

IDENTIFYING THE VOICE OF THE TEACHER IN THE  
THANKSGIVING HYMNS (*HODAYOT*) OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

by

Viola Louise McElveen

A thesis submitted to the faculty of  
The University of North Carolina at Charlotte  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts in  
Religious Studies

Charlotte

2022

Approved by:

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Dr. James D. Tabor

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Dr. John C. Reeves

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Dr. Shimon Gibson



## ABSTRACT

VIOLA L. MCELVEEN. Identifying the Voice of the  
Teacher in the Thanksgiving Hymns of the Dead Sea Scrolls

(Under the direction of DR. JAMES D. TABOR)

The central purpose of my thesis is to attempt to identify the methods and criteria used by scholars who have divided into “maximalist” and “minimalist” camps in determining the likelihood that within the Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH) or Hodayot we might identify the autobiographical voice of the Teacher of Righteousness. My method is to examine the ways in which the Teacher is described and understood both as to his career and his role, within the sectarian scrolls—primarily the Damascus Document (CD), the Habakkuk Peshar (1QpHab), and assorted fragments of Cave 4. I begin with a survey of the scholarship on the Thanksgiving Hymns. Next, I examine the references to the Teacher and the ways in which his pivotal role in history of the Community is portrayed in the sectarian scrolls. I then compare these results with portions of the Thanksgiving Hymns that have been most often identified as autobiographical, to ascertain whether one finds a close enough correlation to suggest his own hand at work in these materials. Finally, I attempt to draw some tentative conclusions on the question with attention to the possible challenges and limitations of my method and analysis.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the expert supervision of all three members of my thesis committee. My mentor, Dr. James D. Tabor has been instrumental in helping me organize the material for this thesis. Without his expert advice, I would not have been able to bring this thesis to fruition. I am grateful to Dr. John Reeves for recommending Hermann Gunkel's *Introduction to the Psalms*. This book has proven to be a vital part of my research on the Thanksgiving Hymns (Hodayot) of the Teacher of Righteousness from the Dead Sea Scrolls. Dr. Shimon Gibson was very helpful in the beginning stages of my research.

Although I have worked primarily with three professors—Dr. Tabor, Dr. Gibson, and Dr. John Reeves—at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, I am indebted to the entire scholarly community in the department of Religious Studies. In particular, I want to personally thank Dr. Sean McCloud, Dr. Kent Brintnall, Alexandra Kaloyanides, Janna Shedd, and Dr. Joanne Maguire. Without their cumulative efforts and exceptional teaching skills, I would not be where I am today.

Most of all, I wish to acknowledge the late Dr. J. Daniel White, former director of undergraduate studies, who played an important role in my acceptance to the master's program in religious studies at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte.

Finally, I am grateful to my husband Andrew, for his support in my pursuit of a figure who lived in Israel in the Second Temple Period.

## DEDICATION

*In memory of Roy Clifford Estes*

September 21, 1915 – September 17, 1978

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## I. A SURVEY OF THE SCHOLARSHIP ON THE THANKSGIVING HYMNS

The Thanksgiving Hymns or Hodayot was one of the first Dead Sea Scrolls that was found in Cave 1 by the *Ta'amireh* Bedouin in 1947. (The Cave 1 texts included: the Hodayot (1QH), the Rule of the Community (1QS), the Habakkuk Peshar (1QpHab), the War Scroll (1QM), the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>), and the Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen). The Hodayot was the first Dead Sea Scroll to be unrolled and read by archaeologist Eleazar Sukenik of the Hebrew University. In his diary, he wrote:

My hands shook as I started to unwrap one of them. I read a few sentences. It was written in beautiful Biblical Hebrew. The language was like that of the Psalms, but the text was unknown to me. I looked and looked, and I suddenly had the feeling that I was privileged by destiny to gaze upon a Hebrew scroll which had not been read for more than two thousand years.<sup>1</sup>

In the *editio princeps*, Sukenik noted that the “Thanksgiving Scroll” was in two separate parts. The part that was opened first contained three sheets, each one with four columns, with a total of twelve columns. The sheets were not found regularly rolled up into one another. Instead, two disconnected sheets were casually rolled together, and into the folds of this roll a third sheet had been forced. The second part of the Thanksgiving Scroll was a crumpled mass of about seventy detached fragments. Two scribes were involved in copying the scroll; one was an expert and accurate writer, the second scribe wrote in a crude and careless hand. The two scribes corrected their many mistakes while several corrections were made by a third scribe.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Yigael Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1957), 23.

<sup>2</sup> Eleazar L. Sukenik, ed. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of Hebrew University*. Published posthumously by N. Avigad. English edition. (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955), 37-38.

In his initial literary assessment, Sukenik maintained that the “Thanksgiving Scroll” is a collection of songs expressing the views and feelings of one of the members of the sect whose writings were discovered in the Dead Sea Scrolls *genizah*.<sup>3</sup> Imitating the style of the psalms, the songs express thanks for the acts of kindness God performed for their author. Since the great majority of these texts began with the phrase “I Thank Thee, God,” Sukenik designated the entire group the *Thanksgiving Scroll*. Of particular interest was the material from column 4 in which the author identified himself as a man who hoped for special revelations from the godhead, and who, despite his opponents, had many followers flocking to him to listen to his teaching. Sukenik observed that a possible inference is that the author was the Teacher of Righteousness often mentioned in these scrolls as well as in the “Zadokite Document” of the Damascus Covenanters. His complaint over being compelled to leave his country—“he thrusts me out of my land like a bird from its nest” (col. 4, 1.9)—corresponds to the statement in the *Habbakuk Commentary* that the “Wicked Priest” forced the “Righteous Teacher” into exile from the country (col. 11, 1.6).<sup>4</sup>

In support of Sukenik’s argument that the “I” in the “Teacher Hymns” is the Teacher of Righteousness, scholars W. H. Brownlee, Yigael Yadin, Andre Dupont-Sommer, and J. T. Milik, agreed that the Teacher of Righteousness was probably the author of most if not all of the Hodayot. In 1960, Svend Holm-Nielsen mounted a strong refutation of the notion that the “I” of the Hodayot refers to a particular individual, arguing that much like the Psalms of the Hebrew Bible, the so-called autobiographical

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sukenik, 34.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Sukenik, 39.



materials were generic, written by different authors in different circumstances, which could apply to any member of the group. Holm-Nielsen wrote:

The fact that the more one busies oneself with the *Hodayot*, the more their apparent uniformity disappears. In the treatment of individual psalms. I have attempted to demonstrate that, on the basis of their content, they can be divided into two large groups, of which the one is concerned in a more technical way with the conditions of the community, while the other expresses, on the basis of this same community, the view of the surrounding world based upon its relationship to God. This division I have further confirmed on the basis of style, since the group which is more closely linked to the community can be described, on the basis of the Old Testament examples, as hymns, while the other group belongs to the category of psalms of thanksgiving, even if they are strongly influenced by the psalms of complaint.”<sup>5</sup>

Surprisingly, Günter Morawe’s categorization of the compositions in 1QH<sup>a</sup> coincides with the groupings proposed by Svend Holm-Nielsen. Both scholars agreed that there were two different genres of songs in 1QH<sup>a</sup>. Morawe had strong suspicions that his category, *Die Danklieder* was connected to the Teacher of Righteousness, but it wasn’t until Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn’s 1966 study that this identification was made explicit when he renamed Morawe’s category as *Die Lehrerlieder*. Kuhn also introduced the terminology of *Die Gemeindelieder* or the Community Hymns for what Morawe referred to as “hymnic songs of confession” because they lacked the vivid accounts of distress and the exclusive claims to be a mediator of revelation.<sup>6</sup>

Scholars have long been fascinated by the strong and dramatic language of the compositions that are located in columns 10-17 in 1QH<sup>a</sup>. Those who favor the “Teacher

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<sup>5</sup> Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*, (Arhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), 320. See also, Hermann Gunkel, *An Introduction To The Psalms: The Genres Of The Religious Lyric of Israel*, Completed by Joachim Begrich and translated by James D. Nogalski, (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> Angela Kim Harkins, “Observations on the Editorial Shaping of The So-Called Hymns From 1QH<sup>a</sup> And 4QH<sup>a</sup> (4Q427),” *Dead Sea Discoveries*, 12:3 (2005): 238.

Hymns Hypothesis” believe that the Hodayot can be traced back to the Teacher of Righteousness based on the unique literary style of the author. The positive identification of these compositions as writings of the Teacher of Righteousness was first proposed by Gert Jeremias. He wrote that it is “completely unthinkable that in the shortest period of time there were two men in the Qumran Community, both of whom came before the Community with revolutionary authority in order to bring about salvation through their teaching, and that both men were accepted by the community. It can only be one and the same man whom the writings of the Community present in such a marked manner.”<sup>7</sup>

Eileen Schuller coined the term “the Heidelberg School” to describe the early scholars (Gert Jeremias, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn and Günter Becker) who sought to refine Sukenik’s conclusions by dividing the corpus into “Teacher Hymns” and “Community Hymns” based on criteria that distinguished the “I” of the hymns in 1QH<sup>a</sup> columns 10-17 as reflecting a personal revelatory authority that was lacking in the more generic Community Hymns. Kuhn argues that the “I” in the non-Teacher Hymns always refers to the Qumran Community and not the specific experiences of an individual. The Heidelberg School argued for the authorship of the Teacher Hymns based on the grounds of literary cohesiveness by identifying vocabulary based on the distinctive literary style of the authoritative “I” of the Teacher Hymns.<sup>8</sup> The Teacher Hymns collection was an important observation of these early scholars, and their historical-critical approach led to

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<sup>7</sup> Michael C. Douglas, “The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited: New Data for an Old Crux,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 6:3 (1999): 239-266.

<sup>8</sup> Angela Kim Harkins, “Who Is The Teacher Of The Teacher Hymns? Re-Examining The Teacher Hymns Hypothesis” Vol. 1, *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, ed. Eric F. Mason, Samuel L. Thomas, Alison Schofield, and Eugene Ulrich (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 450-451.

later studies that sought to further the Teacher Hymn Hypothesis or identify possible candidates for the Teacher of Righteousness.

In the 1970s and 1980s, little attention was paid to the Hodayot because the Cave 4 fragments had not yet been published. However, Hartmut Stegemann and Émile Puech worked on 1QH<sup>a</sup> over the course of several decades to produce a definitive reconstruction of the Hodayot that would restore the original order of the scroll. Although, Stegemann and Puech worked independently of each other, their results were the same. A complete text of the reconstructed scroll was published in the definitive edition of *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* volume 40 in 1999 by Hartmut Stegemann with Eileen Schuller, along with a translation by Carol Newsom.<sup>9</sup>

One of the most important results of the new reconstruction is the overall shape of the 1QH<sup>a</sup> scroll has been clarified and Sukenik's original edition has changed. When Sukenik died in 1953 his translation of the Hodayot was not yet published, which prompted the Hebrew University of Jerusalem to publish all the materials as quickly as possible without any attempt to reconstruct the original order of the scroll. When Sukenik unrolled the scroll, he discovered that he had three sheets with four columns that equaled 12 columns, and a mass of fragments. In his *editio princeps*, he designated the three full sheets as columns 1-12 (with a change of hand from Scribe A to Scribe B at column 11 line 22) and arranged the largest of the loose fragments by Scribe A as columns 13-17,

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<sup>9</sup> For the purpose of this thesis, I will utilize the material reconstruction of 1QH<sup>a</sup> by Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen Schuller. See, Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen Schuller, *Discoveries in the Judean Desert · XL Qumran Cave 1 • III: 1QHodayot with Incorporation of 1QHodayot b and 4QHodayot a-f*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

followed by a column of three fragments by Scribe B (column 18). He then grouped the sixty-six smaller fragments based on each scribe's unique handwriting style.<sup>10</sup>

In Stegemann and Puech's reconstruction of 1QH<sup>a</sup>, the original scroll was made up of seven sheets with four columns in each for a total of twenty-eight columns. It is four and a half meters in length. The three joined sheets that are the best preserved, Sukenik's columns 1-12, come from the middle of the reconstructed scroll (columns 9-20). The placement of the smaller fragments written by Scribe A allows for the reconstruction of columns 4-8, and there are a few fragments that must have come from columns 1-3, but it's uncertain where they are to be placed. In *DJD* 40, columns 4-26 have now been placed with a high degree of certainty: columns 1-3 (sheet 1) has been lost except for a few fragments written by Scribe A; column 4 (sheet 1) parallels Sukenik's column 17 and was written by Scribe A; columns 5-8 (sheet 2) parallels Sukenik's columns 13-16 and was written by Scribe A; columns 9-20 (sheets 3, 4, and 5) parallels Sukenik's columns 1-12 and was written and edited by Scribes A, B, then C; columns 21-24 (sheet 5) consists of assorted fragments written by Scribe C; columns 25-28 (sheet 7) also consists of fragments written by Scribe C. Thus, in the new reconstruction of 1QH<sup>a</sup>, the columns that contain the "Teacher Hymns" (Sukenik's columns 2-9) are now located in the middle of the scroll (columns 10-17) and are preceded by "Community Hymns" in columns 4-8 (presumably in columns 1-3 as well) and followed by another collection of "Community Hymns" at the end of the scroll (columns 18-28).<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Schuller, Eileen, "The Cave 4 Hodayot: A Preliminary Description," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, 85:1/2 (1994): 139.

<sup>11</sup> Eileen M. Schuller, "Recent Scholarship on the Hodayot 1993–2010." *Currents in Biblical Research*, 10:1 (2011): 124.

A number of scholars have made proposals about how the collections have come together based on the assumption that the Teacher Hymns form the core of the collection (Columns 9 or 10 to column 17) with the Community Hymns placed at the beginning and the end. In Puech's reconstruction, he suggested that the Community Hymns in 1QH<sup>a</sup> are structured in five sections, each introduced by the incipit "For the Maskil" which shows that those hymns were intended for the prayer and meditation of the disciples and those who were committed to the Covenant. He proposes a five-fold division in 1QH<sup>a</sup> similar to the introductions found in columns 5:12, 7: 21, 20:7, 25:34, (with possibly one in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 1:1 as well) which suggests that 1QH<sup>a</sup> was divided into five groups "reminiscent of the ordering of scroll of the 150 biblical psalms into five small books."<sup>12</sup>

With the publication of the six Cave 4 Hodayot fragments (4QH<sup>a-f</sup> = 4QH427, 4Q428, 4Q429, 4QH430, 4QH431, 4QH432) in DJD 29, it is now possible to study all the copies of the Hodayot together to formulate a comprehensive hypothesis about the origins and the redactional history of the various collections. The Cave 4 fragments show that there were discreet collections of the Hodayot that were put together early (at least by the mid-first century B.C.E), but there were smaller collections of psalms that were copied separately such as 4QH<sup>c</sup> and 4QpapH<sup>f</sup> which contained only the Teacher Hymns of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:5-17:36 and the so-called "Creation Hymn" in 9:1-10:4.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Puech, Emile, "Hodayot," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 2 vols, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 365-69. See Harkins "Observations," 233-256. Harkins follows Puech's five-fold framework of *lemaskil* headings in 1QH<sup>a</sup> and argues that all are connected to the "Community Hymns" and the Teacher Hymns were secondarily inserted at 9.1-20.6 as a block because material of questionable authority is embedded within a larger body of material as a strategy for conferring authority. Thus, the Teacher Hymns were inserted into a preexistent collection of Community Hymns because of the unfulfilled prophecies that they contained.

<sup>13</sup> Douglas, "The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited." In this article, Douglas argues that 1QH column 9 was composed as the introduction to the "Teacher Hymns" and that this block, 9:1-17:36 or possibly 9:1-18:14, was transmitted as an independent book called the "Teacher's Book."

4Q427 (4QH<sup>a</sup>) is a very significant text that supplies the fullest text of a psalm that is preserved only in a very fragmentary state in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, 4QH<sup>a</sup>, and 4QH<sup>c</sup>. This hymn is similar to other Hodayot but also exhibits very distinctive elements. Certain features of style and content place it within the category of psalms that have been identified as “Community Hymns” with an emphasis on communion with angels (fragments 7 I 8, 10, 11; 7 ii 17-18), the confession of God’s saving action (fragment 7 ii 14-16), and questions about the weak human condition (fragment 7 ii 16-17). More unusual for the Hodayot is the call upon the Community to offer praise (fragment 7 I 13-18). The hymn concludes with an extended description of the one to be blessed (fragment 7 I 18). The section of the psalm in fragment 7 I 6-17 is of particular interest. This material appears in two recensions. One recension is found in three Hodayot manuscripts: in 4QH<sup>a</sup>, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XXVI 6-14; and in the fragment designated 4Q471b/4QH<sup>c</sup> 1. A second version appears in 4Q491 11 I 8-24.<sup>14</sup>

In his *editio princeps*, Maurice Baillet identified 4Q491 11 I as a Cave 4 version of the *War Scroll* and entitled it “*cantique de Michel et cantiques des justes*” (Canticle of Michael and Canticle of the Just) based on two unique hymns. The first hymn (lines 8-18) was written in the first-person singular about an anonymous speaker who claims an exalted status and is seated in heaven among the gods. The second (lines 20-23) hymn contains a call to prayer by a group labelled as the “righteous.” The hymn begins by stating that the righteous will rejoice in the power of God and goes on to boast of the

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<sup>14</sup> Schuller, Eileen, “4QHodayot<sup>a-c</sup> and 4QpapHodayot<sup>f</sup>,” *Discoveries In The Judean Desert XXIX Qumran Cave 4 XX Poetical And Liturgical Texts, Part 2*, ed. E.G. Chazon *et al.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 99-101. See Schuller’s previous discussion of fragment 7: “A Hymn from a Cave Four Hodayot Manuscript: 4Q427 7 I + ii,” *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 112:4: 605-628 and John Collins and Devorah Dimant, “A Thrice-Told Tale: A Response to Eileen Schuller” *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, 85:1/2, (1994): 151-155.

glory of the speaker, who claims that “I am counted among the gods and my dwelling is in the holy congregation; my desire is not according to the flesh” and “I have been instructed, and there is no teaching comparable to my teaching.” At the end of the passage the speaker claims “for among the gods is my position, and my glory is with the sons of the king.” Baillet placed the fragment immediately before the battle account in 1QM columns 16-17 but admitted that the placement “is only probable.” He identified the speaker as the archangel Michael, who is given dominion above all the gods in 1QM 17:7.<sup>15</sup>

In his study of 4Q491, Morton Smith challenged Baillet’s interpretation and argued that Michael is never mentioned in the text and the speaker’s anthropological perspective indicates that he was not originally at home in heaven but must be understood as an exalted human figure because no angel would contrast himself with “the kings of old or the ”kings of the east.” Besides, when Baillet goes on to say that “No Edomite shall be like me in glory,” he gives the impression that the Edomite he had in mind was Herod the Great. Prior to the rule of Herod, the reference to the “nobles of the east” was probably the Parthian backers of Antigonus, who was ousted in 37 BCE. On paleographic grounds, Baillet dated the manuscript to the late Herodian, or early Herodian period. In this “Canticle of Michael,” the speaker claims to have received “a mighty throne in the congregation of the *elim*,” (4Q491 11 5), *elim* being the Qumran term for angels, but the speaker is clearly not one of the angels. Smith reasoned that an archangel such as Michael would take his throne in heaven for granted, but “this parvenu not only boasts of his, but in doing so makes clear that he was not originally at home in the heavens.” For

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<sup>15</sup> Baillet, Maurice, “*Qumran grotte 4.III(4q482-4Q520)* Discoveries in the Judean Desert, 7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 26-30.

Smith, the claims made by the author of 4Q491 fragment 11 clearly spoke of the apotheosis or ascent to heaven of a human being. In the Enoch material and in the legends about the ascension and enthronement of Moses, Smith pointed out that notions of heavenly ascent were destined to become important in Palestine, especially in the stories about a teacher of the early first century CE.<sup>16</sup>

As part of his doctoral dissertation, Martin Abegg conducted a close study of six manuscripts (4Q491- 4Q496) published by Baillet in DJD VII and determined that he was mistaken in assigning all the fragments of 4Q491 to a single manuscript. Based on the physical evidence (paleographic, orthographic, and literary), Abegg concluded that these fragments actually represent three distinct manuscripts, two having been copied by the same scribe. He labelled the first two 4Q491<sup>a</sup> and 4Q491<sup>b</sup>. The former preserves fragments of a document similar to 1QM columns 14-17, while the latter consists of material related to the eschatological war but is different from 1QM. In addition, due to differences in letter height, Abegg separated fragment 11 (along with fragment 12) from 4Q491<sup>b</sup> and labelled it 4Q491<sup>c</sup>. Since the canticles of 4Q491<sup>c</sup> possess no parallels to the *War Scroll*, he suggests that the so-called “Song of Michael,” or his preferred “Self-Exaltation Hymn,” has no contextual connection with 1QM and should not be classified as a part of the *War Scroll* but is best understood as an independent hymnic work that contains bold declarations of one who claims to sit in the council of heavenly beings. Abegg suggested that “this composition has a clear generic relationship to the Hodayot”

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<sup>16</sup> Smith, Morton “Two Ascended to Heaven—Jesus and the Author of 4Q491” in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* ed. James H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 294-298. See also, Smith’s “Ascent to the Heavens and Deification in 4QM<sup>a</sup>,” *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. L. H. Schiffman, JSPSup 8; JSOT/ASOR Monographs 3 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990):181-188.



and “the speaker’s identity, the Teacher of Righteousness, the acknowledged founder of the Qumran community, is a strong candidate.”<sup>17</sup>

In the early years of sorting fragments in the Scrollery, John Strugnell identified one Cave 4 fragment (4QHod<sup>c</sup> = 4Q431) as containing text that overlapped with 1QH<sup>a</sup> 26:26-29 (frg. 7 ii 1-4) and 4QH<sup>a</sup> 7 ii 3-10. Although only a single fragment from this scroll could be identified, it was assumed that it came from a manuscript containing a collection of thanksgiving psalms, so it was included in the series of Cave 4 Hodayot as 4QH<sup>c</sup>. Strugnell studied similar fragments that were written in the same script, but concluded in his notes that “these fragments do not have enough text nor sufficiently similar leather to justify their being considered here [with 4QH<sup>c</sup>].” These fragments became part of a plate (S1 86) of unidentified fragments and were given the number 4Q471. These were assigned to Esther Eshel for editing.<sup>18</sup>

She subdivided them into four separate documents, 4Q471, 4Q471<sup>a</sup>, 4Q471<sup>b</sup>, and 4Q471<sup>c</sup> and published three pieces designated “4Q471<sup>b</sup> : A Self-Glorification Hymn.” This hymn describes a human being, seated in heaven and sharing his lot with the angels. Eshel recognizes four “witnesses” to this hymn: 4Q471<sup>b</sup> (dated to the Herodian period); 4Q491 11 I (dated to the second half of the first century B.C.E) ; 4Q427 (4QH<sup>a</sup>) 7 I and 12 (dated to the late Hasmonean-early Herodian period); and

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<sup>17</sup> Abegg Jr., Martin G, “Who Ascended to Heaven? 4Q491, 4Q427, and the Teacher of Righteousness” *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter Flint (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1997), 61-73. See also, Abegg’s, “4Q471: A Case of Mistaken Identity?” *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. John C. Reeves and John Kampen (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 136-147. Abegg references Schuller’s extensive study of 4Q427 and its complex relationship to 4Q491<sup>c</sup> in Eileen Schuller’s “A Hymn from a Cave Four Hodayot Manuscript: 4Q427 7 I + ii,” *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 112:4: 605-628.

<sup>18</sup> In this passage, Eileen Schuller describes the confusion from John Strugnell’s misidentification of this particular fragment (4QHodayot<sup>c</sup>) in *Discoveries In The Judean Desert (DJD):XXIX Qumran Cave 4:XX Poetical And Liturgical Texts, Part 2*. E.G. Chazon *et al* eds. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 199.

1QH<sup>a</sup> XXV-XXVI (dated to the Herodian period).<sup>19</sup> The script of 4Q471<sup>b</sup> is identical to 4Q431 (4QH<sup>c</sup>) which preserves a hymn (Canticle of the Just) that follows the Self-Glorification Hymn in 4QH<sup>a</sup> 7 I and 1QH<sup>a</sup> XXV-XXVI. She identifies 4Q471<sup>b</sup> and 4Q431 as one manuscript. Based on the unique character of the Self-Glorification Hymn and the hymn following it, she argues that both originated in a collection of hymns that were incorporated into the Hodayot. In a comparison of the four witnesses in the Self-Glorification Hymn, a close resemblance between 4QH<sup>a</sup> 7 and 4Q471<sup>b</sup> exists. Despite the fragmentary condition of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7, a small portion of this hymn has survived there, and it appears to resemble 4QH<sup>a</sup> 7 and 4Q471<sup>b</sup>. These three witnesses (4QH<sup>a</sup> 7, 4Q471<sup>b</sup>, and 1QH<sup>a</sup>) are labelled Recension A because they are directly dependent on each other or were copied from a common source. Eshel considers Recension A as an earlier version and Recension B as a latter development. 4Q491/4Q491<sup>c</sup> (Recension B) shares a common theme with Recension A, but there are substantial variants such as the speaker's allusion to "a mighty throne in the congregation of the gods" and his claim to "take a seat" in the heavens. One also finds this concept in both 4Q471<sup>b</sup> and 4QH<sup>a</sup> which read: "I sit," based on 4Q491 11 I, to be reconstructed as "I sit...in heaven."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Esther Eshel does not give the dates here for the paleographic dating of 4Q471<sup>b</sup> but footnotes F. M. Cross' "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. by G.E. Wright (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961)139, line 6. Since I don't have access to her source material, I do have an alternative source for the dating of this text. In Vanderkam and Flint's, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (pgs. 24-25), there is a copy of F.M. Cross' Chart of Early Jewish Scripts in Figure 2.1. Here, the Herodian Period is defined as 30 BCE-70 CE.

<sup>20</sup> The labels "Self-Glorification Hymn" and Recension A and Recension B were first introduced by Esther Eshel in "4Q47B: A Self-Glorification Hymn," *Revue de Qumran*, Vol 17: ¼ (1996):175-203. See, Eshel's "The Identification of the 'Speaker' of the Self-Glorification Hymn," The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls, ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich (Brill: Leiden, 1999), 619-636. See also, Eshel's publication "471<sup>b</sup>. 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn (= 4QH<sup>c</sup> frg. 1?)," *Discoveries In The Judean Desert XXIX Qumran Cave 4·XX Poetical And Liturgical Texts, Part 2*, ed. E.G. Chazon *et al.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 421-435; Michael Wise, "A Study of 4Q471<sup>c</sup>, 4Q471<sup>b</sup>, 4Q427 7 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 25:35-26.10," *Dead Sea Discoveries*, 7 (2000): 214-216. In reference to the chronology of Recension B, Wise proposes that B is older than Recension A and that this version was composed and circulated independently and was then adapted and incorporated into the Hodayot. See also, John Collin's, "A Throne

In 4Q491<sup>c</sup> (Baillet's 4Q491 fragment 11), the speaker's incomparable teaching is referenced. He asks "who will attack me when I open my mouth? And who can endure the flow of my lips? And who will confront me and retain comparison with my judgement?" Eshel sees this claim pointing to "a clearly recognizable personality," which is one of the criteria for distinguishing the Teacher Hymns. The references to teaching "inevitably bring to mind the Teacher of Righteousness in the Hodayot, who is "the man in whose mouth you established instruction (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:19)" and "whose mouth is a spring of living water that does not fail (1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:17)." Additionally, the teaching role of the speaker is mentioned in both Recensions, "and (any) instruction will not be equal to my teaching (4Q471<sup>b</sup> 3-4; 4QH<sup>a</sup> 7)." Based on differences in tone between the *Self-Glorification Hymn* and the Teacher Hymns, Collins concludes: "While the author of this hymn boasts of his ability to bear troubles, he does not complain about persecution, as does the Hodayot. Neither does this hymn show the sense of human sinfulness typical of 1QH<sup>a</sup>, the sense of being snatched from the pit and being a creature of clay. The tone of 4Q471<sup>b</sup> "who is like me among the gods" implies a level of exaltation that is unparalleled in the Hodayot (the same phrase is reconstructed in 4QH<sup>a</sup> 7 I). Based on Morton Smith's point about the reference to the "Edomite" Herod, Collins concludes that the hymn was composed much later than the time of the original Teacher and the best candidate for this figure is the one who would "teach righteousness at the end of days (CD 6:11)."<sup>21</sup>

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in the Heavens," in *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs Of The Dead Sea Scrolls And Other Ancient Literature* (Doubleday: New York, 1995), 138-139. Collins suggests that only in 4Q491 11 I (Recension B) does the "speaker" mention the "mighty throne in the congregation of the gods" and his claim to "take a seat" in the heavens.

<sup>21</sup> Collins, "A Throne In The Heavens," 147-148.

Eshel proposes several identifications of the speaker of the Self-Glorification Hymn: the archangel Michael or the Edomite Herod the Great, but she argues that the speaker should be understood as the Eschatological High Priest known from a number of other Qumran texts. She writes:

“In the “*Priestly Blessing*” (1QSb), is a description of the eschatological high priest, a descendant of Aaron who comes at the End of Days. The elevated status of the “speaker” is emphasized: he is sitting with the angels in the heavenly temple, taking part in the angelic ceremonies. In addition, his teaching is described as a light which illuminates the world with knowledge. This description resembles that of the “speaker” in the Self-Glorification Hymn, who shares his lot with the angels, and also teaches.”<sup>22</sup>

In taking a stand on the identification of the speaker in the text, Eshel is careful to point out that, although there are many parallels, she does not identify the eschatological high priest with the Teacher of Righteousness in the other Qumran texts but allows for the possibility that later members could have made the connection in order to cope with the death of their charismatic teacher. Both Eshel and Collins emphasize that, although the speaker is a human who describes himself enthroned in the heavens, there is no ascent terminology. This contrasts with Morton Smith, who envisioned the speaker of the Hymn as an influential Qumran teacher who saw himself in a situation of ecstatic visionary Enoch-like ascent to heaven.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Eshel, “4Q471B: 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn,” 421- 427.

<sup>23</sup> Esther Eshel, “4Q471B: 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn.” Eshel’s proposal for identifying the speaker in the Self-Glorification Hymn as the eschatological high priest is based on references to two biblical passages (4Q491 11 I and 4Q471<sup>b</sup>) that seem to cast the speaker of the Hymn in a negative light, to be compared with the boastful words of the King of Babylon, in Isaiah 14:13-14: “Once you thought in your heart, “I will ascend to Heaven, Above the stars of God I will set my throne. I will sit on the mount of the assembly, On the summit of Zephon,” or that of Antiochus Epiphanes: “He who only a while before had thought in his superhuman boastfulness to command the waves of the sea, who imagined he could weight mountain peaks in a balance...a short time beforehand he has thought to grasp the stars of heaven (2 Maccabees 9:8-10).” The two figures are accused of having *hubris*. Nevertheless, on the King of Babylon it says: “Instead, you are brought down to Sheol, To the bottom of the Pit. (verse 15), and on Antiochus: “ he found himself flat on the ground etc.”, while no such misfortune is attributed to the speaker in the *Self-Glorification*

Many attempts have been made to identify the speaker in the *Self-Glorification Hymn* over the last couple of decades, from an archangel in the heavens, to an eschatological figure in the future, to the Teacher of Righteousness at Qumran. Speaking specifically about the Self-Glorification Hymn, Esther Chazon concludes:

This station with the angels who praise God, as well as the speaker's gifted speech...imply that the speaker [in the Self-Glorification Hymn], too, praises God, and that he does so together with the angels and on a par with them. This text leaves little doubt about the speaker's elevation to angelic status. It is not impossible that the speaker, whether the Teacher of Righteousness or a similarly exalted leader of the *Yahad*, projected his own spiritual, perhaps even mystical experience onto all members of his community or conversely, that the *Yahad* projected onto itself the Teacher's achievements and experiences.<sup>24</sup>

The resemblance between the Teacher of Righteousness and the Eschatological High Priest in the Self-Glorification Hymn has been noted since the beginning of Qumran research. The Teacher of Righteousness was the most influential figure in the sect's existence. He was described as the "Priest, the Teacher of Righteousness, whom God chose to stand (in front of him), for he installed him to found the congregation [of his chosen ones of the truth] for him (4Q171 3:13-17)." For the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness, the claims of exaltation above all the angels, the incomparable teaching and legal reasoning, in the Self-Glorification Hymn, once absorbed by the *Hodayot* would naturally call to mind the Teacher. They were meant to do that because the *Hodayot* was connected to the Teacher as were no other Qumran writings.<sup>25</sup>

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*Hymn*. Eshel argues that the fact that this Hymn was integrated into the *Hodayot* seems to exclude the possibility of ascent.

<sup>24</sup> Chazon, Esther G., "Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Scrolls," *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Esther G. Chazon (Brill: Leiden, 2000), 45.

<sup>25</sup> Wise, Michael, "A Study of 4Q471<sup>c</sup>, 4Q471<sup>b</sup>, 4Q427 7 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 25:35-26.10," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 7, No. 2 (2000), 218-219.

## II. REFERENCES TO THE TEACHER IN THE SECTARIAN SCROLLS

In this section I will examine all the major references to the Teacher in the corpus of the scrolls, including how he is described, his role and function as leader and prophetic guide, and whatever biographical hints we might be able to discern about his life, work, and death.

Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, most scholars regard the Teacher of Righteousness (*Moreh (ha)Sedeq*) or the “the Righteous Teacher” as the single most important figure in the history of the sectarian Community (i.e., *Yahad*). However, despite many proposals we cannot put a personal name to this figure or pinpoint the actual time of his activity in the Community.<sup>26</sup> However, it seems probable—though not absolutely certain, that the Qumran manuscripts actually do indicate a certain specific individual, fitted into a certain historical context, as an authoritative figure, leader and teacher.<sup>27</sup> That is the assumption I lean toward in my thesis—namely that the Teacher is a historical figure, although I recognize, as I will discuss below, that designations such as the Teacher of Righteousness, the Wicked Priest, or the Liar might be used in a more typological or eschatological manner.<sup>28</sup>

In the early years of Scrolls research, a number of important studies on the Teacher of Righteousness were produced. The majority of these studies shared a

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<sup>26</sup> In this paper, I will use the capitalized word “Community” to describe the sectarian apocalyptic group behind the Dead Sea Scrolls.

<sup>27</sup> Ulfsgard, Hakam, “The Teacher of Righteousness, The History of the Qumran Community, and our Understanding of the Jesus Movement: Texts, Theories and Trajectories,” *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments*, ed. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd., 1998), 334-336.

<sup>28</sup> Philip R. Davies, *Behind the Essenes: History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 87-105. Davies cautions against the reliability of the historical data in the *Pesharim* and the *Hodayot* concerning the Teacher.

common methodological objective: the historical reconstruction of the life of the Teacher and his impact on the Qumran Community. This included determining the details about his rise to power in the group and establishing his key role as the central revelatory figure for the group. Among the first generation of Scrolls scholars, the Teacher of Righteousness was understood as the leader of the Community in its formative period whose “teachings ... were considered authoritative” during his lifetime and even “long after his death.”<sup>29</sup> As a result, the Teacher played a prominent role in all attempts to understand the Scrolls and the Community behind them, yet it was apparent from the beginning that there were problems in the various attempts to synthesize the historical data found within the Scrolls themselves. In his Haskell Lectures in 1956-1957, Frank Moore Cross Jr. joked that the “number of theories evolved almost equals the number of scholars who have put their hands to the task.”<sup>30</sup> Most of the disagreement was focused on the identification of the historical Teacher. Many believed that if they could identify him, it would help explain the origins of the Community and the events surrounding its development.

Consequently, from the first thirty-five years or so, from 1947 until about 1980, there was no shortage of theories attempting to identify the Teacher with some historical figure from the Second Temple Period, despite warnings about the limitations about such an approach.<sup>31</sup> James Charlesworth proposes a wide variety of individuals as the Teacher, offering candidates who span four centuries, from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE through the

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<sup>29</sup> Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their True Meaning for Judaism and Christianity* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1994), 117-121.

<sup>30</sup> Frank Moore Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1958), 80.

<sup>31</sup> Davies, *Behind the Essenes*, 87-105.

First Jewish Revolt of 66-70 CE to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. Candidates as the Teacher include: Zadok (ca. 200 BCE), Onias III (170 BCE), Mattathias and Judas Maccabeus (ca. 167-162 BCE), Simon III (159-152 BCE), Eleazar the Pharisee (ca. 134-104), Judas [or Judah] the Essene (100 BCE), Onias the Righteous [Honi Ha-Meaggel (“the Circlemaker”)] (ca. 65 BCE), Menahem (the son of Judas the Galilean (ca. 66-68 CE), and Yose ben Yoezer (ca. second century CE). Even John the Baptizer, Jesus of Nazareth, James the Just (the brother of Jesus) have been proposed as the Teacher but based on the archaeological and paleographical evidence these claims can be dismissed because the Teacher appears in texts that can be dated well before the appearance of these figures.<sup>32</sup> In addition, a number of scholars have identified the Teacher as the anonymous individual who served in the role of high priest in Jerusalem during the *intersacerdotium* (159-152 BCE) but who was later replaced by Jonathan Maccabeus.<sup>33</sup>

Since the publication of the entire corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is now possible to sketch out a rudimentary portrait of the figure of the Teacher of Righteousness based on the references to him in the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus. The title “Teacher of Righteousness” has become the accepted translation of the Hebrew expression (Heb *Moreh (ha)Sedeq*). The title most likely stems from Joel 2:23, which reminds the people of Israel, “O children of Zion, be glad and rejoice in the Lord your God: for he has given the early rain for your vindication (Heb. *ham-moreh li-sdaqah*).” Most scholars recognize that Joel 2:23 was not the only text that served as the scriptural background for

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<sup>32</sup> James H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and the Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2002.), 30-36.

<sup>33</sup> Wise, Michael O., “The Teacher of Righteousness and the High Priest in the Intersacerdotium: Two Approaches,” *Revue de Qumran*, 14:4 (20-23 August) (Avril 1990). See also, Maria Brutti, *Development of the High Priesthood during the Pre-Hasmonean Period: History, Ideology, Theology* (Boston: Brill, 2006), 98-107 and Paul A. Rainbow, “The Last Oniad and the Teacher of Righteousness,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 48:1 (1997): 30-52.



the title “Teacher of Righteousness” but was most likely read in conjunction with Hosea 10:12, “it is a time to seek YHWH so that He may come and rain righteousness (*yoreh sedeq*) upon you.” This phrase draws a connection between “rain,” and shares the same root as the word “teacher” and “righteousness.”<sup>34</sup> There is also a veiled reference to the Teacher in *Hosea* 6:3, which is an exhortation to know the Lord whose “coming is as sure as dawn and is also like rain. This passage can also mean “to rain” and “to teach.”<sup>35</sup> It can also be translated as the “Righteous Teacher,” that is, the “True” or “Legitimate Teacher,” which reflects the authority that this individual was thought to possess. John Reeves has argued that the phrase “Teacher of Righteousness” is best understood as “True Lawgiver,” which reflects a Moses-like figure who teaches the true interpretations of the Torah in the end of days. His proposal seems to fit the sorts of things we find said about this figure, in terms of his authority and central place in the community.<sup>36</sup>

An important narrative related to the history of the Dead Sea Scrolls Community is found within the Admonition of the Damascus Document or CD (the comprehensive term for CD plus the Cave 4 (4Q266-273) fragments. The manuscript is given this title because it refers several times to a new covenant “*berit*” which was made “in the land of Damascus” (CD A 6:19; CD A 8:21; CD B 19:34; CD B 20:12), and because Damascus is mentioned in some other important passages (CD A 6:5; CD A 7:15, 19). There are two literary genres in the Damascus Document: The Admonition (CD A 1-8, CD B 19-20) and the Laws (CD A 15-16; CD A 9-14). The Admonition describes the early history

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<sup>34</sup> Travis B. Williams, *History and Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Remembering the Teacher of Righteousness*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 259-261.

<sup>35</sup> Julie Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 106.

<sup>36</sup> John C. Reeves, “The Meaning of ‘Moreh Sedeq’ in the Light of 11QTorah,” *Revue de Qumrân* 13:1/4 (49/52) Mémorial Jean Carmignac (Octobre 1998): 287-298.

of the Community, whose members entered into a new covenant in the land of Damascus, and the emergence of the Teacher of Righteousness as its leader. It also contains polemics against the Teacher's opponents: The "Man of Scoffing/ Lies" and his followers. Liora Goldman proposes that "the primary purpose of the Admonition was to depict the controversy between the Community and its opponents as a conflict over the true interpretation of the Torah." The legal section of the Damascus Document contains the rules and ordinances of the Community, its organization, and interpretation of the Mosaic Law.<sup>37</sup>

In the Damascus Document (CD), the complete title Teacher of Righteousness is found in CD A 1:11 and CD B 20:32. This figure is designated in a variety of ways, as the Teacher (CD B 20:28), the Unique Teacher or Teacher of the Community (CD B 20:1), Interpreter of Knowledge (4Q171 I 27), Interpreter of the Law (CD A 6:7; 7:18; 4Q174 1-2 ii 11; 4Q177 10-11.5; 4Q266 3 iii 19), and the Priest (4QpPsalms [4Q171] III 15). Similar titles are found in the Community, such as "one who interprets" (1QS 6:6-7) or "the Instructor" (1QS 3:3). Some of these designations might well be associated with a future figure, an eschatological teacher with functions similar to the historical Teacher: the one who teaches righteousness at the end of days (CD A 6:11), and perhaps others.

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<sup>37</sup> Solomon Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910). The two Cairo manuscripts were labeled by Schechter A and B, A containing 16 pages (I-XVI in Schechter's pagination) and B containing two pages (XIX-XX); the first fragment of Ms. A (A1) breaks off on p. VIII and Ms. B provides an alternative recension of A VII, 5-VII, 21 (=B XIX, 1-34), continuing beyond the point where A1 breaks off (B XIX, 35-XX, 34). A2 comprises IX-XVI. Fragments of a Zadokite Work or the *Damascus Document* (CD), as it is known today, has its roots in two incomplete medieval manuscripts found in the Cairo *Genizah* of the Karaite Ben Ezra Synagogue (a storeroom for damaged sacred books and documents) which was discovered in 1896 by Solomon Schechter of Cambridge University. See, Philip R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document,"* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983); Michael Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 13-76 and Liora Goldman, "The Admonitions in the Damascus Document as a Series of Thematic Pesharim," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 25 (2018): 385-411.

Frederick Schweitzer suggests that “some of these titles constitute reference to him as an historical figure, others as an eschatological one. Rather than being invented, these titles or offices lay ready at hand, like empty vessels waiting to be filled.”<sup>38</sup>

We first meet the Teacher of Righteousness in column 1 of Cairo Manuscript A of the Damascus Document (CD A 1:3-2:1). According to the passage, 390 years after He had given Israel into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, God caused “a shoot of planting” to spring from Israel and Aaron (CD A 1:7). This passage describes how the remnant that the Damascus Document called “a shoot of the planting” was destined to possess His land: based on Isaiah 60:21, “Your people shall be righteous; they shall possess the land forever. They are the shoot that I planted, the work of my hands, so that I might be glorified.” The Community Rule (1QS 8:5-6) uses similar terminology to describe how God set aside this group “in truth as an eternal plant, a holy house for Israel and most holy assembly for Aaron.”<sup>39</sup> In CD A 1:8-10, the “shoot of planting” realized their iniquities and knew that they were guilty men, but they were like blind persons ... who grope for a path over twenty years: based on Isaiah 59:10, “we grope like the blind along a wall, groping like those who have no eyes; we stumble at noon as in the twilight,

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<sup>38</sup> Frederick M. Schweitzer, “The Teacher of Righteousness,” *Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls Offered in Memory of Jean Carmignac*, ed. Zdzislaw Kapera and J. Mogilany (Krakow: Enigma Press, 1991), 61-62.

<sup>39</sup> Patrick A. Tiller, “The ‘Eternal Planting’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls” *Dead Sea Discoveries*, 4:3 (1997): 312-335. In his study of the use of the metaphorical phrase (“the eternal planting”), Tiller says that the expression is used metaphorically in 4Q415-18; 1QS 8:5 and 1QS 11:8; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:7. Similar metaphorical expressions occur in 1 Enoch 10:16 (“plant of truth”); 84:6 (“a plant of the eternal seed”); and 93:5, 10 (“[eternal] plant of truth”); in Jub. 1:16; 16:26; 21:24; and 36:6 (“righteous plant”); in CD 1:7 (“plant root”); and in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:10 (“a truthful planting”). Tiller notes that such use of plant and agricultural imagery is common in the Bible. The metaphor is suitable for depicting the establishment, growth, and outcome of any group of people. The metaphor can also be used to depict the relationship between God (the farmer) and his people (the plant or garden). The metaphor is also a designation for the righteous: either the righteous at the time of Noah, the Nation of Israel, the righteous within Israel, or a particular community. It interprets a biblical condition (esp. Isaiah 60:21 and Isaiah 61:3) that describes the restored people of God as a plant, established by God in the land and lovingly tended so that it produces righteous deeds.

among the vigorous as though we were dead.” The following passage describes how “God appraised their deeds because they sought him with an undivided heart and raised up for them a Teacher of Righteousness, in order to direct them in “the way of his heart.” The term the “way of his heart” indicates the unique teachings/interpretations of “the Law” or “*Halakhah*” by the Teacher.<sup>40</sup> However, the Teacher’s arrival was met by opposition by “the congregation of traitors.” They are those who have departed from the right way, and to them a lengthy discourse from Hosea 4:16 is applied describing their infidelity: “Like a stubborn heifer, Israel is stubborn; can the Lord now feed them like a lamb in broad pasture? It is in this context that “the Scoffer” arose as one who “pours out over Israel waters of lies that made them stray into a wilderness without path (CD A 1:14-15).” This term is rendered “the Man of Scoffing” and occurs only once in the Damascus Document. However, it is rendered as “the man of lies” in CD B 20:15. Matthew Collins points out that this designation stems from a reference to “men of scoffing” in Isaiah 28:14 (cf. v.22) who are described as being in a position of authority in Jerusalem and have taken refuge in lies and falsehood. The figure designated the Man of Scoffing in the Damascus Document is accused of having “spouted to Israel waters of a lie” which plays on a dual understanding of both “to spout/drip” and “to preach,” and is reminiscent of the same duality as in “raining” or “teaching.” By positioning these two terms in the first column of CD, the author ensures that the one who arose and “spouted to Israel waters of a lie” (CD 1:14-15) is set in sharp contrast to the figure who was raised up as “a Teacher of Righteousness” (CD A 1:11). Thus, the “Spouter of the Lie” (as a “false preacher”) constitutes the perfect foil to the Teacher of Righteousness” and

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<sup>40</sup> Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 246.

distinguishes the Teacher from his nemesis and the Community from the dissenters.<sup>41</sup>

This archenemy of the Teacher is mentioned twice in the Habakkuk Pesher (1QpHab 2:1-2; 5:11) as “the Man of the Lie” and once in the Psalms Pesher (4Q171 1:26) as the “Man of Lies.” In addition, different variations of the epithet occur in 1QpHab 10:9, as the “Spreader of the Lie,” which is possible a synonym for the “Man of the Lie.”<sup>42</sup>

In two other passages, mention is made of the Teacher of Righteousness as the “Unique Teacher” (CD B 19:35-20:1; 20:14). Solomon Schechter translated this term as “the only teacher” based on Gen 22:2.<sup>43</sup> His approach has been followed by several scholars who have translated the phrase as “the unique teacher” (Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar).<sup>44</sup> Wise, Abegg, Jr., and Cook translate this term as “the beloved Teacher.”<sup>45</sup> This phrase has also been translated as “Teacher of the Community” based on a parallel that exists in the Community Rule, “and they shall be judged by the first ordinances in which the men of the Community began to be taught (1QS 9:10).” In CD B 19:33-20:1, we find a direct reference to the “gathering in” of the Teacher of the Community—presumably a reference to his death.<sup>46</sup> In this same passage, “all the men who entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus and turned and betrayed and departed from the

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<sup>41</sup> Matthew Collins, *Shifting Perspectives: (Re-)evaluating the Use of Sobriquets in the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls*, (PhD diss., University of Bristol, England, 2006), 33-34; 82-83.

<sup>42</sup> Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, xxx-xxx. See also, Ulfsgard, Hakam. “The Teacher of Righteousness, The History of the Qumran Community, and our Understanding of the Jesus Movement: Texts, Theories and Trajectories” in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments*, eds. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd., 1998), 315-318. See also, Philip R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the “Damascus Document,”* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982), 186.

<sup>43</sup> Schechter, *A Zadokite Work*, 76.

<sup>44</sup> Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 579.

<sup>45</sup> Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, Jr., & Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 59-60.

<sup>46</sup> Other variations of this term include Judg 2:10 “gathered to his fathers,” Gen 25:8, 17 “to his people,” where the phrase parallels, “he breathed his last and died,” 2 Kings 22:20 “to your grave,” and Num 20:26 gathered “unto the dead.”

well of living waters, shall not be counted in the assembly of the people,” nor shall they “be inscribed in their lists, from the day of the gathering in [of the teacher]{...} of the unique teacher.” In this passage, the “well” is linked with the phrase “the living waters” invoking a term that appears elsewhere in the discourses of the sectarian movement. The writer intentionally invoked Isaianic eschatological passages to contrast the “torrid earth” and “parched land” of the desert (the “wilderness”) with the “springs of water” that his instructions seem to promise (Isa. 35:5-12; cf. Isa. 49:8-13; Zech.14:18).<sup>47</sup> According to Charlesworth, the importance of water, especially “living water” means not ‘running water,’ but the salvific water that brings eternal life (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:7-8).<sup>48</sup> The water imagery applied to the Unique Teacher/Teacher of the Community as “the well of living water” (CD B 19:35- 20:1) echoes the claim of the first-person protagonist in the Hodayot as I will demonstrate in section three. The similarities between these two titles indicates that they are possibly the same person. Samuel Thomas writes that the astonishing claim made by this individual is elevated almost to the level of divine speech “as if the scriptures have become indistinguishable from their interpretation and internalization by the speaker (1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:17; 4Q471<sup>b</sup> 1-10 [1QH<sup>a</sup> 26:6-16]; cf. 4Q491<sup>c</sup> 6-8; Sir 24:27).”<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Samuel Thomas, “Living Water by the Dead Sea: Some Water Metaphors in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *Thinking of Water in the Early Second Temple Period*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin, (De Gruyter; Digital Original Edition, 2014), 375-391. See also, Jonathan Davis Lawrence, *Washing in Water: Trajectories of Ritual Bathing in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*, (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 81-154. In his study, Lawrence discussed some of the metaphorical uses of water language in the Dead Sea Scrolls, including the section on “living water.”

<sup>48</sup> James H. Charlesworth, “An Allegorical and Autobiographical Poem by the Moreh Has-Sedeq (1QH 8:4-11),” in *Sha’arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*, (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 299. Of note, the passage in the Hodayot referenced by Charlesworth is now located in 1QH 16:5-27 which is based on Stegemann’s reconstructed translation.

<sup>49</sup> Thomas, “Living Water,” 375-392.

In the following passage (CD B 20:14-15), we find an additional reference to the death of the Teacher, “And from the day of the gathering in of the Unique Teacher, until the end of all the men of war who turned back with the Man of Lies, there shall be about forty years.” Here, we find a period of “about 40 years” tied to the death of the Teacher. The inspiration behind this passage is derived from parallels in Deut. 2:14-15 (cf. Num. 14:28-29) where the duration of the wilderness wandering is given as 40/38 years, “until the whole generation of warriors had perished from the camp.” This passage refers to those who defected to the “the Man of Lies;” and left the Community. The author of the Damascus Document compares their betrayal to those who acted unfaithfully toward Moses by accepting the slander of spies (Num 13:32). As a result, the members of this group were cut off and their names were erased from the memory of the Community (CD B 19:32-35). In 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> Psalms Peshier (4Q171:2:5-13), the author refers to the same time period and draws on Psalms 37:10-11: “A little longer and there will be no wicked man; you will look at where he was—he will be gone.” The use of this passage was meant to encourage the “congregation of the poor” to remain steadfast and “tough out the period of distress” because “at the end of the forty years ... no wicked person will be found.”<sup>50</sup> It is during this “age of wrath” that “there shall be no king, no prince, no judge” and the members of the Community will have to fend for themselves by relying on each other and God (CD B 20:15-20).

In CD B 20:28 and 32, there are two further references to the “Teacher of Righteousness.” In the first passage (CD B 20:28), the members of the group are asked to do three things: to remain steadfast in the Community’s regulations. That is the “first

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<sup>50</sup> Ulfsgard, “The Teacher of Righteousness,” 319.

precepts” that the early members were instructed; to listen to the Teacher’s voice; and to confess before God: “Assuredly have we sinned, both we and our fathers, walking contrary to the ordinances of the covenant: justice and truth are your judgements against us (CD B 20:28-31, cf. 1QS 1:24-26).” It is these who shall exult and rejoice and their heart will be strong.” Garcia Martinez likens listening to “the Teacher’s voice ” as fundamental as “coming and going in accordance with the law,” and it is the “voice of the Teacher of Righteousness” that lends authority to “the just regulations.” The strict parallel between the two shows that this was a strategy used by the Community to give authority to the rules of the group, in a similar way as the “voice of Moses” was used in the Cave 4 fragments (4Q266 1a-b 15-16 (“and do not listen”] to the voice of Moses” or in 4Q378 26 3. “they pa[y]ed attention to voice of Mo[ses...])” to express the authority of the revealed Torah.<sup>51</sup> In CD B 20:33-34, it is clear that this reward is more than personal satisfaction. This rejoicing relates to the fact that “they shall prevail over all the sons of the world,” and that “God will atone for them and they shall see his salvation.”<sup>52</sup> However, it was their fidelity to his teachings that was thought to play a crucial role in a person’s ultimate eschatological deliverance. 1Q14 (1QpMic Frag. 8-10:6-10) echoes the salvific role that the Teacher’s instruction plays in “his council and to all volunteering to join the chosen of God.” It is those who observe the law in the Community “who will be saved from the day of judgement.”<sup>53</sup> In CD A 3:20, “eternal life and all the glory of Adam” is promised for those who remain steadfast in the covenant (e.g., 1QS 4:23).

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<sup>51</sup> Florentino Garcia Martinez, “Beyond the Sectarian Divide: ‘The Voice of the Teacher’ as an Authority-Conferring Strategy in Some Qumran Texts,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, 92 (2010), 230-233.

<sup>52</sup> Ulfsgard, “Teacher of Righteousness,” 318.

<sup>53</sup> Williams, *History and Memory*, 257-258.



Another passage with a possible reference to the Teacher of Righteousness is found in CD A 6:3-11. In this passage, the history of the Community is forecast in a *peshet* exegesis on Num 21:17, the Song of the Well at Be'er, where God through Moses, gave the Israelites the gift of water in the wilderness. In the following passage, God remembered the covenant with his chosen ones and caused them to listen:

3 And they dug the well: *Num 21:18* A well which the princes dug, which the 4 nobles of the people delved with the staff. The well is the law. And those who dug it are 5 the converts of Israel, who left the land of Judah and lived in the land of Damascus, 6 all of whom God called princes, for they sought him, and their renown has not been repudiated 7 in anyone's mouth. And the staff is the interpreter of the Law, of whom 8 Isaiah said: *Isa 54:16*. "And he produces a tool for his work." And the nobles of the people are 9 those who came to dig the well with the staves that the scepter decreed, 10 to walk in them throughout the age of wickedness, and without which they will not obtain it, until there arises 11 he who teaches justice at the end of days.

In this passage, the "well" is associated with the Torah, while "the princes" who have "dug the well" are identified with a specific group within post-exilic Judaism, "the converts of Israel (i.e., the Community: CD A 6:5-9)." It is this group which kept the law faithfully; the faithful remnant of the wilderness generation (CD A 3:12-16) who "remained steadfast in God's precepts. It was with those who were left that "God established his covenant with Israel forever, revealing to them hidden matters in which all Israel had gone astray: his holy sabbaths and his glorious feasts, his just stipulations and his truthful paths, which a man must do in order to live by them." In this passage, there are several references to the tools that are used by the "nobles" to dig a well, a "stave" or "staff." Interpreted, the staff means "to inscribe," especially inscribing laws, which is derived from the word "decree." It can also mean "prescriber of laws" or "commander," and metonymically, "commander's staff" or "scepter." Hence, "if the staff with which the

well was dug are really prescribers of the Laws, then the well is easily the law itself.” Interpreters of these texts have also noted that the association of “well” with Torah is derived from the fact that “the same Hebrew letters which spell “well” can also mean “expound” which is used in Deut 1:5 for Moses expounding the Law.<sup>54</sup> In the next passage, the people who left “the land of Judah and lived in the land of Damascus” are called princes by God because they sought him. The phrase “they sought him” draws on Deut. 4:29: “But if you search there for the Lord your God, you will find Him, if only you seek Him with all your heart and soul.” The Community will be rewarded for their seeking of God by the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness at the end of days, as predicted in Hos 10:12 (CD A 6:11): “Sow righteousness for yourselves; Reap the fruits of goodness; Break for yourselves betimes (early) fresh ground of seeking the Lord, So that you may obtain a teacher of righteousness.” Through an interpretive reading of the prophetic verses, the author in the Damascus Document understands Deut 4:29 and Hos 10:12 as referring to three issues: the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness, the Community to whom he will be revealed, and the justification for his appearance. Goldman states that by using the Hebrew root “*doresh*” in the two verses to describe the members of the Community (“the princes”) as those who have sought God (“for they sought Him,” CD A 6:6), and as a result of their “seeking” the Teacher of Righteousness will come, heralding an ultimate revelation of God to his faithful followers. In addition, the use of these two verses also appears in CD A 1:9-11 in response to the prayers of the Community because “they sought him.” In both descriptions, the seeking of God is

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<sup>54</sup> Kelli S. O’Brien, “Runner, Staff, And Star: Interpreting the Teacher of Righteousness through Scripture,” *Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. Vanderkam*, ed. Eric F. Mason (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 437.

answered by sending the Community a leader to show them “the way.”<sup>55</sup> In the next passage, “the scepter” is described as the “Interpreter of the Law (Heb *Doresh ha-Torah*).” This term occurs five times in the Dead Sea Scrolls (CD 6:7; 7:18; 4Q174. 1-2 ii 11; 4Q177 2:4; 4Q266 3iii 19) and is used in different ways, referring to figures in the Community’s past, and in its future. The primary task of this individual was to provide legislation for all those who “dug” the “well.” This is based on the fact that the Hebrew term *Mehoqueq*, translated here as “scepter,” means both “ruler,” the one who prescribes the laws (Heb. *haqqaq*), and the “scepter,” the staff carried by a ruler.<sup>56</sup> In the next passage (CD A 6:7-8), the author of the Damascus Document draws on Isa 54:16, “He brings forth a vessel for his work” as a reference to the Interpreter of the Law. The use of the word vessel (*keli*) in this passage is a term that was figuratively applied to Moses, who was a vessel, i.e., the intermediary of divine revelations.<sup>57</sup> In the following passage the “nobles of the people” are those who came to dig the well with the staves that the scepter (Heb. *mehoqueqot*) decreed, to walk in them throughout the whole age of wickedness (CD 6:9).<sup>58</sup> It is this group (that is, the Community) which was under an obligation to obey the law as it was defined by “the Interpreter.” His importance is emphasized by the statement that without his teaching “they will not obtain it (salvation), until there arises he who teaches justice/righteousness at the end of days (CD A 6:11).”

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<sup>55</sup> Goldman, “The Admonitions in the Damascus Document,” 385-411. See also, Naphtali Wieder, “The Law Interpreter of the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Moses” *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 4 (1953): 167. In his study of the Interpreter, he observes that three epithets of Moses, “Star”; “Vessel” and “Craftsman,” were used by the Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls to describe their supreme teacher of the Law. The term *doresh ha-torah* does not have an equivalent in rabbinic literature. However, it was used by Hellenistic Jews to describe Moses. At the beginning of his *Vita Mosis* XXX Philo writes that some Jews described Moses as *the interpreter of the Holy Laws*.

<sup>56</sup> Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 49-50.

<sup>57</sup> Wieder, “The Law Interpreter,” 159.

<sup>58</sup> Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 49-50.

Elsewhere in the Qumran texts, the designation “Interpreter of the Law” clearly refers to a historical figure of the past (CD 6:3-11), but who appears in the future as an eschatological figure who is to come with the Branch of David at the “end of days.” Notably, the “one who teaches righteousness at the end of days” is a clear allusion to the Teacher title, but this figure is clearly placed in the eschatological future. Hence, titles such as Interpreter of the Law and Teacher of Righteousness could be variously used to refer to figures past or future, and that they are interchangeable.” This multiplicity of referents and their interchangeability is not surprising, since the Community Rule (1QS: 6:6), requires “in the place where ten assemble there should not be missing a man to interpret the law day and night.” In addition, the title Interpreter of the Law could refer to more than one individual.<sup>59</sup>

The final reference to the Interpreter of the Law occurs in CD A 7:14-21 in the context of a complex *peshar* on Amos-Numbers (Amos 5:26-27; 9:11 and Num 24:17) describing the origins of the group. This passage contains an abbreviated quotation from Amos 5:26-27, which forms part of a judgement against Israel but is interpreted in the Damascus Document as a prophecy of salvation for those “who remained steadfast and escaped to the north.” A literal reading of this passage would suggest that the Interpreter of the Law left Judea and joined this group in Damascus. In CD 7:14-21, the words of Amos 5:26-27 are interpreted:

As God said, I will deport the Sikkut of your king 15 and the Kiyyun of your images away from my tent to Damascus. The books of the law are the Sukkat 16 of the King, as he said (Amos 5:26-27). I will lift up the fallen Sukkat (booth) of David (Amos 9:11). The King 17 is the assembly; and the Kiyyun of the images are the books of the prophets, 18 whose words Israel despised. And the star is the Interpreter of the Law, 19 who will come (or came) to Damascus; as it is written, And the star is the Interpreter of the Law who will come to Damascus, as it is

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<sup>59</sup> Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 104.

written: (Num 24:17) A star moves out of Jacob, and a scepter arises 20 out of Israel. The scepter is the prince of the congregation and when he arises he will destroy 21 all the sons of Seth.

In the Amos text, God accuses Israel of idolatry and drives them into exile (with the images you have made of your astral deity) “beyond Damascus.” In CD 8:14-17, the author describes how God exiled “the books of the law and the Kiyyun of your images away from “my tent (a symbol for the temple in Jerusalem) to Damascus.” The Books of the Torah are the “booth of the king” which is interpreted as the “assembly” and the “kiyyune of the images” are the “Books of the Prophets.”<sup>60</sup> In this same passage, the author omits mention of the “star-god” in his interpretation of Amos 5:26 but added an explanation of the “star” based on Num 24:17: “The star is the Interpreter of the Law, who will come (or came) to Damascus, as it is written, “A star moves out of Jacob, and a scepter arises out of Israel. The scepter is the prince of the whole congregation and when he arises he will destroy all the sons of Seth (cf. CD A 7:18-21; 1QM 11:6-7).”<sup>61</sup> In the Numbers passage, the “star” and the “scepter” are identified as the Interpreter of the Law and the Prince of the Congregation, respectively. The Damascus Document here envisions a direct link between the Mosaic tradition, the prophets, and the present community. Of the two sectarian leaders mentioned, the Interpreter of the Law represents the Community’s primary engagement with the continuous revelation of the Law and the Prophets. In the Damascus Document, the Interpreter is an inspired exegete

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<sup>60</sup> David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 233. Carr suggests that many of the texts at Qumran probably originated in the Jerusalem temple. The Damascus Document (CD 7:15-17), appears to describe even the removal of texts from the temple, allegorically interpreting Amos 5:26-27 as referring to the taking of the “law” and the “prophets” from “Jerusalem” to “Damascus” by the Teacher of Righteousness.

<sup>61</sup> O’Brien, “Runner, Staff, And Star,” 440-443.

whose readings of Scripture serve as a source for revealed sectarian laws. What this Interpreter finds with his exegesis is precisely “every matter hidden from Israel.” What has been hidden from Israel is precisely those aspects of the Law of Moses that has been revealed to the members of this group.<sup>62</sup>

In CD A 3:12-16: it is “those who remained steadfast in God’s precepts, that He established his covenant with Israel forever, revealing to them hidden matters in which all Israel had gone astray: his holy sabbaths and his glorious feasts, his just stipulations and his truthful paths, and the wishes of his will which man must do in order to live by them (cf. Lev 18:5). He disclosed (these matters) to them and they dug a well of plentiful water; and whoever spurns them shall not live. But they defiled themselves with human sin and unclean paths, and they said: “For this is ours.” But God, in his wonderful mysteries, atoned for their iniquity and pardoned their sin. In CD A 3:19, God built for them a sure house in Israel, like none that had ever appeared before (cf. 1 Sam 2:35): “And I will raise up for myself a faithful priest, who will act in accordance with My wishes and My purposes. I will build for him an enduring house, and he shall walk before my anointed evermore.” In the Psalms Peshier on 37:23-24 (4Q171 3:13-17), God chose the Teacher of Righteousness to lead those designated as His chosen community. “For by YHWH the steps of man are secure; he delights in his path; even though he

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<sup>62</sup> Alex P. Jassen, “The Presentation. Of the Ancient Prophets as Lawgivers at Qumran,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 127: 2 (2008): 334-335 and *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism*, (Leiden: Brill, 2007). See also, Craig A. Evans, “Prince of the Congregation,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 2, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. Vanderkam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 693-694. In Evans contribution, he writes that the primary function of the Prince of the Congregation was to lead Israel (in battle) against the forces of evil. He was to fulfill the prophecy of Num 24:17 and “destroy all the sons of Seth.” (CD A 7:19-21). It was “upon the shield of the Prince of the whole congregation that they shall write his name (1QM 3:16; 5:1; 4QM496:10).” In Isaiah 10:24-11:5, it clearly implies that the “Prince” will do battle against Israel’s enemies “at the end of days.” (4Q161 Frags. 2-6: 13-17).

stumbles he will not fall, for YHWH supports his hand.” In this passage, it is “the Priest, the Teacher of Righteousness, whom God chose to stand [...] he installed him to found the congregation [of his chosen ones of the truth] for him, [and] straightened out his [pa]th, in truth”<sup>63</sup> In the discourse of the “Sure House,” the founding of the Community as a chosen group, is distinguished from the rest of Israel, due to the recognition of their sin and God’s atonement. Belonging to the Community grants the members knowledge of “hidden things” (CD A 3:14) that are revealed by God only to the Community. Observing the revealed (*nigleh*) and hidden laws grants the promise of eternal life both for the individual and for the entire Community (CD A 3:20).<sup>64</sup> According to Lawrence Schiffmann, the sect divided the law into two categories, the *nigleh*, “revealed,” and the *nistar*, “hidden.” The revealed laws were known to all Israel, for they were manifest in Scripture, but the hidden laws were known only to the sect and were revealed solely through sectarian exegesis. In general, the revealed laws left little room for debate, but it was the hidden laws that required the help of divinely guided exegesis to enable the Community’s members to discover their correct interpretation. This process involved the searching of the law, an activity not practiced by the sect’s opponents. For the Community this searching of the Law meant a literal move to the desert.<sup>65</sup>

Historically speaking, the wilderness period in the Hebrew Bible holds a special place in Israelite memory. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the wilderness sojourn symbolized everything from hardship, testing, and disobedience to an idealized place of nearness to

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<sup>63</sup> Philip R. Davies, “The Teacher of Righteousness at the End of Days,” *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 313-317.

<sup>64</sup> Goldman, “The Admonitions in the Damascus Document,” 394-395.

<sup>65</sup> Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 247-248.

God. The Community took the wanderings of the Israelites in a literal way, by settling in a remote area and appropriating scriptural motifs to describe their own experiences. Whether their move was deliberate, or whether they were forced to flee, the group interpreted their move into the wilderness as a time of learning and redemption. In the texts, there are multiple references to events set in the framework of the Mosaic wilderness period which the Community recognized as prototypical of their own historical experiences.<sup>66</sup> In the [book of the Ru]le of the Community (1QS 1:1-3), the new members (of the Community) were required to swear a binding oath to “seek God with [all (one’s) heart and] and with a[ll (one’s) soul;] in order to do what is good and just in his presence, as he commanded by the hand of Moses and by the hand of all his servants the prophets.” Following the model of Israel in the wilderness, the Community is organized according to their spiritual status by “thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens” like the tribes of Israel (1QS 2:19-21 (cf. Exod 18:21-25; Deut 1:15). In 1QS 5:7-9, those who entered “the council of the Community of God did so in the presence of all who freely volunteer.” He shall “swear a binding oath to revert to the Law of Moses, according to all that he commanded...in compliance with all that has been revealed of it to the sons of Zadok (or “to the council of the men of the community” according to 4Q266 and 4Q268), the priests who keep the covenant and interpret his will and to the multitude of the men of their covenant according to His will.” In the following passage, the members of the Community are to be “separated from all the men of injustice who walk along the path of wickedness” to prepare for the coming *eschaton* (1QS 8:12-16).

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<sup>66</sup> Allison Schofield, “The Wilderness Motif In The Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Israel in the Wilderness: Interpretations of the Biblical Narratives in Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. Kenneth E. Pomykala, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 37-53.



They are required to live a communal life by sharing property and work, assembling to discuss matters of the Community, and studying and praying together. The priests are given precedence in all ceremonial matters. They lead the ceremony of the entry into the covenant, they shall bless first at the communal meal and sit first in the council (1QS 6:5, 8). This same precedence is observed in the messianic banquet (1Q28<sup>a</sup> 2:11-21), as well as in the organization of the eschatological war (1QM 2:1-6; cf. 4Q494; 4Q496 13). A priest must also be present in a minimal group of ten and “let there not be lacking a man who studies the law day and night continually, one man being replaced by another. And the Many shall watch together for a third of all nights of the year to read the book, to study the law, and pray together” (1QS 6:3-6). While the priests, the Levites and elders sit first in the “Council of the Many (or “*the rabbim*”), it is the “Overseer” (1QS 6:12,14) who maintained strict rules of behavior in the Council of the Many. In the same passage, the “Overseer” seems to be synonymous with the “the man appointed (Hebrew *Paqid*) at the head of the many.” If the prospective member was accepted by the Community, “the officer in charge at the head of the many shall examine him with respect to his insight and his deeds. If the prospective member is suited to the discipline, “the Overseer shall admit him into the covenant ... and instruct him in all the rules of the Community.” The Overseer also controlled the income and expenses for the poor and performed judiciary functions.<sup>67</sup> Knibb identifies this figure as the “Examiner” (*mevaqquer*; 1QS 6:12, 20; CD A 8:6,7,13; 14:13,15:8, 11,14) who sometimes performed the tasks assigned to the

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<sup>67</sup> Devorah Dimant, “Qumran Sectarian Literature,” *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, ed. Michael E. Stone (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 499.

“Overseer” (1QS 6:12, 14).<sup>68</sup> Similarly, in CD 13:6-12, Garcia Martinez interprets this title as “the Inspector of the Many” and lists multiple attributes of this figure: He shall instruct the Many in the deeds of God, and...teach them his mighty marvels, and recount to them the eternal events with their explanations; He shall have pity on them like a father on his sons, and shall heal the afflicted among them like a shepherd his flock; He shall examine, concerning his actions, his intelligence, his strength, his courage and his wealth; and they shall inscribe him in his place according to his inheritance in the lot of light.” In addition, the Inspector who is over all the camps must master “every secret of men and every language CD A 14:9-10.” Vermes has also contributed to the argument by identifying the *maskil* as the same community officer who is elsewhere designated as the “Master” or “Guardian.”<sup>69</sup> In Leo Purdue’s study, he points out several statues that point to the role of the maskil “as the leader of the Community and the official who oversaw the admission of new members (1QS 9:12 cf. 4Q259 III:7; CD 12:20-21; 4Q266 5 i 17; 1QS 9:21 cf. 4Q258 8:5 CF. 4Q258 4:2 and CD13:22 cf. 4Q266 9 iii 15). In addition, the duties of the *maskil* have become merged with the traditions of the “Overseer” in CD A 12:21, 13:6-12, and 14:8-12 in its final form. Such a merging of the laws of the *maskil* and the “Overseer” demonstrates that the office of the *maskil* was multi-functional because he continued to be actively involved in the administration of the Community beyond teaching and liturgical responsibilities.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Michael A. Knibb, “Community Organization in the Damascus Document,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 1, ed. Lawrence Schiffman and James Vanderkam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 134-135.

<sup>69</sup> Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, Revised Edition, (Penguin Books: London, 2011), 29.

<sup>70</sup> Leo G. Purdue, “Mantic Sages in the Ancient Near East, Israel, Judaism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy*, ed. Kristin De Troyer and Armin Lange (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 168-171.

In 1QS 8:1-4, the “Council of the Community” usually indicates a group of twelve men, including three special priests who were to be “perfect in everything which has been revealed from the whole Torah; each one was “to perform truth, righteousness, loving kindness” and to walk circumspectly “with his fellow.” It is when all these virtues are obtained, that the Community shall be established “in truth as an eternal planting, a holy house for Israel and most holy dwelling for Aaron.<sup>71</sup> The Community is identified as “the tested rampart, the precious cornerstone that does not /whose foundations/ shake or tremble from their place. (It will be) the most holy dwelling for Aaron with eternal knowledge of the covenant of justice and in order to offer a pleasant/aroma/; and it will be a house of perfection and truth in Israel in order to establish a covenant in compliance with the everlasting decrees (1QS 8:7-9).” In the following passage, the sectarians (who have completed two full years of probation) will be segregated (like holy ones) in the midst of the council of the men of the Community. And every matter hidden from Israel that has been discovered “by the Interpreter,” shall not be “hidden from them for fear of an apostate spirit.” They are to “walk to the desert in order to open there His path” (1QS 8:13-14). This passage is based on Isaiah 40:3, “In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God.” The sectarians describe this (way) as “the study of the law that he commanded through the hand of Moses, in order to act in compliance with all that has been revealed from age to age, and according to what the prophets have revealed through his holy spirit.” In the Community Rule, the author

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<sup>71</sup> Tiller, “Eternal Planting,” 326-329. He writes that the phrase “eternal planting” occurs twice in the Community Rule. In 1QS 8:5, this term refers to a series of poetic names for the council of the community, “established in truth.” In lines 8 and 9 of the same column, the title “most holy dwelling for Aaron” and “house of perfection and truth in Israel” occurs. In 1QS 11:7-9, a second occurrence of the phrase “eternal planting” is part of the closing hymn.” Notably, Tiller writes that all the occurrences in 1QS of this term seems to indicate a function in the community that is related to a “participation in the heavenly angelic cult.”

interprets the “way” (the focus of the wilderness calling) to be the studying and searching of the law (1QS 8:15). This term “is used as an intertextual “echo” of Isaiah throughout the various texts to evoke a “law-centered lifestyle.” By connecting the wilderness motif of Isaiah 40:3 with the study of the law “through the hand of Moses” in column 8, one sees a direct association with Moses. “This is the study of the Law that he commanded through Moses, that they should act in accordance with all that has been revealed from age to age (1QS 8:15).” As Schofield succinctly puts it, “the role of Moses as mediator of divine revelation is a pivotal one for the sectarians, as they regard him as the quintessential prophet.” As noted elsewhere in the Scrolls, “there is evidence that the sectarians viewed the Teacher of Righteousness as the antitype of Moses because “both the Teacher and Moses would have been the recipients of God’s revealed Torah, and both would have functioned as community leaders. And just as Moses was the conduit of revelation at Sinai—so the Teacher was regarded as the mediator of inspired exegesis.”<sup>72</sup>

In the final block of material in the *pesharim*, the Teacher of Righteousness is described as an inspired scriptural exegete who served as a source of instruction for his community. The Teacher’s instruction is connected to both the Law and the Prophets. Four of these *pesharim* mention the Teacher (1QpHab 1:13, 2:2, 5:10, 7:4, 8:3, 9:9, 11:5; 1QpMic 14:8-10:5-10; 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> 171 3:13-27, 22-27; 4QpPs<sup>b</sup> 173 21:4-6). Even though many of these *pesharim* reflect a singular voice, Eshel and Stegemann have pointed out

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<sup>72</sup> Alison Schofield, “The Wilderness Motif In The Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Israel in the Wilderness: Interpretations of the Biblical Narratives in Jewish and Christian Traditions* ed. Kenneth E. Pomykala, Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 37-53. Schofield identifies multiple references to the term the “way” 1QS1:13; 2:2; 3:10, 20; 4:2, 15, 17, 22, etc. They also call themselves the “Perfect (ones) of the Way”(i.e. IQS 4:22; 8:10-11; 21; 1QM 14:7; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:36, 4Q511 frg. 10, 8; frg. 63, iii 3.

layers within the texts that show modifications and revisions.<sup>73</sup> According to Schiffman, these texts are “scriptural commentaries named after the technical Hebrew term *peshet* (pl. *pesharim*) which characteristically appears in formulae that quotes a biblical verse, and is then followed by an interpretation, often preceded by the words *peshet ha-davar*, “the interpretation of the matter is,” or *pishro*, “its interpretation is.”<sup>74</sup> In the Bible, the Hebrew root appears as a noun only once in Eccl. 8:1: “Who is like the wise man? And who knows the interpretation of a thing? The unknown “thing” mentioned here is related to its prophetic sense (“the prophetic meaning of a thing”) according to the Aramaic *Targum*.<sup>75</sup> There are two types of *pesharim*: the “continuous” or “running” which consists of a series of biblical passages and expositions that follow the biblical texts sequentially. The best-preserved example is the Habakkuk Peshet, which contains the first two of three chapters of the original biblical text; and the thematic, which takes an eschatological concept as a structural theme and weaves in citations from distinct biblical works. This sub-genre is represented by Melchizedek (11Q13), Florilegium (4Q174), and Catena (4Q177).<sup>76</sup>

In the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus, Lim writes that “the hermeneutics of Qumran scriptural exegesis are often characterized by scholars as ‘fulfillment interpretation’. By this is meant that members of the Qumran community believed that the ancient oracles foretold events that were taking place in their own time.”<sup>77</sup> Namely, the authors

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<sup>73</sup> Hanan Eshel, “The Two Layers of Peshet Habakkuk,” *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran Network 2003-2006*, ed. Anders Klostergaard Peterson, Torleif Elgvin and Cecilia Wassen (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 107-117.

<sup>74</sup> Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 223-224.

<sup>75</sup> William H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Peshet on Habakkuk* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1979), 30.

<sup>76</sup> Shani L. Berrin, “Pesharim,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. Vanderkam, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 644-647.

<sup>77</sup> Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim* (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 24.

of the *pesharim* believed that the fulfillment of the “mysteries” contained in the writings of the ancient prophets had been revealed by God to them, and the events that the prophets foretold had been, or would be, realized in the author’s own time. Horgan has noted that the root *pasher* and the word *raz* (or “mystery”) are used in similar contexts in both the Qumran *pesharim* and the biblical Book of Daniel. In one particular passage, there is a formula that is reminiscent of the formulas found in the *pesharim*. When Daniel interprets the writing on the wall at Belshazzar’s feast, he says, “this is the interpretation of the matter (Dan 5:26).” Some of the same modes of interpretation that are observed in the *pesharim* can also be found in Daniel (Dan 2:36-45; 5:24-28). She determines that the *raz*, i.e., the hidden mystery (in a dream vision, or mysterious writing) was sent by God, and its interpretation was revealed by God to a chosen interpreter (“Then the mystery [*raza*] was revealed by God to Daniel in a vision of the night” (Dan 2:19); “no wise men, enchanters, magicians, or astrologers can show to the king the mystery..., but there is a God in heaven who reveals mysteries (Dan 2:27-28). In addition, she concludes that, “the interpretations of mysteries in Daniel show similarities to the *pesharim* only in terms of the use of the root *psr* and the word *raz* and other observable features such as modes of interpretation and content of the interpretations, but also in the understanding expressed in both types of interpretation, that *psr* refers to the interpretation made known by God to a selected interpreter of a mystery revealed by God.”<sup>78</sup>

In the Book of Habakkuk, we find a dialogue between the prophet and the LORD (Hab. 1-2). The heading of this book describes “the prophetic pronouncement that Habakkuk, the prophet saw *hazah* (i.e., perceived in a revelation/vision). In other words,

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<sup>78</sup> Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association, 1979), 254-256.

it was conceived of as a “vision” (*hazon*), the very words used by Habakkuk himself in 2:2.<sup>79</sup> Thomas points out that this is the only peshet from Qumran (1QpHab) that employs in extant portions the word *raz*, and it does so in a way which appears to include the interpretive activity found in the other pesharim.”<sup>80</sup> In 1QpHab 7:1, “God told Habakkuk to write what was going to happen to the last generation, but he did not let him know the consummation of the era. As for the meaning of the biblical base text (lemma) in Habakkuk 2:2, “So that the one who runs may read it,” the interpretation concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries (*razey*) of his servants, the prophets (1QpHab 7:4-5).” From the perspective of the pesharist, both the prophet and the Teacher of Righteousness were both recipients of God’s revelation, but the prophet only received the vision not the interpretation. Only to the Teacher of Righteousness was the interpretation revealed because he was the one, “whom God made known all the mysteries (*razey*) of the words of his servants, the prophets.” Here the words of the prophets are mysteries that require the inspired interpretation of the Teacher of Righteousness. He is identified as the one who reads Habakkuk’s tablets easily. He is able to do so because God has placed him within the Community, to foretell the fulfillment of all the words of his servants, the prophets (1QpHab 2:8-9). The Habakkuk Peshet continues to expound Habakkuk’s statement by declaring that an additional “vision” that “speaks of the end” suggests that the final age will be extended and go beyond all that the prophets say, because the mysteries of God are wonderful (1QpHab 7:8).” The Community is advised that “Though it might tarry,

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<sup>79</sup> Brownlee, *The Midrash Peshet of Habakkuk*, 29-30.

<sup>80</sup> Samuel Thomas, *The “Mysteries” of Qumran: Mystery, Secret, and Esotericism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 202.

wait for it; for it will surely come, and it will not delay (Hab 2:3b). The text reassures the “men of truth...who observe the Law” and are “loyal to the Teacher of Righteousness” that despite appearances to the contrary, “God’s plan is unfolding according to the pre-existent pattern that he has established for the world, a pattern that the Teacher of Righteousness has come to understand so that his interpretation fulfills (even supplants!) the prophecy of Habakkuk.”<sup>81</sup>

An additional text that speaks of the Teacher’s extraordinary interpretive skills is the Psalms Peshar (4Q171 4: 26-27). In the biblical phrase, “And my tongue is the pen of an expert scribe” (Ps 45:2), this passage is interpreted as a reference to the Teacher of Righteousness: [its interpretation] concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, who...before God with an answer of the tongue.” In this passage, the scribal role of the psalmist has been reassigned to the Teacher of Righteousness. Due to the fragmentary condition of the texts, Alex Jassen suggests that the action performed by the Teacher involves speech. He suggests that the fragment refers to the interpretive process, where the Teacher of Righteousness provides “the correct understanding of the ancient prophetic pronouncements. If the “tongue” of the psalmist is understood as a conduit for the divine word, then the peshar suggests that it is the Teacher who is now mediating God’s message. The assignment of “purposeful speech” would then refer to the Teacher’s ability to interpret properly the divine message as encoded in ancient Scripture.”<sup>82</sup>

In the following passages (1QpHab 1:5 and 1QpHab 2:1-3), three groups of traitors who opposed the Teacher of Righteousness are described. The first group, the

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<sup>81</sup> Thomas, *Mysteries of Qumran*, 202-205.

<sup>82</sup> Alex P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism*, (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 348-350.



“traitors together with the “Man of the Lie” are those who did not “[believe in the words of] the Teacher of Righteousness from the “mouth of God.” This passage is reminiscent of Numbers 12:6-8, where Moses is distinguished from the prophets by the fact that God speaks to him “mouth to mouth.” In the second group, the “traitors to the new covenant” are those who did not believe in the covenant of God [and dishonored] his holy na[me]. The third group, the “traitors at the end of days,” are those who did not believe “all that is going [to happen t]o the final generation, from the mouth of the priest whom God has placed wi[thin the Commun]ity, to foretell the fulfillment of all the words of his servants, the prophets (1QpHab 2:7-8).” This designation also appears in the Pesher on Psalms 37 (4Q171:3:13-17) and identifies the figure in the above passage as “the Priest, the Teacher of Righteousness, whom God chose (i.e., predestined) to stand [...] he installed him to found the congregation [of his chosen ones of the truth]. Again, in 4QpHab 2:18-19, “it is the wicked of Ephraim and Manasseh who will attempt to lay hands on the Priest and the members of his council in the period of testing.” Notably, the Pesher on Psalm<sup>a</sup> is the only text that refers to the Teacher as “the Priest.” Some scholars have argued that he was the priest who officiated in the Temple cult, and may have served there as high priest.<sup>83</sup>

Most of the historical allusions in the Habakkuk Pesher involve the “Teacher of Righteousness,” the “Man of the Lie,” and the “Wicked Priest.” In the Damascus Document (CD), the primary adversary of the Teacher is identified as the “Man of the Lie” and his followers. This figure also appears in the Habakkuk Pesher and the Psalms Pesher (1QpHab 2:1-2, 5:11; 4Q171 1:26, 4:14). Furthermore, the Teacher of

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<sup>83</sup> Wise, “The Teacher of Righteousness and the High Priest in the Intersacerdotium,” 587-613.

Righteousness is confronted by a new enemy identified as the “Wicked Priest” in the Habakkuk Peshar. The designation “the Wicked Priest” (*ha-kohen ha-rasha*) is a pun on the Hebrew title for “the high priest” (*ha-kohen ha-ros*) and occurs five times in the pesharim (1QpHab 8:8, 9:9 and 11:4) and once in 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> 4Q171 4:8-9.<sup>84</sup>

In the *pesharim*, the “Man of the Lie” appears as the enemy of the Teacher of Righteousness (1QpHab 5:10-11), “who misdirected many with deceptive words” (4QpPs<sup>a</sup> 171 1:26), “and opposed God’s chosen...and tried to carry out...judgement against him” (4QpPs<sup>a</sup> 4:14). In 1QpHab 5:7-12, it is the “House of Absalom and the members of their council who kept silent when the Teacher of Righteousness was rebuked, and did not help him against the Man of the Lie who rejected the Law in the midst of their whole Council.” Although the text is fragmentary, it seems that the “Man of the Lie,” along with the other traitors, did not believe that the Teacher’s instruction was derived “from the mouth of God” (1QpHab 2:1-3). In the pesharim, the Teacher was also plagued by a “Wicked Priest,” which seems to be a designation for one of the Hasmonean rulers. In 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> 4Q171 4:5-10, it is “the Wicked Priest “who spies on the just man and tries to kill him. YHWH [will not relinquish him into his hand, n[or] let him be condemned {and} when he is judged.” Its interpretation concerns the “Wicked Priest.” who sp[ie]s on the just man and wants to kill him [...] and the law which he sent him.”

From evidence gathered from the “Halakhic Letter” (4QMMT) *Miqsat Ma’ase ha-Torah* (some legal rulings pertaining to the Torah), the reason the Community separated “from the multitude of the people” was the result of halakhic disagreements over sacrificial law and ritual purity and the correct observance of the calendar (4QMMT

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<sup>84</sup> Hanan Eshel, “Two Layers of Habakkuk Peshar,” 110-111.

Frgs. 14-21 C7-9). The writer, whom some believe was the Teacher of Righteousness, lists more than twenty legal rulings that describe the way their practices differ from those prevailing in the Jerusalem Temple. Of the legal rulings mentioned, several *halachot* or halakhic topics are mentioned in 4QMMT: the impurity of liquid streams poured from one vessel to another and the purity of the preparation of the red heifer. The view of the author of 4QMMT concerning these two laws alone are representative of Sadducean *halakhah*. Some of the same laws are also reported in the Mishnah (tractate *Yadayim*), and the views of the text are attributed to the Sadducees. These halakhot are usually stricter than that of the Pharisees and later rabbis, and those who did not accept the sectarians' point of view were condemned.<sup>85</sup> Based on the polemical nature of 4QMMT, the "Wicked Priest" pursued the Teacher of Righteousness "to consume him with the heat of his anger in the place of his banishment. In festival time, during the rest of the Day of Atonement, he appeared to them, to consume them and make them stumble on the day of fasting, the sabbath of their rest (1QpHab 11:2)."<sup>86</sup> In this text, "the sabbath of their rest" can be explained in two ways, it was their resting, i.e., according to their calendar. It was a time of such solemn rest that they (unlike the Wicked Priest who followed a different liturgical calendar) could not fight, even in self-defense. In 1 Maccabees, some of the early *Hasidim* suffered martyrdom rather than fight on the Sabbath day (2:29-38). If this were to happen, the Teacher and the Community would certainly "stumble" in some sense. If he fought or fled, he would be violating the requirement of solemn rest. If he did neither, he would stumble through a sword (Dan 11:33). Notably, there is no

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<sup>85</sup> Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 83-90.

<sup>86</sup> Steven D. Fraade, "To Whom it May Concern: 4QMMT and its Addressee(s), *Revue De Qumran*, 76 (2000), 507-526.

evidence in the Qumran scrolls that the Wicked Priest killed the Teacher of Righteousness, but there is possible reference in the Hodayot (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:6) that the Teacher was wounded in the attack, “for all the violence done to me [ ... ] for the wound of the blow inflicted on me.” The bloody character of the Teacher’s persecution is well attested in 1QpHab 12:1-6, “Owing to the human blood and the violence (done to) the country, the city and all who dwell there.” The *peshar* concerns the Wicked Priest, who will pay for what he did to the poor because “Lebanon is the Council of the Community, and the animals are the simple folk of Judah, those who observe the Law. God will sentence him (the “Wicked Priest”) to destruction, exactly as he intended to destroy the poor.” Furthermore, the passage in 1QpHab 12:7, describes that while the “Wicked Priest” resided in Jerusalem, he “performed repulsive acts and defiled the Sanctuary of God. The violence (done to) the country are the cities of Judah which he plundered of the possessions of the poor.”<sup>87</sup> Notably, there are multiple references to the term “the poor” in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Among these texts, the Community referred to themselves by various titles. They called themselves “the Poor One/Ones,” “the Poor,” “the Sons of Aaron,” “the Sons of Light,” “the Many,” and “the Sons of Zadok.”<sup>88</sup>

Finally, in 1QpHab 9:4-5, reference is made to the “last priests of Jerusalem” who accumulated riches and loot from plundering the nations. The pesharist draws on the biblical text (Hab 2:9) to describe the attack against the Teacher of Righteousness and the members of his council by the Wicked Priest. For his wickedness, God delivered the Wicked Priest into the hands of his enemies (the Kittim) to disgrace him with punishment, to destroy him with bitterness of the soul for having acted wickedly against

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<sup>87</sup> Brownlee, *Midrash Peshar of Habakkuk*, 187-189.

<sup>88</sup> Charlesworth, *The Pesharim*, 73.

his elect (1QpHab 9:9-11). Ultimately, the Wicked Priest was punished by “the horrors of terrifying maladies they have acted upon him, as well as vengeful acts on his fleshy body(1QpHab 9:12).” It becomes abundantly clear that the events described in the texts just surveyed occurred in reaction to the internal priestly turmoil that was associated with Hellenistic reform, the Maccabean Revolt, and the rise of the Hasmonean dynasty and high priesthood.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*,” 83-90; 235.

### III. HEARING THE VOICE OF THE TEACHER IN THE HODAYOT

In Hodayot the texts designated “Teacher Hymns” by many scholars are found in columns 10-17. They begin with the incipit “I thank you, O Lord.” These hymns seem to be the product of a single author and depict a divinely inspired individual giving thanks to God for having survived persecution by vicious adversaries. This figure is usually identified as the Teacher of Righteousness, the founder and leading authoritative figure for the Qumran Community.<sup>90</sup> In this section of my thesis I want to work through the individual hymns with a focus on the particular language that appears to parallel what we have surveyed in the previous section regarding the Teacher of Righteousness in the Damascus Document and the *pesharim*.

In Herman Gunkel’s *magnum opus* on *Psalms*, he points out that “in every other worldly and religious poetry, the “I” is always the poet with very few exceptions.” He argues that the gravest mistake that psalm research could have made was to completely misunderstand these lively individual poetry and classify them as complaint songs of the “community.” He presents evidence from Jeremiah’s complaint (or lament songs), which are very similar to the complaint songs of the psalter, the “I” is Jeremiah, i.e., an individual. The book of Job contains Job’s complaints, again used for individual complaint songs. Later, even persons who added superscriptions understood the “I” songs as songs based on the experience of individual persons. For this reason, it is possible to presume that the Psalms of David were the compositions of a single author.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Eileen M. Schuller and Carol A. Newsom. *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of IQH<sup>a</sup>* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 2.

<sup>91</sup> Herman Gunkel, *An Introduction to the Psalms*, 122.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Psalms scroll (11Q5Ps<sup>a</sup> 27:4-11) attributes 3,600 psalms to David (a tradition based on the analogy of the Bible's attribution of 3,000 proverbs and 1,005 songs to Solomon in 1 Kings 5:12). In the Qumran fragments, 115 biblical psalms have survived, along with the Hodayot, which contains twenty-eight psalms. Quotations of biblical books in the sectarian literature draw most heavily from prophetic book of Isaiah, followed by Deuteronomy and Psalms, in that order. The pesher on Psalm 37 (along with 1Q16, 4Q171, 4Q173) illustrates the sect's tendency to apply scripture to its own historical content, understood apocalyptically. Furthermore, in the Qumran Community, the Psalms were considered as authoritative as the books of Moses and the books of the Prophets (Frgs. 14-21(= 4Q398 14-17 I 10-11; cf. 4QMMT C1-17) because "All these (David) spoke through the (spirit of) prophecy which had been given to him from before the Most High (11Q5 27:11)." To the Community at Qumran, the hymns of the Teacher of Righteousness were just as authoritative as were the psalms of David.<sup>92</sup>

According to Knibb, the psalms in the Teacher Hymns were written in a style similar to the biblical psalms which are often heavily dependent on biblical material for their imagery, language and vocabulary. Due to the fragmentary condition of these psalms, in instances where the beginning has survived, a standard introductory formula has been used, "I thank you, O Lord." The majority of these psalms belong to the literary type known as individual thanksgiving songs, but this form has been used with a certain freedom and has often been combined, as in the case in the Bible, with elements of

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<sup>92</sup> Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*. ed. Astrid B. Beck and David Noel Freedman. Translated by D. R. Ap-Thomas, (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004), xix-xxxii. The information in this section is drawn from the Foreword by James L. Crenshaw.

lament. It is not clear whether the psalms in this collection were intended for private use or for use in liturgical services of the community, but both uses are possible. Like the biblical psalms, these psalms were capable of being used by individuals and by groups in a variety of different circumstances. Lastly, Knibb argues that “there are some psalms behind which a distinct personality does stand, and it is possible that these should be regarded as psalms composed by the Teacher of Righteousness; but for the rest the psalms must be regarded as unknown scholarship.”<sup>93</sup>

The first reference linked to the Teacher of Righteousness is found in column 10 of the Cave 1 Hodayot manuscript. There are three psalms in this work and all are identified as individual songs of thanksgiving in which the main theme is the expression of thanks to God for deliverance from suffering (cf. Ps 138:1-23; Ecclus. 51:1-12).<sup>94</sup> In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:5-7, the author thanks God for saving him “in the face of my distress ... for all the violence done to me.[...] for the wound of the blow inflicted on me.” In the following passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8-9), the speaker vividly describes his suffering as “the melting of my heart ... in the face of affliction (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:33-34).” Even though these passages are very fragmentary, it is apparent that the author was drawing on Hebrew Scripture to describe his situation (Ps 22:15): “My life ebbs away; all my bones are disjointed; my heart is like wax, melting within me.” The above passages immediately call to mind the conflict and persecution experienced by Teacher of Righteousness by the Man of the Lie and the Wicked Priest (1QpHab 1:5, 5:10, 11:4-8; 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> 4Q171 4:6-10). According to Knibb, two features stand out in this material. The first is the frequent use of traditional imagery derived from the psalms, particularly psalms of lament. The second is the use of

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<sup>93</sup> Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 157-158.

<sup>94</sup> Patrick W. Skehan, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, (New York: Doubleday, 1987), 561-567.



terms for the opponents and followers that are sectarian in character and can be found in parallels in the biblical commentaries and other Qumran writings. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:7b-8a, the author acknowledges the support given to him by God in his distress, “You give a reply of the tongue to my uncircumcised lips (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10: 20).” The metaphor of uncircumcised lips only occurs twice in the Bible (Ex 6:12, 30) where it references Moses’ call. In both passages, Moses complains that he lacks the qualification to be God’s messenger. The “proper reply of the tongue” was God’s provision for his impediment. In the next block of passages (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:8b-19), the speaker describes, in a series of contrasting statements, the effect of his work and teaching on his opponents and his followers. In the first, the speaker claims “I became a snare for offenders, but healing (redemption) to all who repent of transgression (Isa 59:20, CD A 2:5; CD B 20:17b), a discernment for the simple (the members of the Community), and a resolute purpose for the timorous at heart (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10-11a).” In the next passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11-12a), the speaker claims, “You have made me an object of reproach and derision to the treacherous (the traitors), (but) a foundation of truth and understanding to those whose way is upright (the Community).” In this passage, the phrase “an object of reproach and derision” is considered a psalm of lament and has roots in Ps 44:14:15, “you make us the butt of our neighbors, the scorn and derision of those around us. You make us a byword among nations, a laughingstock among the peoples.” In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:12b-13, the speaker states, “Because of the sins of the wicked, I have become a slander on the lips of the ruthless (opponents); the scornful gnash (of their) teeth...and a mocking song for transgressors.” The terms, “slander on the lips of the ruthless,” “scornful gnash of their teeth (e.g., Ps 37:12)” and “a mocking song for transgressors” are identified as psalms of lament. In the

next passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:14), “Against me the assembly of the wicked rages” is a reference to a particular group who are opponents of the psalmist. It is this group who “roar like stormy sea when the waves crash, heaving up slime and mud.” Here the speaker draws on water imagery from Isa 57:20, “But the wicked are like the troubled sea which cannot rest, whose waters toss up mire and mud. There is no safety For the wicked.” In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:15-17, the speaker claims that God has made him “a banner for the elect of righteousness and an expert interpreter of wonderful mysteries in order to test the men of truth and to try those who love moral discipline. And I have become an adversary to erring interpreters, and a contender for all who see what is right.” Here, the speaker has become a rallying point for the members of his community, “the elect of righteousness.” This term has been used several times to describe members of the Community (cf. 1QpH 5:4, 9:12a; Hab 2:9-11; 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> 2:5a). In this same passage, the speaker claims to be “an expert interpreter of wonderful mysteries” which indicates a mediatory role (cf. Chron 32:31; Job 33:23). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:15, the term itself is often used in sectarian literature to denote special knowledge, in which “wonderful mysteries” are the secrets that are contained within scripture. In the Habakkuk Pesher (1QpHab 2:7-9, 7:4-5), the Teacher of Righteousness is the one “whom God has made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants, the prophets.”<sup>95</sup>

In Matthew Collins’ translation of “interpreter of wonderful mysteries,” he describes the term “a mediator of knowledge” as a more suitable rendering of the title. In this capacity, the speaker is set in clear opposition to “erring interpreters.” Such conflicting mediatory roles are instantly reminiscent of the two conflicting types of

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<sup>95</sup> Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 165-167.

teaching in the Damascus Document between “the Teacher of the Community” (“a teacher of righteousness”) and “the Man of Scoffing/the Lie” (“a spouter of a lie”). The description of those tried by “a mediator of knowledge” as “those who love instruction (1QH<sup>a</sup> 16)” draws on Prov. 12:1, which states that “whoever loves discipline loves knowledge.” Terms such as “mediator,” “knowledge” and “instruction,” all imply a context of teaching behind the passage. Thus, the speaker, as a “mediator of knowledge,” performs a didactic (prophetic?) role among those who are characterized by truth (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:16), “instruction” and “righteousness” while “erring interpreters” are identified as “mediators of error” or false teachers.<sup>96</sup>

In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:15b-16a, one of the main functions assigned to the Mediator of Knowledge was to “test the men of truth and to try those who love instruction.” In the Damascus Document (CD A 15:8-9, 13:6-12), a direct parallel exists which explicitly states that the speaker’s main task was to examine the members of the Community with regard to their understanding of the true meaning of the text. In CD A 13:11-12, “Everyone who joins the congregation, he should examine, concerning his actions, his intelligence, his strength, his courage and his wealth; and they shall inscribe him in his place according to his inheritance in the lot of light.” In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12: 24-26, the speaker refers to the members of the Community “who have been examined by me, who have gathered together for your covenant.” It is those who walk in the way of your heart who listen to me.” In this passage, the term “the way of your heart” reflects the unique teachings of the Teacher of Righteousness who joined a group that had been groping for a path for over twenty years (CD A 1:9). In the next passage, the speaker claims that “I

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<sup>96</sup> Matthew Collins, *Shifting Perspectives*, 88-89.

have become a zealous spirit to all who seek smooth things (1QH<sup>a</sup> 17b).” The epithet “all who seek smooth things” (*dwrshy hlqwt*) has roots in Isaiah 30:10, in which Judah, a rebellious and faithless people, has told its seers not to prophecy what is right but rather to “speak to us smooth things (*hahaqot*); prophecy illusions.” For the Community, the epithet signified false interpreters of scripture. They claimed to be looking for the true meaning, but they were frauds, intent on finding the easy way out rather than the rough but genuine path. This group is also identified as “Ephraim” (=Seekers =Pharisees).<sup>97</sup>

In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:17b-19, the speaker draws on water imagery once more “the deceitful ones roar against me like the sound of the roaring of mighty waters. Here, the speaker is drawing on mythological references that allude to the cosmic waters of creation, “all your breakers and billows have swept over me (Ps 42:8).” Another possible reference is the thanksgiving song of Jonah 2:4, “You cast me into the depths, Into the heart of the sea, The floods engulfed me; All your breakers and billows Swept over me.” In the next passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:18), the speaker states that “devilish schemes are all their thoughts, and they cast into the pit the life of the man in whose mouth you established instruction.” In this passage, the actual expression in this passage “they cast into the pit” (i.e., Sheol) does not occur in the Psalms, but the thought that the man in distress already belongs in the realm of death is commonplace (e.g., Ps 86:13, 88:3-6). Of note, both passages are identified as psalms of lament.<sup>98</sup> Gunkel writes that by using these types of songs, the speaker is experiencing life-threatening situations, such as “distress,” “danger,” and “fear” which is often characteristic in most songs of complaint. In these texts, the term “Sheol”

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<sup>97</sup> Albert I. Baumgarten, “Seekers After Smooth Things,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Lawrence Schiffman and James Vanderkam, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 857-859.

<sup>98</sup> Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 167.

is usually avoided and suggestive images are used instead: the grave, the pit, the cistern. Even these references are infrequent. They are encountered more frequently in the materially related genre of the individual thanksgiving songs.<sup>99</sup>

From the last passage, evidence from the hymns indicates a physical attack. The speaker describes himself as “a source of knowledge for all who are able to understand.” Here the speaker presents himself as a teacher. In the last passage in this hymn (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:20), the speaker claims “they have exchanged them (his teachings/God’s teachings?) by means of uncircumcised lips (this same image occurs in line 7) and an alien tongue (Isa 28:11) into a people without understanding.” The terms “uncircumcised lips” and an “alien tongue” are both images for the false teachings of the speaker’s opponents. It is this group who have rejected the Teacher’s instruction.<sup>100</sup>

In the second psalm, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:22-33, the speaker thanks God for deliverance from attack by enemies. The character of this psalm bears striking similarities to the previous hymn: it is an individual song of thanksgiving and its literary form is similar to that of an individual lament. The composition begins by describing the deliverance of the speaker from a grave situation. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10: 22-23, the speaker thanks God for placing “my soul in the bundle of the living.” This expression is cited in 1 Sam 25:29 and expresses confidence in the Lord’s care and protection in a life-threatening situation, “And if anyone sets out to pursue you and seek your life, the life of my lord (David) will be bound up in the bundle of life in the care of the Lord.” Angela Kim Harkins writes that in this particular passage, the arousal of fear appears in the form of references to the Pit, the experience of entrapment, and also references to war and weaponry. The expression

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<sup>99</sup> Gunkel, *Introduction to the Psalms*, 130-131.

<sup>100</sup> Knibb, *The Qumran Community* 168.

“bundled with the living” bears a positive connotation, but sensation of being “tied up,” as it appears in the remainder of this composition, is extremely negative. The threatening imagery of physical entrapment with “snares of the pit” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:23); “net” (10:31); “traps” (10:31); and “they spread a net out for me” (10:31); and “they hid snares for my soul.” (10:31).<sup>101</sup> The danger that the speaker faces is the threat of physical harm by “ruthless men who have sought my life.” The speaker identified this group as “a council of deception and a congregation of Belial.” The reason they attempted to kill him was because “they do not know that my station comes from you (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:24).”

In the next passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:27), “And I myself said” is used in psalms of thanksgiving and lament to introduce the narrative section of a text. In this passage, the speaker uses the first-person singular. And I myself said, “Warriors have encamped against me; they have surrounded (me) with all their weapons of war. Arrows for which there is no cure destroy, and the blade of the spear is like fire that devours trees (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:27-28).” Gunkel describes how pictorial representations such as this are common in complaint songs that speak of the protagonist’s opponents. He writes that the enemy is usually described as an attacking *enemy troop*. The one complaining sees himself surrounded by an enemy army, while arrows are shot at him, enemies run against him as they would a sinking wall and an overthrown wall. Correspondingly, the *sword* in the enemy’s hand is often mentioned, or their *bows and arrows*.<sup>102</sup> In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:29-30a, the speaker continues to be attacked by his enemies, but this time he is overwhelmed by the forces of destructive waters, “Like the mighty roar of waters (*mayim rabbim*) is the

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<sup>101</sup> Harkins, Angela Kim, “Reading with an ‘I’ to the Heavens,” (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2018), 139-140.

<sup>102</sup> Gunkel, *Introduction to the Psalms*, 141.

tumult of their shout, a cloudburst and tempest to destroy a multitude. When their waves mount up, deception and vanity burst forth toward the constellations.” Water as a representation of the forces of chaos has a long history in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Ps 93, 107, 29, as well as the creation and flood stories in Genesis). Furthermore, Psalm 69 contains a passage in which an individual complains that he is drowning from the hatred of his enemies, “Deliver me, O God, for the waters have reached my neck; I am sinking into the slimy deep and find no foothold; I have come into the watery depths; and flood sweeps me away.” Bonnie Kittel writes that “in these two bicola (i.e., a pair of adjoining lines of poetry in which the second echoes the first), the perennial theme of the Hodayot (and indeed of all Qumran sectarian documents) is introduced: the war between the wicked and the righteous, and the corresponding battle between life and death.”<sup>103</sup> With the double battle theme introduced (death against life, the wicked against the righteous), the author develops a strong contrast in the body of the poem. The enemy, the wicked, are consistently identified as “they.” Rhythmically and structurally the body of the poem falls into equal halves, the first focusing on the enemy (“they”), and the second on the author (“I”).

In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:30, the speaker uses water imagery once more, “my heart melted like water” (this same image occurs in line 8) to describe the fear he experienced at the hands of his opponents. But this time it is the speaker who is triumphant over his enemies and it is “they” who are caught in “the net they spread against me” and the “snares they hid for my life.” In the concluding passage, the speaker vows, “my feet stand upon level ground;

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<sup>103</sup> Bonnie Pedrotti Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary*, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1975, Graduate Theological Union, Adviser: Victor R. Gold, Copyright © 1981 (Ann Arbor: Edward Brothers, Inc., 1981), 36-37.

far away from their assembly I will bless your name.” This quote draws on Ps 26:12, “My feet are on level ground. In assemblies I will bless the Lord.” In this passage, the speaker makes it clear that he is now “far away from their assembly,” i.e., the assembly of his enemies in the Jerusalem Temple; and “your name, El Elyon (1QH<sup>a</sup> 14:36b)” has been substituted for Yahweh (the Lord) out of reverential desire to avoid pronouncing or even writing the divine name.”<sup>104</sup>

In the third hymn (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10: 33-41), this individual song of thanksgiving psalm reveals similarities with both of the preceding psalms. It is a thanksgiving of an individual whose life has been threatened by two groups of enemies. The speaker thanks God for saving him “from the jealousy of the lying interpreters” (synonymous with “the erring interpreters” in line 16b) and from the congregation of those who seek smooth things (i.e., Pharisees)” who sought to destroy the poor one by pouring out his blood because of his service to you (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:34-35).” The term “the poor one” is the speaker himself. In the pesharim “the poor” is a sectarian term that was used exclusively by the speaker and his community (e.g., 1QpHab 12:3, 6a,10a;1QM 12:9,13; 13:14). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10: 36-37, the speaker once again uses this term to describe how “You. O my God have saved the life of the poor and needy one. In this passage, the terms “poor and needy” are used in Ps 82:3 to designate the “destitute and downtrodden.” In the Teacher Hymns, this term occurs in 1QH 2:32; 3:25; 5:16, 18, 22. In nearly every case the term is always in the singular, where it refers to the speaker. In the Habakkuk Peshar (1QpHab 12:3,6,10) the term is plural and describes the victims of the Wicked Priest.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 170, 134.

<sup>105</sup> Philip R. Davies, Philip R., *Behind the Essenes*, 102-103.



The second psalm in the Hodayot that references the Teacher of Righteousness is contained in Column 11. There are two psalms in this work (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:1-19; 20-41) and like the previous psalms in column 10, they are identified as individual songs of thanksgiving based on the incipit, “I thank you, O my Lord.” These psalms are also considered psalms of lament based on the unique character of the hymns. One of the most vivid and striking passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls is found 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:1-19. This psalm is an extremely difficult text, not because of poor transmission but simply because its poetics make extraordinary demands on the reader. One line of interpretation sees it as an account of the birth of a messianic figure. Knibb suggests that the thought of distress accompanying childbirth leads the speaker to describe the birth of a particular individual, the messiah, and the distress that was expected to accompany his appearance, the so-called birth pangs of the messiah (lines 8b-12a). By this means the speaker is able to link his own sufferings to those that would inaugurate the new age.<sup>106</sup>

In the following passage, the author of this hodayah is experiencing a personal crisis and introduces three Birth Metaphors to describe his distress, namely a ship struggling on the depths of the sea, a city fortified before the enemy, and a woman giving birth to her firstborn. The sequence of these images suggest that the common element is one of imminent danger from forces over which one has no control. The beginning of Column 11 (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:4-5) is very fragmentary and only one phrase remains “You, O my God, have made my face shine for your covenant. [...]. [ ...]h for yourself in eternal glory with all [...].” This passage alludes to Exodus 34:30, where the Bible recounts Moses’ descent from Mount Sinai. Like Moses, the speaker is alluding that he has

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<sup>106</sup> Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 174.

received a covenant, and so like Moses his face shone, but since the beginning of the text is so fragmentary, the full scope of this passage is uncertain. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:8b-9a, the author states “I was in distress like a woman giving birth to her firstborn, when her pains have come upon her and sharp pains are upon her womb opening, causing spasms in the crucible of the pregnant woman.” The phrase “like a woman giving birth” and the term “her firstborn” are markers to Jer 13:21 and 4:31 respectively. Both biblical passages occur in the context of judgement against a sinful Jerusalem and describe the anguish and even death that she faces (Jer 6:24: Pain seizes us, Agony like a woman in childbirth). In the next passage, the situation is even more grim, for “pangs and painful labor have come upon her womb opening” which is an allusion to 1 Sam 4:19-20, where Eli’s daughter-in-law dies giving birth after she hears about the capture of the Ark and the deaths of her husband and father-in-law in battle. In this passage, the “womb opening” represents one word in the Hebrew, the plural of *mashber* (e.g., in 2 Kings 19:3); but it can also be understood as the plural of *mishbar* which means “breakers” (e.g., Sam 22:5). A similar ambiguity is exploited in the phrase “labor pains” where the term for womb is not the ordinary one but the expression where *hebel* “labor pains” is brought together with *hebel* (“bonds”). Even the term for womb is not the ordinary one but the expression “crucible,” which is employed in constructions that pun on “firstborn.”<sup>107</sup> Another example of this doubling is found in the passage where there are two mothers who give birth to two different male children, one who is seen in a positive light and one who is considered to be negative. In the first reference (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:9c-10a), “and she who is pregnant with a manchild is convulsed by her labor pains. For in the “breakers of death” she delivers a

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<sup>107</sup> Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), 246,

male, and in the “cords of Sheol” there burst forth a wonderful counselor with his might (cf. Ps 18:1-19).” In this passage, the author uses this metaphor of childbirth in a positive way by announcing that “all wombs will hasten” with the birth of this figure. The phrase, “a wonderful counsellor with his might” alludes to Isa 9:6, “For a child is born to us, A son has been given us. And authority has settled on his shoulders. He has been named “The Mighty God is planning grace.” “The Mighty God...ruler” is identified as the throne name of the royal child. Later readers (both Jewish and Christian) understood this passage to describe an ideal future Davidic ruler, i.e., the Messiah.<sup>108</sup> In contrast with the “mother of a boy” who gives birth to “a wonderful counselor,” we now encounter the “mother of vanity.” Vanity could also be translated as “snake/viper” or “nothingness.” The conjunction of pregnancy and viper is most likely to call to mind Isa. 59:4-5 which also combines the metaphors of childbirth and viper in a graphic description of the wickedness of God’s people. In this passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:13b), “she who is pregnant with venomous vanity (will be subject) to painful labor, and the womb opening of the pit to all the works of terror.”<sup>109</sup>

In the next block of material (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:13b-19), the metaphors of the city and the sea come to the forefront. In this passage, “the foundations of the wall groan like a ship upon the surface of the waters and the clouds thunder with tumultuous noise.” This passage echoes Jer 10:13, “When he makes his voice heard, There is a rumbling of water in the sky (cf., 51:15).” The keywords tumult, sound/voice and waters in various combinations feature prominently in this section of this psalm. Although God is not

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<sup>108</sup> See, *The Jewish Study Bible*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Jewish Publication Society Tanakh Translation, ed. Adele Berlin and Marc Zvi Brettler, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, 2004), 784

<sup>109</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 194-195.

mentioned by name the allusion makes it clear that the psalm uses the imagery of a theophany, including the trembling of foundations (cf. Ps 18:7), a consuming fire (cf. Ps 18:8, and the voice of God thundering from heaven (cf. 18:13) to describe God's deliverance of the speaker.<sup>110</sup>

In the following passages (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:14b-17a), "The dwellers in the dust are like those who go down to the sea, terrified by the roar of waters. Here the "dust dwellers" seems to be a reference to the same group of people who live in a fortified city (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:7a). This term might simply encompass all human beings of the earth, those who live on dry land and those who sail the seas. In the next passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:14b), "And their sages are for them like sailors on the deeps, for all their wisdom is reduced to confusion by the tumult of the sea." This text specifies the depth of the crisis by lifting up a small group of people (the wise) who are also affected by it. But the crisis is universal and not even the wise, who have been excluded from judgement because of their wisdom and correct behavior, will be spared. The noun "sailor" in this passage is a rare term in the Hebrew Bible and in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but it does appear in the personal crisis of Jon 2:4. "you cast me into the depths, into the heart of the sea. All your breakers and billows Swept over me." In the next passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 14c-15a), "For swallowed up is all their wisdom in the roaring of the seas." This passage seems to be an allusion to Ps 107: 25, "By his word he raised a storm wind that made the waves surge. Mounting up to the heaven, plunging down to the depths, disgorging in their misery, they reeled and staggered like a drunken man, all their skill to no avail." In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:15b-16a: "When the tehomot (primeval or subterranean waters, floods, the deep, and the sea in general)

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<sup>110</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 204.

boil over the sources of the waters, the waves and the breakers of the waters surge up on high with their noisy roar.” The fact that this term was used by the author implies that it does not refer to simple ocean water, but to the deep and terrifying, flood like water that reminds the reader of the primeval ocean during the time of creation. In the last passage in this psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:17b-18b): “And as they surge, Sheol and Abaddon open up and all the arrows of the pit together with their retinue.”<sup>111</sup> This passage refers to the release of the forces of evil from Sheol. Sheol and Abaddon (cf. Job 26:6; Prov 15:11) will open, and “all the arrows of the pit will send out their sound (hissing sound of the arrows) to the deep.” These words symbolize demonic forces; cf. Ps 91:5 and line 27 below. In the last passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:18), the psalm ends with an expression of confidence: the forces of evil will be shut up once more in Sheol and the doors of the pit will shut on her that is pregnant with injustice, and the bars of eternity on all the spirits of the viper.<sup>112</sup>

The second hymn in Column 11(1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:20-41) is described as an individual song of thanksgiving and displays the two distinctive features that are characteristic of the Teacher Hymns—the incipit, I thank you, Lord and the speaker’s account of his deliverance from distress. In the first passage, the “I” speaker thanks God for delivering him from the pit and Sheol-Abaddon. In the Hebrew Bible the individual who is sick, or otherwise in distress, is already thought of as being in Sheol, the realm of death (cf., Ps 30:3, 86:13), so here the “from the pit” and “from Sheol-Abaddon” are used as metaphorical expressions for distress. In the next passage, the speaker describes his personal experience of being raised up from a lowly state, “you have raised me to an

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<sup>111</sup> Claudia Bergman, *Childbirth as Metaphor for Crisis: Evidence from Ancient Near East, the Hebrew Bible, and 1QH XI, 1-18*, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 208), 191-208.

<sup>112</sup> Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 177.

eternal height” or heavenly realm. In the following passages (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:20-25), the speaker expresses his gratitude to God:

I thank you, Lord, that you have redeemed my life from the pit and that from Sheol-Abaddon. You have raised me up to an eternal height, so that I might walk about on a limitless plain, and know that there is hope (cf. Ezra 10:2, with repentance) for him whom you created from the dust for the eternal council. The perverse spirit You have cleansed from great transgression, that he might take his place with the host of the holy ones, and enter together (or in the *yahad*) with congregation of the sons of heaven. And you cast for a person an eternal lot with the spirits of knowledge, that he may praise your name in a coming rejoicing and recount your wonderful acts before all your works.”

Similarly, the speaker praises God for purifying him from sin “that he might be united with the children of your truth and in the lot with your holy ones,” that he might be raised up from the dust to the council of [your] t[ruth] ... so that he may take (his) place before you with the everlasting host and the [eternal] spirit[s](1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:14-16).” David Larsen writes that the parallel collection from Cave 4 contains many similar expressions. 4QHodayot<sup>a</sup> 7 ii, 8-9 reads, “God lifts up the poor from the dust to [the eternal height,] and to the clouds he magnifies him in stature, and (he is) with the heavenly beings in the assembly of the Community.” The repeated suggestion that the individual has been lifted “from the dust” draws on the creation of Adam in Genesis 2:7, where the first man is formed from the dust of the ground and is subsequently placed in the Garden of Eden. It is only after he is formed from the lowly dust is he elevated to a higher, more glorious state when God places him in the garden.<sup>113</sup>

In her study of the Hodayot, Julie Hughes describes how terms such as “eternal council,” “army of holy ones, congregation of the sons of heaven,” and “spirits of knowledge” evoke descriptions of the heavenly court found in the Psalter (Ps 89:5-7 [6-

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<sup>113</sup> David J. Larsen, “Angels Among Us: The Use of Old Testament Passages as Inspiration for Temple Themes in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Studies in the Bible and Antiquity* 5 (2013): 91-110.

8]; cf. Ps 29:1, 82:1, 6), “Let the heavens praise your wonders, O Lord, your faithfulness in the assembly of the holy ones. For who in the skies can be compared to the Lord, a God feared in the council of the holy ones, great and awesome above all that are around him? She lists various terms to describe the beings of heaven.” The term “sons of heaven” is probably parallel for “the sons of God.” In Psalms 89 this appears to be synonymous with “the congregation/assembly of the holy ones.” “Holy ones” appears in 1 Enoch as a term for heavenly beings. The term “spirit” is used in Kgs 22:22 (2 Chr 18:20) to describe a member of the “army of heaven” surrounding the throne of God. In 1 Enoch 14 it is used for heavenly beings as opposed to humans who are “flesh.” Hence, the “spirits of knowledge” are probably understood in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:23-24 as heavenly beings. However, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11: 22 it is clearly a human spirit who is meant.<sup>114</sup>

In the next passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:24b-26a), the speaker no longer stands with the holy ones in heaven but now finds himself stationed in a wicked realm with the vile by lot. Here, the speaker describes himself as “a vessel of clay, What am I? A thing kneaded with water. What strength do I possess? The speaker draws on two biblical allusions, the creation of humanity from the dust of the earth, based upon the language found in Gen 2:7-8, 3:19, and the portrayal of humanity as a vessel formed from clay by God as a potter, which is based on the language of Isa 29:16, 45:9 and Jer 18:4, 6. Wally Cirafesi describes “the Hodayot’s use of terminology such as “formed/taken from dust” and “a thing formed from clay” has often been discussed within the context of *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie*, a form-critical designation first used by Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn to describe passages in which the speaker confesses or complains about the lowliness of his

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<sup>114</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 213-214, 221.

human condition.”<sup>115</sup> John Strugnell suggested that this might be best expressed in English as “worm’s praise” since the lowly human being is often rhetorically compared to a worm.<sup>116</sup> With the language of self-loathing that is familiar from the other *hodayah*, Newsom states that the speaker characterizes himself in terms of earthly elements, clay and water, and being weak and without esteem.” Consequently, by using language of self-loathing, the author creates a vertiginous experience that might well be described as the cultivation of the “masochistic sublime.” In the following list, Newsom identifies six passages that employ a developed image of a human as a piece of pottery, mixed with clay or dust and water or spittle (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:32, 9:23, 11:25, 18:5-6, 20:28, 23:28, cf. 21:12). In addition, there is one instance in which a human pottery piece is described in a broken context (cf., 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:10, “a broken pot.”)<sup>117</sup>

In the next group of passages (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:26b-29), the speaker identifies himself by his sectarian designation “the poor one.” He is no longer situated in the heavenly realm with the congregation of the children of heaven, but is now stationed in “a wicked realm (outside his community) with the vile by lot” where “disastrous calamities dog my steps.” The speaker draws on Mal 1:4 and Ps 10:1 respectively. Both scriptural passages are about the wicked. In Mal 1:4 “the region of wickedness” is a unique expression referring to Edom, Israel’s archenemy. The writer of this psalm uses a “when ... then” list

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<sup>115</sup> Wally Vincente Cirafesi, “Taken from Dust, Formed from Clay”: Compound Allusions and Scriptural Exegesis in 1QHodayot<sup>a</sup> 11:20-37; 20:27-39 and Ben Sira 33:7-15,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 24 (2017) 1-31. Cirafesi states that the phrase “a thing of clay” occurs eleven times throughout the *Hodayot*, nine of which are found in the Community Hymns (1QH<sup>a</sup> 3:29, 9:23, 12:30, 20:29, 20:35, 21:38, 22:12, 23:13, 23:28, 25:3). The last two occurrences in 9:23 and 12:30 are usually considered to be among the Teacher Hymns.

<sup>116</sup> Sarah J. Tanzer, “Biblical Interpretation in the *Hodayot*,” *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*, (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2012), 263. In footnote 42, she defines the term per John Strugnell for *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie*.

<sup>117</sup> Newsom, *The Spirit Within Me*, 150.



structure to describe the eschatological imagery: when all the snares of the pit are open; when all the nets of wickedness are spread; when the seine (fishing net) of the vile ones is upon the waters; when all the arrows of the pit fly without cease and are shot, leaving no hope; when the line is cast for judgement, and the lot of anger is upon the forsaken, and the outpouring of fury upon the hypocrites, and the time of wrath comes upon all devilishness, and the cords of death encompass, leaving no escape.” In the second half of the poem, the speaker has disappeared from view and the material is in the form of a narrative. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:27-37, the speaker begins by describing the catastrophic destruction of the land with an apocalyptic fervor. In the time of God’s wrath:

The torrents of Belial (a symbol of the forces of evil) pour over all the steep banks in a devouring fire on all their vegetation, destroying every tree, green and dry, from their channels. And it sweeps on with the flaming fire until there is nothing left that drinks from them. It eats away the foundations of clay and at the expanse of the dry land. The bases of the mountains become an inferno, and the flinty roots become torrents of pitch. It consumes as far as the great deep. And the torrents of Belial break through to Abaddon (cf., Job 31:12), and the structures of the deep roar at the noise of those cast up mire. And the land cries out on account of the destruction that has come upon the world, and all its structures scream, and all who are upon it goes mad and shake to pieces in the great destruction.

In the final climactic passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:35b), a theophany is expressed in the standard imageries of storm and earthquake, “For God thunders with his powerful roar, and his holy dwelling resounds with his glorious truth.” This passage draws on Ps 18:14 (cf., 29:3), “Then the Lord God thundered from heaven, the Most High gave forth his voice.” In the following passages (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:36-37), “The host of heaven (the heavenly warriors) raise their voice, and the eternal foundations (i.e., of the earth) shake and tremble. The war of the champions of heaven sweeps through the world and does not turn

back until full consummation (c.f., Isa 10:23; 28:22; Dan 9:27). It is determined forever; and there is nothing like it (cf. Joel 2:2 cf. Exod 11:6).”<sup>118</sup>

In the next column the Teacher Hymns (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:1-41), this unusually long composition is described as one of the most complex in the Hodayot. Like the other thanksgiving psalms in the Teacher Hymn’s collection, this composition also begins with the incipit, “I thank you, Lord,” but unlike the previous psalms where the speaker thanks God for strength and support from his enemies; this psalm thanks God for illumination. The phrase that follows, “I thank you, Lord, that you have illumined my face for your covenant” is a typological allusion to the glowing of Moses face after he received the Torah from God on Mount Sinai (Ex 34:29-35). In the Hodayot, the illumined face also reflects influence from prophetic literature. The use of illumination also recalls the glorious fate of the righteous mentioned in Daniel 12:3 who are resurrected and transfigured at the end of days: “And the knowledgeable (*maskilim*) will be radiant like the bright expanse of sky, and those who lead the many to righteousness will be like the stars forever and ever.” The only other place in the Hebrew Bible where light and covenant are linked is Isa 42:6 (cf. 49:6), “I created you, and appointed you a covenant people, a light of nations.” In the next passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:7, c.f., 12:24), the speaker proclaims, “I seek you, and as sure as dawn, you appear to me as early light.” The phrase “as sure as dawn” is a marker to Hos 6:3, “Let us pursue obedience to the Lord, And we shall become obedient. His appearance is as sure as dawn, and He will come to us like rain.” The verb “to rain” translated as to rain can also mean “to teach.” Hughes claims that a veiled allusion to the Teacher of Righteousness may be implied by the scriptural

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<sup>118</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 216-220.

allusion to Hosea.<sup>119</sup> Thus, the theme of this psalm is declared to the interpretation of Torah, or as Newsom succinctly puts it, “the issue of truth.”<sup>120</sup>

In the following passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:7b-10a), the speaker describes how the people have been misled by fraudulent mediators, so that they will stumble without understanding. “For their works are folly.” This passage is a marker to Hos 4:14, where the Lord holds the priests and prophets responsible for the people’s lack of knowledge concerning the Law. This theme of knowledge or lack of it continues throughout the composition. In the following passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:9-10a), the speaker describes the rejection of his teaching by them (“your people”), “Indeed, I am despised in their eyes and they did not esteem me when you exercised your might through me. For he has banished me from my land like a bird from its nest.” In this passage, Collins remarks that a clear allusion to the Servant Songs of Isa 53:3 occurs where the speaker complains that “they do not esteem me,” using the same verb that is used with reference to the Servant in the Isaianic passage, “despised, and we did not esteem him.” This allusion is repeated in 1QH 12:23 and again in 12:28b, “Through me you illuminated the faces of many,” which may also be taken as an allusion to Isa 53:11, which says that the Servant will make many righteous.<sup>121</sup> In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:9, the speaker “for they drive me away from my

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<sup>119</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 105-107. Of note I will closely follow Julie Hughes critical analysis of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:1-41 throughout this composition (column 12). In her methodology, she points out that most of the compositions in the Hodayot accept that humanity is divided into two distinct groups and this psalm exhibits the Community’s sectarian dualism more clearly than most. By using independent pronouns (I, they and you (referring to God), the body of the psalm naturally falls into two parts each with an introductory section: The first uses the independent pronoun “they” (referring to the speaker’s enemies) while the second features the first-person “I” of the speaker.

<sup>120</sup> Newsom, *The Spirit within Me*, 318.

<sup>121</sup> John J. Collins, “Teacher and Servant,” in *Revue d’histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, 80:1, (2000): 37-50;. In the Teacher Hymns (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:5-17:36), the speaker alludes to specific passages in the Servant Songs. These Songs are usually identified as Isa 42:1-4; 49:1-7; 50:4-9; and 52:13-53:12 in modern scholarship.

land like a bird from its nest.” Sukenik translated this expression as “He thrusts me out of my land like a bird from its nest.” Michael Douglas understands this as a reference to “a particular member of the author’s enemies, one who had the authority to exile the author.” He identifies this figure as the Teacher’s adversary, the Wicked Priest.<sup>122</sup> In the next passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:10), the speaker states that “All my friends and my relatives are driven away from me, and they regard me as a broken pot.” A possible reference with similar vocabulary can be found in Ps 31:11-12, “I am the particular butt of my neighbors, a horror to my friends; those who see me on the road avoid me. I am put out of my mind like the dead. I am like an object given up for lost.” In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:11, the speaker describes how his adversaries (lying interpreters and deceitful seers) of the speaker “have planned (plotted) devilry (Belial) against me to exchange your *torah* which you engraved on my heart, for smooth things for your people.” Here the term “engraved into my heart” alludes to the Shema (cf. Deut 6:4-25).

In the above passage, the word “seers” is linked to smooth things as in Isa 30:10, “Who said to the seers, “Do not see,” To the prophets, “Do not prophesy truth to us; Speak to us falsehoods, Prophecy delusions.” In the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls corpus, this term is commonly associated with the Pharisees. The speaker describes this group, as those who “withhold the drink of knowledge from the thirsty, and for their thirst they give them sour wine to drink so that they may gaze on their error, acting like madmen on their feast days, snaring themselves in their nets (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:12b-13a).” In this passage, the first section introduces the motif of drinking. This is a possible allusion to Isa 32:6, where lying leaders and their followers are contrasted with noble ones. In the second

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<sup>122</sup> Douglas, “The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited,” 101 n.14.

section, “and for their thirst they give them vinegar to drink,” is an allusion to Ps 69:22, “They give me gall to drink for food, vinegar to quench my thirst.” The phrase “drink of knowledge” is interpreted metaphorically where the positive effect of this drink is contrasted with the negative vinegar supplied by the false teachers. In the third section, the speaker draws on the Habakkuk Pesher (1QpHab 11:2-8), “Woe to anyone making his companion drunk, spilling out his anger, or even making him drunk to look at their festivals! Its interpretation concerns the Wicked Priest who pursued the Teacher of Righteousness to consume him with the heat of his anger in the place of his banishment (exile). In the festival time, during the rest of the day of Atonement, he appeared to them, to consume them and make them fall on the day of fasting, the sabbath of their rest.” In the last section “to be caught in their nets” is an allusion to the Community’s sectarian ideology of the three nets of Belial. These are identified as fornication, wealth, and the defilement of the temple (CD A 4:10-19). In the following passage (12:13-14), the speaker describes how God supports him and despises every devilish plan that the speaker’s enemies have plotted against him. In the following passages, it is “they, the hypocrites (who) concoct devilish plans and seek you with a divided heart.” The term “a divided heart” is a common expression, but in Ps 12:2 it is used to describe “smooth lips,” which is most likely another link to the “smooth things” motif. In the sectarian Community, this is yet another reference to the Pharisees. The next block of material (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:15b-18), draws on phrases from biblical scripture (Deut 29:17-20, Ezek 14:13, 4, and 7). The markers to Deuteronomy are the phrases: “a root that grows poison and wormwood;” “the stubbornness of their hearts;” and “idols” is an allusion to Ezekiel, “they place the stumbling block of their iniquity in front of their faces.” These negative

allusions refer to “lying prophets, who are themselves seduced by error,” which calls to mind the repeated references in Ezekiel’s oracle concerning the lies of false prophets (Ezek 13:1-23). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:17-18a, “ And they (the speaker’s opponent’s) with mocking lips and an alien tongue speak to your people, deceitfully ridiculing all their deeds.” This passage is an allusion to Isa 28:11, “Truly, as one who speaks to that people in a stammering jargon and an alien tongue.” Hughes suggests that this verse probably referred to God’s instrument of judgement being foreigners, but in this passage it is interpreted as the misleading teachings of the false prophets. In the next passage, the speaker accuses the lying prophets of not following the way of your (God’s) heart or listening to your (God’s) word (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:18b-19).” The phrase, “the way of your heart has origins in the Damascus Document (CD A 1:3-11), “For when they were unfaithful in forsaking him, he hid his face ... and they realized their iniquity (in the time of wrath) ... and God appraised their deeds, because they (the penitent sinners of the sect) sought him with an undivided heart, and raised up for them a Teacher of Righteousness, in order to direct them in the path of his heart.”<sup>123</sup> In the Qumran Community, the term the “way of God’s heart” also designates the Teacher of Righteousness’ own unique way of teaching. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:19b-21a, God will judge them and punish them (the adversaries of the speaker) according to their idols and the magnitude of their transgressions, so that all those who have deserted the covenant will be caught in their own machinations. God will also cut off in judgement all deceitful people, and erring seers” and they will be found no longer. In the following passage, it is “those who are in harmony with you (who) will stand before you forever, and those who walk in the way of your heart will be established

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<sup>123</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 107-113.

everlastingly.” In the next passage (12:24-25), judgement will result in a positive outcome for those who adhere to the speaker, “As long as you show your strength through me and appear to me in your strength as early light. You have not covered in shame the faces of all who have been examined by me, who have gathered together for your covenant. Those who walk in your heart listen to me, and they marshal themselves before you in the council of the holy ones.” The people affected by God’s revelation to the speaker are those who connect with the speaker in a specific way (“are sought by me” and “listen to me”) and simultaneously connect with God through adherence to his covenant and his will. Furthermore, circumstantial information depicts God as someone who shows his strength through the speaker.<sup>124</sup>

In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:28b-30, the speaker claims, “Through me you have illumined the faces of many, and you have increased them beyond number. For you have made me understand your wonderful mysteries, and in your wonderful council you have shown yourself strong to me.” In this passage, the author claims to have delivered knowledge of God’s “wonderful mysteries” to his Community, the many (*rabbim*). The fact that his audience is designated “the many” draws on Daniel 9:27 where an unidentified figure “makes a firm covenant with many.”<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Trine Bjornung Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context in the Thanksgiving Hymns: Liturgical and Rhetorical Perspectives on a Collection of Prayers from Qumran*, (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015), 194-195. Of note, the phrase, “all who have been examined by me” also appears to be a reference a specific job performed by a leading figure of the Community. The “Examiner,” (or “the Inspector of the Many”) performs multiple functions: He shall instruct the Many in the deeds of God, and...teach them his mighty marvels, and recount to them the eternal events with their explanations; He shall have pity on them like a father on his sons, and shall heal the afflicted among them like a shepherd his flock; He shall examine, concerning his actions, his intelligence, his strength, his courage and his wealth; and they shall inscribe him in his place according to his inheritance in the lot of light.” In addition, the Inspector is over all the camps and must master “every secret of men and every language (CD A 14:9-10).

<sup>125</sup> Douglas, “The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited,” 268-269.

The following passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:30-31a) begins with a group of rhetorical questions. What being of flesh is this? And what vessel of clay is able to do wonderful deeds? These questions draw attention to the lowliness of the human condition. It (exists) in iniquity from the womb, until old age in faithless guilt (1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7-22:39; 1QS:11:21-22). In the next passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:34-35a), the passage begins with a series of bodily metaphors, “But I, trembling and quaking have seized me, and all my bones shatter. My heart melts like wax before the fire, and my knees give way like water hurtling down a slope.” As cited by Gunkel, metaphors such as these signify extreme distress on the part of the speaker. The speaker’s sense of melting and his awareness of being abandoned due to his sin have been temporarily delimited to a previous time in the speaker’s life. In the next block (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:35b-41), Hasselbalch understands this section in terms of a prayer of confession and commitment. In this passage, the “I” speaker remembers “my guilty acts together with the unfaithfulness of my ancestors, when the wicked rose against your covenant and the vile against your word.” The key to the model for this prayer is given by the use of the phrase, “unfaithfulness of my ancestors (of the exiles)” in the first passage. This is not a biblical phrase, but alludes to a prayer found in Ezra 9:1-10:6. After the introduction, the speaker acknowledges that God is right, “And I said, “In my sin I have been abandoned, far from your covenant.” The use of the term “and I said” refers to a previous time for the speaker (12:34-36). Then a change occurs in 12:36-38, beginning with the phrase, “But when I remembered the strength of your hand together with your abundant compassion.” The speaker’s remembering indicates a turning point in his life, and from that moment on he adopts a completely new attitude, which is signaled by a series of material processes: he “stood strong,” “rose up,” and his



“spirit held fast,” in the mercy of God. Hasselbalch identifies several levels of truth in these passages. First, the nothingness of humankind (12:30-31) justifies the speaker’s awareness of his sin and his feeling of being abandoned. Second, the justice of God, his mercy, and creation of a spirit in man for the sake of his perfection (12: 32-34) justifies the change of attitude in the speaker.<sup>126</sup>

In Hasselbalch’s summation of column 12 (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:1-41), she describes knowledge as a recurrent element in this hymn. In the introduction, the speaker is thankful for the knowledge that he has received from God. This hymn and others in the Hodayot in general differ from many scriptural hymns that they have the speaker express gratitude for deliverance from hardship. In the Hodayot, Hasselbalch claims that “the perception of divine knowledge has replaced the experience of deliverance” and “knowledge is part of, or even identical with, salvation.” Knowledge is introduced from the very beginning of this composition because it is for God’s giving of knowledge that the speaker wishes to express his thankfulness: I thank you, Lord, for you have illumined my face for your covenant, and I seek you, as sure as dawn, you appear to me in early light.” This early light is a metaphorical expression of how God has given knowledge to the speaker. The metaphor “of light” is resumed in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:24 and 12:28 and frames the material there. In 12:8-12, there is a focus on the negative aspects of these compositions. The texts mention “deceitful interpreters” who “led them astray” (12:8), “lying interpreters” and “deceitful seers”(12:10-11), and the withholding of the “drink of knowledge from the thirsty (12:12).<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 196-198.

<sup>127</sup> Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 199-200.

Scholars generally perceive the speaker of the Teacher Hymns as one who casts himself in the role of a teacher. The speaker claims to be the recipient of revelatory knowledge, and the secret and the hidden character of this knowledge is expressed in language that brings to mind apocalyptic mediators such as Daniel and Enoch. Hasselbalch presents two passages in column 13 that reflect on the revelatory nature of the speaker: In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 13:13-14, the speaker claims, “For you, O my God, have sheltered me against mortal, and your law you have hidden in [me] until the time when you salvation is revealed to me.” In the second occurrence (1QH<sup>a</sup> 13:27-28), the speaker claims, “With the secret you have hidden in me they go about with slander to the children of destruction. But in order to show [your] gre[atness] through me, and on account of their guilt, you have hidden the spring of understanding and the foundation of truth (cf. Ps 41:9-11).<sup>128</sup>

In column 14 (1QH<sup>a</sup> 14:5-39), this psalm is very fragmentary (top and bottom) and seems to be missing the traditional thanksgiving incipit “I thank you, Lord.” The psalm begins with a declaration by the speaker, “But you, O my God, you opened my ears with instruction ... you brought me into the council of holiness [ ... ] guilt. I know there is hope for those who repent of transgression and for those who abandon sin *bh*[ ... ] and to walk in the way of your heart without iniquity.” Returning to the teacher motif in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12, the speaker refers to a group of people that follow him, proclaiming to the Lord that they have “gathered together for your covenant” and that he has “examined” them (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:24b-26a). The speaker then explains that “those who walk in the way of your heart listen to me, and they marshal themselves before you.” The individuals whom

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<sup>128</sup> Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 208.

the speaker teaches listen to him, and as a result, they are also permitted access to the heavenly realm. Here, the author was most likely drawing on Ps 89:6-9, “Your wonders, O Lord, are praised by the heavens, Your faithfulness, too, in the assembly of holy beings. For who in the skies can equal the Lord, can compare with the Lord among the divine beings.”

Similar language in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 14:11 describes how God will raise up “survivors among your people and a remnant in your inheritance” that he will refine and purify with his teaching (1QH<sup>a</sup> 14:11-14). As with the exalted individual, when they are taught to “meditate on [your] mighty acts without ceasing” this remnant may then “recite for everlasting generations your (God’s) wonderful deeds” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 14:14). The text then states that this faithful group, “all the people of your council,” have been brought by God into his “secret counsel,” and in a common lot with the angels of the presence, without a intermediary between them (1QH<sup>a</sup> 14:15-16). They will become princes in the [eternal] lo[t and] their [shoot] opens as a flower [blooms, for] everlasting fragrance, making a sprout grow into branches of an eternal planting (cf. Ezek 31:14). And it will cast shade all over the whole world, and its br[anches] will reach to the clouds and its roots as far as the deep. All the rivers of Eden [make] its [br]anches moist, and it will (extend) to the measure[less] seas, and they wrap themselves over the world without end, as far as Sheol.” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 14:17-20). In this same passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 14:20), the water is called a “spring of light” that “will become an eternal fountain, without lack.” The hymn’s tree

and water imagery occur on a global scale. This may help convey the texts' assertion on the comprehensive scope of the eschatological judgement (cf. 11:20-37).<sup>129</sup>

In the next group of passages (1QH<sup>a</sup> 14:21b-22a), the Edenic garden becomes a place in which “its bright flames all the children of iniquity will burn, and it will become a fire that burns up all the guilty until they are utterly destroyed.” The next passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 14:22b) describes the speaker’s betrayal by “those who attached themselves to my witness, (who) were persuaded by erring interpreters to bring a stranger (spy?) into the service of righteousness.” This passage seems to allude to the betrayal of the speaker by the Man of the Lie and his followers by subterfuge. The speaker used terms such as “uncircumcised,” “unclean,” and “violent,” to describe his adversaries. In response to his betrayal, the speaker again uses a Boat Metaphor to describe his distress: “I was like a sailor on a ship in raging seas. Their waves and all their breakers roared over me, a whirling wind [with no] respite to restore the soul nor a path to make a straight course upon the surface of the water. And the deep roared to the sound of my groaning and [my life] reached the gates of death (1QH<sup>a</sup> 14:25b-27a).” But in the next passage, the speaker is like one who enters into a fortified city and finds refuge behind a high wall until deliverance (comes).” In the last block of passages, the image of the speaker’s distress and deliverance culminates in a description of eschatological judgement, this time in a military idiom. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 14:32b-33a, the sword of God will come down swiftly at the time of judgement. Then, “all the children of his truth will rouse themselves to exterminate wickedness, and all the children of guilt will be no more.”

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129 Matthew Goff, “Gardens of Knowledge: Teachers in Ben Sira, 4QInstruction, and the Hodayot,” A Version of Goff’s paper was presented at a session on teachers and pedagogy in ancient Judaism organized by the Wisdom and Apocalypticism group at the 2014 Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature.

In column 15 (1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:4-41), the first few lines of this thanksgiving hymn are missing and the first incipit, I thank you, O Lord, begins on line 9; with the second on 29. The composition begins with extreme images of distress. The speaker's enemies revile him: "My arm is broken from its joint, and my foot has sunk in mud. My eyes have been sealed shut from seeing evil and my ears from hearing of bloodshed ... the foundations of my frame groan, and my bones are dislocated. My bowels are to me like a ship in a raging storm, and my heart beats wildly to the point of destruction." Unlike the first passages of this psalm, line 9 (1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:9) begins with the speaker thanking God for giving him strength in the face of distress. In this passage, the speaker declares, "I thank you, O Lord, that you have sustained me by your strength and that you have spread your holy spirit upon me, so that I am not shaken." Here, the speaker draws on Isa 42:1, "This is My servant, whom I uphold, My chosen one, in whom I delight. I have put My spirit upon him." Furthermore, there is a possible allusion in Isa 61:1, "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, Because the Lord has anointed me." In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:11, the speaker claims to be a tower of strength ... and You placed my edifice upon the cliffs and eternal foundations for my base. All my walls are a tested wall that does not sway." Here, the speaker identifies with his Community as "the tested rampart, the precious cornerstone that does not ... /whose foundations/shake or tremble from their place (1QS 8:7-8)."

In the next passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:13), the speaker claims, "And you, O my God, have given me to the weary for holy counsel. You have strengthened me in your covenant, and my tongue has become like (the tongues of) those taught by you." Here the speaker evokes Isa 50:4, the third of the so-called Servant songs: "And you, O my God, have given me to the weary for holy counsel. You have strengthened me in your covenant, and

my tongue has become like (the tongues of) those taught by you.” This phrase is also echoed in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:36, which also contains the phrase “to support the weary with a word.” Like previous teachers, the speaker is endowed with divinely instituted and God-given knowledge. Most importantly, the speaker self-identifies with the examiner, “I have held fast to your truth, and I t[ ... ] and you have made me a father to the children to the children of kindness and like a foster father to the people of good omen. They opened the mouth like a nurs[ing child ... ] and like playing of an infant in the bosom of its foster father (1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:23-25a).” Interestingly, lines 21b-22a read: “But as for me, I rely upon [your] great compassion, and upon] your [overflowing] kindness I wait, in order to bloom like a plant, and in order to make a shoot grow.” According to John Cherian:

The authority that a father had in a Jewish household is well known. The wisdom tradition is replete with the concept that a teacher is a father to his students. The teaching of wisdom is part of a parental passing on of knowledge and care. But what is perhaps more crucial to grasp here is that this image of the teacher as the nursing-father is often modeled after God. Thus, God is also a nursing father (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:29b-32a).<sup>130</sup>

In the next passage, the speaker declares “ For [you,] O my God, have given aid to my soul and have raised my horn on high, and I shine forth with sevenfold light [ ] you have established me) for *your glory*. For you are *an eternal light* to me, and you set my feet upon level [ground] (1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:26-28 cf. Isa 30:26).” In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29-34a), we find a second thanksgiving hymn, with the incipit “I thank you Lord.” The speaker declares, I thank you, O Lord, that you have instructed me in your truth, and made known to me your wondrous mysteries, and (made known) both your kindness toward a [sinful] person and your compassion for the one who heart is perverted. Indeed, who is like you among

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<sup>130</sup> John Cherian, “The Moses at Qumran: The More Sedeq as the Nursing Father of the Yahad,” *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*: ed. James H. Charlesworth, Vol. 2, (Baylor: Baylor University Press, 2006), 355-356.

the gods, O Lord? Who has truth like yours? Who can be righteous before you when he is judged? There is no utterance of the breath to offer in reply to your rebuke, and none is able to stand before your wrath. But all the children of your truth you bring before you in forgiveness to cleanse them from their transgressions and station them before you forever and ever.”

In most of the previous thanksgiving psalms, we usually find two distinctive characteristics, the incipit, I thank you, O Lord and the speaker’s account of his deliverance from distress, but in column 16 (1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:1-5-7a), instead of an account of deliverance, the speaker thanks God for placing him at a “secret spring.” According to Goff, the Hebrew term for “secret spring” is literally a spring of mystery, suggesting that it denotes not simply hiddenness but also divine revelation (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 13:28, 16:12, 17:23). The use of a garden metaphor bolsters the perspective that the knowledge conveyed by the speaker has the status of revelation<sup>131</sup> In the next passage, the speaker thanks God for placing “me by a source of streams in a dry land, (by) a spring of water in a thirsty land (cf. Isa 53:2 “for he grew up before him like a young plant and like a root out of a dry land.”), and by a watered garden ... a planting of juniper and elm with cedar all together for your glory, the trees of life at a secret spring, hidden in the midst of all trees by the water. And they were there so that a shoot might be made to sprout into an eternal planting (1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:5-7, cf. 15:21-22). In Charlesworth’s interpretation of this passage, he identifies the “trees of life” as the ones that are “hidden among all the trees of the water.” This statement clarifies that “the trees of the water” denote a large group of which “the trees of life” are only one element. It is the “trees of life” that “caused to

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<sup>131</sup> Goff, “Gardens of Knowledge,” 185.

sprout the shoot for the eternal planting,” because they “send forth their roots to the river” and are “open to the living water.” The little group of “trees of life” suffer: they are devoured, trampled upon, and bruised (1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:8-9). Moreover, “the trees of the water” are proud, exalt themselves, and magnify themselves. While “the trees of life” send forth “their root to the river,” “the trees of the water” do “not send forth a root to the river.”

Hence, the speaker’s community is represented by the metaphor “the trees of life.”

Charlesworth determines that the speaker has been placed in the Community by the Lord as a fountain in the desert. He is the irrigator of the garden, which is a symbolic way of referring to the eschatological community of which he is the founder. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:11, he is the one, who through the Lord, “causes to sprout the holy shoot for the planting of truth.” In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:11-12a), he is the one who is “concealed” without being much regarded and without being recognized, sealing up its mystery.”<sup>132</sup> Here, the garden is in plain view; its hiddenness is a result of lack of perception. The speaker uses terms such as “without being much regarded” and “without being recognized to describe himself.” These terms are common to the “servant” passage in Isa 53:1-3.<sup>133</sup>

In the next passages (1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:12b-15), the terms “fruit” and “the whirling flame of fire” are used. According to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:13, a “twirling flame of fire” prevents the people from discovering the “fountain of life” and the “eternal trees.” These images utilize language from Gen 3:24, which describes the flaming and swirling sword that guards Eden after the expulsion of Adam and Eve. This extraordinary, well-irrigated garden in which the elect is nurtured is presented as a renewal of the garden of Eden. According to Goss, the speaker makes it unambiguously clear that the garden is under his control. He

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<sup>132</sup> James H. Charlesworth, “1QH 8:4-11,” 301-302

<sup>133</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 157.



states that through his hand “you (God) opened their fount,” referring to the luxurious garden that he praises (1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:16:22). The speaker continues with his hand imagery: “if I withdraw (my) hand, it becomes like a juniper in the wilderness, ]and its rootstock like nettles in salty ground (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:25-26).” The phrases that reference the speaker’s hand indicate that the speaker regards himself as the agent of God. Instead, (In) its furrows thorn and thistle grow up into a bramble thicket and a weed patch, and [ ... ]its bank they change like rotted trees. Before the heat comes its foliage dries with rain (1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:25-26).” Without his proper maintenance, the garden would fall into ruin. It is in wonderful condition under his tutelage, but should he remove his hand, it would change very quickly. By using Edenic imagery, the authority of the teacher figure within the garden is emphasized.<sup>134</sup>

In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:17, the speaker thanks God for putting in my mouth (words) like early rain for all [ .. ] and a spring of living water that does not fail. When the heavens open they do not cease but become a flowing river o[ver all the trees of the waters.” The instruction of the speaker is seen as life giving water. This is a common wisdom motif. The phrase “like early rain” combines two roots which occur together only in Hosea 6:3 and Joel 2:23. The words are used to describe rain metaphorically in the first reference and literally in the second. Hughes writes that their common context is that of eschatological blessing. The verb can mean “to teach” (cf. Isa 30:20; Job 36:22; Prov 5:13) and leads to rain being used metaphorically here for teaching. The speaker promises that the rains “will not cease.”<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Goff, “Gardens of Knowledge,” 184-185.

<sup>135</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 156-157.

In the next passage (1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:27b-28b), [And I] (my) dwelling is with sickness and *m*[...] heart is ac[quainted with afflictions; And I am like a man abandoned in agony.” This passage seems to allude to a passage from the Servant Songs (Isa 53:3-4), “He was despised, shunned by men, A man of suffering, familiar with disease. As one who hid his face from us, He was despised, we held him of no account. Yet it was our sickness that he was bearing, Our suffering that he endured, We accounted him plagued.”

In the final passages of column 16 (1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:29-38), there is an abrupt change in tone in and the speaker draws heavily on images of distress. His afflictions are incurable pain and death. There are multiple psalms of lamentation; the speaker feels forsaken by God with no refuge. In the last passages in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16: 36b-38, the speaker uses phrases that reference his teaching: “Though you have made the tongue strong in my mouth, unrestrained, yet it is not possible to lift up (my) voice or to make (my) disciples hear, in order to revive the spirit of those who stumble and to support the weary with a word. The utterance of my lips is silenced by horror. Charlesworth proposes that the “horror” that the speaker experienced was literal and not metaphorical. It seems his arm was broken and his tongue, the gift that allowed him to be charismatic, was pulled from his mouth and cut off. This man was no longer able to “retrieve” his tongue, that is, pull it back into his mouth because it had been severed; hence, he could no longer speak to his disciples. His teaching now had to be in writing. Mutilations such as this were not uncommon in this time period. Hyrcanus II (76-40 BCE), the eldest son of Alexander Jannaeus and Alexandra Salome, was appointed High Priest by his mother. After Pompey reinforced his high priesthood, In 40 BCE, according to one ancient source, the invading Parthians,

at the suggestion of Hyrcanus' nephew Antigonus, cut off Hyrcanus' ears and made him ineligible for the priestly office.<sup>136</sup>

They have laid waste the just claim of the tablet of my heart.” In this passage, the speaker uses three phrases: “lift up (my) voice” and “make my disciples hear,” “the utterance of my lips” and “the tablet of my heart.” From his choice of words, the speaker self-identifies as a scribe. These sayings focus on a process that has prominent oral characteristics. Proverbs calls on a student to bind loyalty and faithfulness to his neck and write them “on the tablet of your heart (Prov 3:3; cf. Prov 6:21)” or bind the teacher’s teaching on his fingers and write it “on the tablet of your heart (Prov 7:3).”<sup>137</sup> In the book of Deuteronomy (Deut 6:4-25), the text begins with a focus on the “heart.” It begins by calling on all Israel to “love YHWH your God with all you heart and with all your soul and with all your might (Deut 6:5),” along with a further command to “take to heart these instruction” and “recite them when you stay at home ... when you are away ... and when lie down and when you get up (Deut 6:7).”<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Charlesworth notes that mutilations such as this were not uncommon in this time period. Hyrcanus II (76-40 BCE), the eldest son of Alexander Jannaeus and Alexandra Salome, was appointed High Priest by his mother. After Pompey reinforced his high priesthood, In 40 BCE, according to one ancient source, the invading Parthians, at the suggestion of Hyrcanus' nephew Antigonus, cut off Hyrcanus' ears and made him ineligible for the priestly office. James H. Charlesworth, *The Qumran Psalter* (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2014), xxi-xxii.

<sup>137</sup> Carr, *Writing on the Heart of the Tablet*, 127.

<sup>138</sup> Carr, *Writing on the Heart of the Tablet*, 134-135.

#### IV. CONCLUDING METHODOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS

Based on the information found in the *Pesharim* and the Damascus Document, we can begin to cluster together a kind biographical “sketch” about how the sectarians remembered the Teacher of Righteousness based on the main themes and emphases we find scattered through these references. The Community believed they were chosen by God. The divine “voice” had called them to prepare the way in the wilderness. They were preparing for the day when God’s promises found in Scripture would be fulfilled. The Community devoted the day and the night preparing “the Way of YHWH,” studying Torah, seeking to understand God’s hand in contemporaneous events by composing pesharim. The Teacher of Righteousness was remembered as the singular and penultimate Revelator of the mysteries of the Prophets as well as the correct *halachic* interpretations of the Torah. He is a kind of “second Moses,” who sets all things in order, from calendrical cycles to interpretations of purity and proper conduct. His Community views itself as constituting the New Covenant of the Last Days. In some ways he might even be considered “greater” than Moses, in that he was the one sent at the End of Days to usher in the fulfillment of all that the Prophets had spoken. His suffering, persecution, and death are seen as models for the Community whose faithfulness to God is determined by their loyalty to, and faith in, the Teacher, and their adherence to the “Way” that he taught. Any departing from his fundamental “Teachings” or “Torah” are to be shunned as traitors and will suffer God’s wrath in the imminent judgment to come. Initially the Community expects the outpouring of God’s judgment and the destruction of all their enemies (“the men of the Lie”) to come about forty-years after the Teacher’s death.

Anything beyond is not seen as disconfirmation of the Teacher's exalted prophetic role but simply a reflection of God prolonging things according to his will.

My method is essentially one of correlation. It rests on the assumption that we can extract references and descriptions of the Teacher of Righteousness from the sectarian scrolls that mention him and find a kind of thematic and descriptive "fit" between the first person "voice" of the composer of the "Teacher Hymns" (Cols. 10-17) in the Hodayot. My own conclusions are that this correlation appears to be significant, and it helps to support the hypothesis that the figure we call the Teacher either wrote these Hymns directly, or someone writing in his "voice" appears to reflect rather closely what we know of the descriptions we have of him and his significance to the DSS Community.

That said I want to conclude with a few caveats. Now that the complete archive of the Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts has been published, it is apparent that most of the evidence for the Teacher of Righteousness comes from few texts, which raises serious questions about our ability to recover the historical figure behind the epithet.<sup>139</sup> Even the addition of over nine hundred and fifty or so texts has failed to produce more concrete details about the figure known as the Teacher of Righteousness.<sup>140</sup> References to him are limited to the *Damascus Document* and four of the sectarian scriptural commentaries (the *pesharim*), one each on *Habakkuk* (1QpHab) and *Micah* (1QpMic), and two in *Psalms* (4QpPs<sup>a</sup>, 4QpPs<sup>b</sup>). In the Scrolls themselves, the designation "Teacher of Righteousness" occurs directly and indirectly in thirty manuscripts. Among the texts,

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<sup>139</sup> Stuckenbruck, Loren T., The Teacher of Righteousness Remembered: From Fragmentary Sources to Collective Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls." *In Memory in the Bible and Antiquity: The Fifth Durham-Turbingen Research Symposium* (Durham, September 2004) ed. S.C. Barton, L.T. Stuckenbruck, and B.G. Wold; WUNT 212; Turbingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007, 75-94.

<sup>140</sup> Harkins, Angela Kim, "How Should We feel about the Teacher of Righteousness?" *Is there a Text in this Cave? Studies in Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, eds. Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioata, and Charlotte Hempel (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 494.

there are seventeen instances where the Teacher is explicitly mentioned by the epithet *Moreh Sedeq*. In addition, there are several variations of this epithet (e.g., “the Interpreter of the Law”; “the Interpreter of Knowledge”; “the Teacher of the Community”) in the texts. Most notably, this also includes the use of epithets to describe the Teacher’s opponents (“the Spouter of the Lie” and the “Wicked Priest”).<sup>141</sup>

In Matthew Collins’ study of the Qumran epithets, the predominant approach to this phenomenon has been to identify the key historical figures or groups behind these epithets. However, after sixty years and countless reconstructions, there has been numerous disagreements within the scholarly community concerning these various proposals. As a result, some scholars have become increasingly critical either about the possibility of reading or reconstructing history from these texts.<sup>142</sup> For Cross, his solution for this multiplicity of conclusions about the identity of the Teacher was not to

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<sup>141</sup> In the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus, there are approximately thirty texts that reference the Teacher in various forms. There are seventeen instances where he is explicitly mentioned by the epithet “the Teacher of Righteousness.” These texts include: 1QpHab 1:13; 2:2; 5:10; 7:4; 8:3; 9:9-10; 11:5; 1Q14 (1QpMic) frags. 8-10, lines 6-7 and frag. 11, lines 4-5; 4Q165 (4QpIsa<sup>c</sup>) frags. 1-2:3 “the Teacher of Righteousness”; 4Q171 (4QpPs<sup>a</sup>) Col. 3:13 “the Priest, the Teacher of Righteousness,” and in 3:19 and 4:27 “the Teacher of Righteousness”; 4Q173 (4QpPs<sup>b</sup>) frags. 1:4 and 2:2; “the Teacher of Righteousness”; CD A 1:11 “a Teacher of Righteousness”; CD B 20:32 “the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness; In addition, there are texts that use similar or equivalent and fragmentary terminology: these are CD B 20:1 and 14 “the unique Teacher” or “the Teacher of the Community”; 4Q171 (4QpPs<sup>a</sup>) 1:27 “the Interpreter of Knowledge”; CD B 20:28 “the Teacher’s voice”; 4Q163 (4Qpap pIsa<sup>c</sup>) frag. 21:6 “the Teacher of...[as it is written:]. Alleged references to the Teacher are less certain in CD A 6:7 “the interpreter of the law”; and CD A 6:11 “he who teaches justice (or righteousness) at the end of days”; CD A 7:18 “the star is the interpreter of the law”; and 2 references to “your Teacher” in 4Q163 (4Qpap pIsa<sup>c</sup>) 23:17. See, Stuckenbruck, Loren T., “The Teacher of Righteousness Remembered: From Fragmentary Sources to Collective Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls.” *In Memory in the Bible and Antiquity: The Fifth Durham-Turbingen Research Symposium* (Durham, September 2004) ed. S.C. Barton, L.T. Stuckenbruck, and B.G. Wold; WUNT 212; Turbingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007., 77-78. See also, Stuckenbruck, Loren T. “The Legacy Of The Teacher of Righteousness In the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9-11 January, 2005*, eds. Esther G. Chazon and Betsy Halpern-Amaru (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 27. See also, Hakan Ulfsgard, “The Teacher of Righteousness, The History of the Qumran Community, and our Understanding of the Jesus Movement: Texts, Theories and Trajectories” in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments*, eds. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd., 1998), 312-313.

<sup>142</sup> Collins, Matthew A., *The Use of Sobriquets in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: T & T Clark, 2009), 6-15.

move away from a historical approach, but to simply refine the historical method by allowing it to be supplemented by the newly emerging fields of archaeology and paleography. It was from this perspective that he based his own historical reconstruction of the life and career of the Teacher. This positivistic approach would define the first generation of Qumran scholarship.<sup>143</sup>

Over the last few decades, the interpretive landscape in Qumran scholarship has undergone a dramatic shift and a new perspective on the Teacher of Righteousness has emerged. Travis Williams states that reason for this change is attributed to a “shift in attitude from an optimism to a pessimism toward traditional-historical approaches.” In other words, the “increasing skepticism about the ancient source materials has led modern scholars to become pessimistic about the possibility that traditional historical methods might be able to extract sufficient information to reconstruct the life of the historical Teacher with any degree of precision.” In the late 1980s and early 1990s, scholars began to challenge the historical positivism that pervaded Scroll’s scholarship. The main target of scholarly “criticisms” was based on the attempt to extract historical information from the brief and enigmatic references found in texts such as the *pesharim*. Informed by a throughgoing historical skepticism toward the historical references in the Scroll’s manuscripts, scholars were hesitant about connecting the epithets with known historical figures and events from other Second Temple sources and locating these

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<sup>143</sup> Cross, *Ancient Library*, 80-120. See also, the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 157-158. In this volume, Cross’ contributions to the study of Qumran manuscripts is discussed. His publication “The Development of Jewish Scripts,” remains the standard paleographic study of scribal hands used in writing the Qumran manuscripts. See also, Rene Latourelle’s definition of “Historical Positivism” in the *Dictionary of Fundamental Theology*, eds. R. Latourelle and R. Fisichella; New York: Crossroad, 1995), 785-788 (785). Latourelle defines historical positivism as a theoretical framework for interpretation, which “aims to produce an accurate and complete picture of the past based on ‘historically pure’ sources.”

allusions to historical figures and events within a specific chronological framework, “whether that be within the landscape of Second Temple Judaism or within an independent history... of the Qumran Community.”<sup>144</sup>

The Scrolls scholars who were responsible for exposing the weaknesses of these earlier positivistic approaches toward the source materials was Philip R. Davies and George J. Brooke. What they successfully proved is that anyone who attempts to historically reconstruct the life of the Teacher of Righteousness will be confronted with serious problems because the ancient source materials do not provide “unmediated” access to the past. That is to say, texts such as the Damascus Document or the pesharim should not be viewed as records of “what actually happened” in the past. It was their combined contributions to the discussion that provided the greatest impetus for the shift away from a strictly historical approach to a focus on the purpose and function of the texts.<sup>145</sup> For George Brooke, he defines this shift as “a move away from somewhat narrow historicist concerns towards larger questions of textual and other kinds of construal and mis-construal. It is also partly a move away from history as a sequence of grand moments towards narrative as reflecting the everyday.”<sup>146</sup> He explicitly warns Scroll’s scholars against using the epithets and the apparent historical allusions in texts that are vague enough to be applied with ease to various given scenarios. The versatility in which the texts can be applied is a warning against what he terms a naïve historicism: “namely, that wherever there are two phenomena with even the vaguest correspondences

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<sup>144</sup> Williams, Travis B., *History and Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Remembering the Teacher of Righteousness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 8-13.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., Williams, 10.

<sup>146</sup> Brooke, George J., “Brian as a Teacher of Teacher of Righteousness” *Jesus and Brian: Exploring the Historical Jesus and His Times VIA Monty Python’s life of Brian* (London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2015), 131.



they must be related in some way in terms of cause and effect.” The result of such an approach can result in an overly simplistic understanding of the nature of the texts themselves. In other words, these texts are dependent on the biblical scripture in some way, and too often, scholars have paid scant attention to the way the scriptural text is cited and its treatment by the interpreter.<sup>147</sup>

In Philip R. Davies’ contribution to the discussion, he proposed that the descriptions about the “Teacher of Righteousness” were borrowed from other “sectarian” documents within the Scroll’s corpus.<sup>148</sup> In particular, he argued that the historical information in the *pesharim* that was related to the career of the “Teacher of Righteousness” is dependent upon the *Hodayot* (1QH<sup>a</sup>, 1Q35, 4Q427-32). Davies suggests the reason the “Teacher Hymns” (at the very least the autobiographical ones) were used by the Qumran authors was because they were understood to be compositions of the “Teacher.” Hence, “they comprised a sort of hagiography; they enshrined what were seen as the most authentic data about the life and experiences of the founder of the Community that could possibly exist.” Subsequently, Davies argues that a great deal of supposed ‘historical information’ in the *pesharim* (that which is “not derivable from the [biblical] text but seems gratuitous”) can in fact be derived instead from the *Hodayot*. In his analysis of the source material, Davies examined the literary similarities between

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<sup>147</sup> Brooke, George J., “The Pesharim and the Origins of the Dead Sea Scrolls” *Annals New York Academy of Sciences*, 1994, Vol. 722 (1), 340-353 (345).

<sup>148</sup> In Maxine L. Grossman’s, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Method* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 156-157., she has similarly speculated about the literary relationship of the *Damascus Document* and the *Habakkuk pesher* (1QpHab). She suggests that “the *Habakkuk pesher* may be understood as an outgrowth of and response to the tradition surrounding the *Damascus Document*...In this sense, the ‘history’ provided in the *Habakkuk pesher* itself may be a creative rereading of the *Damascus Document*. It offers no historical information but merely attempts to narrate, retrospectively, an account of the community’s origins, based on a shared communal tradition, but not an outside source of confirmatory evidence.

1QpHab 11:2-8 and 1QH 12:5-12 (and the six sobriquets and terms “violent or ruthless”; “lie or falsehood”; “seekers of smooth things”; “simple”; “poor”; and “interpreters of knowledge by wonderful mysteries”), concluding that what the pesharim say about the Teacher of Righteousness is not historically reliable, since the material seems to be based on the *Hodayot*.<sup>149</sup> The presence of these literary correlations led Davies to conclude that scholars could “dispose of the assumption that reliable old traditions must underlie the biblical interpretations.” Furthermore, he asserted that “the implications of such a comparison involve not only a relationship between the documents within the development of Qumran tradition, but also the limits of the possibility of our knowing anything of the life of the “Teacher of Righteousness.”<sup>150</sup>

Lastly, by focusing on the limitations found within the commentaries, the usefulness of the pesharim (and the historical details they provided) were called into question by various scholars. Beginning with the Qumran texts themselves, they were grouped together as a distinct corpus because of the use of the term “*peshet*” which usually occurs after an explicit biblical quotation, introducing its interpretation. The way the scriptural text is cited has resulted in the same basic pattern: citation, section by section of a single biblical book, each with a lemma followed by an interpretation. The way the scriptural text is cited has resulted in two groups, “the continuous peshet” (which cite a single scriptural text section by section, namely, prophets and psalms (e.g., 1QpHab,

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<sup>149</sup> In Brooke’s “The Pesharim and the Origins,” of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 344., he comments on Davies’ source analysis and notes that “A throughgoing listing of the small items of vocabulary which are common to both the *Hodayot* and the *Habakkuk Commentary* produces the intriguing result that the overlaps occur almost exclusively in sections of 1QpHab that discuss the “Teacher of Righteousness.” Brooke states that this is yet another warning signal against reconstructing history out of the pesharim.

<sup>150</sup> Davies, Phillip R., “History and Hagiography” in *Behind the Essenes: History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 87-105 (90). See also, Williams, *History and Memory*, 11-12.

1QpMic, 4QpPs), and the “thematic pesher” in which certain citations to be interpreted are chosen from various biblical books and grouped artificially around a central idea (e.g., 11QMelch and 4QFlor).<sup>151</sup> The basis of this broad classification is very important and often forgotten by Scroll’s scholars. As Brooke has previously emphasized, “the scriptural text takes priority. It can be played with, adjusted, punned, reordered, but it is the control.” In other words, “When the scriptural citation is properly put first in our consideration of these texts, it immediately becomes apparent how much it determines the way the commentary runs. This in itself explains why the language of the interpretation in the pesher proper remains so stereotypical and why its possible historical referents continue to defy identification and *will continue to do so*.”<sup>152</sup> In Maurya Horgan’s study of the *Pesharim*, she noted specific problems in connection with the individual texts. In particular, she notes that “Any discussion about the historical allusions contained in these documents must be prefaced by a warning: the history recounted in the pesharim, like the history recounted in the biblical books, is an interpreted history.”<sup>153</sup> That is, the “Qumran Community viewed history in terms of its own identity and destiny, and when the authors referred to events in their past or present, they moved freely from one time period to another and frequently telescoped several events into one interpretation.” Secondly, “The problem of pinpointing the persons or events about which a Qumran document is speaking is further complicated by the fact that the authors regularly refer to specific figures or groups by epithets or figurative

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<sup>151</sup> Horgan, Maurya P., *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (Washington: The Catholic Association of America, 1979), 1-3.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, Brooke, “The Pesharim and the Origins,” 339-340.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid, Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and the Qumran History*, 5. Charlesworth affirms that “any historical data obtained from the pesharim will not present us with objective historical data. We will be seeing history from within the Qumran Community.”

descriptive phrases.”<sup>154</sup> Consequently, the danger that lies before the modern Scroll’s scholar is the possibility of wrongly interpreting idiomatic representations as references to actual historical characters or events.

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid., Horgan, *Pesharim*, 5-6.

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