

Historical review in the Damascus Document

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ABSTRACT

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This study investigates five historical reviews in the Damascus Document. It analyses the way in which traditional schemas and historical patterns are integrated in the Document. As history reflects the ideology of its narrator, these historical reviews are investigated with regard to the ideology of the Damascus movement indicated in them. The ideology is described in terms of the self reflection of the group, its idea of a chosen remnant and the role of obedience to the laws of God in their life.

1 INTRODUCTION

Biblical narratives are sometimes recasted in the form of a particular kind of historical review that recounts the history of humanity. In the Animal Vision (1 Enoch 85-90), the Apocylapse of Weeks (1 Enoch 93:1-10; 91:11-17) and in Daniel 2 and 7 this kind of recitation of history which is structured into specific periods are used as revelations. Nickelsburg (2001:32) calls them “revealed summary of history”. Literature belonging to the same category is also found in the Song of Moses (Deut 32) and Tobit 14:4-7.

The same Animal Vision and the Enochic Apocalypse of Weeks with its ten-week scheme is interpreted by Nickelsburg (2001:398-400) as traditions about a religious awakening in the Hellenistic period. This tradition is also found in the Cairo Damascus Document 1:3-12; 2:14-4:12; 5:20-6:11. The tradition is re-used in Jubilees 1:7-18 and 23:13-21 as well as in Daniel 11:14 (Nickelsburg 2001:399-400).

Nickelsburg uses the Animal Vision and the Apocalypse of Weeks to indicate both a literary genre as well as a social phenomenon. The question provoked by Nickelburg’s double utilization is whether a study of the genre of “revealed summary of history” can be used to investigate the socio-historical world which is represented in the texts using this literary category.

In the Damascus Document Biblical narratives are used and retold in the form of historical reviews. This study investigates passages in the Document in which such historical narratives are used. The aim of this study is to reconstruct the ideology of the author(s) of the Damascus Document by analysing the historical reviews in the Document.

2 IDEOLOGY AND HISTORY

Boccaccini (2002:29) described documents as “ideological records”. Their function is to serve as ideological expressions of particular religious viewpoints.

History forms an integral part of ideology. Baumgarten (2000:2-3) said:

“A movement’s view of the past, whether its own past or that of some larger group, is part of its general ideological construction, and hence subject to much the same constraints as other elements of its ideology: a view of the past must be useful and circumstance must make it meaningful for it to prevail”.

The past is therefore visited to suit the needs of the present. Those aspects of the past which can empower the present are constructed into the ideology of the group.

When the history of Israel is narrated in Palestinian literature from the Hellenistic period, these stories operate from a certain perspective. They are told from an ideological perspective which identifies, substantiates and affirms the addressees to whom it is told. It finds the genealogy of Israel in a history filled with failure, conflict and power struggle. This history was conditioned by different factors such as the attitude of the people, their daily needs, their aspirations.

Even when this story uses older historical narratives it presents a unique perspective. Intertextually it uses the older view-point expressed in the existing historical overview. It is restructured in such a way that it can communicate the ideology of the new narrator. In the Damascus Document the older narrative is included in the document as a historical review to enhance the message of the text.

3 CAIRO DAMASCUS DOCUMENT

3.1 The document

Two medieval manuscripts were discovered in the Geniza at Cairo by Schechter. He published them in 1910 as the “Zadokite Fragments”. Fragments discovered in caves 4 and 5 at Qumran contained sections of the contents of these manuscripts. Since this discovery the material has eventually become known as the “Damascus Document”¹.

One of the manuscripts found at Cairo consists of 16 columns of text. This is called manuscript A. The other manuscript, marked B, has two long columns labelled XIX and XX. The first eight columns in manuscript A and the two columns of manuscript B comprise exhortations and admonitions. Columns IX-XVI in manuscript A consists of laws.

The fragments found at Qumran are nearly identical to the manuscripts found in the Cairo Geniza. The Qumran fragments also have some additional material to that of Cairo. Some of it proceeds column I of the Cairo document. A second group fits in between the exhortations (columns I-VIII) and law section (columns IX-XVI) of document A. A third group follows at the end of the laws in column XVI of document A. The arrangement also differs in some Qumran copies. In some Qumran fragments columns XV-XVI are put before column IX.

These additions could be interpreted as either a variant form of the Damascus Document, or its original form which was reduced to the form it has in the medieval copies found at Cairo. The Cairo documents show signs of expansion. One theory is that there existed a first version by approximately the third century BCE (cf Wise, Abegg & Cook 1996:50). This first version was expanded during the second century BCE to fit the view of the Qumran sect more closely. To the first “...collection of sermons describing how God has always judged the wicked and rewarded the faithful throughout the history in Israel” (Wise, Abegg & Cook 1996:49) commentary was added which expounds particular “biblical” passages in depth, using certain phrases for symbolic and allegorical expansion to relate it to

1 Cf VI:5 “...the captives of Israel who went out of the land of Judah and dwelt in the land of Damascus”.

the life of the sect. To the section on the laws (columns IX-XVI) moral, legal and ethical “camp rules” were added to apply biblical laws to the communitarian life of the sect. None of these theories gives final answers to the question of the real origin and growth of the document. We can only speak of a “set of documents” (Davies 2000:30) which we call the “Damascus Document”². This set of documents available to us come from both Cairo and Qumran and represents different stages or forms of the tradition of the Damascus Document. It is therefore a more or less hypothetical form of the Damascus Document which we read.

3.2 Historical reviews

History plays an important role in the Damascus Document. According to Grossman³ (2002:88) three types of historical accounts are used in the document. Some take the form of linear narratives, others have a more static view of human experience, and a third type understands human experience as a cyclical repetition of the same basic actions. In his study of the Damascus Document Baumgarten (2000: 9) pointed out: “...a view of the past was a crucial component of its ideological foundations”. National, sectarian and universal narrative accounts of histories were used, sometimes intersecting with each other. Not only the past of the movement itself or events from human history are retold, but also events from Israel’s history. Especially the narratives from Israel’s history are important. Generally two reasons can be given why these Israelite stories are recounted. First, the history of Israel was relevant for the present and the future of the Damascus movement. Secondly

2 Cf Davies (2000:30, note 4): “There is no one Community Rule but rather a set of manuscripts, probably of different editions of such a composition, and the same is true of a Damascus Document”.

3 Grossman presents a ‘new historiography’. He links history to literary criticism to read the text in a new way. With his literary-critical historiography he first studies a text’s larger understandings and constructions of history and secondly how this ‘original meaning’ of the text was reconstructed during its *Wirkungsgeschichte*. He does not pay attention only to the way the author of the Damascus scroll used historical renderings from the biblical tradition (which is the subject of this study), but also to the way he merges it with other histories, especially universal history and the history of his own group.

it established the sectarians' link with previous and future generations (cf Baumgarten 2000:12).

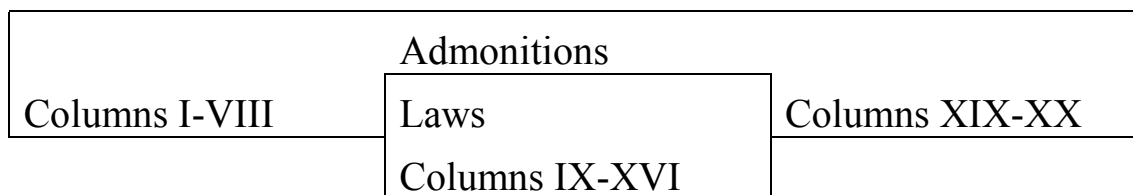
Narratives on Israel's history are ideologically based. Each one has a specific theory on the meaning of what happened to Israel. One or another schema is used to highlight themes from Israel's past. This schema is mostly borrowed from traditional religious material. The narratives on Israel's past in the Damascus Document are very near to the biblical narratives as we know them from the present Hebrew Bible. General and allusive usage of the language of the scriptures and explicit quotations are found everywhere in the document. Citations and quotations from the text(s) in the form it had been available to the author and those who reworked this text, can be indicated. As he/they was/were working with an older (and lost) form of our present Masoretic text which was still in the process of growing, it is, however, very problematic to indicate all of these precisely. Their "Bible" also included materials which did not end up in our Masoretic collection, but had the same authority⁴.

We shall therefore focus on those cases where a recognisable historical pattern was used and recycled in the Damascus Document. We shall take Nickelsburg's literary category of "revealed summary of history" (2001:32) as point of departure. In the Damascus Document we are not dealing with any revelation in the narrative reviews. We do not even always have summaries of a structured history of the past like we have in 1 Enoch 89:59-90:19 or 93:1-10 and Daniel 2 and 7. We do find, however, patterns in the historical reviews which are biblical based and used for reviewing the past. The historical reviews we investigate therefore shows a literary or ideological pattern and are based on biblical narratives of history which have either a simple or intricate pattern used for reporting on past events.

4 Cf Campbell's (1995:11-19) discussion on the Bible used in the Dead Sea scrolls in his "Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1-8, 19-20". 11-19. He underlines the centrality of the scripture for the group(s) behind the sectarian documents, the ambiguities concerning the state of the biblical text they used, the problem of what exactly constitutes 'scripture' for them, and the boundaries between sectarian and non-sectarian literature.

3.3 Structure

The Damascus Document is divided into two sections:



According to Davies (1983:52-53) the section of the **Admonitions** (I-VIII, XIX-XX) is structured as a covenant. He divides this section into four subsections.

Subsection 1: I:1-IV:12a.

The origin of the community.

Subsection 2: IV:12b-VII:10a.

Legal information and the role of the law in the community.

Subsection 3: VII:10b-VIII:19.

Expansion of the original admonition. Warning against contemporary Jewish religious authorities.

Subsection 4: XIX:33-XX:34.

Supplement to the original admonition. The origin of the community, its nature and purpose described.

Campbell (1995:49) discerns three “Historical Sections” in the Admonitions (I:1-II:1, II:14-IV:12a and V:15b-VI:11a). Davies divides his first subsection (I:1-IV:12a) into three “discourses” and his second subsection (IV:12b-VII:10a) into four units. Compared to each other Campbell’s first two “Historical Sections” coincides with Davies’ “First” and “Third Discourse”:

Campbell's Historical Sections		Davies' Discourses and units
Historical Section A: I:1-II:1		<u>Subsection 1</u> Discourse One I:1-II:1 Discourse Two II:2-I3 Discourse Three II:14-IV:12a
Historical Section B: II:14-IV:12a		
Historical Section C:V:15b-VI:11a		<u>Subsection 2</u> Unit 1 IV:12b-V:16 Unit 2 V:17-VI:11a Unit 3 VI:11b-VII:4a Unit 4 VII:4b-10a

Campbell's third "Historical Section" differs from Davies' division of subsection 2. It overlaps with Davies' first and second unit.

Historical reviews of Israel's past showing a literary or ideological pattern being based on biblical narratives of history occur in columns I:3-12, II:14-IV:2, V:1, V:2-6, and V:15b-VI:4. All of them belong to the section of the **Admonitions** (I-VIII, XIX-XX). Furthermore, they are restricted to Davies' first two subsections. They are also only found in Campbell's "**Historical Sections**". Their literary context can be indicated as follows:

<i>Campbell's "Historical Sections"</i>	Historical Reviews	<i>Davies' Discourses and units</i>
		Subsection 1
A: I:1-II:1	I:3-12	Discourse One I:1-II:1
		Discourse Two II:2-13
B: II:14-IV:12a	II:14-IV:2	Discourse Three II:14-IV:12a
	V:1	Subsection 2
	V: 2-6	Unit 1 IV:12b-V:16
C:V:15b-VI:11a	V:15b-VI:4.	Unit 2 V:17-VI:11a
		Unit 3 VI:11b-VII:4a
		Unit 4 VII:4b-10a

3.4 Historical Review 1 (I:3-12)

Two historical reviews are found in Subsection 1 (I:1-IV:12a) In this subsection the same introductory formula (...l kÖyl a w[mv ht[w - And now listen to me/all...) is used in I:1, II:1 and II:14. Davies (1983: 56) used this formula to divide the section into three consecutive discourses. The first discourse (I:1-II:1) and the third discourse (II:14b-IV:12a) both "...describe the historical rejection of Israel by God and his gracious election of and covenant with a remnant, namely the community" (Davies 1983:56). The historical reviews are found in the first and third discourse.

The first discourse (I:1-II:1) consists of an introduction in lines 1 and 2, a retelling of the past in lines 3 tot 12 and a description of the scoffer in I:13-II:1. Using the reference to a dispute (byr) in line 2, Davies (1983:57) identifies the Gattung of the first admonition section (I:1-VIII:19) as covenant lawsuit. It deals with a divine hearing of Israel which is in process. Included in this lawsuit is a *Geschichtsaufriß* (Jeremias) or *Geschichtabriss* (Stegemann) (Davies 1983:57) which is found in column I:3-12. This historical review is written in poetical form. It starts with the following words (Rabin 1954:1):

“For when they sinned in that they forsook Him
 He hid his face from Israel and from his sanctuary
 And gave them to the sword.
 But when He remembered the covenant of the forefathers
 He caused a remnant to remain
 of Israel and gave them not up to be consumed” (I:3-5).

Lines 3-5 are structured in antithetical parallelism. The God of Israel who punishes (gave them to the sword - *brj l ptnty*) is also the God who shows mercy (preserved a remnant - *tyra rya h*). I interpret this poetical diction as the key to the whole poem. It is not merely consecutive historical events which are depicted in this review, but the ideological view point that God simultaneously punishes and saves in history. While some are still in exile, others are saved by God.

The traditional schema used in the historical review is exile and salvation. The author refers to Nebucadnezzar, king of Babylon and a lapse of 390 years before God visits his people. Reviewing this history the authors presents it in a way which expresses his viewpoint about the meaning of what has happened.

God has an ongoing dispute with his people. The exile of the sixth century BCE illustrates his dealings with Israel. The generation of Israel acted as traitors and were faithless to God. They caused God’s wrath. By way of retribution God abandoned them⁵ and delivered them in the hands of Nebucadnezzar, the king of Babylon. His ideology, however, is that his time of wrath will go on as long as Israel continues to disobey God. The exile will continue for Israel. The devastation of their land and the exilic events of the past picture the circumstances of this continuing exile.

Simultaneously God continues his covenant with Israel. He will not allow them to be totally destroyed. Maintaining his mercy God visited Israel again 390 years after Nebucadnezzar’s exile. For twenty years there was a generation of men who realised their sin and knew they were guilty. They were, however, repenting and looking for guidance. Through his mercy God gave to them a descendant (*t[fm rw*) of Aaron as leader. He was a “Teacher of

5 Cf the word pair in I:3: “they forsake him, he hides his face from them”
 עזבוהו הסתיר פניו

Righteousness” who revealed to them the divine truth. He used the history of the generation of traitors as a negative example to teach them about the correct ways of God. Although Davies (1983:63) calls this “notorious chronological data” and reads it as secondary material of a later time, it fits exactly into the idea of the first lines of the poem that God continues to punish as well as save. While others are still in exile God rises a remnant of Israel. This group and their leader are part of that remnant of God. To them the divine truth of God’s dealing with his people is revealed. They understand the meaning of the exile and God’s demeanour.

In the section following this first review, the acts of the sinful generation are described. I:13-18 was probably added at a later stage (cf Wise, Abegg & Cook 1996:52). It, however, functions as a negative description of the adversaries of the remnant. The message of this section is that there has always been and there will always be wicked people who go astray. The generation of wrath, then, was led astray to transgress God’s laws by a 𐤍𐤃𐤋𐤁𐤁 𐤃𐤓𐤁 ,⁶ translated as “scoffer” (Garcia Martinez 1994:33) or “Man of Mockery” (Wise, Abegg & Cook 1996:52). They interpreted God’s law in the wrong way, looked for loopholes in the law, persecuted and killed the innocent and loathed those who live a pure life. They brought on themselves the curses of God’s law. God gave them to the sword and annihilated them. They are in direct opposition to those of God’s remnant and represent the acts which are avoided by the remnant.

Davies’ (1983:66) point of view is that “the historical review which our passage comprises is no more nor less than a description of the *byr*”. The historical review is, however, more than a mere description. It is also part of the author’s strategy. It provided the author with the notions he needed to conceptualise the identity of his group. He learned from biblical tradition to understand God’s dealings in terms of punishment as well as mercy.

According to Campbell (1995:59) the most noticeable parallels with this section is Leviticus 26:40-42 and Deuteronomy 28-32. The same “basic story-line about the exile” is also found in Daniel 9 and Ezra 9 (Campbell 1995:64). This historical section of the Damascus

6 Campbell (1995:63) remarks: “...the names and descriptions of the enemies of our writer were derived from a network of interrelated scriptural passages”.

Document shares a few items of common vocabulary as well as “a certain type of more or less extensive historical cycle” (Campbell 1995:65) with these biblical sections. Evaluating the events of the exile the author used the basic traditional model found in these biblical sections. The exile is understood in terms of traditional retribution terms. God opposes those who opposed Him by carrying them off to the land of their enemies. After they have served their punishment in full, God remembers his covenant and lets a remnant return to their land. The author, however, adapted this traditional national sequential pattern of sin-punishment-repentance-salvation to his dualistic view that God simultaneously deals with the rejected as well as the elected. Although Israel returned to its land the exile still continued. While most were still under God’s wrath, others were saved and made part of God’s renewed covenant at the same time. God punishes and shows mercy simultaneously. This view of simultaneous judgment and salvation is broadened by interweaving a more generalised narrative on the sin of all people (cf Grossman 2002: 108). God is angry with all humanity (I:2). Sin leads to punishment for all, as was shown in the exile of the past and will once again be seen in future when God sends his angels of destruction to all who disobey him. Concurrent with this process of God’s wrath runs the presence of the elected remnant, a notion from Isaiah 59. There was a remnant according to biblical tradition in exile and there still is a “remnant” in the present time. The members of the group are identified in terms of that remnant.

The historical pattern is also slightly changed with regard to the remnant. This is done by interweaving the contemporary sectarian history with national/universal histories (cf Grossman 2002:108). Keywords like covenant (tyrb), Israel (lar y), righteousness (qdx) and the first (μyn ar) and the last generations (μynwrj a), enables the author to move between the different histories and use notions from the one in the history of the other. By intersecting the different histories the author generated what Grossman (2002:114) calls “temporal loops” between ancient and more contemporary periods. “The period of the Babylonian conquest blends into a period 390 years later, and the community of the covenant is understood as the remnant of Israel in its early and later stages, thanks to the temporal ‘looping’ effect at work in the text” (Grossman 2002:115). By using a complex network of temporal and scriptural connections the author can picture the remnant and the rest of Israel as opposing groups.

Repentance is no longer the absolute condition for salvation. Salvation is now largely based on God's covenant and his willingness to accept and pardon those who keep his law. This could probably be attributed to a change in the view on sin. The introduction of a "scoffer" would actually reduce the culpability of the people. On the other hand their responsibility as remnant, saved by God's grace, is enormously heightened. They are now the new Israel to whom God revealed the hidden things in which the old Israel had strayed. The Teacher of Righteousness, endowed by God's Spirit, teaches them the divine truth God has revealed to him. He interprets God's laws under God's guidance and guides the movement according to God's will. They are to keep firm to obeying that law.

3.5 Historical review 2 (II:14-IV:2)

In the third discourse (II:14-IV:12a), which follows the second discourse (II:2-13), typical phrases of the wisdom instruction genre are used. The second historical review (II:14-IV:2) is included in this discourse. In this historical review the narrator teaches the "children" lessons from the past. The purpose of these lessons are to enable the hearers to choose (רַחַב בַּל) what pleases God and to hate what he rejects.

According to Davies (1983:76) Stegemann saw these admonitions as addressed to members of the community to warn them against apostasy. According to Davies (1983:76) Murphy O'Connor understood them as missionary speeches addressed to non-members of the Essene community. Davies' (1983:76-77) own idea is that they are catechetical speeches directed at initiates in the process of making their choice. When I take the introductory formula "my children" into account, as well as the stress in the review how wrong it is to follow one's own will, and the explicit directions to follow God's commandments as interpreted by the group in the application of the next section, I would agree with Davies that we are dealing here with catechetical speech. I would, however, in terms of the wisdom scene pictured here, not think of initiates who have to make a choice, but rather of newly initiates who are taught to henceforth follow the rules of their new community and unlearn following their own will.

There is a similarity in verbs and form between this discourse (II:14-IV:12a) and the first discourse (I:1-II:1). Here a review of the past (II:17b-III:12a) is also included (II:14-IV:2). This historical re-

view illustrates the narrator's point of view on faith and challenges the hearers to make a wise choice. The history in the first discourse dealt with the time since the exile under Nebucadnessar. This review goes back to the men of old before the time of the exile. The time schedule used is the Watchers of heaven, Noah and his sons, the patriarchs, Jacob's sons in Egypt, wilderness, the kings of Israel, and the exile. Moses, Joshua, the Judges and Samuel are totally omitted.

The schema used in the historical review is sin and punishment. The theme repeatedly found in those epochs is indicated in the words of II:16: they did not turn away from *twbz yn[w hm a rxy twb hm* ("thoughts of a guilty inclination and lascivious eyes" - Garcia Martinez 1994:34).

An analysis of the words and phrases used in the review indicates the contents of this wrong inclination. The word most often used in the review is "commandment" (*twxm*). It is used in the expression "commandments of God" (*la twxm*, II:18, III:2, III:6), "commandments of their Maker" (*μhy [twxm* II:21, III:7) and "commandments of the One who teaches them" (*μhyrwy twxm*, III:7). It is used twice in the expression "listen to the commandments of God" (*la twxm wrm* , II:18, III:2) and once in "do the commandments" (*twxm μhyc[*, III:7).

Statistically the word second most used is "one's own will" (*μwxr*). It is used in the phrases "do their own will" (*μwxr ta μtw [b*, II:21, III:11), "choose the will of one's own spirit" (*wj wr μwxrb rjb*, III:3,12), "they chose their own will" (*μwxrb wrj byw*, III:11) and "do what each man wanted" (*wwxr ta ya tw [l*, III:12). The synonymous idea is found in the idiom used twice "walk according to their own willful heart" (*μbl twryr b wklh*, II:17, III:5) and "following their willful heart" (*twryr yrj a wrwtyw*, III:11). Two other phrases used have the same meaning: "doing what was right in his own eyes" (*wyny[b r yh ya tw [l*, III:6) and "follow their will" (*μj wr ta w rw*, III:7).

In II:20-21 these two words (commandment and one's own will) are linked to each other and formulated in terms of one another: "they did their own will and did not keep the commandments of their Maker" (*μhy [twxm ta wrm alw μwxr ta μtw [b*). In terms of the pair "commandments of God" and "do their own will" all of history before the exile is summarised. This echoes the ideas of both Psalms 81 and 106 where the history is also reviewed. In Psalm 81 the exodus event and what happened at Meribah during the journey through

the desert is recalled. The phrases $\text{yl wql ym} [\text{mv} \text{äl z}$ (and my people did not listen to my voice) and $\text{pbl tWryrvB whj l vaw}$ (and I let them go with their stubborn hearts) are used in Psalm 81:12 and 13. In Psalm 106, where the events of the exodus and the journey through the wilderness is also reviewed under the heading of Israel's stubbornness, the phrase $\text{hwly l wqb w} [\text{mv al}$ (and they did not listen to the voice of the Lord) is also used in Psalm 106:25. The perspective offered by these biblical passages is that each generation of Israel had thoughts of a guilty inclination and lascivious eyes because they followed their own will and disobeyed God's commandments. The children continued this inclination from one generation to another. The only exception is Abraham, Isaac and Jacob who are evaluated positively in the same terms. They did not follow their own will and obeyed God's commandments.

The punishment meted out by God was quite harsh. Israel "fell" (l fn), "were exterminated" (trk Nif'al), and "perished" (dba). Their land was devastated and they were given to the sword.

When this review is applied to the time after the exile in III:12b-IV:12, the idea of the remnant ($\text{p} \text{hm wrtwn r a III:12}$), found in the first discourse, is used again. They continue the inclination of the patriarchs pointed out in the review by holding firm to the commandments of God ($\text{l a twxmb } \mu \text{yqyzj mw} - \text{III:12}$). With them God established (μyqh) his covenant for ever.

Whether this implies a new covenant is not sure. Davies (1983: 80) refers to "ambiguity between the *Heilsgeschichten* in CD on the identity of this covenant with that of a 'first one'"⁷. He is therefore of opinion that the author now contrasts the pre-exilic covenant with the post-exilic covenant. The issue of the commandment, however, is retained in the application. The particulars of the set of laws are now changed. God revealed to the remnant the things in which Israel went astray. Those were God's Sabbaths, his feasts, his stipulations,

7 Davies does not think that this is of either historical or theological significance. We are dealing with a rhetorical text of which the meaning can only be apprehended when the gist of the argument is perceived and the context of each step is taken into account. It is rather the nature of the argument being pursued at this juncture which determines the attitude taken towards the former covenant. Cf Davies (1983:80-81).

his ways and his will (wmxr yxpj w wtma ykrdw wqdx twdy [wdbk yd [wmw⁸ w dq twb III:14-15). Although all of this was made known to Israel in the previous dispensation, they are now highlighted as the central issues in God's commandments by which Israel is judged. They form a kind of core set of commandments for the movement. When these specific laws are obeyed it is like digging a well which gives water from which they could live.

A second manner in which the review of the past is reflected in this part of the discourse, is in the sins the community committed. They wallowed in the sin of humanity and in impure ways and said 'surely this is our business' (ayh wnl yk wrmayw hdn ykrdbw wna [pb wllwqth phw III:17-18). Although the transgressions is no longer formulated in terms of disobedience to the commandments or showing their own wilfulness, the review here leads to an acknowledgement of sin as it did in the first discourse. A new element which was not found in the review of the past is also added: God atoned for their iniquity (rpk) and forgave their transgressions (μ [pl a yw). This idea, not found in the review, is then extended into a discourse on the divine forgiveness and God's founding of a Zadokite house. This house consists of the sons of Zadok, the chosen ones, who act according to the exact interpretation of the law. They are the continuation of the remnant who kept firm to the commandments of God. Although no pertinent transgression is mentioned, God has to atone (rpk) for them.

In summary then, in this third discourse the history is again used to substantiate the narrator's ideology. He divides Israel's history into the era before the exile and that after the exile. His viewpoint on the pre-exilic time works with the theme 'followed their own will - did not obey God's commandments'. The schema used is that of transgression – punishment. This schema is borrowed from the traditional historical reviews found in Psalms 81 and 106. It is, however, modelled after the example of Nehemiah 9:6-37 to include all of history from creation to the return after the exile. The

8 Davies (1983:81-2) reads this as a reference to the calendar. The lunar calendar was introduced to men at the time of the rebellious watchers (1 Enoch 6-8). In Jubilees 6 the liturgical/calendrical context is Weeks and the celebration of the covenant; the issues raised are the eating of blood and the observance of the solar calendar. Both could stem from a common tradition, or CD is dependent upon Jubilees.

author does not follow the trend of the first discourse to interweave different histories. He rather keeps to the chronological account of Israel's history he borrows from the biblical material. By using what Grossman (2002:118, 120) calls an "accordion-fold pattern" and a "repetitive narrative structure" (2002:123), he compresses and expands historical moments and generalizes Israel's history into an endless series of similar trends. He hammers home his basic ideology by distilling the history into an endless repetition of cases where people's own wills clashed with the will of God. The same trend occurred in each generation. Each followed their own will. All of them were exterminated by God.

When he turns to the post-exilic time he still works in terms of the repetitive theme of dis/obedience to God's laws. Analogous to the first discourse he changes the pattern by adding the idea of the remnant. Probably influenced by a passage like Psalm 106:45 ("he called to mind his covenant with them and, in his boundless love, relented") he also points out God's love. According to his dualistic perspective on human history, he now uses the schema punishment – continuation of punishment for most / salvation for some – (new) covenant and revelation – choice for obedience to a specific set of commandments. While others are still in exile God made a (new) covenant with all those who keep firm to God's commandments. The real contents of the law is revealed to them as Sabbaths and feasts which are to be held according to the right calendar. Not following their own will, but keeping to these exact stipulations brings to them life.

In continuity of those in the pre-exilic time the remnant of the exile are still sinners. The history of the past blends into their history. Although their sins take another form they are now saved by the mercy of God. Even when they are depicted as the chosen sons of Zadok, they still have to be atoned by God. To that remnant, however, God provided a home where they could live safely. The new members are to remember the warning not to follow their own will, but keep to God's commandment as it was revealed to them. The reality of wilfulness is still alive. They still have to make a pertinent choice to follow God's will. This would protect them and keep them safe in a continued exile where others, who follow their own will, are to be exterminated by God's wrath.

3.6 Two Reviews in IV:12-V:16.

The next two historical reviews or rather references (V:1 and V:2-6) are used as historical testimonies to the arguments in unit 1 (IV:12-V:16) of Subsection 2 (IV:12b-VII:10a).

The argumentative text of IV:12-V:16 is a critique of Judaism outside the Damascus community (cf Davies 1983:108f). The author used several biblical quotations and *midrashim* to prove to those outside the community that their interpretation of the Mosaic law is wrong. As a result of God's anger with Israel Belial was set free at the beginning of the exile. He has misled Israel and enticed them to understand these laws the wrong way. Especially with regard to sexual relations Belial succeeded to catch Israel in his traps.

Genesis 7:9 is quoted in the first historical review (V:1). This is rather a historical reference: "...and those who went into the ark "went into the ark two by two" (Wise, Abegg & Cook 1996:55). The event of Noah proves that God intended monogamy when He created male and female (Gen 1:27, IV:21) The "Shoddy-Wall-Builders" (IV:19, Wise, Abegg & Cook 1996:55) – some or another group among contemporary Judeans - were caught in the nets of Belial and understood God's law wrong. According to the Damascus view point they transgressed the marriage laws of God. They married more than one woman during their lifetime and became guilty of fornication. They also married blood relatives and transgressed Moses' explicit prohibition in this regard. They defiled the sanctuary. In Noah's case "the principle of creation" (מַטְוָא אַרְבַּּ חֲבֻצָּוּת רַכְזַּי חַיִּרְבַּח דְּוַסְי- IV:20) that they were created male and female was obeyed when they went into the ark two by two (Gen 7:9). This principle of monogamy was written down in the book of the law which was sealed (מַטְוָא חֲרֻטְוּת רַפְסַּי – V:2) and kept in the ark. The history of Noah therefore proves that he already followed the halachic rules set down at creation and that those rules were included in the book of the law he had with him. This other group transgressed this law. The historical reference in V:1 thus boosts the ideology of the author and gives a historical foundation to his argument.

With the second historical review/reference (V:2-6) of this section (IV:12b-V:16) the incident is recalled when David committed adultery with Bathsheba and had her husband Uriah killed. This was a direct transgression of the command to the leader not to multiply wives to himself (cf Dt 17:17). David was an example of a

ruler who broke the rules of monogamy in God's book of the law. Noah had this law in the ark and saw to it that they went into the ark two by two. In his case David, however, could plead innocence. This law book was not available to him. It was hid since the death of Eleazar and only opened (חלן גנ :ימףי) in the time of Zadok. The historical reference is in this case included in a historical framework of Zadokite design.

This historical review uses a priestly schema of history. The two pointers in history is Eleazar and Zadok. Eleazar was the third son of Aaron. When Aaron's two elder sons Nadab and Abihu died, Eleazar was designated to be chief priest (Num 3:32). He was appointed to help Joshua divide the promised land among the tribes (Num 34:17). Eleazar died soon after Joshua's death (Josh 24:33). He was succeeded by his son Phinehas (1 Chron 6:4). Zadok was a priest and companion of David (2 Sam 8:17). He supported Solomon as the legitimate heir and anointed him king (1 Ki 1:32-46). During the second temple period the Zadokites claimed to be the offspring of Zadok. They elevated themselves above the offspring of the other sons of Aaron and transferred back their ancestry from the time of David to Eleazar into the time of Moses (Boccaccini 2002:43-72). The schema used here obviously comes from Zadokite Judaism which sees their ancestors in a positive light. Only their leaders were informed about the true meaning of the law. Up to Eleazar and then again since the time of Zadok the law was revealed to the members of their group. David lived in the "dark ages" when the law was sealed and could therefore be pardoned for what he did. Since it was opened in Zadok's time, however, there were no excuses and nobody could expect to be pardoned as David was. Once again everything is interpreted from the movement's ideological viewpoint on monogamy and the historical review is used with the same function as scriptural quotations to prove them correct.

It is also obvious that the priestly marriages was a point of dispute in the author's time. The same problem is addressed in Jubilees 30:1-25 and 41:1-28. According to the shared view bigamy and prohibited marriages to blood relatives form the contents of fornication and defile the sanctuary. They are the deeds of those who revile the statutes of God and in history's "cosmic "March of Folly" (Baumgarten 2000:9) followed the "thoughts of a guilty inclination and lascivious eyes" (II:16).

3.7 Historical review 5 (V:15b-VI:4)

The fifth historical review/reference is found in the second unit (V:17-VI:11a) of Subsection 2 (IV:12b-VII:10a). This unit discusses the origin of the community *halachah*. The previous argument that Israel was misled in its interpretation of the Mosaic law is continued in this unit. A historical example is given in V:15b-VI:4. The review refers to times past when “Moses and Aaron stood in the power of the Prince of Lights and Belial raised up Yannes and his brothers in cunning when seeking to do evil to Israel the first time” (V:18-19. Wise, Abegg & Cook 1996:56). This example is linked to two quotations (Isa 27:11 and Dt 32:28) in which the idea of “understanding” (hnybÖhnbwt) is found. The historical event proves Israel’s lack of understanding. According to Rabbinical tradition, Moses and Aaron were led astray by the magicians Jannes and Jambres (cf II Tim 3:8). This incident is interpreted as a case where the “Prince of Lights and Belial” raised the two brothers to ensnare Moses and Aaron. Both the brothers as well as Moses and Aaron prove the capacity of Israel to be misled because they do not have “understanding” (hnybÖhnbwt).

The review/reference is used in this passage for two purposes. Firstly, it amply demonstrates the capacity of Israel to be misled because they are without any insight. Since the exile they have shown that inclination. Identical to the events of Moses and Jambres of old, the “Boundary –Shifters” (V:20. Wise, Abegg & Cook 1996:56) appeared in the age of devastation (the time since the exile) and have led Israel astray (V:20-21). They “had spoken rebellion against the commandments of God” (V:21) and “they prophesied falsehood to turn Israel from following God (VI:1-2). Their transgressions were always caused by an agent. They could never withstand this agent, neither in the times of old, nor recently during the time of wrath which started with the exile.

The second purpose of the review is to contrast Israel with the chosen and elected remnant. In nearly similar words⁹ to those in Discourse One (I:1-II:1) God is said to have remembered the covenant of the fathers and raised up from Aaron insightful men (µynwnb VI:2) and from Israel wise men (µymkj VI:2). He taught them¹⁰ and

9 µyn ar tyrb wrkzbow (I:4) - µyn ar tyrb l a rkzy (VI:2).

10 Cf Discourse Three (II:14-IV:12).

revealed to them his will. It enabled them to live from God's revealed commandments like those who dug for themselves a well for water (cf III:16). The movement consists of those who do have insight. They are the remnant whom God raised and supplied with the correct interpretation of his commandments. The review is used to express their identity in opposition to the rest of Israel who is misled in its understanding of God's laws.

While he does not use any schema for his historical review here, the author does use a schema for the history of the remnant itself. According to Davies (1983:121-122) this historical schema is in all major respects identical in Discourses One (I:1-II:1) and Two (II:14-IV:12a) and this argumentative text in IV:12b-VII:10a. The schema follows the order: Rebellion against God; straying which leads to desolation of the land; covenant with the remnant of the destruction; divine revelation, *halacah* of the remnant; biblical quotation/midrash applied to constituents of the remnant community; the eternal nature of the new community (cf Davies 1983:121-2).

The schema used for the remnant is based here on the identification of Israel in wisdom terms. This way of depicting Israel is already found in the biblical tradition. In the last section of Deuteronomy Israel is negatively described in the same terms. The author quotes Deuteronomy 32:28 (Song of Moses) where Israel is described as a "nation devoid of good counsel (תִּוְךְ[דבא) that lacks all understanding" (הנחבט מִבְּיָדָא)". The author also quotes Isaiah 27:11 where they are described in the Isaiah Apocalypse from a prophetic perspective as "a people without sense" (אִנְחִי תִּוְנִיבְאִי[אִל). This provides the author with the technical apparatus he needs to prove his group's priority position. They are the ones who know everything and walk the correct path. Rather than a historical pattern, it is a historical notion illustrated by the history of Israel that functions here in describing the Heilsgeschichte of the author's own group.

Continuing the argument of the first unit (IV:12b-V:16) this unit (V:17-VI:11a) again uses history to point out that the correct interpretation of God's commandments is of main essence. Transgression of these laws occurs among all men. There is an agent who leads Israel astray to transgress these laws. The names given to this agent (Prince of Lights, Belial, Boundary-Shifters) indicates a person or group who transgresses the stipulations of the law as it was understood by the members of the movement. The point of dispute with the opposition focuses on the literal meaning of God's laws especi-

ally with regard to marriage stipulations. Marriage laws are of central importance in these laws. There is, however, leniency¹¹ with the “right” transgressors: those who keep firm to God’s commandments, although they are aware of their own transgressions. God’s mercy pardons them and gives to them entrenchment against those who can lead them astray and cause their devastation.

4 CONCLUSION

The author included historical reviews or historical references in his manuscript to assist him in presenting his viewpoint. In the first Discourse (I:1-II:1) he adapted the traditional sequential pattern of sin-punishment-repentance-salvation to his view that God simultaneously punishes and saves. The history which has started with the exile is still continuing for those who are under God’s wrath. God, however, renewed his covenant with a remnant whom He saved. They are the new Israel. The Teacher of Righteousness teaches them the revealed divine truth of God’s commandments. Their identity is found in their obedience to this revealed law.

In the third Discourse (II:14-IV:12a) the author urges newly initiates to follow God’s commandments and forsake their own will. He uses a traditional schema of sin and punishment and changed it to punishment – continuation of punishment for most / salvation for some – covenant and revelation – obedience to the interpreted commandments. He includes a historical review of Israel’s history before the exile. This history illustrates Israel’s incessant obstinacy and contrasts it to obedience to God’s commandments. His hearers are the chosen sons of Zadok, the remnant atoned by God who are called to keep the Sabbaths and feasts according to the right calendar.

The two historical references in Unit 1 (IV:12b-V:16) proves the Damascus Document’s view-point on monogamy. Noah obeyed the commandment by seeing to it that the animals went into the ark two by two. David transgressed the commandment in the Bathsheba incident. He could be forgiven because he lived according to the

11 The moderation which Baumgarten (2000:23) points out in the Damascus Document is rather to be found in this accent on God’s mercy for those who obey him, than in their position on separatism which is not really addressed in the book. It is rather their vehement opposition to those who interpret the commandments according to their own will which forms the frame for their identification.

Zadokite summary of history in the time between the chief priests Eleazar and Sadok when the truth of the commandment was concealed.

A historical reference from the Rabbinical tradition is used in Unit 2 (V:17-VI:11a). According to this interpretation Moses and Aaron were led astray by the magicians Jannes and Jambres. This incident proves the capacity of Israel to be misled because they are without any insight. The argument of the previous unit is thereby continued. Israel and the elected remnant are contrasted with each other in wisdom terms of understanding and not able to understand.

From this analysis different aspects of the ideology of the Damascus movement can be indicated. I agree with Davies (2000: 27-43) that the Damascus Document represents just one peculiar form of Judaism found at Qumran.

The most obvious characteristic of the movement is their sharp differentiation between themselves and the majority of other Israelites. All of the historical reviews and references help to identify the members of this movement and to differentiate them with the rest. The other Israelites are the historical Israel. They are the generation of wrath (I:12) and the children of perdition (XIII:14). They have gone astray in the past and continue to be in error. They transgress God's laws, have a guilty inclination and lascivious eyes, follow their own will, abuse God's commandments and interpret it to suit themselves. They do not keep God's Sabbaths or perform his feasts in the correct way. By their illicit sexual unions they fornicate and defile God's temple. Especially the abuse of marriage laws forms a major source of opposition between them and the Damascus group at the time of writing (cf Davies 2000:41).

A major force in the life of the historical Israel is a person or group who lead them astray. This agent of wickedness is called the "scoffer", the "Shoddy-Wall-Builders", the "Prince of lights and Belial" who raised Jannes and Jambres, and the "Boundary -Shifters". Whether this refers to the same agent or more than one is not clear. Davies (2000:31-32) indicates him as a mundane being who has no heavenly counterpart. This being also tries to lure away the members of the movement. He is the actual cause of the perdition.

The fate of those who bring about God's wrath is annihilation and total destruction. In history God has given them to the sword of Nebucadnezzar, has had them destroyed during the exile and remo-

ved from the face of the earth since the time the Watchers fell and devastated their land. Knowing their inclination God will again destroy the rejected Israel so that no single one survives. In the end he will send his angels of destruction to remove them from the earth.

The members of the movement are from the same stock as the rest of Israel. They keep the same commandments God gave to old Israel and share the same history. They are, however, the new Israel. They claim to be the successors of the scriptural Israel. They are Israel within Israel, the pure ones who segregated themselves spatially and socially from other forms of Judaism.

The major notion they use for themselves is that of the remnant. God in his mercy saved a remnant from the exile. They are the continuation of that remnant, also called the sons of Zadok. God will always see to it that a remnant survives on earth. They will never see perdition. Because they keep firm to God's commandments God will give to them everlasting life. He reveals to them the true nature of Israel's transgression thereby protecting them against the attempts of the wicked agent(s) who wants to lead them astray.

In his protection of the true Israel God uses his own agent. Three hundred and ninety years after Nebucadnezzar God gave to them a Teacher of Righteousness. He was a descendant of Aaron. His task was to reveal to them the divine truth, by expounding God's law and use the history to teach God's will.

The *Torah* fulfils a central position in the group's existence. This is not, however, the written scripture they share with the historical Israel, but an "exegetical development of the scriptural Torah" (Davies 2000:33) directly derived or deduced from Moses' *Torah*. It is a "sealed book of the law" which had already been in the ark, and was later revealed to the Righteous Teacher. In this fuller explication of the law the group's understanding of holiness, discipline, Sabbath observance, commerce, calendar measures and marriage laws are central. This is the law expounded by the Teacher of Righteousness given to them as a divine revelation which is fully binding. Scrupulous obedience to this law is expected from every member of the movement. It is compared to a life giving well they dug and a home which God gave them to protect them and give them everlasting life.

Another aspect of God's mercy which history teaches them is God's patience with those who keep his commandments. While his

wrath remains over those who withstand him, he is full of mercy against those who keep his commandments. While the exile continues for those who still disobey God, he takes up a new dispensation with the remnant he has elected. In the first twenty years of the movement there were people of the remnant who acknowledged their sin and were fully aware of their guilt. God sent the teacher to them endowed with his Spirit to teach them his will which he revealed to the teacher. God is willing to pardon those whose attitude is inclined towards keeping God's commandments even if they have transgressed. He gives atonement to the Zadokite priests for whatever sins they did. David transgressed the rules of monogamy, but God forgave him his transgression. Although the transgression is somewhat softened by the fact that David had no access to the hidden book of the law and that the evil agent is responsible for luring Israel away, God's mercy to pardon their sins always played a central role in the history of his people.

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