

114

THE CONCEPT OF SECRECY IN
THE HODAYOT

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THE HODAYOT

By

MICHAEL CLIVE NEWTON, B.A.

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AUTHOR: Michael Clive Newton, B.A. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Professor E.P. Sanders

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ABSTRACT

This thesis translates and critically examines passages from the Hodayot or Hymns Scroll of Qumran in order to show that vital aspects of sectarian thought and self understanding are expressed by means of the concept of secrecy.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I The Concept of Secrecy in the Jewish and Early Christian Tradition	4
CHAPTER II The Concept of Secrecy in the <u>Hodayot</u>	27
CHAPTER III The Role of the Concept of Secrecy at Qumran	71
BIBLIOGRAPHY	89

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>ALUOS</u>	<u>Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society</u>
BDB	F. Brown, S.R. Driver and C.A. Briggs, eds., <u>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</u> , Oxford, 1906.
CD	<u>The Damascus Document</u>
<u>HThR</u>	<u>Harvard Theological Review</u>
ICC	The International Critical Commentary
<u>IEJ</u>	<u>Israel Exploration Journal</u>
Jastrow	M. Jastrow, <u>A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature</u> , Berlin, 1926
<u>JBL</u>	<u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u>
<u>JSS</u>	<u>Journal of Semitic Studies</u>
1QH	The <u>Hodayot</u> or <u>Hymns Scroll</u>
1QpHab	<u>The Habakkuk Commentary</u>
1QM	<u>The War Rule</u>
1QS	<u>The Community Rule</u>
<u>RQ</u>	<u>Revue de Qumran</u>
TDNT	<u>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</u> , Grand Rapids, 1964ff.
<u>VT</u>	<u>Vetus Testamentum</u>

INTRODUCTION

The two words rāz (רָז) and sôd (סֹד) which for our purposes at the moment can both be translated "secret" appear at frequent intervals throughout the Dead Sea Scrolls.¹ It is the purpose of this work to attempt to analyse the usage of these words and the corresponding ideas of "hiddenness" and "concealment" which appear in forms derived from the roots סתר and חבה² in just one of the Qumran documents, namely the Hodayot or the Hymns Scroll. The concept of secrecy is used with considerable frequency within a number of contexts and with apparent differences in shades of meaning. It is contended that a careful study of the use of this concept will bring us to a greater appreciation of the sect's thought in general and of their own self understanding in particular.

The concept is used in connection with the sect's understanding of creation, predestination, election and the revelatory aspects of its life. It is in this last respect, which includes the community's approach to biblical interpretation and its conviction that it was the sole possessor of God's revelation, that our study, in particular, will attempt to illustrate.

It is contended that the sect considered itself to be the object

¹According to K.G. Kuhn, Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten (Göttingen, 1960), in the scrolls published by 1960, רָז occurs 54 times and סֹד 43 times.

²סתר appears 18 times, חבה 6 times.

of God's special revelation which enabled it, or certain individuals within the community, to interpret God's word and pass on those traditions which constituted something of an esoteric doctrine to those who were full members of the community.¹ In order for them to fully appreciate their position in God's plan for the world it was necessary to study Torah and maintain and transmit the traditions of the group. It was through the "secret" that was revealed to them that they were able to come to a full realisation of their present purpose and their future existence.

First it will be necessary to deal with the Semitic background to the concept of secrecy² in an attempt to lay the foundations for our closer study of the Qumran usage. We shall draw upon material from the

¹It would probably be possible to maintain that these traditions bear some resemblance to the rabbinic "oral Torah" which according to tradition (Avot 1) was handed down under the authority of the "sages" and taught in the "community" of the rabbinic academy.

²This task has already been performed by R.E. Brown, The Semitic Background of the Term Mystery in the New Testament (Philadelphia, 1968). This monograph as the title suggests seeks to study the pre-Christian use of the concept of mystery in Judaism in an attempt to come to a fuller understanding of the Pauline use of *μυστήριον*, which, as Brown points out, has received from scholars considerable treatment from the point of view of the Greek mystery religions. It is with the Semitic mystery that we will concern ourselves here. Brown devotes one section of his own work to "mysteries" in the Qumran literature but goes no further than schematizing them into the following categories: "mysteries of divine providence", "cosmic mysteries", "evil mysteries" and "mysteries of the sect's interpretation of Law". While also schematizing the mysteries ourselves we shall go further and postulate that by an understanding of the community's use of the concept we can learn much about what the sect thought about itself.

Hebrew Bible and both the apocryphal and pseudepigraphal writings. We shall then look at the rabbinic literature.¹ Next we shall make a brief overview of the Christian use of the concept as it appears in the New Testament with reference to the Greek term *μυστήριον*.

We shall then proceed to translate and examine those passages in the Hodayot that contain some reference to the concept of secrecy. This will demonstrate the wide usage, covering a variety of topics, which the concept had in the literature of Qumran. Furthermore it is hoped to show that this wide spectrum can be narrowed down to two or three individual categories; the traditional understanding which involves much of what is seen in the other religious literature of the period and a usage somewhat peculiar to Qumran that relates to those revelatory matters of interpretation of Torah and the transmission of this revealed material.

¹Although the concept of secrecy has no widespread usage in the great expanse of the rabbinic material there appear to be some elements of rabbinic usage which help to illuminate our own interests at this point. Considerable caution has to be exercised with this material and no steps will be taken to demonstrate that it exerted any direct influence on the Qumran material. The rabbinic traditions, however, cannot be ignored and it will be hoped that in some respect they reflect traditions that were current before 70 C.E.

I
THE CONCEPT OF SECRECY IN THE JEWISH
AND EARLY CHRISTIAN TRADITION

The Hebrew Bible

It is not until the Hellenistic period that any evidence is found in the Hebrew Bible for the use of the word rāz. There are, however, examples where the sense of secret or the idea of something hidden is purveyed by the use of other words. One such example where we meet the concept of secrecy in this way is in connection with the role of the prophet. In Amos 3:7¹ we read:

Surely the Lord does nothing without revealing his secret (סֵתֶר) to his servants the prophets.

Now sôd is a word which appears in the Qumran literature and in many cases it can be translated as "secret", as it is here in Amos, but it does have a wider spectrum of meaning as we shall see below. In this Amos passage the sense, however, is clear: the authority with which the prophet speaks is derived from God and it is to the prophet that God reveals his plans.

Therefore, while we may safely apply the translation "secret" or "secret advice" to sôd in Amos 3:7², we must not ignore the far wider use

¹This verse is acknowledged by most commentators to be a later deuteronomic prose addition to the text.

²See the discussion by W.R. Harper, Amos and Hosea (Edinburgh, 1936), p. 73.

to which the word is put. It is defined by BDB as both "council" and "counsel"¹ and can therefore have a variety of meanings ranging from an "assembly" or "company" to "counsel" and "confidential discourse". We should also note the use of the word to indicate a circle of friends, or "the free meeting together in time of leisure of the adult men"² or, as Mowinckel writes: "סוד means intimate fellowship and harmony, the group of intimates and the confidential talk within such a group".³ It is of course sôd in the sense of a secret counsel that we wish to pursue further, although this wider and more variable usage is, as we shall see, apparent in the Qumran literature.

The verb סתר appears frequently in the Hebrew Bible and is usually translated "to hide" and is used most often in a fairly general everyday sense. In most cases it has man as the subject. Man hides himself from God (Gen. 4:14), one conceals a person from an enemy (2 Kings 11:2), or simply one hides something from another person (1 Sam. 20:2), but at Deut. 29:28 סתר appears in the form of a participle:

The secret things (הנסתרות) belong to the Lord our God:
but the things that are revealed (הנגלות) belong to us and
to our children for ever that we may do all the words of
this law (תורה).⁴

¹BDB, p. 691.

²L. Köhler, Hebrew Man (London, 1956), pp. 102-3.

³S. Mowinckel, "Some Remarks on Hodayot 39.5-20", JBL, LXXV (1956), p. 272.

⁴This verse is one of the special dotted passages of the Massoretic text. See C.D. Ginsburg, Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible, (New York, 1966), p. 330 where he notes that the

We have here in Deuteronomy, albeit in a possible post-exilic insertion,¹ an indication that God has made manifest his will in the Law for which all Israel stands accountable for all time. But he also has in his possession knowledge of the future² which for the moment remains hidden and which is of no immediate concern of his people.³ We must note here the way the two concepts are played off one against the other: things hidden, things revealed and: that which is covered, that which is uncovered. It is this theme -- concealment followed by revelation -- that will be pursued in our study of the Qumran material.

The same verb appears in a hiphil infinitive form in Prov. 25:2 where it is shown to be antithetically parallel to קָרַן "to search out":

It is the glory of God to conceal things (קָרַן) but
the glory of kings to search (קָרַן) things out.

We have here again the dichotomy of things hidden and things revealed.⁴

Siphri take this verse to be a reference to the secret things or the doctrines which had not, as yet, been revealed but which belong to the people or at least will be disclosed to them if they do all the words written in the Law that has been revealed to them.

¹Anthony Phillips, Deuteronomy (Cambridge, 1973), p. 201.

²S.R. Driver, Deuteronomy, ICC (Edinburgh, 1895), p. 328.

³Cf. G. von Rad, Deuteronomy, (Philadelphia, 1966), p. 181. But M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School, (Oxford, 1972), p. 64n, writes: "the verse refers to the duplicate copies of the covenant, each of which was to be retained by the respective parties according to the practice referred to in the Hittite treaties. Since the Deity who dwells in secret abode is in this case one of the parties of the covenant, his copy of the covenant would consequently be hidden and concealed from us; the copy possessed by Israel, on the other hand, is open and revealed and intended 'for us and our children'".

⁴Jastrow, p. 497 has for קָרַן "examine, investigate".

In this case, however, Proverbs is merely illustrating the antithesis of religion and statecraft. Religion has to maintain that aura of mystery which brings to the worshippers an awareness of boundaries beyond which explanation cannot go, while, in the political sphere, the protagonists must subject their activities to exhaustive investigations.¹

Virtually synonymous with סתר and found throughout the Hebrew Bible is the verb חבא or חכה. BDB translates it "withdraw" or "hide".² In the Hodayot we shall see it used five times and in close conjunction with סתר.

It is not until Daniel that we see the concept of secrecy unambiguously applied to the divine revelation. Here in its Aramaic form we meet rāz for the first time. The origin of the word is probably Persian³ and in Daniel the usage refers almost exclusively to God as the possessor and revealer of mysteries and to Daniel as the one to whom they are revealed.

The mysteries revealed to Daniel in a vision enable him to interpret the king's dream, and while the concerns at this stage are of a somewhat mundane nature there is an indication (Dan. 2:28, 29) in the words of Daniel that what the king had dreamt concerned events that would take place at the end of the present age, in the "latter days" (Aramaic; (בְּאַחֲרֵית יְמֵי), and that God reveals the mysteries of "what is to be".

¹W. McKane, Proverbs (Philadelphia, 1970), p. 579.

²BDB, p. 285.

³BDB, p. 1112. See also H.H. Rowley, The Aramaic of the O.T. (London, 1929), p. 138.

What we have here is an example of the idea that certain individuals are privy to God's plans. In the same sense that we have seen already with the use of sôd we could say that these plans are the secret decisions of the heavenly council. With Amos the Hebrew sôd was used in a manner that brought together the dual meaning of the word in "council" and "counsel". Here in Daniel the Aramaic rāz is used in the same sense: through Daniel God reveals his secret plans.

Because of the manner in which it is expressed in v.29 it has been suggested that the mysteries revealed here are eschatological in nature¹ and that the phrase "in the latter days" refers to the closing days of history just before the messianic culmination during which time God will bring in his kingdom.² In any case it is certainly clear that the phrase utilised here denotes, in Driver's words, "the closing period of the future in so far as it falls within the range of view of the writer using it",³ and that these mysteries involve what it is that God has planned for the future.

The revelation of the mystery to Daniel gives more than just knowledge of the dream, it gives also its interpretation, פֶּשֶׁט. The interpretation is, in this case, the essence of the revelation; for it is through the interpretation that the dream makes sense. We have here

¹G. Bornkamm, TDNT, IV, p. 814.

²N.W. Porteus, Daniel (Philadelphia, 1965), p. 44.

³S. Driver, The Book of Daniel (Cambridge, 1900), p. 26.

the concept of peshar which figures extensively in portions of the Qumran literature and, as we shall see, its usage can be illuminated by our study of the concept of secrecy.

The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Ben Sira manifests a wide use of the concept of secrecy. One group of passages refers to the secret actions of men,¹ while another deals with the hidden nature of God's plans and his secrets which he reveals, while yet another mentions the secrets which wisdom reveals to the pious. It is with these two latter groups that we shall concern ourselves.

In the Greek text of Ben Sira the word "secret" appears usually as *μυστήριον* but we also find it in the form of *ἀπόκρυφος* and as *κρυπτός* when there is a reference to something that is hidden. An examination of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira² shows that sôd appears only once in connection with the divine mysteries and rāz, which is also in the text, deals exclusively with the secrets of men. The concept of the divine mysteries is more usually expressed by the passive participle of the verb *סוד* and once, (Sir. 11:4), by the passive of *סלסל* which has a similar meaning.

Let us first look briefly at those passages which refer to wisdom within the context of the concept of secrecy. While we are doing

¹Sir. 1:30; 8:18; 16:17f.; 17:15f.; 23:18f.; 27:16; 17:21; 39:19; etc.

²Available in M.S. Segal, The Book of Ben Sira (Jerusalem, 1968), (in Hebrew).

this we should bear in mind that we at times reach a point in Ben Sira where Wisdom becomes identified with Torah.¹ Wisdom reveals her secrets to him who holds her fast and accepts her discipline (Sir. 4:18)² and by reflection on the ways of wisdom one will also be able to meditate on her secrets (Sir. 14:21).³ It is the pious, then, who have the secrets of wisdom revealed to them as a reward for their diligence in both thought and action.

The single occurrence of sôd in relation to God is in Sir. 3:19, a verse which is lacking in many Greek versions. In the Greek though we have *μυστήριον* and the verse reads in translation:

Many are lofty and renowned, but to the meek he reveals
his secrets

All other references to the divine mysteries appear in the form of *κρυπτός*, *רַחֵס*. The least rewarding of these passages is Sir. 3:22 which, as we see from v.19, is part of a section dealing with the need for humility. However, the insertion of v.19 makes the passage ambiguous, for there the meek are to have the secrets revealed to them while in v.22 the humble "do not need what is hidden".⁴

¹G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* Vol. I, (New York, 1962), "the complete identification of wisdom with the Torah is an accomplished fact with Ben Sirach", p. 445.

²*κρυπτά* , *רַחֵס*(sic.).

³*ἀπόκρυφους* .

⁴This apparent contradiction may have resulted in the omission of v.19 from some texts. V.22 itself was to be taken up in later Judaism and quoted by the Rabbis as a warning that one should not concern oneself with those matters which were beyond one's grasp, i.e., "what is hidden". See b.Hag.13a.

Chapter 39 of Ben Sira deals with the man who devotes himself to the study of the Torah (סופר, scribe). He is to study the Law of Moses, seek out the wisdom of the ancients and be concerned with prophecies. He is also to be a preserver of "the discourses of notable men" (the oral law?), penetrate the subtleties of parables and be at home with their obscurities and also seek out the hidden meaning of proverbs. "If the great Lord is willing" this man "will be filled with the spirit of understanding" (v.6) and be able to "meditate on his secrets (ἀποκρύφους)" (v.7).

This whole passage gives an indication of the new role the scribe is to take up. He is no longer merely a wisdom teacher but a man learned in the scriptures. Like the prophets before him he possesses that "spirit of understanding" that will enable him to seek out the meaning of the Torah. Hengel maintains that this passage reflects a transformation "which was to be significant for the further development of Judaism and also for Primitive Christianity. . . . From this point the development would go in two directions; either to a new 'prophecy' founded on the inspired interpretation of the Law and the prophets, as in Essenism, among the Zealots and in Primitive Christianity, or to the institutionalisation of exegesis, as among the Rabbis".¹ We have then in Ben Sira an indication that certain men are able to gain knowledge of the secrets of God through careful study of the Torah.

¹M. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism I (Philadelphia, 1974), p. 135.

The ways of God in the world are by no means comprehensible to man nor has man yet seen the fullness of God's creation. These two themes are expressed in two passages that attempt to show that certain aspects of God's work remain hidden from man. In Sir. 11:4 the apparent incongruities of life and its vicissitudes are concealed from man:

For the works of the Lord are wonderful and his works are concealed (κρυπτά , סגל) from men.

Also, in Sir. 43:32 we read that those portions of God's creation that man has seen and those aspects of God's power that he has manifested are only part of a far greater glory which for now lies hidden (ἀπόκρυφα , נסתרות).

There are, finally, in Ben Sira references to those "hidden things" which have or which are going to be revealed along the continuum of history and which we would tentatively label "eschatological". In the first it is :

(God) who declares what has been and what is to be and he reveals the tracks of the hidden things (ἀποκρύφων , נסתרות), (42:19)

and in the second, Isaiah, in his role as a prophet is said to have been able to reveal "what was to occur at the end of time, and the hidden things (ἀπόκρυφα , נסתרות) before they came to pass.¹

As for the other works of the Apocrypha we encounter the concept of secrecy in Tobit, Judith and Wisdom. Both Tobit (12:7,11) and Judith (2:2) deal only with the secrets of Kings. In Wisdom 14:15,23 the reference is clearly to the rites of the mystery religions while in

¹Cf. Haggai, 2:7,9.

Wisdom 6:22 the author promises that in telling about wisdom he will hide no secrets. We further learn that the wicked and unrighteous "did not know the secret ways of God", and at the end of a catalogue of various aspects of knowledge about the world and the universe the author, in the name of Solomon states that he learnt all this "both what is secret and what is manifest" from God through the agency of wisdom (Wisdom 7:22).

As it is of the very essence of the later Jewish apocalyptic to disclose the nature of the divine mysteries, it is not surprising that in a work such as I Enoch¹ references to the concept of secrecy abound. Enoch is taken on a tour of the heavenly places where he is shown and has explained to him the divine mysteries by his angelic interpreter. To Enoch are revealed "the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder and the secrets of the winds . . . and the secrets of the clouds and the dew" (I Enoch 41:3). He is also shown the "chambers" from which emanate the different kinds of precipitation and he sees the chambers of the sun and moon from whence they follow their ordained paths (I Enoch 41:4-7).

¹While tradition has handed down I Enoch as a unity it is clearly a composite work and it is doubted whether all of the present work can be given a pre-Christian dating. Widely considered to be of later origin are chapter 37-71, the apocalyptic "similitudes" on the Son of Man. See O. Eissfeldt, The Old Testament (New York, 1965), p. 617ff and J.T. Milik, Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea (London, 1959), p. 33f. Milik writes: "The 'Similitudes' are probably to be considered the work of a Jew or a Jewish Christian of the first or second century A.D. who reutilized the various early Enoch writings to gain acceptance for his own work and gave the whole composition its present form", p. 33. But see M. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism II (Philadelphia, 1974), who writes "with the exception of chs. 83-90 and 93:1-10 + 91:12-17 . . . the following sections are probably pre-Essene and Hasidic: the angelological book 12-36 and perhaps parts of an earlier Noah book . . . the astronomical book 72-82 is certainly Essene. The Similitudes -- or the earlier Noah

Enoch is taken by the archangel Michael and is led "forth into all the secrets" and shown "all the secrets of righteousness" and "all the secrets of the ends of the heavens" and again "all the chambers of all the stars and all the luminaries". What we appear to have here are two themes running side by side and which we find elsewhere in I Enoch, namely the revelation of both cosmic mysteries and those mysteries of a moral or ethical nature (secrets of righteousness etc.). We cannot be exactly sure to what "secrets of righteousness" refer but it does appear that there is a close link between the movements of the universe and the actions of both the sinful and the righteous. This is not to say, as in popular astrology, that the movement of the stars and planets govern the actions of men, but rather that God foreordains activity in both spheres.

Only to the elect are the mysteries revealed. It is made clear that the revelation of the divine mysteries by the fallen angels to the daughters of men (a reference to Gen. 6:1-4) brought unrighteousness upon the earth (I Enoch 8:4f). The divine mysteries will therefore remain hidden until the end of time. At that time the Son of Man, who is lord of the heavenly secrets (I Enoch 62:6) and who until now has only been revealed to the prophets (I Enoch 48:7) will, from his throne, pour forth from his mouth "all the secrets of wisdom and counsel" (I Enoch 51:3).

interpolations -- probably come only from the first half of the first century B.C. as 56:5 presupposes the Parthian invasion. Apart from the Similitudes all the parts of I Enoch are attested at Qumran in Cave 1Q (Noah) and 4Q" (p. 117). Also, E. Sjöberg, Der Menschensohn im äth. Henochbuch (Lund, 1946), p. 39, puts a pre-Christian date on the Similitudes.

While bearing in mind the composite nature of I Enoch, we can conclude from this brief overview that the divine mysteries are only to be revealed to the righteous, those whom God chooses, and that this revelation comes only at the end of time. The contents of these mysteries deal with the whole realm of God's creation which includes both the cosmic and moral planes. Enoch's special status enables him to have these secrets revealed to him before the end time through the mediation of the angels. Both what he sees and what he reads of the divine plan in the heavenly tablets (I Enoch 81:1f) is interpreted for him by the angels.

Two other apocalyptic works which belong to the so-called Pseudepigrapha deserve some attention for they too employ the concept of secrecy in a manner that relates to our theme. They are the Apocalypse of Baruch and IV Ezra (II Esdras). Both works, it should be noted, must be placed well into the first and second centuries of the common era.¹ We mentioned them here to show that in apocalyptic literature in general we encounter the same idea that God reveals the mysteries of his creation and those of his final plans for the world to especially selected individuals.² In apocalyptic these individuals are shown as particularly endowed figures from Israel's past who therefore still possess the prophetic spirit and are of such a status to be made recipients of the

¹See D.S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic (Philadelphia, 1964), p. 62, 64.

²See especially Baruch 81:4; 85:8.

secrets which are now, at the approaching end of the ages, being revealed. It could be said that the Qumran community saw themselves or certain individuals in this same light, namely as members of the prophetic tradition and thus open to the revelation of secrets. The difference was that those at Qumran did not need to use this same apocalyptic genre for they were living in the end time and these special individuals were active among them.

The Rabbinic Literature

By the beginning of the second century of the common era there had developed among the rabbis a marked antagonism towards the apocalyptic works that we have examined.¹ It is, of course, no surprise that books that were not part of the canon of Hebrew scriptures were excluded from any consideration by the rabbis. One of the motivations behind the banning of these works, apart from the fact that they were written after the spirit of prophecy had departed from Israel, was that they dealt with certain esoteric subjects that had no place in the everyday activities of the academy and synagogue.²

Theosophical and cosmological topics which were the stock in trade of the apocalyptic authors were specifically banned by the rabbis, as was any discussion on the nature of the Holy Name. What can be termed the cosmological mysteries of creation and the eschatological

¹See San. 10:1.

²b.Pes. 119a.

secrets that dealt with matters relating to the end of the present age were considered too deep for the majority to understand; and quoting Ben Sira, ironically one of the very same books that were banned, the Talmud says: 'you have no business with the things that are secret'.¹

The esoteric doctrines par excellence which the rabbis mention specifically were those that deal with the Creation-chapters of Genesis and that which sought to explain the mystery of the Chariot-vision of Ezekiel.²

There was no restriction on the public teaching of what took place during the first six days of creation but the cosmological speculation of what was before creation, of what was above the firmament and what was below was restricted and could not be expounded before more than two people.

The teaching of the Chariot vision, it was felt, would lead to mystical and theosophical speculations concerning the nature of God's appearance on the throne as it is described by Ezekiel. These teachings were therefore carefully guarded.³ There are various accounts⁴ of a

¹b.Hag. 13a, cf. Ben Sira 3:21,22. See also J. Neusner, A History of the Jews in Babylonia IV (Leiden, 1969), pp. 316ff.

²See Hag. 2:1. The open discussion of the incest laws was also forbidden in the school of R. Akiba, while the school of R. Ismael allowed it. See discussion in J.N. Epstein, Introduction to Tannaitic Literature (Jerusalem, 1957) p. 49, (in Hebrew).

³It will be noticed that much of the content of what was banned by the rabbis had received some treatment in I. Enoch. On the Creation; I Enoch 69:16-25, On the Chariot; I Enoch 14:9ff.

⁴b.Hag. 14b; y.Hag. 2:1; Tos.Hag. 2:1-2.

small episode in which Rabbi Eleazar ben'Arakh explains the work of the Chariot to Yohanan ben Zakkai while they sit on a stone under an olive tree with their heads covered with a prayer shawl. This pericope, which purports to tell of an event that took place 70-80 C.E.,¹ shows us that esoteric doctrines were not foreign to the rabbis themselves and that the cosmological and theosophical mysteries were, in fact, discussed by them. This discussion, was, however, restricted to the sage who, in the words of the Mishnah, "understands of his own knowledge" (Ḥag. 2:1).²

E.E. Urbach is hesitant in placing too much emphasis on such esoteric teaching among the Tannaim but admits that esoteric groups existed during the first century, hence the need for the rabbinic polemic, but were marginal to the main stream of Rabbinic Judaism.³

The concept of secrecy was also applied by the rabbis to those sins that were hidden from men. It was generally accepted that the community was responsible for the sins of its members except those sins that were committed in secret.⁴ While Israel had existed as an autonomous

¹N. Séd, "Les traditions secrètes et les disciples de Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai", Rev. de l'histoire des religions 184, (1973), 53.

²This phrase is found no where else in the Mishnaic literature. E.E. Urbach, "The Esoteric Traditions in the Tannaitic Era", (in Hebrew), in Studies in Mysticism and Religion presented to G. Scholem (Jerusalem, 1967), p. 2, cited by Séd, 53.

³E.E. Urbach, The Sages, Their Concepts and Beliefs (in Hebrew), (Jerusalem, 1969), cited by Séd, 52.

⁴S. Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology (New York, 1936), p. 194. He quotes from Mechilta de-Rabbi Ismael 66b, the Friedmann text, Vienna, 1870.

entity such a responsibility did extend to things secret but after the destruction of the Second Temple the community was released from this responsibility. Tradition has it that a heavenly voice proclaimed to the Yavneh academy that "You need not busy yourself with things hidden",¹ for now with the loss of any kind of political independence its jurisdiction could not properly be exercised over the whole community of Israel.

Although we are now dealing with materials that are certainly much later than the period of our immediate concern we should mention something that appears in the rabbinic literature which may serve to illustrate some of the points we might wish to consider in our study of the Qumran material. It is the concept of secrecy as it is applied to the Oral Law and the interpretation of scripture. There is a tradition recorded in *Pesiqta Rabbati*² that intimates that while the scriptures were given in writing God refused to allow the Targum or Mishnah to be written. This was so that when the Gentiles came to translate the Torah into their own languages and claim themselves to be the children of God, God would be able to say to the nations:

¹Schechter, p. 195, quoting y.Sotah 22a in the Krotoschin edition, 1866.

²*Pesiqta Rabbati* 14b. Cited by J. Bowker, *The Targums and the Rabbinic Literature* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 12. Bowker also writes: "The oral tradition was the 'mystery', the secret heart of Judaism", (p. 49n).

'Why do you say that you are my children? I know only those who possess my secret, they are my children.' Then they will say: 'What is your secret?' and God will answer: 'It is Mishnah'.¹

The same passage in Pesiqta Rabbati mentions the Targums. These were also seen as a potential vehicle for mysteries. The Talmud² tells of the time when Jonathan ben 'Uzziel, a disciple of Hillel, was composing a Targum of one of the prophets with the aid of traditions handed down to him from Haggai, Zachariah and Malachi. These paraphrases which probably dealt with the messianic age and the time of its coming³ were so remarkable that an earthquake occurred and a voice from heaven exclaimed: "Who has revealed my secrets to mankind?".

Finally from the rabbinic material we look at the sixth chapter of Avot. This did not form part of the original Avot and from the time of Rashi it has been considered as a later addition to the original tractate.⁴ But again it illustrates an interesting parallel to what we will see in the Qumran literature. It bears some relationship to the passage in Ben Sira 39:1ff which extols the virtues of the pious scholar and tells of his rewards. "Rabbi Meir said: Everyone who is occupied with Torah for its own sake is worthy of many things . . . to him the

¹With the publication of the Mishnah it could no longer be considered a secret, except that it retained an esoteric character in that it was written mainly in a "sacred language", Hebrew, and not in the vernacular.

²b.Meg. 3a

³See, J. Neusner, A Life of Yohanan ben Zakkai 2nd. ed. (Leiden, 1970), p. 40.

⁴R.T. Herford, The Sayings of the Fathers (New York, 1962), p. 148.

secrets of the Torah (רזי תורה) are revealed, and he is made like a spring that increases and like a river that does not cease" (Avot 6:1). Regarding the nature of these secrets only a conjecture can be made. It is possible that they refer again to the cosmological and theosophical insights that we have seen connected to the Creation story and Ezekiel's Chariot vision,¹ but it may also follow that perseverance in the study of the Torah would lead to a greater understanding of the foundation on which the Law is based. Furthermore it is quite possible that the revelation of the secrets of the Torah (סתרי תורה) led to an understanding of the reasons of the Torah (טעמי תורה), i.e., the basis on which God determined the nature of the Torah.²

While the sixth chapter of Avot is a rather late document some aspects of what we have tried to draw from it show up at a much earlier date in the rabbinic tradition. This is what Jacob Neusner has to say about Hillel's attitude towards the study of Torah:

For Hillel study meant more than the acquisition of worldly information. It included insight into the principles underlying all reality. Torah contained the secrets of the universe. It was therefore the instrument by which men would achieve the truth about God who made the world and gave them the Torah.³

The New Testament

The use of the Greek *μυστήριον* has received wide attention from

¹Bornkamm, TDNT, IV, p. 817.

²b.Pes., 119a.

³J. Neusner, Life, p. 37.

New Testament scholars.¹ The following is only a brief survey which serves to draw out the pertinent points concerning the concept in the New Testament and it, in essence, follows Bornkamm's account.²

We find the word used in the synoptic Gospels in Mark 4:11ff par. within the context of the telling and interpretation of parables. In the simplest terms we can say that the mysteries here serve to separate those who were committed to discipleship and those, the mass of the people, outside the circle of Jesus. Parables are used as a vehicle for those mysteries concerning the Kingdom of God. The use of the mysteries of the Kingdom of God in apocalyptic literature referred to the counsel of God that was only revealed by the revelation which comes to the elect at the end of the present age. This seems to be what we have in Jesus' teaching about the understanding of the parables. The disciples have revealed to them, now, at the closing of the age and the dawning of the messianic age, the fact that the divine rule impinges into the world.

J. Jeremias³ has suggested that within the teaching of Jesus there existed various esoteric aspects. We have the tradition that the fact of Jesus' messiahship was revealed at first only to his immediate followers (Mark 8:30; 9:9 par.). The prediction of the passion was confined only to the circle of disciples (Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:32-34 par.). Jesus' teaching concerning the signs of the end were disclosed only to four

¹See Brown, p. 31 for bibliographical details.

²Bornkamm, TDNT, IV, pp. 817-824.

³J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus (London, 1970), pp. 129ff.

trusted disciples (Mark 13:3). Finally, Jeremias points out that individual items of instruction were often expressed in terms that suggest that a hidden meaning can be extracted from them (Mark 11:15; Matt. 19:12).

In the Pauline corpus the term *μυστήριον* is firmly connected with the preaching of Christ crucified.¹ To preach Christ crucified (1 Cor. 1:23) is to tell of the mystery of God.² It is the hidden wisdom and secret of God (1 Cor. 2:7) and Christ himself is God's mystery (Col. 2:2).

It has been clearly demonstrated³ that although Paul certainly had to deal with and came into contact with gnostic groups and practitioners of the mystery religions he does not use the idea of mystery in the same manner as these groups would. His use of the term *μυστήριον* is firmly rooted in the Jewish tradition of apocalyptic and relies on Hellenistic usage only in as much that Jewish apocalyptic itself evolved in an environment in which Jewish thought patterns were coloured with Hellenistic ideas. For Paul the "mystery" is God's preordained counsel which reaches eschatological fulfillment in the crucifixion and is revealed to those who unite themselves with Christ in that same crucifixion.

The mystery has to be revealed and is not itself a revelation. It is revealed to those whom God chooses by a free act of grace. We do not have in the Pauline corpus, and we would not expect to find there,

¹Bornkamm, TDNT, IV, p. 819.

²1 Cor. 2:1, some texts read *μαρτύριον*.

³Bornkamm, TDNT, IV, p. 820. Brown, p. 69.

the view that such a revelation would come merely through the study of the scriptures. The content of the revelation is not, however, all that different from what we noted above in our study of the Jewish tradition.

While not all the references to "mystery" in the New Testament arise from the context of the revelation of Christ and the apostolic preaching they are all eschatological in nature.¹

Israel's destiny in the totality of God's redemptive plan in the face of apparent rejection is seen by Paul to be part of the divine mystery which will become completely revealed at the end of time.² Also to be resolved in the last days is the mystery of the change that will overcome Christians who are still living at the time of the Second Coming (1 Cor. 15:51).

Other references to mysteries all have eschatological connotations. For example, II Thess. 2:3ff. tell of the succession of events preceeding the parousia. Here the mystery concerns the manner in which God allows evil to apparently hold the reins of power during the last days. Christ will then come, destroy the powers of evil and allow the Kingdom of God to rule supreme. The mysteries of evil are also apparent in those places in Revelation where the demonic power of the Harlot of Babylon is revealed through the disclosure of her secret (Rev. 17:7).

¹Bornkamm, TDNT, IV, p. 822.

²See Rom. 11:25ff., the same idea is expressed in Rev. 10:7.

Conclusions

Throughout the Jewish and early Christian traditions we have noted an awareness that much which lies under the aegis of God's creation remains hidden from the mass of mankind. These mysteries or secrets are revealed only to certain individuals or groups. Those gifted with the spirit of prophecy are made privy to the secret counsels of God or are enabled to interpret and give meaning to the things of this world that relate to the divine. In apocalyptic literature, a few, especially chosen by God, are given access to the heavenly realm and receive instruction and interpretation of matters concerning the whole range of God's creation from beginning to end. In the rabbinic traditions certain sages who had innate understanding of these matters passed on to selected pupils details of those doctrines which, in the hands of the unlettered, would certainly be misused. Furthermore, careful study of the Torah would bring its own rewards in the form of insights which are beyond the comprehension of the majority. The followers of Jesus were considered to be in receipt of the mysteries concerning the Kingdom of God which at the end of the present age were now being revealed. In the early Church those who by God's grace became united with the risen Lord were at the same time one with the crucified Christ and fully cognizant of the mystery whereby God in his plan for the world brought about its redemptive fulfillment.

With this background we should be able to proceed with our study of the Qumran literature and its use of this concept of secrecy. Our aim is not so much to draw comparisons and point out dependencies nor maintain

the existence of links with other religious movements,¹ although these cannot be ignored, rather it is an attempt to discover through a thematic study of this particular concept an insight into the self understanding of the sect. Namely: how did the Qumran community see itself within God's plan for the world, what was its attitude to those outside the group and how did it elucidate its own self understanding through the interpretation of scripture?

¹This is what Brown appears to set out to do. See Brown, p. 1

II

THE CONCEPT OF SECRECY IN THE HODAYOT

Introduction

Our study of the concept of secrecy in the Qumran literature will proceed by examining those passages in which the words rāz and sôd appear and where there is a reference to some form of concealment. It will be noted below that the occurrence of sôd does not necessarily guarantee an allusion to secrecy. It has already been noted, and we shall see again, that sôd has a fairly fluid use within the range of meanings of council/counsel/secret and, at Qumran at least, foundation.

Primarily our attention will be confined to the Hodayot. It is in this document that one finds, statistically, the most frequent reference to the concept of secrecy.¹ While we will be able to assemble a multifarious range of applications of the terms under discussion we will also be able to draw together the threads that connect this usage in order to further our attempt to come to a better understanding of the thought of the sect. The hymns themselves, being in poetic form, lend themselves to the processes of literary criticism with their recurring parallelism and chiasmic structures. This aids the student in his contextual interpretation. One would also hope that the apparently subjective nature of the style

¹See K.G. Kuhn, Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten, (Göttingen, 1960), pp. 67, 150, 153 and 203.

of the hymns over and against the formalistic structure of much of the other Qumran literature would in itself manifest something of the individual religiosity of the members of the sect.

Mention of the "subjective" nature of the hymns necessitates that a brief discussion of the authorship of the Hodayot be made and that some special attention be paid to those passages written in the first person singular.

Many have concluded that the "I" of the hymns refers, in the main, to one particular individual's personal experience, that this individual was the author of the whole collection of the hymns¹ and that also this author was none other than the so-called Teacher of Righteousness,² the supposed founder of the sect and its spiritual leader. On the other hand it could be stated that the "I" need not refer to a specific individual, neither the author or anyone else but is used to express the collectivity of the experiences of the whole group when used by the assembled community, but still remained an "individual for the person who reads them for his own edification".³

Most of these theories presuppose the unitary nature of the hymns⁴

¹J. Licht, "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll", IEJ, 6 (1956), 2. "DST (sic) is the work of one man developing what is almost a single theme in a long series of variations. This theme . . . is the author's religious experience."

²H. Ringgren, The Faith of Qumran (Philadelphia, 1963), p. 16.

³S. Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot-Psalms from Qumran (Aarhus, 1960), p. 331.

⁴See Licht, p. 2. Although Holm-Nielsen's comments on the "Literary Origin of the Hodayot" certainly lead in a direction that suggests a diversity of sources. Holm-Nielsen, pp. 319-324.

but Gert Jeremias has proposed a strict source division of the hymns. In doing so he has isolated one group of "I" passages and has attempted to demonstrate that they refer to a distinct individual, namely the Teacher of Righteousness. These passages are 1QH 2:1-19; 2:31-39; 3:1-18; 4:5-5:4; 5:5-19; 5:20-7:5; 7:6-25; 8:4-40.¹

Taking a little more cautious approach H-W. Kuhn recognizes a similar division of sources while making slight modifications to Jeremias' list. He does not, however, go as far as identifying the "I" of these isolated passages with the Teacher of Righteousness but refers to them as the "Lehrerlieder" or, more exactly "berichtende Loblieder der Offenbarungsmittlers" as opposed to the "Gemeindelieder" which constitute the remainder of the hymns.² These community hymns had their Sitz im Leben in the initiation ceremonies of the community and the annual covenant renewal ceremony while being used on a more regular daily basis as prayers recalling the entrance into God's covenant.³ As for those passages within the community hymns that are written in the first person singular, Kuhn maintains that they are not biographical but refer directly to the pious of the Qumran community.⁴

Recent studies of the hymns have shown that we need not take them as merely expressing the meditations of a religious virtuoso nor need we assume that when they were recited they fulfilled only the religious

¹G. Jeremias, Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit (Göttingen, 1963), pp. 171ff.

²H-W. Kuhn, Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil (Göttingen, 1966), pp. 23f.

³Kuhn, pp. 31f.

⁴Kuhn, p. 25.

requirements of the individual. They can be said to express the collective thought of the community, perhaps at different times, perhaps from different individuals,¹ but indeed they present a theology with which the members of the sect, as a whole, were in agreement.²

What needs to be asked at this point is whether such a source division as Jeremias proposes can help us in our particular enquiries. Do references to the concept of secrecy occur more frequently in the "Lehrerlieder" or is there an absence of such references in these passages? As far as the use of rāz and sôd is concerned we learn little: rāz appears five times in the "Lehrerlieder" out of a total of twenty-three occurrences in the Hodayot as a whole while sôd appears eight times out of a total of twenty-six. There is, therefore, no predominance of the use of rāz and sôd in these passages; in proportion to the number of verses that the "Lehrerlieder" take up from the whole of the hymns, rāz and sôd are evenly distributed between both "Lehrerlieder" and "Gemeindelieder". There are, however, four occurrences of the word רָצוּ in the "Lehrerlieder" out of a total of eight. The word appears twice in column five and twice in column eight. (Elsewhere in 1QH 1:25; 11:19; 17:9 and fragment 55:1. רָצוּ in 17:22 is a doubtful text reading.)

¹C.M.J. Gevaryhu, "The Parable of the Trees and the Keeper of the Garden in the Thanksgiving Scroll", (in Hebrew) World Congress of Jewish Studies, IV (1967), Papers Vol. I, 119-129. Translation in Immanuel II (1973), 56. "We may assume that the 'I' basically expressed the individual feeling, and in time, due to a series of influences, was eventually used in a collective sense."

²We shall, throughout our study, for the sake of convenience and despite questions regarding unity, refer to the author (or authors) of the hymns as "the psalmist".

If, as it has been proposed, one particular author is responsible for the "Lehrerlieder" he did not differ from the main body of the hymns in his use of rāz and sôd but did make special use of the root סוד in two particular columns in comparison to its infrequent and scattered use in the rest of the hymns. This distinction of sources, then, does not lead to any clarification regarding our study of rāz and sôd, but it is to the use of סוד that our attention must be drawn when we examine those passages that make use of that root. We must then ask ourselves whether the attribution of those verses to a particular individual author would give us further insights into the concept of secrecy as conceived by the Qumran community.

Almost all references to the concept of secrecy in the Hodayot occur, as we have noted, in connection with the words rāz, sôd and סוד. While rāz and sôd are sometimes used synonymously sôd has, at times, slightly different connotations and is translated "foundation", "council" or "counsel" as well as "secret". סוד, which is always in a verbal form, except in 1QH 8:18 (סודו, in secret), can be translated "to hide" or "to conceal".

The differing use of these words makes it necessary to look at their occurrences separately. This is especially the case with sôd where at times its use will at first glance appear to be far removed from any connection with secrecy. We shall therefore first examine those passages which contain a reference to sôd. Following this we look at the rāz passages which, it is safe to say, are unambiguously concerned with some element of secrecy. There are then those passages that include both rāz and sôd which, in the main, show sôd as a parallel expression for rāz.

Finally those passages which contain words derived from the root למ will be considered, bearing in mind that half of them are drawn from the so-called "Lehrerlieder".

The following passages follow our own translation and are supplemented at times by the variant readings of other commentators.

Sôd in the Hodayot

1QH 1:21-23

But I am formed of clay and kneaded with water,
a foundation (למ) of shame and a fountain of impurity,
a furnace of iniquity and a building of sin.

למ may well be a scribal error for למ^1 but in a position in parallel to למ (fountain) it may also be "source". We do, however, have a reference to the structure of man in 1:23 and in line with the imagery of building (cf. 1QH 6:26; 7:9) למ can here be understood as "foundation".²

1QH 1:25-27

And how can a man tell of his sins?
And how can he argue about his iniquities?
And how shall he answer to any righteous judgement?
For unto you, O God of knowledge, belong all the deeds of
righteousness and counsels of truth (למ)
But unto the sons of man belong all the work of
iniquity and the deeds of deceit.

¹M. Mansoor, The Thanksgiving Hymns (Grand Rapids, 1961), p. 101, and Holm-Nielsen, p. 25.

²Y. Yadin, "A Note on DSD IV, 20", JBL, LXXIV (1955), 42.

In this passage the psalmist is concerned with the foreknowledge of God and in particular God's knowledge of man's deeds. Most commentators prefer to use the English "counsel" as a translation of sôd here but some have "foundation" which requires them to read ṭṭō. This is quite possible in many places in the scroll, as we saw in the passage above, but at times (e.g., 1QH 11:9) when the phrase "counsel of truth" (ṭṭō ʾēmet) appears rāz occurs in a parallel phrase. Rāz and sôd also appear in parallel in 1QH 4:27,28; 12:12,13; and this may also be the case in 1QH 11:6. It is, however, to be admitted that sôd has a very fluid use throughout the Qumran literature, as it does elsewhere, and it is open to various translations. But the sense here is clear: God has in his possession the secret of truth, and is the source of all righteous acts, while from man come only iniquitous deeds. As we shall see, though, God gives to the pious (i.e., the sect) this same secret.¹ We are, then, able to broaden our understanding of the term. It is, in fact, God's plan, "his wonderful mysteries", which are being revealed to those who join the community and keep the terms of the covenant (cf. 1QH 1:21).

1QH 2:9-10

You have made me an object of reproach and a scorn
of derision to the rebellious,²

¹F. Nötscher, Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte (Bonn, 1956), p. 76. "In Qumran ist es das Geheimnis der Wahrheit (ṭṭō ʾēmet), das nur Gott zukommt, während die Menschen dem Dienst der Sünde und Werken des Truges sich ergeben (1QH 1:27). Aber Gott tut auch den Frommen das Geheimnis seiner Wahrheit kund (1QH 11:4,9,16)."

²Or "faithless".

a secret source of truth (סוד אמת)¹ and understanding²
to the upright of way.³

This passage contrasts the psalmist from the point of view of those outside the community, "the rebellious", with those within, "the upright of way". To those outside he is like the prophet who is called by God but is despised by men.⁴ It is most likely that those who deride the psalmist are simply all those who do not belong to the community, i.e., the world. But it may be a reference to "those who were unfaithful together with the Liar in that they did not listen to the word received by the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God", (1QpHab. 2:3).⁵ These were the members of the sect who, with the wicked priests, betrayed their allegiance. In contrast the psalmist is seen by the "upright of way", the present members of the sect, as a foundation or source of truth and understanding.

We enter here again into the problem of the translation of sôd, if indeed it is to be read as that.⁶ In the Hebrew Bible, as we have

¹Mowinckel, 272, takes סוד אמת here to mean "'an intimate participation in the truth' a real existential being in accordance with 'the truth' which then means the true religion".

²For the personification of understanding see Prov. 7:4; 8:14; 8:1.

³In the Hebrew Bible "the upright of way" refers in a general sense to the righteous as opposed to the sinner, but at Qumran it refers exclusively to the members of the covenant community.

⁴Cf. Ps. 44:14; 79:4.

⁵Translation by G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (Harmondsworth, 1968), p. 236.

⁶Again there is the possibility that 'סוד' should appear here.

seen, sôd is translated either as "council" or "counsel" but in both cases we can trace elements of secrecy. As "council" it is used to describe an intimate circle of friends who meet together often to discuss matters of a private nature (Jer. 6:11; Job 15:8). The same word is used to describe the council or intimate circle who are open to God's word (Jer. 23:18; Job 15:8). Sôd can also mean an "assembly" or "company" as in Ps. 111:1 and Ez. 13:9. Except in the last mentioned case sôd as council can have connotations of secrecy.

Sôd as counsel describes that advice which may be given in making plans (Prov. 15:22) or that taken in intimate fellowship (Ps. 55:15). In the sense of a rather more secretive advice we have already seen it used to describe that counsel which is revealed to the prophets (Amos 3:7) and we find it applied to those secrets which are revealed by careless gossip (Prov. 11:13; 20:19; 25:9).

It appears that in the Qumran literature sôd is used with a corresponding wide spectrum of meanings. But on closer inspection most of those passages containing sôd have some connection with secrecy in that it can be said that a council or an assembly of men, an intimate group of friends or a single individual in communion with God share a common element of secrecy in that the nature of their relationship is not disclosed to those outside.

Bearing this usage of sôd in mind we are better prepared to deal with the meaning of the expression which occurs in this passage and others in the Hodayot.

It is hard to see how an individual can describe himself as an intimate circle of associates nor can he merely be an assembly or a

company. But he can, as an individual, share in God's counsel and be open to God's word. The psalmist is able to describe himself as counsel of truth in that he has in his possession that secret knowledge, wisdom and understanding that renders him a "secret source of truth".

1QH 2:22

We have in this passage the phrase "council of vanity" (כְּסִיף וְרִיב). Here רִיב is parallel to מִדְּבָר, "assembly"¹ so it is clearly meant to convey a meaning of "council", "congregation" etc.

1QH 3:21

This line contains the phrase "eternal assembly" (עוֹלָם וְרִיב). A similar expression occurs in 1QS 2:25. While there is not an explicit reference to secrecy as such in this phrase and in this context the use of sôd here reflects the exclusive destiny of the community. They are chosen by God, together they share God's guidance and they will eventually share the blessings of the world to come.² Sôd takes on here the direct meaning of "council" or "assembly".

1QH 5:9

A secret source of truth (סֵדֶר וְרִיב) you have made firm in my heart, and the waters of the covenant for those who seek it.

¹Jastrow, p. 1043.

²See A.R.C. Leaney, The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning (London, 1966), p. 136.

The verbs "establish" (יָסַד) and "make firm" (יָצַק) which precede and follow יָסַד יָצַק would lead one to consider that a translation of "foundation of truth" would be appropriate¹ but as Holm-Nielsen² admits "counsel of truth" is acceptable. Wallenstein suggests "mystery" for יָצַק and with Vermes³ translates יָצַק as "waters".⁴ This translation certainly ties in with other passages⁵ where the Teacher is referred to as a "source" or "fountain". We should also note that "waters of the well" or "waters of the covenant" elsewhere refer to the Law.⁶ Thus sôd in this passage can be one of three things: "counsel", "foundation" (or "source") or "mystery". In any case it refers to that which through God's grace has enabled the psalmist to become a source of inspiration and a teacher of the Torah for the members of the community.

1QH 6:5

In this incomplete line יָצַק is paralleled by יָצַק "assembly" or "congregation" so we feel safe in applying here the translation "council".

¹Cf. Holm-Nielsen, p. 94, and M. Delcor, Les Hymnes de Qumran (Hodayot) (Paris, 1962), p. 156.

²Holm-Nielsen, p. 94.

³Vermes, p. 165.

⁴M. Wallenstein, "A Hymn from the Scrolls", VT V, (1955), 280, has יָצַק בְּאֵר "waters of the well".

⁵1QH 2:10; 5:26.

⁶CD 6:4. See O. Betz, Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte (Tübingen, 1960), p. 18.

1QH 6:26

To tie in with the building imagery in this line יִסָּד as "foundation" is to be preferred.

1QH 7:9

As with 1QH 6:26 the building imagery demands the translation "foundation".

1QH 7:34

יִסָּד and מוֹעֵד again occur together requiring יִסָּד to be "council".

1QH 10:3-5

What then is man, that is but the earth,
That from the dust was formed, and to the dust
returns,

That you would give him insight into wonders
such as these,

and of the counsel of your truth ($\text{בְּסוֹד אֱמֻנָתְךָ}$)
give him knowledge.

There appears to be general agreement that אֱמֻנָתְךָ should be restored at the end of line 4.¹ This makes the phrase a variation on the more usual יִסָּד יִסָּד which has previously appeared in sentences with the psalmist as the subject.

This passage, however, is clearly another dealing with divine providence and foreknowledge. It deals with God's strength and wisdom

¹Cf. 1QH 11:4.

and acknowledges that without God's will man can do nothing. Sôd is used here in the sense of God's secret plan or counsel.¹

1QH 11:3,4

I thank you, my God,
for you have dealt favourably with dust
and with a creature of clay you have dealt mightily.
I praise you, I praise you
and what am I that [you have given me knowledge]
into the counsel of thy truth (בסוד אמתכה)
and gave me insight into your wondrous deeds.²

For the fact that he has given him, a man of dust and clay, knowledge and insight into his wonderful ways, the psalmist gives thanks to God. The counsel or mystery of truth into which the psalmist has been given understanding is a knowledge of God's action in the world. At the same time this revelation has enabled the psalmist to sing incessant praises to the glory of God.

For the lacuna at the beginning of line 4 we look for a parallel to תשכילנוי . הודיתני cf. 1QH 11:9, or הבינותני is to be preferred to

¹Line 4 has the chiasmic structure ABB'A':

כי תשכילנו	A
בנפלאות כאלה	B
ובסוד אמתכה	B'
תודיענו	A'

This enables us to equate "counsel of your truth" with "wonders such as these" (cf. "wondrous deeds" in 1QH 11:4).

²Cf. Psalm 145:4,5, a reference to Torah?

the "you have set me" of some commentators which would require sôd to be "council" rather than "secret plan" of "counsel". "Secret plan" here makes a satisfactory parallel to "wondrous deeds" if the two phrases are to be understood as referring to God's manner and purpose of dealing with man in the world through the revelation of the Torah. This insight gives the psalmist even greater cause to sing praises to God and rejoice in his glory.

1QH 11:12

With Delcor,¹ Holm-Nielsen² and Mansoor³ we suggest "eternal council", which restores [סוד] (cf. 1QH 3:21). Here then "council" or "assembly" is to be preferred as a suitable translation of sôd.

1QH 11:16, 17

You have made known unto me the counsel of truth (סוד אמת)

.....

Your wondrous works you have revealed unto me.

We can get little from this passage because of the lacunae. Line 16b could be reconstructed as: "you have given me insight into your marvelous mysteries". It is of importance to note that ידע and possibly בין or שכל are used as parallels to גלה (to reveal), supporting our conviction that knowledge of mysteries is closely linked with revelation.

¹Delcor, p. 237.

²Holm-Nielsen, p. 184.

³Mansoor, p. 169.

1QH 14:8; 17:19; f9:10; f31:1

These lines are too fragmentary to allow for any definite elucidation.

Conclusions

In those passages where sôd appears without any connection with râz we observe the fluid use to which this word is put. We cannot, in any of these passages, be justified in directly translating sôd as "secret" or "mystery"¹ but without exception there lies beneath the surface an indication that the element of secrecy is involved. The community which is set up as an "eternal council" or "foundation" (סוד עולם) is especially chosen by God and lies separate and secluded from the rest of the world. The psalmist is privileged to be made a witness to God's "wondrous deeds", the "secret counsel" of God's truth (סוד אמתה) and he himself is regarded by the community to be "secret source of truth" (סוד אמת) and understanding.

Râz in the Hodayot

1QH 1:9-13

You did form every spirit []²
and mishpat³ for all their deeds

¹We shall, in those cases where râz and sôd are used in parallel, attempt to retain "mystery" as a translation of râz and "secret" for sôd.

²Mansoor, p. 98, has "didst establish its action," restoring [לְתִמְנֵן הַכִּינוּתָם] וּפָעַל. Vermes, p. 150, has "and hast established a statute".

³משפּט usually has the meaning "justice", "judgement", but here it is linked with God's foreknowledge and predetermination and requires

Continued . . .

and you have stretched out the heavens for your
glory,
all []¹ according to your will
and mighty winds² according to their laws³
before they became angels⁴ [of holiness]
and eternal spirits in their dominions⁵
luminaries⁶ according to their mysteries (לרזיהם)⁷
stars according to their courses
[] according to their deeds⁸
meteors⁹ and lightning according to their service

requires us to translate it as "a fixed and proper norm" (see Holm-Nielsen, p. 21). Notwithstanding Mansoor p. 98, has "judgement" and Vermes, p. 150, has "law".

¹A.M. Haberman, *Scrolls from the Judæan Desert* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1959), p. 115 restores תה[ברא] [נפש כול]. Vermes' translation reads "and hast appointed all their hosts". Mansoor following Licht restores תה[תכנן בם אשר]. See Holm-Nielsen, p. 21

²Mansoor has "mighty spirits".

³For תה, as divinely decreed regulations. Vermes has "thunderbolts".

⁴Cf. Psalm 104:4 for winds as divine messengers.

⁵Cf. 1QM 10:12.

⁶Sun and moon, but see 1QS 10:3 where "luminaries" are stars.

⁷Cf. 1 Enoch 41:3; 72:1ff. IV Ezra 14:5 "secrets of the periods". Holm-Nielsen, p. 22: ת here "is used of laws, which are beyond human comprehension, which have been decreed for the forces of nature".

⁸Cf. 1QM 10:12 "deeds of the spirits".

⁹Lit. "fiery arrow".

and storehouses¹ skillfully made² according to
 their use³
 snow and hailstones⁴ according to their mysteries
 (לרזיהם)

These lines deal with God's creation and his preordaining of the order of the universe. The heavens, the stars, the sun, moon, wind, thunder and lightning all originate through God's wisdom (line 7) and formed part of his plan from before creation.⁵

The elements are designed to behave according to God's fore-ordained manner. We have in this passage a string of phrases which describe how the elements are to behave:

[] according to your will,	לרצונך
mighty winds according to their laws,	לחוקיהם	
luminaries according to their mysteries,	לרזיהם	
stars according to their courses,	לנתיבותם	
[] according to their deeds,	למשאם
meteors and lightning according to their		
service,	לעבודתם	
storehouses according to their use,	לחפציהם	
snow and hailstones according to their		
mysteries.	לרזיהם	

¹Or "treasuries" (i.e., of the heavens) cf. Psalm 33:7; 135:7; Job 38:22 where the word is used for the storehouses of the rain, snow and wind.

²Jastrow, p. 764 has "plan" for מַחְשָׁבָה. Mansoor, p. 99 notes that the root מַחְשָׁב is sometimes used of skill cf. Ex. 31:4. But at 1QH 3:32, 33 מַחְשָׁבִים has the sense of "the deep" and we could therefore have in our passage "treasuries of the deep" or "hidden treasures".

³Cf. 1QS 3:7. For חֶפֶץ Jastrow, p. 492 has "object". Mansoor suggests "affair" or "thing" but Holm-Nielsen's "desire" or "use" seems preferable.

⁴Cf. Job 38:22.

⁵Cf. the esoteric doctrine of the Creation-chapters of Genesis.

It will be noted that there is a repetition of one of the phrases:

קרייהם (according to their mysteries). Is it possible to find a common factor in any of the other phrases listed above?

To begin with we can take the phrases that deal with heavenly objects (i.e., the luminaries and stars) to be parallel expressions. If this is the case then is there a closer relationship between נתיב and נתיב? נתיב is simply a path and here it must refer to the path taken by the stars through the heavens. This throws a little light on our understanding of rāz. The link that can be seen for the moment is with that of astrology and astronomy. The courses of the stars would be well known to the astrologer but what would warrant the designation of mysteries to the luminaries, the sun and the moon? We need only remind ourselves at this point of the sect's calendrical calculations and that a knowledge of the paths or orbits of the heavenly bodies would enable the community to determine not only the correct dates of their feasts¹ which were at variance with those of normative Judaism and the seasons for sowing and harvesting "but also the epochs of history which are systematized by divisions into jubilees and weeks of years. They are an expression of the orderly course of history, which guides them to the goal determined by God's plan".²

¹E. Vogt, "'Mysteria' in textibus Qumran", Biblica XXXVII, (1956), 252-53.

²Hengel I, p. 234.

Is there a relationship between יר and יצח? It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions. The possible translations of יצח as "object", "desire" or "use" give little indication except that in translating יצח as "use" or "purpose"¹ we have a connection with the previous two phrases and thus have the series: deeds . . . service . . . purpose. The purpose of rain from God's storehouse for the desert community needs no elaboration. But why should snow and hailstones be subjected to the same form of secrecy? It is most likely related to the attitude that sees snow and hail, relatively rare occurrences in Palestine as one of the wonders of God's power. Job 37:5,6 reads:

(God) does great things which we cannot comprehend
For to the snow he says, 'Fall to the earth';
and to the shower and of the rain, 'Be strong'.

God's acts are described in the Hodayot as his "wondrous mysteries" and mysteries are, of course, those things which man cannot usually comprehend.

The mysteries in IQH 1:9-13 then refer to those revealed aspects of God's creation. The sun, moon and stars which figured in the sect's calendrical calculations and in their astrological interpretations together with references to the climate are all part of the heavenly phenomena with which this section deals. It is, therefore, correct to classify the mysteries referred to here as "cosmic".²

¹Holm-Nielsen, p. 17.

²Brown, p. 27.

1QH 1:19b-21

In the wisdom of your knowledge you did establish
 their destiny¹ before they existed
 and according to your will everything has come
 to pass
 and without you nothing is done
 This I know² from your insight,³ for you have
 opened my ears⁴ to the wonderful mysteries (לרזי פלא).

The psalmist acknowledges the fact of God's creation and of his preordination of all that happens in the world. This recognition derives from the "insight" or "intelligence" (בִּינָה) that has been revealed to the psalmist. He has been made aware of God's "wonderful mysteries" (לרזי פלא).

We meet the phrase "I know" frequently in the Hodayot (1QH 3:20; 4:30; 11:7; 14:12). In neither this passage nor any of the others does the phrase refer merely to worldly knowledge or understanding. The psalmist is able to make this sort of statement only because divine revelation has enabled him to reach this stage of comprehension of God's work in the world.

¹Or "their fate".

²A common phrase in the Hodayot. This is not merely intellectual knowledge but knowledge derived through the channels of divine revelation. It is closely connected with the uncovering of God's secrets. Cf. Psalm 20:7; 56:10; 119:175; 135:5; 140:13.

³מִבִּינָתָהּ, the biblical בִּין, "to discern", "to understand". In the Hodayot it is that special understanding which God has given the members of the community who have entered the covenant.

⁴Cf. 1QH 6:4; 11:17; 12:34; 18:4; 19:24. A frequent expression referring to revelation.

The phrase "you have opened my ears" indicates this revelatory aspect. In fact members of the sect were called **מגולי און ושומעי** , "those whose ears have been opened and who understand deep things" (1QM 10:11). By entering and adhering to the covenant understanding is given by God to the members of the sect. It is through this understanding that they are able to appreciate and comprehend the mysteries of God's creation and of his providence.

1QH 1:28-30

You have created a spirit on the tongue¹ and
 you know its words²
 and you have established the fruit of the lips
 before they came into being
 and you placed words upon the measuring line³
 and the utterance of the spirit of the lips with
 a metre⁴
 and you bring forth the sounds
 according to their secrets (**לרזיהם**)

¹Cf. Holm-Nielsen, p. 18.

²I.e., God knows and determines a man's words before they are spoken. For a similar idea see 1QS 3:15.

³**קל** is usually translated "measuring line" at 1QH 6:26. It is used to mean "sound" in Psalm 19:5. Delcor, p. 89 writes: "Le 'cordeau' **קל**, a comme parallèle **מדה**, 'mesure', à la ligne 29. En Is., XXVIII, 17, **קל** est en parallèle avec **משקל**, 'Niveau'. Notre passage se réfère à la création du langage, Dieu connaissant les mots, 'le fruit des lèvres' avant même qu'il y ait des hommes pour les prononcer. Cette idée de la connaissance des lois des êtres, à l'avance, avant même leur création, était déjà exprimée plus haut (ligne 20-21).

⁴Cf. Vermes, p. 152.

and the utterances of the spirits
 according to their reckoning
 to proclaim your glory and to tell of your
 wonders in all the deeds of your truth.

We remain with the theme of God's foreknowledge. This passage deals with human speech, the nature of which God knows before it is uttered. This is made quite clear in the two strophes in line 28. If the two parallel lines are seen in the chiastic form¹ of A B C C' B' A' the elements C and C' are "you know" (יָדָעַ) and "you have established" (יָסַד). This then gives the sense that language is God's creation and it is he that knows and determines a man's words before they are spoken.²

The realm of God's creation and foreknowledge has, in this passage, been narrowed down to that element in man that is able to make a fitting response to God's glory and wonder: the human voice.

Although the sense may be there, the translation of לִקְוֹ appears somewhat clumsy. It is usually rendered as "measuring line" and it is in this form that the word is usually translated when it appears in the Hebrew Bible. But in Psalm 19:4(5) although the Authorized Version translates לִקְוֹ as "their lines" most versions have "their voices" or "their sounds" (LXX φθογγος, Symmachus ἦχος, Vulgate sonus) and as לִקְוֹ is parallel to לִמְוֶהוּ ("their words") the oral connotations are here quite plain. The varied use of לִקְוֹ fits in quite well with our text. We can retain "measuring lines" (the usual translation of לִקְוֹ) in line 28 and

¹Barbara Thiering, "The Poetic Forms of the Hodayot", JSS VIII, (1963), 200.

²Holm-Nielsen, p. 26.

insert "sounds" in line 29. מִדָּה, the parallel element to קֶל, confirms our choice of "measuring lines"; for מִדָּה is itself usually translated "measure".

What conclusions can we draw from this passage? It appears that God has fixed a measure, i.e., he has set forth the limits of human utterance and has foreknowledge of everything that comes from man's lips, be it the spoken word or song. All this he has done with the sole purpose of allowing man to proclaim his praises.

The use of the verbs יָדַע and סִפֵּר is frequent in the Hebrew Bible, especially in the Psalms, in connection with singing the praises of God. In Psalm 105:1,2 יָדַע and שָׁח are in parallel. שָׁח is synonymous with סִפֵּר and in fact is used in a similar fashion in 1QH 9:7 and 11:5. It seems, therefore, that we have here in our passage a reference to the sung as well as the spoken word. This has led some scholars to translate חֲשִׁבוֹנָם as "their harmony" and others to remind us of the reference by Philo in De Vita Contemplativa of the hymn singing of the Therapeutae.¹

The mysteries referred to in this passage are still in the realm of God's creation and his foreknowledge of the actions of men.

1QH 2:13-14

But you have made me a banner² to the chosen
of righteousness

¹See Holm-Nielsen, p. 26.

²סֵל is used in the Hebrew Bible to refer to a person only in Is. 11:10 where it refers to the root of Jesse.

and a mediator of insight into his wonderful
 mysteries
 to test [the men of] truth and to try the lovers
 discipline.

It is to the psalmist that the men of the community, "[the men of] truth" and "lovers of discipline" turn for the interpretation of God's mysteries. He stands as a rallying point around whom the elect gather. The "wonderful mysteries" which the psalmist has in his possession are those elements of supernatural knowledge which have been revealed to him.

We are reminded of the passage in 1QpHab. 7:5 which describes the Teacher of Righteousness as the one "to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of His servants the prophets".¹ He is a knowledgeable interpreter. The word translated "interpreter" here is מְלִיץ which comes from the root מִלַּץ. The word appears in the Hebrew Bible in Gen. 42:23 where it is used in the sense of an interpreter of languages and in Job 33:23 and Is. 43:27 as a mediator (מְלִיץ) and in II Chron. 32:31 as envoy or messenger.² We also find it used elsewhere in the Hodayot. 1QH f2:6 has it combined with מִדְבָּר where a parallel line links it with the concept of truth, and in 1QH 2:14,31; 4:7,9 it is connected with errors, lies and deceit. It is interesting to note that the phrases "interpreter of lies" (1QH 2:31) and "interpreter of deceit" (1QH 4:9) appear in parallel to "seekers of smooth things", the opposition par

¹Vermes, p. 239.

²H.N. Richardson, "Some Notes on מִלַּץ and its Derivatives", VT V, (1955), 167.

excellence of the sect. The interpreter of insight is obviously the community's answer to these opponents.

Whether we translate עלִי as "interpreter" or "mediator" we retain the sense of an individual who makes contact between two parties. The two parties in this case are God and the community. God has given insight into his mysteries and aspects of these divine revelations are to be passed on to the members of the community.¹

It is with the knowledge of these mysteries that the psalmist is able to examine those who are to make up his community. The verbs בִּחַן and נִסָּה are synonymous and mean "to test" or "to try". בִּחַן is used in this sense in IQS 9:2 where the man who has inadvertently sinned is "tried" for two years before he can return to full membership of the community. בִּחַן is used as a noun in IQS 8:7. Here the Council of the Community is referred to as that precious corner stone² (cf. Is. 28:16 אֶבֶן בִּחַן). In the same way בִּחַן and most likely נִסָּה appear in IQH 6:26 where the building is the community and the "chosen (tried) stones" are its members.

It is therefore fitting that בִּחַן and נִסָּה be used in verbal form in IQH 2:13-14 to give not only the sense of examining but also of constructing the community with the help of God's revealed knowledge.

The mysteries here are revealed to an individual who is described as an interpreter or mediator and they constitute that special knowledge which is needed to bring the community first into existence and then to fruition.

¹See Delcor, p. 97.

²Vermes, p. 85.

1QH 5:35, 36

. . . and it entered into my bones to cause the
spirit to stumble¹

and to be an end of strength according to the
mysteries of sins (כרזי פשע)² who change the deed
of God in their guilt

This is the only occurrence of mysteries in a bad sense. Mansoor
takes the probable meaning to be "that the power, nature and actions of
wickedness, which brings man to his downfall, cannot be penetrated, looked
through".³

1QH 7:26-27

I thank you, O Lord,⁴ for you have given me insight
into your truth

and into the mysteries of your wonder (וברזי פלאכה)
you have given me knowledge

and in your lovingkindness to man []⁵

and in the greatness of your compassion to the
perverted of heart.⁶

This passage marks the beginning of a new hymn and we can con-
fidently accept the reconstruction of the lacuna which matches the com-
mencement of other hymns of this nature.

¹Cf. Psalm 31:11; 71:9.

²Cf. II Thess. 2:7, *μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας*

³Mansoor, p. 140.

⁴Cf. 1QH 2:20,31; 3:19,37 etc.

⁵Vermes has [of vanity and] p. 175.

⁶Lines 26-27 are seen by Thiering, p. 201, to be part of a complete
psalm in chiasmic form.

The chiasmic structure of the whole hymn¹ and the chiasmus in lines 26-27 can help us with the interpretation of this passage.

Putting aside the introductory formula we have two sets of parallel sentences, each set containing two sections. The first can be arranged in the chiasmic form A B B' A'. "Truth" and "wonderful mysteries" are then parallel in meaning. Following Sanders we translate the second set as adverbially modifying the first.² The important fact emerging here for our purposes is the synonymous use of "truth" and "wonderful mysteries". An understanding of God's truth and mysteries has been revealed to the psalmist through God's lovingkindness and mercy in his dealings with the wicked.

1QH 8:5-6

A plantation of cypress and elm together with
cedar for your glory
trees of life³ by a mysterious fountain (בְּמַעֲיָן) ⁴
which conceal themselves in the midst of all the trees
of water.

The community is the sole source of revelation in the world. It sees itself as a sacred plantation of trees of life in comparison to "the trees of water" by which is meant the wicked, i.e., the rest of the world.

¹See Thiering, 201, and E.P. Sanders, "Chiasmus and the Translation of 1Q Hodayot VII, 26-27" Revue de Qumran VI, (1968), 427-31.

²Sanders, p. 430.

³Only the singular form "tree of life" appears in the Hebrew Bible.

⁴This may be a reference to the fact that the community saw itself as being physically hidden from the rest of the world.

The trees of life then, indicating the righteous, symbolize the new life of the covenant.¹ Again, this life is not open to all, it is concealed from the world and open only to the elect. The secret fountain מַעְיֵן רֵץ literally the "source of mystery" is known only to the faithful who have it revealed to them by God.

IQH 9:23-24

For you, O my God, []
 You will plead my case²
 For in the mystery of your wisdom (בְּרִז חֲכָמָתְכָה)³
 you have rebuked me
 And you will hide truth until its appointed time
 and [] until its season.

At the present time the psalmist is being oppressed by his enemies but he announces his faith in God who in his mysterious wisdom has allowed him to suffer but will in due course reveal his true purpose and then the psalmist's sufferings will turn to joy.

God's foreknowledge and purposes are not to be comprehended by man. This the psalmist accepts. But he also believes that God has appointed him to be the recipient, at a set time, in the future of the revelation of the truth.

Rāz is used here in the very straightforward sense of the purpose

¹Holm-Nielsen, p. 148.

²Cf. Jer. 50:34.

³This is the only place in the Hodayot where mystery is linked with wisdom.

of God's action in the world. It is most naturally connected with the mysteries of divine providence that appear in column one but also it has a link with the theodicy of the community whereby they sought to explain their present sufferings in terms of their future blessings.

1QH 12:20

to have insight into all your mysteries (רז'כה)
and to answer with a word

The lacunae preclude us from making any definite points from this line.

1QH 13:2

and in the mysteries of your wonder (וברז' פלאך)

1QH f3:7

and he guards him according to the
mysteries of his will (לרז' חפצו) for he knows . . .

1QH f6:5

the wonder of your mysteries (רז'כה) you have
revealed

Conclusions

There can be no doubt that rāz in these passages can be translated exclusively as "mystery" or "secret". It is used to refer to the cosmic mysteries of creation, the revealed mysteries of God which certain individuals and groups are privileged to receive and the mystery of God's foreknowledge. These then are the passages which have only rāz as a referent to the concept of secrecy. Rāz also occurs in conjunction with

sôd and סוד and we will next examine those passages in which râz appears with sôd.

Râz/sôd in the Hodayot

1QH 4:27-29

And through me you have lit up the faces of
the many¹
and you have become mighty to an infinite degree
for you have given me insight into your wonderful
mysteries (ברזי פלאמכה)
and in your wonderful secrets (ובסוד פלאמכה)
you have acted greatly with me
and you have dealt wonderfully² before the many
for the sake of your glory
and in order to proclaim to all the living your
great deeds.

It is almost as though there is a joint effort of the "many" and the psalmist to make known the glory of God to the world. The psalmist, as the mediator of the heavenly light,³ has been the recipient of an insight into God's wonderful mysteries and as a result has been

¹Cf. 1QH 3:3; 4:5.

²Holm-Nielsen, p. 85, notes: " והפלא can hardly be right, since an imperative does not fit the context . . . the following להודיע would more readily suggest an infinitive introduced by ל or ב but without ל. The present spelling may have arisen through a scribal error in taking down dictation".

³For the idea of the Torah as light see G. Vermes, "The Torah is a Light", VT VIII, (1958), 436-8.

able to illuminate the faces of the congregation. But God, it appears, has dealt also directly with the community in doing wondrous things before them. Whatever הַפִּלֵּא means it has enabled the community in turn to inform the world of God's mighty acts.

Again we have here the psalmist as the mediator of divine revelation and in this case there is a suggestion that he is the bringer of the divine light.¹

1QH 11:8-10

In your anger are all judgements of torment
and in your goodness is much forgiveness
and your mercy is to all the sons of your favour
for you have made known to them the counsel of
your truth (בְּסוֹר אֱמֶתְכָה)
and into the mysteries of your wonder (וּבְרִי פִלְאֲנָה)
you have given them insight.

In this passage the members of the community themselves are accredited with being in possession of God's mysteries. Whereas in similar passages the "I" of the psalms has been a recipient of the divine revelation here the same phrases are used of the "sons of your favour", God's elect.

Is there a distinction between the mysteries into which, in this passage, the faithful have been given knowledge?

If we are to understand the verbs נָתַן and שָׂכַל , "to give

¹See S. Aalen, Die Begriffe 'Licht' und 'Finsterniss' im AT, in Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus (Oslo, 1951), p. 184.

knowledge" and "to give insight", as an indication of divine revelation it appears that the sect is in the direct line of God's revelation, whereas we have, up until now, assumed that the psalmist (whether he is the Teacher of Righteousness or not) acts as the sole mediator of divine revelation. This does not, however, rule out the use of a mediator in this particular case. Mediator or not the sect gains insight into God's purposes.

The use of the plural pronoun here may reflect on the subject in some of the hymns. It may well be that the "I" is a collective for the community and that the author sees then no problem in slipping from the first person to the third on occasion in order to refer to the community as a whole.¹

The phrase **סוד אמתכה** has already been encountered (1QH 1:27; 10:4,5; 11:4) and in this passage it is clearly a parallel expression for **רזי פלאכה**.²

1QH 12:11-13

But I, an enlightened one, know you O my God by the
spirit which you have given me

¹See Holm-Nielsen, p. 188.

²Note the chiasmus:

כי הודעתם	A
בסוד אמתכה	B
וברזי פלאכה	B'
השכלתם	A'

and firmly I have listened to the counsel of your
wonder (לסוד פלאכה) by your holy spirit

You have opened within me knowledge by the
mystery of your insight (ברז שכלכה)
the fountain of your power []

This passage has been taken by J. Obermann¹ as a reference to the sect's understanding of calendric calculations. In the section preceding this one (lines 3-11) there are direct references to the laws which regulate the beginning of the days and seasons and in line 5, in particular, to "the laws of the great luminary" which according to Jubilees 2:9 (the book from which some believe the sect received ideas on the calendar) God has placed to be a great sign for the days, sabbaths and months.

This then appears to be a statement maintaining the sect's dependence on a solar calendar and, according to Obermann, an attack upon the Pharisees and their lunar calendar. It is on the revelation of the holy spirit of God that the psalmist bases his claim to authority on matters concerning the calendar. It is to him that the secret of the calendar has been given.²

Again it is clear that we have, in connection with the use of the terms rāz and sôd, the revelation that is given by God to the sect or to a particular member of the sect. Here the revelation, perhaps one dealing specifically with the calendar, is given through an intermediary: God's holy spirit.

¹J. Obermann, "Calendric Elements in the DSS", JBL LXXV, (1956), 290.

²Cf. סוד העיבור, b.R.H. 20b.

The phrase *שכלכה רן* appears again in 1QH 13:13 and would lead one to suspect that in our passage line 13 is more closely connected with what follows in that it concerns God's providence and foreknowledge in the world, knowledge into which the psalmist has been given insight. We cannot reconstruct the following phrase completely¹ but the mention of "fountain" with perhaps the parallel *מקור* in the missing part ties it with the other use of the fountain imagery as referring to an unending source of knowledge.

1QH 13:13-14

And in the mysteries of your insight (*וברי' שכלכה*)
 [you did distribute] all these
 to make known your glory
 [] the spirit of flesh to understand all this
 that it should have insight into the secret of your
 great wonders (*בסוד הפלאך ה' גדול*)²

Neither of these lines is complete and they both form part of a hymn that has many lacunae.

So as to manifest his glory God has, in the mystery of his insight (cf. 1QH 12:13), shared out (*פלגתה*) his creation throughout the world. The mysteries here appear to be those of creation, similar to what we have seen in other passages. Man, however, who is described as "the spirit of flesh", has little ability to comprehend the nature of the creation.

¹Vermes suggests for the lacuna: [thou hast unlocked for me] p. 189.

²Following Holm-Nielsen, p. 214. Habermann, p. 129, has *בסוד שכלכה ה' גדול*, *בסוד אמתכה* is also possible.

Whereas lines 1-13a have dealt with the wonders of God's creation lines 13b-18 depict man in his baseness as a creature over whom a perverted spirit rules and who can be made righteous only through the goodness of God.

In line 19 the psalmist confirms that he, God's servant, knows and understands through the gift of God's spirit, God's purposes. It is he, as we have learnt elsewhere, who can understand God's mysteries. To him God has revealed the mystery of his insight: his purposes and plans for the world.

Conclusions

Only twice (1QH 4:27-28; 13:13,14) are we forced to translate sôd as secret when it appears as a parallel to râz, otherwise "counsel" appears to be satisfactory. Sôd as "counsel" is used in these passages in the same manner as it is in the passages where it appears alone. We will now examine those passages in which סתר occurs as a referent to the concept of secrecy.

סתר in the Hodayot

1QH 1:25

The first occurrence of the verb סתר is in 1QH 1:25. Here, speaking of the omniscience of God, the psalmist remarks that the events of the world and the times of the ages are "not hidden" (לוא נסתרו). This, of course, is not really a reference to secrecy, but just the opposite; there is, it is saying, nothing that is hidden from God.

1QH 5:11-12

For you O my God have concealed me (סתרנו)¹ from
 before the sons of men
 and your Law you have hidden (חבתה)² [in me] until
 the appointed time
 to reveal your salvation to me

In this short section we have an expression of the idea that the psalmist is the mediator of the divine revelation and also guardian of the Law until the time of God's choosing.

The verb סתר here is taken by both Mansoor³ and Vermes⁴ to convey the idea of protection. God has "sheltered" the psalmist. This may well fit in with the view that the psalmist, perhaps the Teacher of Righteousness, has at one time suffered persecution and that he and the sect he founded sought refuge as a separate and separated community. His vindication would come when the Law, which God had hidden within him, would be revealed at the "appointed time".⁵

The verb חבה is used here to refer to the hiddenness of the Law

¹ סתר is here as in 1QH 5:26 either kal or piel. The kal form does not appear in the Hebrew Bible and the piel appears only in Is. 16:3 where it is in the imperative. It is usually, when transitive, hiphil. In 1QH 8:10 it appears as a kal participle.

² חבתה from חבה or חבא. It appears in Is. 26:20 in kal form with transitive meaning which is what it has here. There is a gap following this verb. Holm-Nielsen, p. 95, writes: "there must surely be added ׀ and after that probably ׀" Mansoor, p. 133, restores ׀ comparing it with 1QH 5:25.

³ Mansoor, p. 133.

⁴ Vermes, p. 167.

⁵ This, in itself is a problematic phrase, however, it has eschatological overtones.

but in line 25 of this column it appears with rāz: "the mystery you have concealed in me".¹ Could "mystery" in line 25 be a synonym for "Law"? This point will be taken up later.

A similar phrase to that in line 11 appears in IQH 9:24 using חִבֵּה: "and you have concealed the truth until its appointed time".²

We may therefore tentatively suggest that within the Hodayot there is a tendency to denote certain key concepts by a wide variety of synonymous words and phrases. In this case we have the linking together from these three passages (IQH 5:12,25; 9:24) Law-mystery-truth. All three words are used in similar contexts and refer to one basic idea, that, until a certain time when it will be revealed, the Law (or perhaps we should say the correct interpretation of the Law) remains hidden in the possession of the "psalmist" or the community.

IQH 5:23-26

Even the eaters of my bread³ have brought up
the heel unto me
and all those joined to my circle (חִבֵּה) talk
disrespectfully⁴ against me with wicked lips
and the 'men of my [company] are rebellious
and have murmured round about

¹See Below.

²There is general agreement regarding the reconstruction of the lacuna here.

³I.e., "those with whom I have table fellowship".

⁴Following Jastrow, p. 696, who has "to talk about, sneer, talk disrespectfully", for חִבֵּה.

and with¹ the mystery you have concealed in me
(וברזי חבתה בי) they go around slandering to the sons
of destruction

and because of your greatness to me and because
of their guilt

you have concealed a fountain of understanding
(סתרת מעין בינה)² and a secret source³ of truth
(וסוד אמת)⁴

This is a difficult passage which apparently refers to those full members of the community who had apostasized. They have rebelled against the psalmist and now appear to be divulging to the enemies of the sect the secrets that had been entrusted to them.

We may have a clue to the nature of the secret that has been passed on to the renegade members when we compare the phrase 'וברזי חבתה בי', "and with the mystery you have concealed in me" with that of 1QH 5:11 "and your Law you have hidden in me". Is it that the psalmist, as a mediator of God's mysteries, passes on the revealed teaching of the Law to the community?⁵

¹Following Holm-Nielsen, p. 99. Both Vermes, p. 167, and Mansoor, p. 137 have "concerning".

²Only occurrence of this phrase in the Hodayot, but see 1QH 2:10 for סוד בינה and 1QH 6:18; 8:18 for מעין. Same expression is found in IV Ezra 14:47.

³Cf. 1QH 2:10.

⁴Cf. 1QH 1:27; 2:10; 5:9; 11:4. Here סוד אמת is parallel to מעין בינה and Holm-Nielsen, p. 107, suggests that סוד is probably equal to "foundation", Vermes however has "counsel" while Delcor, p. 165, prefers "la fondement".

⁵We are reminded of the unacceptable teaching of the Law that was given by Jesus and which scandalized the Pharisees so.

In spite of the fact that outsiders have received knowledge of the divine mystery the psalmist is not perturbed, for the source of their understanding and the truth of these mysteries remain hidden "until the proper time".

This passage may reflect on some historical event within the community when a substantial number of members of the community broke away from the formal leadership. This had led the psalmist to see this as one of the tribulations of the leader. It was certainly a calamity for the master מִשְׁכִּיל, who, according to the Community Rule, "shall conceal the teaching of the Law עֲצַת הַתּוֹרָה from the men of falsehood;"but", the text continues, he "shall impart true knowledge and righteous judgement to those who have chosen the Way" (1QS 9:17)¹. From this we gather that the deliberation of the Law was to be hidden from outsiders while those who had volunteered to come into the community were to be given the knowledge of truth and instruction "in the mysteries of marvellous truth" (1QS 9:18).

Without being sure of the exact meaning of the beth before rāz in line 26² we cannot obtain an exact understanding of this passage. There is, however, a hint that the secrets of the community have in some way enabled the breakaway group to cause trouble for the community. The psalmist retains his confidence, none the less, for he still remains the sole source of understanding and the final mediator of the truth for those who continue within the community.

¹Vermes, p. 88.

²"because", "with" or "concerning".

1QH 8:10-12

And the bud of the shoot of holiness¹ which grows
into the plant of truth² was hidden (סוּתַר) and was
not reckoned

and the seal of its mystery (זוּתַתִּי רִוּוּ) was not
known

[and you O God] have fenced³ in its fruit⁴ with
the mystery (זַרְזִי) of warriors of strength
and spirits of holiness
and changing flames of fire

This passage continues on the theme of election and the shelter
(cf. 1QH 5:11) or refuge which God provides for the community.

The "shoot of holiness" is the community which has been growing
secretly into the plant of truth. At first it was insignificant but from
these small beginnings it has grown under the watchful care of God and
his protective angels. While the rest of the world does not recognize
its secret destiny the members of the sect see themselves as the messianic
community that remains under God's care and which keeps secret its
revealed purposes. We shall see below (in line 16) how the psalmist
looks towards the time when this destiny will be manifested to the
whole world.

Mansoor sums up this section by saying:

¹Cf. Is. 11:1, also Is. 60:21.

²Elsewhere מִטְעַת עוֹלָם 1Qs 8:5; 11:8, 1QH 6:15.

³Cf. Job 1:10.

⁴Cf. Gen. 3.

It seems that such a secret ties up with the Biblical notion (Gen. 3) of the tree of life and its generations. With this tree the holy twig which God causes to grow into the eternal plant of truth, is somehow bound up (8:6,11). The trees of life (plural) stand at a mysterious spring (בְּמַעַיִן 17) (8:6) in the midst of the water-trees and they are there in order to cause the twig to blossom into an eternal plant. God surrounds its fruit with the secret of the strong heroes and of the swaying fire-flame (8:11f). It is doubtless that here we have an allusion to the cherub and the sword of fire, which have to guard the access to the tree of life. These things are mysterious, because they surpass the natural, they are therefore supernatural. Nevertheless, everything seems to be somehow interpreted in relation to the existence and life of the community, which is also elsewhere designated as a plantation with an eschatological future (1QH 6:15; 8:6)¹

1QH 8:16-18

But you, O my God, have established in my mouth²
as early rain showers³ for all who [thirst]⁴
and a spring of living waters shall not fail to
open⁵ and the heavens shall not cease⁶
and they shall be like a torrent [overflowing
its banks]⁷ and like [unfathomable] seas⁸

¹Mansoor, p. 154.

²Cf. 1QH 10:7; 11:33.

³Cf. Hos. 6:3; Joel 2:23 where in both cases rain is used as a figure of God's blessings. Here it is יֶרֶח "early autumnal rains" as opposed to the later spring rains, and like the "drink" in 1QH 4:11 it is used in a figurative sense for the true doctrine. See Delcor, p. 205.

⁴צָמָא following E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Darmstadt, 1971), p. 142. Following the imagery that has been set up; those who thirst are those who seek the true doctrine, who are, in this case, the members of the community. Cf. Avot 1:4, שׁוֹתֵה בְּצִמָּא אֶת דְּבָרֵי הַחַיִּים.

⁵פָּתַח can mean "to explain" see Jastrow, p. 1251.

⁶Cf. Jer. 17:8.

⁷Cf. Is. 8:7. This is Vermes translation.

⁸Most commentators insert חֶקֶר cf., Job 5:9 "unsearchable".

suddenly they shall pour out¹ that which was
hidden in secret (מחובאים בסתר)

This is a passage, along with others in the Hodayot, full of water, tree and plant imagery that deals with hidden things and secrets.

The psalmist acknowledges that God has given him wisdom and insight through revelation. The phrase "in my mouth" is similar to the expression in 1QH 10:7 "you have opened my mouth" which in that passage is placed in parallel to "given me insight" and which has close associations with prophetic utterances (cf. Numb. 22:38; I Kings 17:34; Deut. 18:18).

God's revelation is compared here to "early rain showers", the autumnal rains. Like the "drink of knowledge" in 1QH 4:11 this is a reference to the true doctrine which the psalmist will pass on to "those who thirst".

Surrounding the idea of water, the spring מַבְרָא, and drinking is a cluster of imagery connected with the Law.

The spring or well (in this case בְּאֵר) is described in CD 6:4-5 as the Law in an interpretation of Numb. 21:18:

The Well is the Law, and those who dug it were the converts of Israel who went out of the land of Judah to sojourn in the land of Damascus.²

In this passage from Numbers on which the Damascus Document is commenting

¹"There may possibly be a double meaning in the word, מַבְרָא is used both of water which gushes forth (Prov. 18:4), and, in hiph., of causing words to spring forth, Ps. 19:3." Holm-Nielsen, p. 154. Jastrow, p. 570 has "to utter" for hiphil of מַבְרָא.

²Vermes, p. 102.

are mentioned "the princes" who are interpreted as being the members of the community. We may, in this case, be justified in supporting Dupont-Sommer who would read $\text{מ' }]\text{שן}$ in line 17 as משרים , the princes.¹

Putting these linguistic problems aside for the moment it is possible to see through the allegory and obtain some basic understanding. The psalmist has been the recipient of divine revelation which in this case appears to deal with the interpretation of the Law. At an appointed time he will be able to pronounce (pour out נבא) this interpretation which previously had been hidden from men. The abundance of water, presumably the right interpretation of the Law, will enable the community to be nurtured. A similar theme is pursued in 1QpHab. 11:1 where it is said that "knowledge shall be revealed to them abundantly, like the waters of the sea".² Again in these lines from the Hodayot the element of secrecy refers to that knowledge or insight into the Law which the psalmist has in his possession by virtue of God's revealing grace.

1QH 11:19; 17:9; 17:22; f55:1

These lines are all incomplete and offer us little in our attempt to understand the use of סתר .

Conclusions

The occurrence of סתר and in some cases סתר חבוי has been, in the passages we have just examined, exclusively concerned with the psalmist

¹A. Dupont-Sommer, The Essene Writings from Qumran, tr. G. Vermes, (New York, 1962), p. 228.

²Vermes, p. 241.

and his relationship with God and the community. We meet here no reference to the mysteries of God's creation nor of the secrets of astrology and astronomy. The four main passages with which we have dealt in this section (1QH 5:11-12, 23-26; 8:10-12, 16-18), which as we earlier indicated have been considered part of those psalms of an individual nature, the "Lehrerlieder", have as their major concern the secret nature of the true meaning of God's Law, the Torah. They demonstrate the special role the psalmist has in bringing this particular understanding of the Law to his community so that it may, under God's protection, live out to the full its true purposes in the present age and be prepared for the final consummation in the near future.

III
THE ROLE OF THE CONCEPT OF SECRECY
AT QUMRAN

Introduction

We are now ready to schematize our findings concerning the varying use of the concept of secrecy as we have observed it in the Hodayot. Some of the portions of the hymns which we have examined have exhibited more than one facet of this concept, and in the following pages it will be noticed that some passages will be mentioned under more than one heading. We shall begin by classifying those mysteries that bear some relationship to those that were mentioned in our treatment of both the biblical and non-biblical material. Then we shall proceed to look at those passages that mention the concept of secrecy and also refer to items of belief and practice that may possibly be seen as unique to the Qumran community. It is these passages that will receive our foremost attention and will lead us at times to look at other Qumran documents which display a similar concern with these aspects of secrecy.

Secrets of Creation

The Hodayot reflects an awareness on the part of the psalmist of the overriding structure and form of the universe. Every member of the Cosmos has specific tasks to perform (1QH 1:9) and all are endowed with one purpose: the glorification of God (1QH 13:13). Each member of

creation has its own mishpat, its "fixed and proper norm"¹ which determines its actions. But to man the ways of God's heavenly creation are hidden. This is particularly true in the case of the sun and the moon (1QH 1:11). God has endowed in them the means to regulate the seasons (cf. Gen. 1:14) and from them the times of the festivals were determined. More especially for the sect the sun, over and against the moon, was used for their calendrical calculations (1QH 12:5). Such a system based on the sun gave to the liturgical calendar a regularity lacking in the lunar calendar used by the rest of Judaism. The liturgical year which always began on the same day and allowed its festivals always to fall on the same day year after year was, to the sect, a reflection of the order and formal structure of the universe itself which had been set by God.

We have noted in dealing with 1QH 1:9-13 the parallel phrases that deal with the sun, moon and stars. Both the two great luminaries and the stars move across the heavens in preordained courses "according to their mysteries". These courses were divinely determined before creation. It would not be out of order to suggest that certain members of the sect saw a relationship between God's ordering of the ways of men and his ordering of the paths of the stars and that an attempt was made to determine the future actions of men and indeed of the universe by a close observation of the movement of the stars.² In fact astrological sections of I Enoch were found at Qumran, and Hengel notes that the

¹Holm-Nielsen, p. 21.

²For astronomy and astrology at Qumran see Leaney, pp. 80ff.

importance given to "these esoteric astrological doctrines is shown by the fact that they were partly written in cryptic writing".¹ Not only, then, were the movements of the heavenly bodies and their effect on the behaviour of men veiled in secrecy, but the interpretation of these observations themselves was also kept as a secret.²

While we are dealing with the Qumran understanding of creation we may note that in the later rabbinic tradition the whole of God's creation was seen to be dependent on the Law and its correct interpretation.³ The continued existence of the world was seen to be contingent on Israel accepting the Law. "If Israel accepts the Torah, ye shall exist; but if not, I will turn you back into emptiness and formlessness."⁴ We could perhaps draw the conclusion here that since creation depends on Torah, then the study of the Torah leads to an understanding of the mysteries of creation.

Secrets of God's Foreknowledge

The psalmist constantly shows his awareness that God has pre-ordained everything that happens within the universe (1QH 1:15ff). God's

¹Hengel I, p. 238.

²Babylonian cunieform texts from the Seleucid period which deal with astronomy exhibit a similar concern with secrecy: "Computation (according to) the wisdom of Anuship, the secret of [. . . (diety)], the guarded knowledge of the expert. The informed may show it to [the informed]; the uninformed shall not [see it. (It belongs) to the forbidden things] of Anu, Enil and Ea the great gods]." O. Neugebauer, Astronomical Cunieform Texts I (London, 1955), p. 12.

³See b.Erubin, 13a.

⁴b.Shabbath, 88a. The Babylonian Talmud Seder Mo'ed I, (tr. H. Freedman) (London, 1938), p. 417.

plans for the world constitute those secrets of which few if any are made aware. However, the psalmist and possibly other members of the sect have been given some insight into God's omniscience and his wonderful mysteries.

To God belongs all knowledge of man's actions. There is nothing man can say about himself and his sins that God does not know already. The psalmist is assured though that all righteous deeds stem directly from God and that the performers of these righteous deeds (i.e. the sect) are open, by virtue of their righteousness, to the "counsel of truth" (1QH 1:27).¹

Even though he is being persecuted the psalmist rests firm in his conviction that it is God who has caused his suffering in the mystery of his wisdom and that it is all part of the divine plan. In due course this secret will be uncovered, the psalmist vindicated and his fortunes changed for the better.

Reaffirming that everything is predestined by God's will, the psalmist acknowledges that, in his humility, he a mere man, is given insight into what, in 1QH 10:1f, are the mysteries of man's creation and of God's purposes which no man in the normal sense can hope to contemplate.

The Hodayot, then, uses the concept of secrecy to refer to those plans and purposes God has for his creation. Man, on his own, is unable to comprehend or perceive these purposes, for it is only through God's

¹Cf. 1QS 9:18f.

grace that he can learn the secret of the divine world plan,¹ but the psalmist has been given that special privilege whereby God teaches him the counsel (or secret) of his truth.

Secrets of the Sect's Election

We have already noted in our examination of the material in column eight of the Hodayot the references to the theme of election. From the imagery of trees² and water we are able to discern that the sect considered itself to be a special plantation chosen by God as an expression of his glory and, until the time of God's choosing, when it would have its full significance in the plan of salvation it remains hidden from the world.

It seems that the fact of their election is seen by the sect to have been intentionally concealed and that at the appointed time their position as God's chosen together with their understanding of God's ways and his Law will be revealed. Even after this revelation the truth remains hidden from "the children of destruction" (1QH 5:25). Could it be that the concept of secrecy is utilised as an expression of the sect's theodicy? They have been especially chosen by God but as yet there has been little concrete evidence of it. They, or some individual, are subject to suffering but are soon to be vindicated. They worship according to their own calendar which will soon be shown to be the true calendar.³

¹A. Böhlig, Mysterion und Wahrheit (Leiden, 1968), p. 19.

²For a discussion of "trees of life" see Gevaryhu's article.

³We cannot overemphasize the particular distinction the solar calendar gave to the sect in relation to other Jewish groups of the time.

Finally they interpret the Law in a manner which will at the appointed time be shown to be correct. For the time being, however, all this lies concealed from the world and even to some within the community. The psalmist is one who has this revealed to him in part already. He knows some of the secrets which eventually will be made known to all the righteous. Thus until that time the secret destiny of the sect is hidden from mankind (1QH 8:10) and the sect itself like the tree of life in the Garden of Eden is guarded and "fenced in".

Throughout this study we have been using the term "sect" to refer to the Qumran community advisably. On the one hand it serves to distinguish the group from the mainstream of contemporary Judaism. It is a sect within Judaism rather than a "party". It sees itself as following the only true way and turns its back on the rest of Judaism. The concept of secrecy, then, serves to underline this separateness and uniqueness.

On the other hand, by the very fact of calling it a "sect" we are denoting something of its "secretive" nature. Sociologists and social historians have long been concerned with the nature of those religious groups that emerge to consider themselves to be the holders of the doctrine most likely to achieve salvation, who shun the rest of the world and live in expectation of the imminent end and of their, and of only their, salvation. In the tradition of Troeltsch and H.R. Niebuhr, Bryan Wilson¹ has in recent years concerned himself with the characteristics of

¹See, for example, Bryan Wilson, Patterns of Sectarianism (London, 1967), p. 22ff.

sects and has developed a typology which in its general description of the different types of contemporary religious movements bears a striking resemblance in some respects to our own Qumran sect.

Michael Hill in summarizing the results of Wilson's work notes that a sect is typified as follows:

(a) it is a voluntary association; (b) membership is by proof to the sect authorities of some special merit, such as knowledge of doctrine or conversion experience; (c) exclusiveness is emphasized and expulsion of deviants exercised; (d) the self-conception is of an elect, gathered remnant with special enlightenment;... (i) the sect is hostile or indifferent to the secular society and state; (j) the commitment of the sectarian is always more total and more clearly defined than that of the member of other religious organizations; (k) sects have a totalitarian rather than a segmental hold over their members, and their ideology tends to keep the sectarian apart from 'the world'.¹

Thus the elect of Qumran with their special enlightenment remained separate from the world and saw their special place in God's creation explicated in terms of a mystery, a mystery tinged with eschatological overtones.²

Secrets of the Law and its Interpretation

Most references to the concept of secrecy in the Hodayot centre around the theme of the Law and its interpretation through revelation. Seldom, however, is this relationship between secrecy and the Law explicit. The references are nearly always veiled in imagery, an imagery, as we shall see, that is taken for the most part from the Jewish biblical tradition. This link between Torah interpretation and secrecy becomes

¹Michael Hill, A Sociology of Religion, (New York, 1973) pp. 78-79.

²The constant reoccurrence of the phrase וְעַד לְעֵת "until the appointed time" indicates the intense eschatological consciousness of the sect.

more apparent when we delve behind this imagery and also when we note that elsewhere among the Qumran literature explicit references to this relationship are quite frequent.

Let us look first at the other documents that deal with interpretation. Our starting point will be the Habakkuk Commentary (1QpHab.). Here we have an example of sectarian exegesis and something of an explanation of the methodology that lies behind it. The Qumran commentaries of which 1QpHab. is but only one of those so far discovered are nearly all introduced under the heading of pesher. The biblical verse is quoted and the accompanying commentary is introduced by the word פשרו which can be translated by "its interpretation". This is no ordinary interpretation and the problem presented by the text is no ordinary problem. It is itself a divine mystery and this mystery requires a divine illumination before it can be resolved.¹

We have seen this principle illustrated in those passages in Daniel where rāz is used to describe the nature of the dreams of the king. These dreams remained a mystery until Daniel under the influence of divine inspiration could provide them with an interpretation. In other words:

the rāz, the mystery, is divinely communicated to one party, and the pesher, the interpretation, to another. Not until the mystery and the interpretation are brought together can the divine communication be understood.²

¹See F.F. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts (Grand Rapids, 1959), pp. 7, 8 on which this and the next paragraph are based.

²Bruce, p. 8.

This, it is maintained, is the principle behind the interpretation of the Prophets at Qumran. To the Prophets were given the mysteries, but not until now, the time of the sect, were these mysteries being revealed. The recipient in the revelation of these mysteries according to the Habakkuk Commentary was the Teacher of Righteousness (1QpHab. 7:5) and the agent of revelation was God's holy spirit (1QH 12:11, 12).

Thus we are to connect the concept of secrecy to the special process of biblical interpretation that was carried out at Qumran and to a tradition which saw a special individual who was endowed with the necessary qualities to carry out this process.¹

The point has been made by R.E. Brown that: "in the mysteries of the special interpretation of the Torah, Qumran stands alone in the pre-Christian literature: this concept is part of its sectarian heritage".² It is our task now to examine more closely this link between biblical interpretation and the concept of secrecy as it appears in the Hodayot.

With perhaps one or two exceptions the task of interpretation falls upon an individual, the "I" of the hymns. The main exception to

¹While we are not primarily concerned with the exact identity of the psalmist or the "I" of the Hodayot we should note here that the community may have seen their founder, the Teacher of Righteousness, in the same light as Enoch and other figures from the past who, in the apocalyptic tradition were privileged to have special secrets revealed to them. The difference at Qumran was that the Teacher of Righteousness did not have to be conjured up from the distant past. He was, and remained to a certain extent, a living reality for the community, a figure of the same status as Ezra, Isaiah and Enoch and of the same prophetic line. Could it not be possible that the Hodayot was written, in parts at least, in that apocalyptic style which showed a particular figure, this time the Teacher of Righteousness as a recipient of the divine mysteries.

²Brown, p. 30.

this appears in 1QH 11:8-10 where similar phrases ("counsel of your truth", "mysteries of your wonder") to those usually found to be uttered by the psalmist and which refer to his special position show that in this case God is making known his mysteries to the community as a whole. It is in this respect that we are able to see the Hodayot as being of the genre of a community hymn recited by the assembled members of the sect who saw much of the material as being directly concerned with them. While the "I" was at times meant to refer to a specific individual and was perhaps originally written as such it is not surprising that the hymns at times revert to the plural, particularly when the passages were put to a liturgical use within the community. Then, even the "I" passages, took on, when uttered by the group, a collective sense.

We would, for our purpose, prefer to remain with the idea of an individual as the recipient of those powers which enabled him to bring forth, for the community, the true sense of the Torah and its observance. Despite the fact that the hymns were at some later stage used to express the community feelings it is clear that underlying all the references to inspiration and insight into the mysteries was an individual specially endowed to lead the community as a result of his special revelation.¹

It is this individual who acts as a banner, a rallying point around whom the community gathers. It is he who as "a mediator of insight into wonderful mysteries" builds up and strengthens the community (1QH 2:13-14). To those within the community he becomes a "secret source

¹We use the term "revelation" in what James Barr calls: "One of the most nearly 'proper' senses", that is "the revealing in the future of something that is now hidden". Old and New in Interpretation. (New York, 1966), p. 101. For the eschatological community of Qumran the future is now and mysteries are being revealed.

of truth" (1QH 2:9-10) for God has given him special insight and knowledge into his "counsel of truth" (1QH 7:26; 10:4). In his mouth God has established the true doctrine (1QH 8:16-18) and "he has opened his ears to the wonderful mysteries" (1QH 1:21).

What is it that this individual has revealed to him within this particular context? Can we be more specific regarding the nature of the mysteries into which he has insight? An important passage that lends itself in answering these questions is 1QH 5:11-12. While we do not have rāz or sōd occurring we do have the important combination of סֵתֶר and חֲבֵה. We find a clear indication of what it is the individual has in his possession as a result of his special revelation. It is the Law (תּוֹרָה) that God has hidden (חֲבֵה) in him. But what exactly is the meaning of the Law in this instance? It cannot be merely a reference to the scriptures per se for they certainly are not hidden but are available to all who would read them. Line 25 of the same column, as we have noted above, leads us a little further towards a solution to this problem. It will be recalled that the section 1QH 5:23-26 deals with a breakaway group which after having been initiated into the community have turned against the psalmist and have appeared to have gone around disclosing the "secret" (סֵתֶר) which God had "concealed" (חֲבֵה) in the psalmist.

It was suggested that as חֲבֵה and תּוֹרָה appear together in line 11 then the סֵתֶר which appears with חֲבֵה in line 25 refers to Torah. Again Torah here cannot refer to the scriptures or any particular part of them for they can neither be concealed nor can they be a cause of malicious

slander. It can only be suggested that Torah in line 11 and rāz in line 25 refer to the interpretation of the Law which the psalmist has had revealed to him and with which he is entrusted to pass on to the fully fledged members of the community.

The group that is referred to here had at one time been given the "knowledge of truth" and had been instructed into "the mysteries of marvellous truth" (1QS 9:18) but now they were using this knowledge to stir up trouble. The secret they had had divulged to them was obviously one that those outside the community would misunderstand. We can merely conclude at this point that the interpretation of the Law which the community shared dealt, in part, with their own privileged position as members of God's elect and would have given the outsider little comfort.¹

The mysteries that were revealed to the psalmist were those of the correct interpretation of the Torah, the true doctrine that enabled the community to exist confirmed in the knowledge that its future was in God's hands and that at the end of the present era it would be fully vindicated. An examination of other themes that appear with the concept of secrecy will confirm this close link that it has with the interpretation of the Torah.

Various types of imagery occur in the Hodayot, which are sometimes

¹With some hesitation we can at this point draw a parallel between these mysteries and the rabbinic oral Torah. Certainly, the rabbis did not couch their understanding of oral law with such eschatological connotations nor were the deliberations of the interpretation of Torah conceived in terms of a secret that was not to be divulged to outsiders; but, as we have noted, their understanding of certain traditions, such as the Creation and Ezekiel's Chariot, was kept carefully sheltered from those who were not fully initiated into the niceties of rabbinic learning. We are also reminded of the extolling of the virtues of the study of Torah which, although it came much later in the tradition (Avot 6), brings with it the revelation of the secrets of the Law.

paralleled in the other Qumran documents, that make implicit reference to the Torah and its interpretation. We will now look at those passages where this imagery is employed in conjunction with the concept of mystery.

Water

We shall include in our examination of water imagery those references to: the well, fountain, rains and sea.

Much of column eight is concerned with water imagery. We have in lines 16-18 references to "rain showers", "spring of living water", "a torrent overflowing its banks", "unfathomable seas" and other allusions to the pouring out of water. It is suggested that this passage refers entirely to the setting up of the psalmist as the interpreter of the Torah and the effects his deliberations have on the community.

In these particular lines there is no occurrence of rāz or sōd but again we see the combination of סתר and חבה. In line 18 we noted that יצאו can be translated either "pour out" or "pronounce" and, considering the link of חבה with the Torah, "that which is hidden" (מחובאים) is a reference to the special interpretation of the Torah which up until now has been concealed from men but which is now revealed to the community. The plural form that runs through these lines refers to the "living waters" coming out of the well. The well or spring (באר) in CD 6:4-5 is the Torah and from it come these "living waters" by which is meant the psalmist's newly revealed interpretation of Torah. The language is reminiscent of several passages in Isaiah.¹ In Is. 35:8

¹Is. 12:3, 35:7f; 58:11.

the highway formed by the overflowing waters in the desert is called "the Holy Way", and surely this is the key to the imagery here in 1QH 8:16-18. The mystery which has been hidden has now been revealed, enabling the community to walk along the "Holy Way", along the way intended for them by God (c.f. "the way" in 1QS 9:17, "the way of your holiness" in 1QH 6:22 and "the way of your heart" in 1QH 4:29; 6:6).

In keeping with the water imagery the psalmist describes himself as a "fountain of understanding" (1QH 5:26 מַעְיִן בִּינָה). This phrase is parallel to מַעְיִן טוֹר, which is in the same line and allows us to remain within the same metaphor and translate טוֹר as "source" or, better still "secret source"; for the fountain itself has been concealed (סֵתֶר). We are also able to translate מַעְיִן טוֹר in the same manner in 1QH 2:10. Here the psalmist is "a secret source of truth and understanding (בִּינָה) to the upright of way". In 1QH 5:9 we have another occasion where מַעְיִן טוֹר can be translated "secret source of truth". Here, if we accept Wallenstein's and Vermes' readings we have, as we have already noted, an explicit reference to water.

Water, then, is used to convey the life-giving nature of the teachings conveyed by the psalmist. He is able, through his role as the mediator of God's knowledge and understanding to draw on the "well" of the Torah and "pour out" those secrets which to other men had remained hidden, but which now lead the Qumran community to their appointed destiny in God's plan.

Light

As a mediator of the divine revelation the psalmist brings "light"

to the community: "through me you have lit up the faces of the many" (1QH 4:27). By equating the understanding and knowledge of Torah with "light" the psalmist is indicating that this knowledge and understanding comes to the community by virtue of the fact that he has been given insight into God's mysteries. If we are justified in equating the Torah as a light¹ and if our reading of these lines is correct, it is through having God's mysteries revealed to him that he is able to bring the Torah and its interpretation to the members of the community.²

מַעֲשֵׂה and אֱמֶת, פֶּלֶא

The words wonder (פֶּלֶא) truth (אֱמֶת) and deeds (מַעֲשֵׂה) frequently occur in the Hodayot in connection with the concept of secrecy. פֶּלֶא is frequently used to describe the mysteries (1QH 1:21 לְרֹז פֶּלֶא 2:13 בְּרֹז פֶּלֶא etc.) and we have already commented on the phrase סֹד אֱמֶת (1QH 1:27; 2:10; 10:4; 11:4,6) but in 1QH 11:4 and perhaps in 1QH 11:16, 17 we have the equating of סֹד אֱמֶת with God's wonderful deeds. We will

¹Vermes ("The Torah is a Light" VT VIII (1958) pp. 436-7) gives examples from the Targum to illustrate that in early Jewish exegetical literature "enlightenment signifies the knowledge and practice of the Law" e.g.

Is. 2:5
Come, let us walk in the light
of the Lord.

Job 29:13
They are among the rebels
against the light.

Targum
Come, let us walk in the study
of the Law of the Lord.

Targum
They are amongst the rebels
against the Law.

Vermes adds that "this exegesis is explicitly stated in Meg.16b אֹרֶחַ וְזֶה תֹרֶחַ, light is the Law".

²C.f. 1QS 11:3.

therefore maintain that all the somewhat vague references that we meet throughout the Hodayot to such things as "wonderful mysteries" or the "counsel of your wonder" (12:12) and now "your wonderful deeds" point to the insight and understanding that the psalmist has received.

The following lines illustrate the relationship אמת, פלא and מַעֲשֵׂה have both with the concept of secrecy and with the verbs שָׁכַל (to instruct), יָדַע (to know), and בִּין¹ (to understand):

השכלתני	A	
באמתכה	B	
וברזי פלאכה	B'	
הודעתני	A'	1QH 7:27
תשכילנו	A	
בנפלאות כאלה	B	
ובסוד אמתכה	B'	
תודיענו	A'	1QH 10:4f
[הודע]תני	A	
בסוד אמתכה	B	
ותשכילני	A'	
במעשי פלאכה	B'	1QH 11:4
הודעתם	A	
בסוד אמתכה	B	
וברזי פלאכה	B'	
השכלתם	A'	1QH 11:9f

We should also note here that the prefix ב- appears after each of the verbs. The psalmist is given insight into God's truth and given knowledge into the mysteries of God's wonder (1QH 7:27) and he is instructed in the counsel of God's truth and given insight into God's wondrous deeds (1QH 11:4).

¹Delcor and Lohse have [הבין]תני where Licht, Habermann and others have [הודע]תני in 1QH 11:4.

It therefore seems clear that the close association of each of the three words סֵתֶר , סִגְנוֹן and סִגְנוֹן with the concept of secrecy reflects the way the psalmist viewed that revelation which enabled him to bring out the full meaning of the scriptures. To him it was indeed the "truth" par excellence, it was a "wonder" worthy of praise and through it he was able to see the full significance of the "works" of God which had resulted in his community becoming that "shoot" or "twig" which after careful nurturing would become fully vindicated at the end of this age.

Conclusions

While we can take the many references to the "Law" to mean the whole of the Hebrew Bible, the Qumran community did not consider that the full significance of the Law came to a man merely through reading, studying, knowing or even enacting the provisions of that Law. True knowledge of the Law, the mysteries of the Law, and the truth of the Law, came only through revelation and that revelation came only to those whom God chose. Those to whom these things were revealed - in this case the Qumran community - could then become cognizant of God's plan for salvation and see in the scriptures the vital role they would play in this final acting out of history. All this remained hidden from those outside the community. It was a mystery that could only be revealed by God's intervention and through the work of an intermediary.

Thus the community was strengthened and fortified with the knowledge that it alone was aware of God's intentions and lived in the assurance that it had in its possession the key to salvation. It was with the concept of secrecy manifested in its many forms that the community

armed itself. With this concept it could talk of God's work of creation, his control of the universe, and his preordaining of the actions of men. It could speak also of the movements of the heavenly bodies, its own special position in God's plan and, in particular, its understanding of scripture by which it was able to ascertain the part it would play when God finally brought the present era to a close.

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