystery that is to be (ברז נהיה). This assertion evokes Prov 3:19, according to which God fashioned the world by means of wisdom (בחכמה).⁵⁷ The mystery that is to be is the means by which the addressee obtains wisdom. It is supernatural revelation disclosed to him, upon which he is to reflect and contemplate. This “mystery” has pedagogical potential because of its association with the created order, as 4Q417 1 i 8–9 suggests. The composition makes several deterministic statements, indicating that reality is orchestrated according to a divine plan that the *mebin* can know. 4Q417 1 i 18–19, for example, associates deterministic knowledge of the natural order with the mystery that is to be: “And now, understanding son, gaze upon the mystery that is to be and know [the path]s of all life and the manner of one’s walking that is appointed over [his] deed[s]” (cf. ll. 10–12). The mystery that is to be signifies a comprehensive divine scheme that orchestrates the cosmos, from creation to judgment, presented to the addressee as knowledge that can be ascertained through the study of supernatural revelation.

This meaning of the mystery that is to be accords with other early Jewish texts. The term *raz* (unaccompanied with *nihyeh*) denotes revealed knowledge in apocalyptic literature. The term is used eight times in Daniel 2 in reference to Nebuchadnezzar’s dream, which God discloses to Daniel, who in turn praises the Lord as a “revealer of mysteries” (2:29; cf. vv. 18–19, 27–28, 30, 47 [2x]; 4:6). In the Aramaic Enoch scrolls the term signifies angelic revelation: “I know the mysteries that the holy ones have revealed and shown to me, and that I have read in the tablets of heaven” (106:19 [4QEn^c 5 ii 26–27]; cf. 8:3 [4QEn^a 1 iv 5]; 4Q203 9 3). Numerous other Qumran texts employ the term to denote supernatural revelation.⁵⁸

5 [par. 4Q417 2 i 10]; 4Q417 1 i 3, 18 [par. 4Q418 43 2, 14]), “examine” (דרש; 4Q416 2 iii 9 [par. 4Q418 9 8], 14), “meditate” (הגה; 4Q418 43 4 [cf. 4Q417 1 i 6]), “grasp” (לקח; 4Q418 77 4) the mystery that is to be. 4Q415 6 4 urges him to “test (בחזן) these things” with the mystery that is to be.

56. Mysteries are also revealed to one’s “ear” in 1QH 9:23 (cf. 6:13; 22:26; 25:12).

57. Goff 2003a, 163–86.

58. See, e.g., 1QS 4:18; 1QH 12:28; 17:23; 19:19; 1QpHab 7:4–5; 4Q300 1a ii–b 2. For a good recent survey of the relevant material, consult Thomas 2009, 136–86.

The “mystery” of the mystery that is to be conveys that the knowledge in question originates from heaven. The participle that is part of this phrase conveys that the revealed mystery (the *raz*) pertains to the entire chronological order, from beginning to end.⁵⁹ While in the Hebrew Bible the *niphal* participle of the verb “to be” often denotes a closed action (e.g., Prov 13:19), the form appears in early Jewish texts in a variety of ways, often with an emphasis on the entire scope of time.⁶⁰ The Treatise on the Two Spirits, for example, declares: “From the God of Knowledge comes all that is and all that will be (בֹּלֵ הוּיָה וְנַהיָיָה)” (1QS 3:15). The *niphal* participle here strictly speaking denotes the future but is used to convey that all things, in the present and the future, are established by God. Elsewhere in the Community Rule the participle expresses that the cosmos which he created endures “in every age that exists” (בְּכֹל קֶץ נַהיָיָה; 10:4–5; cf. 11:17–18). The Hodayot and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice employ the participle in a way that denotes the past, present and future (4Q402 4 12; 1QH 19:17; cf. 5:29; 21:13). The meaning of this participle in 4QInstruction accords with its usage in these texts. The *niphal* participle in 4QInstruction is associated three times not only with the mystery that is to be but also a tripartite division of time. The knowledge of what was, is, and will be is obtainable by the *mebin* through this revelation (4Q417 1 i 3–5 [2x]; 4Q418 123 ii 3–4).

The mystery that is to be is not the only indication of influence from the apocalyptic tradition in 4QInstruction. The work teaches the *mebin* that eschatological judgment is inevitable.⁶¹ Two judgment scenes are preserved in 4QInstruction, in 4Q416 1 and 4Q418 69 ii. Both texts describe judgment in theophanic terms, with elements of the natural order, such as the seas and sky, quaking before the overwhelming power of divine judgment. Both texts also pinpoint the demise of wickedness to this event. 4Q418 69 ii 8 asserts that the “foolish of heart” and the “sons of iniquity” will be destroyed, and 4Q416 1, most likely the beginning of the composition, proclaims that all “iniquity” will be no more (l. 13). There are also reminders about the final judgment throughout the work. The vision of

59. Rey 2009a, 291; Schoors 2002, 87. Consult also the commentary on 4Q417 1 i 3–5.

60. Rey 2009a, 284–90.

61. Goff 2003b, 168–215; Collins 2004, 49–65; Macaskill 2007.

meditation passage (4Q417 1 i 13–18), for example, stresses that this event is an ordained and established feature of the natural order.⁶²

6. THE ELECT STATUS OF THE *MEBIN*, THE LOT OF THE ANGELS AND THE PROSPECT OF ETERNAL LIFE

Also in keeping with apocalypticism, 4QInstruction shows a genuine interest in the angelic world, although the text never mentions a specific angel by name. The addressee is a member of a group with elect status that has special affinity with the angels. God established the *mebin* in the “lot” (גורל) of the angels (4Q418 81 4–5). Core Qumran documents use the same term to describe the *yahad* as in the lot of the angels (1QS 11:7–8; 1QH 19:14–15). 4Q418 81 affirms that God has separated the addressee from the “fleshly spirit” (ll. 1–2). This phrase probably encompasses not only the wicked but the non-elect in general—anyone who does not possess the potential to attain life after death. The judgment scene of 4Q416 1 affirms that the fleshly spirit will be destroyed in the final judgment (l. 12). The vision of meditation passage centers around a distinction between the fleshly spirit and the spiritual people, who were created in the likeness of the holy ones (4Q417 1 i 17; see chapter 6). The *mebin*, in his reflection upon this teaching, was likely supposed to identify with the spiritual people, and thus realize that he is like the angels, not the fleshly spirit. The addressee has affinity with the angels, which distinguishes him from the rest of humankind, those who are not in his elect community.

Being like the angels allows the *mebin* two core benefits that humans cannot normally obtain. First, this status provides an explanation as to why heavenly revelation was disclosed to him. 4Q417 1 i teaches that God has given the vision of meditation to the spiritual people but not to the fleshly spirit.⁶³ Second, the addressee has the potential to attain a blessed afterlife. This is not stated explicitly in 4QInstruction, but it can be reasonably inferred. The text affirms that the angels have eternal life (4Q418 69 ii 12–13). 4Q417 2 i 10–12 teaches that the *mebin* should not “rejoice” (תשמח) in his mourning and that there is “eternal joy” (שמחת עולם)

62. See also 4Q417 1 i 24; 4Q417 1 ii 11; 4Q417 4 ii 4; 4Q418 68 2–3; 4Q418 77 3; 4Q418 121 1; 4Q418c 5; 4Q423 4 3a and 4Q423 6 4.

63. As I discuss in chapter 6, this vision should probably be understood not as a disclosure that is distinct and separate from that of the mystery that is to be, but rather as an allusion to it.

established for those who mourn. The passage portrays the current life of the *mebin* as one of mourning. This characterization is consistent with the ethics of 4QInstruction, which emphasizes that the addressee should be humble (consult the commentary on 4Q417 2 i 10–14). This also accords with the text’s assumption that his life can be filled with material hardship (see §9 below). If mourning is a cipher for the present existence of the *mebin*, “eternal joy” is reasonably understood as a reference to the eternal life he can obtain after death. In the Treatise on the Two Spirits, the phrase “eternal joy” (with עולם in the plural) is allocated to the elect, and denotes eternal life (1QS 4:7). In a wordplay in the Hebrew, this text describes one of the punishments established for the wicked as the “eternal pit” (שחת עולמים), a reference to their death and subsequent transfer to Sheol (4:12). 4QInstruction uses this same language to assert that the wicked will go to the eternal pit (4Q418 69 ii 6; with עולם in the singular). The wisdom text does not describe the nature of the eternal life which the addressee can acquire. However, given the composition’s emphasis on his affinity with the angels, one can plausibly assert that he will join them after death. Obtaining this goal is a powerful incentive for the addressee to remain devoted to the pedagogy advocated by the composition.

7. THE ELECT STATUS OF THE *MEBIN* AND GENESIS 1–3

4QInstruction turns to Gen 1–3 to teach the *mebin* about the nature of his elect status.⁶⁴ 4Q423 1 makes the remarkable claim that he is entrusted with the garden of Eden. He is to “till” and “guard” it—an assertion that draws directly from Gen 2:15. 4Q423 1 emphasizes that all of the trees of the garden provide wisdom. There is no sense that any of the trees are prohibited. Being appointed to work in Eden metaphorically describes the elect status of the *mebin*. His stewardship over the garden signifies that the special knowledge he acquires through the mystery that is to be entails toil, denoting the text’s emphasis on the study of this mystery.

The vision of meditation passage asserts that the revealed vision has been given not only to the spiritual people but also to אנוש, an enigmatic term that probably signifies Adam (see chapter 6). The fleshly spirit is denied this vision because it does not possess the knowledge of good and evil, implying that the spiritual people do (4Q417 1 i 17–18). This trope

64. For the use of the Torah in 4QInstruction, see §8.

evokes Adam. Elsewhere 4QInstruction asserts that the knowledge of good and evil can be obtained by the *mebin* through the study of the *raz nihyeh* (ll. 6–8). This suggests that through this revelation the addressee can obtain knowledge originally possessed by Adam in the garden.

8. 4QINSTRUCTION: A WISDOM TEXT WITH AN APOCALYPTIC WORLDVIEW

The prominence of supernatural revelation and other themes that fit with apocalypticism in 4QInstruction, such as eschatology and life after death, has profound consequences for assessing its status as a wisdom text.⁶⁵ Such themes are alien to the book of Proverbs. The expression “revealer of secrets” (גולה-סוד) has negative connotations in this book, describing a gossip who cannot be trusted to keep secrets (20:19; cf. 11:13). Ben Sira, as is well known, dismisses the value of esoteric knowledge (“hidden things”; נסתרות), which he contrasts with the importance of Torah (3:21–24). While some elements that are compatible with apocalypticism are present in both Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon, 4QInstruction illustrates to an extent not evident before the emergence of the Dead Sea Scrolls that an early Jewish wisdom text could incorporate themes that accord with the apocalyptic tradition.⁶⁶ This Qumran text is the best example available of a sapiential text with an apocalyptic worldview.

4QInstruction’s relationship to the wisdom tradition has been understood in various ways. Armin Lange has argued that the composition should be seen in direct continuity with the book of Proverbs. He empha-

65. Note, however, that the theme of revelation in 4QInstruction is not exactly the same as is often found in the apocalypses. In Daniel and 4 Ezra, for example, the reader watches a vision unfold, along with the seer himself, that is then interpreted by an angel (e.g., Dan 7:23–27; 4 Ezra 13:21–50). 4QInstruction, by contrast, contains no accounts of visions and there is no *angelus interpretus*. The composition emphasizes not the revelation of the *raz nihyeh* but rather the importance of studying it. The emphasis on the study of revelation can be understood as a combination of the text’s pedagogical emphasis with influence from the apocalyptic tradition. See Goff 2005b, 57–67.

66. Both Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon, for example, emphasize divine judgment (e.g., Sir 23:16–21; Wis 3:10). For an overview of the apocalyptic tradition, see Collins 1998. Studies that discuss the interplay between wisdom and apocalypticism in 4QInstruction include Collins 1997f, 265–81; Elgvin 2000a, 226–47; and Bro Larsen 2002, 1–14.

sizes the “präexistenten weisheitlichen Urordnung,” the ordered structure of the world established at the moment of creation that is, he argues, proclaimed in 4QInstruction and other wisdom texts such as Ben Sira and Proverbs.⁶⁷ In his view, 4QInstruction endorses the older sapiential view that God fashioned the world with a rational, intelligible structure through appeal to the mystery that is to be, whereas it is knowable from empirical observation in traditional wisdom.⁶⁸ Lange understands this development as a consequence of a putative “crisis of wisdom” represented by the critique of conventional wisdom in Job and Ecclesiastes. By endorsing traditional sapiential themes through supernatural revelation, 4QInstruction confirms for Lange the thesis of Gerhard von Rad that apocalypticism should be viewed as an eschatological outgrowth from the sapiential tradition.⁶⁹ Elgvin, by contrast, understands the mystery that is to be as testifying to 4QInstruction’s decisive break from traditional wisdom.⁷⁰ The work, he argues, replaces the figure of Woman Wisdom (who never appears in the text) with the mystery that is to be. In his view 4QInstruction is a composite work, comprising an earlier work of practical wisdom that has been heavily redacted by people with an apocalyptic worldview.⁷¹

It is better to understand the sapiential and apocalyptic traditions as combined in 4QInstruction rather than set them against each other. Like Proverbs and Ben Sira (e.g., Prov 3:19; Sir 1:9), 4QInstruction has no problem asserting that God has wisdom. Indeed, 4Q417 1 i 8–9 not only claims that God created the world with the mystery that is to be, but then asserts, in parallel language, that he did so with wisdom: God “m[ade (it) with wisdom (חכ[כה]) and for everything [with cleve]rness he fashioned it” (cf. Sir 42:21). 4Q418 126 ii 4–5 extols God’s use of wisdom in his creation of the world: “He has spread them out, in truth he has established them [... From God nothing] is hidden. Moreover, nothing exists without his good will and apart from [his] wis[dom] ([ומחוכ[מתו]) ...” (cf. 4Q417 1 ii 10; 4Q417 2 i 19–20). 4QInstruction exhorts the addressee to observe regular, orderly aspects of the cosmos (4Q418 69 ii 3–4; 4Q423 5 6). This is fully in keeping with the view, prominent in traditional wisdom, that God endowed the world with a discernible, rational structure (Prov 8:22–31; Sir 42:15–43:33).

67. Lange 1995, 40. Consult further Lange 2010, 454–78.

68. Lange 1995, 62, 91.

69. Lange 1995, 301–6. See also Collins 1997e, 385–404; von Rad 1965, 2.306.

70. Elgvin 1997a, 61; 2000a, 239.

71. Note also Elgvin 2009, 162. Consult Nitzan 2005a, 257–79.

Like Ben Sira, 4QInstruction teaches that the nature of God and his creation is not fully attainable through empirical observation (Sir 43:32). The structured nature of the created order is also a major theme in apocalyptic literature (e.g., the Enochic Astronomical Book). 4QInstruction asserts that the world has a knowable structure by stressing God's creation of it (4Q417 1 i 8–9) rather than by expounding upon the motion of heavenly bodies or providing a detailed account of the heavenly world, as one often finds in the apocalypses. 4QInstruction's appeal to the beginnings of creation to thematize the structured nature of the world is in continuity with classic wisdom texts such as Prov 8 or Sir 24. As Lange stresses, the Qumran sapiential text differs from older wisdom in that it offers a way, beyond rational observation, to understand God and his creation. 4Q417 1 i 27, for example, exhorts that one should *not* rely on his own heart and eyes. Rather, the best way for the *mebin* to understand the world is by studying the mystery that is to be. The prominence of supernatural revelation in 4QInstruction reflects influence from the apocalyptic tradition. Lange and Elgvin are both right to stress that the term *raz* denotes heavenly revelation and constitutes a significant departure from Proverbs. But there is little reason to understand this as a response to Job and Ecclesiastes in the manner of Lange, since 4QInstruction shows scant interest in these works.⁷² 4QInstruction is a product of complementary influences from the wisdom and apocalyptic traditions. This problematizes the view promoted by Elgvin that 4QInstruction should be divided into two strata, an earlier layer of practical wisdom and a later, apocalyptic layer.

As a wisdom text with an apocalyptic worldview, 4QInstruction should probably not be understood as an outlier among early Jewish wisdom texts. Rather, it is the best example available of a broader type of sapiential literature that is characterized by extensive influence from the apocalyptic tradition. Both the Treatise and the book of Mysteries, while they reflect scant engagement with traditional wisdom, can be understood as didactic instructions that prominently utilize apocalyptic themes such as revelation, eschatological judgment, life after death and determinism.⁷³ Moreover, these two works show extensive terminological similarities

72. Note, however, that 4QInstruction may show some engagement with the book of Qoheleth. See the commentary on 4Q418 69 ii 4–5.

73. Goff 2007, 69–103; Lange 1995, 121–70; Frey 2007, 40–45. Knibb (2003, 193–210) emphasizes the “shared thought-world” between 1 Enoch, 4QInstruction and the book of Mysteries.

with 4QInstruction.⁷⁴ This work and Mysteries invoke the mystery that is to be (1QS 11:3–4). The Treatise and 4QInstruction both employ the divine epithet “the God of Knowledge” (אל הדעות) in deterministic contexts (4Q417 1 i 8; 1QS 3:15; cf. 4Q299 35 1; 4Q299 73 3). All three of these works use the term “plan” (מחשבה) to describe God’s deterministic scheme guiding the cosmos (4Q417 1 i 12; 4Q299 3a ii–b 11; 1QS 3:15–16). While the same community most likely did not produce all three of these works, 4QInstruction, the Treatise and the book of Mysteries can be viewed as attesting one strand of early Jewish wisdom literature that is distinguished by extensive engagement with the apocalyptic tradition.⁷⁵ This mode of wisdom literature may have influenced the later Sayings Source utilized by the gospels of Matthew and Luke.⁷⁶

The kind of wisdom represented by 4QInstruction can be contrasted with that of Ben Sira. His instruction can be understood as exemplifying a type of early Jewish sapiential literature characterized by a rich combination of the sapiential and covenantal traditions. Ben Sira not only appropriates much of the instruction in Proverbs but also utilizes material from the Torah, famously portraying the personified wisdom of Prov 8 as a tree that takes root in Israel, the fruit of which is the Torah (Sir 24:23). The association of Torah with wisdom is not unique to this composition. It is also found in Baruch (4:1; cf. 11QPs^a 18:3, 12). The Dead Sea Scrolls include other texts that attest this development, such as 4QBeatitudes and 4QSapiential Work (e.g., 4Q185 1–2 ii 4; 4Q525 2 ii + 3 3–4). While it uses the Torah extensively, 4QInstruction never thematizes it in the manner of Ben Sira. The Qumran text does not share the Torah piety of Ben Sira. The surviving fragments of the work never even attest the word “Torah.”⁷⁷ Ben Sira and 4QInstruction draw upon the same fount of traditional wisdom but they appropriate it in different ways and in combination with different influences. This complements the stark contrast between the two works in

74. Tigchelaar 2001, 194–203.

75. Neither Mysteries nor the Treatise emphasizes the poverty of their addressees, and they do not give financial instruction for someone who could fall into dire straits economically, whereas both of these points are prominent in 4QInstruction. This argues against positing a common provenance for these three texts. In terms of 4QInstruction vis-à-vis the Treatise, see the discussion below of the composition in relation to the Dead Sea sect.

76. Goff 2005a, 657–73.

77. Note, however, the phrase “by the hand of Moses” (ביד משה), which occurs in two unfortunately fragmentary texts of 4QInstruction (4Q418 184 1; 4Q423 11 2).

terms of social location, in that Ben Sira is a sage operating in an upper-class milieu, whereas 4QInstruction presupposes an addressee who is poor, or at least may easily become so.

9. THE POVERTY AND SOCIAL LOCATION OF THE *MEBIN*

The poverty of the addressee is one of the distinctive features of 4QInstruction.⁷⁸ The composition repeatedly reminds him that he is poor, employing the phrase “you are poor,” using either *אַבְיוֹן* or *רָאשׁ/רַשׁ* (4Q415 6 2; 4Q416 2 ii 20; 4Q416 2 iii 2, 8, 12, 19; 4Q418 177 5; cf. 4Q418 148 ii 4; 4Q418 249 3). 4Q416 2 iii 19 places the “you are poor” formula in a conditional clause, the only explicit evidence of this usage of the expression in 4QInstruction. For this reason Tigchelaar has proposed that the *mebin* is not necessarily poor but could become so.⁷⁹ The members of the audience to which 4QInstruction is addressed undoubtedly had a range of professions, and not all of them were necessarily destitute. However, the text consistently suggests an addressee with a low social and economic status. Several texts assume that the *mebin* could be a farmer (see the commentary to 4Q423 5 5–6). 4Q418 81 15–20 is designed for a craftsman who earns enough to survive from his trade. Other texts present the addressee as engaged in various sorts of business relationships, but they are not arrangements that yield a great deal of wealth or power. 4Q418 126 ii 12–13 gives instruction regarding trade between the addressee and another person.⁸⁰ Both parties are engaged in this transaction to meet basic material needs. The text addresses the possibility that the trade may not be successful in this regard. What is being traded (probably agricultural produce, as suggested by the word “basket” in l. 12) is relatively modest. The envisioned addressee is often not destitute but rather has sufficient, if not extensive, means of support.

The intended audience of the composition comprises people at various levels of poverty. The parade example for this issue is 4Q417 2 i 17–20. Lines 17–18 teach the *mebin* that his basic material needs can be met by assembling his “surplus,” presumably a reference to agricultural produce that he can trade. The next lines (ll. 19–20) recommend that, when he is

78. Wold 2007, 140–53; Wright 2004a, 101–23; Goff 2007, 127–67; Fabry 2003, 145–65; Murphy 2002, 163–209.

79. Tigchelaar 2000, 62–75.

80. 4Q417 2 i 12; 4Q418 81 18–19; 4Q418 107 4.

without money, he borrow from God. This is presented as an alternative to borrowing from creditors. One should show a radical reliance on God for his sustenance. Such an ethic portrays his inability to be self-sufficient as an opportunity to practice an extreme form of piety. 4Q417 2 i 17–18 assumes that the addressee may experience lack but has the means to solve the problem. Ll. 19–20 are designed for someone who no longer has the means to support himself.

The variable financial status of the envisioned addressee is consistent with 4QInstruction's teachings on borrowing and surety. These are frequent topics of the work. This implies that the members of the intended audience were often in need of credit. One should be respectful and honest towards one's lenders and pay off the debt promptly (4Q417 2 i 20–24). The creditor may not show the same attitude towards the *mebin*. 4Q417 2 i 25–27, for example, indicates that the lender could have the addressee flogged. Amidst such treatment, the exhortation that one show honesty and dignity towards the creditor is notable, and reflects the importance of maintaining good relations with creditors. This also suggests that the *mebin* has a somewhat regular need for credit. Indebtedness is considered a problem, and is treated as a dangerous situation which one should stridently try to alleviate. Lines 21–22 of 4Q417 2 i state that one should go without sleep and have no rest until the debt is removed. 4Q416 2 iii 5–7 also encourages prompt payment of debts. Surety, the practice of pledging an item of value to guarantee the loan given to another, is also treated as a serious problem (e.g., 4Q416 2 ii 4–6).⁸¹ 4QInstruction's wary attitude toward borrowing resonates with the sapiential tradition. Proverbs shows mistrust regarding borrowing and surety (e.g., 20:16; 22:7; 27:13).⁸² Ahiqar also stresses the burdensome nature of debt (45–46 [sgs.]), as do other sapiential texts of the Ancient Near East, such as the Egyptian Instruction of Amenemope and the Mesopotamian Instruction of Shuruppak.⁸³

81. Cf. 4Q415 8 2; 4Q416 2 iii 3–5; 4Q418 87 7.

82. The two compositions use similar language when giving financial instruction. See the discussion of Prov 6:1–4 and 4Q417 2 i 21–22 in §4 above.

83. The key passage from the Egyptian text is: “If you find a large debt against a poor man, make it into three parts; forgive two, let one stand, you will find it a path of life” (16.5–8); the Mesopotamian composition reads “Do not be a security. ... Then you [will be] a security” (12–13 [obverse]). See Goff 2007, 134.

It is common in the wisdom tradition, and throughout the Hebrew Bible, to show sympathy for the poor.⁸⁴ Proverbs 22:22, for example, teaches “Do not rob the poor because they are poor, or crush the afflicted at the gate.”⁸⁵ Ben Sira espouses the same attitude: “My son, do not cheat the poor of their living” (4:1; cf. v. 8; 7:32; 31:4; 34:25). In contrast to both of these texts, 4QInstruction shows surprisingly little interest in the poor as an economic class. There is almost no advice recommending that one not abuse the poor.⁸⁶ There is, however, intense concern for the addressee as a poor person. The traditional sapiential instruction on borrowing and surety is applied to the addressee.

To return to Tigchelaar’s skepticism regarding the poverty of the envisioned *mebin*, the point is not whether he is poor or not. The text repeatedly asserts that he is. The question is what is meant by such assertions. While in principle the intended audience could be from a range of financial levels, not a single teaching of the work unambiguously depicts the *mebin* as wealthy. Rather, the variation in economic levels of the intended audience moves from an addressee who is self-sufficient but with a modest income to one who has lost his means of self-support. The issue is not just the economic diversity of the intended audience but also that the envisioned *mebin* has means of support that can fluctuate and are not consistently reliable. This fits perfectly with the view that the addressee is a farmer or a petty tradesman, as discussed above. In the Second Temple period, as in most traditional societies, there was no middle class in the modern sense, and most people were small landholders and subsistence farmers (see the second excursus of chapter 3). Such individuals were exposed to the vagaries of the season, and at times, through no fault of their own, were forced to borrow to make ends meet.

4QInstruction also appeals to poverty in a metaphorical sense.⁸⁷ The *mebin* is encouraged to act like a “poor” or “humble” man (עני; 4Q417 2 i 14). When encouraging filial piety, the composition urges the addressee to honor his father with his poverty and his mother with his lowly status (4Q416 2 iii 15–16). A few lines later the composition associates pov-

84. Pleins 2001, 452–83.

85. Also note, for example, Prov 10:15: “The wealth of the rich is their fortress; the poverty of the poor is their ruin.” See also 14:20–21; 18:11; 19:17; 21:13.

86. Note the reconstruction of 4Q418 146 2: “You shall n[ot] defraud the w[age] of a laborer]” (cf. 4Q418 137 3).

87. Goff 2007, 163–66; Wold 2007, 153.

erty with taking a wife. The theme of poverty does not denote exclusively financial concerns. It can represent an ethical ideal.⁸⁸ This realization helps explain 4QInstruction's use of the "you are poor" formula. The envisioned addressee could easily suffer material hardship. One can presume that he was aware of his poverty. Yet the composition insistently reminds him that he is poor. This becomes intelligible if one understands poverty as signifying not just the economic reality of the *mebin* but also the ethical attitudes espoused by the composition. The refrain "you are poor" means not simply that he is materially poor but also that he should live in a way which is humble, simple and reverent.

The addressee's precarious financial situation suggests that, despite the emphasis on studying and teaching in the work, the *mebin* is not in training to become a scribe who serves the upper class.⁸⁹ 4QInstruction should thus be sharply distinguished from Ben Sira, a sage who does teach in an aristocratic milieu.⁹⁰ The social locations of both texts influence their teachings. Ben Sira never stresses the poverty of his students, but rather assumes that they have the wherewithal to show kindness to the poor, which he encourages (Sir 29:12). Whereas 4QInstruction teaches the *mebin* to be an ethical borrower who does not lie to those who lend to him (4Q417 2 i 22–23), Ben Sira encourages his students to be ethical creditors who should lend money to those in need, even though the loan may not be repaid (Sir 29:1–13). 4QInstruction never gives instruction regarding etiquette at banquets or proper speech before the powerful. Both topics are in Ben Sira (e.g., 13:9; 32:9; cf. Prov 23:1–3). The Qumran wisdom text illustrates that not all instruction and scribal activity in the Second Temple period took place in elite, aristocratic circles.⁹¹ There is also a debate as to whether the *mebin* should be considered a priest (see the commentary on 4Q418 81 3). The low social setting of the work argues against this position, as do the facts that the work shows relatively little interest in cultic

88. In several sayings Proverbs associates the behavior it advocates with the poor and not with the wealthy. Proverbs 15:17, for example, reads, "Better is a dinner of vegetables where love is than a fatted ox and hatred with it" (cf. 17:1; 18:23).

89. *Contra* Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 21.

90. Adams 2010, 582–83.

91. Van der Toorn 2007. While Ben Sira praises the scribe over menial professionals, he does grant that some poor people are intelligent (10:23; 38:24–34; cf. Qoh 10:15).

issues or ritual purity, and that the intended audience includes women (4Q415 2 ii).

10. THE COMPOSITION'S DATE AND RELATION TO THE DEAD SEA SECT

The social setting of the intended audience of 4QInstruction provides insight into the nature of the community that produced the work. The group to which the document is directed is most likely not the Dead Sea sect.⁹² The composition shows no awareness of offices that are important for the *yahad*, such as the *maskil* or *mebaqer*. Other key epithets of that group, such as the Teacher of Righteousness or Wicked Priest, are never used. 4QInstruction presupposes that the addressee is free to make his own decisions. There is no sense that his behavior regarding marriage or finances is rigidly controlled, as one finds, for example, in the Damascus Document.⁹³

The community to which 4QInstruction is addressed can, however, be understood as a sect. The group's members were taught that they have been separated from the rest of humankind, in that God has ordained the *mebin* to have an elect status that makes him like the angels (4Q418 81 1–5). Since this status includes access to supernatural revelation and life after death, both of which are construed as not widely available to people outside the group, the classification of the circle of *mebinim* in which 4QInstruction was produced as a sect is not unreasonable. But it is one with a much looser form of organization than that of the *yahad*.

The rationale for the formation of the group responsible for 4QInstruction can be reasonably sought in the low financial status of the *mebin*. The composition contains a striking contrast between the incredible claims made about the addressee in terms of his elect status, such as his stewardship over Eden, and the lowly position he actually had in society. The community responsible for 4QInstruction offered a way for a poor person to find dignity and self-worth amidst potentially degrading and humiliating circumstances.

92. For an argument that the text does stem from this community, see Jefferies 2002, 59–61. Kister (2009b, 1:305–7) also argues that 4QInstruction stems from the Dead Sea sect.

93. The notable affinities between 4QInstruction and major texts of the Dead Sea sect are discussed below.

4QInstruction was, like Ben Sira, probably written in the second century B.C.E. Elgvin advocates an early, pre-Maccabean date in that century, in part because the text shows no awareness of the Antiochene crisis.⁹⁴ The editors of DJD 34 propose that it was written in the Seleucid period but grant that an earlier date, perhaps in the Ptolemaic or even Persian periods, is possible.⁹⁵ A *terminus ad quem* is provided by the manuscripts of 4QInstruction, the earliest one (4Q416) being written between 100–50 B.C.E. The prominence of features in the work that resonate with apocalypticism (reviewed above) suggests that it was written when the apocalyptic tradition was flourishing and had become popular. This favors the second century B.C.E. and argues against the earlier range of the time frame proposed by Strugnell and Harrington.

Another factor in assessing the date of 4QInstruction is its relationship to core documents produced by the Dead Sea sect. It has already been established that the wisdom text is not a composition authored by the group centered on the Teacher of Righteousness. Nevertheless, there are striking affinities between core writings of the *yahad* and 4QInstruction. As was mentioned above, the Community Rule describes heavenly revelation to the elect as the mystery that is to be (1QS 11:3–4). The Hodayot and the wisdom text have the same phrase verbatim.⁹⁶ They also have numerous other thematic and terminological affinities.⁹⁷ The vision of meditation (Hagu) is prominent in 4Q417 1 i 14–18, and invites comparison to the title of the enigmatic Book of Hagu, described in the rulebooks as a volume with which leaders of the sect should be familiar (CD 13:2–3; 14:6–8; 1QSa 1:6–7). 4QInstruction was probably read and utilized by members of the Dead Sea sect. This position is supported by the ample number of manuscripts of the document found at Qumran. 4QInstruction would thus be earlier than these core writings of the *yahad*. The origins of this group have traditionally been placed in the early to mid-second

94. Elgvin 2004, 83–84.

95. Strugnell and Harrington 1999, 21. Stegemann (1998, 100) has argued for a fourth or third century date for this text and the Qumran wisdom literature in general.

96. The phrase is *אִישׁ מֵרֵעֵהוּ יִכְבְּדוּ אִישׁ מֵרֵעֵהוּ*; “[according to] their knowledge they are glorified, each one more than his neighbor” (1QH 18:29–30; 4Q418 55 10).

97. As discussed in chapter 14, for example, both 4Q423 1 and 1QH 16 describe the special revealed knowledge disclosed to their addressees as a garden that can fall into ruin, both using “thorn and thistle” language from Gen 3:18. See Goff 2004, 263–88.

century B.C.E.⁹⁸ This would suggest that 4QInstruction was written at the beginning of the second century, as Elgvin has argued, or perhaps the late third. This remains a valid possibility. However, in recent years serious proposals have been put forward, based both on archaeological features of the Qumran site and on the scrolls themselves, to move the date of the Dead Sea sect to the early first century B.C.E.⁹⁹ Later dates for the composition of 4QInstruction in the early and middle portion of the second century thus become possible. The lack of reference to the Maccabean events does not require the pre-Maccabean dating proposed by Elgvin. Numerous compositions written after the revolt do not mention it. The author of 4QInstruction can be understood as roughly contemporary with Ben Sira, whose instruction was written ca. 180 B.C.E. But which figure appeared earlier cannot be established with certainty.

98. See, for example, Cross 1995, 100–120.

99. Magness 2002, 65; Wise 2003, 84.

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