

**Session 1:**  
**Textual Development and Dating of Dead Scroll Texts**  
**Faculty Respondent: Yonder Gillihan, Boston College**

**The Damascus Document and the Dating of Biblical Texts**

**David Z. Moster, New York University, davidmoster@gmail.com**

There is a debate in biblical studies about the validity of the “profiling method.” This method has been pervasive in the field since at least the 1800s. As David M. Carr (2011) explains, the purpose of profiling is to assign dates to biblical texts. It works by matching the conventions and themes of a biblical text to the conventions and themes of a given time period. For example, Carr profiles most of the Pentateuch and Joshua to the “Exilic Period” because these books show an exilic concern for pre-monarchical history and include a number of “diaspora” practices such as circumcision and the Passover. Benjamin D. Sommer disagrees with the profiling method in a provocative 2011 essay. He argues that ideas cannot be limited to a particular time period because they are timeless. Although he does not deal with the Pentateuch and Joshua specifically, Sommer would counter Carr and say that these books could come from any of a number of different time periods. In other words, the concern for a pre-monarchical history and so-called “diaspora” practices is not exclusive to the Exilic Period.

This study focuses upon a peculiar, often overlooked area of Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship in order to shed light on this debate. When the Damascus Document was discovered in the Cairo Genizah in 1896, scholars attempted to date the text by means of the profiling method. At that time it was not known if the text was from the Second Temple Period or from a much later time. With the publication of the Damascus Document that was found among the Dead Sea Scrolls in the 1950's and the subsequent analyses of paleography and carbon dating, we now have a general idea of when the Damascus Document was written. This allows us a rare opportunity to assess the merit and accuracy of the profiling method as it was applied to the Damascus Document in the 1910s–1950s. This study will conclude with a more general discussion about the profiling method and its relation to the dating of biblical texts.

**Writing the Other Letters: Paleography and the Greek Manuscripts from Qumran**

**Matthew Richey, University of Chicago, richeym@uchicago.edu**

The present paper aims to clarify the palaeographic character of the twenty-seven Greek texts from Khirbet Qumran, including both items from among the Greek biblical manuscripts (e.g. 4Q119/4QLXXLev<sup>a</sup>; 4Q120/4QpapLXXLev<sup>b</sup>; 4Q121/4QLXXNum) and the only Greek documentary text (4Q350) from the caves. Although palaeographic comments on other Greek texts from the Judaean desert were sometimes included with their editiones principes—see, e.g. by Thomas for texts from Nahal Hever in DJDXXVII and by Cotton and Geiger for texts from Masada in Masada II—many Greek manuscripts from Qumran still lack such a treatment. Even in cases in which palaeographic analysis was undertaken—i.e. by Parsons in DJD IX for 4Q119–22 and 126–27—the primary focus has been establishing the date, rather than the scribal affinities, of the manuscript hand.

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The definition of such scribal affinities in the Qumran Greek texts can elucidate the traditions in which the site's minority documents were written. The present study thus builds upon previous work treating the restricted social location of Greek usage at Qumran by asserting that palaeography can contribute, even in cases in which we have fragmentary and minimal manuscripts, to our understanding of the community's original encounters with Greek learning. Preliminary analysis suggests that—as for certain other Judaean Desert texts, including the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever—the Covenanters' script is broadly derived from Alexandrian bookhands but that there also remain affinities with scripts from the northern Levant. These observations may point towards the cosmopolitan origins of the group's Greek manuscripts and/or education and can enhance our understanding of Covenanter engagement with Hellenistic practices.

**The Compositional History of Daniel 4 and the Authoritative Status of Daniel at Qumran**

**Christopher Anderson, Brandeis University, canders@brandeis.edu**

Seventeen manuscripts have been found among the Dead Sea Scrolls that are in some way related to the book of Daniel. At least nine of these scrolls are not copies of the biblical book. The text that is most relevant for issues related to the compositional history of the book of Daniel is the Aramaic fragment known as the Prayer of Nabonidus (4Q242). This paper will first discuss the historical context behind the prayer, and then analyze how and why both the historical traditions concerning Nabonidus, and the text of 4Q242 itself, came to be used as source material for sections of Daniel 4-5. Specifically, it will be argued that it was the composer's recycling and adaptation of the image of a cedar in Lebanon from Ezekiel 31, which provided the new contextual framework for the vignette about Nabonidus' seven-year stint in Teima. By understanding how the content of this prayer was creatively interpreted through the lens of a previous oracle from the book Ezekiel, and how this was then incorporated into a larger narrative with a new purpose, this paper demonstrates an example of how the book of Daniel arose. Yet, there also remains the question of why the small Prayer of Nabonidus should be copied and preserved after its incorporation into the stories of Daniel 4-5. The existence of the prayer alongside numerous copies of the biblical book, as well as other stories concerning a figure named Daniel, may suggest that the text and shape of Daniel was still in the process of gaining full authoritative status at the time of the Qumran community.

**Session 2:**  
**Personas in the Dead Sea Scrolls**  
**Faculty Respondent: Michael Satlow, Brown University**

**Subterranean Fiery Punishment and the Giants in the Dead Sea Scrolls and 2 Peter and Jude: A Proposal of Origins**

**Clint Burnett, Boston College, burnetda@bc.edu**

Though scholars continue to explore possible Graeco-Roman influences on Second Temple Judaism and subsequently the Dead Sea Community and nascent Christianity, one aspect of this investigation that has not received the attention it deserves is eschatology. It seems that some scholars are content to acknowledge that the eschatology of the Second Temple Period (and thus the Qumranites and embryonic Christians) was impacted by Persian eschatology without considering the evidence for Greek influence. This is somewhat surprising considering the fact that many Second Temple Jews, the documents that make up the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the early Christian works of 2 Peter and Jude assimilate eschatological concepts developed by Graeco-Roman culture. More specifically, numerous Dead Sea documents mention the presence of a subterranean place of punishment for the “Sons of Belial” and there is discussion of the mythology surrounding the Giants, while 2 Peter and Jude, as most of the denizens of the Graeco-Roman world, amalgamate these two concepts. While I am not attempting to dismantle the work of generations of well-qualified scholars by claiming there was no Persian influence upon the eschatology of Second Temple Judaism (and subsequently Christianity), an appeal to the influence of Persian eschatology does not adequately account for the presence of subterranean eschatological punishment and the mythological Giants within the Dead Sea Scrolls and early Christianity. The purpose of my paper, therefore, is to explore the influence of the Graeco-Roman concepts of Tartarus and of the Giant/Titans within the Dead Sea Scrolls and embryonic Christianity.

**“His Dominion is in Darkness”: Zoroastrian Influences on the Development of Belial**

**Esther Brownsmith, Brandeis University, ebrown@brandeis.edu**

The figure of Belial lurks throughout the texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls, acting as a figurehead and instigator for the forces of evil that the sectarian writers opposed. However, despite their devotion to the Hebrew Scriptures, the Qumran community's understanding of Belial as an Angel of Darkness derived from something other than scriptural canon. Moreover, his oft-cited connections to the figure of Mastemah in *Jubilees* cannot explain all of Belial's characteristics. As I will demonstrate, he also derived key traits from Zoroastrian teachings, particularly those relating to the evil god Ahriman. I will explore the development of Belial up until the mid-second century BCE, briefly survey relevant areas of Zoroastrian doctrine, and then analyze the appearances of Belial throughout the DSS sectarian writings, demonstrating how a number of his traits (many of which have received little scrutiny) can most plausibly be explained by a Persian connection. This connection may have taken the form of a general oral tradition, but the fragmentary dualistic text “Testament of Amram” (4Q543-4Q548) provides an intriguing possibility as a concrete textual link. This documented evolution of Belial's

character adds further evidence to the ongoing debate about the degree of Zoroastrian influence on the Qumran community, and it explains the origin of theological features that would continue to characterize Satanic figures in later Pseudepigrapha and the Christian scriptures.

### **The Woman of 4Q184**

**Alexis L. Felder, Boston University School of Theology, [alfelder@bu.edu](mailto:alfelder@bu.edu)**

In various sources of apocalyptic literature a dangerous, seductive, and mysterious woman figures prominently. These less than favorable portrayals of women as the powerful and sexually enticing embodiment of evil are problematic for feminist scholars. Many rightly interpret apocalyptic texts as political allegories, but these texts also contain explicit misogynistic assumptions and serve to subvert women even as they simultaneously attempt to undermine corrupt political systems. 1 Enoch places cosmetics and female aesthetic technologies alongside military technologies as unlawful teachings of the fallen angel Azazel, and The Whore of Babylon in Revelation is depicted with fine colored clothing and jewelry, negatively portraying both the elite and their luxuries, alongside female sexuality in general.

This paper focuses on the portrayal of the female character in 4Q184, also known as the Song of the Seductress, from the Dead Sea Scrolls. The argument illustrates several specific similarities between the woman of 4Q184 and the female figure of Proverbs 7. This paper emphasizes the presentation of the woman in each piece highlighting the literary structure. Through an examination of the imagery, particularly the order in which the author described certain aspects of the image (clothing, location, voice, words), a chiasmic structure becomes clear in the Song of the Seductress, which places the figure of the woman in line with ruination, death, and “the pit.”

A feminist examination of the misogynistic aspects of apocalyptic literature can and should be applied to these similar female figures in the Song of the Seductress and Proverbs 7. The structure of the Song of the Seductress is particularly useful for demonstrating the connection between the female figure and the evil she embodies. It is important to recognize methods of marginalizing women as a part of the political rhetoric of apocalyptic literature.

**Session 3:**  
**Dead Sea Scroll Methodologies and Approaches**  
**Faculty Respondent: Jonathan Klawans, Boston University**

**Death of the Author, Resurrection of the Authoritative Voice: the Constructed Teacher of Righteousness and Jesus**

**Kimberly Bauser, Boston College, kimberly.bauser@bc.edu**

Studies of the Teacher of Righteousness in the Dead Sea Scrolls have long- connected this figure, whether genealogically or otherwise, to Jesus, his New Testament counterpart of sorts, with such work focusing largely on the historical reality of these teachers and their respective sectarian communities. Gleaning supposed biographical details from the Damascus Document, the pesharim, and the hodayot, scholars have attempted to reconstruct a picture of the historical Teacher(s), as preacher, prophet, expected Messiah, and even author, but have largely neglected the Teacher as primarily a literary construct of the community. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the study of the texts of the early Jesus movement, widely treated as if they were merely raw materials to be mined for historical Jesus ore. This paper, instead, integrates postmodern literary and sociological methods to consider the constructed voice of these teachers in the sectarian literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the early Jesus movement. Drawing largely on the work of Carol Newsom and Maxine Grossman, it explores the way in which such figures and voices may have functioned within their own communities of discourse, both as part of and as distinct from the Second Temple Jewish world. As evidenced by texts such as the pesharim, the hodayot, the Gospel of Matthew, and Apocryphon of James, the voice of the Teacher, like that of Jesus, was both established and employed as an authoritative mouthpiece of counter-discourse on behalf of a sect. This consideration of the discursive context of these teachers' voices is not a rejection of the historical question, but rather a more honest integration of history and theory to reveal the always-constructed nature of such sources of authority.

**Textual Development of the Qumran Pesharim**

**Bronson Brown-deVost, Brandeis University, bronson@brandeis.edu**

How were the continuous commentary texts, or pesharim, from Qumran composed? At first glance it may appear that the commentator simply copied out several lines of the source text, stopped to provide comment, and then continued on in that fashion until reaching the end of the document. This is not, however, a common model for ancient commentary writing, and an investigation of other similar ancient texts, in this case the Mesopotamian commentaries, affords a better perspective from which to examine the compositional methodologies employed in Qumran commentary-writing.

One of the most striking differences between Mesopotamian commentaries and the ones found near Khirbet Qumran is the fact that the Mesopotamian commentary texts do not contain an entire copy of the source text, but rather only the excerpted lines selected for explication. Nevertheless, a careful analysis of the Qumran continuous pesharim suggests that in many cases their comment sections also originally existed separately from a complete presentation of the source text. This model, which describes

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an earlier stage in the compositional history of the Qumran commentaries, provides solutions to several apparent infelicities and difficulties in these texts.

**A Postcolonial Reading of 1QpHab: A Resistance Literature**

**Benjamin Taufoua Laie, Claremont Lincoln University, benjamin.laie@cst.edu**

The Pesher in the 1QpHab clearly marks 1QpHab as a re-interpretation of the biblical message of the earlier book of Habakkuk. It has been transformed into an anti-imperialistic literature directed against the Hellenistic ruler, Antiochus Epiphanes IV. Three possible elements support this anti-imperialistic agenda: the identification of the wicked priest; the pesher; and the purpose of the Kittims in 1QpHab. A historical reading of 1QpHab, using carbon-dating and paleography, tells the story of the community's separation from Jerusalem. Historically, this group had separated themselves during or following the Maccabean Revolt (165 BCE-135 BCE), possibly under Onias III after he was demoted from his High Priestly role. A paleographical reading dates the manuscript to one of three different periods: the Archaic (250-150 BCE); Hasmonean (150-30 BCE); or the Herodian (30 BCE-70 CE). A carbon-14 reading by J. A. Fitzmyer concluded that the cloths that were used to wrap the scrolls show a date around 20 BCE, plus or minus 200 years.<sup>1</sup> Overall, our paleographical and carbon dating results presents a variety of possibilities rather than limiting our observation to a certain range.

This re-interpretation was apparently designed to fit the need of the Qumran community. They are not to resist in a revolutionary or activist movement, but they are called not to repeat the inappropriate acts done by Menelaus and Antiochus IV that led Jerusalem to worship the Greek gods, etc. The Pesher is resistance literature within the Qumran context. We are not aware whether 1QpHab was meant to be read or just for record-keeping. The employment of the prophetic message was to authenticate their belief concerning the need for resistance to the program of Hellenization.

**Session 4:**  
**Significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for Religious and Cultural Developments**  
**Faculty Respondent: Reuven Kimelman, Brandeis University**

**A Jewish Approach to Loans? Comparative Analysis of Documentary Papyri and Early Tannaitic Law**

**Nathan Schumer, Columbia University, nss2108@gmail.com**

Loan documents constitute an important scholarly lacuna in the study of documentary papyri from the Judean Desert. Scholars such as Lawrence Schiffman and Hannah Cotton have discussed the relationship of documentary papyri to tannaitic law, but have not focused on loans as a significant subset of these papyri. Loan documents are important to consider, because they are a source of tension between the norms of Torah law and those of the surrounding Greco-Roman world. Loan documents are a means of understanding the changing legal, cultural and social norms of Roman Palestine, precisely because loans and usury were sources of religious anxiety in ancient Judaism.

My paper examines the corpus of loan documents found in Judean papyri collections and compares it to the accounts of loans in early rabbinic literature. I examine two different types of loan documents, those where a sum of money is borrowed or lent and those where a field is leased out at a particular rate of return. These represent two major scenarios that the rabbis consider in their idealized system of borrowing and lending, elaborated in the Mishnah and the Tosefta. I also compare these loans in Judean desert papyri and rabbinic literature to the loan documents of Roman Egypt to better elucidate the specifically Jewish elements of these two corpora. Reading accounts of loans in rabbinic literature through the lens of documentary papyri, illuminates the historical development of Jewish accommodation of loans and moneylending practices, as well as the social history of the Jews in Palestine and the extent to which they adhered to some form of Torah law in their economic activities.

**“Preoccupied with Purity Law? Reading Mishnah Shabbat in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Sectarian Sabbath Rituals”**

**Yonatan Miller, Harvard University, ymiller@fas.harvard.edu**

Mishnah Shabbat, which preserves the earliest codification of rabbinic law on the Sabbath, is more capacious than its title seems to suggest. Though concerned primarily with those activities that are either permissible or prohibited when observing the Sabbath day, noticeable portions of the tractate have neither a substantive nor implied connection to Sabbath law. More specifically, the tractate frequently digresses from its focus on Sabbath law and it attests a significant series of references to ritual purity, many of which are entirely tangential. How are we to account this seeming preoccupation of Mishnah Shabbat with purity law?

My paper will explore the ostensibly tenuous connection between Sabbath law and ritual purity in rabbinic law through the lens of the Sabbath regulations found in the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Jewish texts from the Second Temple period. Through a survey of these texts, I will revisit the notion of the “holiness” of the Sabbath and take a closer look at the pre-rabbinic association of the Sabbath and purity law. Rather than viewing the episodic references to purity law in Mishnah Shabbat as a series of misplaced

tangents, my examination will shed light on variant conceptions of the temporal sanctity of the Sabbath in Jewish antiquity. I will argue that the dispersal of purity law references in Mishnah Shabbat should be viewed as vestigial corroboration for a long standing association of purity law and the Sabbath, which is first—and most substantively—attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

**The Evolution of Angels and the Problem of “Monotheism”**

**J. Andrew Sowers, Yale Divinity School, jsowers@harding.edu**

The purpose of this study is to decipher early Jewish understandings of monotheism in light of the evolved angelology in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Early Jewish literature indicates worshiping communities and scribes are being elevated to angelic status (see *T. Job* 48:2-3; *4 Ezra* 14:38-44; 4Q403 36-37). Judith H. Newman writes that community elites “performed the *Shirot* in order to acquire ‘tongues of angels.’” Eva Mroczek maintains that *Shirot* and related texts “permit us to speak of a transformation of identity and a dissolution of the human/angelic distinction, as if the human and the divine had blurred and merged into one another, at least for a time.” An ascetic lifestyle with proper meditation could bring one to the heavenly realm to worship God *as* an angel. The veneration of angels in *Shirot* and the shared oneness between human and divine worshippers imply that certain communities found no contradiction between the veneration of angels and the worship of God.

The Qumran texts have a more elevated angelology than the one presented in the Hebrew Bible. The *Shirot* provides strong evidence for this, even depicting the superiority of angelic beings to humans. Both angelic and human beings worship God, but human worshipers are sometimes portrayed as unworthy alongside the angels (cf. 4Q400 2 5-7). With such a venerated status of angels in mind, Stuckenbruck poses important questions for interpreting this angelic liturgy: “What are the boundaries of Jewish monotheistic faith? To what extent could the claim that there is one God accommodate the veneration or even worship of another figure?” This paper addresses these questions and argues that while the text demonstrates that one may both venerate angels and worship YHWH as the supreme God without contradiction, the *Shirot* makes no indication that any other deity is supreme over YHWH and, thereby, preserves and supports a monotheistic concept.

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