

Above, Below, Before, and After

Studies on Judaism and Christianity
in Dialogue with Martha Himmelfarb

edited by

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Leadership in the Damascus Document and Related Texts: A Tale of Two Titles*

Steven Fraade

My interest in the subject of this essay stems from my longstanding attraction to the text of the Damascus Document and to the nature of human leadership in the community/communities that produced and studied it and related scrolls. Of particular interest to me is how leadership is rhetorically authorized. Is it inherited or achieved through expertise? And what are the specific areas of social life in which it is materially and performatively exercised? Throughout the communal scrolls, not surprisingly, there is a tension between, in John Strugnell's words, the community being a "priesthood of all believers" and its leadership functions being assigned according to criteria of hierarchical (priestly or Levitical) status and prerogative.¹ The nature of human, but divinely inspired, leadership at Qumran, therefore, is of necessity imbued with theological meaning, even as the assignment of such leadership functions may be to different individuals and bodies across text, place, and time.

It is also of great historical significance, as several of the leadership types found in the Hebrew Bible are scantily present (but not for lack of interest) in the scrolls as they are elsewhere in Second Temple Judaism or in what would become rabbinic Judaism: kings, prophets (as *direct* messengers from God), and priests (as *direct* performers of sacrifice).² In short, while some biblical leader-

* I take this opportunity to dedicate this article to my personal and professional friendship with Martha Himmelfarb, almost a Jubilee of years in the making. Her writings and our discussion on ancient Jewish attitudes toward priests and priesthood will infuse what follows, even when not explicitly referenced. For the tension over the "democratization" of the priesthood in the Hebrew Bible, as well as in Second Temple and early rabbinic literatures, see Martha Himmelfarb, *Between Temple and Torah: Essays on Priests, Scribes, and Visionaries in the Second Temple Period and Beyond*, TSAJ 151 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013); Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006). I would also like to take this opportunity to thank two anonymous readers who read and commented upon an earlier version of this essay.

¹ John Strugnell, "Flavius Josephus and the Essenes: *Antiquities* 18:18–22," *JBL* 77 (1958): 106–15 at 111.

² For rabbinic Judaism, see Steven D. Fraade, "The Early Rabbinic Sage," in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, ed. John G. Gammie and Leo G. Perdue (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 417–36. It is also questionable to what extent (that is, purview) and with what authority there was a centralized judiciary (court and judges) in late Second Temple times,

ship types were receding, others were newly taking shape or being reshaped. Leadership, especially in a theocracy, reflects, whether for better or worse, upon its followers, regardless of whether such leadership is actual or imagined, polemicized or idealized.

I will focus my attention on the two figures (which some scholars equate³) who are the most frequently attested in the Damascus Document (both CD and 4QD): the מִבְּקֵר (the “Overseer” or “Examiner” or “Guardian”) and the מִשְׁכִּיל (the “Master” or “Instructor”). The two, I will argue, are very different from one another as leadership “types,” especially in the Damascus Document, notwithstanding their significant overlaps. While their communal functions and leadership styles overlap and intersect, they exhibit very different leadership purviews, but which dialectically complement one another, as do those of the biblical priest and prophet, to which we will return in conclusion.⁴

First, however, I should mention several possible leadership types who are much less attested in the Damascus Document, and whose leadership roles in the ongoing life of the community are much less certain, and, therefore, will not be treated by me in the present context. Perhaps most surprisingly to some, I will not treat the מוֹרֵה הַצְּדָק (the “Teacher of Righteousness” or “Righteous Teacher”), who appears most importantly in CD 1:11 as having been a founding or re-founding divinely inspired teacher, and in CD 20:31–32 (MS B) as having been the teacher of הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים רִאשׁוֹנִים (“the first laws”).⁵ However, otherwise he is rarely mentioned explicitly, either within or without the Damascus Document, and those mentions have already been sufficiently mined.⁶ In any case, his so-

and certainly beyond. See Fraade, “If a Case is Too Baffling: Constraining and Expanding Judicial Autonomy in the Temple Scroll and Early Rabbinic Scriptural Interpretation,” in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, ed. J. Baden, H. Najman, and E. Tigchelaar, 2 vols., JSJSup 175 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 1:409–31.

³ Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 2nd ed. (New York: Penguin, 1975), 21–25; Carol A. Newsom, “The Sage in the Literature of Qumran: The Function of the Maškil,” in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. G. Gammie and L. G. Perdue (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 373–82 at 375; Arjen Bakker, “The Figure of the Sage in Musar le-Mevin and Serek Ha-Yahad” (PhD diss., KU Leuven, 2015), 44–52. See also Steven D. Fraade, “Interpretive Authority in the Studying Community at Qumran” [1993], repr. in *Legal Fictions: Studies of Law and Narrative in the Discursive Worlds of Ancient Jewish Sectarians and Sages*, JSJSup 147 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 51n32. I shall return below to this question of their possible identity, beyond the overlaps in their teaching.

⁴ See Judith H. Newman, “Priestly Prophets at Qumran: Summoning Sinai through the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,” in *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. G. J. Brooke, H. Najman, and L. T. Stuckenbruck, TBN 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 29–72.

⁵ For this expression, see also CD 20:31; IQS 9:10.

⁶ In this regard, given how important the Teacher of Righteousness appears to have been for the memory of the community’s origins (and perhaps messianic expectations), for which reasons (and others) he is often compared to Jesus, it is remarkable how rarely the Teacher is mentioned in the scrolls, either for his life or his teachings, in sharp contrast with the prominent place of Jesus in the New Testament for both sorts of representation. For possible biblical

briquet does not appear to designate an ongoing office, filled by different people over time and place.

Other sobriquets that may or may not refer to the same person are יורה הצדק (“one who will teach righteousness in the end of days”) in CD 6:11, and מורה היחיד (the “unique teacher”) in CD 20:1 and 20:14 (MS B), which some suggest changing to מורה היחד (the “teacher of the community”), nowhere else attested, and [על] הרבים (אש) (“the priest who is appointed to preside over the many”) in CD 14:6–7 and parallels.⁷ Similarly, it is unclear whether דורש התורה (the “expounder of the Torah”) in CD 6:7 and 7:18 (4Q266 [4QD^a] 3 iii 19) represents a specific officer, a generic office, or a type (cf. IQS 6:6: דורש בתורה).

Before turning to the most frequently mentioned officers in the Damascus Document (beginning with the מבקר and then turning to the משכיל), I should mention a couple of principles that will govern my analysis. I will be focusing on the place of such figures in the Damascus Document, and in comparing them to those in other texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls (mainly IQS, 4Q256 [4QS^b], 4Q258 [4QS^d], 1Q28b [1QS^b], 1QH^a, 11Q17 [11QShirShabb], 4Q510 [4QShir^a], 44Q511 [4QShir^b], 4Q416–418 [4QInstruction^{b-d}], 4Q298 [4QcryptA Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn], 4Q421 [4QWays of Righteousness^b], 4Q265 [4QMiscellaneous Rules], 4Q275 [4QCommunal Ceremony], 5Q13 (5QRule), 4Q477 [4QRebukes Reported to the Overseer]), I will neither seek to homogenize them nor seek to historicize their differences according to a linear chronological scheme (on the assumption that less is early and more is late).⁸ Finally, in counting the number of occurrences of terms for types of leadership, multiple occurrences in parallel texts (e. g. in CD and in 4QD parallels) count for one.

1. The מבקר in the Damascus Document⁹

Although the מבקר is never mentioned as a particular person, his many roles as a communal officer distinguish him from any other officer, whether in the

origins of the sobriquet Teacher of Righteousness, see Hos 10:12; Joel 2:23; Isa 30:20–21. For the expression, or variants thereto, elsewhere in CD, see 20:1, 14, 28, 32. It appears frequently in 1QpHab. For a balanced overview of the identity and role of the Teacher of Righteousness, with extended bibliography, see Michael A. Knibb, “Teacher of Righteousness,” in *EDSS* 2:918–21.

⁷ 4Q266 (4QD^a) 11 0–1; 4Q266 (4QD^a) 11 8; 4Q269 (4QD^d) 16 6–7; 4Q270 (4QD^e) 7 i 16. Compare IQS 6:14: האיש הפקוד בראש הרבים (“the man in charge at the head of the many”), who examines neophytes for their “insights and deeds.”

⁸ See Aryeh Amihay, *Theory and Practice in Essene Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 143–60. By this common fallacy, we would have to assume that the unicycle was invented before the bicycle (which it was not).

⁹ For some previous and recent scholarship on the מבקר (Overseer), see Fraade, “Interpretive Authority,” 53n19 (= Fraade, *Legal Fictions*, 46n19); Fraade, “Looking for Legal Midrash

Damascus Document or in the other communal scrolls, especially, as we shall see, regarding the *משכיל*. Here is the list of roles and tasks that he is said to perform, all of which are located in the Laws section of the Damascus Document with none in the Admonition, first according to CD and then according to 4QD fragments (some 19 occurrences in all):

1. CD 15:8:¹⁰ *המבקר אשר לרבים*. He administers the oath of the covenant to new members.

2. CD 15:11:¹¹ He examines new members.

3. CD 15:14:¹² He notifies members of their violations of Torah, disciplines, and teaches them.

4. CD 9:18: He receives and records testimony and reproof from witnesses for wrongdoings of members.¹³

5. CD 9:18: He records wrongdoings of members.

6. CD 9:19: He receives testimony of witnesses for wrongdoings of members.

7. CD 9:22:¹⁴ He receives testimony of witnesses for wrongdoings of members.

8. CD 13:6: He explains to the priest the correct interpretation of the rules of skin impurities.

9. CD 13:7b: *המבקר למחנה*. He instructs (*ישכיל*) *הרבים* (through 14:2), provides pastoral guidance, examines members, and inscribes members according to their rank.

at Qumran,” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May, 1996*, ed. M. E. Stone and E. G. Chazon, STDJ 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 59–79 at 69n39 (= Fraade, *Legal Fictions*, 156n39); Fraade, “Shifting from Priestly to Non-Priestly Legal Authority: A Comparison of the Damascus Document and the Midrash Sifra,” *DSD* 6 (1999): 109–25 at 112–17 with nn12–13 (= Fraade, *Legal Fictions*, 196–201 with nn12–13); Fraade, “Ancient Jewish Law and Narrative in Comparative Perspective: The Damascus Document and the Mishnah,” *Diné Israel: Studies in Halakhah and Jewish Law* 24 (2007): 65*–99* at 74*–77* (= Fraade, *Legal Fictions*, 234–37); Charlotte Hempel, “Community Structures in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Admission, Organization, Disciplinary Procedures,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:67–92, esp. 2:79–81; Sarianna Metso, “Qumran Community Structure and Terminology as Theological Statement,” *RevQ* 20 (2002): 439–40; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, The Background of Christianity, The Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1994), 121–23; Amihay, *Theory and Practice*, 143–60, esp. 145–49; Shem Miller, “‘Secular’ Performance in Rule Texts,” *DSD* 25 (2018): 15–38 at 27; Richard C. Steiner, “The *mbqr* at Qumran, the *episkopos* in the Athenian Empire, and the Meaning of *lbqr*’ in Ezra 7:14: On the Relation of Ezra’s Mission to the Persian Legal Project,” *JBL* 120 (2001): 623–46.

¹⁰//4Q271 (4QD^b) 4 i 11.

¹¹//4Q266 (4QD^a) 8 i 2.

¹²//4Q266 (4QD^a) 8 i 5; 4Q270 (4QD^c) 6 ii 7.

¹³ For such a record, see 4Q477 (4QRebukes Reported by [or to] the Overseer), in which the word *מבקר* does not appear, on which there is more below.

¹⁴//4Q270 (4QD^c) 6 iv 12.

10. CD 13:13: המבקר אשר למחנה¹⁵. He oversees admissions,
 11. CD 13:16: המבקר אשר במחנה. He oversees buying and selling, as well as marriage (and, by implication, divorce) among members.¹⁶
 12. CD 14:8–9:¹⁷ המבקר אשר לכל המחנות. His age and his mastery is noted, and he determines the order of members' entry into communal gatherings.
 13. CD 14:11:¹⁸ Members need his permission to speak to him regarding disputes and judgments.¹⁹
 14. CD 14:13:²⁰ He collects dues from members to provide for those in need.
 15. 4Q266 (4QD^a) 11 16:²¹ He records members' misdeeds (e. g., communing with ex-members).
 16. 4Q266 (4QD^a) 5 iii 14: He expels members.
 17. 4Q271 (4QD^f) 3 14–15: המבקר אשר על הרבים. He selects women to inspect women suspected of sexual wrongdoings.²²
 18. 4Q266 (4QD^a) 7 iii 2:²³ Too fragmentary.
 19. 4Q266 (4QD^a) 7 iii 3: המבקר אשר על המחנה²⁴. Too fragmentary.

The frequency of mention of the מבקר in the Damascus Document (nineteen times, compared to four times for the משכיל) and the specificity of his duties are remarkable. Some have distinguished between the מבקר who is over “all the camps,” that is, a single מבקר for the dispersed movement as a whole (no. 12), and the מבקר who is over a single “camp,” reflecting multiple local officers of this designation and these duties (nos. 9, 10, 11, 19).²⁵ In this respect, it is unclear how broadly to understand the רבים (“many”) in the expression המבקר אשר על הרבים (“the מבקר who is over the many”) in no. 17.²⁶

¹⁵ // 4Q267 (4QD^b) 9 iv 11.

¹⁶ // 4Q266 (4QD^a) 9 iii 2. For no buying and selling among the Essenes, see Josephus, *J. W.* 2.127.

¹⁷ // 4Q267 (4QD^b) 9 v 13; 4Q266 (4QD^a) 10 i 1.

¹⁸ // 4Q266 (4QD^a) 10 i 5.

¹⁹ Compare IQS 6:11–13, for members seeking permission to speak from המבקר על הרבים.

²⁰ // 4Q266 (4QD^a) 10 i 6. According to IQS 6:19–20, he receives and registers the property of candidates after the first year of their admission process.

²¹ // 4Q269 (4QD^d) 16 14.

²² // 4Q269 (4QD^d) 9 8.

²³ // 4Q267 (4QD^b) 8 4.

²⁴ // 4Q267 (4QD^b) 8 3–4.

²⁵ For a decentralized view of the “Qumran community” living in multiple camps, see John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010). See, in particular, CD 7:6–8.

²⁶ For a similar expression, see IQS 6:11–12, as well as 6:19–20. See also the leadership expressions in 4Q265 (4QMiscellaneous Rules) 4 ii 3–4, 5–6, 8. For further discussion, see Charlotte Hempel, “Maskil(im) and Rabbim: From Daniel to Qumran,” in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb*, ed. C. Hempel and J. M. Lieu, JSJSup 111 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 133–56.

From the above list it would appear that, apart from some important “pastoral” and instructional duties (CD 13:7b–10), the מבקר administers the “human resources” of the community – that is, their daily relations with one another (including adjudication, instruction, and discipline), with the community as a whole and its rules, and with non-members (admissions and expulsions). In one unique case we have explicit documentary evidence for an important communal function of the מבקר, that is, the recording of reproofs of one personally named member by another (CD 9:18; 4Q477 [4QRebukes Reported by (or to) the Overseer]). However, the word מבקר does not appear in this document, nor does the מבקר ever bear a personal name in any of the scrolls.

In terms of the מבקר’s role of providing for the physical needs of the members (CD 14:13; // 4Q266 [4QD^a] 10 i 6), we might note the following statement by Josephus regarding the Essenes, whom he says travel between their dispersed communities without the need to pack provisions due to local hospitality: “In every city there is one (Vermes and Goodman translate “a quaestor”)²⁷ of the order expressly appointed to attend to strangers, who provides them with raiment and other necessities” (*J. W.* 2.125).²⁸ While this could be understood to have been a responsibility associated with the Overseer in particular, consistent as it is with his other duties, we need not assume this to have been one of his chief duties. However, it might have been one worthy of singling out by Josephus so as to emphasize the Essenes’ social solidarity, notwithstanding their geographic diffusion.

One passage in CD that is particularly interesting with regard to the status and duties of the מבקר is 13:2–7. I have broken it into to its four sub-units, the last three beginning with ואם, each of which is preceded by a *vacat* (space) in the manuscript:²⁹

CD 13:2–7:

- [1] ובמקום עשרה אל ימש איש כהן מבונן בספר ההגי. על פיהו ישקו כולם.
 [2] ואם אין הוא בחון בכל אלה ואיש מהלויים בחון באלה ויצא הגורל לצאת ולברוא על פיהו כל באי המחנה.
 [3] ואם משפט לתורת נגע יהיה באיש ובה כהן ועמד במחנה והבינו המבקר בפרוש התורה.
 [4] ואם פתי הוא הוא יסגירנו כי להם המשפט.³⁰

²⁷ Géza Vermes and Martin D. Goodman, *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1989), 39.

²⁸ κηδεμόν δ’ ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει τοῦ τάγματος ἐξαιρέτως τῶν ξένων ἀποδείκνυται ταμειῶν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.

²⁹ For an earlier, more extensive and comparative (with rabbinic texts) treatment, Fraade, “Shifting from Priestly to Non-Priestly Legal Authority” (= Fraade, *Legal Fictions*, 193–210).

³⁰ The text is from Magen Broshi, ed., *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 35, to which I have added the punctuation. Fragments of the text are preserved, with only minor variants, in 4Q266 (4QD^a) 9 ii 14–17; 4Q267 (4QD^b) 9 iv 1–3; 4Q271 (4QD^c) 5 ii 20–21.

- (1) And in a place of ten [men], let there not lack a priest who is learned in the Book of Meditation.³¹ By his authority shall they all be ruled.
- (2) But if he is not proficient in all of these [rules] and a man from among the Levites is proficient in these, then let it be determined that the members of the camp shall come and go according to his [the Levite's] authority.³²
- (3) And if [there arises] a judgment involving the law (*torah*) of "if there be a skin affection on a man,"³³ then the priest shall come and stand in the camp and the מבקר shall instruct him (הבינו) in the specific application of the law.
- (4) And should he [the priest] be a simpleton, he would [still] lock him [the afflicted man] away, for judgment is theirs [the priests'].

The role of the מבקר in section (3) is to instruct (הבינו) the priest regarding the diagnosis of a skin affection of a person, determining whether it warrants that person's exclusion from the community, as per Leviticus 13. However, according to (4), even if the priest is mentally incompetent, he still pronounces the judgment, presumably as rendered and communicated to him by the מבקר, presuming that (4) is a sub-statement of (3), since that is the scripturally assigned role of the priest. If we further presume that (3) is a sub-statement of (2) (the force of ואים being ambiguous), we might conclude that the מבקר is a Levite who is learned in Torah's laws (as communally determined).³⁴ The מבקר, then, would derive his

³¹ For various understandings of this term, see Steven D. Fraade, "Hagu, Book of," in *EDSS* 1:327. Compare the parallel to our passage in IQS 6:6–8, both of which appear to be reworkings of Josh 1:8 (with an echo also of Ps 1:2).

³² The expression "to come and to go" (לצאת ולבוא) derives from Num 27:17; cf. 1 Sam 18:16. It denotes the leader, especially the military leader, who both precedes his charges when they go out and come in, and, by exercising control over them, determines when and how they are to go out and come in. It is difficult to know whether the expression here and elsewhere in the scrolls is to be taken in a physical or spiritual sense, or both. For this as a Levite function, under the ultimate authority of the Zadokite priests, see IQ28a (IQSa) i 22–24. For the association of Levites with the verbal root *skl*, see Ezra 8:18; Neh 8:7–8; 2 Chr 30:22. For Levites (and priests) as teaching authorities, especially legal, see Deut 33:10; with Fraade, "Shifting from Priestly to Non-Priestly Legal Authority," esp. 116–17nn23, 24 (= Fraade, *Legal Fictions*, 193–210, esp. 200–Inn23, 24).

³³ This is perhaps a *paraphrase* of Lev 13:9 (נגע צרעת כי תהיה באדם) or 13:29 (איש או נגע אשה כִּי־יִהְיֶה בו נגע). For "pseudo-citations" elsewhere in the Damascus Document, see Joseph M. Baumgarten, "A 'Scriptural' Citation in 4Q Fragments of the Damascus Document," *JJS* 43 (1992): 95–98; Devora Diamant, "The Hebrew Bible in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Torah Quotations in the *Damascus Document*" [Hebrew], in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*, ed. M. Fishbane, E. Tov, and W. W. Fields (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 113*–22* at 119*. For this phenomenon in 4QMMT, see Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10:140–41. Alternatively, if no biblical passage is being paraphrased, we might translate: "And if a man has a judgment involving the law of skin affection ..." The word תורה is used with respect to skin affections in Lev 13:59; 14:54, 57. I have not been able to locate this particular construction (... אם משפט לתורה) elsewhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

³⁴ For the מבקר being a Levite, compare CD 14:3–18 (the functions and authority of the Overseer) with IQ28a (IQSa) I, 22–25 (those of the Levites). Compare also 4Q275 (4QCommunal

authority from a *combination* of heredity (nobility) and learning (expertise), with a gradual shifting in emphasis from the former to the latter.³⁵

The text of the Damascus Document immediately continues as follows, with the beginning of the pastoral teachings of the מבקר:

CD 13:7–8:

(7) וזה סרך המבקר למחנה ישכיל את הרבים במעשי
(8) אל ויבינם בגבורות פלאו ויספר לפניהם נהיות עולם בפרתיה.

(7) And this is the rule for the Overseer of the camp: He shall instruct (ישכיל) the Many in the deeds of

(8) God. He shall cause them to discern (ויבינם) his wondrous mighty deeds, and recount to them what will come to be in eternity with their interpretations.

Here the teaching role is again emphasized, employing the roots *škl* (“understand”) and *byn* (“discern”) in the *hiph ‘il* stem, “to cause to understand/discern.” The former is the same root and stem as the title משכיל, which appears separately in CD, not far below, in 13:22. But this is not warrant to claim that the מבקר here is identical to the משכיל, any more than we can assume that he bore the title מיבין or “Discerner” (*hiph ‘il* of the verb *byn*). The subject matter of the מבקר’s teachings is theological, having to do with discerning God’s hand in history, whether past, present, or future. These, as we shall see, overlap with the teaching of the משכיל without requiring that they be one and the same.³⁶

Shortly below, the text of the Damascus Document adds some other kinds of oversight assigned to the מבקר, including the fraught responsibility for supervising the admissions and advancement process:

CD 13:11–13:

(11) וכל הנוסף לעדתו יפקדוהו למעשיו ושוכלו וכוחו וגבורתו והונו
(12) וכתבוהו במקומו כפי נחלתו בגורל האור *vacat* אל ימשול איש
(13) מבני המחנה להביא איש אל העדה זולת פי המבקר אשר למחנה

(11) *vacat* And whoever joins his congregation, let him (the מבקר) examine him with regard to his deeds and his understanding and his strength and his might, and his wealth.

(12) And let him inscribe him in his place according to his inheritance in the lot of the light. *vacat* No one]

(13) of the sons of the camp shall have the authority to admit a man into the congregation except by the command (mouth) of the Overseer of the camp.

Ceremony) 3 3, in which the מבקר recites the covenantal curses, which according to IQS 1:18–2:18 and Deut 27:14–26 are recited by the Levites.

³⁵ For a fuller discussion, see Fraade, “Shifting from Priestly to Non-Priestly Legal Authority.” On this shift in the Roman world more broadly, see Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, “*Mutatio morum*: The Idea of a Cultural Revolution,” in *The Roman Cultural Revolution*, ed. T. Habinek and A. Schiesaro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3–22.

³⁶ See above, n3.

Given that the community thought of itself as being in possession of hidden (*nistār*) esoteric wisdom, it would have been of central importance to ensure that new admits (as well as existing members) be fully in compliance with the normative beliefs and practices of the community. I will have more to say on the admissions (and advancement) process with respect to the role therein of the *משכיל*.³⁷

For another use of the *hiph 'il* stem of the verbal root *škl*, to denote the activity of instruction, see IQ28a (IQSa) 1:7, in the context of the instruction of children:

ומן נע[וריו ילמ] דהו בספר ההג' וכפי יומיו ישכיליהו בחוק[ני] הברית ו[לפי שכלו יי] סרו במשפטיהמה.

And from his youth they shall instruct him (ילמ[דהו]) in the Book of Meditation,³⁸ and according to his days they shall enlighten him (ישכיליהו)³⁹ in the laws of the covenant, and according to his understanding they shall discipline him (יי[סרו]) in their laws.

We have here a differentiated curriculum with three different verbs to denote the activity of teaching at different ages and stages, but with no indication of who the teacher is. Presumably, the plural verb forms with indefinite subjects suggest either that “they,” the members of the community, will teach, or arrange for teachers, or if it be understood passively, that the youth will be taught, but presumably not by such august instructors as either the *מבקר* or the *משכיל*, about whom this passage has nothing to say.

2. The *משכיל* in the Damascus Document⁴⁰

By contrast with the *מבקר*, the figure of the *משכיל* appears much less frequently in the Damascus Document (I count four occurrences, excluding parallels, all in the

³⁷ For this dynamic more broadly in ancient “secret” groups in ancient Judaism, see Michael E. Stone, *Secret Groups in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), esp. 5, 71, 72, 84, 85, with respect to the Qumran scrolls and the *משכיל*.

³⁸ See above, n31.

³⁹ Alternatively, *ישכיליהו*. For more on the *hiph 'il* stem of the verb *škl*, see my treatment of CD 13:7, above.

⁴⁰ For bibliography on the *משכיל*, see Judith H. Newman, *Before the Bible: The Liturgical Body and the Formation of Scriptures in Early Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 113n14. Other treatments of *משכיל* from which I have learned include: Amihay, *Theory and Practice*, 143–60, esp. 145–49; Bakker, “The Figure of the Sage,” 44–52; Robert Hawley, “On Maskil in the Judean Desert Texts,” *Hen* 28.2 (2006): 43–77; Charlotte Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Traditions and Redaction*, STDJ 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), esp. 105–40; Hempel, “Maskil(im) and Rabbim”; Newsom, “The Sage in the Literature of Qumran”; Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), esp. 102–3, 105–74, 277–79, 282–84, 294–95, 299; Stone, *Secret Groups in Ancient Judaism*, esp. 5, 71–72, 84, 85; and Elisa Uusimäki, “Maskil among the Hellenistic Jewish Sages,” *JAJ* 8 (2007): 42–68, including 42–43n2 for bibliography, whose understanding of the idealized *משכיל* (esp. 42–55, 67–68) has influenced my own.

Laws) and with much less specificity regarding his communal functions. From the Damascus Document alone, we would not infer that he played an important role in the life and beliefs of the community, as will emerge from other scrolls.

2.1 CD 12:20–21⁴¹

vacat ואלה החקים למשכיל להתהלך בם עם כל חי למשפט עת ועת.

vacat And these are the statutes for the משכיל to walk in with all the living, according to the precept of each and every age.

There is nothing here, including the use of the *hitpa'el* stem of the verb *hālak*, meaning to conduct oneself according to the law,⁴² that is not used to describe or prescribe the conduct of the members overall. This ambiguity reflects an ambiguity inherent in the nominal form of משכיל. Does it denote a type of person, imbued with wisdom and correct conduct (as in its plural usage in Dan 11:33, 35; 12:3, 10) or a communal exemplar whose function it is to imbue the members with such wisdom and right conduct according to the latest installment of the perpetual laws of the community? We shall return to this question below.

2.2 CD 13:22⁴³

ואלה [המשפטים] למשכיל [להתהלך בם עם כל חי] [למשפט עת ועת].

[...] And these are the [precepts] for the משכיל [to walk in with all the living,] [according to the precept of each and every age].

Notwithstanding the highly fragmentary text, this is an almost identical instance in which there is nothing that could not be said, at least ideally, of any member of the community or of a communal leader. Note how closely this correlates with the following, which similarly speaks of the משכיל in non-specific terms, but whose continuation, to be treated below, does provide somewhat more specifics:

1QS 9:12

vacat אלה החוקים למשכיל להתהלך בם עם כול חי לתכון עת ועת ולמשקל איש ואיש

(12) *vacat* These are the statutes, by which the משכיל is to conduct himself with all the living, according to the norm appropriate to each and every age and to the worth of each and every person.

⁴¹ // 4Q266 (4QD^a) 9 ii 7.

⁴² See CD 2:15–16; 12:22, 23; 14:1; 4Q266 (4QD^a) 5 i 15. On this usage and its relation to the later rabbinic term הלכה, see Steven D. Fraade, “The Innovation of Nominalized Verbs in Mishnaic Hebrew as Marking an Innovation of Concept,” in *Studies in Mishnaic Hebrew and Related Fields: Proceedings of the Yale Symposium on Mishnaic Hebrew, May 2014*, ed. E. A. Bar-Asher Siegal and A. J. Koller (New Haven: Program in Judaic Studies, Yale University, 2017), 129–48 at 140–41.

⁴³ // 4Q267 (4QD^b) 9 v 1; 4Q269 (4QD^d) 10 ii 5; 4Q266 (4QD^a) 9 iii 15.

2.3 4Q266 (4QD^a) 1 a–b 1–2

[פרוש המשפטים למשכיל לב]ני אור להנזור מדר[כי רשעה]
[עד תום המועד פקודה ב]רוח עולה[]

[And this is the exact nature of the laws of (or for)⁴⁴ the משכיל for the Son]s of Light to keep apart from the way[s of wickedness]. [...] until the completion of the appointed time of visitation upon the [spirit of iniquity].

Since the crucial word for our purposes, משכיל, is restored without a trace, it cannot be of direct service to us. These lines are thought to be the very beginning of the Damascus Document according to the 4QD fragments. The text here is based on the restoration by Baumgarten (DJD 18:31). However, Qimron restores the opening line there as “[These are the words of (or for) the משכיל for the S]ons of Light ...” (*wē’ēlleh haddēbārīm lammaskīl lēkōl bēnē ’ōr ...*), echoing perhaps the opening words of the book of Deuteronomy, “These are the words ...” (*’ēlleh haddēvārīm ...*).⁴⁵ In any case, to repeat, the word משכיל appears here as part of a restored text. If we accept either of these restorations, he appears to be the one to whom the following laws/words (the Damascus Document) are directed, as they are to the Sons of Light. Whether he is their (intermediary) source or their addressee (with the Sons of Light more broadly) is impossible to tell from the ambiguous Hebrew syntax, even if adopting one of the two proposed restorations.

2.4 4Q266 (4QD^a) 5 i 17–19

vacat ואלה החו[ק]ים למש[כיל]]בם⁴⁶לכול ישראל כי לויוש[יע⁴⁷אל]ת כל []א
[]בדרכו להתהלך תמ[ים] ⁴⁸[]

⁴⁴ The letter *lamed* before משכיל can be variously construed: “of,” meaning he is the source of the laws; “for,” meaning he is the recipient of the laws. It is possible to read “for the Sons of Light” as being in apposition with “for the משכיל.”

⁴⁵ Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings* [Hebrew], vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010), 5. Compare the opening of the Penal Code, CD14:18b–19 (//4Q269 [4QD^d] 11 i 1–2), “And this is the exact nature of the laws which [...] [...] the Messia]h of Aaron and Israel.” On the place of the Penal Code in the Damascus Document (and the Community Rule), see Charlotte Hempel, “The Penal Code Reconsidered,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten*, ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen, STDJ 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 337–48; Aharon Shemesh, “The Scriptural Background of the Penal Code in the Rule of the Community and Damascus Document,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 191–224; Reinhard Gregor Kratz, “Der ‘Penal Code’ und das Verhältnis von Serekh ha-Yahad (S) und Damaskusschrift (D),” *RevQ* 25 (2011): 199–227.

⁴⁶ Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 25, suggests the following restoration:]להב[ינ]ם, the *hiph ’il* of the verb *byn*, “to teach them to all of Israel.”

⁴⁷ Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 25, inserts a space after לו, understanding it as the single-word negative לא.

⁴⁸ Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 25, restores the end of the line as רשעה בדרך להתהלך בדרך. As a whole, the fragmented passage would read: “These are the laws for the]מש[כיל]]teach[them to all of Israel. For God will not sa]jve[all ... [who has turned] from his way, walking in the

vacat And these are the la[w]s for the [מש]כיל [...] in them for all of Israel, for God will not save all who [do not] [... follow] in his way, walking blameless[ly ...].

This very fragmentary passage, which seems to serve as a transition between the Admonition and the Laws, once again associates the משכיל with proper conduct (reflexive walking) with respect to the laws, without associating him with any communal leadership roles per se. Several lines earlier (14), the מבקר is said to remove members by his “word” (lit.: mouth). Once again, there appears to be congruity between this text and IQS 9:12 on the statutes by which the משכיל is to conduct himself, to the continuation of which we shall return.

To summarize this section, whereas the מבקר of the Damascus Document is a person with considerable authority, expertise, and several specified administrative duties, thereby exerting considerable communal leadership over either the community as a whole or its constitutive communities, the משכיל is much less sharply depicted. He emerges as a perfected or idealized figure, exemplifying the esoteric knowledge and correct conduct expected of the members of the Sons of Light overall – a teaching figure, but also an ideal type to be performatively emulated and identified with even more. In this sense, he is akin to his namesakes, the משכילים, or “knowledgeable ones,” of the book of Daniel (11:33, 35; 12:3, 10) who additionally bear eschatological associations.⁴⁹ I hasten to add and emphasize that these possibilities are not mutually exclusive. In other words the משכיל could represent a type of pious and enlightened wisdom even as associated with a particular person or office within the community. At least according to the Damascus Document, however, this figure resides *relatively* non-descriptly, in the communal shadows, as *compared* with the מבקר.

3. The מבקר in Other Qumran Texts

The title מבקר appears relatively rarely (six times) outside of the Damascus Document, some of which appearances have already been noted. His administrative functions in those texts are consistent with what we have already seen from the Damascus Document (CD and 4QD). For completeness, I list them: IQS

way of]evil[. For similar expressions, see IQ28a (IQSa) 1:5 and IQS 5:10–11. See also Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 18, lines 186–87.

⁴⁹ See Newman, *Before the Bible*, 113, with n15; Uusimäki, “Maskil among the Hellenistic Jewish Sages,” 44; Matthias Henze, *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar: The Ancient Near Eastern Origins and Early History of Interpretation of Daniel 4*, JSJSup 61 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 232–33, 241; Hempel, “Maskil(im) and Rabbim.” However, mitigating against the genesis of the משכיל figure at Qumran from wise משכילים in Daniel is the fact that the plural form משכילים is never evidenced in the scrolls in the sense of a group identity. Nevertheless, there are two cases in which a plural form משכילים might be implied as a designation for the collective bearers of wisdom: 4Q418 (4QInstruction^d) 81 17 (כל משכילה); and 4Q417 (4QInstruction^e) 1 i 25 (בן משכיל).

6:12, 20;⁵⁰ 4Q265 (4QMiscellaneous Rules) 4 ii 6, 8;⁵¹ 4Q275 (4QCommunal Ceremony) 3 3;⁵² 5Q13 (5QRule) 4 1.⁵³

4. The משכיל in Other Qumran Texts

Given how little information there is regarding the משכיל in the Damascus Document, especially as an authoritative communal officer, what does this figure look like and how does he function if we widen our lens so as to encompass other Qumran sectarian texts (in which I count at least thirty instances, not counting copies)? The first passage we will examine in that context begins with a line that we have already noted for its parallels to CD 13:22.

4.1 IQS 9:12–16

vacat (12) אלה החוקים למשכיל להתהלך בהם עם כול חי לתכון עת ועת ולמשקל איש ואיש
 (13) לעשות את רצון אל ככול הנגלה לעת בעת ולמוד את כול השכל הנמצא לפי העתים ואת
 (14) חוק העת להבריל ולשקול בני הצדוק
 (15) רצונו כאשר צוה ואיש כרוחו כן לעשות משפטו ואיש כבורו כפיו לקרבו ולפי שכלו
 (16) להגישו וכן אהבתו עם שנאתו

(12) *vacat* These are the statutes, by which the משכיל is to conduct himself with all the living, according to the norm appropriate to each and every age and to the worth of each and every person. (13) He shall do God's will according to all that has been revealed from age to age. He shall learn all the understanding (השכל) of the ages and the (14) law of the [present] age. He shall separate and weigh the Sons of Righteousness (or Zadok)⁵⁴ according to their spirit. He shall hold fast to the chosen ones of the [present] age, according to (15) his [=God's] will as he has commanded. And each person, according to his spirit, shall be judged. And each person, according to the cleanness of his hands, he may approach (לקרבו), and according to his discernment, (16) he may draw near (להגישו). Thus [shall be] both his love and his hatred.

There are several Hebrew syntactical questions with regard to this passage (and, hence, my translation), which will not detain us now. What is clear is that the משכיל, through his prophetic modeling of esoteric knowledge and understanding of history's mysteries (learned in "all the understanding (השכל) of the ages and the law of the [present] age"), and his compliance with communal norms, understood to represent God's will, is in a position to judge ("weigh," לשקול) the compliance of members with the same norms, and thereby to separate (להבריל)

⁵⁰ See above, nn19, 20, 26.

⁵¹ See above, n26.

⁵² See above, n34.

⁵³ The parallel, IQS 3:4–9, lacks any mention of the מבקר, but in general is briefer.

⁵⁴ IQS has בני הצדוק ("the Sons of Zadok"), 4Q259 (4QD^c) iii (2a ii, 3a–c), 10 (DJD 26:145) has בני הצדק ("the Sons of Righteousness"). The former, with the definite article, appears only here in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

those who succeed (so as to be loved) from those who fail (so as to be hated). The phrase “cleanness of his hands” can refer to ritual purity, moral rectitude, or both. It might be thought that what is being referenced here is a central role of the *משכיל* in the process of admitting new members and advancing present members in rank, as we saw repeatedly identified as an activity of *מבקר*. The two key verbs here, *לקרבו* and *להגישו*, are sacrificial terms that could be taken physically or metaphorically, e. g. being brought close to the community or to God, or to the sacred communal table, and not to admission to the community, solely or at all. However, there may be room for both the *מבקר* and the *משכיל* to have roles in the installment and/or advancement (and expulsion) of members, whereby the *משכיל* renders judgment and the *מבקר* records, administers, and enforces it (somewhat akin to what we saw in CD 13:2–7). In comparing the roles of each in the crucial admissions process (certain for the *מבקר*, possible for the *משכיל*), we might say that the role of the former is, in keeping with his other assigned duties, more “hands on.” Returning to the *משכיל* in his own right, his job is not just to weigh the merits and demerits of the members and potential members for the sake of rendering judgment, but to instruct and model for the members how to differentiate between those who can be counted among the Sons of Righteousness (or Zadok) and those who cannot. In this sense, his activity described here is consonant with that of his teaching of the “Treatise of Two Spirits” (IQS 3:13–4:26, esp. 4:2–8; 4:9–14), which is an instruction (among other things) for how to recognize and differentiate between the Sons of Light (or Righteousness) and the Sons of Darkness based on their behavior and their moral and spiritual attributes. Needless to say, this is an essential, high-stakes toolkit for maintaining a close-knit esoteric society with a moderately dualistic theology.

Our next text contains the title *משכיל* in its heading without the need for reconstruction. In it, the *משכיל* calls upon the community members, or some subgroup thereof, as men of understanding and pursuers of justice, to pay close attention to and to carefully heed his divinely-inspired teachings and to follow the “path of life” (whether as condition or consequence) of such enlightenment. The call to “lend your ear” is reminiscent of Moses’s call to attention in Deut 32:1.

4.2 4Q298 (4QcryptA Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn) 1–2 i 1–3⁵⁵

- (1) /דבר/י משכיל אשר דבר לכול בני שחר האזי[נו לי כ]ול אנשי לבב
 (2) [יורד]פי צדק הבי[נ]ו במלי ומבקשי אמונה ש[מע]ו למלי בכול
 (3) [מ]יצא שפת[י וי]דעים דר[ש]ו [א]לה והשיב[ו לאורה] חיים

⁵⁵ I cite here from the beginning of fragments 1 and 2. Fragments 3 and 4 are a continuation of the same composition, and provide more contents to the *משכיל*’s discourse, but consistent with what we have seen, e. g., sapiential and eschatological tropes, but nothing specific to the identity of the *משכיל*.

- (1) [*Word*]s of a משיכיל which he spoke to all Sons of Dawn:⁵⁶ Lend your ea[r] to me, a]ll men of understanding;
 (2) [and you who pur]sue righteousness, do understa[n]d my words; and you who seek truth, li[st]en to my words in all
 (3) that [is]sues from [my] lips. [And those who k]now, see[k the]se things and turn⁵⁷ [to the path of] life.⁵⁸

In another fragment of the same text (4Q298 3–4 ii 3–10), the משיכיל exhorts the audience to listen, seek justice, practice humility, and know the appointed time. We need not assume that an officer whose title was the משיכיל authored this text or that such an officer was the only one to pronounce it, even if most commonly he was. Note that notwithstanding the name assigned to the text by modern scholars, as “Words of *the* Maskil” (with a definite article), the text as it reads, and as translated by S. J. Pfann and M. Kister (DJD 20:21), is “[Word]s of *a* Maskil” (with an indefinite article in English). This should caution us not to presume that the letter *lamed* of למשיכיל, as it appears in the great majority of instances of משיכיל, incorporates the definite article (to/for *the* משיכיל) and not (in translation) the indefinite article (to/for *a* משיכיל). The reading of such a text, whether in private or public, would performatively induce in its readers or auditors (the “Sons of Dawn,” who are presumably the Sons of Light, or novice candidates for membership) the self-understanding and experience of being a משיכיל (among fellow משיכילים).⁵⁹

Most of the remaining occurrences of the word משיכיל in the scrolls similarly serve as superscriptions to what follows, mainly admonitions or hymns. For this reason, some have suggested that the משיכיל be thought of as the CLO (Chief Liturgical Officer) of the community. Others have imagined him to have not been an office or officer at all, but an idealized teacher whom any member could seek to emulate by reciting his words in study and prayer, seeking thereby a higher level of esoteric knowledge and righteous conduct through an anticipatory lens of imminent eschatological consummation. The משיכיל’s voice and persona are channeled through the community by those who performatively recite his as-

⁵⁶ What is here printed in italics is in the Hebrew fragment written in Jewish “square” script, identifying thereby the title of the composition. What follows is in cryptic script. Here I cannot go into the question of the meaning or purpose in the change in script from square to cryptic (or exoteric to esoteric). Cf. DJD 20:17. Suffice it to say, that one possibility is that the superscription was (as many were) added at a later stage of transmission. Except for the heading, there is nothing in the content of the body of the text that is specific to the role of a communal functionary such as the משיכיל. For the expression “sons of dawn,” see DJD 20:21, where it is suggested that they are “*catechumens*, candidates for admission to the sect.”

⁵⁷ Alternatively, והשיגו, “take hold of.”

⁵⁸ For similar openings, see CD 1:1; 2:2; 4Q270 (4QD^e) 2 ii 18–20.

⁵⁹ For a similar understanding of the performative role of the משיכיל, but with reference to the Hodayot, see Newman, *Before the Bible*, 107–39. Similarly, see Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 91–190, 287–346, esp. 169–74, and 170 for the Maskil’s relation to the “Treatise of the Two Spirits” (1QS 3:13–4:26).

cribed words.⁶⁰ However, it is not necessary to completely personalize the *משכיל* in order to achieve these performative results, that is, whether he be present as person or as title and teaching.

For other occurrences, to which the same performative understanding of the function of the *משכיל* can be applied, see: IQS 1:1 (restored); 3:13; 9:12, 21; IQ28b (IQSb) 1:1; 3:22; 5:20; 4Q256 (4QS^b) ix (Frg. 4) 1; 4Q258 (4QS^d) i (Frgs. Ia i, Ib) 1; IQH^a 5:12; 7:21; 20:7 (//4Q427 [4QH^a] 8 ii 10; 4Q428 [4QH^b] 12 ii 3); 20:14 (//4Q427 [4QH^a] 8 ii 17); 25:34; 4Q510 (4QShir^a) i 4–9; 4Q511 (4QShir^b) 2 i 1; 8 4; 11Q17 (11QShirShab) 2:4; 7:9; 4Q418 (4QInstruction^d) 81 17; 4Q421 (4QWays of Righteousness^b) Ia ii 10, 11–12.⁶¹ The same can be said of the four Hodayot hymns that are commonly ascribed to the *משכיל*: IQH^a 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 20:7–22:42; 25:34–27:3; which Judith Newman aptly characterizes as “modeling the perfected member of the Yahad”;⁶² as well as the hymn at the end of the Community Rule.⁶³

Finally, it should be noted that the word *משכיל* appears in sapiential texts, but simply in the generic sense of a knowledgeable or intelligent person. See for this usage 4Q416 (4QInstruction^b) 2 ii 15 (“learned servant”); 4Q417 (4QInstruction^c) 1 i 25 (“learned son”); 4Q418 (4QInstruction^d) 8 15 (“learned servant”); 4Q418 (4QInstruction^d) 21 2 (“learned servant”);⁶⁴ 4Q418 (4QInstruction^d) 81 17 (ומיד כול משכילכה הוסיף לקח); “and from all of your teachers get ever more learning”).⁶⁵ Note especially 4Q421 (4QWays of Righteousness^b) Ia ii 10, 11–12: א[יש] ש משכיל ונבון (“A man] who is knowledgeable and has understanding”); איש [י]וכה תוכחה משכיל ([“A man of will recei]ve the admonition of the knowledgeable”). In his note in DJD 20:190 to the word *משכיל* in lines 4

⁶⁰ See, in particular, Uusimäki, “Maskil among the Hellenistic Jewish Sages,” esp. 43, 44, 53; as well as Newman, *Before the Bible*, 107–39.

⁶¹ In IQ33 (IQM) 1:1, the word is almost entirely restored in the heading.

⁶² Newman, *Before the Bible*, 120. See, in particular, her treatment (119–27) of IQH^a 7:21–8:41. For a similar view of the hymns ascribed by modern scholars to the Teacher of Righteousness, see Angela Kim Harkins, “Who Is the Teacher of the Teacher Hymns? Re-Examining the Teacher Hymns Hypothesis Fifty Years Later,” in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. Vanderkam*, ed. F. Mason et al., 2 vols., JSJSup 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1:449–67, who concludes: “The vivid and dramatic references to the speaker’s experiences in the Teacher Hymns do not point to a historical flesh and blood Teacher but rather construct an imaginal body that assists the reader in entering into the world of the Hodayot” (467). For other scholars who treat the *משכיל* as a personified sapiential ideal type, see Benjamin Wold, *4QInstruction: Division and Hierarchies*, STDJ 123 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), reviewed by John Kampen in *DSD* 28 (2021): 253–55; Joseph I. Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the *Songs of the Sage* 4Q510–511,” *DSD* 19 (2012): 1–27.

⁶³ For the instructions for the/a *משכיל*, see IQS 9:12–26a; followed by calendrical teachings, 9:26b–10:8a; and concluding with the hymn, 10:8b–11:22.

⁶⁴ Other sightings in 4QInstruction are too fragmentary to characterize: 4Q418 (4QInstruction^d) 238 1; 4Q418a (4QInstruction^c) 19 2.

⁶⁵ Two others are too fragmentary to determine their meaning: 4Q418 (4QInstruction^d) 238 1; 4Q418a (4QInstruction^c) 19 2.

and 10, Torleif Elgvin says: “In the sectarian literature this word can mean ‘the knowledgeable’ ... or the ‘authoritative teacher’ ... In line 10, אִישׁ מְשָׁכִיל וְנָבוֹן [אי] clearly means a ‘knowledgeable man.’ מְשָׁכִיל probably carries the same meaning in line 12, although יוֹרְכָה תוֹכַחַת מְשָׁכִיל (lines 11–12) can be interpreted as ‘receive the admonition of the teacher.’”⁶⁶

The word מְשָׁכִיל in the generic sense (“knowledgeable person”), appears frequently (10 times) in the Hebrew fragments of Ben Sira, including 5 times as עַבְד מְשָׁכִיל (“learned servant”) and once as בֶּן מְשָׁכִיל (“learned son/person”), as we saw in 4QInstruction.⁶⁷

Thus, the use of the word מְשָׁכִיל in ancient Jewish sapiential literature, both within the Dead Sea Scrolls and without, bears no apparent relation to a specific authoritative communal functionary. However, whereas Ben Sira explicitly provides his readers/auditors with his personal name,⁶⁸ the מְשָׁכִיל (like, as we have noted, the מְבַקֵּר, as well as the sapiential חָכָם), is never provided with a personal name in the scrolls. Perhaps their very namelessness is a rhetorical aspect of their identity and performative exemplarity.⁶⁹

5. A Tale of Two *Lameds*

Before concluding, I will highlight distinctive verbal patterns regarding the מְבַקֵּר the מְשָׁכִיל, which they do not share with one another and which, I argue, sharply distinguish them functionally from one another. They both rely on the letter *lamed*. In several instances the Damascus Document says that the מְבַקֵּר is “over” (עַל) the community as a way of emphasizing his authority: הַמְבַקֵּר אֲשֶׁר עַל הַמְּבַקֵּר אֲשֶׁר עַל הַמְּבַקֵּר אֲשֶׁר עַל הַמְּבַקֵּר (4Q271 [4QD^f] 3 14–15);⁷⁰ הַמְבַקֵּר אֲשֶׁר עַל הַמְּבַקֵּר (4Q266 [4QD^a] 7 iii 3).⁷¹ The use of a prefixed *lamed* alone, instead of the preposition עַל, conveys the same sense of possession and authority *over*, as in the following:

⁶⁶ It should be noted that according to the rules for reproof in the sectarian scrolls, no communal official admonishes the members for their specific wrongdoings, but they admonish one another before the מְבַקֵּר, who records their admonishments, as per 4Q477 (4QRebukes Reported to the Overseer). Nowhere is this a function associated with the מְשָׁכִיל.

⁶⁷ See Sir 7:19, 21; 10:23, 25 (parallel to חָכָם); 47:12.

⁶⁸ Yeshua ben Eleazar ben Sira: Sir 50:27; following 51:30 in MS B.

⁶⁹ Of course, this is equally true of the other leadership types or figures at Qumran, e.g., the Teacher of Righteousness. For more on the dialectic relationship between anonymity and attribution in ancient Jewish texts, see Steven D. Fraade, “Anonymity and Redaction in Legal Midrash: A Preliminary Probe,” in *Meleket Mahshevet: Studies in the Redaction and Development of Talmudic Literature*, ed. A. Amit and A. Shemesh (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2011), 9*–29*. See mRosh. Hash. 2:9, interpreting Exod 24:9 to suggest that the anonymity of the wilderness elders bestowed upon them and their descendants’ judicial authority.

⁷⁰ // 4Q269 (4QD^d) 9 8.

⁷¹ 4Q267 (4QD^b) 8 3–4.

(CD 13:7b); המבקר אשר למחנה (CD 13:13);⁷² המבקר אשר לכל המחנות (CD 14:8–9);⁷³ [במחנה] המבקר אשר (CD 13:16);⁷⁴ המבקר אשר לרבים (CD 15:8).⁷⁵ With respect to the *maskil*, however, I can find no such usages of על or ל- as denoting authority over the “camp” or the “many”

Rather, what stands out with respect to the usage of the word *maskil* is that it is most commonly preceded by the prefixed preposition *lamed* whose vowel could either denote a definite (“the”) or indefinite (“a”) article. We have already considered one of the exceptions: 4Q298 (4QcryptA, Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn) 1–2 i 1, which begins, *דבר* [מ]שכיל (“[word]s of a *maskil*”), which serves as the beginning of the heading to what follows. Another exception is 1QH^a 20:14 (// 4Q427 [4QH^a] 8 ii 17): ואני משכיל ידעתיכה (“and I, the/a *maskil*, I know you”), as part of one of the *maskil* hymns. No such exceptions are to be found in the Damascus Document. In all four cases in the Damascus Document, treated above, the word preceding *lamed maskil* is either *hoqim*⁷⁶ or *mespטים*,⁷⁷ laws. Thus, what follows this heading are laws, not so much authored by the/a *maskil* as laws for him to teach and perform. Other nouns, appropriate to the type of text (e. g. legal or liturgical), similarly precede *lamed maskil* with a similarly performative sense, e. g., *דברי ברכה למשכיל*⁷⁸; *מדרש למשכיל*⁷⁹; *תכוני הדרך למשכיל*⁸⁰; *מזמור למשכיל*⁸¹. Sometimes the word order is reversed, but the performative sense is the same: *למשכיל לברך*⁸²; *למשכיל להבין וללמד*⁸³; *למשכיל הודות*⁸⁴; *למשכיל שיר*⁸⁵; *למשכיל שיר*⁸⁶; *למשכיל שיר*⁸⁷. Thus, the *lamed* preceding *maskil* may be thought to denote either “x for the/a *maskil* (to perform)” or “for the/a *maskil* (to perform) x.”

⁷² // 4Q267 (4QD^b) 9 iv 11.

⁷³ // 4Q267 (4QD^b) 9 v 13; 4Q266 (4QD^a) 10 i 1.

⁷⁴ // 4Q266 (4QD^a) 9 iii 2, where the preposition *bet* is clearer than in CD 13:16.

⁷⁵ // 4Q271 (4QD^f) 4 i 11.

⁷⁶ CD 12:20–21; 4Q266 (4QD^a) 5 i 17; cf. IQS 9:12.

⁷⁷ CD 13:22 (restored); 4Q266 (4QD^a) 1 a–b 1–2.

⁷⁸ 1Q28b (1QSb) 1:1; 3:22.

⁷⁹ 4Q256 (4QS^b) iv (Frg. 4) 1; 4Q258 (4QS^d) i (Frgs. 1a i, 1b), 1.

⁸⁰ IQS 9:21. “These are the norms of the way.”

⁸¹ 1QH^a 5:12; 7:21.

⁸² 1Q28b (1QSb) 5:20.

⁸³ IQS 3:13.

⁸⁴ 1QH^a 20:7 (// 4Q427 [4QH^a] 8 ii 10; 4Q428 [4QH^b] 12 ii 3).

⁸⁵ 4Q511 (4QShir^b) 2 i 1; 8 4.

⁸⁶ 1QH^a 25:34.

⁸⁷ 11Q17 (11QShirShabb) 2:4; 7:9.

6. Conclusions

By now, my readers should not be surprised that I consider the *מבקר* and the *משכיל* to be very different sorts of leadership figures. This is the case even if we were to characterize them based on the Damascus Document alone, where the *מבקר* appears much more frequently than does the *משכיל*, which is inversely the case in other scrolls. Whether this disproportional distribution is an indication of an earlier dating of the Damascus Document (and hence, a later emergence of the theological and performative importance of the figure of the *משכיל*) is impossible to determine with any confidence, but tempting to entertain.⁸⁸ In the Damascus Document both figures, appearing in the Laws section rather than the Admonition, are more preoccupied with laws than with other types of texts, e. g., liturgical, which are closer to the purview of the *משכיל* outside the Damascus Document. Might this suggest an earlier, more charismatic model of leadership under the *משכיל* and a later, more institutionalized model for the *מבקר*, as expressed in the Damascus Document? I hasten to add, however, that exceptions can be found to all such polar models, porous and heuristic as they are and should be. In any case, I tend to have methodological allergic reactions to such unnecessarily linear plots, especially since the manuscripts portraying both models chronologically co-habited with one another.

Nevertheless, I have suggested that something more profound differentiates one figure from the other. Whereas the *מבקר* is recognizable as a communal leader (whether of “community” writ large or small, centralized or decentralized) with several public, administrative roles critical to the functioning of the community, whose members rely heavily on his authority, expertise, and perhaps lineage – a “hands on” kind of guy, if I may. The concrete duties of the *משכיל* as a public communal functionary are harder to identify and define. To cite Newman’s recent book again:

The Maskil is an unnamed figure and not a classic leader of all Israel. The Maskil is not said to write psalms; rather, it is the embodied performance of specific psalms connected to him that shape the hierarchical community of the Yahad.⁸⁹

Similarly, Elisa Uusimäki, citing Robert Hawley, states:

Hawley is correct in stating that the word *משכיל* does not always denote a particular officer. The Qumran collection involves some cases in which the term *משכיל* denotes the

⁸⁸ For this caveat, see above, n8. Of course, other reductive explanations could be proffered besides differences in chronological provenance, such as rhetorical and structural differences between the texts, underlying theological differences, different locations of origin, different realities of social structure, etc.

⁸⁹ Newman, *Before the Bible*, 138. I hasten to qualify that this need not preclude the possibility that there was once a historical figure, or that there continued to be such a position, upon whom and in light of which the literary figure of the *משכיל* is modeled, and which, in turn, the members emulated through liturgy and study.

adjective “wise” ... [S]everal scrolls from Qumran, specifically sectarian texts, suggest that the term refers to a wise person, designating an ideal sage of some sort. Many [if not most] of the extant references to *משכיל* appear in superscriptions that may not have belonged to the original compositions, but were added in the course of textual transmission.⁹⁰

I would be less categorical, and allow greater ambiguity, as to whether the *משכיל* was an actual person, a central office, or a powerful idea, and would allow for his office to have endured greater variation over time and place, as resistant as these are to being historically tracked with any degree of certainty. Rather than seeing them as dueling roles and titles, I would prefer to ask how their various functions complemented and co-habited with one another. Considering just a few of the biblical leadership roles with which we began, some fading out while others were being transmuted, we might think of the porous and overlapping relationship between the prophet (Moses) and the priest (Aaron), even as their roles were sometimes reversed and often overlaid, associating the *משכיל* with the former and the *מבקר* with the latter. Aaron officiates while Moses communicates, although they each do some of the other.⁹¹ Alternatively, we could model their relationship on that of the (high) priest and the Levite, with the latter (the *מבקר*) doing the dirty work while the former (the *משכיל*) pronounces the blessings. Together, they actuate in the midst of the community both its best practices and their liturgical accompaniments, as both are shaped by their esoteric knowledge as it is assured by their continual attention to study, practice, and worship under the aegis of their learned and inspired teachers and officers.⁹² Only within the communal legal structures and delineations maintained by the authoritative expertise of the *מבקר* can individual and collective perfection be performatively tasted, tested, and achieved under the inspired instruction of the *משכיל*, whether in person or in performance or in both.

The Babylonian Talmud (‘Arak. 17a) juxtaposes two views of the relations between each generation and its leader(s): “One says, ‘As the leader (*parnas*)⁹³ so the generation,’ and the other says, ‘as the generation so the leader.’” In light

⁹⁰ Uusimäki, “Maskil among the Hellenistic Jewish Sages,” 43; Hawley, “On Maskil in the Judean Desert Texts,” 43–77. To give just one example of each, Aaron is prophet to Moses in Exod 7:19 (cf. 4:16), while Moses is a priest alongside Aaron in Ps 99:6.

⁹¹ For the prophetic aspects of the *משכיל*, see Uusimäki, “Maskil among the Hellenistic Jewish Sages”; Newman, “Priestly Prophets at Qumran.” For Israelite governance as a form of diarchy, both biblically and post-biblically, see David M. Goodblatt, *The Monarchic Principle: Studies in Jewish Self-Government in Antiquity*, TSAJ 38 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994).

⁹² I am reminded of IQS 6:6–8, with its three-fold nightly practice, under the supervision of a/the *בְּתוּרָה*, of “reading the Book, studying/applying law, and blessing in unison/community.”

⁹³ On this term, see Steven D. Fraade, “Local Jewish Leadership in Roman Palestine: The Case of the *Parnas* in Early Rabbinic Sources in Light of Extra-Rabbinic Evidence,” in *Halakhah in Light of Epigraphy*, ed. A. I. Baumgarten, H. Eshel, R. Katzoff, and S. Tzoref, JAJSupp 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 155–73 (= Fraade, *Legal Fictions*, 555–76).

of the two central, continuous leadership types at Qumran, we may paraphrase, “The community is only as good as its leaders and the leaders are only as good as their community.” Even though the two leadership roles that we have considered here are significantly different from one another (notwithstanding important overlaps) in form and function, they anachronistically share the talmudic insight that while communal leadership flows from the top down, its emulation by its adherents flows from the bottom up.