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Maskil(im) and *Rabbim*: From Daniel to Qumran [*]

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The aim of this study is to take another look at the much discussed question of the *Maskilim* in Daniel 11-12 in light of the evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The identity of this elevated group of the wise in the final chapters of Daniel has received a vast amount of scholarly attention because it is generally believed that the author/redactor of the book of Daniel belonged to this select circle.[1] It is further taken for granted by most that we must allow for a relationship of some kind between the circles behind Daniel and the

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[1] On the social setting of the Book of Daniel see the contributions by R. Albertz, ("The Social Setting of the Aramaic and Hebrew Book of Daniel", pp. 171-204); S. Beyerle ("The Book of Daniel and Its Social Setting", pp. 205-228) , L. L. Grabbe ("A Dan[iel] for all Seasons: For Whom was Daniel Important?", pp. 229-246) and P. R. Davies ("The Scribal School of Daniel", pp. 247-265) in volume I of the collection edited by J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint (eds.), *The Book of Daniel. Composition and Reception* (2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2002) and the further literature referred to there. Further, K. Koch, *Das Buch Daniel* (EdF 144. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980), esp. ch. 7; and J. J. Collins, "Daniel and His Social World", *Interpretation* 39 (1985) 131-143.

communities behind the scrolls.[2] In light of the rapid developments of all kinds in scrolls scholarship over the last few years it seems timely to re-examine the relationship of Daniel to the Scrolls afresh.

Before turning to the specific texts a number of more general observations can be made regarding points of contact between the author/redactor of Daniel and the groups behind the scrolls.

- We have a *bilingual milieu* both in the book of Daniel which famously switches from Hebrew to Aramaic in 2:4 and back to Hebrew at the beginning of chapter 8 as well as in the scrolls which include Aramaic compositions alongside Hebrew ones.[3] As is well known, the Qumran manuscripts of the Book of Daniel attest the shift from

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[2] On this issue see, *inter alia*, F. F. Bruce**,** "The Book of Daniel and the Qumran Community", in E. E. Ellis and M. Wilcox (eds.), *Neotestamentica et Semitica. FS Matthew Black* (Edinburgh: T&TClark, 1968), pp. 221-235; M. Henze, *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar. The Ancient Near Eastern Origins and Early History of Interpretation of Daniel 4* (JSJSup 61. Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 217-243; Koch, *Buch Daniel*, pp. 168-169, and the monograph by A. Mertens*, Das Buch Daniel im Lichte der Texte vom Toten Meer* (SBM 12. Stuttgart: Echter KBW, 1971).

[3] On this issue see J. J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), pp. 12-24; Koch, *Buch Daniel*, pp. 34-54; A. S. van der Woude, "Die Doppelsprachigkeit des Buches Daniel", in A. S. van der Woude (ed.), *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings* (BETL 106. Leuven: Peeters, 1993), pp. 3-12. R. R. Wilson, "From Prophecy to Apocalyptic: Reflections on the Shape of Israelite Religion", *Semeia* 21 (1981)79-95, esp. pp. 92-93 suggests that a change in the make-up of the group behind Daniel may explain the change of language. The presence of bilingualism at Qumran that is in many ways compatible to the evidence of Daniel seems to indicate that the group Wilson is referring to may be much larger than the circles behind the book of Daniel.

Hebrew to Aramaic in 2:4 and back to Hebrew after 7:28. The rationale or reason behind the dividing line between the material preserved in Hebrew and Aramaic is not clear-cut in either collection. However, it seems fair to say that in both cases the use of language is not arbitrary. Thus, in Daniel most of the Aramaic material comprises the tales, with the notable exception of chapter 7. In the scrolls the Aramaic material is confined to non-sectarian texts[4], and according to a survey of the contents of the scrolls Devorah Dimant has calculated that the Aramaic component in the scrolls is around thirteen per cent.[5] She further describes the content of the Aramaic works as much more uniform and notes. "They contain almost exclusively visionary-pseudepigraphic compositions, testaments and narrative aggadic works."[6] It seems fair to say that both collections, Daniel and the scrolls, were read, cherished, written and redacted in circles in which at the very least the elite was completely at home in either language. Moreover, both seem to associate some types of material with Aramaic and other types of texts with Hebrew. And finally, in both cases it seems that the Aramaic component goes back to or deals with the community's past,

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[4] So already S. Segert, "Die Sprachenfragen in der Qumrangemeinschaft", in H. Bardtke (ed.), *Qumran-Probleme* (Berlin: Akademie, 1963), pp. 315-339, who suggested, somewhat analogously to Rainer Albertz on Daniel (see note 8 below): "Bei den hebräischen ausserbiblischen Schriften wird es sich, soweit kein Gegenbeweis vorliegt, um essäische Erzeugnisse handeln, während die Schriften fremden Ursprungs eher unter den aramäischen gesucht werden können.", p. 322.

[5] D. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance", in D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman (eds.), *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness. Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989-1990* (STDJ 16. Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 23-58, pp. 34-35.

[6] Dimant, "Qumran Manuscripts", p. 35.

its heritage, whereas the texts or passages dealing most closely with the present are composed in Hebrew.[7]

- Beyond this, both the communities behind the scrolls and the author/redactor of Daniel *cherished and preserved some of the same kind of material* as manifested by the presence of a wider Daniel-cycle in the scrolls.[8] Whereas it used to be taken for granted that these writings presuppose the Book of Daniel[9], current thinking is to allow for the possibility that they are independent traditions related to Daniel.[10] Thus,

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[7] Note that Albertz has recently argued that "the entire Aramaic section of Daniel 2-7 can be interpreted as an older source that was incorporated by a Hebrew-writing editor.", "Social Setting of Daniel", p. 178.

[8] For recent discussions of the Daniel cycle at Qumran see G. J. Brooke, "Parabiblical Prophetic Narratives", in P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment* (2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1999), I, pp. 271-301, esp. pp. 290-297; J. J. Collins, "Apocalypticism and Literary Genre in the Dead Sea Scrolls", in Flint and VanderKam (eds.), *Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years*, II, pp. 403-430, esp. pp. 410-417; J. J. Collins, "Daniel, Book of: Pseudo Daniel", in L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols. New York: OUP, 2000), I, pp. 176-178; P. Flint, "The Daniel Tradition at Qumran", in Collins and Flint (eds.), *Book of Daniel*, II, pp. 329-367 and M. A. Knibb, "The Book of Daniel in Its Context", in Collins and Flint (eds.), *Book of Daniel*, I, pp. 16-35.

[9] Cf. J. T. Milik, "Prière de Nabonide et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel", *RB* 63 (1956) 407-415. This was the earlier view of Collins, *Daniel*, p. 72, and is still the favoured position of M. A. Knibb, cf. "Book of Daniel in Its Context", pp. 19-24.

[10] So J. J. Collins and P. Flint in G. Brooke *et al*. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4. XVII. Parabiblical Texts*, Part 3 (DJD 22. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), p. 136; Flint, "Daniel Tradition at Qumran", p. 340. See also Grabbe, "Dan(iel) for All Seasons", p. 237 and L. Stuckenbruck, "Daniel and Early Enoch Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls", in Collins and Flint (eds.), *Book of Daniel*, II, pp. 368-386, esp. pp. 371-377.

at Qumran we have a community who cherished the book of Daniel, earlier traditions of the kind incorporated in the book such as the Prayer of Nabonidus[11], as well as other independent traditions. The way this is often put is to say that the scrolls testify to an interest in Daniel by preserving eight copies of the book as well as texts from a wider Daniel cycle. Another way of looking at this is to note that both the community behind the Book of Daniel and the communities behind the scrolls were tradents of Danielic traditions.[12] An important difference is the way in which the book of Daniel has shaped the material into a coherent composition and that this composition itself is already amply attested at Qumran and quoted from as an authoritative text in a number of places (such as 4QFlor and 11QMelch).[13] But if we imagine ourselves just before the process that resulted in the book of Daniel was completed then we have a community behind Daniel just like the community behind the scrolls handing on and cherishing the same kind of traditions.[14] There is no need, furthermore, to assume that the further developments of these traditions as represented by the Danielic cycle found at Qumran were an exclusively sectarian endeavour. By contrast, it seems

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[11] Note, however, the stimulating essay by A. Steinmann, "The Chicken and the Egg. A New Proposal for the Relationship Between the *Prayer of Nabonidus* and the *Book of Daniel*", *RQ* 20 (2002) 558-570, who challenges the order of priority of both works.

[12] See F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic. Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9. Leiden: Brill, 1992), p. 149.

[13] On this issue see the nuanced discussion in K. Koch, "Stages in the Canonization of the Book of Daniel", in Collins and Flint (eds.), *Book of Daniel*, II, pp. 421-446, esp. pp. 427-432.

[14] See Bruce, "Book of Daniel and the Qumran Community", p. 225.

entirely feasible that the same circles who cherished and produced those traditions prior to the composition of the book continued to do so.[15]

- Both groups, though they emerged some time in the second century BCE, lay claim to having *ideological or historical (or conceivably both) roots in the exile* (cf. e.g. setting of the tales and CD 1 // 4QD).[16] An interesting difference is the popularity of reviews of history culminating in the emergence of a reform movement in the second century BCE in comparable texts such as CD 1 // 4QD, 1 Enoch (e.g. 93:10) and Jubilees (e.g. 21:24), in contrast to the absence of any such account of the emergence of a reform movement as the legitimate objects of divine favour in Dan 11-12. Whereas in CD 1 the biggest event in the historical overview is the emergence of a pious movement and subsequently its leader the Teacher of Righteousness, in the last chapters of Daniel the event in focus is the Antiochene crisis. The favourable portrayal of the wise is mentioned as the most appropriate and exemplaric response to

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[15] So also Flint, "Daniel Tradition at Qumran", pp. 363-364. See also E. Eshel, "Possible Sources of the Book of Daniel", in Collins and Flint (eds.) *Book of Daniel*, II, pp. 387-394 and L. Stuckenbruck, "Daniel and Early Enoch Traditions".

[16] On the Babylonian diaspora as background to Daniel see Koch, *Buch Daniel*, pp. 170-171. On exile in the Second Temple Period and the Damascus Document in particular see M. A. Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period", *HeyJ* 17 (1976) 249-272; *idem*, "Exile in the Damascus Document", *JSOT* 25 (1983) 99-117. For a literal interpretation of exile in the Damascus Doucment see J. Murphy-O'Connor, "An Essene Missionary Document? CD II,14-VI,1", *RB* 77 (1970) 201-229. For an overview of the discussion and further literature see C. Hempel, *The Damascus Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 1. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), pp. 56-60. A similar connection of both Daniel and Qumran with the notion of 'exilic orgins', to use a convenient shorthand, is made by Davies, "Scribal School of Daniel", p. 259.

the crisis without itself being the main point of the story. We may have a missing link in 4Qpseudo Daniel^c (4Q245) 2:4 if we follow the interpretation put forward by the editors Collins and Flint that the verb קום refers to the rise of a reform movement[17] over against García Martínez, Puèch, and Knibb who take the term to refer to resurrection.[18]

- Both communities attest to a *learned environment where the scriptures are studied and applied to the author's contemporary situation.* The learned, scribal character of the scrolls' communities is evident, and the Habakkuk Pesher is a prime example of the way in which these texts apply the scriptures to events of the authors' own day. As far as Daniel is concerned, Philip Davies has described the situation very well when he notes, "Daniel, then, is a book in which everything significant is done by *writing*."[19]

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[17] See Collins and Flint in Brooke *et al.* (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4. XVII*, pp. 153-164, esp. p. 163 and Collins, "Apocalypticism and Literary Genre", pp. 412-413.

[18] See García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, pp. 137-149; E. Puèch, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future. Immortalité, resurrection, et vie éternelle* (Paris: Gabalda, 1993), pp. 568-570; M. A. Knibb, "Eschatology and Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls", in Flint and VanderKam (eds.), *Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years*, II, pp. 379-402, esp. pp. 382-384; and Knibb, "Book of Daniel in Its Context", p. 20.

[19] P. R. Davies, "Reading Daniel Sociologically", in van der Woude (ed.), *Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, p. 353. On the learned, scribal character of the circles behind Daniel see further, for instance, Albertz, "Social Setting"; p. 201; Davies, "Scribal School of Daniel", pp. 255, 257-258; M. A. Knibb, "'You are Indeed Wiser than Daniel'". Reflections on the Character of the Book of Daniel", in van der Woude (ed.), *Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, pp. 399-411, esp. pp. 404 ff.; Knibb, "Book of Daniel in Its Context", pp. 16-19.

- More specifically both collections give *prominence to notions of mystery and interpretation as manifest in the use of raz and pesher/peshar terminology.*[20] Rather than assuming that the scrolls were influenced by the Book of Daniel it seems wise to allow for the possibility that there was a certain section of Second Temple Jewish society who favoured such preoccupations and used the same terminology. Collins seems right when he cautiously sums up the evidence: "The Essene understanding of mystery and interpretation may be indebted to Daniel 2 and 4 but can be attributed to the common milieu."[21] As far as *raz* is concerned, we now have a host of new evidence in the form of the recently published substantial wisdom texts *Mysteries* (1Q27; 4Q299-301) and *Instruction* (1Q26; 4Q415-418.418a.418c.423).[22] Neither of

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[20] See Bruce, "Book of Daniel and the Qumran Community", pp. 225-229. On 'secret' as an important symbol in Daniel see Davies, "Reading Daniel Sociologically", pp. 356-357. On the subtle differences in the usage of *pesher* terminology in Daniel and Qumran see Koch, "Canonization of the Book of Daniel", p. 429.

[21] *Daniel*, p. 79.

[22] The secondary literature dealing with these texts is extensive. For a recent discussion of the Qumran wisdom texts in relation to Daniel that includes further bibliographical information see Knibb, "Book of Daniel in Its Context", pp. 31-34. Since the publication of Knibb's discussion four major books on the topic have appeared: J. J. Collins, G. E. Sterling, and R. A. Clements (eds.), *Sapiential Perspectives. Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 51. Leiden: Brill, 2004); M. J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (STDJ 50. Leiden: Brill, 2003); C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger (eds.), *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (BETL 159. Leuven: Peeters, 2002); and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones. Reading and Reconstructing the Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction* (STDJ 44. Leiden: Brill, 2001).

these texts, interestingly, preserve an occurrence of *pesher* nor do they employ the term *Maskil* with reference to a particular office or individual.[23] Given the sparsity of our sources it seems to me unwise to assume that the terminology *raz* and *pesher* was not used more widely by Second Temple period Jews, and that the best way of accounting for the common usage in Daniel and the scrolls is the fact that the same groups lie behind some of the traditions in the scrolls and behind Daniel.

- Finally, both the Scrolls and the Visions of the Book of Daniel alongside other early Jewish texts such as 1 Enoch reflect a self-understanding characterized by a *close relationship of some kind with the angelic realm*.[24] As far as the Scrolls are concerned obvious examples are the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice large parts of which describe the worship of angelic priests in the heavenly temple and the War Scroll. As far as the Visions of Daniel are concerned Collins has drawn attention to the term "people of the holy ones" and the references to "the backdrop of a heavenly battle between Michael, the angelic prince of Israel, and the 'princes' of Persia and Greece."[25] He

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[23] See C. Hempel, "The Qumran Sapiential Texts and the Rule Books", in Hempel, Lange and Lichtenberger (eds.), *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, pp. 277-295, esp. p. 287. Note, however, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, "Towards a Reconstruction of the Beginning of 4QInstruction", in the same volume pp. 99-126, p. 123.

[24] See M. Mach, "Angels", in Schiffman and VanderKam (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, I, pp. 24-27 and further literature referred to there. Also, A. Lacocque, "Socio-Spiritual Formative Milieu of the Daniel Apocalypse", in van der Woude (ed.), *Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, pp. 315-343, esp. p. 324.

[25] Collins, "Daniel and His Social World", p. 139; *idem, The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (HSM 16. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), pp. 123-147; *idem*, "The Mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll: A Point of Transition in Jewish Apocalyptic", *VT* 25 (1975) 596-612.

has further made a good case for seeing communion with the angelic hosts as the primary objective of the *maskilim.*[26]

So much by way of general observations which do make a strong case for a common milieu between both groups of texts. The remainder of this study will deal with the evidence of Dan 11-12 and the Community Rule in turn.

The *Maskilim* in Daniel 11-12

The hi. participle plural *Maskilim* occurs several times in the last chapters of the book of Daniel apparently with reference to a particular privileged group within the community. It is widely held that the authors/editors of the book are to be found in those circles.[27] When we look at this material it becomes clear very quickly that we are told very little about this group. They are introduced rather abruptly, it seems to me, in Dan 11:33 after the previous verse 32 spoke about the make-up of the people in terms of those who violate the covenant over against the people (עם) who know their God.[28]   The text continues in verses 33-35:

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[26] Collins, "Daniel and His Social World", p. 140.

[27] Cf., e.g., Albertz, "Social Setting of Daniel", p. 193 and Collins, *Daniel*, pp. 66-67.

[28] Note that B. Hasslberger refers to the *passus* on the wise in Daniel 11 in terms of an excursus, *Hoffnung in der Bedrängnis. Eine formkritische Untersuchung zu Dan 8 und 10-12* (ATSAT 4. St. Ottilien: Eos, 1977), p. 267. Koch also convincingly argues that the way in which the term *Maskil* is used in Daniel 11-12 gives the impression that the term was "an established term for the authors of Daniel [...] not their invention.", "Canonization of the Book of Daniel", p. 429.

33 The *Maskilim* of the people shall instruct the many (רבים), but they will stumble by sword and flame, captivity and plundering for some days.

34 When they fall they will receive a little help, and many (רבים) shall attach themselves to them under false pretences.

35 Some of the *Maskilim* will stumble in order to refine amongst them and to purify and to make white until the time of the end for this is still at the appointed time.

One way around the sparse amount of detail we are given about this group is to argue, as Collins does, for instance, that since they are the group behind the book, the kinds of views expressed in the book of Daniel also give expression to the ideology of this group. This seems likely, although large parts of the contents of the book clearly emerged independently, and it seems to be in the framework and the presentation of these components that we are closest to the voice of the *maskilim*. Thus, a good case has been made that in view of the astonishing amount of knowledge displayed in chapter 11 about Greek history we should reckon with the incorporation and adaptation of a history of the Ptolemies and Seleucids in this chapter.[29] In any case, the few passages where the group of the *Maskilim* comes out in the open and names itself are clearly of particular interest,

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[29] So G. A. Barton, "The Composition of the Book of Daniel", *JBL* 17 (1898) 62-86. More recently see U. Rappaport, "Apocalyptic Vision and Preservation of Historical Memory", *JSJ* 23 (1992) 217-226 and P. L. Redditt, "Daniel 11 and the Sociological Setting of the Book of Daniel", *CBQ* 60 (1998) 463-474, pp. 470-471. Collins, *Daniel*, p. 377, notes, however, that "It is clear that Daniel does not simply incorporate a source, because the account exhibits traditional theological patterns and is modeled on Daniel 8 to some degree." A number of possibilities of how a Greek source may have been incorporated are outlined by Rappaport, "Apocalyptic Vision", p. 224 n. 14.

and there is little doubt that those passages are part of the redactional work of those responsible both for the book as a whole as well as chapter 11 in particular.

Plöger famously saw in this group and behind the Book of Daniel "the conventicle-spirit of deliberate separatism" and argued for taking this material as referring to membership in a particular group.[30] His views on the opposition between priestly hierarchy and visionary conventicles as the cornerstones of post-exilic society have now been recognized as too simplistic. As far as the present passage is concerned, the boundaries between those who are with us and those who are against us seem to be relatively fluid and low.[31] It is characterized by a certain elitism[32] that is nevertheless willing to admit the right kind of aspirants into the fold. This non-insular generosity is indicated by the fact that this group is said to instruct (יבינו) the many and welcomes those who join them as long as they do so sincerely. Moreover the hiphil participle literally implies already the

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[30] O. Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology* (ET S. Rudman. Richmond VA: John Knox, 1969), p. 19. For a critique see, e.g., Koch, *Buch Daniel*, pp. 169-170.

[31] I wonder whether, in light of the fluid and low boundaries between the wise and the rest of the people envisaged here, the description of the author's attitude as "incipient sectarian" is not too strong a term for this material, cf. Collins, "Mythology of Holy War", p. 603.

[32] Here my own position is close to the one outlined by Davies, "Scribal School of Daniel", p. 253, who also speaks of "elitism" in this context and emphasizes the lack of "separatism".

It is further generally recognized that both the terms *Maskilim* and *rabbim* in this part of Daniel are based on the suffering servant as portrayed in Isa 53:11.[34] This is particularly clear further on in Dan 12:3 which clearly alludes to Isa 53:11 in its description of the *eschaton* and the elevated fate of the *Maskilim* at that time: "*The Maskilim*shall shine like the brightness of the sky, and those who bring righteousness to *many* like the stars for ever and ever."

Maskil at Qumran[35]

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[33] This is also highlighted with reference to Dan 11:33, 35; 12:3 (in contrast to Dan 1:4) by K. Koch, *Daniel* (BKAT 22.1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1986), pp. 18, 20, 44, see also p. 4. See further Davies, "Scribal School of Daniel", p. 253.

[34] See, e.g., H. L. Ginsberg, "The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant", *VT* 3 (1953) 400-404 and Mertens, *Buch Daniel*, p. 70 who admits to simplifying the picture when he sums up his reading of the evidence as follows: "An die Stelle des Ebed Jahwe bei Jesaja sind im Daniel-Buch die 'Weisen' getreten. Im Schrifttum vom Toten Meer aber steht an derselben Stelle der 'Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit'...". Further, Beyerle, "Daniel and Its Social Setting", p. 215 and n. 40; Collins, *Daniel*, p. 385; Davies, "Scribal School of Daniel", pp. 251-252; and Knibb, "You are Indeed Wiser than Daniel", pp. 406-407.

[35] See Hempel, "The Sapiential Texts and the Rule Books", pp. 286-294; J. I. Kampen, "The Diverse Aspects of Wisdom in the Qumran Texts", in Flint and VanderKam (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years,* I, pp. 211-243, esp. pp. 238-239; H. Kosmala, "Maśkîl", in *Studies, Essays and Reviews* (3 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1978), I, pp. 235-241; C. Newsom, "The Sage in the Literature of Qumran: the Functions of the Maśkîl", in J. G. Gammie and L. G. Perdue (eds.), *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), pp. 373-382; *eadem,* "Apocalyptic and the Discourse of the

In the Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance recently published by Martin Abegg we find thirty seven entries for *Maskil* in the sense of "Instructor" in the Scrolls.[36] Some of those are multiple occurrences in different copies of the same document. The texts that mention this individual or office are the Damascus Document (x3)[37], the Rule of the Community (x4), the Rule of Blessings (x3), the Hodayot (x4), Hodayot-like text (x1), The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (x7), as a heading in an Address by the Maskil to the sons of Dawn (x1), Songs of the Maskil (x2), 4QInstruction (x3) and once in 4QWays of Righteousness and 4QNarrative B respectively.

One curiosity, to begin with, is that if the *Maskilim* of Daniel, as often and rightly thought, were teachers of eschatological speculation it is extremely perplexing that the individual / office *Maskil* does not occur in most of the eschatological documents from Qumran. Thus, the term is entirely absent from the War Scroll (a text that has been called "a sort of midrash on the end of Dn 11 and the beginning of Dn 12"[38]), 4QSerekh ha-Milhama (4Q285 and 11Q14), the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa), 1QpHabakkuk, and 11QMelchizedek. The term is present in 1QSb, the Rule of Blessings, as is often noted.

Qumran Community", in *JNES* 49 (1990) 135-144; *eadem*, *Self as Symbolic Space*, pp. 169-174, 189-190; A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination. Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18. Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 144-164.

[36] M. G. Abegg, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance. Volume One. The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran [Part One]* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 489.

[37] Here and in the following examples I am not including occurrences of the same passage in different copies of the same work.

[38] Bruce, "Book of Daniel and the Qumran Community", p. 233.

Given the well-known close relationship between the Book of Daniel and the War Scroll in particular, the absence of the designation in this work certainly deserves to be reflected upon.[39]

We note also the prevalence of the term in liturgical texts which reminds us of the use of *Maskil* in the heading of a number of Psalms as well as its use in Chronicles with reference to the cultic duties of the Levites.[40] In what follows I would like to focus on the Community Rule, in particular, because this text figures rather prominently in discussions of Daniel and Qumran.[41]

Maskil *and* rabbim *in the Community Rule*

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[39] An exception is an occurrence of the plural in the liturgical part of 1QM in 1QM 10:10 where the holy people of the covenant are described as מלומדי חוק משכילי בינ]ה, cf. J. Duhaime, "War Scroll (1QM, 1Q33)", in J. H. Charlesworth *et al.* (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Damascus Document, War Scroll and Related Documents* [The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project 1. 1o vols. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994], II, pp. 116). It has also been suggested to reconstruct a reference to the *maskil* in the lost title of 1QM, cf. J. Duhaime, The *War Texts. 1QM and Related Manuscripts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 6. London: T&T Clark, 2004), pp. 53-54 and previous literature referred to there.

[40] For the view that the *Maskil*'s liturgical role was a later development see C. Dohmen, "Zur Gründung der Gemeinde von Qumran (1QS VIII-IX)", *RQ* 11 (1982) 81-96. On this issue see also Newsom, "Sage in the Literature of Qumran", p. 375 and p. 380 n. 11 where she tentatively proposes, in marked contrast to Dohmen, that the term *Maskil* might have entered the vocabulary of the sect via the pre-sectarian Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.

[41] See e.g. Davies, "Scribal School of Daniel", pp. 259-264.

The standard textbook account of the relationship of the *Maskilim* in Dan 11-12 and the Qumran community runs as follows: the *Maskil* appears as a key community functionary in the sectarian scrolls and the community itself which he leads has adopted the designation *ha-rabbim*. This represents an institutionalization of the terminology we find in Daniel.[42] I would like to suggest that things are not quite as simple as that.

Let me begin this discussion with another curiosity. It is true that we have both the *Maskil* and the designation *ha-rabbim* as important terms in the Community Rule, but the two terms are never closely linked to one another with one possible partial exception. By contrast, when the texts introduce the *maskil*, which is across the board most often in headings, designations other than *ha-rabbim* are used. Thus in the Teaching on the Two Spirits we have a variety of terms to designate 'the good side' (e.g. children of light, children of righteousness, children of truth - never *rabbim*). The other long section on the *Maskil* in 1QS 9:12ff., to be discussed below, never associates this figure with the *rabbim*, but instead uses other designations such as (children of righteousness [4QS^e] / Zadok [1QS][43], chosen ones of the time, the chosen of the way [4QS^d] / those who have chosen the way [1QS]). There is certainly no shortage of the designation *ha-rabbim* in the Community Rule. It occurs no less than thirty four times, but not once in the two passages most closely associated with the *Maskil* which employ other terms. Thus, whereas it is still correct to say that we have both terms in the same key text, it is equally

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[42] Cf. Collins, *Daniel*, p. 73; Henze, *Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar*, pp. 232-233, 241; Koch, *Buch Daniel*, p. 169; Mertens, *Buch Daniel*, p. 64.

[43] On this variant see R. Kugler, "A Note on 1QS 9:14: the Sons of Righteousness or the Sons of Zadok?", *DSD* 3 (1996) 315-320.

significant that when we look a little deeper they certainly do not go hand in hand. I will deal with the four most important texts from the Community Rule in turn.

1. The Restored Title of the Rule of the Community

It is widely held that the best way to reconstruct the first word of the title of the Community Rule in 1QS 1:1, this part of the title not being attested by any of the 4QS manuscripts, is with למשכיל.[44] On the basis of such a reconstruction it has been argued that the scroll is best taken as a handbook for the *maskil*.[45] This frequently endorsed restoration may or may not be correct, and it seems prudent not to build too much on any reading that is not attested. It is noteworthy, moreover, that the preserved occurrences of *Maskil* in the Community Rule never associate the official with the term סרך as proposed in the restored title. Instead there is a clear preference for other terms such as

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[44] So, e.g., P. S. Alexander and G. Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4. XIX. Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts* (DJD 26. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), p. 32; J. Carmignac, "Conjecture sur la première ligne de la Règle de la Communauté", *RQ* 2(1959) 85-87; S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21. Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 111-112; and C. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space. Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52. Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 102. A different view has been put forward by H. Stegemann who considers 1QS a *Sammelhandschrift* rather than a single composition and argues that the title of 1QS 1:1 refers only to 1QS 1:1-3:12, cf. "Some Remarks to 1QSa, to 1QSb and to Qumran Messianism", *RQ* 17 (1996) 479-505.

[45] P.S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of Serekh ha-Yahad: A Proposal", *RQ* 17 (1996) 437-456, a view most recently endorsed by Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, p. 102. Note that already in 1959 Huppenbauer proposed that various parts of S were intended for community leaders rather than the membership at large, cf. H. W. Huppenbauer, *Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten* (ATANT 34. Zürich: Zwingli, 1959), p. 44 n. 145.

2. The Introduction to the Teaching on the Two Spirits 1QS 3:13-4:26

The title and introduction to the Teaching on the Two Spirits reads as follows,

"For the *Maskil* to instruct and to teach all the children of light about the biographies of humanity [14]with regard to all the varieties of their spirits as signified by their actions during their lives and with regard to the punishment of their sufferings as well as [15]their happy times."

The value in what follows this heading for our understanding of the *Maskil* in the Community Rule is influenced, maybe I should say limited, by three factors. First, it has become clear - since the publication of the Cave 4 manuscripts - that some manuscripts of the Community Rule did not incorporate the Teaching on the Two Spirits or indeed

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[46] The opening lines of 4QS[d] have been discussed extensively in recent years, see Alexander and Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4. XIX*, pp. 83ff. for the text and further literature and section 3. below.

anything from the first four columns in 1QS and began instead with the equivalent of 1QS 5.[47] Secondly, and not unrelated, is a recent school of thought that considers the teaching on the two spirits as an originally independent composition that was secondarily incorporated into the *Serekh*.[48] This view stands in marked contrast to the traditional understanding of the treatise as a succinct summary of 'Qumran theology'.[49] And finally, there have been a number of studies making a strong case for the composite character of the treatise.[50] A literary history for the growth of the treatise is further suggested by the presence of a 4QS fragment (4QS[a] frg. 3) containing a small amount of text that is

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[47] *Ibidem*.

[48] See Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, chapter 4 and J. Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library. Reflections on their Background and History", in M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen (eds.), *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (STDJ 23. Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 275-335.

[49] See e.g. H. Ringgren's description of the Teaching on the Two Spirits, which he incidentally recognized as an originally independent source, as "a short presentation of the theology of the sect", *The Faith of Qumran. Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (rev. and enl. edn. New York: Crossroad, 1995), pp. 2-3. More recently Collins has referred to the treatise as "the heart of the sect's theology", "Apocalypticism and Literary Genre", p. 421.

[50] See J. Duhaime, "L'instruction sur les deux esprits et les interpolations dualistes à Qumran", *RB* 84 (1977) 566-594; P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial. Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* (SUNT 6. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), chapters 6-8; H. Stegemann, "Zu Textbestand und Grundgedanken von 1QS III,13-IV,26", *RQ* 13 (1988) 95-131.

reminiscent of the Teaching on the Two Spirits but does not parallel any portion of it exactly.[51]

For the purposes of the present enquiry it suffices to note that the association of the Treatise with the *Maskil* by way of the heading and introduction is best seen as a secondary development and part of the editorial process that shaped 1QS as a whole.[52] I am not denying a link at some stage of the teachings contained in this material with the *maskil*.[53] I do suggest, however, that this relationship is not as completely organic as is sometimes assumed.[54] More caution is necessary when we try and make a case for the relevance of this material for evaluating the relationship to Daniel.

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[51] See Alexander and Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4. XIX*, pp. 36-37; Metso, *Textual Development*, pp. 90-91, 137; and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, "'These are the names of the spirits of...'. A Preliminary Edition of *4QCatalogue of Spirits* (4Q230) and New Manuscript Evidence for the *Two Spirits Treatise* (4Q257 and 1Q29a)", *RQ* 21 (2004) 529-548.

[52] Here I am in agreement with Metso, *Textual Development*, pp. 139, 145 and Duhaime, "L'instruction", pp. 580, 589.

[53] Note the helpful discussion in Metso, *Textual Development*, pp. 135-140, esp. pp. 136-137. See also C. Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community* (STDJ 40. Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 112-114.

[54] In fact, Duhaime ("L'instruction") and Metso (*Textual Development*, pp. 136-137) point to links between parts of the Teaching on the Two Spirits and the Statutes for the *Maskil* in 1QS 9, and the composite nature of the treatise may hold the answer to the complex question of its relationship both to the Maskil heading and the Maskil section in 1QS 9.

3. The Introduction to 1QS 5 // 4QS^b IX // 4QS^d I[55]

1QS 5:1-3a	4QS^b IX and 4QS^d I (Composite Text)
5¹And this is the rule for the people of the community .	^b1/^d1 *Midrash for the Maskil over (or: concerning) the people of the law*
who eagerly volunteer to turn back from all evil and to hold fast to all that He has commanded	who eagerly volunteer to turn back from all evil and to hold fast to all] ^b2that He has commanded.
as His wish.	
They shall keep separate from the congregation of ²the people of injustice to form a community with regard to law and wealth. They shall be accountable to	^d2They shall keep separate from the congregation of the people of injustice to form a community with regard to la[w] and wealth. They shall be accountable ^b3to
the sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant and to the multitude of the people of ³the community who hold fast to the covenant. On their authority decisions shall be taken	*the many*
regarding any matter pertaining to law, wealth,	regarding any matter ^d3pertaining to law and wealth.
or justice.	

The opening lines of 1QS 5 and 4QS^db have received a fair amount of scholarly attention over the last few years because they preserve a number of significant variants between different manuscripts of the Community Rule. For our present purposes we need to note the presence of the *Maskil* in the heading of the 4QS manuscripts over against 1QS. In the case of 4QS^d this passage constitutes the title of the whole document.[56] The most discussed feature of those passages is the authority entrusted in 1QS to the sons of Zadok

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[55]This synoptic translation is taken from C. Hempel, *Rules and Laws I* (Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls 1. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, forthcoming). It is based on the editions of the Hebrew text of 1QS by E. Qimron ("Rule of the Community [1QS]", in J. H. Charlesworth *et al.* (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Rule of the Community and Related Documents* [The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project 1. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994], I, pp. 6-51) and o 4QS by Alexander and Vermes (*Qumran Cave 4. XIX*) for the text of the 4QS manuscripts.

[56] Cf. Alexander and Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4. XIX*, Plate X.

4. The Statutes for the *Maskil* 1QS 9:12-25 // 4QS[b] XVIII:1-7 // 4QS[d] VIII: 1-9 // 4QS[e]

III:6-IV:8 // 4QS[f] I:1-2[58]

I. 1QS 9:12-21a	I. 4QS[e] III
a. 1QS 9:12-14a	**a**.
[12]These are the statutes for the Maskil to walk in them (in his dealings) with all the living according to the rule for each time and according to the weight of each person. [13]He shall execute <u>the will of God</u> according to <u>everything</u> that has been revealed from time to time. He shall acquire every insight which has been found	[6]These are the sta[tutes] [7]for the Mas[kil to walk in] them (in his dealings) with all the living according to the rule for each [time] [8]and according to the wei[ght of each person. He shall exe]cute <u>the will of God</u> according to <u>everything</u> that has been revealed [from time to time]. [9]He sh[all acquire every insight] which has been found
according to the times and [14]<u>the statute of time</u>.	*before the times* and the [statute] [10]<u>of time</u>.
b. 1QS 9:14b-18a	**b.**
He shall separate and weigh *the sons of Zadok*	[He shall separate and] weigh *the sons of righteousness*
according to their spirit. He shall sustain the chosen ones of the time according to [15]His will <u>according to that which He has commanded</u>. He shall execute judgment	according to their sp[i]rit. [11]He shall [sustain the chosen ones of the time] <u>according to His will according to that which He has commanded</u>. He shall

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[57] Cf. Alexander and Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4. XIX*, p. 96.

[58] For the sources of the Hebrew texts and translation see note 57 above.

on each person according to his spirit. He shall bring near	[execute ¹²judgment on] each person [according to his spirit.] He shall bring near

1QS	4QS^{bd} (Composite Text)	4QS^e
each person according to the cleanness of his hands and ¹⁶according to his insight.	^{dIII:13}[each person] according to the cleanness of [his] ha[nds and] ^{dIV:1}according to his insight.	each person according to the cleanness of his hands acc[ording to ¹³his insight.
And equally his love and his hatred. He shall not rebuke or get into an argument with the people of the pit ¹⁷but conceal	And equally his love and his hatred. He shall not rebuke or get into an argument with the people of the pit ^{d2}but conceal	And equally] his [lo]ve and his hatred. He shall not [rebuke] ¹⁴or [get into an argument with the peo]ple of the pit but conceal
the counsel of the law in the midst of the people of injustice. He shall discipline with true knowledge and righteous judgment	*his/His counsel* in the midst of the people of injustice. He shall discipline with true knowledge and righteous judgment	*the coun[sel of]* ¹⁵*the law* [in the midst of the people of injustice. He shall] discipline with true knowledge and righteous ¹⁶judgment
those who have chosen ¹⁸*the way,* each according to his spirit *according to the rule of time.*	*the chosen of the way* each according to his spirit *and according to* ^{b1}*the rule of* ^{d3}*time.*	*the cho[sen of the way, each]* according to his spirit *and according to his rank.*
c. 1QS 9:18b-21a He shall guide them with knowledge and thus instruct them	**c.** He shall guide them with knowledge and thus instruct them	**c.** The time (is here) to guide them ¹⁷with knowledge [and thus instruct them
in the wonderful and true mysteries in the midst of ¹⁹*the people of the community* so that they may conduct themselves perfectly each with	^{b2}*in the wonderful and true mysteries in the midst of* *the people of the community* so that they may conduct themselves perfectly each with	in] *the wonderful mysteries. And if the way of the assembly of the community* ¹⁸*reaches perfection,* so that they may con[duct themselves perfectly each] with
his neighbour according to all that has been revealed to them. This is the time to prepare	^{d4}*his neighbour* according to all ^{b3}that has been revealed to them. This is the time to prepare	*his neighbours* according to all that has been revealed to them.

the way [20]to the wilderness.	the way to the wilderness.	[19]This is [the time to prepare the way] [20]to the wilderness.
He shall instruct them with all	*He shall instruct them in all*	*He shall make them rulers over all*

1QS	4QS[b] and 4QS[d]
that has been found to do *at this time, and* they shall keep away from everyone who has not averted his path [21]from all injustice. Vacat.	that has been found to do. *Vacat [b4]At this [d5][time* they shall keep away] from everyone who has not averted his path from all injustice. Vacat
II. 1QS 9:21b-25 These are the rules of conduct for the Maskil during these times with regard to <u>his love and his hatred</u>. (He shall direct) eternal hatred [22]towards the <u>people of the pit</u> with a spirit of <u>secretiveness</u>. He shall leave to them property and wages like a servant to his master (displaying) humility before [23]his ruler. He shall be a person who is dedicated to <u>the statute</u>	**II.** These are [b5]the rules of conduct for the Maskil during [these] [d6]tim[es with regard to <u>his love and]</u> <u>his hatred</u>. (He shall direct) eternal hatred towards [b6]the <u>people of the pit</u> with a spirit of <u>secretiveness</u>. He shall leave to them property and wa[d7][ges like a servant to] his [ma]ster (displaying) humility before [b7]his ruler. He shall be a person who is dedicated to <u>the statute</u>

1QS	4QS[b] and 4QS[d]	4QS[f]
and its time until the day of vengeance. He shall perform <u>the will (of God) in everything</u> he does [24]and in everything that is under his control (he) shall comply with <u>that which He has commanded</u>. Everything he encounters	*and ready for* the day of [vengeance.] He shall [perform [d8]<u>the will (of God) in everything</u> he does and in] everything that is under his control (he) shall comply with <u>that whi[ch He has commanded</u>. Every]thing he encounters	[f1][<u>and its time</u> until the day of vengeance. He shall perform <u>the will (of God) in everythi]ng</u> he [f2]do[es and in everything that is under his control (he) shall comply with <u>that whi[ch He has commanded.]</u> Everything he encounters

1QS	4QS[b] and 4QS[d]
shall readily delight him and he shall derive no pleasure except from <u>the will of God</u>. [25][A]ll His words shall delight him, and he	shall readily delight him and [he shall derive no pleasure] [d9]except from <u>the will of [God</u>. All His words shall delight him,

shall not desire anything that He has not comman[ded]. He shall continually look out for God's judgment.	and he shall not desire anything th]at He has not [commanded. He shall] con[tinually] look out [for] God's [judgme]nt.

To my mind this passage is the most important one to be discussed here and very probably offers us some of the tradition-historically earliest material on the *Maskil* in S.[59] A good case can be made for the independent origin of this section. Firstly, the same heading as is found in 1QS 9:12 ("These are the statutes for the *Maskil* to walk in them [in his dealings] with all the living...") occurs in the Damascus Document (CD 12:20-21 // 4QD^a 5 i 17) without any statutes following it. As I have argued elsewhere, the best way to account for this curious state of affairs in the Damascus Document, is to argue that this piece was an independent tradition which was available to the redactor of the Damascus Document and subsequently became overshadowed by other rules and offices in the Laws, such as the overseer and the camps.[60] The publication of the Cave 4 manuscripts of the Community Rule has provided even stronger pointers towards the originally independent character of this section, since one of the manuscripts that includes it lacks a block of material just before it and has a different block of material just after it. I am referring to 4QS^e which lacks the equivalent of 1QS 8:15b-9:11 up to and including the famous reference to the coming of the prophet and the Messiah of Aaron and Israel immediately before our heading in 9:12 and continues after it with a calendric

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[59] For a recent treatment of this material see Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, pp. 165ff.

[60] C. Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document. Sources, Traditions and Redaction* (STDJ 29. Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 105-106, 114-121, 189.

text Otot rather than the final psalm.[61] There is no reason to think that any of the Cave 4 manuscripts lacked the *Maskil* section. But if we think of the work of the author/redactor of the Community Rule manuscripts as, at least in some cases, making use of some building blocks, it seems that different manuscripts put together the material in different ways just before and after our section. All of these considerations seem to me fairly strong evidence for the originally independent character of this section.

As is so often the case the term *Maskil*, which occurs twice in this section, is again used in headings. However, in both of these cases the individual seems to be quite clearly in mind in the material that follows the headings. The statutes that follow are presented as addressed to the *Maskil* and spell out his duties. It may be, therefore, that we ought to direct our attention first and foremost to this section in our assessment of the *Maskil* traditions in the Community Rule and Daniel.

Looking at the text that follows the first heading we noted earlier the absence of *rabbim* language. We may also note that although there are indicators of some form of incipient communal mentality in parts of this we are quite a way away from the rigidly organized procedures, frequently with reference to the *rabbim*, laid down in most of columns 5-7 of the 1QS.

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[61] See Metso, *Textual Development*, pp. 48-51; Alexander and Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4. XIX*, pp. 50-51; U. Glessmer, "Calendars in the Qumran Scrolls", in Flint and VanderKam (eds.), *Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years*, II, pp. 213-278, esp. pp. 262-268. See also Dohmen, "Gründung der Gemeinde", p. 95 and Knibb, "Eschatology and Messianism", pp. 385-386.

We are also in different territory from the one mapped out in the previous column which describes the emerging council of the community in cultic terms as having an atoning function and employs language to describe the community otherwise applied to the sanctuary. Whatever the *Maskil* might be in other contexts[62], here we get the feeling the orientation is that of an esoterically inclined lay person as opposed to the saturation with cultic and temple imagery we find in 1QS 8.[63] Both passages are idealistic, but the idealism in each one is of a different flavour. As far as Daniel is concerned, scholars are divided on the role of priestly concerns in the book.[64] It seems fair to say, however, that

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[62] See Metso, *Textual Development*, p. 136 who argues that the *Maskil*'s role in 1QSb points to a priestly figure. Whether we should read the evidence of the Community Rule in the light of 1QSb is another matter.

[63] On the esoteric sphere of influence of the *Maskil* see Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, p. 170, who characterizes him as "a figure of mystery". For a recent assessment of the *Maskil* as a scholarly instructor and role model for community members, though not a priest see L. H. Schiffman, "Utopia and Reality: Political Leadership and Organization in the Dead Sea Scrolls Community", in S. M. Paul *et al*. (eds.), *Emanuel. Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 413-427, esp. p. 423.

[64] For a concise overview see Koch, *Buch Daniel*, pp. 169-170. Two diametrically opposed positions are represented by O. Plöger who advocates anti-hierocratic circles (*Theocracy and Eschatology* [ET S. Rudman; Richmond VA: John Knox, 1968]) and J. H. C. Lebram who has tried to make a case for priestly authorship ("Apokalyptik und Hellenismus im Buche Daniel", *VT* 20 [1970] 503-524). On this topic see also e.g. Davies, "Reading Daniel Sociologically", pp. 359-361; *idem,* "Scribal School of Daniel", p. 260; E. Haag, "Die Hasidäer und das Danielbuch", *TTZ* 102 (1993) 51-63, pp. 53, 61; and Lacocque, "Socio-Spiritual Formative Milieu", pp. 335-336.

in the passages specifically dealing with the *Maskilim* cultic language is not at the forefront.

When we look at the whole passage a case can be made for some developments even within this section.[65] This is clear already from a number of differences between the manuscripts which are printed in italics in my translation. There are good indications, on my reading, to take the second heading and everything that follows it (II.) until the end of the passage as a secondary enlargement on what precedes. As I have indicated by way of underlining relevant phrases, almost every issue that is raised in this second part takes up something that was mentioned previously and occasionally elaborates upon it. If we focus our attention on the material that follows the first heading I. it seems appropriate to divide this into three sub-sections which I have designated a., b. and c. in my translation.

a. 1QS 9:12-14a // 4QS[e] III:6-10

As far as the first part of this section is concerned, two features are striking. One is the universalistic tone and outlook. Note the reference to the *Maskil's* dealings with all the living (כול חי) according to the weight of each person (למשקל איש ואיש). He is to acquire every insight that has been found. In these opening lines we do not find any

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[65] C. Dohmen has argued that a part of this section together with parts of the previous column forms the original Manifesto of an emerging community (i.e. 1QS 8:1-7a+12b-15a and 1QS 9:16-21a). He further holds that 1QS 9:12-16a+21b-26 (i.e. two sections introduced with a *Maskil* heading, the latter heading being identified as a "redaktionelle Notiz", p. 88) belong to an originally independent composition that has been inserted here, cf. "Gründung der Gemeinde".

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[66] For an insightful discussion of this characteristic, though not with reference to the present passage, see Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, p. 81.

[67] Note a similar statement in 1QS 8:15. On this emphasis see A.-M. Denis, "Évolution de structures dans la secte de Qumrân", in J. Giblet *et al*. eds., *Aux origines de l'église* (RechBib 7. Louvain: Desclée de Brouwer, 1965), pp. 44-45; C. Hempel, "The Gems of DJD 36. Reflections on Some Recently Published Texts", *JJS* 54 (2003) 146-152, esp. pp. 149-150; Newsom, "Apocalyptic and the Discourse of Qumran", pp. 143-144; *eadem*, *Self as Symbolic Space*, pp. 81-83, 169, 174-186. See also G. Brin, *The Concept of Time in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 39. Leiden: Brill, 2001) and K. Koch, "Das Geheimnis der Zeit in Weisheit und Apokalyptik um die Zeitenwende", in F. García Martínez (ed.), *Wisdom and Apocalyptic in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (BETL 168. Leuven : Peeters, 2003), pp. 35-68.

[68]See Hempel, "Gems of DJD 36" and Newsom, "Apocalyptic and the Discourse of Qumran", p. 143.

[69] See J. Maier, "Zum Begriff יחד in den Texten von Qumran", *ZAW* 31 (1960) 148-166, esp. p. 156.

[70] I have recently drawn attention to the close resemblance between 1QS 8:4 and 1QS 9:12, for instance, cf. C. Hempel, "Emerging Communal Life and Ideology in the S Tradition", in F. García Martínez (ed.), *Defining Identities. 'We', 'You' and 'the Others' in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ. Leiden: Brill) forthcoming.

[71] Cf. Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, p. 88.

b. 1QS 9:14b-18a // 4QS^b XVIII:1 // 4QS^d VIII:1-3 // 4QS^e III:10-16

The infinitive 'to separate' (להבדיל) in 1QS 9:14a does away with this universalistic landscape and introduces the idea of separation which is prominent elsewhere in the Community Rule, cf. the opening lines of 1QS 5 // 4QS discussed above. Line 14 continues with a reference to weighing the children of righteousness / sons of Zadok depending on which manuscript we follow. On both readings it is clear that the frame of reference has changed from talking about the weight of each person out of the whole of all the living, to talking about weighing a particular group. Still in line 14 we are introduced to the unusual designation of the in-group as the chosen ones of the time (בחירי העת) and the time element in this designation provides some continuity with what went before. Lines 15-16 introduce rudimentary community structures reminiscent of more elaborate procedures spelt out elsewhere in the Community Rule such as the use of the verb קרב for admission. Noteworthy are the relatively simple requirements for membership, as well as the absence of references to handing over property or to swearing an oath. Lines 17-18 confirm the frame of reference as a particular community, but this time the designation is 'the chosen of the way' or 'those who have chosen the way' again depending on which manuscript we decide to follow. We not only have a group with a variety of names that is separate and ranked internally by 'weight', we also have opponents: the people of the pit (אנשי השחת) according to line 16, or the people of

c. 1QS 9:18b-21a // 4QS^b XVIII:1-4 // 4QS^d VIII:3-5 // 4QS^e III:16-IV:2

This last passage to be dealt with today seems to have moved on yet further integrating the *Maskil* as someone at work within 'the people of the community' (אנשי היחד) thus alluding to and aligning this part of the statutes for the *Maskil* with other parts of the Community Rule where designations of this kind are common place - here it is out-of-place in light of the designations we came across in the last section. Moreover, the allusion to Isa 40:3 which is dealt with in somewhat greater detail in 1QS 8 further

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[72] I have argued elsewhere that the people of injustice stratum is a very early tradition complex that has been incorporated in various S manuscripts even in otherwise radically different portions, cf. C. Hempel, "The Community and Its Rivals According to the Community Rule from Caves 1 and 4", *RQ* 21 (2003) 47-81.

[73] See Albertz, "Social Setting" who rightly emphasizes that the circles behind the "Hebrew Book of Daniel" (p. 200) "saw themselves as teachers of the whole people.", p. 201.

Conclusion

I hope to have shown that the relationship of the *Maskilim* in Daniel 11 and 12 to the Rule of the Community is more complex than often portrayed. The position outlined in the early part of this study differs sharply from a recent assessment by Stefan Beyerle who argues that given that the Danielic texts found at Qumran do not display sectarian features, they say "more about the social setting of the Book of Daniel than about the Qumran community itself."[74] This assessment implies a rigid, and in my view outdated, tendency to compartmentalize our sources. If we decompartmentalize both our notions of the Qumran community and its heritage and the Book of Daniel and its setting and heritage we may find that both groups are not so different and maybe even overlapped at one point in their history. What I tried to do in the latter half of the study was to offer a fresh assessment of the *Maskil* traditions in the Community Rule that takes into account the complex literary history of this text. This individual appeared in a number of different contexts, some universalistic, others with rudimentary communal requirements, and yet a third group of texts that are quite developed and employ *Yahad* terminology. In addition to these texts, the *Maskil* is also found in headings throughout the Community Rule manuscripts and must have been an authority figure both in a number of early traditions as well as at the point of the *Endredaktion* of the manuscripts. It seems likely that the closest points of contact between these traditions and the Danielic *Maskilim* are found

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[74] "Daniel and Its Social Setting", p. 208.

somewhere along this line of development, probably near but not at the beginning. Whereas Matthias Henze has stated rather eloquently that "The covenanters have made Daniel's language their own", I have tried to suggest that, to some extent, it *was* their own.[75] In other words the overlap can just as well be accounted for by the shared roots of these movements than by the influence of Daniel upon Qumran.

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[75] Henze, *Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar*, p. 242.