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Wisdom and Law in the Hebrew Bible and at Qumran¹

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Introduction

The full publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls has radically altered the profile of the collection of ancient Palestinian Jewish literature. Two areas that have been enriched by a wealth of new texts over the last two decades or so may be singled out: Jewish wisdom literature and Jewish law,² the latter broadly conceived to include what are often called Rule texts.³ The fluid transmission of communal rules alongside a

¹This publication arose out of a British Academy Mid-Career Fellowship which allowed me to work intensively in the outstanding library of the *École Biblique et Archéologique Française* in Jerusalem. I am grateful to the librarian Pawel Trzopek O.P. and to Prof. Émile Puech for his generous hospitality. I would also like to thank Jutta Jokiranta (Helsinki), Judy Newman (Toronto), Eibert Tigchelaar (Leuven) for their comments on a draft of this chapter and the members of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar, especially the chair Hindy Najman, for the opportunity to discuss and refine this paper in 2015. Finally, I am grateful to Matthew Goff, Corrado Martone, Eibert Tigchelaar, William Tooman, Cecilia Wassen, and Benjamin Wright who shared items of bibliography I was not able to access otherwise.

² See Charlotte Hempel, "Texts, Scribes and Scholars: Reflections on a Busy Decade in Dead Sea Scrolls Research," *ExpTim* 120 (2009): 272-276.

³For of the category Rule texts see Charlotte Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context: Collected Studies*, TSAJ 154 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 1-21; eadem, "Recent

broader spectrum of Jewish law is palpable in texts like the Damascus Document and 4QMiscellaneous Rules where both occur side by side.⁴ Not unlike the field of Hebrew Bible, where biblical law and wisdom are often studied in different scholarly networks, the newly discovered Jewish legal texts in the narrower sense – excluding for the moment the Rule texts⁵ – and the previously unknown sapiential texts from Qumran attracted the attention, for the most part, of scholars with expertise on biblical and rabbinic law, on the one hand, and wisdom literature on the other hand.

There has been very little engagement between scholarship on the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) and a number of significant studies on the close relationship of wisdom and law in the Hebrew Bible. Nor has there been much interaction with recent reflections on the place of ‘the wisdom tradition’ in the Hebrew Bible in the course of the profuse scholarly debate on wisdom in the DSS and its influence on various parts

Research on the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 139 (2014): 650-665; and eadem, “Rules,” in *The T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, forthcoming).

⁴See Charlotte Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, CQS 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000) and eadem, “Cutting the Chord with the Familiar: What Makes 4Q265 *Miscellaneous Rules* Tick?,” in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, ed. Joel Baden, Hindy Najman and Eibert Tigchelaar. JSJSup 175 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 534-541.

⁵For the distinction see Charlotte Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Traditions, and Redaction*, STDJ 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1998; pb ed. Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2006).

of the collection.⁶ And here I would include myself as the author of an early contribution that focused on the relationship of a number of recently published wisdom texts from Qumran to the Rule texts.⁷ Studies of this nature did, however, take us forward during what were heady *fin-de-millennium* days of (re-) conceptualising the nature of the Scrolls from Qumran and the groups who bequeathed them to us.

As I hope to demonstrate in what follows, biblical scholarship on the relationship of wisdom and law offers productive longitudinal perspectives on Second Temple cross-fertilization between both types of literature. In particular, I would like to engage the work of Erhard Gerstenberger,⁸ Moshe Weinfeld,⁹ and Bernard

⁶See the contributions in Mark R. Sneed, ed., *Was There a Wisdom Tradition? New Prospects in Israelite Wisdom Studies* (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2015), see esp. the chapter by Will Kynes, “The Modern Scholarly Wisdom Tradition and the Threat of Pan-Sapientialism: A Case Report,” 11-38. In a section devoted to the evidence from Qumran (24-26) Kynes engages critically at some length with several contributions to the thematic issue on Genre in *DSD* 17 (2010).

⁷See Charlotte Hempel, “The Qumran Sapiential Texts and the Rule Books,” “The Qumran Sapiential Texts and the Rule Books,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*, ed. Charlotte Hempel, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger. BETL159 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 277-295. Credit must go to Joseph Blenkinsopp for noting the significance of Qumran in his widely cited *Wisdom and Law in the Old Testament: The Ordering of Life in Israel and Early Judaism*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 151.

⁸Erhard Gerstenberger, *Wesen und Herkunft des “apodiktischen Rechts”*, WMANT 20 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965).

Jackson¹⁰ who between them cover a substantial range biblical law and its relationship to wisdom. As far as I was able to establish this body of scholarship has made little impact on the study of the substantial corpus of legal and sapiential literature to emerge from the caves of Qumran.¹¹

The Qumran legal material has hitherto been contextualised largely in terms of its contribution to the history of Jewish law (halakhah) from the Hebrew Bible to

⁹ Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972); see also idem, *Deuteronomy 1-11*, The Anchor Yale Bible Commentary (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

¹⁰ Bernard Jackson, *Wisdom-Laws: A Study of the Mishpatim of Exodus 21:1-22:16* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

¹¹A commendable exception is the collection edited by Bernd Schipper and Andrew Teeter entitled *Wisdom and Torah: The Reception of 'Torah' in the Wisdom Literature of the Second Temple Period*, JSJSup 163 (Leiden: Brill, 2013). As suggested by the sub-title, the volume's agenda and the majority of contributions reflect on the reception of torah in Second Temple wisdom texts rather than the overlooked reception of wisdom in legal texts. A number of contributions (esp. those by Reinhard Kratz ["Rewriting Torah in the Hebrew Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 273-292] and William Tooman ["Wisdom and Torah at Qumran: Evidence from the Sapiential Texts," 203-232]) touch on the Scrolls, and also noteworthy for the present discussion are Schipper's concluding reflections that locate the preceding chapters in the history of biblical scholarship more broadly (see "Wisdom and Torah: Insights and Perspectives," 307-319). For a broader overview see Georg Sauer, "Weisheit un Tora in qumranischer Zeit," in *Weisheit außerhalb der kanonischen Weisheitsschriften*, ed. Bernd Janowski (Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser, 1996), 107-127.

the rabbinic corpus and the New Testament.¹² Alongside this developmental approach to Jewish law, a great deal of scholarly endeavour has also focused on using the Qumran legal material to illuminate debates about the history, origin, and life style of the movement associated with the texts.¹³

The centre of gravity of research on the Qumran wisdom texts, on the other hand, has undoubtedly been their contribution to a vigorous debate on the relationship

¹² See, e.g., Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Halakha at Qumran*, SJLA 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1975); Vered Noam, “Stringency in Qumran: A Reassessment,” *JSJ* 40 (2009): 1-14; Aharon Shemesh, *Halakhah in the Making: The Development of Jewish Law from Qumran to the Rabbis* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2009) as well as E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1983); James Dunn, *Jesus, Paul, and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (London: SPCK, 1990); Thomas Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah: Was Jesus Indifferent to Purity* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2010); and Cecilia Wassen, “The Jewishness of Jesus and Ritual Purity,” *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis* 27 (2016): 11-36.

¹³ See, for example, Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code*, BJS 33 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983); Steven D. Fraade, *Legal Fictions: Studies of Law and Narrative in the Discursive Worlds of Ancient Jewish Sectarials and Sages*, JSJSup 147 (Leiden: Brill, 2011); John Kampen and Moshe Bernstein, eds., *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History*, SBL Symposium Series 2 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1996); Hempel, *Laws of the Damascus Document*; and John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010).

of wisdom and apocalyptic¹⁴ for which the recently published texts from Qumran, especially 4QInstruction, have provided fresh impetus.¹⁵ A second line of development continues to be the rapprochement of wisdom and law in Ben Sira.¹⁶

¹⁴ See, e.g., Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology Vol. II: The Theology of Israel's Prophetic Traditions*, trans. D. M. G. Stalker (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1965), 306-308. For an up to date assessment see Matthew Goff, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism," in John J. Collins, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 52-68.

¹⁵ See, e.g., Benjamin G. Wright and Lawrence M. Wills, eds., *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, SBL Symp (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2005).

¹⁶ See Sirach 24:23 and for discussion James L. Kugel, "Wisdom and the Anthological Temper," *Prooftexts* 17 (1997): 9-32, 27-28; John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 42-61; Reinhard G. Kratz, "Laws of Wisdom: Sapiential Traits in the Rule of the Community (1QS 5-7)," in *Hebrew in the Second Temple Period: The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and of Other Contemporary Sources*, ed. Steven E. Fassberg, Moshe Bar-Asher, and Ruth A. Clements. STDJ 108 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 133-45; and Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul: A Tradition Historical Enquiry into the Relation of Law, Wisdom, and Ethics*, WUNT II.16 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985), esp. 8-92. While Schnabel's work also includes a chapter on "Law and Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls" (166-226) his ultimate focus on evidence for an 'identification' of wisdom and law in the material is rather narrow, however, and perhaps driven by his reading of other Early Jewish sources. See esp. 207-226 and the conclusion, "We have further seen that the Community knew the identification of law and wisdom and used it in a similar manner as other intertestamental writers and groups used it." (225).

While the second century BCE sage is often credited with this intellectual shift, his reflections are rather ‘our first witness’ and may or may not be the brainchild of Ben Sira.¹⁷ In a welcome recent study William Tooman examined the relationship of wisdom and law in the Qumran wisdom texts 4QBeatitudes (4Q525) and 4QSapiential Admonitions B (4Q185).¹⁸ Across the board, we nevertheless note a general scholarly direction of travel that is developmental towards illuminating the evolution of the wisdom tradition, a moot concept to which we shall return, in light of new Second Temple witnesses.¹⁹ In other words we have often brought a wealth of partially

Further, Greg Schmidt Goering, *Wisdom’s Root Revealed: Ben Sira and the Election of Israel*, JSJSup 139 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), esp. 3-9.

¹⁷I am grateful to Prof. Al Baumgarten for a personal conversation on this matter. See also Mark R. Sneed, “‘Grasping After the Wind:’ The Elusive Attempt to Define and Delimit Wisdom,” in *Was There as Wisdom Tradition*, ed. Sneed, 39-67 who notes that Ben Sira’s wide-ranging interests (Sir 38-39) in wisdom, law, and history are not unique but build on a broad range of interests familiar from pre-exilic times, cf. Jer 8:8 and the case of Baruch (at 57).

¹⁸Tooman, “Wisdom and Torah at Qumran;” see further Jack T. Sanders, “When Sacred Canopies Collide: The Reception of the Torah of Moses in the Wisdom Literature of the Second-Temple Period,” *JSJ* 32 (2001): 121-136, esp. 126-127.

¹⁹Thus Sanders speaks of “the absorption of Mosaic Torah into traditional wisdom,” “When Sacred Canopies Collide,” 127, a model somewhat reminiscent of the notion of a confluence of wisdom and law promoted by Blenkinsopp, *Wisdom and Law*. For a chastening of the bellicose language used by Sanders of a clash or ‘collision’ see Benjamin J. Wright III, “Torah and Sapiential Pedagogy in the Book of Ben Sira,” in *Wisdom and Torah*, ed. Schipper and Teeter, 157-186, at 168.

unanswered questions scholars have been tackling for some considerable time to the new material.

Wisdom at the Roots of Emerging Legal Literature

While acknowledging the elevated literary nature of biblical law in its final form – what Jackson calls the ‘literary artifice’²⁰ – a number of scholars have made a strong case for the role of wisdom at the foundational level in emerging legal literature. In an important monograph Erhard Gerstenberger argues that both biblical legal prohibitions and early wisdom admonitions originated in the context of the clan and its social order – what he calls the *Sippenethos* which preceded its literary collation.²¹

Building on the work of Gerstenberger, Bernard Jackson challenges the predominant assumption, derived in analogy with modern practice or what he calls “the ‘Rule of Law’ conception,” that biblical law envisages the resolution of disputes in law courts and was composed to be put into practice.²² He proposes instead a reading of the laws as favouring ‘private resolution’ based on ‘customs’ referring to Prov 25:7-9 and the example of the wise woman of Abel in 2 Sam 20:16-22 to support his case.²³ Where courts did get involved they “operated through some combination of common sense and intuitions of justice, tempered by local custom.”²⁴ In *Wisdom-Laws* Jackson suggests the dominant ‘semantic’ (passim) approach to

²⁰*Wisdom-Laws*, 431 passim.

²¹Gerstenberger, *Wesen und Herkunft*, 110, 114.

²²Jackson, *Wisdom-Laws*, 7.

²³*Wisdom-Laws*, 24.

²⁴See Bernard S. Jackson, “Modeling Biblical Law: The Covenant Code,” *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 70 (1995): 1745-1827, 1763.

biblical law is inappropriate and proposes instead a ‘narrative approach’ that takes into account incidental pointers to ancient customs outside of the legal material. In his analysis of the Mishpatim in Exod 21:1-22:16 Jackson therefore designates a substantial portion of the Covenant ‘Code’ as mostly ‘wisdom-laws’ on the basis that the stipulations reflect sapiential values and extra-judicial settlements.

In the seminal study *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* Moshe Weinfeld demonstrates the influence of sapiential values and discourse on the book of Deuteronomy.²⁵ He makes a case for cross-fertilization of wisdom and law already in the 7th c. BCE in circles associated with the Judean court (cf. Deut 4:6; Jer 8:8).²⁶ Critics of Weinfeld have drawn attention to a lack of engagement with the literary complexity of the book of Deuteronomy and challenged the notion of a one-way street of influence of wisdom on Deuteronomy.²⁷ Some have proposed a more nuanced

²⁵ Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 244-319; see also idem, *Deuteronomy*, 62-65.

²⁶ See Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 158-178 and idem, *Deuteronomy*, 64. For the suggestion that in later layers of Deuteronomy wisdom is subordinated to the Torah see Reinhard Müller, “The Blinded Eyes of the Wise: Sapiential Tradition and Mosaic Commandment in Deut 16:19-20,” in *Wisdom and Law*, ed. Schipper and Teeter, 9-33.

²⁷ See Alexander Rofé, “Review of M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*,” in idem, *Deuteronomy: Issues and Interpretation* (London: T&T Clark, 2002), 221-230, though note that while Rofé takes issue with the way the argument is made he accepts Weinfeld’s essential point of sapiential influence on Deuteronomy (222) and Schipper, “Wisdom and Torah: Insights and Perspectives,” 308-317 and further literature cited there.

model allowing for mutual influence, and Schipper's assessment of Deuteronomy as offering a multi-faceted "'discourse' on wisdom and Torah" is suggestive.²⁸

It will be argued below, and illustrated by a substantial case study on the relationship of Proverbs 1-9 and the Community Rule (S), that there is much to be gained if the well-established debate on wisdom and law in the Hebrew Bible encompasses the remarkable spectrum of previously unknown legal and sapiential literature from Qumran. I will begin by spelling out a series of commonalities, as well as some differences, between what are at first sight rather different texts before returning to the broader discussion of how this case study can fruitfully be related to debates on the complex interplay of wisdom and law in the Hebrew Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Proverbs 1-9 and the Community Rule (S): A Case Study

A number of scholars have investigated the significance of Prov 1–9 in Second Temple literature, including the DSS. Émile Puech outlined the influence of Proverbs on what he calls the "teologica esseni."²⁹ Stuart Weeks considers the significance of Prov 1–9 in Second Temple thought, including a number of texts from Qumran, though not *S*.³⁰ Michael Fox noted that the form of the opening lines of 1QS in 1QS

²⁸Schipper, "Wisdom and Torah: Insights and Perspectives," 315.

²⁹Émile Puech, "Qumrân e il libro dei *Proverbi*," in *Libro Dei Proverbi: Tradizione, redazione, teologia*, ed. Giuseppe Bellia and Angelo Passaro (Casale Monferrato: Piemme, 1999), 169-189.

³⁰Stuart Weeks, *Instruction and Imagery in Proverbs 1–9* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 156–75.

1:2–11 (cf. also 4Q255 // 4Q256 1? // 4Q257 1) employ a chain of infinitives of purpose along the same lines as Prov 1:2–6 and observes that this may have been done “in dependence on Proverbs.”³¹ Elisa Uusimäki’s University of Helsinki dissertation recognised the importance of Prov 1–9 for the sapiential ferment attested in the Scrolls by offering a close reading of Prov 1–9 as a proto-type for *4QBeatitudes* (4Q525).³² Reinhard Kratz argued for a fuller appreciation of the sapiential features in *S*.³³ Though Kratz frequently refers to Proverbs, the article does not deal with material from Prov 1–9.

³¹Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, AB 18 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 58. See also Carol Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 109, and Eibert J. C.

Tigchelaar, “Wisdom and Counter-Wisdom in 4QInstruction, Mysteries, and 1 Enoch,” in *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, JSJSup 121 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 177–93, at 186–88, who draws attention to similar language in *4QInstruction*.

³²Elisa Uusimäki, “Turning Proverbs towards Torah: 4Q525 in the Context of Late Second Temple Wisdom Literature” (Ph.D. diss., The University of Helsinki, 2013); eadem, “Use of Scripture in 4QBeatitudes: A Torah-Adjustment to Proverbs 1–9,” *DSD* 20 (2013): 71–97; and eadem, “The Proverbs Tradition in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Crossing Imaginary Boundaries: The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Context of Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Mika S. Pajunen and Hanna Tervanotko. Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 108 (Helsinki: The Finnish Exegetical Society, 2015), 259–278.

³³Kratz, “Laws of Wisdom,” 133–45.

Earlier studies noted sapiential influences in the DSS,³⁴ and a small number of previously published Qumran wisdom texts such as 4Q185 *Sapiential Work* and 4Q184 *Wiles of the Wicked Woman* have been available for some time.³⁵ As far as the “biblical” texts from Qumran are concerned, the wisdom books are not extensively represented but are, of course, present. We have a small number of copies of Proverbs (4Q102 [Prov 1:27–2:1]; 4Q103 [parts of Prov 13–15]), Job (4Q99–101), Qohelet (4Q109–110) as well as *Targum of Job* (4Q157; 11Q10).³⁶

In what follows, I will focus on a number of shared characteristics, terminology, and concerns reflected in Prov 1–9 and *S*, beginning with a discussion of both texts’ complex growth.

Carefully Crafted Anthologies with Cumulative Literary Histories

Prov 1–9 may be singled out for attention in the first instance, since these chapters are widely regarded as the latest stratum of the book.³⁷ The final form of the book is,

³⁴See, e.g., Albert-Marie Denis, *Les thèmes de connaissance dans le Document de Damas*, *Studia Hellenistica* 15 (Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1967).

³⁵See John M. Allegro with Arnold A. Anderson, *Qumrân Cave 4 I (4Q158–4Q186)*, DJD 5 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 82–87 and Plates 28–30.

³⁶For details see conveniently Armin Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer: Band 1: Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009) and Eugene Ulrich, ed., *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants*, VTSup 134 (Leiden: Brill, 2010); see also Puech, “Qumrân e il libro dei *Proverbi*.”

³⁷See, e.g., Gerlinde Baumann, *Die Weisheitsgestalt in Proverbien 1–9: Traditionsgeschichtliche und Theologische Studien*, FAT 16 (Tübingen: Mohr

moreover, frequently dated to the post-exilic period.³⁸ Even allowing for some uncertainty on the date of Prov 1–9,³⁹ it is widely acknowledged that these chapters stand apart from the rest of the book.⁴⁰ It is generally also recognized that chapters 1–9, like the book of Proverbs as a whole, contain a variety of material. Thus, Peter Ackroyd aptly describes Proverbs as “a collection of collections of sayings.”⁴¹ Chapter 1 begins with a prologue in 1:1–7 that serves as an introduction to the whole book. According to Fox, the implied speaker of the prologue is not the father or mentor speaking in the instructions that follow, but rather the editor or redactor of the material. Similarly, Fox has argued convincingly that the implied addressee of the

Siebeck, 1966), 268–79.

³⁸Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 48–49; see also Katherine Dell, “On the Development of Wisdom in Israel,” in *Congress Volume: Cambridge 1995*, ed. J. A. Emerton. VTSup 66 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 135–51; Leo Perdue, “Wisdom Theology and Social History in Proverbs 1–9,” in *Wisdom, You Are My Sister*, ed. Michael Barré. CBQMS 29 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1997), 78–101; and Daniel J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge, 1996), 7.

³⁹See Benedikt Otzen, “Old Testament Wisdom Literature and Dualistic Thinking in Late Judaism,” *Congress Volume, Edinburgh 1974*, VTSup 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 146–57, at 154 and n. 19. See also John J. Collins, “Proverbial Wisdom and the Yahwist Vision,” in *Gnomic Wisdom*, ed. John Dominic Crossan. *Semeia* 17 (Chico CA: Scholars Press, 1980), 1–17, at 4.

⁴⁰Weeks, *Proverbs 1–9*, 172–73.

⁴¹Peter R. Ackroyd, “The Old Testament in the Making,” in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*. Vol. 1, ed. P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 67–112, at 111.

prologue is the instructor, rather than the son or immature youth spoken to in the lectures. The remainder of Prov 1–9 comprises a series of lectures (or discourses) and poems that have wisdom herself as the speaker.⁴² Interspersed are a number of shorter proverbs reminiscent of the material found in Prov 10 onwards. It would be fruitful to incorporate the whole book into a comparative analysis, but it seems reasonable to start working with Prov 1–9 in the first instance. The development of the chapters is described by Fox as “a process of organic growth, with each successive author reading the earlier text and elaborating upon it.”⁴³ Fox and others have proposed that the wisdom poems post-date the admonitions and the prologue.⁴⁴

For scholars of the S tradition, this image of the complex, cumulative growth of a text is not at all unfamiliar.⁴⁵ And this familiarity goes beyond the very basic sense that all texts have a history. In S, as represented by 1QS, 4Q255, 4Q256, and 4Q257, we also start with a general introduction in 1QS 1:1–15 (cf. also 4Q255 1:1–6; 4Q256 1:9; 4Q257 1:1–2) that appears to go back to a final redactor or editor. There is

⁴²See R. N. Whybray, *Wealth and Poverty in the Book of Proverbs* (London: Continuum, 2009), 99.

⁴³Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 329. On the anthological character of Prov 1–9, see also Baumann, *Weisheitsgestalt*, 58–59, and the influential study by Kugel, “Wisdom and the Anthological Temper.” For a defence of the unity of Prov 1–9 in its final form, see Weeks, *Proverbs 1–9*, 44–60, 94.

⁴⁴See Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 322–30. Whybray argues, “... there are strong indications that the provenance of the wisdom poems and the discourses in their final redaction is the same, though the wisdom poems represent a further development of the teaching” (*Wealth*, 104).

⁴⁵See Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 109–19.

little doubt that the Cave 1 scroll that includes 1QS-1QSa-1Qsb is a compilation of a variety of material, or *Sammelhandschrift*, as Hartmut Stegemann argued,⁴⁶ much along the lines that Proverbs is also very obviously a compilation.

Having noted that on the macro level, both S and Proverbs are collections of literary units skilfully put together with headings.⁴⁷ It is not crucial here whether or not the customary seven headings are identified in the MT of the book of Proverbs, or five headings, as Alex Luc has argued.⁴⁸ The point I wish to stress is that there is a clear consciousness of an explicit structure in both works.⁴⁹ My own view on the growth of S is that the earliest material is found in the shared building blocks between

⁴⁶Hartmut Stegemann, “Zu Textbestand und Grundgedanken von 1QS III,13–IV,26,” *RevQ* 13/49-52 (1988): 95–131, esp. 96; Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus: Ein Sachbuch* (Freiburg: Herder, 1993), 152–64 (where he calls the scroll a “Großhandschrift”).

⁴⁷On one of the most common headings in S, see Philip S. Alexander, “Rules,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James. C. VanderKam (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:799–803; and C. Hempel, “Serekh,” in *ThWQ*, 2:1111–17.

⁴⁸Alex Luc, “The Titles and Structure of Proverbs,” *ZAW* 112 (2000): 252–55.

⁴⁹This process is aptly described for Proverbs by Fox, see *Proverbs 1–9*, 11; see also 330, on the cumulative editorial processes that brought us what we have today and 328–29, where he speaks of the growth of Proverbs in terms of “a series of insertions by scribes” building on existing texts. Further complexity has been identified by Emanuel Tov, who suggests LXX Proverbs reflects recensional variety for Prov 24–31; see Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, VTSup 72 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 428–31.

various manuscripts that were put together and elaborated in different ways.⁵⁰ The same kind of process seems to lie behind Proverbs: a group of redactors tied pieces together with their own observations/compositions thrown in for good measure. We referred above to Kugel's article "Wisdom and the Anthological Temper."⁵¹ It seems fair to apply this turn of phrase also to S, including in particular the Cave 1 manuscript. This manuscript is undoubtedly an anthology, since it comprises at the very least three documents, the *Serekh*, the *Rule of the Congregation*, and the *Rule of Blessings*.⁵² Scholars differ on whether or not the *Serekh* too comprises a collection of independent documents. Hartmut Stegemann thought it did and argued that 1QS consisted of three documents.⁵³ In any event it is clear that the majority of S manuscripts are compilations of a diverse range of material.⁵⁴ It seems fair to say that

⁵⁰See Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, esp. 109–19, 137–50.

⁵¹See note 16 above.

⁵²Emanuel Tov has recently challenged the widely held view that 1QSa and 1QSB where physically attached to 1QS 11, cf. Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 111, n. 149. However, during a visit to the Shrine of the Book in 2014, I was able to consult a photograph of the final column of 1QS, which clearly reveals well-preserved stitching on the verso. The black and white photograph was taken around 1954 by Moshe Kirschner. I am grateful to the Curator of the Shrine, Dr. Adolfo Roitman, and his team, especially Hasia Rimon and Irene Lewitt, for allowing me to examine 1QS and the Shrine's photographs of the scroll on May 7, 2014.

⁵³Stegemann, *Die Essener*, 153–59: 1QS 1:1-3:12; 1QS 3:13-4:26; 1QS 5:1-11:22.

⁵⁴For an important contribution on the complexity of S tradition, see Jutta Jokiranta, "What is 'Serekh ha-Yahad (S)'? Thinking about Ancient Manuscripts as Information

the collecting, selecting, and bringing together of texts was something shared by the circles behind S and Proverbs. Further on in Proverbs, the heading in Prov 25:1 describes the work of the men of Hezekiah as “transcribing,” “copying,” or “editing” (*he’ētiq*). Whybray describes this passage as an “almost unique reference to such activity in the OT.”⁵⁵ The term does not occur in the Scrolls, although whatever the precise activity denoted by it may be, there was certainly plenty of it at Qumran and affiliated places where scrolls were inscribed that would find their way to Qumran.

Next I would like to refer to a number of terminological correspondences between Prov 1–9 and S.

*Terminology*⁵⁶

In some cases the overlap noted applies also to other writings, and the force of my argument is based on the whole picture to be drawn here, rather than any individual terminological correspondence.

Maskil and the Root Škl

An obvious term to start with is the figure of the *Maskil* and the root *škl*. The place of the Maskil in S is rather complicated. I previously addressed the complexity of the evidence in a contribution on *Maskil* and *Rabbim* in S and the book of Daniel.⁵⁷ This

Processing,” in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls*, ed. Baden, Najman and Tigchelaar, 637-658 (for details see note 4 above).

⁵⁵See Whybray, *Wealth*, 46.

⁵⁶For an account of wisdom terminology in the corpus of the Scrolls more broadly see Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom*, 195-198 and earlier literature referred to there.

⁵⁷See Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 231–52 and further literature cited

is how I summarize my findings in that study:

This individual [the *Maskil*] 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.⁵⁸

The verb *skl* occurs thirteen times in the S manuscripts, always in the *hiphil* (5x in 1QS: 4:22; 9:18, 20; 11:1, 18; and 5x in 4QS: 4Q255 A:3; 4Q256 18:1, 3; 4Q258 8:3, 4). The participle *mškył* occurs 3x in 1QS (3:13; 9:12, 21) and 5x in 4QS (4Q256 9:1; 4Q258 1:1; 8:5; 4Q259 3:7; and 4Q259 4:2). The noun *skl* is found even more frequently (10x in 1QS 2:3; 4:3, 18; 5:21, 23, 24; 6:14, 18; 9:13, 15; and 4x in 4QS: 4Q258 2:2, 4; 8:1; and 4Q261 1a–b:3). Most of the Cave 4 occurrences are found in parallels to 1QS texts. The only two exceptions are the much-discussed *Maskil* heading in 4Q256 9:1; 4Q258 1:1⁵⁹ and one occurrence of the noun *skl* in an unidentified fragment of 4Q255 A:3.

What is particularly interesting is the occurrence of the noun *skl* frequently in

there; see also the stimulating analysis of the *Maskil* as “spiritual maestro of the yahad” proposed in Judith Newman, “Speech and Spirit: Paul and the *Maskil* as Inspired Interpreters of Scripture,” in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Jörg Frey and John R. Levison. Ekstasis 5 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 243–66.

⁵⁸Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 251–52.

⁵⁹For discussion and further bibliography see Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 109–19.

the constitutional core 1QS 5–8 to designate a quality that members need to demonstrate when they are first admitted into the movement and subsequently in the course of annual assessments of existing members, cf. 1QS 5:21, 23 // 4Q258 2:2 // 4Q261 1a–b: 3; 1QS 5:24 // 4Q258 2:4 // [4Q261 1a–b: 5]; 1QS 6:14, 18. The root *śkl* is, of course, an important term in Proverbs and occurs in the programmatic opening lines in Prov 1:3 לַקַּחַת מוֹסֵר הַשְּׂבִל (“to receive instruction in being wise”).⁶⁰ Beyond Prov 1-9 see also 12:8. The root *śkl* thus emerges as a core value of community members in S as well as part of the didactic remit of educational leaders both in S (see 1QS 9:13 // 4Q259 3:8-9) and in Prov 1:3.

The Terms *y’s* and *‘ēsâ*

The root *y’s*, “counsel, deliberate,” and the noun *‘ēsâ*, “council,” refer to a crucial activity and forum in S.⁶¹ The root occurs 41x in 1QS alone. In S *‘ēsâ* (40x) can be used to refer to the communal activity of “exchanging counsel” and as a component in the self-designation of the group as “the council of the community.” As far as the latter is concerned, I have argued elsewhere that we can trace a certain amount of development in the use of this self-designation in S.⁶² The relationship of the activity of exchanging counsel and the designation of a group of people as belonging to “the council” has been described convincingly by John Worrell:

⁶⁰Beyond Prov 1-9 see also 12:8, cf. Puech, “Qumrân e il libro dei *Proverbi*,” 179.

⁶¹See John Worrell, “עצה: ‘Counsel’ or ‘Council’ at Qumran?” *VT* 20 (1970): 65–74; see also Edmund F. Sutcliffe, “The General Council of the Qumran Community,” *Biblica* 40 (1959): 971–83 which deals predominantly with a detailed analysis of 1QS 6:8–13.

⁶²See Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 79–105.

For the Qumran community the function implied by the term was so vital and important in (sic) action that it became one of the principal designations of the sect itself.⁶³

As I have argued elsewhere, *y 'š* language describes one of the central activities of communal life in its most embryonic form, as outlined in 1QS 6:1c–5 (cf. 4Q258 2 // 4Q261 2a–c // 4Q263),⁶⁴ and in the community at an advanced stage of its development (cf., e.g., 1QS 6:22 // [4Q261 3]; 1QS 7:22, 24 // [4Q259 2]).⁶⁵ We never seem to be told the contents of the counsel. Thus, Newsom observes beyond S, “It is unfortunate that we know so little about cultural models of taking counsel in First and Second Temple Judaism.”⁶⁶ In S the emphasis is on exchanging counsel. Perhaps it refers to business we might call “matters/business arising.” In the Hebrew Bible *y 'š* is more common in poetry than narrative.⁶⁷ Ruppert further observes that the terminology is rightly associated with wisdom literature, but goes on to note a substantial number of occurrences in prophecy also.⁶⁸ In his article devoted to *'ēšâ* at Qumran, Worrell focuses largely on S and begins his discussion with the observation,

⁶³See Worrell, “‘Counsel’ or ‘Council’ at Qumran,” 69; also Denis, *Les thèmes de connaissance* and Arie van der Kooij, “The *Yahad* – What Is in a Name?,” *DSD* 18 (2011): 109–28.

⁶⁴For analysis and further literature see Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 79–105.

⁶⁵See also Jutta Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement*, STDJ 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 92–102.

⁶⁶Newsom, *Self*, 144.

⁶⁷See L. Ruppert, *TDOT* 6:156–85 s.v. *yā 'aš*.

⁶⁸See Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 272.

“No term is more revealing of the self-understanding of the Qumran sect than **עצה**.”⁶⁹

As far as the currency of the term in wisdom literature is concerned, Worrell lists fourteen references for Proverbs, including three from the first nine chapters.

A difference between the way in which counsel is understood in Proverbs and S is that in the former it is hierarchical and passed down from the older and wiser instructor—the father or teacher in a kind of one-way-system. In S, the emphasis is very much on an exchange of counsel in the community—albeit also on a hierarchical basis, those of lower rank having a right to speak only after those of higher rank (cf. 1QS 6:2–3, 4, 8–9, 22; 8:18–19). In this context Worrell refers to *‘ēṣā* as “the mutual deliberative counsel of those learned in scripture and in their own doctrines.”⁷⁰ Thus, 1QS 6:2–3 // 4Q258 2 // 4Q261 2a–c // 4Q263 describes life in all their dwelling places and lays down that those gathered are to eat together, pray together, and exchange counsel together **ויעצו ויחד יברכו ויחד יאכלו ויחד** (ויחד יאכלו ויחד יברכו ויעצו). Similarly, according to 1QS 6:4 // 4Q258 2 // 4Q261 2a–c // 4Q263 small scale gatherings of ten are asked for their counsel each in turn *on any matter*. This reference to “any matter” also indicates that the content of *‘ēṣā* depended on circumstances, things that came up, as it were. Whereas 1QS 6:4 dealt with small groups,⁷¹ later on in column 6 we find ourselves in the larger context of the session of the many where participants are asked for all their counsel. After indicating the way everyone sits according “his rank,” 1QS 6:9 // 4Q258 3 describes members being asked for their judgment and counsel (*mišpāṭ* and *‘ēṣā*) as some of the central duties of the session. Similarly the lengthy admission

⁶⁹Worrell, “‘Counsel’ or ‘Council’ at Qumran?,” 65.

⁷⁰Worrell, “‘Counsel’ or ‘Council’ at Qumran?,” 69.

⁷¹For discussion and bibliography see Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 79–105, 293–99.

process culminates in 1QS 6:22–23 // 4Q261 3 with granting new members the privilege of making their counsel and judgment available to the community (cf. 1QS 8:26 // 4Q258 7 and 1QS 9:2 // 4Q258 7 which allow for readmission after temporary exclusion in similar terms). 1QS 8:18, 23, 25⁷² prevent renegade members and outsiders from gaining access to the counsel of the community. Newsom speaks of a “correlation between access to the pure food and pure drink of the community . . . and participation in the counsel and judgment of the session of the Many.”⁷³ According to 1QS 9:17 // 4Q258 8 // 4Q259 3 the *Maskil* is to keep “the counsel of the torah” (עצת התורה)⁷⁴—perhaps a privileged tier of counsel associated with this figure—hidden from the people of injustice?

Thus, while Proverbs and S share ‘*ēṣā* terminology, the evidence of S is characterised by a pronounced emphasis on “exchanging” counsel that is entirely absent from Proverbs. In the biblical wisdom book the addressee is a consumer who might consume counsel from the right source or be misled by someone who superficially looks attractive. The root meaning of the term does, of course, imply reciprocity, as pointed out by Fox, who notes that ‘*ēṣā* “is essentially *deliberation*.”⁷⁵

⁷²Only 4Q258 7:1 preserves text corresponding to 1QS 8:25. 4Q258 preserves a slightly different text from 1QS 8:25 (for discussion see Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4.26: Serekh Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts* [DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998], 112) though the argument presented here stands whichever manuscript is followed.

⁷³Newsom, *Self*, 148. For an early discussion, without reference to 1QS 6:4 however, see Sutcliffe, “General Council,” 973.

⁷⁴4Q258 8:2 reads “his/His counsel.”

⁷⁵Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 32.

To my mind, this notion of deliberation has a more authoritarian flavour in Proverbs where the direction of travel of *‘ēṣā* is one-way, and the addressee is not expected to contribute. Finally, it is worth noting that in Proverbs *‘ēṣā* is one of a number of terms—not all of which are being given such a prominent place in S—cf. the reference to wisdom’s *‘ēṣā* in Prov 8:14 where it is part of a list of attributes.

Reproof (*tōkahat*)⁷⁶

One of the terms used in parallelism with *‘ēṣā* in Prov 1–9 is “reproof” (*tōkahat*) cf. 1:23, 25, 30 where it is issued by personified wisdom. Prov 3:11–12 speaks of God’s reproof and discipline. Prov 5:12 deals with reproof and discipline unheeded in the context of the temptation of the strange woman. The reference to a lack of attention to the voice of ‘my teachers’ in 5:13 suggests it is the speaker’s instructors and seniors who are the source of reproof unheeded. Finally, Prov 6:23 identifies reproof as

⁷⁶On this topic see James Kugel, “On Hidden Hatred and Open Reproach: Early Exegesis of Lev. 19:17,” *HTR* 80 (1987): 43–61; Newsom, *Self*, 140–42; Bilha Nitzan, “The Laws of Reproof in 4QBerakhot (4Q286–290) in Light of their Parallels in the Damascus Document and Other Texts from Qumran,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten*, ed. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen. STDJ 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 149–65; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code*, BJS 33 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 92–98; and recently Shani Tzoref, “The Use of Scripture in the Community Rule,” in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*, ed. Matthias Henze (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 203–34, esp. 222–23.

(leading to) the way of light.⁷⁷

As is well known, in S and a number of other texts from the corpus of the Scrolls—especially the *Damascus Document* (cf. CD 7:2; 9:3, 8, 18 // 4Q269 4 ii) and 4Q477 (*The Overseer's Record of Rebuke*)—reproof is an important aspect of communal life as depicted in the Scrolls. Thus, 1QS 5:24–6:1 // 4Q258 2 // 4Q263 elaborate on the importance of reproof in the right spirit, not in anger, and before witnesses. Moreover, according to 1QS 9:16 // 4Q258 8 // 4Q259 3 the *Maskil* is not to rebuke or argue with “the people of the pit” (לוא להוכיח ולהתרובב עם אנשי השחת). This prohibition of reproof comes after a reference to the *Maskil*'s love and hatred. One cannot help but recall Prov 3:12 “The Lord reproves the one he loves,” i.e. the *Maskil* must not grant this act of love to the wrong people.⁷⁸ In the next line the *Maskil* is, however, encouraged, to rebuke “those who choose the way (1QS 9:17–18) // the chosen of the way (4Q258 8:2; 4Q259 3).” It is quite obvious that both in Proverbs and in S (and other DSS) reproof is considered as nothing but a privilege, although as is implicit in S and explicit in the *Damascus Document*, the law of Lev 19 lies behind this concern as well (cf. Lev 19:17). We note again a shift from a top down approach to reproof in Prov 1-9 where the agents of reproof are elevated to different degrees (God in 3:11-12; personified Wisdom in 1:13, 25, 30; and teachers in 5:12-13) as opposed to the reciprocal practice aspired to according to S (1QS 5:24–6:1 // 4Q258 2 // 4Q263) alongside being a duty of the *Maskil* towards members of the movement (1QS 9:17–18 // 4Q258 8:2; 4Q259 3). It seems true to say that a

⁷⁷ We disregard occurrences of *ykh* in Prov 9:7–9, a section that is taken as a secondary insertion by many scholars, see Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 306–9.

⁷⁸ See Ari Mermelstein, “Love and Hate at Qumran: The Social Construction of Sectarian Emotion,” *DSD* 20 (2013): 237–63, esp. 250–55.

process of instruction that used to be important in the context of the family and/or an educational environment⁷⁹ has been modified to be practised in the community. It is noteworthy that we find a reference to mutual reproof in Prov 28:23 as well as in Prov 9:7-9—a section often thought to be part of a secondary expansion.⁸⁰ All this suggests that a practice that is envisaged in Prov 1-9 as part of a process from ‘above’ encompasses inter-personal rebuke elsewhere in Prov (including the secondary 9:7-9) and in S as is the case also in Lev 19:17.

Rēaʿ

We find some correspondence in the terminology used in Prov 1–9 and parts of S to refer to affiliates. Thus, *rēaʿ* is used, for instance, in Prov 3:28–29; 6:1, 3, 29. Fox defines the *rēaʿ* as “another person within the pertinent sphere of affiliation.”⁸¹ In the S manuscripts *rēaʿ* occurs rather frequently: 1QS 2:25, 5:21, 23 (2x) // 4Q258 2:2–3 (2x) // 4Q261 1a–b: 2–4 (1x); 1QS 5:24–25 // 4Q258 2;⁸² 1QS 6:1 // 4Q258 2 // 4Q263; 1QS 6:2 // 4Q258 2:4;⁸³ 1QS 6:7, 10 (alongside *ʾāḥ* “brother”); *rēaʿ* again in 1QS 6:26 (2x); 7:4, 5, 6, 8, 9 // [4Q261 5a–c];⁸⁴ 1QS 7:12 // [4Q259 1:9]⁸⁵ // [4Q261

⁷⁹ See Collins, “Wisdom Reconsidered,” 167–68 and pertinent literature cited there.

⁸⁰ See note 70 above.

⁸¹ Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 165–66, 212.

⁸² The text of 4Q258 2:4 is slightly shorter than 1QS 5:25 at this point, cf. Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:101.

⁸³ The text of 4Q258 2:6 is again slightly shorter than 1QS 6:2 here, cf. Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:102 where the editors suspect accidental omission.

⁸⁴ The term *rēaʿ* is reconstructed in 4Q261 5a–c: 2. The importance of the terminology

5a–c:6];⁸⁶ 1QS 7:15 // [4Q261 6a–e]; 1QS 7:17 // [4Q261 6a–e]; 1QS 8:2 // [4Q259 2]; 1QS 8:20; 9:19 // 4Q256 18 // [4Q258 8] // 4Q259 3.⁸⁷ Brother occurs again 1QS 6:22.⁸⁸ Even though S presupposes a hierarchical framework for communal gatherings *rēa* ‘ refers, as it does in Proverbs, to a close affiliate within a larger macro-structure.

Prohibitions in the form *’al* plus jussive are particularly common in the *Damascus Document*. A number are also found in S, including a small cluster at the end of 1QS 5 and the beginning of 1QS 6, cf. 1QS 5:25b–6:1b // 4Q258 2:5–6a // 4Q263 1–2a. The interesting thing about this particular S cluster of *’al* plus jussive statements is that they repeatedly speak of conduct between one member and his neighbour (*rēa* ‘). The same context is present in the formally similar series of admonitions in Prov 3:27–31, which makes use of *’al* plus jussives and deals with relations between one person and his neighbour (*rēa* ‘). Fox argues regarding the five admonitions in Prov 3 that they were probably *not* “written from scratch ... It appears that the author selected five proverbs that serve his purpose.”⁸⁹ It seems likely that the

in S is noted by Kratz, “Laws,” 140.

⁸⁵The term *rēa* ‘ is reconstructed in 4Q259 1:9 with some justification given the preserved context.

⁸⁶The term *rēa* ‘ is reconstructed in 4Q261 5a–c: 6.

⁸⁷4Q259 3:18 reads the plural רעיו “his neighbours.”

⁸⁸On kinship language in the Scrolls, see Jutta Jokiranta and Cecilia Wassen, “A Brotherhood at Qumran? Metaphorical, Familial Language in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran Network 2003–2006* (ed. Anders K. Petersen et al.; STDJ 80; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 173–203.

⁸⁹Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 167.

authors of S—or the authors of 1QS 5:24b–6:1a // 4Q258 2:4b–6a // 4Q263 1–2a, in any case—made use of the same language when drawing up their own admonitions.

Paths

As far as S is concerned, *derek* occurs 43x in 1QS alone, spread over all columns except 1QS 6–7. *Derek* and synonyms like *netîbâ* and *'ōrah* occur very frequently in Prov 1–9. In both texts the emphasis is on the choice of the right path.⁹⁰ As above with *'ēšâ* we notice a narrowing of the vocabulary with *derek* predominating in S whereas Proverbs uses a richer range of vocabulary. Let us now explore a series of thematic concerns shared by Prov 1-9 and S.

Thematic Concerns

A Basic Polarity of Outlook

Not unrelated to the centrality of choosing the right path is the shared polar outlook in S and Prov 1–9. The two chief sides in the world are portrayed as black and white in a fairly one-dimensional scheme. It seems true to say that this polarity dominates the concerns in both literatures. It is, of course, well known that language of darkness and light features prominently in parts of S, cf. 1QS 2:7–8 // 4Q256 3:1b–2 // 4Q257 2:3–5; 1QS 3:3 // 4Q257 3:5; 1QS 4:11, 13.⁹¹ This imagery may be compared to Prov

⁹⁰See Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 128–31 and Weeks, *Proverbs 1–9*, 73–79. See also Puech, “Qumrân e il libro dei *Proverbi*,” 180.

⁹¹Cf. also 1QS 11:10, where the reference to walking in darkness is part of the speaker’s description of himself as a member of lowly humanity rather than emphasizing a distinction between different types of humans.

4:18–19, where the way of the righteous is light and the way of the wicked is gloominess. See also Prov 6:23, where תורה and מצוה are identified with light or a source of light. There has been a great deal of discussion of the foreign, especially Persian, influence on Qumran dualism.⁹² It seems nevertheless clear that we do have traces of it also in Proverbs.

The most obvious expression of polarity in S is the Teaching on the Two Spirits, but suggestions of it are present elsewhere, e.g. in the emphasis to separate from the people of injustice “who walk in the way of wickedness” (1QS 5:10–11 // 4Q256 9:8 // 4Q258 1:7).⁹³ Thus, Leaney observes with reference to the Teaching on the Two Spirits in 1QS that what he calls “an embryonic form of dualism” is found in the Hebrew Bible, and in Prov 2:13 and 7–8 in particular.⁹⁴ Such a relationship between dualism at Qumran and the biblical wisdom tradition was also advocated by

⁹²See recently Miryam Brand, *Evil Within and Without: The Source of Sin and Its Nature as Portrayed in Second Temple Literature*, JAJSup 9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 271–73.

⁹³The reference to wickedness is lacking from 4Q256 and 4Q258, resulting in a more pronounced dualistic emphasis in 1QS 5:10–11. On the Treatise on the Two Spirits see Collins, “Wisdom Reconsidered,” 277–79, and Charlotte Hempel, “The Treatise on the Two Spirits and the Literary Development of the Rule of the Community,” in *Dualism in Qumran*, ed. Géza Xeravits. LSTS 76 (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 102–20.

⁹⁴See Alfred R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning* (London: SCM, 1966), 47 and Preben Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline*, STDJ 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1957), 71 (ad 1QS 3:21), and 81 (ad 1QS 4:11).

Otzen, who observes, “We may in Proverbs have some germs of dualistic thinking.”⁹⁵

The Fate of the Wicked

Closely related to a pervasive binary outlook in both S and Prov 1–9 is a shared emphasis on retribution for the wicked.⁹⁶ In Prov 1–9 the fate threatened is *Sheol*/Death/Life with the shades, cf. Prov 2:18; 5:5 (the house of the strange woman); Prov 8:36 (those who hate wisdom face death); Prov 9:18 (those who follow the foolish woman face *Sheol*); and according to Prov 5:23 lack of discipline will bring death. This morbid fate is opposed to life (cf., e.g., Prov 2:19) as well as security and the absence of dread (cf. 3:23–25). A similar concern with a menacing lack of security is expressed in S where the threat of terror is referred to among the times for praise in the final hymn (cf. 1QS 10:15 // 4Q256 20:4 // 4Q258 10:3 // 4Q260 4:1) and with reference to the menacing age of Belial when community members are exposed to sudden attacks of fear and panic in 1QS 1:17–18 // 4Q256 2. In both S and Proverbs the threat of terror pertains predominantly to the wicked or disobedient, though keeping the righteous on “the straight and narrow” is clearly an important a sub-text.⁹⁷

⁹⁵Otzen, “Old Testament Wisdom Literature,” 152. See also Puech, “Qumrân e il libro dei *Proverbi*,” 176-177, 186-188.

⁹⁶See Emile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, resurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le Judaïsme ancien* (Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 1:59–65.

⁹⁷See also 4Q525 (*Beatitudes*) 2–3 ii 4–6, cf. Bilha Nitzan, “Education and Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Light of their Background in Antiquity,” in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center*

In S the fate of the wicked is predominantly described in terms of an eschatological judgment, cf. 1QS 4:11–14 // 4Q257 5⁹⁸ and 1QS 5:13,⁹⁹ which speak of eternal destruction without a remnant. 1QS 8:10¹⁰⁰ // [4Q258 6],¹⁰¹ as only clearly preserved in 1QS, refers to the judgment of wickedness and an end to injustice. Curiously, neither “death” nor Sheol occur in S at all.

4Q184 (*Wiles of the Wicked Woman*) may offer us something of a missing link between Proverbs and S. Although this text shares with Proverbs the threat of death and *Sheol* for those who follow the woman, the language used is more elaborate in describing the deadly darkness that awaits those who pursue her.¹⁰²

for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005, ed. Esther G. Chazon, Betsy Halpern-Amaru, and Ruth A. Clements. STDJ 88 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 97–116, at 114 and Uusimäki, “Use of Scripture.”

⁹⁸Puech, *La croyance*, 2:426–40.

⁹⁹1QS 5:13 is part of a passage where 1QS 5 has a longer text over against 4Q256 // 4Q258; for discussion and further bibliography see Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 109–19.

¹⁰⁰These words are added above the line in 1QS.

¹⁰¹4Q258 2:4, though reconstructed, appears to have a slightly shorter text than 1QS 8:10. The entire passage in question is lacking in 4Q259 2, cf. Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:106, 108.

¹⁰²Collins has observed that “4Q184 continues an old tradition of using the sexually promiscuous woman as a symbol for the way of folly. It differs from the older texts primarily by introducing an eschatological perspective...,” *Jewish Wisdom*, 116. This “eschatological perspective” seems still rather rudimentary here. See also John Kampen, *Wisdom Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 235–36 and Matthew

Perfection as the Height of Virtue

On the other extreme, the height of virtue both in Prov 1–9 and in S is walking in perfection (*hithallek tāmîm* or *tōm darkō*). This language is pervasive in S, see 1QS 1:8, 12; 2:2 cf. 3:3 // 4Q257 3:5; 1QS 3:9 // 4Q255 2:5 // 4Q257 3:13; 1QS 4:22; 5:24;¹⁰³ 8:10;¹⁰⁴ 8:18, 20 (perfect holiness), 21, 25;¹⁰⁵ 1QS 9:2 // 4Q258 7:3; 1QS 9:5

Goff, “Hellish Females: The Strange Woman of Septuagint Proverbs and 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184),” *JSJ* 39 (2008): 20-45, esp. 32-36.

¹⁰³The crucial words are lacking in 4Q258 2:4, and there is insufficient space in 4Q261 1a–b: 5–6, cf. Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, STDJ 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 83 and Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule*, STDJ 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 91–92.

¹⁰⁴In addition to the well preserved reference to “with perfect conduct” (*derek bātāmîm*) in 1QS 8:10 the superlinear text in this line preserves the remains of a second erased occurrence of the phrase, cf. Elisha Qimron, “Rule of the Community (1QS),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Volume 1 Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth et al. Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project 1 (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 34; see also Martin Abegg’s edition of 1QS in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*, ed. Emanuel Tov (Leiden: Brill, 2007); and the digital images of 1QS published by the Shrine of the Book at <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/>. 4Q258 and 4Q259 do not preserve this particular passage. In this case Qimron’s 1994 edition is preferable to his more recent edition of S in his *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings*, 3 vols.

// 4Q258 7:6; 1QS 9:6 // 4Q258 7:7; 1QS 9:8 // 4Q258 7:8; 1QS 9:9 // 4Q258 7:9; 1QS 9:19 // 4Q258 8:3 // 4Q259 3:18; 1QS 11:2, 11, 17. In this context Newsom recently observed: “The rhetoric of perfection is almost obsessive in 1QS 8:1–9:11.”¹⁰⁶ Intriguingly, the self-designation “people of perfect holiness” found in 1QS 8:20 closely resembles language prominent in CD 20:1–8, and I have dealt with this curious inter-textual relationship elsewhere.¹⁰⁷ Both in S and in Proverbs, walking in perfection is often the same as being “upright” (cf. 1QS 1:2; 1QS 3:1 // 4Q257 3:2; 1QS 3:8 // 4Q255 2:2; 1QS 4:22; 11:2). In Prov 1–9 perfection language occurs in Prov 2:7, 21 (see also Prov 10:9, 29; 11:20; 19:1; 20:7; 28:6, 10).¹⁰⁸ Whereas Alexander and Vermes observe that this language “should probably be regarded as part of the distinctive religious vocabulary of the sect” in the DSS,¹⁰⁹ Stephen

(Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010–2014), 1:224. On the curious pattern of corrections in 1QS see Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “The Scribe of 1QS,” in *Emanuel*, ed. Shalom Paul et al. VTSup 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 439–52.

¹⁰⁵The reference to perfect conduct found in 1QS 8:25 is lacking in 4Q258 7:1, cf. Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:109–12 and Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 102–3.

¹⁰⁶Newsom, *Self*, 160. See also Hindy Najman, *Past Renewals: Interpretative Authority, Renewed Revelations, and the Quest for Perfection in Jewish Antiquity*, JSJSup 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 219–234.

¹⁰⁷See Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 123–36.

¹⁰⁸See S. Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community: Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 357–58, n. 86.

¹⁰⁹See Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:107.

Hultgren has rightly pointed to the sapiential roots of the terminology.¹¹⁰ As far as the present argument is concerned, the theme of aiming for perfection is another thread in a web of connections between S and Prov 1–9.

The Situation of Those Addressed as on the Brink of a Major Decision

Newsom has recently offered a detailed reading of 1QS as a skilfully composed work that gradually draws in new members.¹¹¹ In concluding her chapter on S she argues,

Thus what seems to underlie the selection and shaping of materials for the Serek Ha-Yahad is a concern for instilling in the sectarian the character that is receptive to the community's discipline.¹¹²

The notion that some manuscripts of S are an exercise in rhetoric designed to convince community members to tow the line is certainly attractive, and Newsom's fundamental insight that 1QS can be read as a piece of didactic literature seems right. One aspect that is helpfully drawn out by Newsom's work is the way in which S is clearly addressed to people on the brink. What I would want to say—in distinction from Newsom—is that this “brink factor” is not only dominant at the moment of the decision to join the community. Threats from the world outside seem to be a permanent feature for members, as is clear from the cases referred to where a member of long standing distances himself from the group, cf. 1QS 7:22–24 // 4Q259 2:5b–7a.¹¹³ The underlying concern seems to be that the peer group of an individual whose

¹¹⁰Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant*, 357–58, n. 86.

¹¹¹Newsom, *Self*, 186–90.

¹¹²Newsom, *Self*, 188.

¹¹³See Charlotte Hempel, “The Long Text of the *Serekh* as Crisis Literature,” *RevQ* 27 (2015): 3–24 and the account of ‘floaters’ between several movements as outlined by

commitment is flagging might follow suit or, at the very least, have closer relations with this person than is deemed appropriate.

As far as Prov 1–9 is concerned, it is hard to overlook the central concern of choice often presented as ultimately being a choice between life and death.¹¹⁴ Those addressed are young men on the verge of independence. A number of scholars have used the term “liminality” in this context, and van Leeuwen refers to the lectures in Prov 1–9 as “threshold speeches.”¹¹⁵ In Fox’s words the addressee of the lectures in Prov 1–9 is a “youth who is nearing adulthood and must choose his course in life. Temptations and traps beset him from the start.”¹¹⁶

In sum, both in S and in Proverbs, including Prov 1–9, those responsible for the literature are acutely conscious that their purpose in writing is frequently to sway individuals and groups faced with choices at pivotal moments of decision in their lives. The concept of ‘choosing one’s adulthood,’ and indeed the notion of

Al Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation*, JSJSup 55 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 51-55.

¹¹⁴See Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 128 and Weeks, *Proverbs 1–9*, 168–69.

¹¹⁵See Leo G. Perdue, “Liminality as a Social Setting for Wisdom Instructions,” *ZAW* 93 (1981): 114–26 and Raymond C. van Leeuwen, “Liminality and Worldview in Proverbs 1–9,” *Semeia* 50 (1990): 111–44. See also Claudia V. Camp, “Wise and Strange: An Interpretation of the Female Imagery in Proverbs in Light of Trickster Mythology,” in *A Feminist Companion to Wisdom Literature*, ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 131–56, esp. 151–55 and Alan Kirk, “Crossing the Boundary: Liminality and Transformative Wisdom in Q,” *NTS* 45 (1999): 1-18.

¹¹⁶See also Jon L. Berquist, *Controlling Corporeality: The Body and the Household in Ancient Israel* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 149.

adolescence preceding adulthood is a modern one.¹¹⁷ In antiquity the absence of economic and educational opportunities for all but a few meant it was one's birth that governed opportunities. Joining and remaining in a religious community was nothing more than a rather radical alternative adulthood and thus not as far removed from the analogy with Proverbs as might initially appear.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷See Jon Wiesehöfer, "Youth," in H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds), *Brill's New Pauly*. Brill Online, 2016, accessed 8 Jan. 2016 who observes, "Comparative historical and anthropological studies have shown that adolescence [...] typified by critical processes of adaptation to the world of adults, is a modern concept." Further, John R. Illis, "Life Course and Transitions to Adulthood," in, *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood: In History and Society*, ed. Paula S. Fass (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004), 547-552. Gale Virtual Reference Library. Accessed 8 Jan. 2016. Illis notes (547) that prior to the 19th century "Children and adults were simply bigger and smaller versions of one another."

¹¹⁸ For the suggestion that the arrival of Roman rule in Palestine in the second half of the first century BCE was a major turning point in the emergence of individuals breaking away from their families in favour of a discipleship lifestyle, see Alexei Sivertsev, *Households, Sects, and the Origins of Rabbinic Judaism*, JSJSup 102 (Leiden: Brill, 2005) and idem, "Sects and Households: Social Structure of the Proto-Sectarian Movement of Nehemiah 10 and the Dead Sea Sect," *CBQ* 67 (2005): 59-78. For critical engagement with this position see Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 253-270. For an attempt to offer a demographic analysis of individuals who made the choice to join a religious movement beyond the one associated with Qumran such as for instance Essenes, Pharisees, Sadducees, as well as the followers of John the Baptist, Jesus and Bannus see Baumgarten, *Flourishing of Jewish Sects*, 41-74.

Differences

There are also clearly some major differences between Prov 1–9 and S that must not be downplayed in our analysis. Like other texts from Qumran, S is acutely conscious of **revelation accessible to a more or less limited group**.¹¹⁹ We do not come across such an emphasis on privileged access to revelation in Proverbs.¹²⁰ Instead, the tenor of the latter is that information on how to conduct your life appropriately is widely disseminated.¹²¹ The issue is whether or not those addressed choose to follow the advice. This is true both of the audience addressed by the biblical book of Proverbs and of the fictional scenes portraying wisdom and her counterparts extending their invitations from the most visible and public places. We may speak of the development from Prov 1–9 to S as a restriction of access to the correct path. Again, there are other texts that bridge this gap, as has been forcefully argued by Collins with reference to *4QMysteries* where revelation is presented as a privilege accessible to a select group.¹²²

Baumgarten attributes the proliferation of Jewish sects in the Maccabean Era to an environment of rapid social, religious, and political instability (70).

¹¹⁹See Charlotte Hempel, “Interpretative Authority in the Community Rule Tradition,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 59–80.

¹²⁰On the lack of reference to divine revelation in Proverbs see e.g. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 7.

¹²¹See Markus Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity*, WUNT II/36 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990), 60 who rightly notes increasing levels of complexity in later wisdom texts.

¹²²Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 127–28.

Whereas **cultic language** features prominently, if usually metaphorically, in S (cf., e.g. 1QS 3:4b–9a // 4Q257 3:6–10a // 4Q262 1:1–4; 1QS 8:6; 1QS 9:3–5 // 4Q258 7:4–6), it is largely absent from Prov 1–9.¹²³ As far as Prov 7:14 is concerned, I am persuaded by Fox’s case that the references to the seductress’ peace offerings are more concerned with tempting young men to a culinary feast rather than referring to cultic prostitution.¹²⁴

The **domestic and urban setting** of Prov 1–9¹²⁵ is lacking in S. There are no bustling streets and private homes such as the house where the speaker sits and observes a gullible youth being seduced (Prov 7:6–23). The term “house” (בית) is never used of a domestic setting in S. Proverbs also uses the language of father and mother as teachers, cf., e.g., Prov 4:1, 3. Parents have a place as figures of authority in other legal and sapiential texts from Qumran but never in S.

Finally, **women** are a source of danger in Proverbs, although the virtuous wife is described in extremely positive terms in Prov 31. Particularly striking is the remarkably positive attitude to marital sexuality in Prov 5:15–19 which shares imagery with Song of Songs in its endorsement of sexual relations in approved unions.¹²⁶ By contrast, the movement portrayed in S never features an explicit

¹²³A notable exception is a passing admonition to adhere to the obligation of first fruit offerings in Prov 3:9–10 as emphasized by Perdue, *Wisdom and Cult*, 145. See further Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 151–2.

¹²⁴Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 245–6. For the suggestion that Prov 7 refers to a fertility rite see Perdue, *Wisdom and Cult*, 148–51.

¹²⁵See Whybray, *Wealth*, 101.

¹²⁶See Carol Newsom, “Woman and the Discourse of Patriarchal Wisdom: A Study of Proverbs 1–9,” in *Gender and Difference in Ancient Israel*, ed. Peggy Day

reference to women playing an active part in the community. However, given the androcentric conventions of the language at the disposal of our authors it is questionable that the silence on women's contributions can be taken to mean the text resembles a celibate community.¹²⁷ The argument that women were a source of defilement through bodily fluids such as menses is not convincing since the same applied to men's seminal discharges (see 4Q274 2 4-9).¹²⁸ Even though 4Q274 may

(Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 142–60, at 152–55.

¹²⁷For discussion and further literature see Eileen Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Research in the Past Decade and Future Directions," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture*, ed. Adolfo Roitman, Larry Schiffman, and Shani Tzoref. STDJ 93 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 571-588; Maxine Grossman, "Rethinking Gender in the Community Rule: An Experiment in Sociology," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture*, ed. Roitman, Schiffman, and Tzoref, 497-512; Tal Ilan, "Women in Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Timothy Lim and John Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 123-147; Robert Kugler and Esther Chazon, "Women at Qumran: Introducing the Essays," *DSD* 11 (2004):167-173; Joan E. Taylor, "Women, Children, and Celibate Men in the Serekh Texts," *HTR* 104 (2011): 171-190; and Sidnie White Crawford, "Not According to Rule: Women, the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran," in *Emanuel*, ed. Paul et al., 127-150.

¹²⁸ See especially 4Q274 2 i 4-9, cf. DJD 35:103-105 (Baumgarten); Aharon Shemesh, "Transmitting Regular and Irregular Semen Impurity at Qumran: A Study of 4QTohorah^a (4Q274)," *Tarbiz* 82 (2014): 513-528, English Abstract n.p.; and Cecilia Wassen, "Purity Laws for Men and Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Comparison of Ideals and Praxis," in *Women in Early Judaism and Early*

not be narrowly associated with the movement behind the Scrolls, the halakhic position advocated in this text should caution us from assuming there was a particular issue with women's ritual purity. It is noteworthy that unlike in Prov 1-9 women are referred to neither as a source of danger nor a source of conjugal pleasure in S. Taken together with the absence of any reference to a domestic setting this does suggest that family life—if it did exist—was not the focus of the various forms of fellowship at issue in S.

Conclusion

We saw that both Prov 1-9 and the S tradition – especially what I have called ‘the Long Text’ as represented by 1QS and 4Q256¹²⁹ – constitute carefully crafted compositions with complex cumulative histories. This presupposes that the circles and individuals behind S and Proverbs 1-9 are learned. We noted above the suggestion to consider Prov 1–9 as addressing educators.¹³⁰ Similarly Philip Alexander has outlined a case for the Scrolls, and S in particular, as the literary output to be associated with tertiary education.¹³¹

Christianity, ed. Jörg Frey and Nicole Rupschus. WUNT II (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming). I am very grateful to Cecilia Wassen for sharing the unpublished manuscript with me.

¹²⁹ Hempel, “The Long Text of the *Serekh*.”

¹³⁰ Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 62–63. See also Richard A. Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries, and the Politics of Second Temple Judea* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), 85 where he observes, “The latest section of the book, Proverbs 1–9, is clearly the product of learned scholars, presumably those with sophisticated scribal training.”

¹³¹ Philip S. Alexander, “Literacy Among Jews in Second Temple Palestine:

Both compositions address, for the most part, those on the brink of a (series of) fate defining decision(s) with the intention of promoting a life of virtue. The issue of choice is prominent and often presented in stark binary terms with a menacing lack of security looming and either death or judgment threatening those who make the wrong choice. The righteous life, by contrast is characterized by the quality of *škl*. A core activity is the dispensation of counsel *‘ēšā*, in S as part of deliberation rather than the ‘top down’ picture we see in Prov 1-9. Reproof (*tōkaḥat*) is expected and encouraged. The virtue of seeking to attain perfection is found in both literatures as is the designation *rēa* ‘to refer to affiliates.

We noted two areas of consolidation in S over against Prov 1-9. On the linguistic level the lexicon is narrower in S than in Prov 1-9; epistemologically narrower channels to knowledge through revelation are introduced in S than is the case in Prov 1-9.

Further differences include the absence of cultic language in Prov 1-9 as well as a lack of references to domestic or urban settings or women in S. Conclusions on the latter need to be drawn with a great deal of caution given the prevailing androcentric language¹³² of S though we note a lack of concern in S for either the dangers or pleasures associated with women in Prov 1-9.

How do our findings relate to the interventions on wisdom and law in the Hebrew Bible reviewed at the beginning of this article? Firstly, Gerstenberger’s idea

Reflections on the Evidence from Qumran,” in *Hamlet on a Hill*, ed. M. F. J. Baasten and W. Th. van Peursen. OLA 118 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 3–24. See also Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 285–99 for a discussion of a shared scribal milieu emerging from Josh 1:8, Ps 1:2, and 1QS 6:6–7.

¹³²See n. 127 above.

of social norms or ‘Ethos,’ in kinship groups (his ‘Sippenethos’) may apply to a movement of like minded adults and bridges the divide of wisdom and law also in our case study. Secondly, along the lines suggested by Jackson in relation to the mishpatim in Exodus, the variegated S tradition is not a ‘manual’ nor a candid camera capturing communal life.¹³³ Key decisions are described as being taken, rather, by way of interaction between members.¹³⁴ Issues are said to be resolved as they occur on the ground, either between affiliates or with the input of leadership figures where appropriate. The same was likely the case for the guidance that is dispensed to young men in Prov 1-9. To pre-empt the question why the Rule manuscripts were elaborately committed to writing, I would suggest this was done to promote this literature as ‘symbolic capital’ intended to confer a status comparable to that of scrolls of the emerging scriptures.¹³⁵ In short, we witness between Prov 1-9 and the Community Rule a dynamic interplay of wisdom and law comparable to the core argument developed by Weinfeld¹³⁶ and refined by Schipper for Deuteronomy.¹³⁷

Another strand in the scholarly discourse on biblical wisdom and law concerns the circles credited with the literary production and learning reflected in both

¹³³See Hempel, *Rule Texts in Context*, 20-21.

¹³⁴ See Sarianna Metso, “In Search of the Sitz im Leben of the Community Rule,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich. STDJ 30 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 306-315.

¹³⁵For this concept see Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 41 passim.

¹³⁶*Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*.

¹³⁷“Wisdom and Torah: Insights and Perspectives” (see n. 11 above).

literatures. More recently the label wisdom tradition has been problematized in helpful ways.¹³⁸ Thus, Kynes rightly stresses that the wisdom tradition is a scholarly construct, on the one hand, and warns of the danger of ‘pan-sapientialism,’ on the other hand.¹³⁹ Wisdom scribes or sages are often singled out as leading literati, reflecting also torah piety or Torah learning.¹⁴⁰ At the same time others have stressed the scribal learning and prominence of legal scholars in rather similar terms.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ See Sneed, ed., *Was There a Wisdom Tradition?* (details in n. 5 above) and *idem*, “Is the ‘Wisdom Tradition’ a Tradition?,” *CBQ* 73 (2011): 50-71.

¹³⁹ Kynes, “Modern Scholarly Wisdom Tradition.” In particular Kynes problematizes the concept of an ill-defined wisdom ‘mode’ and broad reaching scribal phenomenon, “Modern Scholarly Wisdom Tradition,” 20-21.

¹⁴⁰ See, e.g., Alexander Rofé, “The Piety of the Torah-Disciples at the Winding-up of the Hebrew Bible: Josh. 1:8; Ps. 1:2; Isa. 59:21,” in *Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition: Festschrift Johann Maier zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Merklein, K. Müller and G. Stemberger (Frankfurt a. M.: Hain, 1993), 78–85; Tooman, “Wisdom and Torah,” 219; and Benjamin G. Wright III, “Conflicted Boundaries: Ben Sira, Sage and Seer,” in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, ed. Martti Nissinen. VTSup 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 229-253, 229.

¹⁴¹ See Gary Knoppers and Bernard Levinson, “How, When, Where, and Why Did the Pentateuch Become the Torah,” in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers and Bernard M. Levinson (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 1-19 and Sanders, “When Sacred Canopies Collide,” who speaks of a “rising tide of Pentateuchalism” in the Second Temple Period (134-135). Moreover, others suggest an intersections also between the wise and priests, scribes, see, e.g., Lester L. Grabbe, *Priests, Prophets,*

I would like to end by challenging the widespread proposition of neat segmentations of an ancient Jewish literary elite to be credited with the body of literature that survives in the Hebrew Bible and beyond. Such a model presupposes a level of specialization that is not borne out by the variety that found its way into the Bible and, I would add, the caves of Qumran as well. Both reveal highly complex bodies of literature which are characterised by soft boundaries both within and between each other. What we have suggests that both wisdom and law were closely studied and preserved in the same larger movements.¹⁴² Such an assessment of ancient Jewish learning is confirmed also by the remarkable level of shared language, themes, and concerns between Prov 1-9 and S outlined above. Connections we were able to tease out between Prov 1-9 and the Community Rule suggest a meta-social compass behind the traditions of wisdom and law in Qumran legal texts. Such a proposition is further supported by the preservation of large corpora of legal and sapiential literature alongside each other in the caves near Khirbet Qumran even though their scholarly analysis has been conducted largely by specialists from separate fields.

Diviners, Sages: A Socio-Historical Study of Religious Specialists in Ancient Israel (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995).

¹⁴²See also the broad scholarly repertoire of the scribe as depicted by Ben Sira in the second century BCE (cf. Sir 39:1-8). The fluidity of the literary assemblages and the role of so-called specialists has recently been problematized by Tooman, "Wisdom and Torah," 205 and Schipper, "Wisdom and Torah: Insights and Perspectives," 311-312.