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# The Book of *Hagu*, the Righteous Ones, and the Learning Ones: On 1Q/4QInstruction, Enochic Apocalypticism and their Mutual Influences

## 1. Apocalypticism, Wisdom, and Prophecy: Preliminary Remarks

In his seminal work on Israelite wisdom, the late Gerhard von Rad referred to a core motive that connects wisdom and apocalypticism. In von Rad's masterly discussion of the Book of Ben Sira, he examines apocalyptic essentials like determination. And he also further develops other characteristics of apocalypticism and apocalyptic thinking, like the revelation of hidden things, when von Rad explores Sir 42:19 ("who declares things of the past and things to come, revealing the steps of hidden things")<sup>1</sup>:

This does, not of course, mean that we are trying to understand Sirach as an apocalypticist; but, rather, the apocalypticist as a wise man. When Sirach says that God "declares what is past and what is still to come and reveals the depths of hidden things" (Sir. 42.19), this is an exact definition of the area within which apocalyptic will then develop further. The attempt, convincingly to derive the essential characteristics of apocalyptic from another tradition (such as the prophetic) has not hitherto been successful.<sup>2</sup>

The quoted passage reflects on two insights: Firstly, wisdom literature heavily influenced Jewish apocalypses, and apocalypticism in general. Secondly, wisdom literature is significantly older than apocalypticism, and this is why von Rad emphasizes: "This does, not of course, mean that we are trying to understand Sirach as an apocalypticist; but, rather, the apocalypticist as a wise man."<sup>3</sup>

Both insights should be understood against the background of a vivid discussion about the relationship between wisdom literature and apocalypticism in the

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1 The Greek text reads: ἀπαγγέλλων τὰ παρεληλυθότα καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων ἴχνη ἀποκρύφων.

2 Gerhard von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (transl. James D. Martin; 5th ed.; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1981), 277–78.

3 So von Rad, *Wisdom*, 277.

nineteen-sixties and -seventies.<sup>4</sup> Already in 1960, in the German version of the second volume of his “Old Testament Theology,” von Rad denied any influence of Israelite prophecy on apocalypticism. Positively speaking, he referred to the “knowledge of secrets” and, as a consequence, put wisdom and apocalypticism into relation: “Once it is realised, however, that knowledge is thus the nerve-centre of apocalyptic literature, knowledge based on a universal Jahwism, surprisingly divorced from the saving history, it should not be difficult to determine the real matrix from which apocalyptic literature originates. This is Wisdom, in which [...] exactly the same characteristics appear.”<sup>5</sup> With a view to the history of scholarship, the dependency of apocalypticism on wisdom accounts was not based on a broad consensus from the beginning. On the contrary, in the second half of the twentieth century, scholars of the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Judaism predominantly judged apocalypticism as something completely different and new. Consequently, Gerhard von Rad could refer to wisdom as an old established spiritual and intellectual movement in Israel that influenced apocalyptic thinking. Insofar, what von Rad called “apocalyptists” functioned as sages. This hypothesis also challenged the largely shared assumption that apocalypticism derived mainly from prophecy, especially later prophecy, including clear eschatological overtones (e.g., Zech 1–6; Isa 24–27; Ezek 37–39).<sup>6</sup> But von Rad, and also Martin Noth, argued for an understanding of history in the Book of Daniel and in other apocalypses that broke with core hermeneutics of salvation history (*Heilsgeschichte*) as they were included in earlier and, also, later prophetic traditions.<sup>7</sup> While Noth only separated notions of apocalyptic history, especially in Dan 2 and 7, from “classical” concepts of history in the Hebrew Bible, von Rad went further when he distinguished the wisdom heritage of apocalypticism from the prophetic lore in the *Tenach*.<sup>8</sup>

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**4** Gerhard von Rad’s book was published in German in 1970. The English translation was first published in 1972.

**5** Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology: Volume II: The Theology of Israel’s Prophetic Traditions* (transl. David M. G. Stalker; New York; Evanston, IL: Harper and Row Publishers, 1965), 306.

**6** In the English speaking scholarly world, one of the most prominent candidates for a prophecy-apocalypticism relation was Robert Henry Charles, *Religious Development between the Old and the New Testament* (New York; London: Henry Holt & Company and Williams & Norgate, 1914), 12–46.

**7** Cf., e.g., Martin Noth, “The Understanding of History in Old Testament Apocalyptic,” in *The Law in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* (transl. by Dafydd Rhys Ap-Thomas; Edinburgh; London: Oliver & Boyd, 1966): 194–214.

**8** For a critical evaluation of von Rad’s and Noth’s discussion of an understanding of history in apocalypticism cf. Paul Niskanen, *The Human and the Divine in History: Herodotus and the Book of Daniel*, JSOTSupp 396; (London; New York: T & T Clark International, 2004), 1–4.104–25.

In recent times, scholars like Hans-Peter Müller and Michael Stone further developed those arguments from von Rad. While Müller refers to a specific form of wisdom literature, he called “magic” or “mantic wisdom,” which influenced apocalypses, Stone is more interested in the modes of “knowledge” and how they formatted an apocalyptic worldview.<sup>9</sup> Here, Stone lays emphasis on the ecstatic, visionary and transcendent setting of revelation. In the end, he stays away from an all too close relation between wisdom and apocalypticism: “The lists in the apocalypses are not merely inherited units of Wisdom material; they comprise rather catalogues of actual subjects of speculative investigation, study, and perhaps even of the contents of ecstatic experiences of the apocalyptic authors.”<sup>10</sup>

With a view to most recent examinations of a tradition-historical breeding ground for Jewish apocalypses, Stone’s perspective paves the way for more openly conceptualized and multilayered influences on apocalypticism that take wisdom forms and motives as well as the prophetic literature into account. Put differently, both wisdom and prophecy left their mark on apocalyptic literature. E.g., within their orientation towards a future, apocalypses also share significant characteristics with prophetic sources from the Ancient Near East, while the latter lack every hint at an *apocalyptic* eschatology. In his thorough comparison of data, Matthew Neujahr speaks of — Ancient Near Eastern — “mantic historiography.”<sup>11</sup>

Furthermore, the question of mutual impacts among wisdom, apocalypses and prophetic writings has recently been determined by textual data stemming especially from the Dead Sea Scrolls. Not least, apocalyptic material from the Enochic works, dating back to the late third and early second century BCE, shows that von Rad’s general time sequence of older wisdom and later apocalypses is no longer valid. Also, wisdom texts are among the scrolls that provide passages with an apocalyptic worldview and ideology, interwoven with “classical” instructional wisdom material. Here, the composition of 1Q/4QInstruction is a good case in point. 1Q/4QInstruction is a composite work among the Dead Sea Scrolls, existing in at least eight — or seven? — copies (1Q26, 4Q415–418, 4Q418a, 4Q418c, 4Q423). The copies represent partly early Herodian (30–1 BCE) and partly late Herodian (1–

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. Hans-Peter Müller, “Mantische Weisheit und Apokalyptik (1972),” in *Mensch – Umwelt – Eigenwelt: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Weisheit Israels* (Stuttgart et al.: W. Kohlhammer, 1992): 194–219; Michael E. Stone, “Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature (1976),” in *Selected Studies in Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha: With Special Reference to the Armenian Tradition*, SVTP 9 (Leiden et al.: Brill, 1991): 379–418.

<sup>10</sup> So Stone, Lists, 400–401.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Matthew Neujahr, *Predicting the Past in the Ancient Near East: Mantic Historiography in Ancient Mesopotamia, Judah, and the Mediterranean World*, BJS 354 (Providence: Brown University, 2012), 146–51.

50 CE) hand. They comprise pedagogical or didactic, tentative philosophical and eschatological passages and can be dated to the late third or early second century BCE.<sup>12</sup> In general, the composite work is called a “wisdom text,” but its contents include admonitions as well as apocalyptic concepts of hope for an afterlife experience, including judgment.

## 2. Enoch and 1Q/4QInstruction: The Theses of Torleif Elgvin

Who influenced whom? Was the Enochic apocalypticism, at least in part, aware of those traditions and motives as they are attested in the recently discussed wisdom texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially in the composition of 1Q/4QInstruction? Or, did apocalyptic ideas, as they are preserved, e.g., in the Epistle of Enoch (1En. 92:1–5; 93:11–105:2), influence the “eschatologized wisdom?” Another alternative would be to opt for a similar tradition-historical background in both compositions.

Notably Torleif Elgvin, Eibert Tigchelaar, John Collins, and Loren Stuckenbruck, while other scholars were also involved, were engaged in this dispute some years ago. The discussion was ignited on the basis of the general insight that “4QInstruction was certainly informed by [...] traditional wisdom” and “also informed by apocalyptic traditions.”<sup>13</sup> Another aspect within the debate concerns the question as to whether and in what way the wisdom composition of 1Q/4QInstruction can be related to other sectarian compositions from the Dead Sea. This also includes the problem as to what extent relationships existed between the

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. Matthew J. Goff, *4QInstruction*, SBL.WLAW 2 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 27–29. For recent statements concerning the historical context of 1Q/4QInstruction cf. also John Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls (Grand Rapids; Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2011), 40–44. Armin Lange, “Wisdom Literature and Thought in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010): 461–65, dates 1Q/4QInstruction between Ecclesiastes and the *Hodayot*. Concerning the question of numbers of manuscripts included in 1Q/4QInstruction cf. Goff, *4QInstruction*, 3, 5–7.

<sup>13</sup> John J. Collins, “The Eschatologizing of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls (2004),” in *Scriptures and Sectarianism. Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, WUNT 332 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014): 252: italics in the original.

community of the author(s) of the wisdom composition and the “sectarian” texts, or communities as they are reflected in the “sectarian” writings.<sup>14</sup>

In the early and mid-90s, just before the critical edition of 1Q/4QInstruction in DJD was completed, Elgvin initiated the discussion. Already in his unpublished dissertation, he extensively compared the Enoch material with 1Q/4QInstruction, and came to the conclusion that among the manifold connections between the late wisdom composition and different parts of 1En., only the Epistle of Enoch shows significant resemblances. Beyond the all too general coincidence that both, 1Q/4QInstruction and 1En., as many other apocalypses, attest to wisdom as being initiated to the elect community only through a divine revelation, a *literary* connection should be restricted to the Epistle of Enoch and certain parts of 1Q/4QInstruction.<sup>15</sup> Elgvin further opines that the discourses in 1Q/4QInstruction depend on the Epistle of Enoch, most probably an earlier form or edition of the Epistle. Consequently, 1Q/4QInstruction dates from the middle of the second century BCE, while the Epistle goes back to the first half of the second century BCE.<sup>16</sup> However, Elgvin finds the impact of Enoch material on 1Q/4QInstruction limited to later apocalyptic strata, he calls “revelatory discourses,” in the wisdom composition that should be strictly separated from the genuine wisdom passages, as, e.g., the admonitions.<sup>17</sup>

Many scholars criticize Elgvin’s all too schematic use of genres and forms. Especially Elgvin’s rigid way of exploring wisdom and apocalypse in 1Q/4QInstruction as being initiated by certain passages from the Epistle of Enoch, gives rise to a critical evaluation. While Eibert Tigchelaar challenges the direction of in-

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14 Cf. Torleif Elgvin, “Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology in an Early Essene Writing,” in *SBL Seminar Papers 34* (1995), ed. Eugene H. Lovering (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995): 443–46. In this article, Elgvin opts for a group as reflected within 1Q/4QInstruction that found its position between Enochic and sectarian circles.

15 Cf. Torleif Elgvin, *An Analysis of 4QInstruction* (Diss. phil. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997), 168–72. Cf. also Elgvin, “Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology in an Early Essene Writing,” 448; Torleif Elgvin, “Early Essene Eschatology: Judgment and Salvation according to *Sapiential Work A*,” in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995*, eds. Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks, *STDJ 20* (Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1996): 132–33.

16 Cf. Elgvin, *An Analysis of 4QInstruction*, 170, 172.

17 Cf. Torleif Elgvin, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Early Second Century BCE — The Evidence of 4QInstruction,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*, eds. Lawrence H. Schiffman et al. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000): 231–32, 237–40; *idem*, “Wisdom with and without Apocalyptic,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998: Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*, eds. Daniel K. Falk et al., *STDJ 35* (Leiden et al.: Brill, 2000): 23–26.

fluence analyzed by Elgvin and argues for an impact of 1Q/4QInstruction on certain passages of the Epistle of Enoch, especially in 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 and 1En. 103:1–104:6 (see below), Michael Knibb generally doubts that the Epistle of Enoch could have functioned as the “main source,” besides the Book of Watchers (1En. 1–36), the Book of Dreams (1En. 83–90) and the Apocalypse of Weeks (1En. 93:1–10; 91:11–17), for the compiler of 1Q/4QInstruction.<sup>18</sup>

Loren Stuckenbruck discussed the theses of Elgvin most extensively. Stuckenbruck starts with the following questions: “Elgvin’s conclusions are certainly possible, but to what extent do they stand up to closer scrutiny? In particular, does the evidence provide enough of a warrant to take the dependence of *4QInstruction* on the early Enoch traditions for granted?”<sup>19</sup>

Stuckenbruck generally fosters Elgvin’s idea of a close connection between Enochic and wisdom traditions. But he also corrects Elgvin’s conclusion based on his detailed examination of certain motives. Stuckenbruck starts with the rather specific concept of the “inheritance of the earth.”<sup>20</sup> In 1En. 5:5–7, part of a description of consequences after judgment (cf. 1En 1:4–7, 9; 5:4) dressed up in flowery words, the chosen ones will “inherit the earth” (vv. 6, 7).<sup>21</sup> However, in 1Q/4QInstruction (4Q418 frg. 81+81a 14: ארץ כול נוחלי ארץ), it is not only the righteous

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**18** Cf. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction*, STDJ 44 (Leiden et al.: E. J. Brill, 2001), 217, and Michael A. Knibb, “The Book of Enoch in the Light of the Qumran Wisdom Literature (2003),” in *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions*, SVTP 22 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009): 104–105.

**19** Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “4QInstruction and the Possible Influence of Early Enochic Traditions: An Evaluation,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*, eds. Charlotte Hempel et al., BETL 159 (Leuven et al.: Peeters, 2002): 246; italics in the original. Stuckenbruck discusses all relevant passages in the sources and also considers most of Elgvin’s articles, but heavily draws on Torleif Elgvin, “The Mystery to Come: Early Essene Theology of Revelation,” in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments*, eds. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson, JSOTSup 290 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998): 113–50.

**20** Cf. Stuckenbruck, “4QInstruction and the Possible Influence of Early Enochic Traditions: An Evaluation,” 247–49.

**21** The Greek text of Codex Panopolitanus reads (the Aramaic is not preserved): καὶ αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν. The idea of earth as inheritance is prominent in the deuteronomic-deuteronomic literature (cf. Deut 11:8; 12:29; 16:20), wherein Israel, in acting righteously and keeping to the commandments, is promised to “inherit the earth/land” (cf. also Ps 37:9, 11, 22, 29). For an eschatological use of the motive cf. 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> frgs. 1–2 ii 4–5, 8–10 and Matt 5:5. Cf. also George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 162, who also refers to Isa 65. These sources are discussed, albeit the participle of נחל is attested in Deut 12:10 only in the Hebrew Bible! But cf. among the Dead Sea Scrolls 4Q<sup>a</sup>ges of Creation<sup>b</sup> [4Q181] frg. 2 4; 4Q<sup>a</sup>Wiles of the Wicked Woman [4Q184] frg. 1 8, 11; 4Q418 frg. 55 6; 4Q<sup>a</sup>Beatitudes [4Q525] frg. 13 5.

or chosen ones that will “inherit the earth,” but those righteous people who will have their lot among the angels (4Q418 frg. 81+81a 4–5) are also mentioned. This augmentation and significant alteration of sense concerning the addressed community paves the way to an *after-death* existence among the angelic host that is – in detail – clearly different from the idea of a “realized eschatology” in some other sectarian sources from the Dead Sea, like the *Thanksgiving Hymns* or *Horodayot*.<sup>22</sup>

Furthermore, Stuckenbruck examines the “plant” metaphor.<sup>23</sup> It occurs in different literary expressions and contexts, most prominently as the “eternal planting” (cf. 4Q418 frg. 81+81a 13: מטעת עולם)<sup>24</sup>, and goes back to prophetic sayings (cf. Isa 5:7; 60:21; 61:3). Three attestations from the Book of Watchers (1En. 10:16) and the Apocalypse of Weeks (1En. 93:2, 10) are the most important, because they stem from the evidence of the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls. The first text speaks of נ[צבת קושטא (“plant of truth/righteousness:” 4QEn<sup>c</sup> ar [4Q204] frg. 1 v 4), while the latter two verses mention מן נצבת יצבתא ויקושטא (“concerning a plant of stability [and righteousness” 4QEn<sup>s</sup> ar [4Q212] frg. 1 iii 19–20)<sup>25</sup> and מן נ[צבת]קשטעל [מ]א (“from the plant of eternal righteousness” 4QEn<sup>s</sup> ar [4Q212] frg. 1 iv 12–13). In 1En. 10 the “plant” metaphor relates to an eschatological community of righteous people who survived the end-time judgment. These survivors are clearly human (cf. vv. 15–17). Taken together with the verses in the Apocalypse of Weeks, the “plant” is contextualized within the “history” of prominent progenies: Noah, Abraham and maybe Isaac or Jacob.<sup>26</sup> Contrary to this understanding, 1Q/4QInstruction uses the “plant” metaphor in a much more restricted sense, when referring to chosen ones that are, again, associated with an angelic life (cf. 4Q418 frg. 81+81a 12–13).

With a view to the “sons of heaven” who “inherit eternal life” and “walk to and fro in eternal light” (באור עולם יתהלכו) in 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 12–14 (see also

<sup>22</sup> Cf. also the discussion about the question as to whether the expression בני שמים in 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 12–13 refers to human beings or angels in Florentino García Martínez, “Marginalia on 4QInstruction,” *DSD* 13 (2006): 29–37.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Stuckenbruck, “4QInstruction and the Possible Influence of Early Enochic Traditions. An Evaluation,” 249–57. For a discussion of the metaphor cf. also Patrick A. Tiller, “The ‘Eternal Planting’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 4 (1997): 312–35, and the excursus in Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 444–45.

<sup>24</sup> See also 1QS 8:5; 11:8; 1QH 14:18; 16,7 and some further terms that deviate in detail but always refer to Hebr. מטע or מטעת. Cf. the overview in Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, CEJL (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 76–77.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 435, 442; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 66, 77–78.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Stuckenbruck, “4QInstruction and the Possible Influence of Early Enochic Traditions: An Evaluation,” 253, 255–56.

below), a direct impact of 1En. 92:4 on the wisdom text can be ruled out.<sup>27</sup> The text points to the eschatological reward for the righteous, but even the identity of the one “walking in eternal light” is unclear. The verse is preserved in Ethiopic only, and some manuscripts read a plural verb (*wa-yahawweru*, “and *they* will walk”) or a singular (*wa-yahawwer*, “and *he* will walk”).<sup>28</sup> Also, the comparison Elgvin draws between the mode of revelation in 1Q/4QInstruction and the Epistle of Enoch, including an examination of the “mystery of existence,” is rather unconvincing.<sup>29</sup> Stuckenbruck sums up his evaluation with the following words:

It is not impossible that the Enochic traditions have exerted an influence on ideas found in the sapiential document. At the same time, however, the specific claim that 4QInstruction drew directly on the Enochic tradition in formulating its distinct ideas is difficult to substantiate. In particular, it is not clear that the differences can be adequately explained by mutation of a borrowed idea. Moreover, the possibility that these traditions were both shaped by a common tradition-historical milieu has not been given sufficient consideration.<sup>30</sup>

Looking back at the examination of the relationship between 1Q/4QInstruction and the Enoch material, the discussion between Torleif Elgvin and Loren Stuckenbruck — and other scholars — teaches us that the shape and use of core concepts like “eschatology” or the idea of an “eschatological communion” and the revelatory mode ultimately influence the result of the decision as to whether there was Enochic influence on the wisdom text of 1Q/4QInstruction. Consequently, the following two paragraphs will deal with these topics in a more detailed manner. The next paragraph will start with a comparison of 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 and the Epistle of Enoch. The former text is one of the main references for Elgvin’s theses, and it is closely related to another fragment from the same copy of the scroll:<sup>31</sup> 4Q418 frg. 55, both of which contribute to the question of “eschatology” and “eschatological communion.”

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**27** Cf. Stuckenbruck, “4QInstruction and the Possible Influence of Early Enochic Traditions: An Evaluation,” 257–59, esp. 259.

**28** For the textual evidence cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 224.

**29** Cf. Stuckenbruck, “4QInstruction and the Possible Influence of Early Enochic Traditions.: An Evaluation,” 259–61.

**30** So Stuckenbruck, “4QInstruction and the Possible Influence of Early Enochic Traditions: An Evaluation,” 261; italics in the original.

**31** Torleif Elgvin, “The Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A,” *RevQ* 16 (1993–1995): 572–73, 580, opts for a position of 4Q418 frg. 55 in the fourth last column within the scroll, while frg. 69 cannot be located because it lacks clear wear patterns. In general, John Strugnell and Daniel J. Harrington, eds. *Qumran Cave 4. XXIV. Sapiential Texts, Part 2: 4QInstruction (Mūsār L<sup>ē</sup> Mēvîn): 4Q415ff.* DJD 34 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999; Repr. 2007), 17–19, prefer a different reconstruction on the basis of the material evidence.



### 3. The Epistle of Enoch and 4Q418

The collection of texts and fragments in 4Q418 obviously represented, in its original form, one of the longest texts we have found so far at the sites near Qumran. With regards to its length, 4Q418 can be compared with the *Temple Scroll* or the *Hodayot*.<sup>32</sup> Both fragments, 4Q418 frg. 55 and frg. 69 ii + 60, comprise ideas that were rather unusual in Jewish writings from the Second Temple era.<sup>33</sup> With a view to the content of 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60, especially the eschatological fate of the evil and the righteous ones is of importance. In case of a second person plural address to the ungodly people and the righteous ones in 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60, lines 4–10, Elgvin suggests a close relationship to 1En. 103:1–104:4. And what is more, the “second person plural form, which is unique within the framework of *Sap. Work A* [scil. 1Q/4QInstruction, SB], is likely inherited from this section of the *Epistle of Enoch*.”<sup>34</sup> The quoted passage reveals several questionable conclusions. First of all, the criterion of a “second person plural form,” even if it is attested in both passages mentioned above, seems quite unspecific.<sup>35</sup> In other words, the shaping of discourses in second person plural refers to a certain habit within wisdom texts and not to a literary interdependence, as Elgvin postulates. Eibert Tigchelaar puts it this way:

In 4QInstruction, the practical commands and prohibitions that are concerned with this-worldly matters are spoken to a singular addressee. Once in a while, these commands are followed by a motive or result clause. It would seem that these commands and motives or results spring from the sage’s examination of daily life, community laws and values, and his study of scripture. [...] The second person plural discourses, on the other hand, deal with issues such as rewards or punishment after death that cannot be verified by the everyday experience of sage or student. Therefore, a different mode is called for. The rhetorical mode is that of direct questions, reproof, rebuke, challenge, which all aim at an emotional response of the reader.<sup>36</sup>

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**32** Cf. Goff, *4QInstruction*, 2. For further discussion of identifications, the shape of the fragments and their arrangements cf. *ibid*, 5–7: Lit.

**33** Cf. Goff, *4QInstruction*, 212–13, 226–27.

**34** So Elgvin, “Early Essene Eschatology: Judgment and Salvation according to *Sapiential Work A*,” 158; italics in the original.

**35** But cf. Eibert [J. C.] Tigchelaar, “Wisdom and Counter Wisdom in 4QInstruction, Mysteries, and 1 Enoch,” in *The Early Enoch Literature*, eds. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, JSJSup 121 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007): 179–86, who reminds of the only second person plural discourses in 1Q/4QInstruction at 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 as well as at 4Q418 frg. 55 and in the early passages of 1 En. within the Epistle of Enoch (also in 1Q/4QMysteries). Tigchelaar opines that this formal aspect corresponds to the use of different kinds of notions of “wisdom” in Mysteries, 1En. and 1Q/4QInstruction.

**36** So Tigchelaar, “Wisdom and Counter Wisdom in 4QInstruction, Mysteries, and 1Enoch,” 190.

But also in terms of content, a comparison between 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60, lines 4–10, and 1En. 103:1–104:4 shows no signals of a compelling link between 1Q/4QInstruction and the Epistle of Enoch: Both texts deal with the eschatological judgment of the righteous ones and the sinners.<sup>37</sup> With regards to formal aspects, the text in 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60, lines 4–15, is structured by its rhetorical questions, introduced with מה (“how”). The DJD edition reconstructs the fragment as 4Q418 frg. 69.<sup>38</sup> The formal structure bears witness to a divided content that considers the “elect of truth” (בחירי אמת, l. 10–11) and also the “foolish of heart” (אויילי לב, l. 4–5), both of which are also called in this passage: “pursuers of [understanding]” (ורודפי [בניה], l. 10), “pursuers of knowledge” (cf. לרדוף דעת, l. 11) on the one and “sons of iniquity” (בני עולה, l. 8), “those who cling to wickedness” (מהזיקי רשעה, l. 8) on the other hand.<sup>39</sup> The lines in between refer to the fate of the sinners in Sheol (l. 6–9), but already in this section the fate of the “seekers of truth” (דורשי אמת, l. 7) is addressed. The text in line 7 is rather opaque. While Torleif Elgvin reconstructs דורשי אמת יעורו למש [אל?]) (“The seekers of truth will wake up to the judgments[ of God (?)]”), the DJD edition reads with small differences concerning the addenda at the end of the line, but with important semantic deviations: דורשי אמת יעורו למשפטכ[ם] ויאז [ואז] (“those who investigate the truth, shall rouse themselves to judge y[ou]. And then”).<sup>40</sup> Especially the verb עור could be interpreted as a *qal* (cf. Job 41:2; 1QH 14:32) or a *niphal* stem (cf. Zech 4:1), signifying, as an alternative, an active or passive-reflexive sense. Eibert Tigchelaar hints to the *hiphil* of עור in Ps 35:23 that is par-

**37** This rather general resemblance touches a very prominent motive that is also seen in other sources including “eschatologized wisdom:” cf. in 1Q/4QInstruction 4Q416 i 14–16 or 4Q475, line 4–5 (cf. Torleif Elgvin, “Renewed Earth and Renewed People: 4Q475,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Technological Innovations: New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, eds. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich, STDJ, 30 [Leiden et al.: E. J. Brill, 1999]: 585). Nevertheless, Elgvin (*ibid*, 589–90) calls 4Q475, a very fragmentary text that covers many resemblances to apocalypses (1Enoch) as it reveals connections with, e.g., 1Q/4QInstruction, a “full-fledged apocalypse.”

**38** For the text and reconstruction cf. Strugnell and Harrington, eds., *Qumran Cave 4*, 281; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones*, 91–93; Jean-Sébastien Rey, *4QInstruction. Sagesse et eschatologie*, STDJ 81 (Leiden; Boston: Brill 2009), 243. It was Tigchelaar who added frg. 60 to the context of frg. 69 because of their textual connection: cf. Tigchelaar, *ibid*, 92, and Rey, *ibid*, 243.

**39** For the two-fold structure cf. Strugnell and Harrington, eds., *Qumran Cave 4*, 283–84; Rey, *4QInstruction*, 248. Nevertheless, the implied antagonism is not quite clear.

**40** So Elgvin, “Early Essene Eschatology: Judgment and Salvation according to *Sapiential Work A*,” 156–57; *idem*, *An Analysis of 4QInstruction*, 107; Strugnell and Harrington, eds., *Qumran Cave 4*, 281, 283. In a footnote Collins, “The Eschatologizing of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls” 246, n. 34, informs that Elgvin now accepts the reading of Strugnell and Harrington in DJD (oral communication).

allel to the *hiphil* of קייץ: “Stir up thyself (העירה) and wake up (והקיצה) to my judgment, o my God, and my Lord, to my strife.” Furthermore, Tigchelaar finds a better “parallel” in 1En. 100:4 for the idea of “arising” (Eth. *tanše’a*) than in explicit references to resurrection (cf. 1En. 91:10; 92:3).<sup>41</sup> While in 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 the active sense would identify the “seekers of truth” as arising for judgment, the passive-reflexive would give power to those seekers to judge the second person (“you”), obviously the “foolish of heart.”<sup>42</sup> It is also doubtful that the expression וכול נהיה עולם in line 7 refers syntactically to the preceding or the following sentence.

While Elgvin reads in line 7: “the dark places will shine on your multitude and all that ever came into being. The seekers of truth will wake up to the judgments,”<sup>43</sup> most other interpreters prefer an identification of וכול נהיה עולם with the דורשי אמת, the latter wording understood as an apposition: “And all those who will endure forever, those who investigate the truth, shall rouse themselves to judge y[ou].”<sup>44</sup> Consequently, those who arise do not experience resurrection, but stand up for the judgment of the above-mentioned “foolish of heart” (l. 4–5).<sup>45</sup> What is more, the reading of דורשי אמת as וכול נהיה עולם rather reflects on angelic beings than on (righteous) creatures. First of all, an angelic life fits with the idea of “being eternal.” Secondly, in 4Q418 frg. 55, l. 8–9 angels are characterized as “pursuing truth and understanding,” and in 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 12–14 the “sons of heaven” have their inheritance in “eternal life.”<sup>46</sup> In conclusion, the fragment refers to an angelic judgment scene that divides the “foolish” from the “elect” and rewards the lat-

41 A translation of the relevant part of 1En. 100:4, after the Eth. Mss., provides Stuckenbruck, *1Enoch 91–108*, 426: “And the Most High will rise on that day (of) judgement in order to execute the great judgement among all sinners.” Cf. for an elaborated comparison between 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 and 1En. 103:1–104:6 and for the above-mentioned “parallels” Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones*, 211, 213, and 212–17.

42 Cf. Strugnell and Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4*, 281, 286–87. The passive-reflexive obviously makes more sense due to the context, but the active, as in עור *Qal*, is well attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 would be the only text among the Dead Sea Scrolls wherein the *niphal* of עור can be found. Cf. also Rey, *4QInstruction*, 244–46; Goff, *4QInstruction*, 224–25, 233.

43 Elgvin, “Early Essene Eschatology: Judgment and Salvation according to *Sapiential Work A*,” 157; *idem*, *An Analysis of 4QInstruction*, 107, and more recently also Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, 128.

44 Strugnell and Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4*, 283, who opines that the form נהיה was to be taken as a plural participle *niphal* of היה (cf. *ibid.*, 286). Cf. also Goff, *4QInstruction*, 224.

45 Pace Elgvin, “Early Essene Eschatology: Judgment and Salvation according to *Sapiential Work A*,” 143–44; *idem*, *An Analysis of 4QInstruction*, 108–109, 113–17, who argues for a hope of bodily resurrection explained in the passage of 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 and combines this with 1En. 91:10; 92:3.

46 Cf. Goff, *4QInstruction*, 233. See also Collins, “The Eschatologizing of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 246–47; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones*, 211, 213.

ter ones with eternal life that is close to the heavenly life of the “sons of heaven.” At the end of the passage (l. 14), a rhetorical question asks: “Do they not mo[ve] to and fro in eternal light? *vacat* [gl]ory and an abundance of splendor are with them ...”<sup>47</sup>

In particular, the final sentences in 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 (l. 12–14) resemble 1En. 104:2–3, where the Greek Chester Beatty Papyrus reads:

(2) Take courage, therefore, because you have been worn down by evils and tribulations: you will give light as lights of heaven, and you will shine; the gates of heaven will be opened to you. (3) And your cry will be heard, and your judgment for which you cry will also appear against whatsoever things will lay hold of you concerning your tribulation, even <concerning> all those who took part with those who oppressed and consumed you.<sup>48</sup>

The hope for an “enlightened” and “heavenly” existence that made the righteous ones “shine” points out a common background for traditions concerning the “otherworld” in 1En. 104:2 and in 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 (especially in l. 14–15). Nevertheless, the question of direct influence from the Enoch material to Dead Sea wisdom texts or *vice versa*, still remains unresolved.

Additionally, several disparities between 1Q/4QInstruction and 1En. call for a careful approach to this question. First of all, while in 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60, as in all other preserved passages of 1Q/4QInstruction, wisdom-like “knowledge,” “learning” and “instruction” should be pursued by the learning and righteous ones (4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 7, 10–13; cf. 4Q416 frg. 2 iii 13; 4Q418 frg. 55 5 or 4Q418 frg. 222 3), the Epistle of Enoch, as all other passages in the Book of 1Enoch, refers to “wisdom” as a divine eschatological gift that will be given to the righteous ones (1 En. 91:10; 93:10; 104:12; cf. 5,8–9).<sup>49</sup> Secondly, while in the Epistle of Enoch the antagonism of the righteous and the evil ones corresponds with the contrast of the “poor” and the “riches,” 1Q/4QInstruction does not seem to be aware of this “economical” confrontation. Also, the wisdom text includes no ac-

<sup>47</sup> Translation: Goff, *4QInstruction*, 225; italics in the original.

<sup>48</sup> Translation: Stuckenbruck, *1Enoch 91–108*, 561. The Greek text has: 2 θαρσεῖτε δὴ ὅτι ἐπαλαιώθητε ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν· ὡσεὶ φωστῆρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀναλάμψετε καὶ φανεῖτε, αἱ θυρίδες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀνοιχθήσονται ὑμῖν, 3 καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ ὑμῶν ἀκουσθήσεται καὶ ἡ κρίσις ὑμῶν ἦν κράζετε καὶ φανεῖται ἐφ’ ὅσα συλλαβήσεται ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς θλίψεως ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐκ πάντων ὅστις μετέσχεν τῶν βιαζομένων καὶ κατεσθόντων ὑμᾶς. For the Greek text cf. Matthew Black, “Apocalypsis Henochi Graece,” in *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece / Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt Graeca*, eds. Matthew Black and Albert-Marie Denis, PVTG 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1970): 42–43. The Ethiopic text deviates from the Greek Chester Beatty recension in many respects and obviously had a different Greek version at hand (cf. Stuckenbruck, *1Enoch 91–108*, 565–67).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Tigchelaar, “Wisdom and Counter Wisdom in 4QInstruction, Mysteries, and 1Enoch,” 184–85.

cusation of the evil ones as “rich people.”<sup>50</sup> A third disagreement concerns the motives connected with the otherworldly existence of the saved righteous after physical death. With regards to a heavenly and angelic existence, including astral connotations, both traditions, especially 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 and 1En. 103:1–104:6, mainly coincide. But in respect of terms and conceptualization, both texts differ again. One of the major eschatological motives in the Epistle of Enoch is the “soul.” In the relevant passage of 1En. 103:1–104:6 the following statement is made (103:3–4):

(3) [F]or good things and joy and h[onour] have been prepared and inscribed for the s[ouls] of those who died in piety. (4) And their spirits will rejo[ice] and not perish, nor their memory from the presence of the Great One for all the generations of the ages.<sup>51</sup>

Compared with the Greek manuscript, the Ethiopic in v. 4 adds a note on resurrection, when stated: “And their spirits which died in righteousness will come back to life.”<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, the eschatological hope is inextricably linked to “memory” (μνημόσυνον) and the joy of the “spirit” (πνεῦμα) and the “soul” (ψυχή). If the fate of those in the Sheol is considered, 1En. 102:4–5 comes into view: “(4) Take courage, O souls of the righteous who have died, the righteous and the pious. (5) And do not grieve because your souls descended in(to Ha)des with grief ...”<sup>53</sup> If we also take the fate of the souls of the pious and the sinners in 1En. 22 into account, it rapidly becomes very evident that the “spirit” (πνεῦμα) and the “soul” (ψυχή) played a pivotal role in Enochic eschatology.<sup>54</sup> In 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60, on the other hand, the “soul” or “spirit” are not even mentioned, and, with a view to all other preserved fragments of 1Q/4QInstruction, the dualism of the “spiritual people” (רוח עם) and the “fleshly spirit” (בשר רוח) determines different habits on the way to a heavenly existence of the righteous ones or to damnation and consummation for

50 Cf. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones*, 214.

51 Translation following the Greek Chester Beatty Papyrus: Stuckenbruck, *1Enoch 91–108*, 513. The Greek text has: 3 ὅτι ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἡ χαρὰ καὶ ἡ τιμὴ ἢ ἡτοίμασται καὶ ἐγγέγραπται ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀποθανόντων εὐσεβῶν· 4 καὶ χαρῆσονται καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀπόλωνται τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τὸ μνημόσυνον ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ μεγάλου εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τῶν αἰώνων. For the Greek text see Black, “Apocalypse Henochei Graece,” 42.

52 Translation: Stuckenbruck, *1Enoch 91–108*, 513, and for the textual evidence cf. *ibid.*, 515–17.

53 Translation following the Greek Chester Beatty Papyrus: Stuckenbruck, *1Enoch 91–108*, 492. The Greek text has: 4 θαρσεῖτε, ψυχαὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν ἀποθανόντων, τῶν δικαίων καὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν, 5 καὶ μὴ λυπεῖσθε ὅτι κατέβησαν αἱ ψυχαὶ ὑμῶν εἰς ᾄδου μετὰ λύπης (...) For the Greek text see Black, “Apocalypse Henochei Graece,” 41.

54 For a more detailed discussion of πνεῦμα and ψυχή in the Epistle of Enoch cf. Stefan Beyerle, *Die Gottesvorstellungen in der antik-jüdischen Apokalyptik*, JSJSup 103 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005), 207–15.

the sinners (cf. 4Q417 1 [olim frg. 2] i 13–18; 4Q418 frg. 81 + 81a 1–5, 15–20).<sup>55</sup> At any rate, the fate of the “spirit” (πνεῦμα) and the “soul” (ψυχή) in view of the end-time judgment is not included in the wisdom text from 1Q/4QInstruction.

For a more detailed description of the idea of an “eschatological communion”, another text that has several similarities with 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 gains importance. In 4Q418 frg. 55 we also find rhetorical questions, motives like the “watching” (ἄγρυπναι: 4Q418 frg. 55 4, 7, 9 and 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 10–11) or the function of the angelic world within eschatological hopes (4Q418 frg. 55 8–12 and 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 12–14). Some interest must also be given to the formal observation that both fragments are written in second person plural (4Q418 frg. 55 8, 12 and 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 6, 9, 10–12, 14–15), in 4Q418 frg. 55 mixed up with first and third person plural passages, while most of the other sections in 1Q/4QInstruction, especially the admonitions in proverbial form, were written in second person singular.<sup>56</sup> With regards to the apocalyptic worldview in 4Q418 frg. 55, lines 8–12 are of special importance:<sup>57</sup>

8 [ have you kn]ewn, and have you not heard that messengers/angels of the holy (or: the holy angels), [ ] according to h[im], in heaven? [ ] 9 [ ] trustworthiness/truth, and they will pursue after all roots of understanding and they will be vigilant after [ ] 10 [ and ac]cording

55 On the comparison of 1En. 103:1–104:6 and 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 cf. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones*, 214–15. For the above-mentioned dualism cf. Jörg Frey, “Paul’s View of the Spirit in the Light of Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, ed. Jean-Sébastien Rey, STDJ 102 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014): 237–60; *idem*, “The Notion of ‘Flesh’ in 4QInstruction and the Background of Pauline Usage,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998: Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*, eds. Daniel K. Falk et al., STDJ 35 (Leiden et al.: Brill, 2000): 197–226; Stefan Beyerle, “Monotheism, Angelology, and Dualism in Ancient Jewish Apocalyptic Writings,” in *Monotheism in Late Prophetic and Early Apocalyptic Literature: Studies of the Sofja Kovalevskaja Research Group on Early Jewish Monotheism, Vol. III*, eds. Nathan MacDonald and Ken Brown, FAT II/72 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014): 231–36.

56 Because of this provenance, Eibert Tigchelaar opts for a secondary insertion in 4Q418 frg. 55 and 69 ii + 60: cf. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones*, 217–21, who also provides a comparison of common features in both fragments. Cf. also *idem*, “Wisdom and Counter Wisdom in 4QInstruction, Mysteries, and 1Enoch,” 180. Pace Matthew J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*, STDJ 50 (Leiden et al.: Brill, 2003), 175; *idem*, *4QInstruction*, 213; see also above. Cf. furthermore the helpful summary of contents of both fragments by Strugnell and Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4*, 13–14.

57 For the text and its reconstruction cf. Strugnell and Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4*, 265–66; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones*, 89–90; Benjamin G. Wold, *Women, Men, and Angels: The Qumran Wisdom Document Musar leMevin and Its Allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions*, WUNT II.201 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 157–58; Rey, *4QInstruction*, 304–307.

to their knowledge someone is honored more than his neighbor, and according to his insight his glory/splendor will rise. 11 [ ] [ ] are they like a human being? — Because he is sluggish! Or: one human being? — Because he is hushed! Is not [ ]? 12 As for them — they will inherit an eternal possession.

The very fragmentary passage is opaque in almost every line. The Hebrew noun מלאך for “angels” is attested in 4Q418 frg. 55 8 and frg. 164 2 [reconstr.] only.<sup>58</sup> Usually, 1Q/4QInstruction uses בני שמים or אלים [סוד] (cf. 4Q416 frg. 1 12; 4Q418 frg. 2 4; frg. 69 ii + 60 12–13, 15; frg. 81+81a) קודש, קדושים (4Q418 frg. 81+81a 11–12) or קדוש קודשים (4Q418 frg. 81+81a 4; cf. 4Q423 frg. 8 3)<sup>59</sup> for a denotation of heavenly beings or “angels.” What is more interesting is the change of addressed people by a “we-,” “they-,” and “you-group” in the text. At least two groups, a good and a bad in terms of pursuing wisdom, are involved. But in general, the fragmentary text makes it hard to follow the argument.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, the motive of angels or heavenly beings as learners, as a “blueprint” or model of inexhaustible power and indefatigable wisdom, is unusual in ancient Jewish literature.<sup>61</sup> Finally, the interpretation of *wayyiqtol* and *yiqtol* verb forms in this passage as denoting the future tense is possible but cannot, however, be reflected.<sup>62</sup>

Despite the hurdles and unanswered questions that still exist, 4Q418 frg. 55 construes or even reflects on a worldview that genuinely can be called “apocalyp-

58 For the combination מלאכי [ה]קודש cf. also CD 15:17 (cf. 4QD<sup>a</sup> [4Q266] frg. 8 i 9); 1QSb 3:6 [reconstr.]; 1QM 7:6; 10:11; 1QH 9:13 [reconstr.]; 4Q216 frg. 5 5 [reconstr.]; 4Q225 frg. 2 ii 5; 4Q226 frg. 7 6; 4Q266 frg. 15 1 [reconstr.]; 4Q289 frg. 1 5 [reconstr.]; 4Q405 frg. 19 7; 4Q405 frg. 20 ii 22 9; 4Q405 frg. 23 i 8; 4Q407 frg. 1 3 [reconstr.]; 4Q491 frg. 1–3 10; 11Q14 frg. 1 ii 6. In general, “holiness” functions as an attribute for angels: cf. Gudrun Holtz, “קִדְשׁ *qādaš*,” in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten* 3: 481–84. Goff, *4QInstruction*, 239, reconstructs מלאכים in 4Q418 frg. 81 +81a 4.

59 Obviously a misreading of קודש קודשים that may associate the temple wherein the addressees have their lot. Cf. for text and interpretation of 4Q418 frg. 81+81a 4: Goff, *4QInstruction*, 248–50. Generally speaking, the noun and the adjective, קודש and קדוש, could be used interchangeably: cf. Holtz, “קִדְשׁ *qādaš*,” 467–68; for an interpretation of the passage in 4Q418 frg. 81+81a 4 cf. also: *ibid.*, 474–75. — For further terminology and attestations concerning “angels” within the Dead Sea Scrolls cf. Cecilia Wassen, “מַלְאָךְ *mal’āk*,” in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten* 2: 677.

60 Cf. the retelling of the narration in frg. 55 by Strugnell and Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4*, 13–14, 267–68, esp. 268.

61 Cf., e.g., Goff, *4QInstruction*, 218.

62 Cf. Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, HSS 29 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1986: repr. 2008), 45–46: no. 310.129, and 45, n. 7, who opines that it “is unclear whether DSS Hebrew has a distinctive form for consecutive *waw*, as the short imperfect is used even in cases where the *waw* does not convert the tense.”

tic.” This is illustrated primarily by the dichotomy of human beings and angels on the one hand and of heavenly and earthly realms on the other. While in 4Q418 frg. 55 8–9 the angelic beings are placed in heaven (cf. l. 8: “have you not heard that messengers/angels of the holy [or: the holy angels], [ ] according to h[im], in heaven?”)<sup>63</sup>, lines 11–12 reads: “11 [ ] [ ] are they like a human being? — Because he is sluggish! Or: one human being? — Because he is hushed! Is not [ ]? 12 As for them — they will inherit an eternal possession.” The latter expression recalls 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 12–14 wherein the “sons of heaven” have their inheritance in “eternal life.” Furthermore, the rhetorical questions in line 11 separate the heavenly angels from every human being who is “sluggish” (עצל) and “hushed” (דמה).<sup>64</sup>

Despite a cautious approach due to the fragmentary text, the separation of earthly and heavenly realms, included in 4Q418 frg. 55 8–12, reminds of an apocalyptic imagination that is, among others, also prominent in the Enochic Book of Watchers. But in 1En. 1–36 (cf. especially chs. 6–11), the segregation between heaven and earth is outlined by the motive of the revelation of secrets or negatively connoted knowledge and crafts. The latter motive is absent from 1Q/4QInstruction. Furthermore, while in 4Q418 frg. 55 9 the act of vigilance (Hebr. שָׁקֵד) is denoted with positive implications, the “watchers” (Aram. עִירִין), who, although they inhabited the heavenly sphere, failed due to their ungodly activities. In summary, it can be ascertained that in 4Q418 frg. 55 single motives and conceptual allusions remind of an apocalyptic worldview, but its use is much too unspecific to justify an exclusive tradition-historical, or even a literary connection with Enochic compositions.

## 4. The Book of *Hagu*

Albeit the “Book of *Hagu*” is not explicitly mentioned in the wisdom composition, the question of its identification is widely discussed among scholars who examine 1Q/4QInstruction. With a view to the terminology, different spellings concerning *Hagu* are at hand: *hagah/hagô*, *hagî/hagî* or *higgâyôn*. Armin Lange opines that *hagah/hagô* represents alternative spellings of an infinitive absolute from the root הִגָּה I (“to speak,” “to think,” “to explain,” “to meditate”), while the prominent

<sup>63</sup> Cf. the reconstruction and translation by Rey, *4QInstruction*, 305; italics in the original “N’avez-vous pas] connu ou n’avez-vous pas entendu que les anges saints dans les cieux le [glorifieront et que sur terre les hommes feront tous] la vérité?”

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Rey, *4QInstruction*, 307, who states: “Les verbes עצל et דמה sont au singulier ; ils ont donc nécessairement l’homme pour sujet.”



combination ספר ההגיו indicates the “Book of Explanation.”<sup>65</sup> Cana Werman provides an alternative derivation: in 4Q417 frg. 1 (*olim* frg. 2) i 16 she identifies a passive participle in ההגיו.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, Eibert Tigchelaar suggests another reading: ההגיות, a feminine plural.<sup>67</sup> Considering the condition of the fragment and the morphology, all quoted assumptions are possible. Consequently, very different meanings of “(the Book of) *Hagu*” are also discussed:<sup>68</sup> the Torah<sup>69</sup>, meditations on creation and history<sup>70</sup>, a book of angelic knowledge<sup>71</sup> or: an Enochic book<sup>72</sup>. Concerning the latter identification, *Hagu* comprises apocalyptic visions that reveal a salvation history from creation to the last days. Furthermore, *Hagu* denotes a “heavenly book” that bears divine mysteries, as seems apparent from 4Q417 frg. 1 (*olim* frg. 2) i and 1En. 103:2; 106:19 (cf. also 93:2).<sup>73</sup>

65 Cf. Armin Lange, “הַגָּהֶה *hāgāh*,” in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten* 1: 745. The “Book of Explanation” is attested especially in the sectarian writings among the Dead Sea Scrolls and indicates a halakhic text like the “Torah:” cf. CD 10:6 (4QD<sup>a</sup> [4Q266] frg. 8 iii 5; 4QD<sup>e</sup> [4Q270] frg. 6 iv 17); 13:2 (4QD<sup>d</sup> [4Q269] frg. 10 i 5); 14:7–8 (4QD<sup>b</sup> [4Q267] frg. 9 v 12); 1QS a 1:7.

66 Cf. Cana Werman, “What Is the Book of *Hagu*?” in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 20–22 May, 2001*, eds. John J. Collins et al., STDJ 51 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004): 138. Strugnell and Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4*, 165, identify in ההגיו a *qitṭūl* form, “very frequently used for the *nomen actionis* in Mishnaic Hebrew”.

67 Cf. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “‘Spiritual People,’ ‘Fleshly Spirit,’ and ‘Vision of Meditation:’ Reflections on 4QInstruction and 1 Corinthians,” in *Echoes from the Caves. Qumran and the New Testament*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, STDJ 85 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009): 105. Cf. also Rey, *4QInstruction*, 279–80; Goff, *4QInstruction*, 138, 141.

68 Cf., recently, Lange, “הַגָּהֶה *hāgāh*,” 745. Most prominent biblical references matching almost all identifications of “(the Book of) *Hagu*” are Josh 1:8 and Ps 1:2.

69 Cf., e.g., Isaac Rabinowitz, “The Qumran Authors’ *SPR HHGW/Y*,” *JNES* 20 (1961): 113–14, who equates the “Torah” with the (“pre-canonical”) Hebrew Bible as to how it was accepted by the “Qumran community.” More recently, Devora Steinmetz, “Sefer HeHago: The Community and the Book,” *JJS* 52 (2001): 52–58, argued for a semantic context, also evaluated in rabbinic texts, of a “refined Torah.” She emphasizes (*ibid*, 58): “I have no conjecture to offer about what book ספר ההגיו is, but I do want to offer the conjecture that the term refers to this process of revealing perfection through refinement that I have suggested characterizes both the sect’s self-understanding and the sect’s understanding of Torah.”

70 Cf. Werman, “What Is the Book of *Hagu*?,” 140.

71 Cf. John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), 123–25.

72 Cf. Elgvin, “The Mystery to Come. Early Essene Theology of Revelation,” 146–47.

73 Cf. Elgvin, “The Mystery to Come. Early Essene Theology of Revelation,” 146–47, who assumes an identification of *Hagu* with the Apocalypse of Weeks (1En. 93:1–10; 91:11–17) or the Animal Apocalypse (1En. 85–90). — For the textual evidence (Greek and Ethiopic resp. Aramaic, Greek and Ethiopic) in 1En. 103:2 and 106:19 cf. Stuckenbruck, *1Enoch 91–108*, 513–15, 677–79.

The hypotheses mentioned above call for intense investigation. Here, the fragment of 4Q417 frg. 1 (*olim* frg. 2) i moves into the focus of the argumentation.<sup>74</sup> In l. 16 the text speaks of a “vision of *Hagu*” that is related to a “book of remembrance”. The relationship between these written expressions or “books” is already syntactically unclear. In l. 16 one reads: והואה חזון ההגו לספר זכרון. Besides the disputable readings of ההגו (or ההגות, ההגי: see above) and לספר (or ספר, וספר)<sup>75</sup>, the syntactical combination of the personal pronoun הואה with two pairs of words in the *status constructus* remains puzzling.

First of all, the noun patterns obviously create a periphrasis with ספר זכרון [ו]ן. Secondly, the DJD edition further assumes that the personal pronoun refers to the whole preceding expression in l. 15–16 rather than denoting ספר זכרון (l. 15) only, whose construction would result in a repetition of the periphrasis (ו]ן[ספר זכרון]). Consequently, the translation of l. 15–16 reads: “*And written in His presence is a book of memorial of those who keep His word. And that is the appearance/vision of the meditation on a book of memorial.*”<sup>76</sup> Jean-Sébastien Rey proposes a connection of הואה with what follows and translates: “Et un livre mémorial est écrit devant lui <sup>16</sup>pour ceux qui gardent sa parole. Et voici une vision de la méditation du livre mémorial : il l'a donnée en héritage à l'homme comme <sup>peuple</sup> spirituel.”<sup>77</sup> Matthew Goff, more recently, suggests that the ספר זכרון is a heavenly book, as the heavenly tablets in the Enochic texts (see above). He interprets הואה having the function of explaining the “vision of *Hagu*” as being part of the ספר זכרון. Goff's translation reads (l. 15–16): “And the book of remembrance is written before him 16 for the ones who keep his word — that is, the vision of meditation of the book of remembrance.”<sup>78</sup> Cana Werman suggests another function and understanding of the pronoun הואה. She finds in “And this is” the reference to the repeated demands to seek by the wise, and translates: “And this is the meditated vision of the Book of Memorial.”<sup>79</sup> Werman consequently finds no apocalyptic context for the ספר זכרון, but interprets its content and function within wisdom hermeneutics as

74 For the text and reconstruction cf. Strugnell and Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4*, 151–55; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones*, 52–54; Rey, *4QInstruction*, 278–81; Werman, “What Is the Book of *Hagu*?” 130–38; Tigchelaar, “‘Spiritual People,’ ‘Fleshly Spirit,’ and ‘Vision of Meditation,’” 105. 4Q417 frg. 1 i partly overlaps with 4Q418 frg. 43–45 i: cf. Strugnell and Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4*, 255–57.

75 Cf. Rey, *4QInstruction*, 279–80; Goff, *4QInstruction*, 138, 141.

76 So Strugnell and Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4*, 155; italics in the original; cf. also *ibid*, 164.

77 So Rey, *4QInstruction*, 281.

78 So Goff, *4QInstruction*, 139, and the commentary: *ibid*, 159–161; cf. also Matthew Goff, *Discerning Wisdom. The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, VTSup 116 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 31–32.

79 So Werman, “What Is the Book of *Hagu*?” 137.

they also appear in other writings from the Dead Sea Scrolls: to observe “history,” also “individual history,” with the mind’s eye.<sup>80</sup> Eibert Tigchelaar finds this suggestion not persuasive. He hints to the quotation of parts of the scriptural phrase in Mal 3:16 (cf. 4Q417 frg. 1 i 15) and interprets הוֹאֵה “as the marker of an explanation.”<sup>81</sup>

All explanations of the personal pronoun have in common that they characterize the use of הוֹאֵה as a deictic demonstrative. Consequently, a short grammatical orientation is needed: The morphology indicates an augmented form of הוּא. The latter form הוּא is common in biblical Hebrew. The augmented form is frequently used in the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>82</sup> More problematic is the deictic force of הוֹאֵה, as a relative deictic. Usually in biblical Hebrew, this function requires a demonstrative pronoun (זה, as in Judg 5:5; Ps 68:9: זֶה סִינֵי ). Nevertheless, the personal pronoun הוּא\הוֹאֵה may be used, also in biblical Hebrew (cf. Gen 24:65; Judg 7:4), as a “quasi-demonstrative” that only has an anaphoric function.<sup>83</sup> Thus, הוֹאֵה[ו] in 4Q417 frg. 1 i 16 should be interpreted as a pronoun with relative deictic function referring back to the text of l. 15: the quotation of Mal 3:16bβ. Therefore, Tigchelaar has provided the most convincing interpretation of the passage. His translation of l. 15–16 reads as follows: “A book of remembrance is written before him 16 of/for those who keep His word. And that is the vision of the meditation (and/of/on) a book of remembrance.”<sup>84</sup>

Even if it is apparent that the “vision of *Hagu*” should not be identified with parts and compositions from *1Enoch* (*pace* Elgvin), a contextual overlapping of passages in *Hagu* with Enochic contents cannot generally be ruled out.<sup>85</sup> Consequently, one has to take into account the context in 4Q417 frg. 1 i 13–18.<sup>86</sup> In l.

**80** Cf. her analysis in Werman, “What Is the *Book of Hagu?*,” 130–38.

**81** So Tigchelaar, “‘Spiritual People,’ ‘Fleshly Spirit,’ and ‘Vision of Meditation,’” 113, who also refers to 4Q174 frgs. 1–2 i 10–11, wherein the pronoun marks the quotation of 2Sam 7:11b, 12b, 14a (*ibid.*, 113, n. 44). For the quotation of Mal 3:16 cf. especially v. 16bβ: ויכתב ספר זכרון לפניו with 4Q417 frg. 1 i 15: וספר זכרון כתוב לפניו.

**82** Cf. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 57: no. 321.13; Matthew Morgenstern, “Pronouns, Personal Independent,” in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* 3: 277–78.

**83** Cf. Bruce K. Waltke and Michael O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 308–309a–c: no. 17.3, 313: no. 17.4.3a; Rebecca Hasselbach, “Demonstrative Pronoun,” in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* 1: 698.

**84** So Tigchelaar, “‘Spiritual People,’ ‘Fleshly Spirit,’ and ‘Vision of Meditation,’” 106.

**85** E.g., among others, Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 123–25, calls the knowledge of *Hagu* “angelic” and refers to 1En. 93:1–2.

**86** The so-called „Vision of *Hagu*“ passage is one of the most discussed texts in 1Q/4QInstruction. Cf. the commentaries of Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, 98–101; Goff, *4QInstruction*, 155–68. For further examinations of that passage cf. the bibliographies in Tigchelaar, “‘Spiritual People,’ ‘Fleshly Spirit,’ and ‘Vision of Meditation,’” 103–105, n. 2–3; Goff, *4QInstruction*, 155, n. 44. See

14–15 a typical apocalyptic core theme, the inevitability of the coming judgment, is in focus. But already the question as to whom this judgment applies to is a matter of dispute. The text refers to the בני שיֵת, an expression that is open to interpretation: referring to “Seth,” the father of Enosch (cf. 4Q417 frg. 1 i 16), in Gen 4:25–26; 5:3–8; representing an alternative spelling of שֵׂאֵת (“perdition”)<sup>87</sup>; naming the “Shethites” of Num 24:17 (כל בני שֵׂת), the name of a tribe from Transjordan. While the context of l. 15 emphasizes that “the engraving is ordained by God against all iniquities of בני שיֵת,” the “Shetithes” or “Sethites”<sup>88</sup>, a return to the “Shetithes” of Num 24:17 seems the most plausible solution, because Num 24:17 frequently functions as a proof-text for the motive of a divine punishment against the wicked.<sup>89</sup>

As the counterpart to the wicked, “those who keep His (i.e., God’s) word” (l. 16) are mentioned. They are in some connection with “the book of remembrance” (l. 15: ספר זכרון). Later in the text, another antagonism or dualism can be detected: In opposition to those who are endowed with the “fleshly spirit” (l. 17: רוח בשר), the “spiritual people” (l. 16: רוח עם) are amongst those whose knowledge is comparable with an insight into “His (i.e., God’s) wonderful secrets and His (i.e. God’s) mighty deeds” (l. 13: רזי פלאו וגבורות מעשיו). Furthermore, the implied dualism associates cosmic overtones and creation motives.<sup>90</sup>

John Collins identified in 4Q417 frg. 1 i 13–18 two different concepts of creation:

First of all, there is the idea of a heavenly existence of the “spiritual people,” fashioned according to the pattern of the “holy ones” (l. 17: כתבנית קדושים). Consequently, the noun אנוש in l. 16 refers to Adam, and the “spiritual people,” or Adam, are those who were created in the likeness of God (cf. Gen 1:26–28). Secondly, there is the “fleshly spirit” that cannot distinguish between good and evil (l. 17–18; cf. also 4Q416 frg. 1 10–16). In sum, the dualism of רוח בשר and רוח עם refers to different creation accounts in Gen 1–3. While the “spiritual people” are fashioned in the likeness of the holy ones, endowed with immortality, the “fleshly spirit” is

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also my announcements in Beyerle, “Monotheism, Angelology, and Dualism in Ancient Jewish Apocalyptic Writings,” 234–35.

**87** In the Hebrew Bible שֵׂאֵת is a *hapax legomenon* (cf. Lam 3:47).

**88** The Hebrew text in l. 15 reads: [ו]ן[נ]ת בני שיֵת על כול ע. For the reconstruction of עונות cf. Rey, *4QInstruction*, 278; Goff, *4QInstruction*, 138. Strugnell and Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4*, 151, avoid any reconstruction of the noun (for a discussion of the rest of the line cf. *ibid.*, 162–63).

**89** Cf. Goff, *4QInstruction*, 158. On the use of Num 24:17 in ancient Jewish sources cf. also Stefan Beyerle, “‘A Star Shall Come out of Jacob’: A Critical Evaluation of the Balaam Oracle in the Context of Jewish Revolts in Roman Times,” in *The Prestige of the Pagan Prophet Balaam in Judaism, Early Christianity and Islam*, eds. Geurt H. van Kooten and Jacques T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, TBN 11 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008): 163–88.

**90** Cf. also Matthew J. Goff, “The Mystery of Creation in 4QInstruction,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 170–77.

created against the background of “mankind” as a “creature of dust” (Gen 2:7 and Gen 2–3).<sup>91</sup> The thesis of two different kinds of human creation, as reflected in both different creation accounts of Gen 1 and Gen 2–3, finds some support from ancient Jewish traditions that interpret both accounts in a similar manner (cf. *The Treatise of the Two Spirits* in 1QS 3–4; Wis. 1–6; Philo of Alexandria).<sup>92</sup> The examined dualism is frequently attested within concepts of a final divine judgment (cf. 4Q416 frg. 1 10–16; 4Q417 frg. 2 i 13–16; 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 5–9).<sup>93</sup> As a result, the combination of creation and judgment (“eschatology”) provides an important element in the worldview of 1Q/4QInstruction. And what is more, wisdom knowledge is connected with the *רוֹנֵה הַיְהוָה*, the “mystery that is in the process of taking place”<sup>94</sup>, that is conceptualized as a divine revelation (cf. 4Q416 frg. 2 iii 17–18; 4Q418 frg. 123 i–ii 4–5; 4Q423 frg. 3 2). All these aspects may contain references to what the “vision of *Hagu*” or the “book of remembrance” formally denoted, and also to their content, comprised in this or these scripture(s) in days of yore.<sup>95</sup> They refer, assuredly, to an apocalyptic worldview, but they do not exclusively recall motives and traditions from 1En. or from its embedded compositions.

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91 Cf. John J. Collins, “In the Likeness of the Holy Ones: The Creation of Humankind in a Wisdom Text from Qumran,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scroll: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, eds. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich, STDJ 30 (Leiden et al.: Brill, 1999): 615–18. Many scholars follow in the footsteps of this interpretation, but cf. also the critical remarks in Tigchelaar, “‘Spiritual People,’ ‘Fleshly Spirit,’ and ‘Vision of Meditation,’” 106–109.

92 On the discussion of the data cf. James L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible As It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 1998), 80–82; Matthew Goff, “Adam, the Angels and Eternal Life: Genesis 1–3 in the Wisdom of Solomon and 4QInstruction,” in *Studies in the Book of Wisdom*, eds. Géza G. Xeravits and Jozséf Zsengellér, JSJSup 141 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010): 7–17.

93 On the “eschatologizing” of wisdom in 1Q/4QInstruction cf. Collins, “The Eschatologizing of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 242–50, and Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 32–36. See also Rey, *4QInstruction*, 235–43.

94 For the grammatical discussion and translation of *רוֹנֵה הַיְהוָה* cf. Beyerle, “Monotheism, Angelology, and Dualism in Ancient Jewish Apocalyptic Writings,” 232–33.

95 The sophisticated suggestion of Tigchelaar, “‘Spiritual People,’ ‘Fleshly Spirit,’ and ‘Vision of Meditation,’” 109–16, distinguishes the “vision of *Hagu*” from the “book of remembrance.” While the former simply marks the ability to mediate and corresponds to the concept of Greek *voũç*, the cognitive insight, the latter term “may then refer to a heavenly, mythological book which contains the entire course of past and future history, but also, more abstract, to the predestined plan of history itself” (*ibid.*, 114).

## 5. Conclusions

Questions drawing on the relationship between Jewish apocalypticism and wisdom literature cannot silently ignore Gerhard von Rad's influential thesis that older Israelite wisdom was the "mother" of later apocalypses. Nevertheless, scholarship since von Rad enlarged the range of meanings of "wisdom" in a peculiar manner, speaking especially of "mantic wisdom." This "mantic wisdom," clearly a phenomenon of later Hellenistic-Roman sources, covers motives and a worldview that come much closer to what is found in apocalypticism, when compared to von Rad's older Israelite wisdom. Furthermore, since the findings from the Dead Sea, at the latest, it is well known that a simple construct of a more ancient wisdom that influenced later apocalyptic writings, goes beyond the textual evidence. The latter insight becomes apparent with a view to 1Q/4QInstruction, a late third or early second century Jewish wisdom composition that combines genuine wisdom, e.g., admonition texts, with an apocalyptic worldview.

The present study is divided into two parts: On the one hand it reexamines a scholarly discussion about different models of dependency between 1Q/4QInstruction and 1En., on the other hand it deals with two very prominent texts from 1Q/4QInstruction (4Q418 and 4Q417). The question is: Who influenced whom — 1En. in the direction of 1Q/4QInstruction or *vice versa*? Or to put it more appropriately: What can be said about the apocalyptic worldview in the late wisdom text from the Dead Sea Scrolls?

The first part examines the discussion of Torleif Elgvin's thesis that a later text layer in 1Q/4QInstruction conceptualized an apocalyptic worldview on the basis of the Epistle of Enoch. Amongst others, Loren Stuckenbruck has provided a seminal evaluation and reply. He refers to crucial motives, as they are attested in the Enochic and the wisdom text, and reasons drawn from the contexts that the use of one and the same apocalyptic motive in the Epistle of Enoch and in 1Q/4QInstruction deviate significantly. And what is more, e.g., the way 1Q/4QInstruction speaks of "inheritance" or employs the "plant" metaphor differs also from the textual evidence of the terminology in the so-called sectarian sources among the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>96</sup> Therefore, Elgvin's opinion that apocalypticism within 1Q/4QInstruction should be located between Enoch apocalypticism and the sectarian compositions from the Dead Sea Scrolls is rather unconvincing.

The examination proceeds with a discussion of two relevant fragments from the wisdom text: 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 and 4Q417 frg. 1 i 13–18. While the former fragment allows a thorough discussion of concepts like "eschatology" and "es-

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<sup>96</sup> This is the case if texts like the *Hodayot* should be called "sectarian."

chatological communion,” the latter helps to investigate the revelatory mode covered in 1Q/4QInstruction. All three aspects turned out to be of crucial importance for the discussion of Elgvin’s theses. In 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 Elgvin identifies a hope for resurrection that is comparable with eschatological motives in the Epistle of Enoch (cf. 1En. 91:10; 92:3; 103:1–104:4). While some phrases in 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60 rather reflect on — a hope for — an eternal and “angelic” life, and the preferred reading in 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60, line 7, clearly covers an angelic judgment scene, there is no hint towards a resurrection in 1Q/4QInstruction. Further deviations concern the question of “wisdom” that should be pursued (1Q/4QInstruction) or that was given as an “eschatological gift” (1En.). Also the “economical” antagonism of the “riches” and the “poor” and the dualism of the “spirit” and the “soul”<sup>97</sup> are missing in the wisdom text from the Dead Sea Scrolls. Nevertheless, a common tradition-historical background in eschatological passages like those in 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60, line 4–15, and in 1 En. 103–104 cannot be ruled out.

More information on the “eschatological communion” is provided by another fragment, 4Q418 frg. 55, of which lines 8–12 are discussed. The fragment shows several similarities with 4Q418 frg. 69 ii + 60. All in all, the fragment also reveals an apocalyptic worldview: human beings against angels, earthly against heavenly realms, motives that conceptualize dualisms, but none of them are specific enough to buttress a direct and exclusive relationship between 1Q/4QInstruction and the Enoch texts.

With a view to special modes of revelation, the so-called “Book of *Hagu*” enters the scene. The wisdom composition of 1Q/4QInstruction refers only to a “vision of *Hagu*” (cf. 4Q417 frg. 1 i 15–16). The reading in 4Q417 frg. 1 i 16, the grammatical derivation and the substantive content of ההגו הוון are a matter of scholarly dispute. Eibert Tigchelaar has provided the most convincing reading and translation of 4Q417 frg. 1 i 15–16: “A book of remembrance is written before him 16 of/for those who keep His word. And that is the vision of the meditation (and/of/on) a book of remembrance.”<sup>98</sup> Consequently, the terminology (“*Hagu*”) refers to the quotation of Mal 3,16bβ, and *not* to an Enochic corpus within 1En., as Torleif Elgvin assumed. Nevertheless, the context in 4Q417 frg. 1 i 13–18 shows apocalyptic components. If the judgment is addressed to the “Shethites” (Num 24:17) as the wicked who will be punished at the end of times, and if those “Shethites” can be associated with the “fleshly spirit,” standing against the “spiritual

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<sup>97</sup> But cf. the remarks by Tigchelaar, “‘Spiritual People,’ ‘Fleshly Spirit,’ and ‘Vision of Meditation,’” 109–16 (see above, n. 95), who argues for the concept of Greek *νοῦς* as implemented in 1Q/4QInstruction.

<sup>98</sup> So Tigchelaar, “‘Spiritual People,’ ‘Fleshly Spirit,’ and ‘Vision of Meditation,’” 106.

people” who will be equipped with an insight into the divine secrets, then the “vision of *Hagu*” uses Mal 3,16b $\beta$  as a textual tool to refer to an “apocalyptic eschatology.” But neither the idea of (heavenly) “books” or “tablets” concerning the end-time judgment, nor an allusion to creation and cosmology, as implied in 4Q417 frg. 1 i 13–18, creates an apocalyptic worldview in 1Q/4QInstruction that is in a specific way comparable to the worldview in the Enochic writings.

In sum, 1Q/4QInstruction is a late Hebrew wisdom text whose apocalyptic ingredients are obvious. With regards to the details, there is no sufficient basis for arguing for a literary interdependence with Enochic textual data — no matter, in which direction. On the basis of the current textual evidence, the most convincing solution for the existing “parallels” in both texts is to argue for a common apocalyptic background or tradition.

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