

THE DUALISM OF 4QVISIONS OF AMRAM

THE GUIDE AND THE SEDUCER:
THE DUALISM OF *4QVIsIONS OF AMRAM*

By

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ABSTRACT

4QVisions of 'Amram^{a-g} ar (4Q543-4Q549) is an Aramaic Jewish text found at Qumran, and dates to the third to second centuries BCE. This thesis explores the ways in which the text exhibits dualism. The history and origins of the text are presented, as well as a brief discussion of the theory and definitions of dualism. It is shown that *4QAmram* represents a form of Jewish dualism. There can be little doubt that *4QAmram* contains dualistic teachings, and that it is linked to the Hebrew Bible, but it has drastically altered the biblical material to design a dualism far and beyond that of the Torah sources. The text has an emphasis on ethical and cosmic battles between good and evil, expressed through the use of both the Two Paths and the Two Angels motifs. The dualism found in several other Second Temple documents is then discussed, in relation to the place which *4QAmram* may have held at Qumran. It is concluded that documents like *4QAmram* became important at Qumran because dualism was a vital part of Qumranic religious life. *4QAmram* indicates that dualism was far from unique to Qumran, and was, in fact, possibly in existence in many groups of Judaism, even in pre-Qumranic times.

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- with warm regards, H.

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'And who talks of error now? I scarcely think that the notion that flitted across my brain was an error. I believe it was an inspiration rather than a temptation: it was very genial, very soothing, — I know that. Here it comes again! It is no devil, I assure you: or if it be, it has put on the robes of an angel of light. I think I must admit so fair a guest when it asks entrance to my heart.'

'Distrust it, sir; it is not a true angel.'

'Once more, how do you know? By what instinct do you pretend to distinguish between a fallen seraph of the abyss, and a messenger from the eternal throne — between a guide and a seducer?'

-Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre* (I: XIV)

Introduction

4QVisions of 'Amram^{a-g} ar (4Q543-4Q549, hereafter *4QAmram*) is an Aramaic Jewish text found at Qumran, and dates from the third to second centuries BCE.¹ This thesis explores the ways in which the text exhibits dualism. We see in *4QAmram* a specific type of dualism created through the author's use of imagery, as well as through its unusual theology. The text has many things in common with sectarian dualistic documents, but also some significant differences. In as much as *4QAmram* seems to have held an important place at Qumran, it may point to the variety of thought and influences in the sectarian library. My first chapter will present the text, and the second chapter provides a brief discussion of the theory of dualism. In the third chapter, two main passages illustrating the dualism of *4QAmram* will be discussed, and I will describe what type(s) of dualism we see therein. The fourth chapter will discuss the dualism found in several of the texts identified as sectarian documents, and I will conclude with some suggestions as to the place which *4QAmram* may have held at Qumran.

This thesis will focus primarily on *4QAmram* and the dualism found therein. Many of the issues raised in the past, such as the question of influence from Iran upon dualism at Qumran, do not affect our analysis. While such questions hold great appeal, they are neither answerable based on *4QAmram*, nor are they crucial to our understanding of the basic content of this scroll. Further, other Dead Sea Scrolls, such as the *Damascus*

¹ E. Puech, "4QVisions de 'Amram^{a-g} ar," in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXXI: Qumran Grotte 4 XXII (Textes Araméens, Première Partie: 4Q529-549)* (Series ed. E. Tov; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 283-405; 283-8. See also J. T. Milik, "4QVisions de 'Amram et une citation d'Origène," *RB* 79 (1972): 77-97, 78.

Document, the *War Scroll*, the *Hodayot*, and the *Community Rule*, will be discussed only in relation to *4QAmram*. At this point in the history of scholarship, it seems valuable to give the less publicized scrolls individual and directed attention.

I will be working under several assumptions. Whereas some theories hold that the Qumran library represents a cache of scrolls deposited by Jews from elsewhere,² I work from the well-accepted assumption that the Qumranic corpus represents the corporate knowledge of a separatist community.³ For the most part, I will be using neutral terms for the community of people who inhabited the compound at Qumran, such as 'the Qumran community' or 'the sect.' In this way, I hope to avoid perpetuating the common belief that the identification of these people as the Essenes described by Josephus is conclusive.⁴ Further, I will be using the commonly accepted term 'sectarian' to describe those beliefs or documents which seem 'official' or 'original' to the sect itself, or those which seem to have been extensively edited and reshaped by the sect. I will be making a distinction, based on work done by specialists in the areas of theology, dating and language, between scrolls created by the sect and those appropriated from non-Qumranic sources, called simply 'non-sectarian' documents.

² For instance, N. Golb, "Who hid the Dead Sea Scrolls?" *BA* 48 (1985), 68- 82. H. E. del Medico also argued that there is no connection between the library and the settlement of Qumran in *L'énigme des manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (Paris: Plon, 1957).

³ J.C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, MI.: Eerdmans, 1994), 99.

⁴ The classical sources on the Essenes are cited in the volume edited by G. Vermes and M. D. Goodman, *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources* (London: JSOT, 1989), which provides translations of relevant passages from Greek and Latin literature. See as well, VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 71-98.

While most central terms will be defined as they are used, the most important term, “dualism”, deserves special attention. The basic definition, which has been accepted by many scholars, is that of Ugo Bianchi:

As a category within the history and phenomenology of religion, dualism may be defined as a doctrine that posits the existence of two fundamental causal principles underlying the existence...of the world.⁵

Bianchi’s definition includes systems of belief that place two powers on opposite sides of a cosmic struggle, and that see “the basic components of the world or of man as participating in the ontological opposition and disparity of value that characterize their dual principles.”⁶ Bianchi goes on to qualify this definition with the warning that those systems in which dichotomies are used on a purely literary or biological level (such as black/white, darkness/light, or male/female) are not to be considered dualistic. Rather, Bianchi writes that only a “polarity of *causal* elements” constitutes a dualistic system, and without the belief in the participation of opposing powers in the creation and sustenance of the world, there is no real “dualism”.⁷ Though the use of the terms darkness and light in the Dead Sea Scrolls is well known,⁸ the use is often described as a literary or abstract device. However, in *4QAmram*, the two opposing powers of darkness and light (representing evil and good) show a distinct type of dualism.

⁵ U. Bianchi, “Dualism,” *EOR*, 4: 506- 512, 506. A similar definition by Bianchi has been accepted by Jean Duhaime. See the latter’s article “Dualistic Reworking in the Scrolls from Qumran,” *CBQ* 49 (1987): 32-56, 33, in which he adopts Bianchi’s definition from the article “The Category of Dualism in the Historical Phenomenology of Religion,” *Temenos* 16 (1980), 15.

⁶ Bianchi, “Dualism,” 4: 506.

⁷ Bianchi, “Dualism,” 4: 506. Italics added.

⁸ VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 110; H. Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 109.

In my view, the issue of dualism is important for several reasons. It helps us to understand the basic theological character of *4QAmram*, and this document, in turn, may shed light on the development of dualistic thought for the community. The evidence from this early non-sectarian text may challenge assertions that the dualism found in sectarian documents was unique to the sect itself.⁹ In the present study, I will attempt to cast doubt on the sectarian origin of some of the types of dualism seen in the Qumran texts that were published first. Therefore, the question of dualism may have importance for our understanding of the sectarian character of the Qumran community, as it relates to earlier Jewish views.

I draw here on several common methods used in the study of the Bible, which can be modified for the study of the Scrolls. During the following study, I will be using both intrinsic and, to a lesser degree, extrinsic study methods to analyze the text of *4QAmram*.¹⁰ While the former approach examines and establishes the text itself, and uses forms of literary criticism to analyze the internal meanings of an author's work, the latter studies a work in historical context. Therefore, I will first concentrate on the study and presentation of *4QAmram* as an isolated piece of literature, exploring the themes,

⁹ See, for example, D. Dimant, "Dualism at Qumran: New Perspectives," in *Caves of Enlightenment* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; North Richland Hills, Tex.: Bibal Press, 1998), 55-73.

¹⁰ Although there are several vocabularies often used to describe methodologies, I have taken these two as umbrella terms to cover many tools of biblical study. "Intrinsic study" is characterized by its isolationist nature, and covers such common critical methods as rhetorical, narrative, and structural criticism. As the manuscripts of *4QAmram* are fairly fragmented, structural criticism may be inappropriate if used too forcefully. In contrast, "extrinsic study" involves the wider study of the social context of a text. For the most part, redaction criticism is not viable for *4QAmram*. Although variations between different Dead Sea copies of this text will be noted, there are no copies of *4QAmram* found outside of Qumran. See C. E. Hauer and W. A. Young on page 46 of *An Introduction to the Bible: A Journey into Three Worlds* (3rd ed.; Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1994).

language, and devices used therein. I will then proceed to study the text in the context of the library.

The Dead Sea Scrolls have long been an object of fascination for biblical students, as well as historians and archaeologists. As Palestine has offered up so few of her literary secrets, the Dead Sea Scrolls brought with them a sense that this library could revolutionize the fields of religious and near eastern studies. When, in around 1947, a young Bedouin boy unearthed the first Scrolls from the caves at the western coast of the Dead Sea, near the ruins of *Khirbet Qumran*, south of Jericho, an amazing scholarly process began.¹¹ Left in silence for two thousand years, these texts have now been studied and debated for nearly six decades. Work has focused on the translation and publication of the remaining Scrolls for the *DJD* series, and continued research into the meaning of the texts. I have here undertaken the study of *4QAmram*, a lesser known text, but one with a possibly great impact on the way we see the dualism of Qumran. Finally, the Scrolls can be read in concert, and old theories can be revised in the face of new information.

¹¹ There are numerous general histories of the Dead Sea Scrolls available. See VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, and Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, as well as the more recent S. Hodge, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Rediscovered: An Updated Look at One of Archaeology's Greatest Mysteries* (Berkeley: Seastone, 2003).

Chapter 1: The Texts of 4QVisions of^c Amram

The Publication History of 4QAmram

4QAmram was found in Cave 4 in August of 1952, among the thousands of fragments that would prove to be the richest deposit of Scrolls of the ten caves found during the 1950s. The fragmentary scroll was first allotted to Jean Starcky,¹ one of the seven young scholars engaged between 1953 and 1954 to deal with the new scrolls from Cave 4. As a member of the international team that did most of the initial reconstruction and excavation of the Qumran materials, Starcky had received a considerable portion of the Hebrew and Aramaic documents from the cluttered cave. Starcky first mentioned the scroll in an article in *Revue Biblique* in 1956 as “un apocryphe analogue au *Testament de Levi*,” and he had identified three manuscripts of 4QAmram, but noted that there might be more.² Careful comparison of further fragments later allowed Starcky to identify five manuscripts containing 4QAmram, copies a-e. The title of the manuscript arises from the first lines retained by two of the copies; “Copy of the book of the words of the visions of ‘Amram, son of Qahat, son of Levi, all which he declared to his sons and imparted to them on the day of his death...”³ Starcky later shared the texts he had not been able to publish with Émile Puech of the École Biblique in 1981, and retired from work on the

¹ See E. Puech, “L’Abbé Jean Starcky (1909-1988),” *RQ* 15 (1991-92): 1-20.

² J. Starcky, *et al.*, “Le travail d’édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân,” *RB* 63 (1956): 49-67; 66.

³ 4Q543 1 1-2; 4Q545 1a 1-2; cf. E. Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 333-5; cf also G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (NY: Penguin Book, 1997), 534.

scrolls in 1986 due to failing health. Starcky did not publish any part of *4QAmram* before he passed it on to Puech.⁴

In 1972, J.T. Milik published a large portion of 4Q544, with Starcky's permission, in *Revue Biblique*, claiming that there were strong parallels with one of Origen's sermons on the Gospel of Luke. Tentatively, Milik was also able to identify a sixth copy of *4QAmram*.⁵ Because of Milik's article, certain passages of 4Q544 became representative of the scroll for most scholars. Despite the publication of several unofficial translations of this portion in the following decades,⁶ and the release of Tov's microfiche collection in 1993,⁷ the official *DJD* publication did not appear until 2001.⁸ It is this edition, with its extensive commentary and report on the dating of the various manuscripts, which has opened *4QAmram* in its entirety to the scholarly community. It is also exciting to note that Puech may have identified a seventh copy of *4QAmram* (4Q549^g(?) ar).⁹

⁴ Puech, "Préface," *DJD XXXI*, xiiv. See L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their True Meaning for Judaism and Christianity* (NY: Doubleday, 1995), 3- 61, for a good introduction to the scholars of the scrolls and the conditions under which they laboured. See also the introductory material to Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1-10.

⁵ Milik, "Origène," 77- 97. Cf. Origène, "Homélie XXXV," in *Homélies sur S. Luc* (trans. by H. Crouzel, F. Fournier and P. Perrichon; Paris: Cerf, 1998), 412-31, which certainly does contain some fascinating parallels. For Milik's identification of 4Q548 see his article, "Origène," 90; Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 391. For a brief history of *4QAmram*, see M.E. Stone, "Amram," *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1: 23-4.

⁶ Particularly J. A. Fitzmyer and D.J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978), 90- 100; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1984).

⁷ E. Tov, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche* (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

⁸ Puech, *DJD XXXI*.

⁹ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 399.

Age and Condition of 4QAmram.

Cave 4, on the terrace, contained perhaps the most eclectic group of Scrolls found, and may represent a final effort to relocate the assorted remnants of the Qumran library after the careful caching of Scrolls in the mountains. In this cave was found an odd assortment of unused leather, household documents, and practice samples, as well as many interesting pieces of literature. There were anywhere between 560 and 580 manuscripts in all, fragmentary, because of their hasty deposit on the cave floor. While Caves 1 and 2 held some largely intact scrolls, Cave 4 held a greater variety of texts. Stegemann has suggested that it is possible that the sectarian documents had been carefully placed in Cave 1, while less important texts were deposited in the other caves,¹⁰ but this has not been widely accepted.

4QAmram may have been present in six or seven copies, three of which were identified early.¹¹ The restorations of these scrolls have been made difficult due to the fragmentary and decomposed state of the leather.¹² Nevertheless, through the work of Starcky, Milik, and especially Puech, we have a good deal of clear information about the dating of these texts.

4QAmram^a (4Q543) has been seen, through comparison with the other copies, to contain the first seven columns of the document.¹³ This scroll, one of the copies that retains the opening line of the book, may have once had a preceding sheet that has since

¹⁰ Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 74-5.

¹¹ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 283.

¹² Milik, "Origène," 77.

¹³ For more on the process of reconstruction, see H. Stegemann, "Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments," *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The NYU*

been lost. Puech suggests that, as we clearly have in this copy the beginning of the text of the *Visions of Amram*, the lost sheet might have been either a blank protective sheet or even the end of a different text.¹⁴ The handwriting is rather large, with semi-cursive influences, and indicates a Hasmonean-period copying. Paleographic evidence has allowed Puech to suggest a date for this copy in the late second century BCE.¹⁵

4Q544 (4Q*Amram*^b), originally published in part by Milik in 1972, was identified through its points of overlap with other copies. Originally in many scraps, Starcky gathered it into only three pieces, and it preserves parts of columns II to IV.¹⁶ The handwriting is of average height, in black ink, and is in an early Hasmonean style, somewhere between formal and semi-cursive script. This copy also appears to date to the late half of the second century BCE, roughly contemporary with 4Q543. Puech suggests a date *circa* 125 BCE for the copying.¹⁷

The third copy of 4Q*Amram* (c, 4Q545), consisting of twelve small fragments, retains the title of the book, and therefore has a sure identification. However, some of the fragments once associated with this copy by Starcky are almost certainly from another work. Despite the deterioration of the material, Puech estimated that the original height of the document was 16.3 cm, and it shows the remains of approximately three sheets, and parts of nine columns of 19 or 20 lines each. This scroll is written in the elegant hand of

Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin (JSOT/ASOR Monographs 2; ed. L. H. Schiffman; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 189- 220. M.E. Stone says we have nine columns of the book. Stone, "Amram," 1:23-4.

¹⁴ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 289.

¹⁵ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 289-91. This copy was photographed under the numbers PAM 41.444; 41.512; 41.952; 42.041; 42.079; 42.082; 42.440; 43.577*; 43.578*.

¹⁶ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 319.

¹⁷ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 319- 21. The photographs of this document were labeled under the numbers PAM 40.609; 40.617; 41.677; 41.956; 42.436; 43.571*.

an experienced scribe, in medium-height letters drawn in black ink. The letters are smooth and even in size, with most of the variation occurring only at the end of the lines. This script retains many traces of the archaic style, and is most likely a Hasmonean script of the first part of the first century BCE.¹⁸

4Q546 (4QAmram^d) was part of what Starcky had originally identified as a group of 25 fragments which he called “*Aharonide B*,” but he later re-identified as the fourth copy of 4QAmram. This identification was achieved through careful comparison of some of the fragments with 4Q543-5. However, the identification of the twenty-fifth fragment of that original grouping is, in Puech’s opinion, less than certain, based on the differing handwriting. This seems like a justified caution, as the letters, from the photographs, seem to be of a smaller size and the leather seems to be of a different quality. However, as this last fragment is relatively small, its separation does not adversely affect the meaning of the copy. The handwriting is somewhat smaller than that of most of the copies of 4QAmram, and it was copied by a scribe in a less practiced style than 4Q545. The hand comes from the late Hasmonean period, and is occasionally semi-formal, but also exhibits several archaisms. Puech suggests a mid-first century BCE date for this copy.¹⁹

The fifth copy of 4QAmram (e, 4Q547) is comprised of nine fragments, which Starcky had originally identified as a “*Vision of Jacob*.” However, cross- referencing with other copies of 4QAmram led him to re-identify this scroll. The fragments suggest a

¹⁸ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 331- 33. This copy was photographed under the numbers PAM 40.608; 40. 965; 41.512; 41.941; 42.079; 42.440; 43.566*.

¹⁹ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 351-3. These photographs are PAM 41.946; 41. 954; 42.439; 42.442; 43.586*.

scribe who did not follow perfect lines, and they maintain a highly variable letter height. The scroll contains columns of approximately 10 to 13 lines, and are circa 8 to 8.3 cm in height. The handwriting is a mixture of semi-formal and semi-cursive styles, and shows some similarities (particularly in the *lamed*) to the writing found in 4Q542 (*Testament of Qahat*). Puech suggests that it may represent an earlier example of the same scribe's work. 4Q547 is dated by Puech to sometime in the second half of the second century BCE.²⁰

The sixth copy of *4QAmram* (f, 4Q548), published in part by Milik in 1972 and in 1993 by Puech,²¹ before the *DJD* edition, was not originally identified by Starcky. Starcky had originally designated these 16 fragments as part of the work “Sy 53 = ar B.” In his notes, Starcky noted that the writing and leather were similar to that of the Aramaic horoscope (4Q561), but the use of the first person had stopped him from placing the fragments in that group. Puech points out as well that the handwriting also prohibits the association of the two texts. Therefore, the identification of this copy of *4QAmram* was delayed. Milik, who first identified some of these fragments as representing *4QAmram*,^{f 22} later identified them as a copy of the *Aramaic Testament of Levi*, a document closely related to *4QAmram*.²³ However, Puech, despite the lack of parallels to more firmly

²⁰ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 375- 78. These photographs are PAM 40.594; 41. 282; 41.405; 41.890; 41.948; 42.028; 42.047; 42.440; 42.859; 43.567*. Puech, taking up his earlier suggestion that *4QAmram* may have originally been attached to another scroll (4Q543, page 289), sees the similarity between 4Q547 and the Qahat text (4Q542), that of the father of Amram, as possible evidence to support the grouping of the three texts of Levi, Qahat and Amram in the library (Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 378).

²¹ Milik, “Origène,” 90-2; E. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future* (volume 2) (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1993), 537- 40; Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 391.

²² Milik, “Origène,” 90; Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 391.

²³ J.T. Milik, “Les écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d’Hénoch à Amram,” *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M.Delcour, Leuven: Leuven Press, 1978), 91- 106; 95; Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 391.

identified copies of *4QAmram*, has tentatively placed that name on this text, consisting of four main fragments. This identification is primarily made on the basis of the light and dark imagery found within the text. The letters in these fragments seem to be written in a mix of semi-formal and semi-cursive styles, with Hasmonean influences. This copy of *4QAmram* appears to Puech to date to the second half of the first century BCE.²⁴

The final copy of *4QAmram* (g, 4Q549) has been tentatively identified by Puech. Starcky had originally given this manuscript the title “*Composition Mentioning Hur and Miriam*,” based on the presence of these two characters. However, Puech has identified several characteristics of this scroll that place it with *4QAmram*. These features include the Levite genealogy, and the connection between Uzziel and Miriam, as well as a death of a patriarch.²⁵ Further, this fragment may contain part of the title of this book, in the form of a concluding section,²⁶ “[When he had wr]itten [in writing the words of the vision of (Amram)].” In addition, there seems to be a line summarizing the book as something a man had done, or something that had occurred, on the way to Egypt.²⁷ All of these elements have prompted Puech to place the title of *4QAmram*^g(?) on this two-fragment copy, which he dates to the last third of the first century BCE.²⁸

There is no definitive proof as to the identity of the author, the exact location of origin or the precise date of the composition of *The Visions of Amram*, and we have no

²⁴ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 391-3. These photographs are PAM 41.892; 41.955; 43. 597*.

²⁵ 4Q549 2.

²⁶ 4Q549 2 6. We are to accept this evidence with caution, as this line has been heavily reconstructed, as can be seen. See Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 403.

²⁷ 4Q549 1.

²⁸ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 399- 401. These photographs are PAM 41.956; 42.031; 43. 574*. Before this *DJD* edition, this document was published in unofficial translation collections under Starcky’s original title, “*A Composition Mentioning Hur and Miriam*,” or some variation thereof, with the designation 4Q549 or

autographs of this text. However, by paleographic evidence, Puech has established the dates of the seven copies found in Cave 4 at Qumran, and this has given an approximate date of the second half of the second century to the first half of the first century BCE for the copying of this pseudepigraphic work. The dating of the original is, roughly, from the third century to the early second century BCE.²⁹ *The Visions of 'Amram* pre-dates the establishment of the Qumran community by the sect who held the Dead Sea Scrolls library, in circa 150-100 BCE.³⁰ Remarkably, it seems to have been copied for at least 150 years, and was appreciated enough at Qumran to have been kept in at least six copies.³¹

Genre and Plot Summary of *4QAmram*

4QAmram has been referred to both as “*The Visions of 'Amram*” and “*The Testament of 'Amram*.” However, these terms are not interchangeable, nor are they always used with the precision one would like to see. Although the work contains the word “vision,” there is no clear evidence that there is a ‘visions genre’ as such.³²

4QHurMir. Cf. Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 615; F. Garcia Martínez and E. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Study Edition*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1096.

Thus, the copies of *4QAmram* are:

Copy:	Number:	Identified by:	Approx. date:	Subjects:	Certainty:
<i>4QAmram</i> ^a	4Q543	Starcky	Late 2 nd c BCE	Canaan/ Vision	Yes: first line
<i>4QAmram</i> ^b	4Q544	Starcky	Late 2 nd c BCE	Canaan/ Vision	Yes: parallels
<i>4QAmram</i> ^c	4Q545	Starcky	Ear. 1 st c BCE	Canaan/ Vision	Yes: first line
<i>4QAmram</i> ^d	4Q546	Starcky	mid 1 st c BCE	Canaan/ Vision	Yes: parallels
<i>4QAmram</i> ^e	4Q547	Starcky	Late 2 nd c BCE	Canaan/ Vision	Yes: parallels
<i>4QAmram</i> ^f	4Q548	Milik	Late 1 st c BCE	Afterlife	No: no paral's
<i>4QAmram</i> ^g ?	4Q549	Puech	Late 1 st c BCE	Epilogue	No: no paral's

²⁹ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 285.

³⁰ Stegemann, *Library of Qumran*, 151; late second century BCE, VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 99; second century BCE, Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 91.

³¹ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 401, 285. Milik dated the testament to the second century BCE, cf. Stone, “Amram,” 23; Milik, “Origène,” 78.

³² E.W. Larson, “Visions,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2: 957-8.

Testament, the other popular choice, is a narrative generally characterized by the deathbed speech and subsequent death of a person, although it also often contains the recounting of events or visions witnessed by the dying person during their life.³³ Because of this setting, such narratives usually have a preoccupation with afterlife beliefs. Because it contains all of these elements, *4QAmram* seems to fit very well into this genre.³⁴ *4QAmram* does, however, contain what is considered its own title in two copies, and may actually call itself *The Visions of Amram*, so this designation seems appropriate as a title.

The plot of *4QAmram* is framed as a narrative recounted by a dying man. Before his death, Amram, the father of Moses, Aaron and Miriam (Exod 6.18, 20; Num 26.58-9), makes sure that his daughter is settled in marriage to his younger brother Uzziel. Then, after the celebration, he calls his son Aaron to his side and begins to speak.³⁵ He tells his son that it is his destiny to establish an eternal line that will be holy to G-d.³⁶ Amram then begins to recount his life story, beginning with his life in Canaan where he was building tombs for their ancestors with his father Qahat. While there, a war between Philistine and Egypt broke out and Amram remained in Hebron to finish his work. Amram was separated from his wife, yet he remained faithful to her.³⁷ During this period, Amram received a vision involving secret knowledge of two angels who held power over

³³ See J.H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Volume 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1983), 773.

³⁴ R.A. Kugler, "Testaments," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2: 933-36, 934, where Kugler calls *4QAmram* the only true testament at Qumran.

³⁵ 4Q543 1 3- 10; 4Q545 1a 3-10.

³⁶ 4Q543 2a-b 1-9; 4Q545 1a I, 10- 19.

³⁷ 4Q543 3 1-3; 4Q544 1 1- 8; 4Q545 1a-b II, 11- 19; 4Q547 1-2 1-9.

humankind: one was the angel of light and the other was the angel of darkness. They demanded that he choose to be ruled by one or the other, as G-d had set them over each and every person. The choice that each person makes determines what side, good or evil, they are on, and will establish their punishment or reward.³⁸ Throughout the text, there are hints of priestly instruction as Amram relays to his son(s) the visions that their grandfather, Qahat, handed down to him, and the basic plot of this testament is that of a dying father imparting wisdom about his life and visions to his son. The exact contents of the wisdom of Amram will be dealt with as the topics of dualism are brought into our analysis.

The Non-Sectarian Identification of *4QAmram*

Although *4QAmram* has been labeled, in turn, both sectarian and non-sectarian, the identifications have often been done quite offhandedly.³⁹ These assessments have often been made on the basis of dating or of content, but there has not been extensive work dedicated to the identification of *4QAmram* in relation to the Qumran community. In order to support my assertion that the dualism found in *4QAmram* is not uniquely Qumranic, I will briefly explain why *4QAmram* is most likely a non-sectarian work. By establishing this origin, we shall come to see that the dualism at Qumran was a development from dualism already in existence in Judaism and adapted to suit the needs of the community.

³⁸ 4Q543 5-9 1-8; 4Q544 1 10-15 to 2 11-16; 4Q547 1-2 III, 10- IV, 1.

³⁹ I.e. P. J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša'*, (CBQ Monograph 10; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Bible Association of America, 1981), 25.

There have been major advancements made in the theoretical tools of distinguishing sectarian texts from non-sectarian ones. The term sectarian has been used primarily in reference to texts that were originally written by sectarian authorities, the so-called “specifically Qumranic” texts. However, this is an oversimplification of the issue, as both the reception of a text at Qumran, as well as the redaction that the sect imprinted on some of its texts, should also be considered.⁴⁰ Text reception is a difficult way in which to make a sectarian identification, as we cannot always discern the use of a text by a sect. Nevertheless, texts that exhibit several major sectarian characteristics can be considered “sectarian.” These characteristics are complex and numerous, but we can outline here several major features of sectarian literature.

The basic criteria of a sectarian identification include content and other considerations. The most basic characteristics include being non-biblical, found at Qumran, and appear to be Palestinian in provenance.⁴¹ Sectarian characteristics more specifically include indications of the sect’s history, identity or organization, as well as admiration of the Teacher of Righteousness (the sect’s founder), and polemics against the enemies of the sect.⁴² Further, there are vocabulary clues, such as circumlocutions of the Tetragrammaton, which point to sectarian origins.⁴³ If a text cites another text that is clearly sectarian, it is most likely sectarian itself.⁴⁴ In addition, if it contains several

⁴⁰ C.A. Newsom, “ ‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature from Qumran,” in *The Hebrew Bible and its Interpreters* (ed. W. H. Propp, B. Halpern, D. N. Freedman; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167-187, 173.

⁴¹ Newsom, “Sectually Explicit,” 172, 179.

⁴² Newsom, “Sectually Explicit,” 172-3.

⁴³ Newsom, “Sectually Explicit,” 177, 172.

⁴⁴ Newsom gives the example of such an occurrence in the so-called “Marriage Ritual Text,” 4Q502, fragment 16 of which seems to cite the “clearly sectarian” *IQS* IV, 4-6. Newsom, “Sectually

points of sectarian doctrine, such as a solar calendar and a desire for separation from the nation of Israel in general, as well as points of theology which align with other sectarian texts, it can be reasonably assumed to be sectarian. This is especially so if these elements are accompanied by other sectarian characteristics.⁴⁵ Theological themes include those of election, predestination, eschatology and messianism,⁴⁶ as well as a radical Torah observance, a general rejection of the Jerusalem Temple and a belief in a New Temple in the eschaton.⁴⁷ In general, we should also assume that sectarian texts do not contradict outright other sectarian texts on matters of Torah devotion and regulations. Finally, there are a number of concrete parameters for a sectarian identification, including a general date limit of circa 170 to 100 BCE for origin, as this is the likely date range for creation of documents in the community,⁴⁸ and it is generally believed that the sect did not write documents in Aramaic.⁴⁹

In his important work, *Melchizedek and Melchirešaʿ*, P. Kobelski wrote that, in his opinion, “the *Testament of ʿAmram* is an Essene composition that was written in the very early stages of the community’s formation.”⁵⁰ This is a surprising assessment after

Explicit,” 176. However, this is a problematic example, as we shall see in chapter 4, for *IQS* is far from “clearly sectarian.”

⁴⁵ Newsom, “Sectually Explicit,” 176, 177, 179.

⁴⁶ D. Dimant, “Qumran Sectarian Literature,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum, section 2; ed. M.E. Stone; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 483- 550, 536, 538-42.

⁴⁷ A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 19-20.

⁴⁸ Dimant, “Qumran Sectarian Literature,” 532.

⁴⁹ J. Frey, “Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues* (IOQS, Cambridge 1995, v. 23; eds. F.G. Martínez and A.S. van der Woude. Leiden: Brill, 1997), 276- 335, 280; Stone, “Amram,” 23-4; J. A. Fitzmyer, “Aramaic,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 1: 48-51.

⁵⁰ Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchirešaʿ*, 25.

he agreed that Milik's dating of the early second century BCE seems likely; this would place the creation of the text well before the establishment of the community. Further, its potential link to the even earlier text of *Aramaic Levi* places it even more before the sect's establishment in circa 150 BCE,⁵¹ and their settlement at Qumran in circa 100 BCE.⁵² While there is a possibility that the sect's forefathers were creating documents before they grouped together and relocated to Qumran, dating does make *4QAmram* much less conclusively linked to the sect. Dating is one of many indications that *4QAmram* is not a sectarian document.

Despite the number of copies found at Qumran, there are no clear references made to *4QAmram* in any of the identifiably sectarian texts in the library. In addition, Milik's suggestion that the document may have had a Greek translation that went on to influence Origen and other early Christian authors, if correct, could be interpreted as an indication of the wide appeal and non-sectarian authorship of the document.⁵³ More concrete is the fact that Amram gives his daughter in marriage to his younger brother, an event that does not occur in the Hebrew Bible. This act clearly violates one of the rules recognized as sectarian, which forbids uncle-niece marriages.⁵⁴

⁵¹ M. de Jong noted that the testaments of Levi (*Aramaic Levi*), Qahat (*4QQahat*), and Amram (*4QAmram*) "clearly belong together" due to their content and priestly character, as well as the biblical link between the three men. See M. de Jong, "The Testament of Levi and 'Aramaic Levi'," *RQ* 13 (1998): 367-85, 372. *Aramaic Levi* clearly pre-dates the Teacher of Righteousness, according to Puech (*DJD XXXI*, 216), and the copy of *4QQahat* found at Qumran has been radiocarbon dated to the 200s BCE (Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 262).

⁵² Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 151. *4QAmram* dates to the 3rd or 2nd centuries BCE. See Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 285. See also Milik, "Origène," 78. We have reason to believe that the text is quite old, due in part to its possible influence on the *Book of Jubilees* (cf. *Jub.* 46.7-10); see Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 286-7.

⁵³ Milik, "Origène," 87; cf. Newsom, "Sectually Explicit," 182.

⁵⁴ Cf. 4Q543 1 I, 5-6; 5Q545 1 I, 5-6 versus CD V, 9- 11. See also H.M. Cotton, "Women," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2: 981-987, 981-2; J.A. Fitzmyer, "Marriage and Divorce," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2: 511-15; J.M. Baumgarten. "The Qumran-Essene Restraints on

More importantly, *4QAmram* is void of “characteristically sectarian” concerns, those issues which define the community against the other groups in Second Temple Judaism, in particular the solar calendar and the conflict between the Teacher of Righteousness and the “Wicked Priest.”⁵⁵ Further, *4QAmram* does not contain any evidence of sectarian organization, history or separatist polemics, nor does it seem to reject the Jerusalem Temple. Given the fact that a library situated at a sectarian community may contain non-sectarian texts (as is seen by the presence of biblical texts found in the Qumran library), and that the presence of multiple copies is not an automatic signifier of a text’s sectarian nature, I am convinced that *4QAmram* is not a sectarian document.

C. Newsom argues that there is more diversity present in any collection than merely “sectarian” or “non-sectarian”. I find her view persuasive that even those texts not created by the sect were read by the sect, ratified by the sect, or influential on the sect.⁵⁶ Though *4QAmram* does not appear to be sectarian in origin, it was still found amongst the library holdings and can be used to assess the development of a theological stream of thought within the group.

Marriage,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls; The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (JSPsup 8, JSOT/ ASOR monograph 2; ed. L.H. Schiffman; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 13-24.

⁵⁵ Cf. M.E. Stone, “Enoch, Aramaic Levi and Sectarian Origins,” *JSJ* 19 (1988): 2, 159- 70.

⁵⁶ Newsom, “Sectually Explicit,” 167-187.

Chapter 2: Dualism in theory and at Qumran

“A definition cannot take the place of inquiry, [but] in the absence of definitions there can be no inquiry.”¹ In the spirit of inquiry, I will first define dualism, and this theoretical framework will establish a basis for my later discussion, particularly in the areas of definitions and typology.

The Concept of Dualism

We turn first to why we study dualism, and what specific goal is to be gained by understanding this concept. First and foremost, this concept grows out of the attempts by humans to understand the evil and misfortune that befall mortals, especially in the face of faith or an importance placed on carrying out proper duties.² The degree to which a religion is polarized can tell us numerous things about its conception of the Divine, its perception of humanity’s place in the universe, and the forces that affect activity and ritual. For example, the degree to which a deity is perceived as sharing its domain with

¹ M. Spiro, page 90 in M. Banton (ed), *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion* (1966), quoted by Bianchi, “The Category of Dualism,” 20.

² This sociological-materialist understanding of dualism is quite close to that proposed by Strauss in 1958. However, the problem of evil, though central to the cause and outcome of dualism, will not be forthrightly addressed by this work. Indeed, the problem of evil is far more complex than its role as a part of dualism, and is well beyond the scope of this thesis. By way of clarifying the discussion, on the other hand, I will briefly, yet not flippantly, define ‘evil’ as that which is ‘not good.’ That is, good is the thing which we (or our deity) love or take pleasure in (though these two pleasures may be at odds at times), while evil is the thing that is in opposition to the good. The existence of evil, then, if contradicted by the will of the Absolute, provides humanity with many conflicts of faith. It defies our most primitive child-to-parent mentality to reconcile the existence of evil with that of the Ultimate. This conflict is often solved by a loss of faith, or by a systematic doctrine in which humanity cannot hope to understand the ways of the Ultimate. In other cases, the problem of evil (theodicy) has led to the conceptualization of evil as a hypostatic, symbolic entity against which humanity can believe their Protector battles for their welfare. See O.G. Ramberan, “Religious Belief and the Problem of Evil,” *SR* 5/2 (1975/6): 177-185; and P. Slater, “Evil and Ultimacy,” *SR* 4/2 (1974/5): 137-146. As a further note, somewhat related to the discussion of modern

another can be a valuable way in which to measure the strictness of a monotheism, or to evaluate to what extent a religion is polytheistic.³ Moreover, dualism is an important tool in assessing a group's mythology and its collective imagination, especially in the area of apocalyptic concepts, but also in theology, medicine and science (i.e. cosmology). Dualism provides particular insight into the creation beliefs of a culture, as two entities in a dualistic relationship may have very complex connections to one another in regards to their beginnings, and to the origin of the mundane world.⁴ Finally, one can use the expression of dualism as a point of comparison between two traditions, particularly when dealing with literate cultures.⁵

First coined in 1700 by T. Hyde in his *The Ancient Persian Religions* to describe the relationship between *Ormazd* and *Ahriman* in Zoroastrianism, the term dualism has undergone many different applications and a wide variety of modifications.⁶ During the 20th century, scholars explored the history of the phenomenon, often without refining the basic definition of "two gods."⁷ In 1935, when a tablet was found that suggested a link

philosophy, I will point out that, by and large, I will be ignoring the modern, or even pre-modern, discussions of evil if they are not directed at my thesis' main objective.

³ For the functions and examples of dualism in these types of religions, see Bianchi, "Dualism," 4: 506- 512, 506f.

⁴ Cf. Bianchi, "The Category of Dualism," and Bianchi, "Dualism."

⁵ J. Duhaime, "Le dualisme de Qumrân et la littérature de sagesse vétérotestamentaire," *Église et Théologie* 19 (1988): 401-422, esp. 422. Duhaime's work on dualism, which is a considerable amount, all calls for the more careful application of the term dualism to early Jewish literature, and here he specifies one value of doing so, the increased ability to compare the Dead Sea Scrolls to the New Testament.

⁶ Dualism, from the Latin '*dualis*' is, in J. Bowker's *Oxford Dictionary of World Religions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 296, sparsely defined as "the conjunction of two (usually opposing) principles."

⁷ A thorough history of scholarship on the origins of dualism can be found in M. Eliade's now-classic essay, "Prolegomenon to Religious Dualism: Dyads and Polarities," *The Quest: History and Meaning in Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 127- 175. Generally, the sociology of dualism centered on the origins as a means to understand the systems. There were three main theories prevalent in the last century: Society-oriented (Durkheim/ Mauss: the structure of the society determines and enforces the theology); diffusionist (Rivers/ Smith/ Perry: theology is formed through the social or

between the Persian monarchy and Zoroastrianism at a much earlier date than was previously thought, scholarly and philosophical discussion of dualism became heavily focused again on Iranian dualism.⁸ Further, world political, ethical, and philosophical conditions during the 1940s seem to have led to increased interest in the problem of evil and in dualism, for obvious reasons. C.E.M. Joad, armed with a highly inadequate definition of dualism (“there are two gods, a good one and a bad”⁹), even suggested that dualism may be the only rational way in which a belief in G-d could survive in the modern ages.¹⁰ Therefore, the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered in an awkward time, one of hazy definitions and nearly non-existent typologies.

Dualism, Judaism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls

Post-war scholarship on dualism has attempted to establish a system by which dualism can be defined and categorized. Bianchi defines dualism by retaining the basic meaning of a system revolving around two opposing principles or entities, but refines this

religious infiltration by a more advanced group); and structuralism (Lévi-Strauss: the subconscious mind creates such polarities to impose order on events it does not fully comprehend). Eliade sees these theories as far too deconstructionalist to pierce the deeper significance of dualism, and asserts that only an attempt to understand the hermeneutics of a dualistic tradition, without the harmful attempt to de-mystify it, will allow an academic to understand these constructions (Eliade, *op.cit.*, 132-3). Bianchi suggests that dualism need not be so simplified, and that it is entirely possible that dualism develops through any combination of factors (“The Category of Dualism,” 14–15).

⁸ Bianchi reminds us that, methodologically, Zoroastrianism should not be seen as the ideal model of dualism, “The Category of Dualism,” 11.

⁹ C.E.M. Joad, *G-d and Evil* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1942), 41.

¹⁰ This declaration, in *The Spectator* (early 1941) and in his book, led to an engaging argument with the famous classicist and theologian C.S. Lewis, who argued against the dualism (as defined by Joad) on two points: Metaphysical (if there are two Gods, there can be no G-d at all), and Moral (if there is no ultimate G-d, there can be no way of defining evil as bad). See C.S. Lewis, “Evil and G-d,” *The Spectator* (London, February 7, 1941): 141. Lewis’ objections are worth keeping in mind when applying dualism within a monotheistic context, though they are highly modern and idiosyncratic.

definition by classifying these principles as either “co-eternal or not,” and specifying that they must be implicit in the creation, or sustenance, of the world. This last qualification ensures that mere imagery or rhetoric of polarity is kept from being labeled dualistic.¹¹ Initially, Bianchi’s definition alone may make it counterintuitive to label any “true Judaism” as a dualistic system, and indeed, claims have been made that Judaism, in its essentials, could never accept a radical type of dualism and has always been “anti-dualistic”.¹² It is true that the commonly used working definitions of Judaism contain the term “monotheism” or the concept of the “One G-d.”¹³ In practice, “Judaism” does not have a single definition, and there are many shades and nuances to monotheism.¹⁴ The problem of evil must be addressed, even in the “monotheistic” Judaism.¹⁵

¹¹ Bianchi, “The Category of Dualism,” 15. Also Bianchi, “Dualism,” 4: 506. See “Introduction” to this work. However, as with Joad’s limited definition, Bianchi provides a problematic concept for use in Judaism, and we will discuss this later.

¹² R. J. Z. Werblowsky, “Dualism,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 6: 242-245, esp. 245.

¹³ For a discussion of the true power of monotheism in Judaism, Christianity and Islam, as well as the seductive properties of ‘simple definitions’, see M. S. Jaffee, “One G-d, One Revelation, One People: On the Symbolic Structure of Elective Monotheism,” *JAAAR* 69.4 (2001): 753-775.

¹⁴ Examples of Jews being creative with monotheism almost all date from the common era (i.e. various forms of mysticism in which G-d manifests himself in various emanations such as the *Ein Soph* and the *Sefiroth*), but there are a few solid “modified monotheistic” systems from the Second Temple Period, such as Philo’s Platonic-influenced writings (Werblowsky, “Dualism,” 6: 242- 244). Of interest is the possibly anti-dualistic polemic of Isa 45.7, which may be the oldest Jewish writing against dualism. Under the Rabbis, a possibly dualistic system was the root of the “Two Powers” heresy (cf. A.F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*; Leiden: Brill, 1977), and dualism was first the subject of a clear and organized attack in the Sa’adiah Gaon’s 10th c. work, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions* (Werblowski, “Dualism,” 6: 245). These attempts to renounce dualism may point to the presence of dualism in Judaism throughout the religion’s recent history, but this is purely speculative. P.F.M. Fontaine’s four-volume work on cultural dualism attempts to explore, amongst many other systems, early Jewish dualism. However, his chapter on “Israelitica” (58- 203) is dedicated only to biblical Judaism, and is incredibly shallow at that, ignoring the Dead Sea Scrolls, and only giving the Samaritans a cursory mention. Fontaine also lacks a unified or nuanced typology, something I would have expected in such a detailed and extensive work, and fails to use many of the crucial works on the subject. Though he admits that he is not a “biblical scholar,” his study would have been improved by using work done by such people as Duhaime and Bianchi. See P. F. M. Fontaine, *The Light and the Dark: A Cultural History of Dualism: Volume 4: Dualism in the Ancient Near East* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1989).

¹⁵ There are several paths that Judaism has taken to address the problem of evil, one of which is dualism. The others are better known and perhaps more established. The second, which is closely related to dualism, is the attempt to explain how evil was created and entered the world apart from G-d, such as the

Past scholarship on dualism in the Qumran manuscripts was based on a relatively small sample of literature, and was subject to several major flaws. In order to understand the bedrock of Dead Sea Scroll study on dualism, we shall briefly review the early understandings of this concept. I will then introduce some newer work on the topic that might prove useful throughout this study.

Despite the demanding task of reconstructing, translating and commenting upon the seven large scrolls recovered from Cave 1, all of these writings were published and available to the scholarly community within a decade of their having been found.¹⁶ These important texts (including two Isaiah scrolls, the *Rule of the Community*, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, *Pesher Habakkuk*, the *Hodayot*, and the *War Scroll*) became the core of early Qumran scholarship, even after the discovery of ten new caves during that first ten years.¹⁷ Popular areas of study were the Essene identification, work on biblical textual criticism, and the link between the Scrolls and the early Christians.¹⁸ From these first scrolls, dualism was recognized as a characteristic of the group. The predominant conclusion of these first studies was that the dualism found at Qumran was probably of

fall of Adam (cf. 2 *Baruch* 48.42), or the fornication of the angels with human women producing demons who continue to torment people (1 *Enoch* 15.8 – 16.1). Another, more traditional, Judaic view of evil is that of the limitations of human knowledge of G-d's ways (cf. Job 38- 41).

¹⁶ E.M. Schuller, "Going on Fifty: Reflections on the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls (1995 Presidential Address)," *Bulletin of the CSBS* (1995/ 1996): 21-45, 23.

¹⁷ Basic translations of the non-biblical texts can be found in Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, and the Isaiah texts can be found in E. Ulrich, M. Abegg, Jr., and P. Flint, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible* (NY: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999).

¹⁸ Schuller, "Going on Fifty," 26- 27. The Essene identification was publicized as early as 1948, and has generally been accepted in many circles since then. In fact, the dualism seen in these first scrolls may support this claim. Josephus does record several characteristics of the Essenes that may be interpreted as dualistic, such as the Essenes' belief in an afterlife separated for the good and the wicked, and the division between flesh and spirit (*War* 2. 154-5), as well as the oath sworn by new members to "hate the wicked always, and to fight together with the just" (*War* 2.139). See Vermes and Goodman, *The Classical Sources*, 36- 49.

Persian origin, and represented a single variety of ethical dualism.¹⁹ This dualism was, in fact, that found in the dualistic section of *IQS* (III,13-IV,26), and was then described in terms of its unity across the community, in contrast to other forms of Second Temple Judaism. These last assertions are, however, inadequate in light of the fact that there was no real thought given at the time to the possibility that non-biblical scrolls were not originally created by the sect at Qumran.²⁰ Since these early days, scholarship has progressed impressively in the areas of sectarian identification, as well as defining the concept of dualism.

In 1972, S. Shaked warned that the liberal application of the term “dualism” was far too casual, and that this was a hazard, as the term, as it was often defined, implied a theology that was far too polarized to describe the Qumran system.²¹ Bianchi’s definition, as it is, may give us pause, but it is the best definition available and is becoming standard.²² Biblical and Dead Sea Scrolls scholars have quoted, reiterated or modified Bianchi’s definition, but there have been other attempts to define the concept. In 1972, J. Charlesworth re-issued one of the most influential papers on Qumranic dualism, and in it he defined dualism with Qumran in mind;

¹⁹ The identification of ethical dualism appears to be an assertion of Qumranic dualism’s abstract nature, and lacks any real sensitivity to nuance or variation within the texts (Frey, “Different Patterns,” 313). One of the first books on dualism at Qumran was that of H.W. Huppenbauer (*Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten*; Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1959). Huppenbauer did conclude that there were several different types of dualism present at Qumran, but he also maintained that cosmic dualism appeared as a way to support or illustrate the predominant ethical dualism (Huppenbauer, 111- 113).

²⁰ Frey, “Different Patterns,” 333.

²¹ S. Shaked, “Qumran and Iran: Further Considerations,” *IOS* 2 (1972): 433 – 446, 433- 4.

²² For further definitions (not significantly different from those of Bianchi), see Werblowsky, “Dualism,” 6: 242, and M. Rist, “Dualism,” *IDB* 1: 873. Bianchi’s definition is accepted by D. Dimant. “Dualism at Qumran,” 55-73; Duhaime, “Le dualisme de Qumrân,” and “Dualism,” *Encyclopedia of the DSS* 1: 215 – 219. Bianchi’s definition appears to be a standard one, or at least similar to the definitions scholars have devised independently.

The term “dualism” refers to a pattern of thought, an antithesis, which is bifurcated into two mutually exclusive categories (e.g. two spirits or two worlds), each of which is qualified by a set of properties and ethical characteristics which are contrary to those under the other antithetic category (e.g. light and good versus darkness and evil).²³

Obviously, Charlesworth did have the Scrolls in mind when he wrote this definition. The examples he chose to present are particularly included to make dualism apply more firmly to Qumran, yet his definition still holds as a sound one. In this article, there are nine types of dualism listed, with seven defined, and one synthetic category.²⁴ The ‘synthetic’ category is that of “modified dualism,” or a dualism that is “not a polarity between two equal, eternal forces or concepts.”²⁵ Therefore, using Charlesworth and other scholarship that builds upon his foundations, we can claim that there are at least a dozen established types of dualism.²⁶ However, the scholar must not be discouraged if texts or communities do not neatly fit into these paradigms, as there is no question that

²³ J. H. Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in IQS 3:13- 4:26 and the ‘Dualism’ Contained in the Gospel of John,” *John and Qumran*. (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1972), 76- 106, esp 76 n. 1. This paper was originally published in *NTS* 15 (1968- 69), 389- 418.

²⁴ Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison,” 76 n. 1. The seven types are: 1. Psychological (internal conflicting inclinations); 2. Physical (complete separation of flesh and spirit); 3. Metaphysical (“the opposition between G-d and Satan); 4. Cosmic (“two opposing celestial spirits or two distinct and present divisions of the universe”); 5. Ethical (humanity divided into two groups based on their respective virtue or lack thereof); 6. Eschatological (separation of time into the present period and the final aeon); 7. Soteriological (humanity divided on faith/ lack of faith in a savior figure). The two that Charlesworth lists but does not define are terms from H. W. Huppenbauer’s monograph *Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten*. These are 8. Anthropological (*anthropologischem Dualismus*, similar to physical dualism, it is the opposition of body and soul as separate aspects of the same being), and 9. Cosmological (*kosmologischem Dualismus*- distinct from cosmic dualism- when the split is absolute from the origins of the universe, similar to Bianchi’s radical dualism). See Frey, “Different Patterns,” 275 – 335 for further expansion on these categories. In addition, Duhaime’s “Le dualisme de Qumrân,” is required reading on these categories as he defines what Charlesworth relegates to a footnote.

²⁵ Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison,” 76 n. 1. This is similar to Bianchi’s Softened dualism.

²⁶ I would add two, in particular. Werblowsky, “Dualism,” listed prophetic dualism (that of the duality separating G-d and creation), and J. G. Gammie, in his article “Spatial and Ethical Dualism in Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature,” *JBL* 93 (1974): 356- 385, introduced a twelfth type, that of spatial dualism (the dichotomy between earth and heaven). This final category might be happily modified to include sacred space dimensions as well, but I will not expand on this here. Further, the reader should

these types often overlap, and more than one can certainly show up in a large library like Qumran. It is just as important, as J. Duhaime has reminded us, not merely to categorize the texts we study, but also to pay close attention to the ways in which these different categories interact in the same text or library. Such close readings may give us a more complete view of the body of texts and their community.²⁷ Thus, using both Bianchi's polarized system as a method of describing the essential nature of dualistic belief systems, as well as the Charlesworth typologies to categorize their specific content nuances, we can establish a matrix for charting the types of dualism with which we are presented.

The differences between sectarian and non-sectarian scrolls have also been refined since the early stages of Qumran scholarship,²⁸ but this advancement is not always used to its best advantage.²⁹ Instead of the belief that all the non-biblical scrolls of Qumran were of sectarian origin, we are now faced with the misconception that dualism is a product of the sect and can be thus used to identify sectarian scrolls. Rather conservatively, for example, D. Dimant has concluded that the dualism seen in the sectarian texts is unique to Qumran, and that the presence of dualism can be seen as a way to categorize an individual scroll as sectarian or not. While dualistic elements may appear in non-sectarian documents, she admits, these elements do not make a meaningful

note that these are only a few variants of dualism found in early Jewish literature, and one hopes that there will be more defined and illustrated in the future.

²⁷ Duhaime, "Dualistic Reworking," 32- 56.

²⁸ See, for example, Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," and Newsom, "Sectually Explicit."

²⁹ L. L. Grabbe, "The Current State of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Are there more answers than questions?" in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (JSPsup 26; ed. S. E. Porter and C.A. Evans: Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1997), 54- 67.

and complete dualistic system.³⁰ Further, J. Frey's suggestion that there are only a small number of dualistic scrolls³¹ is set aside by Dimant, since "only the sectarian manuscripts, which form a quarter of the eight hundred Qumran documents, are pertinent to dualism, since biblical and non-sectarian texts ... are not expected to contain dualism."³² Surely, this is an incredible observation in light of her later description of *4QAmram* as a non-sectarian text.³³ As we shall see, *4QAmram* is not only non-sectarian, but firmly dualistic.

One notable correction of past error is Frey's recent study of different patterns of dualism at Qumran.³⁴ Frey, seeing flaws in the "unilinear development" theories of Qumranic dualism, suggests that there is no single clear train of evolution in Qumranic dualism, but that there are two types that lie at its root. The first is an ethical dualism containing cosmic dimensions stemming from sapiential traditions (i.e. *IQS* 3.13- 4.26), and the second is a cosmic dualism based on the belief of two opposed angelic forces (i.e. *IQM* and *4QAmram*). Frey suggests that the types of dualism grew together from an early period in the community's origins. This theory allows not only for variation in the community's beliefs, but also for the clear extra-sectarian provenance of dualism. Therefore, Frey neither demands the de-mythologizing of cosmic dualism to equate it

³⁰ Dimant, "Dualism at Qumran," 55.

³¹ Frey, "Different Patterns."

³² Dimant, "Dualism at Qumran," 58.

³³ Dimant, "Dualism at Qumran," 72 n. 48.

³⁴ Frey, "Different Patterns."

with ethical dualism,³⁵ nor the possibly misleading mythological interpretation of ethically dualistic passages.³⁶

Conclusion

We have thus explored the concept of dualism, and seen how a generic definition and a tailored definition can be applied in order to help us understand the concept as it relates to Qumran. These foundations shall help illuminate the following discussions of dualism in *4QAmram*, and will allow us to assess the types of thought we see therein. In this chapter, I have suggested that the weaknesses of early dualism study generally lie in the failure to explore the sectarian or non-sectarian identification of the texts used. The following chapters will focus on the nature, type and influence of the dualism of *4QAmram*, and attempt to find the place of this Aramaic non-sectarian document within the Qumran library.

³⁵ A possible attempt to do so, for example, might result in the overemphasis of the two moral ways of *4QAmram* as opposed to seeing the two angels the way the author (I contend) meant them to be seen. Likewise, *IQM* might be re-interpreted as an internal war against sin, rather than the eschatological text that it simply appears to be.

³⁶ By mythological, I refer to the presence of supernatural beings or phenomenal events. For example, see the possible mistaken translations of *ruah* (i.e. spirit, as in ghost or angel) as pointed by M. Treves, "The Two Spirits of the Rule of the Community," *RQ* 3 (1961): 449-52, 449.

Chapter 3: Dualism in 4QAmram

There are two main passages containing dualism in 4QAmram. The first passage shows the most obvious and most often noted example, the description of the Two Angels who appear to Amram. The second passage is its Two Path afterlife section. This chapter will analyze these passages, provide a description of the dualism of 4QAmram, and identify the main types of dualism found therein.

Analysis of two passages pertaining to the dualism of 4QAmram

1) 4Q544, 1, 2 & 3: “The Vision of the Two Angels”

The passage most studied in 4QAmram is that of the vision, in which Amram sees two angels. The dualistic premises illustrated by these angels are clear in fragments 1, 2 and 3 of 4Q544¹:

	Frag. 1
[ומשתכל הוית במלאכין/עירין די חזית]	9
ברוח ^ו חזוה די חלמא vac. והא תרין דאבין עלי ואמרו ^ו דילוח ^ו	10
ואחזין עלי תגר רב ושאלת אנו ^ו אנו ^ו מן די כדן משן ^ו לסין עלי ואמרו ^ו לי אנו ^ו ה ^ו	11
כן ש ^ו ליסין ושליסין על כול בני אדם ואמרו לי במן מענא אנו ^ו ה ^ו בעה לאשתלטה והא נטלת עיני וחזית ^ו	12
די אחד ^ו מנרון חזוה חשן כפ ^ו תן [וכל ^ו כל ^ו ב ^ו] ושה צבעין וחשן ^ו חשן ^ו אפורה [vac.	13
ואחרנא חזית ^ו והא ^ו ס ^ו [לן] ברוה ואפיוה העכ ^ו [מכסה בלבוס	14
לחדה ומעל עינה ^ו ל	15

¹ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 322, 326. See also 4Q543 5-9, 1-9, 14 1; 4Q546 4 1; 4Q547 1-2, 9-13. The markings for fragment 1 signify the following parallels: 4Q543 (4QAmram^a)= dashes above the letters; 4Q546 (4QAmram^a)= dotted line above; 4Q547 (4QAmram^a)= dotted line underneath. For fragment 3, the markings show parallels with 4Q543 (underlined) and 4Q546 (dotted line above). The reconstructions are shown as Puech gives them in the *DJD*.

Frag. 2

- 11 מִשְׁלַּט עֲלֵידָן
 12 עִירָא דִן מִן הוּא וְאִמְרָ לִי הִדִּן מִתְקַרָּא
 13 וְמִלְכֵי רִשְׁעִי אִמְרַת מִרְאִי מֵא שְׁלִיטָן
 14 חֲשִׁיכָה וְכָל עֲבָדָה חֲנִשְׁיָךְ וּבְחֻשׁוֹכָה הוּא דְבַר
 15 אֲנִיתָה חֲזָא וְהוּא מִשְׁלַט עַל כּוֹל חֻשׁוֹכָה וְאִנְהָן
 16 מִן מִצְלִיָּא עַד אֲרַעִיָּא אִנְהָ שְׁלִיט עַל כּוֹל נְהוּרָא וְכוּן

Frag. 3

- 1 רָא אֲשֵׁלֻטָּתָּ וְשִׁאֲלָתָּהָן
 2 עֵנָה וְאִמְרָ לִי תִלְתָּה שְׁמוֹהָן

Translated as:

Frag. 1

9. [... and I will contemplate the angels/ watchers whom I had seen]
 10. in my vision, the vision of the dream. vacat And lo two were quarreling over me and they
 said [... his possessions]
 11. And they were holding over me a great debate and I asked them, "How is it you that you
 thus exercise a domin[ation over me?" And they answered to me, "We ...]
 12. [are thus rulers and exercise a domination over all sons of man," and they said to me,
 "By whom of us do yo[u choose to be ruled?" And, lo, I lifted my eyes, and saw]
 13. and/ that] the appearance of [one] of them had shed [like an ad]der, [and all] his
 clo[th]ing was brightly-coloured, and dark was the shadow of [his face...
 vacat]
 14. And the other, I looked] and lo [... luminous] by his appearance and his face was smiling
 and [(he was) covered in cloth of brilliant white ...
 [15. very much and from upon his eyes... to

Frag. 2

11. ... having] power over you [...
 12. ...] "This [watcher] here, who is he?" And he said to me, "That one is cal[led...
 13. ...] and Melchi-resha." vacat And I said, "My lord, which is the domin[ation ...
 14. ... dar]kness, and all his labour is da[rk]ness, and it is in the darkness that he le[ads ...
 15. ... y]ou see, and he rules over all darkness and I [
 16. ... from the s]aved to the land, I have power over all the light and al[l ...

Frag. 3 ²

1. ... I have received power," and I asked him, ["...
 2. ... he responded and he s]aid to me, "Three names[..."

² Puech suggests that fragment 3 of 4Q544 could be reconstructed as:

(1.) in the light. And me, over all the sons of li]ght, I have received power, and I asked him [and I said to him, "What are you called (2.) and what are your names?" And him, he responded and] he [s]aid to me, "[I

Discussion of 4Q544, 1, 2 & 3:

The major dualistic motif recognized in *4QAmram* is that of the Two Angels, as seen in this passage. The surviving fragments dealing with these two apparitions, which are by far the most compelling and characteristic aspect of the text, are disproportionately small. Only around ten to fifteen lines have survived on the Two Angels, probably only some of what must surely have been a much longer segment of the original book. However, the material that has survived presents us with a fully dualistic text with a number of interesting surprises. Though fragmentary, we see above a tale of a man being visited by Two Angels, a circumstance we can see through comparison with preserved lines from 4Q547 1-2 III, 9.

The most recognized term for G-d's messengers is מלאך, (as seen in the reconstruction in 4Q547 9 9), and this is the common term used in Jewish literature.³

have] three names, [and they are: Michael, and the Prince of (3.) Light, and Michi-zedek." (Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 329)

³ Josephus tells us that the Essenes, who may or may not represent the Jews at Qumran, preserved the names of the angels (*Jewish War* 2.142), but they were not the only Jews in the Second Temple period who believed in angels. Indeed, due to the presence of angels in the Hebrew Scriptures, it is very likely that most other groups accepted the existence of the celestial hosts. See D. Daube, "A Critical Note on Acts 23; Sadducees and Angels," *JBL* 109 (1990): 493-97, 493. Further, we cannot firmly claim that the Qumran Jews had the fullest or most advanced angelology. In *4QAmram*, as with sections of *1 Enoch* (see M. J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran; A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1-36, 72-108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (JSPsup 11; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 21) and *Jubilees*, we see examples of angel beliefs which pre-date the Qumran community, and are most likely not of sectarian origin. It has been claimed that Iranian influence accounts for the increase in angel traditions in the literature of this period. See J.C. Hindley, "A Prophet Outside Israel? Thoughts on the Study of Zoroastrianism," *IJT* 11 (1962), 96- 107, 97. There is no reason to believe that it was not also partially the product of ancient Semitic and Israelite belief. Indeed, dualistic pairs abound in ancient Near Eastern mythology; see S. H. Hooke, *Middle Eastern Mythology from the Assyrians to the Hebrews* (NY: Penguin Books, 1991). Some examples: in Ugaritic myth, Baal (god of fertility) struggles against Mot (god of sterility) (Hooke, *op. cit.*, 84-6); in Egyptian myth, we see Seth and Osiris, two antagonistic brothers who symbolize various struggles within society and cosmology (Hooke, *op. cit.*, 67); and, in Sumerian myth, we find the agrarian struggle between the shepherd-god Dumuzi and the farmer-god Enkimdu, the pair that has drawn serious comparisons with Cain and Abel (Hooke, *op. cit.*, 34). One might be led to think that dualism is a natural extension of the environment and mythology of the Fertile Crescent. Cf. Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 108-9.

However, here we may see the enigmatic term עִירִין, “Watchers” (4Q544 1 9).⁴ There seem to have been two sides to the watcher myths in the Second Temple period, one of which was the infamous fallen angels of *1 Enoch* 12.4,⁵ and the other referring to angels

The author of 4QAmram did have some Hebrew Bible material from which to develop his angelology. See, for example, the cherubim in the Garden in Gen 3.24b, as well as the instances of angels in visions, i.e. Jacob’s dream in Gen 28.12-15, and Isaiah’s vision of the heavenly attendants in Isa 6. However, it is probably more interesting for our purposes to look to material from the Hebrew Bible in which angels are shown guarding ways or taking sides. The angel as a path-minder is clearly seen in the angel sent ahead of the Israelites during the Exodus (Exod 23.20-22). The major theme of 4QAmram, that of angels taking sides, seems somewhat familiar with the struggles of Michael against the angels of other nations on behalf of Israel in Dan 10.20- 11.1. In addition, Zechariah 3 shows an angel as the advocate of the righteous, while Satan is shown as the accuser. This is a development of the role of Satan in Job 1.6-12 and 2.1-7. Finally, Ps 17.11 gives an intriguing mention of the “merciless official” who will visit the wicked, which may indicate the beginnings of the angels as a shepherd of the wicked. Therefore, the angels of 4QAmram are grounded in Hebrew Bible teachings. The LXX version of Job shows some infusion of angel beliefs into its translation of the Book of Job, thus indicating how fertile, and expandable to some extent, biblical tradition was during the Second Temple period. See J. G. Gammie, “The Angelology and Demonology in the Septuagint of the Book of Job,” *HUCA* 56 (1985), 1-19. Further, we see the Two Angels taken up in other books of the period, and these texts may also have drawn from the biblical materials. In Jude 9, Michael and the devil are in opposition over Moses. In the *Testament of Abraham*, from around the 2nd c. CE, we see Two Angels in charge of recording sins and righteous deeds (13.9). See E. P. Sanders, “The Testament of Abraham,” in *The OT Pseudepigrapha*, pages 1: 871-902. Finally, we see in the pre-Christian text *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, cf. *T. Juda* 20.1, that the Two Spirits of truth and error lead men astray. See H. C. Kee, “The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” *OT Pseudepigrapha*, 1: 775-828. However, 4QAmram shows a major adaptation and revision of traditional biblical material. Oftentimes, the development of the angel as a character in visionary literature leads to the claim that Second Temple Jews were developing a belief in intermediaries between themselves and G-d. However, this cannot be taken as certain. It is far more likely that the situation of a vision narrative was not conducive to the direct characterization of G-d due to the face to face contact and anthropomorphic imagery.

⁴ We see several possible usages of the word מַלְאָךְ. We should probably disregard the use in 4Q543 1c 10 and 4Q545 1a 9, as it most likely refers to “messengers,” rather than celestial beings. Puech supplied the use of the term in application to one of the Two Angels, when Amram had awoken from his dream (4Q547 9 9). Possibly this refers to the good angel only. Interestingly, we also see the presence of the term demon (טִשׁ, 4Q547 3 1; 4Q545 6 (17) 1), referring to something that leads. It could be suggested that there might be some interest in the use of these two terms, but the text is too fragmentary for a clear theory. More interesting are the appearances of the term מַלְאָךְ אֱלֹהִים (“angel of G-d) in reference to Aaron himself in the future (4Q543 2a-b 4; 4Q545 1a 17; 4Q545 4 17), which seems to indicate an angelomorphic theology of the righteous. See C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ, 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 187-8. Puech reconstructs or supplies four uncertain uses of עִירִין, all referring to the Two Angels (4Q544 1 9; 4Q544 2 12; 4Q546 22 1; 4Q547 1-2 9). Therefore, מַלְאָךְ seems to be the most common term, but the text has so much damage, we cannot be certain.

⁵ See A. Caquot, “Les testaments Qoumrâniens des pères du sacerdoce,” *RHPR* 78 (1998): 2-26, 21. *1 Enoch* is using in this passage the fall of the angels who bred with humans in Gen 6.1-8, the ones who brought about the flood. *1 Enoch* dates to ca. second BCE, and was probably written in Hebrew and/ or Aramaic. See Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 92-4; E. Isaac, “Introduction (to *1 Enoch*),” in *The Old*

who supervise different aspects of the world and who serve G-d.⁶ However, as the appearance of this term in *4QAmram* is largely the product of reconstruction,⁷ we will not go into its meaning at length. We can say that “watchers” is a common term for angels in *1 Enoch* and in *Daniel*,⁸ and this is probably the reason why scholars have reconstructed it here. Milik saw in 4Q546 22 1 the remnants of the word, נג[י], and this has been followed by Puech.⁹ However, in this fragment only the *aleph* on the end of the word, the definite article, is certain, and there is nothing else clearly legible on the scrap! Therefore, it is very difficult to accept the reconstruction of “watcher” in 4Q544 1 9 based on this evidence, though it is interesting to note that the angels in *4QAmram* may be instances of supervisory watchers, one over each Path. Therefore, we shall not attempt to build any argument based on a word that no longer survives.

Amram has been visited by Two Angels in a dream-vision, and he observes that the two are engaged in a quarrel over him (4Q544 1 10).¹⁰ The words used (נגר, a “legal battle”, in line 11, and יד, in line 10, a term usually referring to a court argument) are legal terms, pointing to the contentious yet official state in which the Two Angels stand

Testament Pseudepigrapha, vol. 1 (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1983), 5-12; Stone, “Enoch, Aramaic Levi and Sectarian Origins,” 159-70. See the text in the Charlesworth *Pseudepigrapha*, translated by Isaac, in volume 1, pages 13-89.

⁶ K. G. Kuhn, “Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion,” *ZTK* 49 (1952): 296-316, 223.

⁷ See Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 265-6. Puech notes that the reconstruction works well with Dan 7.8 (Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 325).

⁸ Caquot, “Les testaments Qoumrâniens,” 21.

⁹ Milik, “Origène,” 83; Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 327, 372.

¹⁰ It is not clear whether there was more than one vision in this text. The word in the opening line, רזון (4Q544 1 10), which refers to “vision”, is uncertainly singular, and there is only one clear vision that has survived. However, in 4Q547 9 8, where we see again the singular term רזון, Amram may still be in contact with the angel when the patriarch descends from Canaan (line 9). Unfortunately, there are not enough clear remains to tell us how Amram finished his vision, or what he experienced during the remainder of his time in Canaan.

in relation to each other.¹¹ The reconstruction implies that they both wish to possess him, and he questions their right to do so (4Q544 1 11). It is difficult to tell whether this is an impudent question, but the implication is that Amram is either curious or disbelieving regarding their power. One of the angels answers him, possibly saying that they have dominion over all people,¹² and asking in turn which one Amram chooses for a ruler (4Q544 1 12). A choice is offered to Amram as to which of the Two Angels he prefers to have dominate him, and the phrase אַנְתָּה בַּעֲרָה (fragment 1 line 12, “yo[u choose]”) has been reconstructed here on the basis of comparisons to 4Q547 1-2 12, and places the result of the quarrel on the shoulders of Amram.¹³

Amram looks up at the Two Angels, and what remains of the description shows one angel as ugly and snake-like (4Q544 1 13), and the other as a smiling figure in brilliant white (4Q544 1 14). It is clearly the light angel who speaks to Amram, as seen in line 11 of fragment 2. Though much of his description has been lost, we can safely assume that it is the angel of light. Puech notes that this description is reminiscent of the birth narrative of Noah, in which the child is marked by his bright and radiant face (*I*

¹¹ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 325.

¹² Therefore, G-d has set these angels over all his creation, and this is revealed to Amram in his vision. The Hebraism בְּנֵי אָדָם (“sons of man” or “sons of Adam”), may indicate that the angels rule all of humanity, not just the Jews. If this line is to be read in this way, we can associate it with the creation of man (i.e. all humanity), through Adam and Eve, in G-d’s own image (Gen 1.27). See S. Greidanus, “The Universal Dimension of Law in the Hebrew Scriptures,” *SR* 14 (1985): 39-51, 43.

¹³ Davidson notes that Kobelski also sees choice in Amram’s conversation with the angels, but warns that this is an uncertain reading and that no theory should be based on it. See Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 266. However, I am inclined to accept the reconstruction as possible, and this possibility is too important to ignore. The idea of choosing paths is not unknown in the sources available to the author of *4QAmram* (Deut 30.15-20), and it is likely that the text reflects this. Nevertheless, due caution should be taken in this area. It could be argued, however, that the ugliness of the evil entity and the smile of the good one makes the choice merely semantic, and there appears to be very little choice for Amram at the time, but this does not seem to have been the opinion of the author, and I assert that a choice is very likely presented to Amram in a serious manner.

Enoch 106.2-10).¹⁴ It is clear that this angel is bright, pleasant, and likely beautiful (cf. *Dan* 10.5-6).

In stark contrast, the angel of darkness is exceedingly ugly, with skin like a snake and a garish cloak (4Q544 1 13-14). חשל (line 13) has the general meaning of molting like a snake, and this supports Milik's reconstruction of the noun as כפ[תך (adder), as well as K. Beyer's reconstruction לוי[תך (serpent).¹⁵ Both of these terms point to the general snake-like appearance and nature of this angel. Puech suggests that the author is attempting to link this angel with the snake from *Gen* 3.1-5, thus making him further in the mold of the devil.¹⁶ This would be in keeping with other associations of snakes with evil (cf. *Isa* 27.1; *Job* 26.13; *Rev* 20.2; etc).¹⁷ The fact that the snake-angel is garbed in brightly coloured robes (צבעני, line 13) is a somewhat puzzling detail. There is no immediate association between colour and evil which springs to mind, particularly as others, such as high priests (*Exod* 28.31-5)¹⁸ and Joseph (*Gen* 37.3), have worn rich garments as signs of position, favour and respect. In this case, the author may be pointing to a sense of the worldly and alluring temptation that the angel represents; this is in keeping with the mention in *1 Enoch* 6.7 and 8.1-2 of the fallen angel Asael who led men astray by teaching them the decorative and colourful arts.¹⁹ Thus, the Two Angels are

¹⁴ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 326.

¹⁵ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 325; Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 212.

¹⁶ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 326; cf. J. F. A. Sawyer, "The Image of G-d, the Wisdom of Serpents and the Knowledge of Good and Evil," in *A Walk in the Garden: Biblical Iconographical and Literary Images of Eden* (JSOT Sup 136; eds. P. Morris and D. Sawyer; Sheffield: JSOT 1992), 64-73.

¹⁷ G. Wigoder, *Illustrated Dictionary and Concordance of the Bible* (Jerusalem: G. G. The Jerusalem Publishing House, 1986), 90-1.

¹⁸ Cf. Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament: Its Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Oxford (Clarendon) Press, 1925), 259.

¹⁹ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 326; Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša*, 30-31; Milik, "Origène," 81.

physically representative of their stations: light/goodness/beauty and darkness/evil/ugliness.

One of the angels, the snake-like angel who does not speak, leads humanity in darkness; he works in darkness, and all of his actions are dark (4Q544 2 13-14). He rules the realm of darkness (4Q544 2 15). The angel who speaks to Amram also has a distinct purpose, but it is unfortunately obscured by the fragmentary state of the text of line 16. However, we see that he has the power over the light, and is most likely the exact counterpart of the angel of darkness (4Q544 2 16).

We know that the dark angel has three names, and that one is *Melkîrêša* (מלכי רשע, “king of evil,” 4Q544 2 13). This angel, the dark force, who is shown working against the covenant of G-d in the *Curses of Melkiresha* (4Q280), is to be considered akin to Satan or to Belial.²⁰ Unfortunately, Melkiresha is the only name that survives. However, we can assume that there were six listed originally, three for the dark angel, and three for his light counterpart, and this has been reflected in a possible reconstruction for 4Q544 3 2-3.²¹

The most logical counterpart to the “king of evil” is the “king of righteousness,”²² *Melkîsédeq* (מלכי צדק), the priest king of Gen 14 and Ps 110, who re-surfaces in both Qumranic literature (i.e. *11QMelchizedek* II, 13)²³ and the New Testament (Heb 5.5-10;

²⁰ See the introduction to 4Q280 in Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 380.

²¹ See Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 329. See also J. T. Milik, “Milki-sedeq et Milki-reša’ dans les anciens écrits juif et chrétiens,” *JSJ* 23 (1972), 95-144; E. Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens*, 548-50.

²² Or, “My King is Righteousness.” See Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 380.

²³ *11QMelchizedek*, a fragmentary, most likely sectarian, text from Cave 11, dates to ca. the 1st c. BCE. See VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 52-4; Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 118-20. One other important text that briefly mentions Melkizedek is the *Shirot ha-Shabbat* (4Q400-408, also known as *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and *The Angelic Liturgy*). In this unusual text, which may be as

6.19-7.17).²⁴ In Gen 14.18, Melkizedek meets and helps Abraham, who, in gratitude, makes the first tithe to the priest-king of Salem, the priest of the Most High, “Elyon” (עליון).²⁵ In Ps 110.4, this priest-king is pictured as a priestly ideal. In *4QAmram*, as a vehicle of G-d’s will to the Levite patriarch Amram, Melkizedek is an angel teaching priestly knowledge. That Melkizedek now appears as an angel should hold no surprise for the reader, given the curiosity ancient exegetes expressed over Melkizedek’s total lack of genealogy and life story in Genesis.²⁶ In Gen 14, Melkizedek, the good king of Salem, is contrasted almost immediately with the evil king of Sodom. This juxtaposition may suggest that the legend of Gen 14 is the root of the enmity between the king of righteousness and the king of evil.²⁷ We see that the Two Angels represent dualistic principles, not only in this text, but also in their legends.

Further, the other two names for each angel can be tentatively reconstructed based on other Second Temple literature. For instance, Puech suggests that one pair of names is the title of the angel, “prince of darkness” (שר חשוכה) and “prince of light” (שר נורא),

old as the fourth or third century BCE, and is very unlikely to have been created by the sect, Melkizedek is referred to as “priest in the assem[bly of G-d]” (4Q401 11, 3). See also the third century CE Melkizedek text from Nag Hammadi, which was most likely influenced by the Hebrews tradition, translated by S. Giverson and B.A. Pearson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (rev. ed.; J. M. Robinson, ed.; NY: HarperSanFrancisco, 1990), 438-44. Here, Melkizedek is pictured as a High Priest (cf. 5,15).

²⁴ See K. L. Schenk, *Understanding the Book of Hebrews* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000), 77-80, 104, etc. See also Y. Yadin, “A Note on Melchizedek and Qumran,” *IEJ* 15 (1965), 152-4; Y. Yadin, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Epistle to the Hebrews,” *SH* 4 (1965), 36-55; B.A. Pearson, “Melkizedek in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Gnosticism,” in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (eds. M. E. Stone and T. A. Bergren; Harrisburg, Penn: Trinity, 1998), 176-202.

²⁵ For likely pagan origins of the term עליון, see B. W. Anderson, “Most High,” *IDB*, 3: 451, and M. Delcour, “Melchizedek from Genesis to the Qumran Texts and the Epistle to the Hebrews,” *JSJ* 2 (1971), 115-35.

²⁶ Delcour, “Melchizedek,” 125.

²⁷ A. Steudel, “Melchizedek,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1: 535-7, 535; Milik, “Origène.” See also *11QMelchizedek*, in which we find Melkizedek with the “Sons of [light and] for the men [of] the lot of Mel[chi]zedek...” (II,8).

and the final pair is Belial and Michael.²⁸ This reconstruction cannot be certain due to the missing sections, but these are the most likely choices. Here, then, we see a balanced and evocative set of titles, each with a dark or light counterpart, and each mirrored exactly by an adversary.²⁹ While the pairing of prince of light and the prince of darkness may be expected,³⁰ the opposition of Belial³¹ and Michael³² is grounded in Jewish mythology, such as Daniel and *Jubilees*.

The image of the Two Angels in an ongoing struggle over Amram is highly evocative of the Iranian teachings on the dispute between *Ahriman* and *Ormazd*, the classic example of dualistic phenomenology. In *Yasna* 30.3-5, the two entities are portrayed as having been born simultaneously and then having *chosen* either good or

²⁸ See Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 327 L.13; 329 L.2. See also J. A. Fitzmyer, "Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11," *JBL* 86 (1967), 25-41, 32; D. D. Hannah, *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 70; Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša*.

²⁹ The three names also may form a pleasing chiasmic structure, balanced and almost evocative of the balanced nature of the angelic dualism itself. However, we cannot assess to what extent ancient Jewish authors understood and used "form = message" structures. See Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens*, 550.

³⁰ The term שר, "prince," is the most common term for angel in the final chapters of Daniel, and there they represent the guardians of nations (Dan 12.1). See J. H. Moulton, "It is His Angel," *JTS* 3 (1902): 514-27, 514. This construction is also used in a dualistic way in *IQM* XIII 10; *IQS* III 20; and *CD* V 18.

³¹ The reconstruction of Belial here is problematic. Not only does it exist nowhere in *4QAmram*, it might lead to the false impression that this text had a greater influence on Qumran than may be actually true. In fact, there may be any number of opposites to the good angel, i.e. any of the fallen angels of *1 Enoch*, some of which make better sense than does Belial. For instance, *Asael* himself, the one who taught the colourful arts to man (*1 Enoch* 6.7, 8.12), *Yeqon*, who led the angels astray (*1 Enoch* 69.4), *Asb'el*, who gave evil counsel (*1 Enoch* 69.5), *Gader'el*, who misled Eve (*1 Enoch* 69.6), *Kasadya*, the son of the serpent *Taba'ta* (*1 Enoch* 69.12), or *Kasbel* who taught Michael his real name (*1 Enoch* 69.14). All of these angels have good explanations in their favour. However, Milik chose Belial due to his traditional role as the opponent of Michael, and it is difficult either to prove or disprove this identification. Milik, "Origène," 86. However, Belial is the opponent of the good Melchizedek in *11QMelchizedek* (II, 25), and this might point to Belial being appropriate for this reconstruction of *4QAmram*.

³² Michael is a good choice here, though there is no textual evidence to support it. He is portrayed as one of the "angels who watch" in *1 Enoch* 20.5, and participates in Enoch's vision in *1 Enoch* 25. Further, he is the prince of Dan 12 1, and fights over the soul of Moses with the devil in Jude 9, a text which may be influenced by *4QAmram* (Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 288; Milik, "Origène," 95). Finally, he is the good angel in *IQM* IX 15-16; XVII 6-7.

foolish ways, and, moreover, though they are creative and primordial, there is no moral relativism that places good and evil as equal premises:

⁽³⁾ The two primordial-spirits, the twins, were, as it has been handed down in tradition, the better and the evil in thought, word and deed. Between them the wise chose aright, but not so did the foolish. ⁽⁴⁾ When these two spirits came together, they created the first life and non-life and ordained that finally the worst would fall to the share of the followers of right. ⁽⁵⁾ Of these two spirits, the spirit of falsehood chose to do the worst, but the most holy spirit, clad in the firm heavens, chose to do the right, and so, too, do they who with truthful deeds seek willingly to please *Ahura Mazda*.³³

Thus, if Iranian religion was dualistic, than so was *4QAmram*. Few philosophies or religions can maintain the truly equal division that is often demanded by rigid definitions of the term dualism.³⁴ Indeed, Qumran and *4QAmram* may be said not to contain dualism, if we demand that only the presence of creative, individualized and perfectly equal entities be judged so.³⁵ Rather, it should be clear that the Two Angels represent two defined and mutually exclusive factions, consisting of antithetical characteristics as illustrated by the contrast of light and darkness.³⁶ Further, the Two Angels may represent a constant factor in the world of humans, drawing souls either one way or the other. This is seen by the fragmentary line "about] his soul, it lies between the two of them]" (4Q457 3 3). Thus, the Angels can be understood as two principles having

³³ Translation from H. Ringgren, *Faith of Qumran; Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (tr. E. T. Sander, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1963), 78-9.

³⁴ Shaked, "Qumran and Iran," 433-4.

³⁵ Shaked, "Qumran and Iran," 433. See Werblowsky, "Dualism," 6: 242. Werblowsky writes that only principles that cannot be reduced to an ultimate first cause can be described as dualistic.

³⁶ Mutual exclusivity and antithetical characteristics are both integral, and (I assert) correct positions taken by Charlesworth in his definition of dualism. See Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison," 76 n.1.

two gravitational effects on humanity. In this way, with the understanding that the Two Angels lead two opposite groups, *4QAmram* does contain a type of mitigated dualism.

Clearly the Two Angels represent a binary pair of moral and cosmic descriptions: one, the angel of light, stands for peace and goodness, while the other, the angel of darkness, leads humans into wickedness and injustice.³⁷ Bianchi claimed that dualism is only present when the entities have clear causative and creative power, regardless of whether or not they are co-eternal.³⁸ It is clear from our reading of *4QAmram* (4Q544 3 1, in which the angel “received power”) that the angels were not the creative forces of the world, and had been given their power by G-d.³⁹ There are several arguments, however, that can be made to show that the Two Angels of *4QAmram*, though apparently not independent, represent dualistic, binary opposites. The use of the term “to lead” (לְהַנְחִיל) in 4Q544 2 13, for instance, referring to the power of the Two Angels over humanity, does justify us in assuming that the author believed the angels had some instigative, if not creative, powers over the earth, and thus sustained the universe’s order.⁴⁰

2) 4Q548 1 ii-2: The Two Ends of the Two Paths; Eschatology or not Eschatology?

The contents of the major fragment of 4Q548⁴¹ are as follows:

³⁷ Cf. 4Q547 3, etc.

³⁸ Bianchi, “The Category of Dualism,” 15.

³⁹ Though the fact that G-d is the one who makes them rule is not explicit in the text, we can assume, given the basic theology of the text, as well as other standards of Jewish literature of the time, that it was G-d who set the Two Angels to their tasks. See Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 266.

⁴⁰ 4Q544 2 14.

⁴¹ Reconstruction according to Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 394-5. This copy was identified as a copy of *4QAmram* due to its use of darkness and light imagery (see chapter 1). In fact, this copy is difficult to accept without hesitation as a copy of *4QAmram*. The identification is problematic, as we see by Milik’s wavering between a *4QAmram* and *Test. Levi* identification, as well as questions of its connections to the horoscope texts (Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 391). In the end there is no certainty if 4Q548 belongs to *4QAmram* or

1	o [] יושבט/ין]
2	לא תהוה אס[ותא להון וכל ארחתן
3	ירחקון [אנון מן אסיאנהון]
4	(לא) יפלטון[אנון מן מותא ומן אבדנא
5	שלמא להוה ע[ליכון בני ברכתא ושנמחא
6	ל[כל דרי ישראל לכלן עלמין
7	קנאת מר[אי חרא בי די בני צ[דקתא לא מהלכין בקשט אף]
8	תתק[רון כלכון בש[מכון בני שקר ולא בני קשט [
9	אנה מ[חנה לכו[ן ארח[א {י}צבתא אנה מודע לכו[ן קשטא ארו כל בני נהורא
10	נהירין להוון וכל בני [חשוכא חשיכין להוון א[רו בני נהורא ישתכלון(?)]
11	ובכל מנדעהון [צדיקין ל[הוון ובני חשוכא יתעדון ו]
12	ארו כל סכל ורש[יע חשיך וכלן חכים וקשיט נהירין אלו כל בני נהורא
13	לנהורא ל[תמימותא] <נעימותא> ולשלמא ב[דינא רבא יהכו[ן וכל בני חש[וכא לחשוכא למותא]
14	ולאבדנא יהכון [ביומא דנה תנה[ר לעמא נהירותא ואחוי ל[הון די [
15	ואנ[דעון] ון מן חשוכא ארו כל [בני נהורא וכל]
16	בנין חשוכה [וכל בני נהורא]

Translated as:

1. ...] [] they will flay/ and of the tribes/ rods [...
2. ... there will be no cu]re for them and all th[ei]r ways [...
3. ...] them [will be far away] from their healer ...
4. ... (they)] (there) will be (no) [esca]pe for them from Death or A[baddon ...
5. ... peace will be u]pon you, the sons of the blessing, and [the] j[oy ...
6. ... for] all the generations of Israel for all [ages ...

not, as it has no parallels with any of the certain copies, and its identification as a copy of *4QAmram* depends entirely on the importance that light/darkness dualism plays in this text (Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 392). In addition, this copy is very late, as Puech dates it to the late 1st c BCE (Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 393), and this might not conclusively point to it being another text, but introduces questions of later sectarian adaptation of *4QAmram*. In the end, my uncertainty has led me to follow Puech and Milik in taking this as a copy of *4QAmram*, though caution should be heeded.

7. ... [the zeal of] my [Lor]d burns in me, because the sons of righteous[ness do not walk in truth. Also,]
8. you will be cal[led, you all, by] your [na]me, sons of deceit, and not s[ons of truth ...]
9. Me, I will sh[o]w y[ou] the desirable [way], as for me, I will make known to y[ou] the truth. Lo, all the sons of the light]
10. will be brightened [and all the sons] of darkness will be dark, bec[ause, the sons of light will instruct/ will be instructed (?)]
11. and by all their knowledge, they will be [justified], but the sons of the darkness will pass away [and]
12. Behold, every fool and e[vil one will be da]rk, and every [wise on]e and just one (will be) luminous. [Because all sons of the light]
13. to the light, {to the perfection,} <to the sweetness> [and the peace, in the great] judgement [they will g]o, and all the sons of the dark[ness to the Darkness, and to the Death,]
14. and to Abaddon they will go. [On that day will shine] for that people the illumination, and I will show [them] [that ...]
15. And they will make k[n]own [..].? of the darkness. Behold all [the sons of the light ... and all]
16. sons of [darkness ...] and all sons of the light [...

Discussion of 4Q548, 1ii-2

This passage has a decidedly different flavour from 4Q544 1-3. The previous passage clearly demonstrated that the Two Angels are separate and opposed entities (one dark and the other light), and that they shepherd humans on very different paths according to a choice between evil and good. While not stressing literally the image of two physical paths, this passage in 4Q548 shows the two ultimate destinations of the followers of the Two Angels. However, the Two Paths of *4QAmram* and the Two Angels should not be confused, nor is it advisable to neglect them as separate dualistic concepts.

4Q548 has no parallels to any of the certain copies of *4QAmram*, and was not identified as a copy without hesitation. I am not unaffected by this hesitation, either, and the unusual teachings in this passage (nearly the whole of the remaining text) only serve to make one more uncertain. However, I am using the passage as an example of the

dualism in *4QAmram*, because this is widely considered to be a copy of this text, and it cannot be ignored. Further, there are several small clues which may support (though circumstantially) an identification as a copy of *4QAmram*. First, we do have a type of Two Path motif found in 4Q548 (i.e. reconstructed line 7), and this is generally in keeping with *4QAmram*'s Two Angels and Amram's choice, as seen in 4Q544. Likewise, the use of "sons of the blessing" in this passage (line 5) follows the priestly lineage and concerns of Amram, as it might refer to Aaron's blessing of the Israelites in Numbers 6.22-27.⁴² There is also some shared vocabulary, such as the "generations of Israel" in line 6, and "the [etern]al generations" (דְּרִי עֲלָמִיךְ) of 4Q545 4 17, though this is scanty evidence.

What is somewhat more convincing, this passage shows a particular mention (in reconstruction) of the קִנְאָת מִרְאִי, the "[zeal of] my [Lor]d" (line 7). The word קִנְאָה is the same word used in Num 25.11, in which Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron, wins the eternal priesthood for his branch of the Levites due to his zeal in protecting the Israelites from intermarriage:

⁽¹⁰⁾ The LORD said to Moses, ⁽¹¹⁾ "Phinehas son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, the priest, has turned my anger away from the Israelites; for he was as zealous as I am for my honour among them, so that in my zeal I did not put an end to them. ⁽¹²⁾ Therefore tell him I am making my covenant of peace with him. ⁽¹³⁾ He and his descendants will have a covenant of a lasting priesthood, because he was zealous for the honor of his G-d and made atonement for the Israelites.

⁴² Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 396.

Thus, we see a possible link between this passage and the most treasured aspect of the Levite reputation: their zeal.⁴³ It could be that the author is putting the zeal of the Levites into the time of Amram, and associating it with the revelation of the Two Angels in Hebron. For these reasons, as well as due to the identifications made by Puech and Milik,⁴⁴ I have included this passage as a copy of *4QAmram*.⁴⁵

In 4Q548 1, we have a fragmentary discussion of what might be the afterlife beliefs of its author. Lines 1- 4 refer to the incurable sickness of the evil people, with a warning that they will not be saved from death or Abaddon. This is contrasted in lines 5 and 6, in which the “sons of the blessing” will have peace, which may be transferred to the generations of Israel. Those who had been called “sons of righteousness” have failed to be righteous, so the narrator, who may be the angel of light, or possibly Amram or G-d himself, “burns with [the zeal of] (his) [Lor]d” (4Q548 1 II- 2 7). These people will be revealed for what they truly are, and the promise that they will be called by their real names, “sons of deceit,” is tendered (5Q548 1 II- 2 8). In line 9, we can be fairly certain that the angel of light speaks,⁴⁶ and he offers to show good people the “desirable [way].”

After this promise, we are told in rapid succession of the rewards and punishments of those who choose one of the Two Paths (4Q548 1 9-14). We see an interesting assortment of terms for the afterlife. For those who follow the angel of

⁴³ See M. Himmelfarb, “Levi, Phinehas, and the Problem of Intermarriage at the Time of the Maccabean Revolt,” *JSQ* 6 (1999): 1-24.

⁴⁴ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 391-2.

⁴⁵ Further, the afterlife contents of 4Q548 is in keeping with the death-bed narrative of the book, see page 14 of this thesis.

⁴⁶ Puech has noted that line 14’s “I will show [them] that...” points to the speaker as the light angel, and this is a good possibility (Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 397). However, it would be unwise to exclude the possibility that Amram is one of the speakers in this passage, particularly in lines 5- 7, as this might be related to Amram’s teachings to his sons, as seen in 4Q545 4.

darkness, we see a destination of מוֹתָא (“(the) Death,” lines 4 and 13, reconstructed), אַבְדָּנָא⁴⁷ (“(the) Abaddon,” generally meaning destruction, lines 4, partially reconstructed, and 14), and רְשׁוּכָא (“(the) Darkness,” line 13, reconstructed). The reconstruction of line 4 is quite sound, and based on comparisons with lines 13-14, as well as being suggested by the *Targum Jonathon*, Isa 53.9.⁴⁸ אַבְדָּן is a term meaning “destruction,” and appears infrequently in the Hebrew Bible. Its root, אָבַד, shows up in many places in the Torah with various meanings. It appears as אַבְדָּן, as a “place of destruction,” in Job 26.6 and in Ps 88.12; the latter shows it as a place cut off from G-d’s goodness. This is very likely how the word is meant in this passage, as a designated place of punishment or terrifying abandonment by G-d’s grace. Puech suggests that this Abaddon, or Perdition, may be seen as a “Perdition éternelle,” by comparisons with *IQM* XIV 17-18, and may be aligned with Sheol, and make the dark angel similar to the angel of Perdition in 4Q286 7 II 7.⁴⁹ In keeping with the antithetical elements of this passage,⁵⁰ those who follow the angel of light also have parallel destinations, though these have been largely a product of reconstruction. These consist of נְרוֹרָא (“(the) Light,” line 13), שְׁלָמָא (“(the) Peace,” lines 5 and 13, both reconstructed), שְׂמִינָא (“(the) Joy,” line 5, partially reconstructed), נְעִימָתָא (“(the) Sweetness,” line 13, largely reconstructed from traces⁵¹). It is unclear to where these terms refer, but it is likely that they point to an idea

⁴⁷ This is the Aramaic form of the Hebrew אָבַד. See S. E. Fassburg, “Hebraisms in the Aramaic Documents from Qumran,” in *Abr-Nahrain: Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (Supplement 3; ed. T. Muraoka; Louvain: Peeters Press, 1992), 48-69, 56.

⁴⁸ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 396.

⁴⁹ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 397.

⁵⁰ Cf. Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 397, in reference to lines 9 and 10.

⁵¹ Or תְּמִימָתָא (“(the) Perfection.”

of heaven. עֵיִן does refer in Ps 16.6 to “good soil,” in Ps 16.11 to “good fortune,” and to G-d’s name in Ps 135.3, and the general connotation is pleasantness and a good place. Interestingly, we see how “light” and “dark” not only hold the roles of moral states in *4QAmram*, but also become states of rewarding or punishing afterlives.

The common terms for the two groups of followers are בְּנֵי חֹשֶׁךְ (“sons of (the) darkness,” lines 11 and 13) and בְּנֵי נְהוֹרָא (“sons of (the) light,” line 16). In several other instances these phrases can be reconstructed. While Charlesworth pointed at the use of “sons of light” in both *IQS* and the Gospel of John as a point of probable influence, stating that only these two texts used the phrase,⁵² we can see here why the issue is far more complex. The presence of the phrase in a possibly pre-Qumranic text suggests that both John and Qumran could have been adapting thought which existed in Judaism far earlier. In addition, we should not discount the possibility that this late copy of *4QAmram* has been extensively redacted by the sectarians from what was in the original.

The concept of the Two Paths, one of light and one of darkness (symbolizing their obvious moral equivalents), without even the prospect of a third or neutral path, makes the whole of the universe take part in a dualistic cosmic construction.⁵³ This is, indeed, a powerful image. It certainly does meet Bianchi’s requirement that true dualism be a recognition of two defined principles, rather than mere imagery.⁵⁴ Further, one cannot assert that Two Path theology was simply a motif borrowed from other societies that did

⁵² Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison,” 101.

⁵³ VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 110-111.

maintain a true dualism. Significantly, especially when addressing the origins of the specific dualism of *4QAmram*, it is not certain that this particular image was held by any other ancient Near Eastern civilization as such. Rather, it appears to be a conglomerate of Egyptian, Hellenistic and Semitic influences, and most likely (as is evidenced by several proto-Two Path passages in the Hebrew Bible) had quite an ancient oral or didactic history in Palestine.⁵⁵ Further, we can see that *1 Enoch* 5.7 had also held similar views in the second Temple period, and we can see the obvious parallels between it and 4Q548:

But to the elect there shall be light, joy, and peace, and they shall inherit the earth. To you, wicked ones, on the contrary, there will be a curse.

There are also numerous suspected points of inspiration in the Hebrew Bible for the development of the Two Path theology found in *4QAmram*. However, we see no clear, single statement that encompasses light/darkness, good/evil, and Two Paths, such as we see in *4QAmram*. Instead, we must make a *pastiche* of concepts from the Hebrew Bible. The basic division of humanity into good and wicked, for instance, is a typical Psalms motif (cf. Ps 1), and the separation of light and darkness is first seen in Gen 1. The latter could also be read to support the goodness of light and the subjugation of darkness.⁵⁶ It is in Deuteronomy, however, that we find at least three important passages that show the ground from which *4QAmram* may have grown. In Deut 28.14, G-d commands his people to walk neither to the right nor to the left of his Torah. Though not

⁵⁴ Bianchi, "The Category of Dualism," 15.

⁵⁵ R. A. Kraft, "Early Developments of the 'Two-Ways Tradition(s),' in Retrospect," in *For A Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism and Early Christianity* (eds. R. A. Argall, B. A. Bow, R. A. Werline; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000), 136-43, 139-40.

⁵⁶ See, for instance, the presence of darkness before the creation took place, with G-d specifically making light to suit his will (Gen 1.2, 3), and the absence of the iconic "it is good" statement referring to

clearly a Two Path teaching, it certainly shows the themes of walking and direction as moral descriptors. Two other passages, Deut 11.26 and 30.15-20, clearly indicate that early Deuteronomic sources held what might be considered an early foundation for the Two Path belief, containing both moralistic and possibly eschatological dimensions:

⁽¹⁵⁾ See, I set before you today life and prosperity, death and destruction (הרע). ⁽¹⁶⁾ For I command you today to love the LORD your G-d, to walk in his ways, and to keep his commands, decrees and laws; then you will live and increase, and the LORD your G-d will bless you in the land you are entering to possess ... ⁽¹⁹⁾ This day I call heaven and earth as witnesses against you that I have set before you life and death, blessings and curses. Now choose life, so that you and your children may live ⁽²⁰⁾ and that you may love the LORD your G-d, listen to his voice, and hold fast to him. For the LORD is your life, and he will give you many years in the land he swore to give to your fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. (Deut 30.15-16, 19-20)

In Deut 30, we see the elements of the good path (life and prosperity) and the evil path (death and destruction). The basis of these paths is the love of G-d and his Torah, and “heaven and earth,” (which may have been understood as angels by our Second Temple author) will witness against man about his actions. Compare Puech’s reconstruction of *4QAmram* (4Q548 1ii- 2), which tells us that G-d is angry because the ‘sons of righteousness,’ (whose name, based on their actions, presumably refers to a title rather than a moral description) do not “walk in truth” (קנאת מר[אי חרא בי די בני צנדקתא לא מהלכין בקשט] (line 7). Here Puech has supplied the verb ‘to walk’ (הלך), and this appears to be a reasonable addition as this section, though badly damaged, does seem to have an emphasis on moral (and postmortem) directional movement. In this significant section of 4Q548, we also see the

darkness. Further, we see G-d’s act of creating lights to govern the darkness (Gen 1.16), which may have

author declaring the “desirable way” (line 9), as well as the destination (using “to go”) of the evil to Abaddon and Death (line 14, etc). There is an obvious parallel with Deut 30.15, “I set before you today life and prosperity, death and destruction.” In Deut 30, G-d has set out the path, one having good consequences, the other having destructive consequences, such as we have seen in 4Q548. Further, if 4Q548 had been originally a section of *4QAmram* with 4Q543 5-9, with its motif of choice between the Two Paths, and thus the two outcomes, *4QAmram* seems to have strong affinity for this passage in Deuteronomy. Nevertheless, it has clearly modified the meaning of the Hebrew Scriptures, and has added more afterlife impact than might be clearly seen in them. One should note, however, the connection *4QAmram* seems to have with the material in Deuteronomy, as well as the significant developments the former represents.⁵⁷

seemed to the ancient readers as a sign that G-d would not tolerate pure darkness.

⁵⁷ Other Second Temple authors and translators, such as those of the Palestinian Targum, as seen in *Neofiti* and *Pseudo-Jonathon*, seemed to re-work Deut 30.15 so as to increase the dualistic Two Path teaching, possibly pointing to the increased popularity of this theology in Aramaic circles. As the Targum shows a more confident and insistent Two Path reading of Deut 30.15, one might say that, if *4QAmram* shows a development upon the Hebrew text, the Targum shows a development of *4QAmram*. For an excellent appraisal of the Targums’ Two Path teachings, see S. Brock, “The Two Ways and the Palestinian Targum,” in *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays in Jewish and Christian Literature and History* (JSOT Supplement 100; eds. P. R. Davies and R. T. White; London: Sheffield, 1990); 139-52.

The Two Path motif is an important aspect of *4QAmram*, particularly when read in light of later Christian documents that hold a similar view of ethics. While the connections should not be pressed, it can be noted that the shared imagery is compelling. However, it is also conceivable that, given the material of the Hebrew Bible and the happenstance of everyday behaviour, two authors could independently describe the world in terms of two paths: one being paved with good ethics, the other with malicious ones. Nevertheless, the similarities intrigue us and remain a topic for debate among Christian and Jewish scholars. *4QAmram* is of obvious interest to scholars of Christian origins, and is an intriguing hint as to the Jewish (rather than Greek) origins of Christian dualism, for example in Matt 7.13 (the passage referring to the wide and narrow gates) or in Matt 25.41; 25.30. Note the use of “to go” language in Matt 25.46. See J. Verheyden, “The Fate of the Righteous and the Cursed at Qumran and in the Gospel of Matthew,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. G. Martinez. Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 427- 52. In addition, many scholars have noted the two-way or Two Path theology found *Barnabas* 18-21 and the *Didache* 1-6; see Kraft (*op. cit.*, 2000), 137. See also *Ancient Christian Writers: The Works of the Fathers in Translation No. 6 (The Didache, The Epistle of Barnabas, The Epistles and Martyrdom of St. Polycarp, The Fragments of Papias, and The Epistle of Diognetus)* translated by J. A. Kliest (Westminster, MY: The Newman Press, 1948).

While this passage shows a clear division between those who tread in darkness and those who move in light, I am not sufficiently satisfied, based on this passage, that *4QAmram* is clearly eschatological in nature. The fate of humanity does seem to be established according to whether they belong to the “sons of light” or “sons of darkness,” and the wages of the wrong path are death. However, the text does not seem to have the particular concerns we expect to see from “eschatology,” as the term is often understood by scholars. The basic meaning of the term refers to doctrines of the ‘last days’, either of individual people or of humanity as a whole. It is often used to describe apocalyptic beliefs in which the total annihilation of evil and the destruction of the world are expected.⁵⁸ While 4Q548 does discuss the afterlives of the two groups, there is no clear expectation of a final and all-encompassing judgement day as such. It may be that *4QAmram* represents beliefs about the afterlife based on the moral state at death for the individual, and not for the groups in the cataclysmic way most associated with the term “eschatology.” Indeed, given the fragmentary nature of this text, it would be difficult to conclude that the text is or is not eschatological. This has not stopped Puech, an obvious expert on *4QAmram*, from seeing eschatology in this fragment, and I am cautious in going against his conclusions. Puech has noted that it would be “contraire à l’évidence” to assert that the Two Paths of *4QAmram* do not lead to a “grand judgement” of both the righteous and the wicked.⁵⁹ He has pointed to lines 12 to 14 in this fragment as probable proof of the author’s expectations of a final judgement, at which time wickedness would

⁵⁸ Bowker, “Eschatology,” *Dictionary of World Religions*, 318.

⁵⁹ Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens*, 560.

be completely wiped from the earth.⁶⁰ However, I see no clear promise of this type, and there is nothing which convinces me that the judgement of the wicked will be either *en masse* or final. When Amram dies, if we accept the identification of 4Q549 as a copy of *The Visions of Amram*, we see Amram going peacefully into his “eternal sleep,” and leaving for the “eternal dwelling” (4Q549 2 2, 6). We could, tentatively, suggest that these lines imply an individualized afterlife, and a final (as evidenced by the use of עולמה) repose of the dead, with no expectation of a later, final judgement. Regardless, though there is no refutation of eschatology seen in this text, neither is there a clear teaching on the End of Days. Rather, in this passage we do see a firm belief that all the good “sons of light” will go to the light of peace, and that the evil “sons of darkness” will go to darkness and death, but we do not know the time or situation of their going.⁶¹

It is in this teaching that we see a highly bifurcated idea of angels for G-d’s judgement, though they are not given power in creation. Thus, while G-d controls creation, the angels play an important role in leading men to their final destination, and we can see that the dualism of *4QAmram* is real and significant.

Thus, we have seen examples of the two dualistic doctrines of *4QAmram*: the Two Angels and the Two Paths. Therefore, based on these two significant passages, we

⁶⁰ Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens*, 554.

⁶¹ See also E. Puech, “Messianism, Resurrection and Eschatology at Qumran and in the New Testament,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series, volume 10; eds. E. Ulrich and J.C. VanderKam; Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 235- 56, 247.

can say that *4QAmram* does exhibit strong dualistic elements, and that these elements have a long and varied background within Judaism.⁶²

The Type of Dualism found in *4QAmram*

Using Bianchi's three axes of dualistic types, Radical versus Softened, Dialectical versus Eschatological, and Pro-Cosmic versus Anti-Cosmic, we may categorize the dualism of *4QAmram*. We may then use the ten specific nuances of dualism found in Judaism, as described by Charlesworth,⁶³ Werblowsky,⁶⁴ Frey,⁶⁵ Duhaime,⁶⁶ Huppenbauer,⁶⁷ and others,⁶⁸ as a way to distinguish the particular beliefs of the author of *4QAmram*.

The first pair of categories is the axis upon which we judge the origin of the good and evil principles. Bianchi defines the poles of this axis as Radical, in which the two principles are "coequal and co-eternal," and Softened (also called Moderate), in which the two opposing premises are not co-eternal, and the second principle has derived from the first.⁶⁹ In *4QAmram*, it is not clear in what relation G-d stands to the two angels.⁷⁰

⁶² Collins has stressed many times that the apocalyptic movement should not be oversimplified, and different strains came from many quarters. See J. J. Collins, "Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Movement?" in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The NYU Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (JSOT monograph 2/ JSP supplement 8; ed. L. H. Schiffman; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 25- 51, 46.

⁶³ "Critical Comparison," 76 n.1.

⁶⁴ "Dualism," 243.

⁶⁵ "Different Patterns," 282-5.

⁶⁶ "Dualistic Reworking"; "Le dualisme de Qumrân"; "Dualism."

⁶⁷ *Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten*, 9-10.

⁶⁸ Gammie adds "natural science" dualism, and, more important, "spatial dualism," ("Spatial and Ethical Dualism," 360, 375). See also Rist, "Dualism", 873, etc.

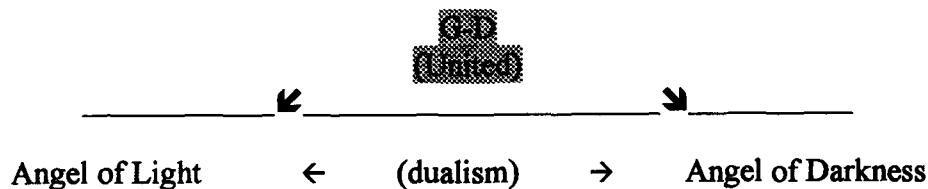
⁶⁹ Bianchi, "The Category of Dualism," 16, and "Dualism," 4: 507- 08. In the latter, the second in the pair is called Moderate rather than Softened, but the definitions are essentially the same.

⁷⁰ Ringgren noted that the creation of intermediaries was a result of the increasing transcendence of G-d during this period, in order to separate G-d from earth. See Ringgren, *Faith of Qumran*, 81.

The identification of this text as Softened dualism would be firmer if the document showed definitively that G-d was one of the two figures. Rather, we are presented with G-d's emissary instead. While it is often assumed that the two have been established by G-d, the text does not state this in any certain manner. We may appeal to the overall tone of the work, which is one of Jewish piety. Therefore, we should see G-d as representing neither principle as such (though the angel of light is his true representative in substance), but as being removed from the scene. Thus, we have a dualistic situation in which two beings have been established by G-d in opposition, and do represent a dualistic pair, while G-d is unified and whole as the creator of both light and darkness (cf. Isa 45.7). Thus, though the text is not explicit on the state of the angels' relationship with G-d, the Two Angels may be co-eternal and co-equal, under the One G-d. Neither of them has created the other, and they must work together on equal ground. This leads us to see

However, this doesn't account for the fact that, in a way, G-d, or at least his Will, became *closer* to earth through his revealing angels. It is hard to accept a major trend toward the loss of a personal G-d. By this token, we see that the Jews were not compromising their monotheism, nor necessarily creating walls between themselves and G-d, but rather were expressing delicate sensibilities surrounding the appearance and description of the Divine. It is the area of angels in which we see the most conflict with monotheism. If we contend that, for pious Jews, there is "no good thing" aside from G-d (Ps 16.2), then angels represent a significant obstacle. True, angels are seen in the Hebrew Bible, but the angels of the Second Temple period may be seen as breaching into dangerous territory. Certainly, later rabbinical texts look down on the belief in angels (Segal, *Two Powers*, 200). However, we see no real evidence that angels were worshipped by Jews, and we see no refutation of monotheism in their literature. Therefore, we must assume that angels posed no clear threat to monotheism in the eyes of the author of *4QAmram*, and that monotheism was much more fluid than we often give it credit for. See P. Schäfer, "Introduction," in *Mirror of His Beauty: Feminine Images of G-d From the Bible to Early Kabbalah* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 1-15, 1-3. See also L. W. Hurtado, "What do we Mean by 'First-Century Jewish Monotheism'?" in *SBL 1993 Seminar Papers* (ed. E. H. Lovering, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 348-68. Hurtado contends that those who question Jewish monotheism of this period over the presence of angels have far too rigid a view of doctrine and fail to see how "flexible and dynamic" Jewish monotheism was in this period (*op. cit.*, 355). Further, Hurtado puts a simple criterion on Jewish monotheism: they are monotheists if they describe themselves as such (*op. cit.*, 356). This latter observation prevents the harsh interpretation of hindsight, and allows us to see that it is not our rationale that matters, but rather that of the author that we must discuss.

4QAmram as a Radical dualism as opposed to a Softened type,⁷¹ though we must recognize that G-d is likely the creative power of both, and we actually seem to have a system resting something like this:



The second pair of categories, Dialectical (meaning two principles that co-exist eternally) and Eschatological (in which the good principle is expected to overcome and destroy the evil principle in a future period “at the end of history”), marks the temporal and existential character of the principles.⁷² While there is no specific promise that evil will be destroyed forever, we certainly see phrases such as “da]ys of the judg[ement,”⁷³ and “their appointed times,”⁷⁴ which may indicate that an eschatological hope was held by the author of this text. However, as has already been discussed, there is little evidence upon which to base a firm conclusion in this matter. We may say that, for the author’s

⁷¹ There are problems with the wording in this category as Bianchi has laid it out. Particularly, Bianchi defines Softened dualism as a system in which one principle springs from another ("Category of Dualism," and "Dualism"). This is problematic in *4QAmram*, as there is no evidence which suggests that the Dark figure came from the Light figure, or vice versa. If this system was one in which G-d was directly opposed by an evil adversary this definition might be more suitable; however, as it is, I suggest we amend the terminology slightly. Duhaime adjusts dualism to accommodate Judaism by introducing "Attenuated dualism," which he defines as a dualism under a single G-d ("Dualism," 4: 216). This term might be a better one than Softened for our purposes. We can define it as two opposing forces which both stem from the single power. I did not make this substitution above, in order to present Bianchi's terms in an organized way. However, we should keep this understanding in mind.

⁷² Bianchi "Dualism," 4: 508; Bianchi, "The Category of Dualism," 16.

⁷³ 4Q546 7 1.

⁷⁴ 4Q545 9 (17) 5.

own lifetime, the Two Angels seem to have been considered parallel forces, and it may never be known when or if the evil force was expected to be obliterated from the human realm.

The third and final set of dualistic categories is the difference between the Pro-Cosmic⁷⁵ and Anti-Cosmic descriptions of the way in which creation has been ordered. Pro-Cosmic dualism is found in those systems of belief in which creation is seen as good at its conception, with evil coming from an external, extra-cosmic, source. Anti-Cosmic dualism is the belief that evil is universal throughout creation, within all created beings, and that liberation from this evil is the essential duty of life.⁷⁶ This scale of dualism is difficult to assess in *4QAmram*, but, as Bianchi notes, it is the most central of the three categorizations when it comes to influence on the daily life of believers.⁷⁷ The basic result, then, of believing that evil is from an external source is that ritual is designed to deflect extraterrestrial influence. The result of the belief that evil comes from within is a lifestyle that focuses on discerning, purging and rectifying this evil. Therefore, understanding how these concepts apply to *4QAmram* will give great insight into the way in which the author of the text viewed evil and its required remedies. J. Collins noted that the belief in an external force is a typical characteristic of this type of literature.⁷⁸ However, the matter is not so simple, as *4QAmram* can be said to have elements of both Pro-Cosmic and Anti-Cosmic dualism. In the same text we have both the image that the

⁷⁵ Pro-cosmic is sometimes simply called Cosmic, but I have termed it this way to distinguish it from the nuance used later in the analysis.

⁷⁶ Bianchi, "Dualism," 4: 509; Bianchi, "The Category of Dualism," 16.

⁷⁷ Bianchi, "Dualism," 4: 509; Bianchi "The Category of Dualism," 16.

⁷⁸ J. J. Collins, "The Origin of Evil in Apocalyptic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Congress Volume: Paris, 1992* (VT Supplement vol. 61; ed. J. A. Emerton; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 25-38, 25.

angels speaking to Amram “lead” humans into darkness or light,⁷⁹ and that the angels give Amram a choice as to which ruler he wishes to follow.⁸⁰ Thus, the source of evil comes from both outside, in the form of angels, and inside, as an impulse to choose evil.

Thus, we can see that *4QAmram* is difficult to categorize neatly according to Bianchi’s theoretical axes. We can summarize it as resting in a Radical dualism under a unified G-d, with no certain Eschatology, and as containing both Cosmic and Anti-Cosmic origins of evil. This results in a One G-d distanced from evil, and both a concern for ethical behaviour as well as caution over influences from outside forces.

It may be necessary at this point to look deeper than these three axes, to the specific character of the dualism of *4QAmram*. Using the elements of the text, we can see that there are several types of dualism at work.⁸¹ Duhaime saw in *4QAmram* several types of dualism, especially cosmic, ethical, and eschatological.⁸² Ethical dualism should be the clearest of the dualisms found in *4QAmram*, as there is in the text the opposition of qualities such as good/wicked.⁸³ However, ethical dualism is not the best term for

⁷⁹ Cf. 4Q544 2 14.

⁸⁰ Cf. 4Q543 5-9 3-4.

⁸¹ These nuances include metaphysical; cosmic; spatial; eschatological; ethical; soteriological; theological; physical; anthropological; psychological. There are other types of pairs which may or may not be said to be dualistic, but these ten are the basic categories (Frey, “Different Patterns”). Eliade had categorized dualism into only two groups, that of Cosmic Polarities and Human Condition Polarities. The former polarity consisted of spatial; temporal; cosmic life processes (i.e. death/ life). The Human Condition dualism consisted of five pairs, including biological (i.e. male/female); ethical; and religious (i.e. sacred/ profane) (Eliade, “Prolegomenon,” 173-4). The dualism between sacred and profane things is the most applicable of Eliade’s contributions here. One should probably add another category of dualism, especially for the case of Judaism. This category should not be interpreted as the belief that sacred is separate from profane, as this suggests a dichotomy in social spheres not yet proven to have existed in ancient thought. See M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), 7,21.

⁸² Duhaime, “Le dualisme de Qumrân,” 406, 414, 418, 419, respectively.

⁸³ Cf. 4Q548 1- 2 12.

4QAmram in some ways. The dualism in the text is less the description of ethics than of cosmology, and represents the author's view that everything is in essence, not merely in ethics, divided into good or evil groups (cf. 4Q544 1 12). This idea is conveyed through the use of "sheer comic dualism," in which the Two Angels rule over "all the sons of man," implying that every person is subject to one or the other force, either good or evil.⁸⁴ Cosmic dualism is evidenced by the presence of the angels, especially in that they "lead" humanity,⁸⁵ and most likely should not be interpreted in any "metaphorical" way. In such interpretations, the angels no longer represent cosmological powers, but rather modern-style ethical principles given figurative, literary forms for the purpose of expressing inner angst. This text gives us no reason to suppose that these angels did not represent actual angelic forces, and, as such, we see a clear cosmic dualism, divided between the followers of the Two Angels. The major issue which may prevent the identification of this type of dualism is the modern inability to reconcile such beliefs with monotheism. It is true that we can assume that the author had no intention of abandoning the power of G-d, nor of saying that these angels work independently of the "permissive will of G-d" that gave them freedom to work for his goals.⁸⁶ We should not be tempted to read into the texts things that are not present, simply because we think they ought to be there, but I think we can assume that G-d was sacrosanct in the eyes of our author.

⁸⁴ Frey, "Different Patterns," 308.

⁸⁵ Cf. 4Q544 2 14.

⁸⁶ D.S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic: 200 BC- AD 100* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964), 240; Frey, "Different Patterns," 281.

Therefore, we are left with what Duhaime calls “attenuated dualism,” a doctrine which held a dualism under G-d,⁸⁷ as being the major category of dualism in *4QAmram*.

The Stream of Dualism Seen in *4QAmram*

For Frey, *4QAmram* illustrates a “priestly type of sheer cosmic dualism dominated by the opposition of two angelic powers.”⁸⁸ Frey separates the priestly type of dualism, an under-recognized stream of thought, from that of sapiential or wisdom traditions. According to Frey, sapiential dualism is that which stresses ethical dualism over the cosmic, though it may contain the latter to a small degree.⁸⁹ In contrast, priestly dualism stresses the cosmic nature of the universe, with an absence of ethical dualism in general, and no concept of psychological dualism whatsoever.⁹⁰ These diverse types of dualism, he claims, cannot be at all mistaken for one “Qumranic dualism,” but rather imply a multi-sourced library.⁹¹

The qualities that Frey links with priestly dualistic literature includes a stress on priestly genealogy, a stressed antagonism with traditional gentile enemies, a knowledge of priestly duties, and a concern for priestly purity.⁹² The text does show a preference for the priests, through the particular references to Aaron’s priesthood (cf. 4Q547 9 6), and stresses the marital purity Amram upheld willfully while separated from his wife in Canaan for forty years (cf. 4Q544 1 8). However, there are no clear “pan-Israelite”

⁸⁷ Duhaime, “Dualism,” 216.

⁸⁸ Frey, “Different Patterns,” 288.

⁸⁹ Frey, “Different Patterns,” 289.

⁹⁰ Frey, “Different Patterns,” 312.

⁹¹ Frey, “Different Patterns,” 313.

concerns, as Frey notes in *IQM*, except for a scant mention of “the generations of Israel” (4Q548 1ii-2 6), and the placement of the vision geographically in Canaan (4Q544 1). Neither is there a certain presence of the “classical gentile enemies,” which he would expect to see.⁹³ Therefore, *4QAmram* does not satisfy all of Frey’s criteria for priestly dualism. Nevertheless, the concern with and knowledge of priestly behaviour in the text may override this disagreement.

Frey suggests that *4QAmram* probably originated in the priestly circles of the third century.⁹⁴ Although Frey seems to make a circular argument (i.e., he bases the non-sectarian identification on the fact that *4QAmram* does not show “sectarian dualism,” though this term is hard to define, but maintains that it does not show sectarian dualism because it is non-sectarian), the general idea behind his theory is very useful. Frey’s assessment seems to be relying quite heavily on the content of lineage and priestly teachings⁹⁵ in the Levi-Qahat-Amram documents.⁹⁶

⁹² Frey, “Different Patterns,” 316- 18.

⁹³ Frey, “Different Patterns,” 314- 5. However, if one reads the word שִׁבְטֵיךָ as “rods” instead of “tribes,” then 4Q548 might be seen as referring not only to the postmortem fate of humanity, but also to the punishment of Egypt by the rods of Moses and Aaron (4Q548 1ii-2 1). Further, there is a clearer reference to Aaron’s staff in 4Q546 (4Q546 11 3), and a possible description of the plagues against “all flesh” in Egypt in that same copy (4Q546 10 1). These references may be interpreted as a condemnation against the gentiles, but, as these are directly from Torah stories, we cannot say that the text is preoccupied with gentiles, especially given the fragmentary state of the evidence.

⁹⁴ Frey, “Different Patterns,” 318.

⁹⁵ *4QAmram* has an apparent preoccupation with the purity and correctness of the priestly line. It has several lines, such as “you will be right/ authorized” (4Q543 2 9; 4Q545 1 a-b 3; 4Q546 7 3), “holy [to G-d Most High]” (4Q545 4 16), and “the holy priest” (4Q546 18 2), in which the appropriateness of the priesthood is stressed. This sense of correctness may be hinted at with the use of the word, כָּשָׁר, “to be right,” in 4Q543 2a-b 9. See A. Schoors, “The Language of the Qumran Sapiential Works,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 159; eds. C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 61-95, 83, in which כָּשָׁר is shown to be a “technical term in MH, meaning ‘ritually permitted, legal’.” There are not many such terms in *4QAmram*, but the use of כָּשָׁר may be significant. Compare these phrases with that engraved on the diadem of Aaron and the high priests who follow him in Exod 28.36: “HOLY TO THE LORD.” Unfortunately, the text is in poor condition, and we have no way of knowing

Taking into account the priestly lineage of Amram (cf. Exod 6. 18, 20; 2.1-2),⁹⁷ it is very likely this text did originate with the priests, but must we rely solely on this for

exactly how much of the original document centered on this topic. However, it is certainly in keeping with the concerns of priestly texts, such Lev 21. 6, 8; 22.31-33; 22.9, in which priests are commanded to remain pure and proper for their office. Further, in Lev 22.2-3, we see a strong condemnation of impure priests, as they profane G-d by their unholiness. Certainly, there seems to have been a fierce preoccupation with the purity of the priesthood in the time *4QAmram* was written. See E. Regev, "Abominated Temple and a Holy Community: The Formation of the Notions of Purity and Impurity in Qumran," *DSD* 10.2 (2003): 243-78, 264. For the narrator of *4QAmram*, the impropriety and sin of priests may have been a source of anger: "Zeal of my Lo[r]d burns in me, because the sons of rig[h]teousness do not walk in truth" (4Q548 1ii-2 7). Here, from the context of this reconstructed line, we see that the "sons of righteousness" is most likely not a descriptive term, as they are sons of righteousness but have not remained righteous themselves. Rather, the term may be for the office of the priesthood, and the line may mean that the priests have gone in the wrong direction.

Part of the way in which the author of *4QAmram* seems to solve the problem of an improper priesthood is the emphasis he has placed on properly inherited office. The Aaronide line seems to have particular importance, and we can say here that Amram is portrayed as a priestly patriarch handing the knowledge of the cult to his son(s) on his death bed (4Q545 4 6; 4Q546 14 4). Though it is not explicit either in the text or in the Hebrew Scriptures, Amram is here re-invented as a priest. Not only does he impart priestly knowledge to Aaron, but it is likely that he became a leader of his clan, and possibly a priest, during his time in Hebron; "in the year of my beginning to authority" (4Q544 1 2). This is an enigmatic line, but could be understood as his ascent to the priesthood. Further, this handing down of tradition through family channels seems to be based in part on biblical lineages (we shall see the emphasis placed on Levi and other ancient figures), and partly on a possible Second Temple tradition of literary authority. It should be noted that the authors of both *Aramaic Levi* (4Q213 1 I, 4-10) and *The Testament of Qahat* (4Q542 1 II, 9) established generational links by describing handed-down knowledge. Thus, the author of *4QAmram*, most likely familiar with these older documents, seems to be creating intentionally a priestly lineage directly from Levi, through Qahat and his son Amram, to Aaron. See R. A. Kugler, "Priests," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2: 688-93, 688.

⁹⁶ Frey, "Different Patterns," 317.

⁹⁷ The very nature of the text implies a certain link with Levi and Qahat, regardless of the authorship of these three texts themselves. It is probable that, figuratively at least, the author of *4QAmram* wished for his audience to read his work with Levi and Qahat, as well as Aaron and other Levites, in mind. The place of Levi and the Levites in the cultic life and politics of ancient Israel has been the subject of a plethora of articles and books in the last decade. See, for example, E. Nielsen, "The Levites in Ancient Israel," *ASTI* 3 (1964), 16-27; R. A. Kugler, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings," *HTR* 86.1 (1993), 1-64; G. J. Brooke, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament," in *Mogilany 1989: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls Offered in Memory of Jean Carmignac* (Part 1 of 2; ed. Z. J. Kapera; Kraków: Enigma Press, 1993), 105-29; R. C. Stallman, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *JSP* 10 (1992): 163-89; R. A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi* (SBL Early Judaism and its Literature Series No. 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996); etc. Therefore, it is somewhat unnecessary to go on at length on the subject of how the patriarch underwent revitalization in the Second Temple period. It can be said, however, that Levi did seem to have had a rejuvenation in the literature of the Second Temple Period. Where Levi was cursed by his father for being violent (Gen 49.5-7), the father of Qahat is vindicated in many Second Temple texts. For example, rather than seeing Levi's violent acts towards the Schechemites (Gen 34) as a cursable offense, *Jubilees* records that Levi's zeal for protecting the priestly line by avenging his sister's rape had won him a chosen status (30.1-6, 18-20), and he, along with his seed, was blessed (31.11-17). Further, the zeal that Levi showed by his act of fraternal rage became almost symptomatic of

the identification of its dualism as priestly? We have seen in *4QAmram* a belief that humanity is split into two groups: light and dark. These groups have Two Paths and Two Angels, and this certainly stresses a cosmic type of dualism. This fact is in accordance with Frey's suggestion that priestly dualism is cosmic at its core. However, it is not certain whether *4QAmram* is as devoid of ethical dualism as Frey would suggest.⁹⁸ While it would be incorrect to say that the dualism in *4QAmram* is "really" psychological,⁹⁹ I do not think we can say that it has no ethical content. After all, the choice that Amram is asked to make before the Two Angels is, at its core, an ethical choice. It is correct to say that *4QAmram* appears to be devoid of long lists of ethical characteristics of the two factions,¹⁰⁰ but it is not wise to disregard the implications of

his line, a quality that is later praised. When Israel sinned with the golden calf, it was the Levites who rallied around Moses and slaughtered the idolaters (Exod 32.26-9), and for this the clan was "set apart" (Exod 32.29). Later, Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron, was granted an "everlasting priesthood" for his bloody murder of an Israelite and the Moabite woman with whom he had intermarried (Num 26. 58-65). Thus we see, even in the biblical narratives, a pattern of Levites who take revenge on sexual or idolatrous behaviour (often the same grouping of sins) by bloody and violent means. There is even a common thread of the protection of the priestly or Jewish heritage in these stories. See Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 16. The main difference is that, when Levi acted, he was cursed, but when his descendants committed similar acts, they were rewarded. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Second Temple writers vindicated the patriarch.

The unusual aspect of the Second Temple image of Levi is his elevation to the priesthood himself, well before the consecration of Aaron and his sons. 4Q547 8 2, has a fragmentary yet interesting reference to "Levi, his son" making an offering. This line almost certainly points to the biblical Levi, and probably makes up a part of a priestly genealogy in order to establish the priestly continuity of the knowledge Amram is passing on to Aaron. Cf. Y. Leven, "Understanding Biblical Genealogies," *CurBS* 9 (2001): 11-46, 16-7. 4Q547 9 6-7, as reconstructed by Puech, may suggest a continuous line that stretches to Aaron's sons from Levi, a priest. While this is never directly illustrated in the Torah, one can assume that ancient reader of Deut 33.8-11, in which Levi is directly apostrophed in relation to "*your Urim*" and "*Thummim*," might have seen in the passage a description of Levi himself as a priest. Certainly, the prophetic book of Malachi described Levi as a priest, and an ideal one moreover (Mal 2.4-7). It is from these texts that the *Book of Jubilees* and the Levi, Qahat and Amram texts at Qumran might have taken their lead, cf. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 9.

⁹⁸ Frey, "Different Patterns," 320.

⁹⁹ Cf. P. Wernberg-Møller, "A Reconstruction of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community," *RQ* 3 (1961): 413-41, 419, on the dualism of *IQS*.

¹⁰⁰ Frey, "Different Patterns," 322.

choosing one angel or the other. The ethical dualism is not the most striking feature of *4QAmram*, but it is there, even if it is not emphasized. It is possible that *4QAmram* is an oddity in priestly literature, or, conversely, that the distinction between the theology of the priestly circles and the wisdom traditions is not as rigid as Frey would suggest.

I would conclude that, given the priestly concerns of the text and the largely-cosmic characteristics of its dualism, it is safe to categorize *4QAmram* as “priestly” in nature. Thus, *4QAmram* suggests that Qumran does seem to have been heavily influenced by priestly ideals, and that there may have been far fewer barriers between groups and schools in the Second Temple period than has been assumed.

Conclusion

There can be little doubt that *4QAmram* does contain dualistic teachings, and that it is linked to the Hebrew Bible, but has drastically altered the biblical material to design a dualism far and beyond that of the Torah sources. We see that *4QAmram* fits the categories of a Radical and Pro-Cosmic dualism, with some ambiguity in regards to the Eschatological element. The text has an emphasis on ethical and cosmic dualism with its battles between good and evil, illustrated through the use of both the Two Paths and the Two Angels motifs. However, we see in this text that the ethical dimension of dualism (the Paths) is subject to the cosmic (Angels), as the Angels lead humanity on the Paths.

In the following chapter, we shall see the ways in which five Dead Sea Scrolls use and modify the concepts of angels, G-d and choice. We shall see that there are several

points of similarity and difference between the texts found at Qumran that contain dualism, and with *4QAmram*.

Chapter 4: 4QAmram and Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls

Having explored the dualism of 4QAmram itself, we shall now see that there are a number of similarities and dissimilarities between it and the dualism we find in the identifiably sectarian texts at Qumran. This chapter will consider several main characteristics most often associated with “Qumranic dualism” and with the Scrolls regularly classified as clearly sectarian.¹ Through these discussions we will see how dualism was adopted by the Qumran sect, as well as how it was used to shape certain facets of the group’s theology. This should bring to light, at least partially, possible reasons why 4QAmram was kept in several copies in the Qumran library.

Sectarian Texts and Dualism

1) The *Damascus Document* and the *Pesher Habbakkuk*

The *Damascus Document* (CD) and the *Pesher Habbakkuk* (1QpHab) texts are, perhaps, the most identifiably sectarian texts. Though they have their own redactional and textual histories, there is little doubt as to their sectarian origins.² CD, of which the oldest copy dates to the first century BCE, was surely a foundational legal document, and is certainly sectarian due to the calendrical, legal, historical and organizational teachings

¹ These will include (1) CD and 1QpHab, together, for a discussion of sectarian polemics and history, and (2) IQM and the *Hodayot* for the eschatology and predestination aspects.

² J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (trans. J. Strugnell. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1959), 38-9; J. Murphy-O’Conner, “An Essene Missionary Document? CD II,14- VI,1,” *RB* 77 (1970): 201- 229; J.H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eerdmanns, 2002), 1.

found within it.³ *IQpHab*, a commentary on the prophetic *Book of Habbakkuk*, dates from ca. 54 BCE, and records the author's contemporary history.⁴ The author uses a particular type of biblical interpretation, "*peshar*," which seems to be characteristic of the sect alone.⁵ Both texts are invaluable sources of sectarian history. It is in this area that we can explore two main streams of interest for the dualism of these texts: the dualistic understanding of the Teacher of Righteousness versus the Wicked Priest, and the dualistic nature of sectarian polemics. While neither of these things represent dualism as we have seen it throughout *4QAmram*, they can be looked at as outcroppings of the dualistic way in which the sect viewed its own history.

The Wicked Priest was the sworn enemy of the sect's founder, the Teacher of Righteousness. There have been many theories regarding the historical details of the life of the Teacher of Righteousness,⁶ but here we shall focus on the legendary accounts found in these documents. *CD-A* I, 3- II, 1 records the sect's history, and tells us that the pre-sectarian group survived the Exile, but, though they had repented their sin, they groped for twenty years without a leader. Then, in his mercy, G-d raised the Teacher of Righteousness for them. Their existence was made known to the "congregation of traitors," the ones who broke the covenant for the sake of their own ease, and the "scoffer" "poured out over Israel waters of lies." He and the wicked men hunted down

³ Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 125-7; J.M. Baumgarten, "Damascus Document," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 1: 166-70; Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 116-7.

⁴ Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 131-2.

⁵ Charlesworth, *The Pesharim*, 1.

⁶ See, for example, M.O. Wise, "The Teacher of Righteousness and the High Priest of the Intersacerdotium: Two Approaches," *RQ* 14 (1989-90): 587-613; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period* (London: SCM, 1974), 224-5; etc.

the followers of the Teacher, and they had to flee. In *IQpHab* the author interpreted Hab 1.4bc as follows:

⁽¹³⁾ the evildoer is the Wicked Priest and the upright man] is the Teacher of Righteousness ⁽¹⁴⁾ [... This] is why justice emerges ⁽¹⁵⁾ [distorted. The interpretation of this...] and not [...] ⁽¹⁶⁾ [... Look, traitors, and behold,] ⁽¹⁷⁾ [be astonished, shocked, for in your time a work is done which you would not believe if] II. ⁽¹⁾ it was reported. *Blank*. [... The interpretation of the word concerns] the traitors with the Man of ⁽²⁾ The Lie, since they do not [believe in the words of] the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of ⁽³⁾ G-d ...⁷

Here we see that the history of the sect has been interpreted in a dualistic way, using phrases such as Wicked Priest and the Teacher of Righteousness, putting the two men into direct and dualistic opposition. This parallels the intriguing story of Moses, Aaron and the two Egyptian magicians as described in *CD-A V, 17- VI, 2*:

⁽¹⁷⁾ For in ancient times there arose ⁽¹⁸⁾ Moses and Aaron, by the hand of the prince of lights, and Belial, with his cunning, raised up Jannes and ⁽¹⁹⁾ his brother during the devastation of Israel. (*Blank*).⁸

This dualistic understanding of an historical event is followed by a description of contemporary history, and it is clear that the rise of Jannes is to be linked conceptually with the rise of those who had rebelled against the Torah (*CD-A V, 21*). Clearly, the sect understood history and their own origins in cosmic dualistic terms.

It is in this area that the polemics of the sect are rooted. The *Damascus Document* states of G-d, "But those he hates, he causes to stray" (II, 13). Thus, the sect not only perceived history in terms of dualistic antagonism, but conducted its political theory⁹ in

⁷ Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1: 11-13.

⁸ Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1: 556-9.

⁹ I use this term with no intention of aligning ancient "political" thought with what we see in later western culture. Rather, I refer here to sectarian polemic and conflict, as well as a way in which the people choose organization and identifications.

this vein as well, and became devoted to defining the “ethical criteria” of social memberships in “clearly defined groups.”¹⁰ That is, it was no longer an indistinct thing to belong to one Path or the other, and we begin to see how the sect recreated dualistic thought in order to promote a sectarian election. This is seen in the (unfortunately) very fragmentary reference to “[the so]ns of light” in the 4Q266 copy of the *Damascus Document* (1a-b I, 1), as well as in the firm belief that those who did not accept the words of the Teacher, and did not accept that his interpretations were sent from G-d, were “violators of the covenant” and apostates (*IQpHab* II, 1-10). Therefore, the sect’s hatred of its political enemies was based, in part, on the dualism which ran through its theology,¹¹ and we see a fine example of how these spheres of human life were not separate in any sense for the Qumran people.

In the end, we may say that other than the reference in 4Q548 1ii-2 7 to men who do not walk in the right paths, *4QAmram* has no preoccupation with polemics, but we can see how the terminology could have given rise to such a usage through its use of “sons of light” and “sons of darkness” motifs.

2) The *War Scroll* and the *Hodayot*: The End of Days and the Afterlife

The *War Scroll* (*IQM*) and the *Hodayot* are examples of sectarian literature that are at odds, to some extent. While *IQM* is most likely not of primary sectarian origin,¹²

¹⁰ Frey, “Different Patterns,” 304.

¹¹ See E.F. Sutcliffe’s article “Hatred at Qumran,” *RQ* 2 (1962): 345-56, 352.

¹² The *War Scroll* (*IQM*), which may date originally from the second century BCE, is most likely a pre-Qumranic work, but it has been edited and adopted to such an extent (and was kept in at least ten copies), that we are (tentatively) using it as an example of sectarian thought, if not an example of original sectarian work. See Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 102-3; P.R. Davies, “War of the Sons of Light

the other may actually contain compositions written by the Teacher of Righteousness!¹³ Nevertheless, the two texts hold several teachings in common,¹⁴ and may adequately be used to demonstrate the sect's beliefs on eschatology, angelic wars, predestination and the afterlife. These areas have several points of agreement with *4QAmram*, but also contain the most dramatic divergences.

We know that the belief in the Two Angels existed at Qumran, but the *War Scroll* takes this belief into the full realm of cosmological mythic dualism. This text is not interested in the light and darkness dichotomy (the sect had other works which did this for them),¹⁵ but is entirely interested in the roles of angels in the final eschatological battle (cf. *IQM* I, 1-7). The sect appears to have believed that angels would fight in this battle, with Belial and his lot struggling against the "Prince of Light," who is most likely Michael.¹⁶ Thus, we see the natural progression from the belief in the Two Angels, mixed with eschatological expectations, to an eschatological battle in which Angels take their involvement in human life to its ultimate expression. At this time (*IQM*, I, 1-7):

(29) Then the sword of G-d will pounce in the era of judgement, and all the sons of his t[ru]th will awaken, to destroy [the sons of] ⁽³⁰⁾ wickedness, and all the sons of guilt will no longer exist.

Against the Sons of Darkness," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2: 965-9. Ironically, *4QAmram* may show that this text is less firmly sectarian than was previously thought, as it gives proof that the term "sons of light", etc., was not exclusively a sectarian term. Otherwise, the use of these terms may show a Qumranic redaction of *4QAmram*, but the fragmentary nature of the text makes this difficult to discern. However, this may be an area for future study.

¹³ The *Hodayot* from Cave 1 (*IQH^{a-b}*), two of the eight copies found at Qumran, dates from the first century BCE, and is most likely a collection of separate texts from a much earlier period. It is likely that some of the poems date from the second century BCE, and it has a core of hymns of which it has been suggested that they were written by the Teacher. See Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 107; E. Puech, "Hodayot," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2: 365-9.

¹⁴ Puech, "Hodayot," 368.

¹⁵ Y. Yadin, "The Angelology of the Scroll," chapter nine (229-42) in *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (ed/trans. Y. Yadin; translated into English by B. and C. Rabin; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 242.

¹⁶ Yadin, "Angelology," 236.

We have already discussed the eschatology of *4QAmram*, but it has been often asserted that eschatology is a main feature in Qumranic dualism.¹⁷ However, it has been noted that there are, in fact, many different aspects and types of eschatology found at Qumran, and it is not certain what the 'orthodox' belief was.¹⁸ In any case, we can see that some texts, the *War Scroll* and the *Hodayot* among them, did hold a belief that the active role of evil in the world would eventually end in a massive and final battle at the hands of the triumphant sons of truth, or righteousness.

It is in the doctrines of predestination, however, that we see one of the most recognized aspects of Qumranic dualism and afterlife. This is most clearly seen in the *Hodayot* VII, 15-18:

(15) ... it is not by the hand of flesh, and that a man [can not choose] (16) his way, nor can a human being establish his steps. I know that the impulse of every spirit is in your hand, [and all] its [task] (17) you have established even before creating him. How can you change your words? You, you alone, have [created] (18) the just man, and from the womb you determined for the period of approval, to keep your covenant, and to walk on all (your paths)...¹⁹

Thus, we see why the doctrine of the *Hodayot* has been often identified as solidly teaching predestination. While the predestination seen here does not explicitly refer to the Two Angels,²⁰ it is clear that it represents a type of dualism: some people are destined to be evil, others to be good. However, the *Hodayot* does not contain predestination

¹⁷ P.R. Davies, "Eschatology at Qumran: An 'Apocalyptic' Community?" in *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics* (South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism, no. 134; ed. P.R. Davies; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 61-78, 61.

¹⁸ Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 209.

¹⁹ Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1: 152-3.

²⁰ J. Licht, "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll," *IEJ* 6 (1956): 1-13 and 89-101.

exclusively, and the ideals of repentance and sectarian affiliation play important roles in the salvation of humanity,²¹ but this is subject to the belief that G-d ordains human destiny. Though it is unclear, we may see that afterlife is directly affected in *Hodayot* XI, 19-20:

⁽¹⁹⁾ (Blank.) I thank you, Lord, because you saved my life from the pit, and from the Sheol of Abaddon ⁽²⁰⁾ have lifted me up to an everlasting height, so that I can walk on a boundless plain.

We see then in the *Hodayot* a cycle of election, perfection and reward, all told through a firm dualistic Two Path theology. As we saw in *4QAmram*, this is not the only type of dualism found at Qumran. Considering the element of choice presented to Amram, predestination may have been a Qumranic addition, and it was almost certainly not taken from *4QAmram*.

The *Treatise of the Two Spirits*: A Pre-Sectarian Text and Pre-Sectarian Dualism

To say that *IQS* was considered sectarian when it was first published is to imply a distinction where there was none in early scholarship.²² However, the sectarian nature of

²¹ E.H. Merrill, *Qumran and Predestination: A Theological Study of the Thanksgiving Hymns* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah v. 8.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 42.

²² Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 20; Frey, "Different Patterns," 279; etc. The neglect of the issue of authorship is just one example of the fallacies which plagued *IQS*, as one of the very first documents to be heavily studied from Qumran. We should note one more important problem of early Qumran scholarship, that of the scholarly preoccupation with the Scrolls as an access point to the New Testament and some academics' neglect of their use and place in Judaism. Therefore, Jewish roots of the doctrine found in such texts were not explored to their fullest extent. It may not be necessary to highlight the sensitivity of this area of study. However, the tension created by the historical appropriation of these texts by Christian scholars is of particular interest to those studying the weakness of pre-1990 Scrolls scholarship. At their core, it is generally accepted that the Dead Sea Scrolls are Jewish, and represent a community committed to the tenets of Judaism. Therefore, it may be surprising (though understandable in light of the political tensions of 1950s Palestine) that Jews were effectively shut out of early Scrolls research, with the notable exceptions of Sukenik and Yadin. This oversight, however, has begun to be corrected over the last twenty years, and Jewish scholars have taken greater prominence in this field than

this text is far from certain.²³ A. Lange pointed out several reasons why the *Treatise* appeared to be non-sectarian. For example, there is a lack of sectarian self-identifiers, such as יְהוָה, as well as a lack of mention of the evil בְּלִיעַל (Belial), even though the situation would have supported a teaching about this enemy.²⁴ This *Treatise*, however, was still very influential on the sect, and was quoted in the *Damascus Document*.²⁵ Though it may not be originally sectarian in its parts, the concerns of *IQS* with the state and organization of a community make it very likely that this document was actually gathered and edited by the sect, possibly before the occupation of Qumran.²⁶

Therefore, we now have a situation in which this complex, pre-sectarian, yet officially adopted²⁷ document can be compared with our non-sectarian dualistic *4QAmram*. That dualism “expressed in metaphors and images” of good/evil and

was previously seen. Naturally, the Scrolls do have a strong relevance for New Testament scholarship (see W.F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963), 249, etc). However, we should not fail to see these Scrolls as stage of Judaism, and, therefore, seek their place in the development of Jewish thought. It must be acknowledged that the scantiness of direct Jewish insight in early Scrolls scholarship is a weakness, and has created some resentment within the academic community, which may still survive today. For an example of such thought, see L. H. Schiffman’s rather inflammatorily titled book *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their True Meaning for Judaism and Christianity*.

²³ See Duhaime’s articles; “Dualistic Reworking in the Scrolls from Qumran,” 32-56; “L’Instruction sur les Deux Esprits et les Interpolations Dualistes a Qumrân (IQS III, 13- IV, 26),” *RB* 84 (1977): 566-94; “Cohérence structurelle et tensions internes dans L’Instruction sur les Deux Esprits (IQS III 13- IV 26),” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Biblical Tradition*. (ed. F. G. Martínez; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 103- 31.

²⁴ A. Lange, “Wisdom and Predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 340-54, 346-7 n.18.

²⁵ *CD* 2.6-7; Lange, “Wisdom,” 347 n.18.

²⁶ Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 108.

²⁷ VanderKam notes the problems with sectarian distinctions, but says that the “*Manual of Discipline*,” or *IQS*, is one of the texts which holds “distinctive views of the separated group,” and which may have been created for the sect. See VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 43, 57-8. Stegemann is more certain of the sectarian origins of this document, even the *Treatise* itself, and includes the Community Rule in the “forty works, at most,” which were actually created by the sect. The *Treatise*, he writes, is “surely of Essene origin and influenced by Babylonian Judaism.” See Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 104, 108-110. For the sake of these arguments, it may be feasible to discuss *IQS* as a sectarian document, even if we acknowledge its possible pre-sectarian origins, and it appears acceptable in scholarship to use it as a document that can reveal sectarian doctrine, regardless of its origins.

light/darkness is an element that seems “typical” of the sect is often taken for granted by students of Qumran.²⁸ However, *4QAmram*, when compared with this major passage exhibiting light/darkness dualism, shows us that it should not be assumed that all the “sons of light” came from Qumran. The *Treatise* states, for example:

(17) He created Man to rule (18) the world, and placed within him two spirits so that he would walk with them until the moment of his visitation: they are the spirits (19) of truth and of deceit. From the spring of light stem the Generations of Truth, and from the source of darkness the generations of deceit. (20) And in the hand of the Prince of Lights is dominion over all the Sons of Justice; they walk on paths of light. And in the hand of the Angel of (21) Darkness is total domination over the Sons of Deceit; they walk on paths of darkness. From the Angel of Darkness stems the corruption of (22) all the Sons of Justice, and all their sins, their iniquities, their guilt and their offensive deeds are under his dominion (23) in compliance with the mysteries of G-d, until His moment; and all their afflictions and their periods of grief are caused by the dominion of his enmity; (24) and all the spirits of his lot cause the Sons of Light to fall. However, the G-d of Israel and the Angel of His Truth assist all (25) the Sons of Light. He created all the spirits of light and of darkness, and on them established every deed, (26) [o]n their [path]s every labour <and on their paths [eve]ry [labo]ur>. G-d loves one of them for all.²⁹

We see three major points of interest for the study of *4QAmram* in this excerpt of the *Treatise*; the light/darkness dichotomy, the appearance of “spirits” instead of angels, and the clear belief in the Two Paths of life lying before people.

Charlesworth suggested that the darkness/light motifs of this passage pointed to the way in which the origin of good and evil was understood by the Qumran sect,³⁰ and

²⁸ F. G. Martínez, “The Men of the Dead Sea,” in *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs, and Practices* (eds. by F. G. Martínez and J. T. Barrera; translated by W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 31-48, 41.

²⁹ From Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1: 74- 9. I have changed the capitalization of that edition to reflect places in which actual angels or beings are being mentioned in order to clarify the differences of the passage.

³⁰ Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison,” 78.

that this document represents “a uniquely sophisticated” polarity between the two extremes.³¹ But is it dualism? We have already established that a mere dichotomy of imagery must not be identified as dualism,³² so how can we understand this passage? The first consideration for this question is the form taken by the light and darkness found in the *Treatise*. We can see that the two states seem to symbolize separate groups and moral values (line 19). However, there is a major reservation to overcome before we deem this passage truly dualistic. This text speaks of darkness and light in a rather natural way- just as sun and moon turn night to day,³³ we see a fluid mobility between light and darkness in the *Treatise*. Though “total dominion” of the parties is given to the appropriate sides (line 21), the “sons of justice” fall victim to sin from the dark forces (line 22). Therefore, while the text exhibits the “sharp antagonism” of dualism,³⁴ what we may be seeing is a fluctuating state of righteousness versus sin that may be more influenced by the realities

³¹ Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison,” 88-9. Charlesworth, though he was not the first to note the similarities between the dualism of *IQS* and that of the Gospel of John, wrote a classic article on the topic (Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison”). In this article, Charlesworth shows the influence of the period in Scrolls study. He notes that *IQS* III, 13- IV, 26 “teaches a dualism representative of the dualism found elsewhere in the Scrolls,” and which might be representative of the whole sect’s beliefs. See Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison,” 77 n. 3. Again, he does not explain why the *Treatise* is to be labeled ‘sectarian.’ John and *IQS* have several differences and similarities. See Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison,” 98- 103. Although Charlesworth does note that, to some extent, *IQS* and John were most likely affected by earlier Jewish dualism, he also asserts that “John shares with *IQS* a type of dualism which is unique.” See Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison,” 97. Charlesworth concludes, based on the belief that the dualism found in the *Treatise* is inherent only in the Qumran and Johannine communities. Therefore, he concluded that it is probable that John was “directly influenced by the *Rule*,” as the similarities are too close to have simply come from a shared cultural heritage. See Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison,” 103. That is, Charlesworth’s failure to investigate thoroughly the so-called uniqueness and exclusively sectarian nature of the dualism in the *Treatise* led him to conclude that the author of John must have received direct influence from the community. The unwarranted belief that the *Treatise* represents the dualism of the whole of the Scrolls needs to be revised. Scholars apply the conclusions from the *Treatise* to all of the sect and the library, based on the assumption that they all stem from the same school of thought.

³² Bianchi, “Categories of Dualism,” 15.

³³ Cf. Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 109.

³⁴ J. Enz, “Origin of the Dualism Expressed by ‘Sons of Light’ and ‘Sons of Darkness’,” *BR* 21 (1976): 15-18, 17.

of human behaviour than by a strong belief in the separation of good and evil. However, as the light and the darkness do seem to stand for opposing moral states (regardless of their fluidity), we shall turn to other elements for confirmation that the *Treatise* contains at least psychological dualism.³⁵ We can conclude that there is at least a sense of two moral modes and corresponding imagery in this text.

The *Treatise* presents us with a highly interesting oddity, that of the meaning of *ruach* (רוח) and its implication on the type of dualism seen in the text. Are we seeing angels, psychological states, or something else entirely? Why are we faced with both angels and spirits in this text? How does the presence of רוח affect our identification of the type of dualism present in the *Treatise*? There has been a spirited debate over these questions for some time, and arguments on both sides have been quite convincing in their turn.

In 1961, P. Wernberg-Møller³⁶ and M. Treves³⁷ both published important articles on what they saw as the “abstract nature” of the *Treatise*. Wernberg-Møller, convinced that the *Treatise* used רוח as “clearly... a psychological term” as opposed to a mythological one,³⁸ stated that *IQS* did not contain “strict dualism in the Iranian sense of the word.”³⁹ Further, the fact that the two spirits came from the same source excluded the identification of the *Treatise* as a cosmic, metaphysical strain of dualism.⁴⁰ Finally, in an association that would go on to be used in a number of discussions on the רוח of the

³⁵ Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison,” 76 n.1.

³⁶ Wernberg-Møller, “Two Spirits,” 413-41.

³⁷ Treves, “The Two Spirits,” 449-52.

³⁸ Wernberg-Møller, “Two Spirits,” 419.

³⁹ Wernberg-Møller, “Two Spirits,” 415, n.5.

⁴⁰ Wernberg-Møller, “Two Spirits,” 419.

Treatise, Wernberg-Møller equated the spirit to the *yezer ra* and the *yezer tov* of later Rabbinic thought.⁴¹ Treves, for his part, agreed that the concepts in the *Treatise* indeed resembled the good and evil impulses (*yezer*) of the Rabbinic works, and added that the way in which the word רור has been translated is misleading. Treves warned that the English equivalent, “spirit,” implies an incorporeal being, and is not to be found in this text.⁴² Rather, he wrote that the רור refers to “the tendencies or propensities which are implanted in every man’s heart.”⁴³ Thus, Treves saw no true dualism in the *Treatise*, but rather a discussion of the psychological pitfalls of human weakness and temptation.⁴⁴

In 1963, H. G. May published a counter-response to Treves and Wernberg-Møller, and wrote that seeing the two spirits as mere psychological forces ignores the “apocalyptic framework,” and misinterprets the “rôle of the angel of darkness and the prince of light in lines 20ff and ... their relationship to the sons of light and sons of darkness.”⁴⁵ May certainly highlights the main problem with the arguments against cosmic dualism in the *Treatise*, namely that the Two Angels are found alongside the spirits, but he does not fully answer the arguments against רור being a cosmic term in the

⁴¹ Wernberg-Møller, “Two Spirits,” 422. R. P. Bulka noted that “inclination” or “instinct” are incorrect translations of the word *yezer*, as these seem to neutralize the free will of mankind. He suggests the translation “capacity,” which allows for the will. See R. P. Bulka, “To be Good or Evil: Which is More Natural?” *JPJ* 14 (1990): 53-71, 59-60. See also E. E. Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs* (trans. I. Abrahams; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 2001), 471-83. See Genesis 6.5; *B.Kid.* 30b; *Eccles.R.* 4.13; *Genesis Rabbah* 9.7; etc.

⁴² Treves, “Two Spirits,” 449.

⁴³ Treves, “Two Spirits,” 449.

⁴⁴ Treves, “Two Spirits,” 450.

⁴⁵ H. G. May, “Cosmological Reference in the Qumran Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in Old Testament Imagery,” *JBL* 82 (1963): 1-14. Other articles supporting cosmic or combined psychological-cosmic interpretations of the *Treatise* are Collins, “The Origins of Evil,” 25; Shaked, “Qumran and Iran,” 435-6; J. Licht, “An Analysis of the *Treatise* on the Two Spirits in DSD,” *SH* 4 (1965): 88-100, 92; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 220.

Treatise.⁴⁶ Therefore, setting aside the Two Angels and assessing the two spirits by themselves, it seems clear to me that the discussion in the *Treatise* involving the term רוח refers to the sides of human personality which incline towards evil or good. This assessment, aside from the general tenor of the text presented above, has been strengthened in light of *IQS* III, 13- 14:

(13) The Instructor should instruct and teach all the Sons of Light about the nature of all the Sons of Man, (14) concerning all the ranks of their spirits, in accordance with their signs, concerning their deeds in their generations...⁴⁷

Here, the spirits are closer to being proclivities rather than supernatural beings. When used in concert with the horoscope reference seen here,⁴⁸ it seems clear that רוח refers to the internal make-up of people, all the Sons of Man. However, this is far from an assertion that the *Treatise* holds no dualism, for we see both ethical and psychological types. The two spirits of man, though in no way a threat to monotheism, or a cosmic dichotomy as such, clearly represent two opposed forces exerted upon humanity. In their way, they “cause the existence of that which does or seems to exist in the world.”⁴⁹

The final aspect of the *Treatise* which demands attention is the reference to the Two Angels, the Prince of Light and the Angel of Darkness (lines 20-21). Here we

⁴⁶ See A. E. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach at Qumran* (SBL Dissertation Series No. 110; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989). Sekki notes that, generally, the use of רוח echoes that in the Hebrew Scriptures. (94) He also notes that the usage of רוח in the *Treatise* is most often in reference to the spirit of man or the impulses, but his work points out the broad complexity of the usage of the term in even this one text. (193-215)

⁴⁷ Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1: 74-79

⁴⁸ Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 109. Horoscopes appear to have been an important part of the Qumran library. For example, 4Q186 is labeled a horoscope, and reflects beliefs about how the dualistic creation expressed itself in humans. Each person has nine parts, with ratios between good and evil.

⁴⁹ Bianchi, “Categories of Dualism,” 15.

clearly see a cosmic-style dualism, which very closely resembles *4QAmram*. The Two Angels hold dominion over the good and the evil people, and they supervise the actions and the judgement of humanity. It is a puzzle why the Angels and the spirits are both discussed in the same passage, but it is probable that the author was reconciling two different theologies; one in which man is tempted from within, and the other in which he is tempted from without. The first way of conceptualizing the doctrine, given the era's concern with wisdom, as well as the natural observations one might make of one's own 'inner voice,' seems to be a natural interpretation of folly and sin. This is useful for a person who has sinned or done justice, yet has never seen an angel! Further, this psychological interpretation of nature serves two possible purposes: an explanation of how people seem to vacillate between sin and morality,⁵⁰ as well as a prolonged and permanent warning for constant vigilance against one's worst impulses. The second interpretation, which places angels over people and at the ultimate root of evil, is very close to what we have already seen in *4QAmram*. This author (or editor) has knit the two together in such a way that we see the inclinations of the *אֱלֹהִים* as tools of the Two Angels.

Therefore, in the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, we see a combination of cosmic and psychological dualism, in which Angels, spirits and the imagery of darkness/light work together under the will of the One G-d. Thus, we see a more fully explained doctrine of psychological and cosmic forces in the sectarians' daily lives,⁵¹ a doctrine that sought to satisfy more traditions at once than did *4QAmram*, where we saw a somewhat simpler

⁵⁰ Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 110.

⁵¹ D. Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," 535.

story of Two Angels and a vision. However, it is clear from the *Treatise* how *4QAmram* might have pleased the Qumran sect: not only are all the Sons of Man subject to Two Angels, but *4QAmram* allows the reader to enter a dialogue with the Two Angels in a way that the *Treatise* does not. The presence of the *ררר* in the *Treatise* is not in conflict with its absence in *4QAmram*. The angels are very close in rank and description between the two texts, and we see great reason to believe that *4QAmram* might have been popular at Qumran due to its doctrines of the Two Angels and Two Paths.

Thus, we have established that the *Treatise*, being influential and central at Qumran (though it may have originally been pre-sectarian), has many points of similarity with *4QAmram*. These two documents clearly indicate that earlier assumptions of the “unique” and “sectarian” nature of the dualism found in such texts are certainly mistaken. We can see that the dualism was heavily imported from pre-sectarian circles (such as the one that created *4QAmram*), as well as from authors who were attempting to bring together different forms of dualistic doctrine (such as the effort seen in the *Treatise*).⁵² In

⁵² Let us now take a brief look at the non-biblical book of *Jubilees* (see O. S. Wintermute (trans./ed.), “*Jubilees*,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth, Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1985), 2: 35-142). *Jubilees* can be generally dated to the second century BCE, and although we have a complete text only from the Ethiopic Christian Church, it was certainly originally written in Hebrew and comes from Jewish circles, and was most likely composed by a priestly author. See Wintermute, “Introduction,” 35, 43, 45. Circa 16 copies of the book were found at Qumran, 10 of which were from Cave 4, and it was most likely very influential at Qumran. See Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 91-2. We could also speak of the *Enochic* materials here, which were also most likely very influential at Qumran, particularly in the areas of the calendar and angels. See Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 92-94.

I have chosen to address *Jubilees* due to its relative unity and the high number of copies found. The view of this discussion (as it was with the consideration of the roots of dualism and angelology in the Hebrew Bible) is that any claims that *4QAmram* had direct influence upon the Qumran group should be somewhat tempered with the acknowledgement that *4QAmram* and the sectarian texts may have had common influences and sources, or that *4QAmram*’s influence may have been passed through other works into Qumranic theology. For instance, there is strong evidence that *4QAmram* was used by the author of *Jubilees*. The latter work has Amram staying behind in Canaan to bury his kinsmen (46.6- 47.9, esp. 46.10), and this was likely taken from the *Visions of Amram* (See Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens*, 532).

fact, due to the questionable sectarianism of *IQM* and the *Treatise*, in combination with the non-sectarian nature of *4QAmram*, *Jubilees*, and *1 Enoch* (as well as *Aramaic Levi*), there are relatively few clearly sectarian texts which stress a dualistic ethic, and it seems likely that dualism was imported almost entirely from earlier sources.⁵³

Conclusions

Having seen some examples of sectarian doctrine, and having established the dualism of *4QAmram* in the previous chapter, we can see several characteristics that

The other possibility is that both texts used a third text as a source, which has since been lost. In any case, there are significant grounds to assume that these authors were receiving themes and matter back and forth. We know *Jubilees* is a non-sectarian text because of its early date, and its lack of specified sectarian polemics, as well as its differing style (i.e. done in biblical style with a lack of Qumranic-style interpretative methods). Further, there are some questions as to how well *Jubilees* fits with the sectarian chronologies and practice. For example, *Jubilees* condemns lunar calendars, and there may be reason to believe that Qumran did hold some lunar calendars, as well as some issues regarding the timing of the flood (see VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 154). Generally, *Jubilees* is taken as a non-sectarian book, and its second century creation and the wide use it enjoyed in ancient circles certainly supports this identification (VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 39-40). Further, the impact the book seems to have had on the very beginnings of the sect would seem to indicate that it was created by an authoritative author well before the sectarian split. (Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 92.)

An example of a passage which may have appealed to the sect is that of Moses' prayer (1.20):

And do not let the spirit of Beliar rule over them to accuse them before you, and ensnare them from every path of righteousness so that they might be destroyed from before your face.

Clearly, this name might have some connection to the Belial of the Qumran Scrolls. However, the Beliar of *Jubilees* is closer in tone to the Hebrew Bible than to later works. Beliar is seen here as an "accuser" and his fellow "evil angel," Mastema, tests Abraham (17.15-18) in much the same manner as Satan in Job (1 & 2). Although there is some reason to believe the author of *Jubilees* supported the ideas of demons as polluters and as those who lead men astray (cf. 10.1), the book seems also to hold (in keeping with some of the Hebrew Scriptures) that humanity itself often causes its own downfall by failing the tests set out by G-d and his attendants. Thus, aside from the calendar (Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 91), there are two main areas in which *Jubilees* is likely to have appealed to the sect. The first is the book's teachings about angels, and the second (while not clearly dualism) is the assertion of the Two Paths doctrine found therein (*Jub* 5.12-16). These two doctrines clearly interact, as the book teaches that the angels and demons lead men into good or bad paths (*Jub*. 10.1). See M. Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du Livre des Jubilés* (Paris: Minard, 1960), 75, 96. Further, *Jubilees* tells us that the Watchers had been sent by G-d during the time of Jared to teach and judge humanity (4.15), and spirits control and act upon the hearts of men (12.20), as well as different spheres of reality (2.2). Already we see the way in which *4QAmram* and *Jubilees* resemble each other. Therefore, we should not be lured into thinking that dualism and its associated doctrines developed in any one place or text.

⁵³ Frey, "Different Patterns," 278, 334.

come to the forefront. We see in both the *Treatise* and *4QAmram* a belief in Two Paths and Two Angels, but in the *Treatise* these beliefs have been modified to include the two spirits, suggesting a psychological dualism absent from *4QAmram*.⁵⁴ This difference may point to an influence on the *Treatise* other than *4QAmram*, one that stressed the internal and ongoing struggle even of righteous people in the face of temptation. Further, we have seen that such documents as the *CD* and the *Pesher Habbakkuk* apply dualism to sectarian polemics and history. This is a factor that is generally completely absent from *4QAmram*, which seems to see only nationality, and the appropriate choice, as the prerequisites for righteousness. However, the arguments, ideas and imagery used in these polemics are clearly compatible with the teachings of *4QAmram*, and may show how a non-sectarian document can shape the basic outlook of a sect. Finally, with the *War Scroll* and the *Hodayot*, we see an advancement of ideas largely undeveloped in *4QAmram* (such angelic armies and the eschatological battle), as well as ideas generally in conflict with the basic tenor of *4QAmram* (such as the predestination of the *Hodayot*).

Thus, we can recognize at Qumran a variety of dualistic beliefs and influences, and a range of particular types, aspects and impacts of these beliefs.⁵⁵ These beliefs connect in some instances and diverge in others, but still seem to serve the basic function of encouraging discipline and caution for the sectarians of Qumran.

We should recognize that dualism at Qumran was not the unified doctrine that some have described.⁵⁶ However, though many of the texts were gleaned from other

⁵⁴ See Frey, "Different Patterns," 322.

⁵⁵ Duhaime, "Le dualisme de Qumrân," 403.

⁵⁶ Frey, "Different Patterns," 278.

groups, they were often adapted and later used in the creation of actual sectarian documents, and we need not assume that dualism was unimportant for the Qumran group. As we have seen in the *CD* and *IQpHab* documents, dualism served as a central concept around which the sect built its identity, and its beliefs in the temptations of evil that are presented to humans every day must have greatly affected the members' lives and rituals. Thus, we can conclude that documents like *4QAmram* became important at Qumran because dualism was a vital part of Qumranic religious life, but we cannot agree that the dualism found in the above texts represents any single or unique form of dualism in the Second Temple Period.

Conclusion

This thesis attempted to establish three main points: (1) the non-sectarian text *4QAmram* exhibits a particular type of dualism within its Jewish context; (2) the dualism in sectarian texts was not unique to the Qumran sect, and was, at least in part, developed from pre-Essene texts such as *4QAmram*; (3) *4QAmram* held a particular place at Qumran, even though it was not a sectarian creation, due to its doctrine of dualism. We have seen that the dualism of *4QAmram* is a complex and particular view of cosmology held by a non-sectarian priestly author, and that the book may be useful for unlocking the secrets of the influences and doctrines of Qumran. Let us now delineate the basic answers to the dualism of *4QAmram*, as well as that text's place in the Qumran library.

The dualism of *4QAmram*

It has been adequately shown that *4QAmram* represents a form of Jewish dualism consisting of the ethical and cosmic division between the angel of evil and the angel of good. In sum, the dualism of this text is cosmic (possibly with strong eschatological consequences), with ethical dimensions. By using Frey's model of priestly dualism, and recognizing the priestly concerns of *4QAmram*, we may see that the text exhibits clear signs of having developed in those circles. Further, the dualism expressed in *4QAmram* does not show the tendencies towards polemics that can be discerned in the seminal sectarian documents, and it is highly unlikely that our text was written by the Qumran community. Finally, *4QAmram* suggests that dualism was far from unique to Qumran, and was, in fact, in existence in many groups of Judaism, even in pre-Qumranic times.

The Qumran sectarians built upon earlier views of dualism, angelology and eschatology, and combined them in a form somewhat distinct from what we see in *4QAmram*.

The Definition of Dualism and *4QAmram*

We can see how *4QAmram* satisfies the established parameters of the term dualism. First, let us take Bianchi's definition of dualism; "As a category within the history and phenomenology of religion, dualism may be defined as a doctrine that posits the existence of two fundamental causal principles underlying the existence ... of the world."¹ Bianchi further noted that dualistic systems also see "the basic components of the world or of man as participating in the ontological opposition and disparity of value that characterize their dual principles."² I assert that this second part of Bianchi's definition is largely satisfied by *4QAmram*. The Two Angels and the Two Paths seem to represent a direct and significant opposition of two principles. However, the first part of the definition might be problematic in terms of *4QAmram*. Can we say that the Two Angels are "causal principles"? The answer is, typically, both yes and no. The angels cannot be proven to have been causal agents in the creation of the world, for the text would have to give us more proof than it currently affords to let us make such a conclusion. However, the angels are not to be considered as entirely passive objects of the cosmological order, as they clearly lead mankind, and are therefore causal elements in the eternal system of existence. Therefore, I suggest that *4QAmram*, while serious about a monotheistic belief in the power of One G-d, is indeed dualistic in nature.

¹ Bianchi. "Dualism," 4: 506.

² Bianchi, "Dualism," 4:506.

Perhaps it would be easier for readers of *4QAmram* to look at Charlesworth's 1972 consideration of the term;

The term "dualism" refers to a pattern of thought, an antithesis, which is bifurcated into two mutually exclusive categories (e.g. two spirits or two worlds), each of which is qualified by a set of properties and ethical characteristics which are contrary to those under the other antithetic category (e.g. light and good versus darkness and evil).³

This definition, which is obviously meant to describe the dualism of the Qumran Scrolls, clearly suits *4QAmram* for the most part. In the text, we see the parallel and exclusive domains of the Two Angels. We should note here, however, that Charlesworth's definition is not entirely descriptive of our text, either. The preserved fragments of *4QAmram* do not contain a protracted "set of properties and ethical characteristics," which are said to qualify the two principles in opposition. This absence, I would venture, is due to the evocative use of darkness and light, which, to the author, were relatively self-explanatory in terms of their characteristics, as well as due to the text's cosmic rather than ethical preoccupation. Had this text been ethical, then we should not be surprised by long catalogues of ethical characteristics. As it is, the beauty of one angel in contrast with the revolting aspect of the other is the ultimate message of the imagery employed in *4QAmram*.

Therefore, we might take a distillation of these two definitions' common points, and with that describe the dualism we see in *4QAmram*. We can see that *systems of thought are dualistic which position two significant principles in opposition for reasons of explaining the cosmos or human nature in terms of two mutually exclusive aspects,*

³ Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison," 76- 106, esp. 76 n. 1.

either co-eternal, ultimately unequal in power, or created by a power ultimately higher than either of the two elements. We must, for the purpose of preserving the impact of the term, exclude those systems in which the dichotomy is one of rhetorical or literary flourish. However, we may include systems in which the causal elements are perceived in either cosmic or ethical terms, if these conceptions are believed to be real and powerful forces exerted on the passive object. Therefore, the definition presented here may be both limited and liberal enough to describe adequately the attenuated dualism of *4QAmram*.

Considering the definitions used and adopted here, there seems to be little doubt that *4QAmram* presents us with a specific case of dualism within an early Judaic context.

4QAmram and the Qumran Sect

There are several questions which beg attention after our preceding discussion. The first is whether we can speak of a “Qumranic dualism,” and what we can say that was. The second is to what extent *4QAmram* was an influential force on the Qumran sect. The third and final question is why *4QAmram* was kept in at least five (but perhaps seven) copies at Qumran.

Can one speak of a “Qumranic dualism”? Further, can we speak of uniqueness when referring to the dualism of Qumran?⁴ Dimant concluded that dualism at Qumran was a striking sectarian characteristic, and that it represented a coherent and central system of thought underlying the theology of Qumran.⁵ This is not true, in the strictest sense. It is clear that the types of dualism presented in the texts discussed are not always

⁴ Dimant, “Dualism at Qumran,” 55.

⁵ Dimant, “Dualism at Qumran,” 55, 57-9, 58 n.5.

in conflict, but we see no single unified type.⁶ For example, the presence of *4QAmram* shows that the ideals of predestination and eschatology, often deemed central to the sect, were not held to the exclusion of other types of theology. There is no evidence that the sect attempted to build a single doctrine of dualism for itself. However, there is every reason to think that it collected or created texts that satisfied particular needs, while it had no clear concerns that the texts be in perfect agreement with each other.

Having said this, we can see several characteristics that could be called “Qumranic dualism” in a loose way. First, we must recognize that there is no dualism found at Qumran which clearly threatens the Unity and Oneness of G-d.⁷ Secondly, we see a strong antagonism between good and evil, which is void of moral relativism and shows no sign of believing that the two principles are equal, or have equal value. In every respect, evil is to be shunned, feared and purged. This goal is the ultimate purpose of the dualistic texts found at Qumran, and it can be said that the basic premise of all dualistic passages found in the Qumran library fulfills this function. Thirdly, we can say that the dualism of the Qumran library can be ethical, psychological, or cosmic. We can see, as with *Jubilees*, an idea that sin can be caused by evil angels, as well as by a failure to prove one’s devotion to G-d through appropriate vigilance against the effects of pollution and sin. Further, as the adoption of the *Treatise* shows, there is a desire to make the psychological and cosmic elements fit together in a serious and useful fashion. Indeed,

⁶ Frey, “Different Patterns,” 333.

⁷ Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran*, 68.

the realms of angels, repentance and the spirit seem to be highly regarded in the Qumran circles.⁸

However, in the end, it is neither advisable nor warranted to speak of a “Qumranic dualism,” as this seems to imply a deep gulf between Qumranic beliefs and the context from which they grew. From the examples of *4QAmram*, the Hebrew Bible, the *Treatise*, and the *Book of Jubilees*, we see that several periods and schools of Judaism fed into the dualism at Qumran. Therefore, we cannot say that the dualism of Qumran was unique as such, though certain doctrines may be different from those in texts preserved elsewhere from that era.

Rather, we should consider the likelihood that Judaism in Second Temple Palestine was less divided than was once asserted. Thus, we should not speak of “Qumranic dualism,” but rather of dualism as a whole in this period. We should not fall into the trap of assuming a greater distinctiveness in Qumran than is warranted, simply due to the fact that we have a library here while we do not have ones from many other schools and groups of the period.

How was *4QAmram* influential on the Qumran sect? Though *4QAmram* relied on the Hebrew Bible, its dualism seems to be a development from the scriptures, and it may be the earliest example in Judaism of this type of cosmic and personified dualistic thought.⁹ *4QAmram*’s adaptation of the various Jewish traditions may have been the means by which Qumran adopted several of the theological characteristics that scholars

⁸ Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran*, 76.

⁹ Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchiresha*, 75; Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 266 n.1; cf. Frey, “Different Patterns,” 283.

have deemed “sectarian.” Frey indicated several points of value found by the group in the text (angels, terminology, and “pure cosmic dualism”),¹⁰ and we can see how this might have been so.

First, through its clear Two Path dualism, *4QAmram* established a system of antagonistic values that did not harm the monotheism that seems to have existed in Judaism by that point. This dualism seems to have been a development from the dichotomy recognized in the wisdom literature of Psalms (i.e. 119.1) and Proverbs (i.e. 11.5), and was most likely a common form of dualism at the time.¹¹ This Two Path theology seems to have been in use among the Qumran sectarians, but does not appear to have been original to that group.¹² It is reasonable to believe that *4QAmram* was one of the Qumran community’s inspirations. Secondly, by its descriptions of angels, we see that *4QAmram* may have been very influential on several of the documents found at Qumran. We might suggest that the author of *11QMelchizedek*, for instance, knew of *4QAmram*, due to its portrayal of Melkizedek as a good angel,¹³ and that the association

¹⁰ Frey, “Different Patterns,” 327-331.

¹¹ See, for example, the late papyrus text 6Q30, the cursive text, or “*1QpapProv*,” which may quote Prov 11.5-7, possibly indicating the popularity of this verse. However, this is tentative evidence at best. See H. Eshel, “6Q30, a Cursive Šin and Proverbs 11,” *JBL* 122/3 (2003): 544-6. We might see, as well, the extended development of this Two Path dualism in the Targum of Deut 30.19. See Brock, “The Two Ways,” 141. This Two Path imagery was seemingly adopted by some early Christians, and this is seen in both the *Didache* and the *Epistle of Barnabas*. The Two Path view of humanity, that which splits men into good and evil, can also be seen in the Gospel of Matt 25.46 and, even more concretely, 7.13-14. See Verheyden, “The Fate of the Righteous and Cursed,” 448-9. In these passages, we see that the Two Path categorizations of humanity became intimately linked with the sorting of humans into their afterlives, and this is likely the type of Two Path theology found in 4Q548. However, the precise moment when this occurred in Judaism is unknown, and is a question well beyond the scope of this work.

¹² Cf. 4Q473 2, 2-5 (*4QThe Two Ways*), in which two ways are set before man by G-d. See also VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 110.

¹³ Frey, “Different Patterns,” 329; cf. Milik, “Milki-sedeq et Milki-rešha,” 139, 144; Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchiresha*, 82. See *11QMelch* II, 8: “all the sons of [light and] for all the men [of] the lot of Mel[chi]zedek.”

between Michael and the Angel of Light stemmed from *4QAmram*.¹⁴ Further, the belief in evil creatures that lead men into disaster, which has been noted in several texts of the Second Temple period, is clearly developed in the early *4QAmram*, among other ancient texts.¹⁵ Finally, the use of “sons of light” and “sons of darkness,” so common in the Qumran sectarian works, may have stemmed from *4QAmram* (and the *Treatise*), as well.

While the dualism of *4QAmram* may very well have been influential on the sect, we have no sure way of mapping a direct effect, as we cannot account for texts that have not survived. Thus, we can say that *4QAmram* may have affected the sect; *4QAmram* may have affected a third text, which influenced the sect; or *4QAmram* and the sect may have both been affected by a wider tradition that has not been preserved. Further, we have seen several places in the Hebrew Bible from which the dualism of *4QAmram* may have developed. In any case, we can at least say that *4QAmram* gives many clues and insights into the “*milieu* from which the Qumran community emerged.”¹⁶

But although it was useful, why might this non-sectarian text have been kept in at least five copies at Qumran? We have seen that there are several ways in which this text may have influenced the sect and satisfied its doctrinal needs. It is primarily due to the theology of *4QAmram*, in its dualism, angels and teachings, that the sect must have held it in such high regard. We see nothing which refutes or harms the sect’s claims or beliefs

¹⁴ Hannah, *Michael and Christ*, 70.

¹⁵ See, for example, the temptress in 4Q184 (*4QWiles of the Wicked Woman*) who leads men into darkness, who may very well be a contrasting figure to the good female Wisdom, such as is seen in Proverbs 9. Folly, and the Wicked Woman, may be modeled after the character of Melkeresha, or something similar to him.

¹⁶ G. G. Xeravitz, *King, Priest, Prophet, Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library*, (STDJ 47; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 120.

(seen in the major texts we have looked at above), and there are numerous aspects of the text which may have been used as teaching tools for the sectarians.¹⁷

As for the non-sectarian nature of the text in relation to its popularity, one can consider a brief analogy. Within the walls of the Canadian Library of Parliament in the federal capital buildings, there can be found books by Quebec separatists alongside those by British prime ministers. Upon finding these books there, we need not assume that the federal government wished to dissolve itself, nor that Canada was the same entity as Britain (or that Canadians really wrote British Common Law). We would, in this modern context, understand that these materials were placed there for parliamentarians who wished to know what conflicts raged in their country, as well as what the parent group (the British Empire) believed and practiced. Further, we could assume that all of these books have something in common: they all come from people who had great political aspirations and came from a common background of western education and theory. We do not wish to take this analogy too far, as we have no reason to believe that the Qumran sect stored the books of its opponents, but the material point remains the same: these books were useful to more than just their original authors, as they speak from the same set of theories and premises. Thus, we should assume that *4QAmram* was kept at Qumran for many of the same reasons: it served an educational purpose due to its similar values and mode of communication. Further, we should not discount the possibility that (in much the same way as the *Magna Carta* may sit in the Parliamentary Library) *4QAmram*

¹⁷ Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 265.

was revered due to its age and a respect for its claim to be a great revelation (to a biblical figure) on the road to a better system.

Finally, we should not assume that the popular literature¹⁸ of the time did not serve some purpose as entertainment. The fact that *4QAmram* shows a theology more or less in agreement with that of the sectarian texts, but in a way that is rich, innovative and purely narrative, may account for the number of copies. *4QAmram* may have been kept for the sake of pleasure reading or for the education of young or novice learners, too young or inexperienced to read texts that were more esoteric.¹⁹

Of course all of these suggestions are purely speculative, as we do not know the reading habits of the Jews in this period, or the extent to which *4QAmram* was revered as an “ancient revelation” by its readers. However, as there are no theological objections to the content of *4QAmram* visible in the sectarian texts, we can admit that any or all of the above suggestions may serve to explain why this exciting little text was kept in so many copies at Qumran.

Thus, we have seen in this thesis that the study of *4QAmram* is a vital part of understanding the dualism present in Second Temple and Qumranic thought. With the recognition of the importance that the text enjoyed at Qumran, we can say here that *4QAmram* must now take its rightful place in the discussion of Qumranic doctrine, as well as in the investigation of the origins of Qumranic theology.

¹⁸ Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 219.

¹⁹ Such as the *Angelic Liturgy*, according to Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 40.

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