EXPLORING THE AFTERLIFE OF JEWISH PSEUDEPIGRAPHA IN MEDIEVAL NEAR EASTERN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS: SOME INITIAL SOUNDINGS[1]

by

JOHN C. REEVES
University of North Carolina at Charlotte

Were Second Temple era biblical pseudepigrapha like *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and *T. Levi* still available in Aramaic or Hebrew dress approximately a millennium later within some gaonic and postgaonic Jewish communities? If so, what were the cultural circumstances surrounding such "survival"? If not, how can one explain the numerous echoes of pseudepigraphical material within later aggadic compendia, or the appearance of works like the *Damascus Document* and *Aramaic Levi* amidst the Cairo Genizah hoard? Were tannaitic and amoraic strictures against the study and transmission of such literature[2] deliberately flouted by conventicles of heterodox scribes? Or did works like these re-enter Jewish intellectual life after a long hiatus, due to a fortuitous manuscript discovery or a simple borrowing of intriguing material from neighboring religious communities? Is it possible to trace a continuous "paper

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[1] The following essay represents a revised and expanded version of a "cyberlecture" aired as part of an undergraduate course in "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha" offered during the spring of 1997 at the University of St. Andrews under the direction of Prof. James R. Davila. Portions have been adapted from material previously published in my *Heralds of That Good Realm: Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions* (NHMS 41; Leiden: Brill, 1996), especially pp. 42-48 therein and the pertinent notes. I thank E.J. Brill for graciously granting me permission to re-employ and expand that copyrighted material in this new context.

[2] See *m. Sanh.* 10:1; *y. Sanh.* 10.1, 50a; *b. Sanh.* 100b; *Qoh. Rab.* 12.12(11). Note also Abraham ibn Ezra to Exod 3:22, where he recommends that "one not rely" on writings that are non-prophetic or outside of recognized tradition. He names *Sefer Zerubbabel*, *Sefer Eldad ha-Dani*, and *Chronicles of Moses* (this last work is singled out also in his commentary to 3:20) as examples of such writings.

trail" leading from Second Temple scribal circles down to the learned aggadists and interpreters of medieval Judaism?

A couple of concrete case studies may serve to frame this series of queries. In two recently published articles, Michael Stone demonstrates convincingly that several textual and exegetical traditions found in an eleventh-century midrashic compendium termed *Bereshit Rabbati*, attributed to R. Moshe ha-Darshan of Narbonne, are genetically related to a Hebrew fragment of the so-called *Testament of Naphtali* (4QTestNaph; PAM 43.237) that was found among the Dead Sea Scrolls.[3] Items of particular import include the preservation of proper names in the Hebrew texts which are garbled in the surviving Greek *Testament of Naphtali* (Aḥiyot/Aḥotay; Hannah), their common employment of distinctive vocabulary and locutions which cannot derive from the extant Greek manuscripts, and a unique midrashic explanation for the name Bilhah (although *T. Naph.* 1:12 also knows this midrash). To quote the author himself: "... it is possible to show that R. Moses must have had a Hebrew or Aramaic source document and that, at a number of points, his citation is closer to 4QTestNaph than it is to *TPN* [i.e., the Greek *Testament of Naphtali*]."[4] How are we to explain this circumstance? Was R. Moshe ha-Darshan conversant with Qumran lore? Earlier studies by Albeck and Himmelfarb have suggested that this medieval exegete utilized interpretive traditions found in works like *Jubilees*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and the *Life of Adam and Eve*, all of which seemed to be available to him in Semitic language versions.[5] Stone's recent discovery lends support to their suggestions and accentuates this likeli-

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[3] M.E. Stone, "Testament of Naphtali," *JJS* 47 (1996) 311-21; idem, "The Genealogy of Bilhah," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 3 (1996) 20-36. For a fuller publication of the Qumran remains of this work, see G.W. Nebe, "Qumranica I: Zu unveröffentlichten Handschriften aus Höhle 4 von Qumran," *ZAW* 106 (1994) 315-22; B.Z. Wacholder and M.G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four* (4 vols.; Washington: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991-96) 3.6; and now *Qumran Cave 4 XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 22; ed. G. Brooke, et al.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 73-82 and plate V.

[4] Stone, *JJS* 47 (1996) 312. Cf. also his remarks in *DSD* 3 (1996) 35-36.

[5] Ḥ. Albeck, *Midrash Bereshit Rabbati* (Jerusalem: Mekize Nirdamim, 1940), 17-18; M. Himmelfarb, "R. Moses the Preacher and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *AJS Review* 9 (1984) 55-78; idem, "Some Echoes of *Jubilees* in Medieval Hebrew Literature," *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (SBLEJL 6; ed. J.C. Reeves; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994) 115-41. Himmelfarb nuances her position by hypothesizing that in certain instances "medieval Jewish works seem to reflect knowledge not of the pseudepigraphic texts that have come down to us, but of works on which those texts drew" ("R. Moses the Preacher," 57; cf. also pp. 71-73). Stone's new Qumran fragment may be an example of such a source.

hood, but does not unfortunately solve the problem as to how R. Moshe would have acquired such singular knowledge.

Consider now a second intriguing example. The final lines of *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer* §37 feature the following narrative sequence: After wrestling the angel at the Yabboq, Jacob attempts to proceed across the river, but is reminded by his opponent of his former binding vow to dedicate "a tenth *of all* (וכל) that You grant me" to God (Gen 28:22) in the event of his safe return to his homeland. The angel also points out that the promised tithe should be exacted among Jacob's sons, since technically they also fall under the terms of the vow.[6] Several opinions are now provided in the text which explain how Jacob determined which one of his sons would become a "tithe" to the Lord.[7] A solution widely attested in classical rabbinic sources, and mentioned first here, involves Jacob initially excluding from the group the four sons who enjoyed "first-born" (בכור) status; namely, Reuben, Dan, Gad, and Joseph.[8] Among the eight sons remaining in the group from which the tithe is to be designated, Jacob counted sequentially—i.e., in order of birth-starting with Simeon as "1." To reach "10," the count must move from Benjamin as "8" to Simeon again, now "9." Levi thus occupies the tenth position in this counting scheme, and "he (Jacob) designated Levi as a tithe, holy to the Lord, as it says, 'the tenth will be holy to the Lord' (Lev 27:32)."[9] After recounting R. Ishmael's dissenting

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[6] *Pirqe R. El.* §37 (ed. Luria 87a): ועוד אמר המלאך ליעקב והלא יש לך בנים ולא עשרה אותם לי. The same tradition figures in *Tg. Ps-J* Gen 32:25: ואישתאר יעקב בלחודוי מעיברא ליובקא ואתכתש מלאכא עימיה בדמות נבר ואמר הלא אמרת לעשרא כל דילך והא אית לך תריסר בנין וברתא חדא ולא עשרתנון "and Jacob remained alone on the far side of the Yabboq. Then an angel in the guise of a human being attacked him, saying: 'Did you not commit to tithing all that belongs to you? You have twelve sons and a daughter which you have yet to tithe. . . .'"

[7] Compare Ibn Ezra to Gen 28:22b: ולהיות לוי עשירי דרך דרש כי אין בתורה שיתן האדם מעשר בניו רק מעשר בקר וצאן והבואה ". . . to make Levi the tenth (i.e., tithe) is the way of *derash*, for it is not in the Torah that a man should tithe his sons; only that he should tithe herds, flocks, and produce." It is obvious that Ibn Ezra is cognizant of the specific way in which the phrase "of all" has been exegeted. Radaq attributes the choice of Levi to the latter's assiduous devotion to divine service, an interest which his brothers did not share.

[8] Given their status as "first-born" and hence "holy" (Num 3:13), they are thereby exempt from being designated as "tithe." See *b. Bek.* 53b, as well as the general principle ואין קודש מוציא קודש enunciated in *y. Sanh.* 9a; *Gen. Rab.* 70.7.

[9] *Pirqe R. El.* §37 (ibid.): מה עשה יעקב הפריש ארבע בכורות לארבע אמהות ונשתיירו שמנה התחיל משמעון ונמר בבנימין שבמעי אמו ועוד התחיל משמעון ונמר בלוי ועלה לוי מעשר קדש ליי שנאמר העשירי יהיה קדש ליי. The same solution is presented in *Tg. Ps-J* Gen 32:25; *Gen. Rab.* 70.7; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 10.6 (ed. Mandelbaum 1.167); Tanḥuma, *Re'eh* §14; Tanhuma Buber, *Re'eh* §12.

opinion regarding the "first-born" and tithing obligations, the text then provides a different resolution to Jacob's problem which is especially interesting. It states: "He began his count with Benjamin, who was (still) in the womb of his mother, and (thus) reckoned Levi as 'holy to the Lord' (Lev 27:32)."[10] In other words, instead of beginning with Reuben and counting down to his tenth son, Zebulun, in accordance with their birth sequence, Jacob counted his sons in reverse order, beginning with his yet unborn youngest son, and wound up with Levi, his third-born, in the tenth position.[11] The archangel Michael accordingly snatches Levi up to heaven and presents him to God as "Your lot and portion,"[12] and Levi is there accorded signal recognition as the ancestor of the priestly clan.[13]

Interestingly, much of this latter version of the episode is precisely paralleled in the Second Temple era book of *Jubilees*.[14] According to *Jub.* 32:2, Jacob prepared a tithe of "everything that had come with him"[15] from Paddan Aram, including the human as well as the animal and inorganic goods which he had acquired during his sojourn abroad. This expansive list of offerings therefore reflects the same proof-text presupposed above by *Pirqe R. El.* §37 from Gen 28:22 (וכל אשר תתן לי עשר אעשרנו לך), although the narrative setting in *Jubilees* is different—there is no enforcing angel, and Jacob has already successfully crossed the Yabboq.[16] *Jub.* 32:3 then states: "And in those days

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[10] *Pirqe R. El.* §37 (ed. Luria 87a): התחיל מבנימין שבמעי אמו ועלה לוי קדש לי. The text is also quoted by J. Theodor and H. Albeck, *Midrash Bereshit Rabbah* (repr. 3 vols.; Jerusalem: Wahrmann, 1965) 804 nn.

[11] For an illuminating discussion of Jacob's various "counting schemes," see J. Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings," *HTR* 86 (1993) 13-17.

[12] *Pirqe R. El.* §37 (Luria 87b): ירד מיכאל המלאך ונטל את לוי והעלהו לפני הקב"ה אמר לפניו רבונו של עולם זה גורלך וחלק מעשיך. Note that Michael is also present in *Tg. Ps-J* Gen 32:25, where he is apparently identified as the angel who wrestled by the Yabboq with Jacob. Other rabbinic sources identify this angel as the "archon of Esau"; cf. *Gen. Rab.* 77.3.

[13] Note that here is an ascension tradition coupled with Levi's selection as priest, a motif reminiscent of *T. Levi* 2:2-5:7. For the exegetical background of Levi's ascension tradition, see Kugel, *HTR* 86 (1993) 30-36.

[14] The connection between *Jub.* 32 and *Pirqe R. El.* §37 was first noticed by B. Beer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und sein Verhältniss zu den Midraschim* (Leipzig: W. Gerhard, 1856) 36-37. See also *APOT* 2.62; L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1909-38) 5.306-307 n. 251 (correct the misprint "PRE 27" to "PRE 37" and add it to the list compiled by B. Heller, "Ginzberg's Legends of the Jews," *JQR* n.s. 25 [1934-35] 42-45).

[15] Ethiopic *'em-k^{w}ellu za-maṣ'o meslēhu*; Latin *decimavit universa quaecumque venerunt cum eo.* Texts cited from the edition of R.H. Charles, *Maṣḥafa Kufālē, or The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895) 118-19.

[16] *Jub.* 29:13. *Jubilees* is silent about any supernatural confrontation on that occasion,

Rachel was pregnant with her son Benjamin. And Jacob counted his sons from him upwards, and Levi fell to the lot of the Lord."[17] Astonishingly we note here a similar seemingly gratuitous statement regarding the fetal status of Benjamin, an identical reverse enumeration of sons, and the same designation of "lot" or "portion" (*makfalt* = חלק, גורל) applied to Levi—the same concatenate sequence that we observed above in the passage from *Pirqe R. El.* §37. How can this congruence be explained? Did *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer* "know" the book of *Jubilees*?[18]

Questions such as these are increasingly coming to the fore in Jewish pseudepigrapha scholarship during the final decade of the twentieth century. Much of this renewed interest stems from the publication and sustained study of a remarkable series of manuscript discoveries and recoveries over the course of the past century, the most famous of which is probably that of Qumran. Among the Qumran scrolls are the earliest attested exemplars of works like *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, as well as of a host of other compositions associated with the names and careers of prominent biblical characters (e.g., Levi, Moses, David, Ezekiel). Interestingly, we can occasionally identify the possession and/or use of certain Qumran-affiliated titles by various subsequent religious communities, both Jewish and non-Jewish, even if we cannot satisfactorily reconstruct the precise means by which that community acquired it. For example, when the tenth-century Karaite polemicist Ya'qūb al-Qirqisānī in his *Kitāb al-anwār* describes the Second Temple era sectarian activity of a certain Zadok,[19] he presents him as an early opponent of the Rabbanites (i.e., Pharisees) and credits him with the production of "many books"

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although it does state "and on that day (i.e., of his crossing) his brother Esau came to him, and they were reconciled with one another," perhaps hinting that the "man" (איש) of Gen 32:25 was in fact Esau.

[17] Ethiopic *wa-ba-we'eton mawā'el ḍansat ye'eti rāḥēl benyāmehā* (sic) *waldā wa-x^{w}alaq^{w}a 'emennēhu yāqob weludo wa-'arga wa-warada lēwi ba-makfalta 'Egzi'abḥer*; Latin *et in illo tempore Rachel in utero habente Beniamin filium suum, enumerauit Jacob ab ipso filios suos et ascendit, et cecidit Leuui in sortem Dei.* Texts from Charles, *Ethiopic Version* 118-19. Note also R.H. Charles and C. Rabin, "Jubilees," *AOT* (Sparks) 99 n. 2.

[18] Or alternatively, did *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer* "know" a discrete source that was also exploited by the final redactor of the book of *Jubilees*? This source would situate the location of Jacob's tithe not at Bethel (as in *Jubilees*) but at the Yabboq (as in *Pirqe R. El.* and *Tg. Ps-J*). Kugel offers some cogent reasons for viewing *Jub.* 32:3 as a later interpolation within this narrative episode; see his remarks in *HTR* 86 (1993) 49-51.

[19] This is apparently the same Zadok vilified in *'Abot R. Natan* A 5; ibid. B 10 (ed. Schechter 13b) as one of two deviant pupils of the early teacher Antigonus of Sokho, successor to Shim'on ha-Ṣaddiq as authoritative tradent of halakhic traditions (cf. *m. 'Abot* 1:3). Qirqisānī however considerably expands the notice provided by *'Abot R. Natan*, provoking suspicion that he was privy to a richer corpus of information.

wherein he challenged their interpretive positions.[20] Qirqisānī also notes that this same Zadok derived a prohibition against the marriage of one's niece via analogy (*qiyās*) with the scriptural proscription against marriage with one's aunt.[21] A. Harkavy, the initial publisher and expositor of Qirqisānī's testimony, thought it possible that Qirqisānī was here reliant upon one or more "Sadducean" books,[22] a possibility strengthened by his contextual reference to Zadok's authorial activity. Events were soon to prove this suspicion correct, for at the time of Harkavy's writing (1894) neither the Cairo Genizah nor of course the Qumran hoards had come to light. The argument reported by Qirqisānī can now actually be found in the *Damascus Document*, a work recovered from the Genizah and published in 1910 by S. Schechter.[23] Interestingly, there too the name of a certain Zadok is invoked as a legal authority by that text's author.[24] One must conclude that Qirqisānī was cognizant of at least this section of the so-called *Damascus Document*, portions of which have since been recovered not only from the Cairo Genizah, but also Qumran.[25]

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[20] For the Arabic text, see Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī, *Kitāb al-anwār wa-l-marāqib* (5 vols.; ed. L. Nemoy; New York: Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1939-43) 1.11.12-16, reproduced in J.C. Reeves, *Heralds of That Good Realm: Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions* (NHMS 41; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 62 n. 116. For a translation, see L. Nemoy, "Al-Qirqisānī's Account of the Jewish Sects and Christianity," *HUCA* 7 (1930) 326.

[21] Qirqisānī, *K. al-anwār* (ed. Nemoy) 1.11.17-18: الا فی شیء واحد وهو تحریمه لابنة الأخ وابنة الأخت فانه استدل علی ذلك بقیاسهما علی العمة والخالة . The interpretative tool of *qiyās*, the derivation of implicit rules by analogy or inference, is a popular technique in both Karaite and Muslim exegesis. The method corresponds to the rabbinic exegetical principle of *heqqeš* and may indeed be ultimately borrowed from Rabbanite argumentation. See D.J. Lasker, "Islamic Influences on Karaite Origins," *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions II: Papers Presented at the Institute for Islamic-Judaic Studies, Center for Judaic Studies, University of Denver* (BJS 178; ed. W.M. Brinner and S.D. Ricks; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 32-33.

[22] A. Harkavy, "Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī on the Jewish Sects," *Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī on Jewish Sects and Christianity: A Translation of "Kitāb al-anwār" Book I, with Two Introductory Essays* (ed. B. Chiesa and W. Lockwood; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1984) 57. Harkavy's essay was originally published in Russian in 1894.

[23] CD 5:7-11: ולוקחים איש את בת אחיהו ואת בת אחותו ומשה אמר אל אחות אמך לא תקרב שאר אמך היא ומשפט העריות לזכרים הוא כתוב וכהם הנשים ואם תגלה בת האח את ערות אחי אביה והיא שאר. Note that a portion of Qirqisānī's notice is almost verbally identical to CD 5:8. For the initial recognition that CD 5:7-11 could be connected with Qirqisānī's "Zadokites," see S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries, Volume I: Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (repr., New York: Ktav, 1970) XVIII-XIX, XXV. Compare also 11QT 66:14-17.

[24] CD 5:2-5: ודויד לא קרא בספר התורה החתום אשר היה בארון כי לא נפתח בישראל מיום מות אלעזר ויהושע והזקנים אשר עבדו את העשתרת ויממן ננלה עד עמוד צדוק ... This "Zadok" is surely identical with the ones mentioned by *ʾAbot R. Natan* and Qirqisānī.

[25] See M. Baillet, "Fragments du Document de Damas: Qumrân, grotte 6," *RB* 63 (1956) 513-23; M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les "petites grottes" de Qumrân*

Prior to the recovery of the Qumran scrolls, perhaps the most significant manuscript find of the modern era was Solomon Schechter's retrieval of the bulk of the Cairo Genizah textual archive at the close of the last century. A treasure trove of written documents that illuminates the daily life of the Jewish community of Fatimid and Ayyubid Egypt, it comprises hundreds of thousands of manuscript fragments ranging in date from the tenth to the nineteenth centuries CE. Yet as scholars soon discovered, the Genizah also preserved medieval copies of literary texts that antedated their scriveners by more than a millennium. Among the ancient documents recovered from the Genizah to date are six fragmentary manuscripts of the original Hebrew version of Ben Sira; some leaves of an *Aramaic Levi* apocryphon, the latter work previously known only from its Christian redaction(s) in Greek in the so-called *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*; and a set of manuscript leaves representing two different copies of a sectarian manual that described the formation of a "new covenant in the land of Damascus" (6:19); i.e., the *Damascus Document.* Some scholars would expand this list to include a collection of pseudo-Davidic psalms[26] and a non-biblical wisdom composition.[27] The eventual discovery of Qumran exemplars of Ben Sira, the *Aramaic Levi* work, and the *Damascus Document* demonstrated the actual antiquity of at least those writings. There is thus tangible evidence hinting at the post-*Ḥurban* survival of sectarian communities during the succeeding centuries or, at the very least, of ideological positions or of literature associated with such groups.

How could Second Temple compositions such as the *Damascus Document* and *Aramaic Levi* eventually surface amidst the fragmentary remains of the Cairo Genizah? Explanations have tended to cluster around two options: (1) such writings were continuously transmitted among certain groups within oriental Judaism for an extended period of time; or

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(DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962) 128-31 (6Q*15*); 181 (5Q*12*); J.M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4, XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

[26] D. Flusser and S. Safrai, "Shirey Dawid ha-ḥiṣoniyyim," *"Iyyunim ba-miqra": Sefer zikkaron li-Yehoshua Meir Grintz* (ed. B. Uffenheimer; Tel Aviv: Ha-kibbutz ha-meuḥad, 1982) 83-109.

[27] A. Harkavy, "Contribution à la littérature gnomique," *REJ* 24 (1903) 298-305; S. Schechter, "Genizah Fragments I: Gnomic," *JQR* o.s. 16 (1904) 425-42; K. Berger, *Die Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza* (Tübingen: Francke, 1989); idem, "Die Bedeutung der wiederentdeckten Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza für das Neue Testament," *NTS* 36 (1990) 415-30; idem, "Die Bedeutung der wiederentdeckten Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza für das Alte Testament," *ZAW* 103 (1991) 113-21; H.P. Rüger, *Die Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza* (WUNT 53; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1991).

(2) such writings "re-entered" Jewish culture via an accidental discovery of a manuscript deposit or a conscious borrowing from writings husbanded by non-Jewish circles.

One current of interpretation posits the continuous, largely subterranean, survival of Qumran-affiliated sectarian cells within classical Judaism until the Gaonic period, when this ideology re-erupted in the guise of Karaism. Proponents of this view point to the undeniable similarity in terminology and cultural critique displayed within the sectarian scrolls and Karaite literature, suggesting that the sectarian perspective persisted as a living tradition at the fringes of Tannaitic and Amoraic formulations and developments. This explanation is actually an updated version of A. Geiger's nineteenth-century theory regarding the origins of the Karaite movement.[28] Geiger argued then that Karaism was directly indebted to the continuing survival of Second Temple Sadducean ideology—namely its alleged antipathy to Pharisaic oral Torah—within late antique and early medieval Judaism.[29] Modern scholars simply supplement Geiger's hypothesis with the new evidence provided by the Qumran finds, particularly with regard to the importance of the figure of Zadok, in order to bolster this possibility.

Some support for this position might possibly come from Rabbanite polemic against the Karaite movement. A term of opprobrium frequently wielded against Karaite arguments is the appellative "Sadducee." For example, the Andalusian chronicler Abraham ibn Daud notes in his *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*: "after the (Roman) destruction of the Temple, the Sadducees languished until the advent of 'Anan, who reinvigorated them."[30] Here the designation "Sadducee" is apparently used to identify an actual group who maintained a tenuous presence among eastern Jewish communities from the First Roman Revolt until the eighth century CE, when 'Anan, the putative "founder" of Karaism emerged as an articulate

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[28] See, e.g., A. Geiger, *Judaism and its History* (2nd ed.; New York: Bloch, 1911) 260-69.

[29] According to J. Mann, the midrashic compilation known as *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah* reveals that "as late as the second half of the fifth century" [which is where Mann dates *SER*] there were Jews in Babylon "who opposed the Oral Law"; see the edition of M. Friedmann, *Mavo* 93-98 for a convenient collection of pertinent passages. Mann further speculates that such groups may have persisted "surreptitiously" until eventually emerging under the banner of Karaism. See J. Mann, "Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue Due to Religious Persecution," *HUCA* 4 (1927) 309.

[30] כי אחר חרבן הבית נדלדלו הצדוקים עד שעמד ענן וחזקם. Note the similarity of expression to CD 5:5, with regard to the advent of Zadok. Text cited from A. Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles and Chronological Notes* (2 vols.; reprinted, Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1970) 1.64.

spokesperson for their program.[31] The force of this aspersion depends upon Second Temple and Tannaitic testimonies regarding a series of halakhic disputes with a shadowy group bearing this name. The same group occasionally is termed "Baytusi," a designation which in the sixteenth century was brilliantly connected with the name "Essene."[32] According to rabbinic sources, the "Sadducees/Baytusin" are a religious group who are frequently at odds with the Sages with regard to two major issues: 1) the proper determination of festival dates, or, calendrical issues; and 2) the proper maintenance of ritual purity.[33] Both of these topics, interestingly enough, are major foci of a number of Qumran scrolls. Some have argued that in these recorded disputes we possess historical reminiscences of dialogues between Pharisaic exegetes and Qumran adherents. Perhaps, so the argument runs, the Rabbanites perceptively recognized in the Karaite schism the latest physical renascence of their centuries-old adversary.

Other evidence also points to the possibility that "Sadducees," or perhaps better "Zadokites," persisted as an identifiable religious sect during late antiquity. A curious passage found in the Syriac *Vita Rabbūlā*,[34] an early hagiographic recountal of the episcopal career of Rabbūlā (411-35 CE), the eastern church leader often credited with the establishment of orthodoxy in Edessa, identifies the names of a number of heresies which the bishop aggressively suppressed upon his arrival in that city. Among the roster of familiar labels occurs one interesting collocation—"the heresy of the ʿAudians and the Zadokites."[35] The standard lexica identify the ܨܕܘܩܝܐ as "Sadducees," although it is unclear (1) why "Sadducees" as a distinct Jewish party would be present as a viable community in fifth-century Edessa, or (2) why this particular Jewish sect should merit special attention from Rabbūlā—no other

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[31] There is some confusion in both the ancient sources and the modern scholarly reconstructions regarding the role of ʿAnan and the ʿAnanites in the formation of Karaism. For recent discussions of the issue, see H. Ben-Shammai, "Between Ananites and Karaites: Observations on Early Medieval Jewish Sectarianism," *Studies in Muslim-Jewish Relations: Volume 1* (ed. R.L. Nettler; Oxford: Oxford Center for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, 1993) 19-29; Y. Erder, "The Karaites' Sadducee Dilemma," *IOS* 14 (1994) 195-226.

[32] Azariah di Rossi, *Me'or ʿEnayim* (3 vols.; Vilna, 1866; reprinted, Jerusalem: Maqor, 1970) 1.90-97. See also the references supplied by Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen* 9-13.

[33] For a recent discussion of these issues, see Y. Sussmann, "Appendix 1: The History of the Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4, V: Miqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 187-96.

[34] *S. Ephraemi Syri . . . Opera Selecta* (ed. J.J. Overbeck; Oxford: Clarendon, 1865) 159-209.

[35] Overbeck 194.9-10: ܗܘ ܕܨܕܘܩܝܐ ܘܥܘܕܝܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܚܕܝܐ.

Jewish group is singled out here in this way, or (3) why the Sadducces, if they are indeed the Sadducees, would be grouped with the ʿAudians, a gnostic sect known to us from other sources.[36] I think that there are at least two possible solutions to this crux.

First, the name "Zadokite" and its related cognate derivatives ("righteous," "righteous one," "children of righteousness," "righteousness," etc.) were the standard Semitic Manichaean designations for the Manichaean religion itself and its adherents, particularly those who were numbered among the so-called "Elect."[37] Moreover, scholars have been accumulating an impressive amount of evidence that points to a literary nexus between the scribal circles of Second Temple Judaea, including most importantly Qumran, and subsequent Syro-Mesopotamian gnostic movements, including Manichaeism. Pseudepigrapha allegedly attributed to or associated with biblical forefathers like Adam, Seth, and Enoch form an important part of this cultural transmission, especially those featuring angelophanic interviews and ascent experiences. The author of *Vita Rabbūlā* states that the ʿAudians and Zadokites "wandered astray after false visions . . .,"[38] an allusion perhaps to these sects' utilization of apocryphal apocalypses of this sort. We in fact have confirming evidence that at least the ʿAudians cultivated the study of this sort of literature—Theodore bar Konai's description of that sect provides both titles and brief quotations from their library of biblical pseudepigrapha.[39] We also

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[36] See H.-C. Puech, "Fragments retrouvés de l'«Apocalypse d'Allogène»," *Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves (Bruxelles)* 4 (1936) 935-62; Reeves, *Heralds* 115-17.

[37] See Ephrem Syrus, *Prose Refutations* (ed. Mitchell) 1.30.12-30, 1.127.44-128.8; I.M.F. Gardner and S.N.C. Lieu, "From Narmouthis (Medinet Madi) to Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab): Manichaean Documents from Roman Egypt," *JRS* 86 (1996) 166, and *passim* in the Coptic Manichaica, which we now know were translated directly from Syriac into Coptic; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, *Mani*; see below) 61.11; al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār* (*Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Albêrûnî* [ed. C.E. Sachau; repr. Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1923]) 207.17, 208.4. For discussion, see G. Flügel, *Mani: seine Lehre und seine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1862; reprinted, Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1969) 271; A.A. Bevan, "Manichaeism," *ERE* 8.398-99 n. 5; H.H. Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge I* (reprinted, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972) 282-85; H.-C. Puech, *Le manichéisme: son fondateur—sa doctrine* (Paris: Civilisations du Sud, 1949) 143-44 n. 238.

[38] Overbeck 194.12-13: ܕܐ ܥܠܝܗܝ ܕܛܥܘ ܒܚܙܘܢ̈ܐ ܕܫܩܝܪ̈ܐ ܘܥܡܝܘ ܒܫܪܪܐ "for they wandered astray after false visions and were blind to the truth."

[39] Theodore bar Konai, *Liber Scholiorum* (CSCO scrip. syri, ser. II, t. 65-66; 2 vols.; ed. A. Scher; Paris: Carolus Poussielgue, 1910-12) 2.319.6-320.26. Theodore states: "He (i.e., ʿAudi) accepted with the Old and the New Testaments also (certain) apocalypses (ܚܙ̈ܘܢ̈ܐ)." Identified by name are an apocalypse of Abraham, an apocalypse of John (now recovered from Coptic gnostic literature as the *Apocryphon of John*), a "Book of the

know that Mani was extremely interested in this type of literature, particularly writings associated with the figure of Enoch, so much so that the Qumranic *Book of Giants* is eventually adapted to form a part of the official Manichaean scriptural canon.[40] However, despite the attractiveness of this particular solution to the aforementioned identity problem (i.e., *Vita Rabbūlā*'s Zadokites = Manichaeans), there does remain a significant difficulty. The adherents of Mani have in fact already been named earlier in the list of heresies![41] Unless the writer of the *Vita* is deliberately distinguishing the Manichaean *electi* from their *auditores* ("hearers"), it seems unlikely that Manichaeism would be mentioned twice in the same list.

A second possibility for interpreting the elusive "Zadokites" of *Vita Rabbūlā* is even more speculative than the one just outlined. I wonder if this designation might not encode a reference to a group of fifth-century Mesopotamian "descendants" of the Second Temple era Zadokites.[42] Given their present association with the ʿAudians, along with the absence in this list of any other reference to specific Jewish movements, they

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Strangers," a "Book of Questions," and an "Apocalypse of the Strangers." See Reeves. *Heralds* 116.

[40] J.C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992).

[41] Overbeck 193.25-194.9; i.e., immediately preceding the notice about the ʿAudians and Zadokites. The Manichaeans are here termed ḥdydʾyḥ "the adherents of Mani."

[42] Both al-Jāḥiẓ (ninth-century) and Ibn Ḥazm (eleventh-century) refer to a Jewish sect termed Ṣadūqiyya; i.e., "Zadokites." The former authority situates members of this sect in the Yemen, Syria, and Byzantine territory; for the references, see C. Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm* (Leiden: Brill, 1996) 98 n. 130. Ibn Ḥazm states that their name stems from "a man whose name was Zadok," that they could be found in the region of the Yemen, and that they held that ʿUzayr was the son of God; see S. Poznański, "Ibn Ḥazm über jüdische Secten," *JQR* o.s. 16 (1904) 766.7-767.2 (text). Both scholars' placement of this sect in the Yemenite sphere is highly suggestive, given that region's reputation as a haven for both Jewish and non-Jewish sectarians. See, e.g., L. Massignon, "The Origins of the Transformation of Persian Iconography by Islamic Theology: The Shīʿa School of Kūfa and its Manichaean Connections," *A Survey of Persian Art: From Prehistoric Times to the Present* (15 vols.; ed. A.U. Pope and P. Ackerman; London: Oxford University Press, 1938-39) 5.1928-36; D.J. Halperin and G.D. Newby, "Two Castrated Bulls: A Study in the Haggadah of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār," *JAOS* 102 (1982) 631-38; Y. Erder, "The Origin of the Name Idrīs in the Qurʾān: A Study of the Influence of Qumran Literature on Early Islam," *JNES* 49 (1990) 339-50. The idea of belief in ʿUzayr (i.e., Ezra) as the "son of God" goes back to Qurʾān S. 9:30, although here Ibn Ḥazm limits this enigmatic charge to the "Zadokites." If one accepts P. Casanova's attractive solution to this longstanding crux (a confusion between عزير ʿUzayr and عزيل ʿUziel), Ibn Ḥazm's ascription of such a belief to "Zadokites" becomes more intelligible. See Casanova, "Idris et ʿOuzair," *JA* 205 (1924) 356-60, as well as the important remarks of S.M. Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) 183 n. 67.

are apparently no longer "Jewish" in identity or orientation (at least to an outsider's eye), but they might perhaps retain certain customs or exotic literary heirlooms from their sectarian past, textual and/or behavioral merchandise which other religious communities might borrow and exploit. One recalls in this connection the intriguing notice in the heresiologist Mārūtā of Maipherqaṭ that the ʿAudians prohibited laughter during their assemblies,[43] a stricture reminiscent of the similar proscription against public mirth in the Qumranic *Serekh ha-Yaḥad* or *Community Rule*,[44] as well as among the mysterious Maghārīyya sect, a group whom we will examine in more detail below.[45] It is perhaps also noteworthy that the ʿAudians resisted the Nicene strictures regarding the separation of the date of Easter from that of the Passover celebration, an attitude indicative of their close ties to Jewish observances.[46] One wonders whether the ʿAudian sect did not in fact originate as a "Christianized" version of an older "Zadokite" Jewish community.[47] Their peculiar pairing in this source may then preserve an ancient recognition of a derivative link between them.

It is however not necessary to postulate the persistent survival of the "Sadducee" sect in order to explain the eruption and spread of Karaism, nor is it required to explain the continued survival of Second Temple pseudepigraphical literature among later scribal circles, both Jewish and Gentile. Scholars have called attention to sporadic notices reporting the discovery of ancient manuscripts, both biblical and non-biblical, within

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[43] Vööbus 25.10-11: ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܗ ܕܠܐ ܬܗܘܘ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܥܡ ܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܘܠܐ ܬܗܘܘ ܡܬܟܢܫܝܢ ܥܡ ܝܗܘܕܝܐ. Text cited from the edition of A. Vööbus, *The Canons Ascribed to Mārūtā of Maipherqaṭ and Related Sources* (CSCO vol. 439, scrip. syri t. 191; Louvain: Peeters, 1982).

[44] IQS 7:14-15: ואשר ישחק בסכלות להשמיע קולו ונענש שלושים יום. The same proscription is now found in the Cave 4 fragments of the *Damascus Document*. Note 4Q*266* 10 ii 12-13; 4Q*269* 10 ii 1-2; and 4Q*270* 7 i 4, as found in Baumgarten, *DJD 18* 74-75; 135.

[45] Qirqisānī, *K. al-anwār* (ed. Nemoy) 1.42.2-3: وحكى عنهم انه كان فيهم قوم لايرون أن يضحك و ا "It is said that there are among them some who think that laughter is unlawful"; translation from Nemoy, *HUCA* 7 (1930) 363.

[46] According to Epiphanius, the ʿAudians cited a διάταξις ἀποστόλων in support of their position: ὑμεῖς μὴ ψηφίζητε, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖτε ὅταν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὑμῶν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς, μετ' αὐτῶν ἅμα ποιεῖτε (*Panarion* 70.10.2). See also Theodore bar Konai, *Scholion* (ed. Scher) 2.319.8-11: "When the Nicene Council decreed the regulation that members of the Church would not celebrate the paschal festival with the Jews, he (continued) to follow the ancient customs, and contended that their rite was the proper one to hold," Note too S. Lieberman, "Palestine in the Third and Fourth Centuries," *JQR* n.s. 36 (1945-46) 333-34.

[47] This possibility is not as far-fetched as it might seem. For an illuminating discussion of the presence of "Christianizing Jews" in the Near East during the first millennium CE, see Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew* 38-41.

the caves dotting the Judaean wilderness during the course of the first millennium CE. Eusebius, for example, mentions that Origen employed for his *Hexapla* a manuscript of the biblical book of Psalms that had been "found at Jericho in a jar during the reign of Antoninus son of Severus" (*Hist. eccl.* 6.16.3),[48] a clear reference to a manuscript find in the Dead Sea region predating that of the modern Qumran discoveries. Several centuries later the Nestorian patriarch Timothy of Seleucia speaks of the recent discovery of a large number of manuscripts, both biblical and non-biblical, in a cave near Jericho.[49] These were reportedly transported to Jerusalem for careful study, and among this find were "more than two hundred Psalms of David."[50] The eventual fate of this group of texts remains unknown,[51] although one must recognize that a sizeable recovery of manuscripts from this particular location possesses important implications for explaining why non-biblical works of Second Temple provenance like the *Damascus Document* are present in the Cairo Genizah scant centuries later.[52] Moreover, the

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[48] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.16.3: ἐν Ἱεριχοῖ εὑρημένης ἐν πίθῳ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ Σευήρου. Text and translation cited from *Eusebius: The Ecclesiastical History* (LCL; 2 vols.; ed. J.E.L. Oulton and H.J. Lawlor; repr. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964) 2.52-53.

[49] O. Braun, "Ein Brief des Katholikos Timotheos I über biblische Studien des 9. Jahrhunderts," *OrChr* 1 (1901) 138-52; 299-313. The description of the find, as well as Timothy's explanation for the manuscripts' presence in the wilderness, is found on 304.11-308.15 (text). See Appendix Three below.

[50] Braun 306.15-16: ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܚܕ ܥܒܪܝܐ ܕܐܫܟܚܢ ܒܗܢ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܡܙ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ܐ "A Hebrew (informant) told me: 'We found ascribed to David in those manuscripts more than two hundred psalms.'"

[51] Some have speculated that the manuscript hoard came into the possession of the initial Karaite emigrants to Eretz Israel; cf. M. Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634-1099* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 784-86. Note especially the intriguing testimony of the thirteenth-century Rabbanite Moshe Taku: כבר שמענו מרבותינו כי ענן המין וחבריו היו כותבין דברי מינות ושקר ומומנים בקרקע ואחר כך היו מוציאין אותם ואומרים כך מצאנו בספרים קדמונים "we have learned from our teachers that 'Anan the heretic and his party used to write heretical and false treatises and hide them underground, and after a time would bring them out and say, 'Thus have we found (it attested) in ancient books!'" See S. Lieberman, "Light on the Cave Scrolls from Rabbinic Sources," *PAAJR* 20 (1951) 402-3; S. Spiegel, "Le-parashat ha-polemos shel Pirkoi ben Baboi," *Harry Austryn Wolfson Jubilee Volume* (Hebrew and English vols.; ed. S. Lieberman, et al.; Jerusalem: The American Academy for Jewish Research, 1965) 256 (Hebrew).

[52] For further discussion of this particular find, along with its implications for modern manuscript discoveries, see O. Eissfeldt, "Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung der in Palästina neu gefundenen hebräischen Handschriften: 7. Der Anlass zur Entdeckung der Höhle und ihr ähnliche Vorgänge aus älterer Zeit," *TLZ* 74 (1949) 597-600; R. de Vaux, "À propos des manuscrits de la mer Morte," *RB* 57 (1950) 417-29; A. Paul, *Écrits de Qumran et sectes juives aux premiers siècles de l'Islam* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1969) 94-96; Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew* 39-40. Note also Baumgarten, *DJD 18* 6:

explicit mention of an expanded Davidic psalter ("more than two hundred") suggests one likely source for the presence in Syriac ecclesiastical tradition of five apocryphal Psalms of David—the so-called Psalms 151-155.[53]

Furthermore, and perhaps most intriguingly, Karaite and Muslim heresiologists are cognizant of a Jewish sect which supposedly flourished around the turn of the era whom they termed Maghārīyya ("Cave Men"), "so called because their writings were found in a cave."[54] Information about this sect can be found in four medieval writers: al-Qirqisānī, al-Bīrūnī, al-Shahrastānī, and Judah Hadassi,[55] who are in turn reliant upon at least two earlier, now largely lost sources—those of Dā'ūd b. Marwān al-Muqammiṣ, a ninth-century exegete who flirted with Christianity before returning to the Jewish fold,[56] and Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq, an alleged "heretic" (*zindīq*)[57] occasionally accused of harboring Manichaean sympathies.[58] Qirqisānī's description of the Maghārīyya, perhaps the fullest of those available, situates them in a pre-Christian temporal setting, between the figures of Zadok (see above)

"In the approximately 326 lines, complete or partial, [of the 4Q fragments] which parallel the Genizah text there are less than thirty significant variants. In view of the absence of any known continuous textual tradition during the millennium which separates the medieval copy from its ancient forerunners, the reports of manuscript finds in the Dead Sea region in medieval sources will very likely gain added attention."

[53] Excepting Ps 151, "the other four Psalms preserved in Syriac and associated in much of the MS tradition with Ps 151 certainly derive directly from a Hebrew text." This judgment stems from the extremely valuable study of J. Strugnell, "Notes on the Text and Transmission of the Apocryphal Psalms 151, 154 (= Syr. II) and 155 (= Syr. III)," *HTR* 59 (1966) 259.

[54] Qirqisānī, *K. al-anwār* (ed. Nemoy) 1.12.1; Arabic text also reproduced in Reeves, *Heralds* 62 n. 115.

[55] The references are provided in Reeves, *Heralds* 61-62 n. 114.

[56] See Qirqisānī, *K. al-anwār* (ed. Nemoy) 1.44.9-15, translation by Nemoy, *HUCA* 7 (1930) 366. For a discussion of this thinker, see Harkavy, "Qirqisānī on the Jewish Sects," 62-64; S. Stroumsa, *Dāwūd ibn Marwān al-Muqammiṣ's Twenty Chapters ('Ishrūn Maqāla)* (Leiden: Brill, 1989) 15-35.

[57] The etymology of this designation for "heretics" (usually Manichaean) in the Islamicate realms has been much disputed. For a representative discussion of the options, see Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge I* 274-91. See also G. Vajda, "Les zindīqs en pays d'Islam au debut de la période abbaside," *RSO* 17 (1937-38) 173-229; F. Gabrieli, "La «zandaqa» au I^er^ siècle abbasside," *L'élaboration de l'Islam: Colloque de Strasbourg 12-13-14 juin 1959* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961) 23-38; M. Chokr, *Zandaqa et zindiqs en Islam au second siècle de l'Hégire* (Damas: Institut français de Damas, 1993).

[58] With regard to this intriguing figure, see especially C. Colpe, "Anpassung des Manichäismus an den Islam (Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq)," *ZDMG* 109 (1959) 82-91; D. Thomas, *Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 9-30; idem, "Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq and the History of Religions," *JSS* 41 (1996) 275-90.

and Jesus. His notice emphasizes their prolific literary activity, and speaks as if the bulk of their writings were still available for contemporary inspection: "One of them (i.e., of the sect) is the Alexandrian whose book is famous and (widely) known; it is the most important of the books of the Magharians. Next to it (in importance) is a small booklet entitled 'The Book of Yaddua,' also a fine work. As for the rest of the Magharian books, most of them are of no value and resemble mere tales."[59] Whether these statements represent the judgment of Muqammiṣ or of Qirqisānī himself remains opaque; what is clearly evident though is the continued physical existence and availability of this sectarian literature during the late first millennium CE. Two works are remarked as especially noteworthy: that of "the Alexandrian," whom Harkavy (among others) identified as Philo,[60] and the mysterious *Sefer Ydw'*.[61] Unfortunately these two writings seem to have perished, at least with regard to their aforementioned cognomens.[62]

All of these "archaeological" notices would seem to possess some relevance for the presence of ancient "sectarian" texts in the Cairo Genizah, not to mention the eventual twentieth-century Qumran-area discoveries, although it is difficult to integrate and synthesize the various accounts into a consistent sectarian profile. However it is to be explained, it is manifestly clear that Second Temple Jewish writings of a sectarian hue remained available among certain groups of Islamicate Jewry, and hence potentially accessible to Western Jewish communities, as well as non-Jewish

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[59] Qirqisānī, *K. al-anwār* (ed. Nemoy) 1.12.1-4: منهم الإسكندراني وكتابه مشهور معروف وهو أجلّ كتب المغاريه وبعده كتيب صغير يقال له ספר יודוא وهو ايضا كتاب حسن فاما سائر كتب المغاريّة فليس فيها كتاب له معنى وانما اكثرها اخبار شبيه بالخرافات. Translation is that of Nemoy, *HUCA* 7 (1930) 327.

[60] A. Harkavy, "Qirqisānī on the Jewish Sects" 78; W. Bacher, "Qirqisani, the Karaite, and his Work on Jewish Sects," *JQR* o.s. 7 (1895) 703; S. Poznański, "Philon dans l'ancienne littérature judéo-arabe," *REJ* 50 (1905) 10-31, esp. 23-31. Nemoy is skeptical of this identification (*HUCA* 7 [1930] 327 n. 24), as are most later scholars. For recent discussions of this issue, see J. Fossum, "The Magharians: A Pre-Christian Jewish Sect and its Significance for the Study of Gnosticism and Christianity," *Henoch* 9 (1987) 303-344, esp. 316-21; D. Winston, "Philo's *Nachleben* in Judaism," *Studia Philonica Annual* 6 (1994) 103-110, esp. 106-107; E.R. Wolfson, "Traces of Philonic Doctrine in Medieval Jewish Mysticism: A Preliminary Note," *Studia Philonica Annual* 8 (1996) 99-106, esp. 100-104.

[61] As Harkavy noted ("Qirqisānī on the Jewish Sects" 60), the title would suggest that this is a Hebrew work, although the title's meaning (Book of Yaddua? Book of Knowledge?) remains unclear. See especially the remarks of N. Golb, "Who Were the Magārīya?" *JAOS* 80 (1960) 357.

[62] For an exemplary fresh discussion of the Maghārīyya which accents the esoteric resonances of their peculiar cognomen, see S.M. Wasserstrom, "Shahrastānī on the Maghārīyya," *Israel Oriental Studies* (forthcoming).

antiquarians, intellectuals, and religious fanatics, insofar as such writings (or oral reports of them) may have circulated in a convenient vernacular format.[63] However, to judge from the extant manuscript evidence, the number of such texts was relatively small, especially when compared to the rich corpus of Second Temple and Roman era Jewish texts preserved and transmitted among certain Christian communities, particularly within the eastern churches. Our knowledge of the Jewish pseudepigraphic corpus would be much poorer were it not for eastern Christendom's fascination with biblical legendry. Oftentimes recensions of pseudepigraphic works survive in several versions and linguistic traditions, attesting a lively scribal interest in the transmission and even embellishment of received wisdom.[64]

Syriac literature is especially rich in Jewish pseudepigraphical "survivals,"[65] a circumstance due in no small part to the sustained presence of substantial Jewish communities in Syria and Mesopotamia throughout the late antique and Islamicate periods. This same cultural sphere was also a hotbed of heterodox religious activity, both Jewish and non-Jewish, during the same timeframe. Much of this social ferment bubbles out of the dissemination of radical ways of reading and interpreting the scriptural substrate shared by Jews, Christians, gnostics, and Muslims, and there exists substantial evidence for the transmission of narrative motifs, exegetical traditions, and even entire works across formal religious boundaries.[66] Thanks to the widespread phenomenon of "prophetization,"[67]

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[63] The *Nachleben* of a composition like the Qumran *Book of Giants* illustrates one aspect of such vitality. The *Book of Giants* achieves its greatest popularity within Manichaeism, where it comes to be ranked as one of that community's authoritative scriptures. Interestingly, Manichaean traditions also supply us with our sole evidence for the existence in Mesopotamia of Semitic language (undoubtedly eastern Aramaic) archetypes of the "Similitudes of Enoch" (*1 Enoch* 37-71) and *2 Enoch*—see Reeves, *Heralds* 191-98; idem, "An Enochic Motif in Manichaean Tradition," *Manichaica Selecta: Studies Presented to Professor Julien Ries on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (ed. A. van Tongerloo and S. Giversen; Louvain: International Association of Manichaean Studies, 1991) 295-98; idem, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library," *Tracing the Threads* 173-203, esp. 181-91.

[64] For example, the two distinct Old Slavonic versions of *2 Enoch*; the numerous oriental versions of 4 Ezra; Syriac and Arabic versions of *2 Apoc. Bar.*; the polyglot *Adamschriften* corpus. Such examples could easily be multiplied.

[65] An excellent guide to this material is supplied by D. Bundy, "Pseudepigrapha in Syriac Literature," *Society of Biblical Literature 1991 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991) 745-65. See also S. Brock, "Jewish Traditions in Syriac Sources," *JJS* 30 (1979) 212-32, esp. 223ff.

[66] See especially Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew*.

[67] I mean by this term the seemingly arbitrary bestowal of prophetic rank upon a number of literary characters who do not normally enjoy such status within the traditional

works associated with biblical (and some postbiblical and even non-biblical [i.e., pagan!]) forefathers and worthies generated particular interest for the light they could shed on questions relating to cosmogony, cosmology, chronography, and eschatology, irregardless of whether their alleged authors enjoyed such status in their original narrative contexts. Adam, Seth, Enosh, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Nimrod, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the sons of Jacob, Moses, David, Solomon, Baruch, Ezra, Daniel, Zerubbabel, R. Shimon b. Yohai—these figures, among others, were elevated (if need be) to the office of "prophet," and their pronouncements, now largely if not wholly pseudepigraphical, were carefully scrutinized for their present relevance by followers of "later" prophetic figures like Mani, Muhammad, or Abū 'Isā al-Iṣfahānī.[68] Such intensity of interest in the "writings" of the forefathers emanating from a diverse array of Near Eastern religions and sects goes a long way, in my mind, toward explaining the remarkable survival and eventual supplementation and expansion of authentic Second Temple era Jewish writings in the Middle Ages.[69]

Finally, to address our remaining loose ends: the two examples of what appear to be "survivals" of *Jubilees* and a Hebrew *Testament of Naphtali* in *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer* and R. Moshe ha-Darshan, respectively. Given the probable Islamicate provenance of *Pirqe R. El.*[70] and the growing documentation for the knowledge of *Jubilees* in medieval Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic literature, it does not seem unusual (at least to me) that *Pirqe R. El.* would have, and sometimes use, *Jubilees* as a source of aggadic lore. R. Moshe ha-Darshan presents a more difficult case. If Albeck, Himmelfarb, and Stone are justified in their suspicions that he exploited ancient pseudepigraphical literature (and I think they are), where or how did he gain access to it? Some type of literary transmission

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scriptures. This phenomenon however is not arbitrary. "Prophetization" is in fact closely tied (it would seem) to the process of "scripturalization" i.e., the gradual, yet formal establishment of a "sacred" corpora of scriptures.

[68] Along with "prophetization" develops a revised definition of the credentials required for broad interreligious recognition of one's status as "prophet." These are preminently twofold: an angelophany via which the divine message is imparted, and the authorship of a "book" which records the message for posterity.

[69] At least among those religious communities for whom the office of "prophet" retained an inherent authority. Interest would naturally be taken in the preservation and transmission of writings allegedly penned by an authoritative "prophet."

[70] G. Friedlander, *Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer* (London, 1916; reprinted, New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1981) liii-lv; M.D. Herr, "Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer," *EncJud* 13.558-60; H.L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991) 356-58.

has undoubtedly taken place, a process involving textual movement generally from eastern to western sites of intellectual activity, perhaps via Byzantine Italy[71] or North Africa and Andalusia[72] to Provence. One should not underestimate the possible role of Arabophone literature, subsequently translated into Hebrew, in this connection; the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* ("tales of the prophets") collections were extremely popular and constitute a rich depository of all sorts of curious lore, some of which is indebted to Jewish pseudepigraphical legend.[73] It has, for example, not been noticed by scholars of Second Temple era Jewish literature that the ninth-century Arabic chronicle of al-Ya'qūbī incorporates a paraphrastic rendition of apocryphal Psalm 151 amidst its presentation of the career of David.[74] Genizah documents illustrate that transcontinental travel and trade did effectively link widely separated Jewish communities.[75] One might also recall the relatively rapid dissemination within occidental Jewish circles of the *Sefer Yetsira*, a pseudepigraphon which is almost certainly of Islamicate origin,[76] or Scholem's hypothesized "oriental

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[71] Himmelfarb, "R. Moses the Preacher" 73-77; idem, "Some Echoes" 115-18. Moreover, as Himmelfarb rightly notes, both *Sefer Yosippon*, a work probably produced in southern Italy during the mid-tenth century CE, and the extant writings of Shabbetai Donnolo, a Jewish physician who dwelt in the same region at the same time, display knowledge of extracanonical books and/or traditions.

[72] Such, for example, seems to be the path of transmission for *Sefer Nestor ha-Komer*, an early Jewish polemical treatise attacking Christianity. See D.J. Lasker and S. Stroumsa, *The Polemic of Nestor the Priest: Introduction, Translations and Commentary* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1996) 1.28-29.

[73] See T. Nagel, "Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'," *EI*^{2} 5.180-81; N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri I: Historical Texts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957) 38-56; H. Schwarzbaum, *Biblical and Extra-Biblical Legends in Islamic Folk Literature* (Waldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde Dr. H. Vordran, 1982) 50-75; S.M. Wasserstrom, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Muslim Literature: A Bibliographical and Methodological Sketch," *Tracing the Threads* 87-114; idem, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha and the Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'," *William M. Brinner Festschrift* (forthcoming); Adang, *Muslim Writers* 8-22.

[74] al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh al-Ya'qūbī* (2 vols.; Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1960) 1.55.10-15; Adang, *Muslim Writers* 119; R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "Al-Ya'ḳūbī's Account of the Israelite Prophets and Kings," *JNES* 29 (1970) 82 and 90 n. 70. See also Appendix One below.

[75] One can also cite the example of the intriguing Abū Aaron, a ninth-century wonder-working Jewish immigrant to southern Italy who hailed from a prominent family in Babylonia and who supposedly transmitted to Europe certain esoteric traditions. See G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (3d ed.; reprinted, New York: Schocken, 1961) 41, 84-85, 102; idem, *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1974) 33; A. Sharf, *The Universe of Shabbetai Donnolo* (New York: Ktav, 1976) 79-80; Y. Dan, "Aaron of Baghdad," *EncJud* 2.21.

[76] According to §§61 and 64 (I am using the edition of I. Gruenwald, "A Preliminary Critical Edition of *Sefer Yezira*," *IOS* 1 [1971] 132-77) of *Sefer Yeṣirah*, the existence of the book is attributed to Abraham, who experienced a vision of the "Lord of All." He thus fits the parameters of the "prophet" as outlined above. With regard to the Islamicate

sources" underlying what becomes among European savants the *Sefer ha-Bahir*.[77] In sum, the evidence points to an incredible vitality for the Jewish pseudepigrapha in a variety of subsequent religious and temporal contexts, even though at present we cannot precisely reconstruct how it was sustained in each and every instance.

APPENDIX ONE: SOME SEMITIC VERSIONS OF PSALM 151

1. 11QPs[a] xxviii 3-14 (Ps 151 A, B):[78]

הללויה לדויד בן ישי
קטן הייתי מן אחי וצעיר מבני אבי
וישימני רועה לצונו ומושל בנדיותיו
ידי עשו עונב ואצבעותי כנור ואשימה לייי כבוד
אמרתי אני בנפשי
ההרים לוא יעידו לו והגבעות לוא ינידו
עלו העצים את דברי והצואן את מעשי
כי מי יניד ומי ידבר ומי יספר את מעשי אדון
הכול ראה אלוה הכול הוא שמע והוא האזין
שלח נביאו למושחני את שמואל לנדלני
יצאו אחי לקראתו יפי התור ויפי המראה
הנבהים בקומתם היפים בשערם
לוא בחר יי אלוהים בם
וישלח ויקחני מאחר הצואן וימשחני בשמן הקודש
וישימני נגיד לעמו ומושל בבני בריתו
החלת גב[ו]רה ל[דו]יד משמשתו נביא אלוהים
אזי רא[י]תי פלשתי מחרף מם[ערכותיהם ?] אנוכי ...

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provenance of this work, see especially S.M. Wasserstrom, "Sefer Yeṣira and Early Islam: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 3 (1993) 1-30.

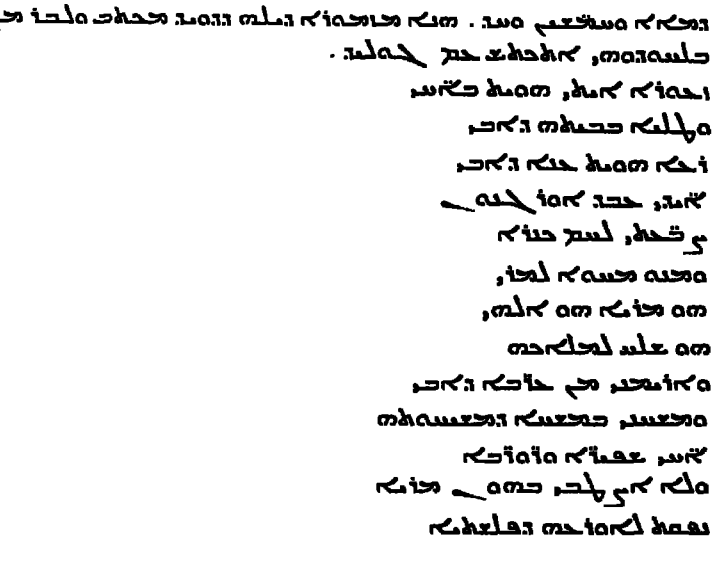
[77] G. Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987) 49-198, esp. pp. 81-97 and note p. 197: "The affinity with the language, terminology, and symbolism of Gnosticism suggests an Oriental origin for the most important among the ancient texts and sources of the *Bahir*. . . ." Some important observations and warnings with regard to Scholem's hypothesis have been supplied by M. Idel, "The Problem of the Sources of the Bahir," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 6.3-4 (1987) 55-72 (Hebrew); E.R. Wolfson, "The Tree That is All: Jewish-Christian Roots of a Kabbalistic Symbol in *Sefer ha-Bahir*," in idem, *Along the Path: Studies in Kabbalistic Myth, Symbolism, and Hermeneutics* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995) 63-88, 187-223; M. Verman, *The Books of Contemplation: Medieval Jewish Mystical Sources* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992) 165-78; J. Dan, "Jewish Gnosticism?," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 2 (1995) 309-28; D. Abrams, *The Book Bahir: An Edition Based on the Earliest Manuscripts* (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 1994) 14-26 (Hebrew).

[78] J.A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs[a])* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) 49, 60-61, and plate XVII.

Hallelujah of David b. Jesse:

I was smaller than my brothers, the least among the sons of my father.
He appointed me shepherd to his flock, and ruler over his goat-kids.
My hands fashioned a flute, and my fingers a lyre, and I glorified the Lord.
I said to myself:
The mountains cannot bear witness to Him, nor the hills declare (His glory);
The trees have tallied my words, and the flock my deeds.
But who can declare and who can express and who can number the deeds of the Lord?
Everything God has seen, everything He has heard and understood.
He sent His prophet to anoint me, Samuel to magnify me.
My brothers went out to meet him, handsome in form and appearance.
(While) tall in height and having comely hairstyles, the Lord God did not choose them.
He sent and took me from following the flock and anointed me with the holy oil.
He appointed me to be a prince for His people, a ruler over the members of His covenant.
Beginning of the power (granted) to David, after the prophet of God anointed him:
Then I saw a Philistine blaspheming from [their ranks . . .]. . . .

2. MS BM Add. 14568:[79]



[79] Strugnell, *HTR* 59 (1966) 270-71.

ملهلد حفلحوم،
ملم ام حد عملهلا سعم هعصا اعم
ملمعلا سعمم هي شد ملسعلمل علم

#151. This psalm is a Writing of David and is outside of the (established) reckoning. (It was uttered) after he singlehandedly fought with Goliath:

I was the youngest of my brothers: a mere child in my father's house.
I tended the flock of my father.
My hands constructed (a musical) instrument;
My fingers tuned the lyre.
Who is the one who revealed (me) to the Lord?
(He is the Lord: He is my God).
He sent His messenger and removed me from my father's sheep
And anointed me with the oil of anointment.
My brothers were handsome and mighty, but the Lord did not choose them.
I went out to engage the Philistine, and he cursed me by his idols.
But after I unsheathed his sword, I cut off his head
And (thus) I removed shame from the Israelites. *Finis.*

3. Elijah of Anbar:[80]

معصل لمحصلم ازمد
احدم ملم، هعم حمسة ملهلد حصلم احد،
احم ازمد حتم هعم احم ازمد،
ملمعلا معمد ـ ملم هلهلد معمد احم ازمد ملم ـ معسلا ملمعلا
ملمة حصتي ملم لحنه ـ مي حتلم، لسلمي حنم
حنه معسه لم لمحا،
مه ملم ازمد ملم مه ملم، ازمد
مه علم لمحلحمد ملمعلد مي حاحم ازمد، معصلد، حمعسة ازمعسلم
ملمة معمل ملمة لم ملمة لحة مه ـ ملم
ملمعلا سعمم ازمعلعلم ملهلد حفلحوم،
ملم ام حد عملهلا سعم هعصا اعم
ملمعلا سعمم هي حد سعلمل

A thanksgiving of David:

I was the youngest of my brothers; a mere child in my father's house.
I tended the flocks of my father.

[80] Cited from the separately bound pamphlet of Hebrew and Syriac texts accompanying the commentary of M. Delcor, *Les Hymnes de Qumran (Hodayot)* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1962).

I found a lion, also a bear, and I killed them; I tore them to pieces.
My hands constructed (a musical) instrument;
My fingers tuned the lyre.
Who is the one who revealed me to my Lord?
(He is my Lord; He is my God).
He sent His messenger and removed me from my father's sheep
And anointed me with the oil of anointment.
My brothers were handsome and mighty, but the Lord did not choose them.
I went out to engage the Philistine, and he cursed me by his idols.
But I unsheathed his sword and cut off his head
And (thus) I removed shame from the Israelites.

4. al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*:[81]

ثمّ يقول داود فى آخر الزبور:
انّى كنت آخر اخوتى وعبد بيت ابى
وكنت راعي غنم ابى
ويدى تعمل الكبر
واصابعى تقصّ المزامير
فمن ذا الذى حدّث ربّى عنّى ؟
هو ربّى وهو الذى سمع منّى وارسل الى ملأكته
فانزعنى من غنم اخوتّى هم اكبر منّى واحسن
فلم يرضهم ربّى فبعثنى لقاء جنود جالوت
فلمّا رايته يعبد اصنامه اعطانى النصر عليه
فاخذت سيفه فقطعت رأسه

Then David said in the last psalm:

Behold, I was the last of my brothers, and a servant in my father's house,
I was tending the sheep of my father.
My hand(s) made the drum, and my fingers trimmed wind-instruments.
Who is the one who spoke of me to my Lord?
(He is my Lord, and He is the one who has heard of me),
And He sent to me His messengers and removed me from my brother's sheep.
They were greater and more handsome than I, but my Lord did not desire them.
Then He sent me to take on the soldiers of Jālūt (i.e., Goliath).
When I saw him worshipping his idols, He granted me victory over him.
I seized his sword and cut off his head.

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[81] Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh (Ibn Wadih qui dicitur al-Jaʿqubi historiae . . .)* (2 vols.; ed. M.T. Houtsma; Leiden: Brill, 1883) 1.59.1-7.

Comparison of these Semitic versions of Psalm 151 demonstrates that the Arabic text cited by Ya'qūbī exhibits a close relationship to the Syriac versions of this psalm, particularly that of the shorter rendition preserved in the British Museum manuscript. This is hardly surprising, given the recognized role of Syriac intermediaries in the transmission of Western intellectual and literary traditions to the Islamic world. There is, however, one glaring discrepancy between the Syriac and Arabic versions of Psalm 151 which suggests that the process of transmission may have been more complicated. The verse which preserves David's mental musings while shepherding his father's flocks reads in its Syriac forms "He is the/my Lord; He is my God," a severe truncation of the original Hebrew wording as preserved in its Qumranic archetype. Ya'qūbī's version states: "He is my Lord, and He is the one who has heard of me." Neither Syriac rendition can be the source for this latter clause in Ya'qūbī's text. However, God is depicted as the One who has "listened" or "heard" in both the Hebrew and Septuagint versions of Psalm 151 (αὐτὸς κύριος, αὐτὸς πάντων εἰσακούει). Since the Septuagint has abbreviated this section of the Hebrew psalm in an almost identical manner to that of Ya'qūbī's text, it would appear that the version of Ya'qūbī is indebted to the Septuagint at this point.[82]

Finally, it should be noted that only Psalm 151 B (Hebrew) and Ya'qūbī's Arabic version share the motif of David's personal observation ("I saw . . .") of the Philistine giant's blasphemy. Neither the Septuagint nor the Syriac versions portray their duel using visual imagery; instead, it is described as auditory—David hears Goliath cursing him by his idols. This unique linkage of the Qumranic and Arabic renditions is quite intriguing and merits further study.

APPENDIX TWO: AN ECHO OF THE *DAMASCUS DOCUMENT* IN AL-SHAHRASTĀNĪ?

When Schechter published the *editio princeps* of the Cairo *Damascus Document* in 1910 under the title *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, he introduced his transcription of the manuscripts with a valuable exposition and analysis of its possible sectarian affinities. Therein he suggested "that the only ancient Sect which comes here into consideration is the

[82] Ya'qūbī almost certainly is indebted to a manuscript version which has been "corrected" to accord with the Septuagint. See Adang, *Muslim Writers* 120.

Dositheans, for our Sect has left so many marked traces on the accounts which have come down to us about the Dositheans that we may conclude that they were in some way an offshoot from the schism which is the subject of our inquiry."[83] Schechter went on to catalog several points where ancient testimonia about the Dositheans from Samaritan, Christian, and Muslim sources[84] would seem to bolster such a nexus. One of these purported correspondences forms the subject of the present excursus.

Shortly after beginning his exposition of Samaritan Judaism, the twelfth-century Muslim heresiographer al-Shahrastānī provides the following information about the origin of a curious Dositheans sub-sect termed the Alfānīyya:[85]

اثبتوا نبوة موسى وهارون ويوشع بن نون عليهم السلام وانكروا نبوة من بعدهم من الأنبياء إلا نبيا واحدا وقالوا التوراة ما بشرت إلا بنبى واحد يأتى من بعد موسى يصدق ما بين يديه من التوراة ويحكم بحكمها ولا يخالفها البتة وظهر فى السامرة رجل يقال له الألفان ادعى النبوة وزعم أنه هو الذى بشر به موسى عليه السلام وأنه هو الكوكب الدرّى الذى ورد فى التوراة أنه يضىء ضوء القمر وكان ظهوره قبل المسيح عليه السلام بقريب من مائة سنة

They (the Samaritans) affirm the prophetic stature of Moses, Aaron, and Joshua b. Nūn (peace be upon them!), but deny prophetic status to the prophets after them, except for a single prophet. For they (the Samaritans) say that the Torah announces that only one prophet will come after Moses: he will certify what is before him from the Torah, and adjudicate using its (the Torah's) verdict, and will definitely not replace it (with another Torah).

There appeared among the Samaritans a man who called himself

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[83] Schechter, *Documents* XXI-XXII. With the exception of Kohler (see below), most subsequent students have discounted such an affiliation. For useful discussion about the Dositheans, "the arch-heresy of the Samaritans," see J.A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans: The Earliest Jewish Sect* (Philadelphia, 1907; reprinted, New York: KTAV, 1968) 252-65; S.J. Isser, *The Dositheans: A Samaritan Sect in Late Antiquity* (SJLA 17; Leiden: Brill, 1976); M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins: Studies in the Jewish Background of the New Testament* (BJS 48; reprinted, Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983) 55-74; J. Fossum, "Sects and Movements," *The Samaritans* (ed. A.D. Crown; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1989) 293-389.

[84] A lengthy extract from the Arabic chronicle of the Samaritan historian Abu'l Fath relating a number of peculiar customs of the Dositheans is contained in A.I. Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe* (2d ed.; 3 vols.; Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1826-27) 1.334-36. For a convenient assemblage of Arabic language testimonia on Samaritan sects, see ibid. 1.333-45 nn. 71-76.

[85] Citing as his source the *Kītāb al-maqālāt* of Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq, Bīrūnī reports that the *Jewish* sect (من اليهود) known as the Alfānīyya (الالفانية) "repudiate all of the festivals and allege that (their observance) is unauthorized without prophetic direction and retain only (observance of) the Sabbath" (*al-Āthār* [ed. Sachau] 284.23-285.1). For yet more references to this sect, see especially Wasserstrom, "Shahrastānī" (ms. p. 9 n. 30).

> al-Ilfān. He pretended to be a prophet, and claimed that he was the one whom Moses had announced, and that he was the "brilliant star" mentioned in the Torah which moonlight illuminates, His appearance preceded that of Christ by about one hundred years.[86]

Of initial interest is the peculiar self-designation for this person who claimed to fulfill the oracle of the advent of a single post-Mosaic prophet (presumably Deut 18:15-18).[87] Shahrastānī goes on to demonstrate how the name "Ilfān" ("Alfān"?) served as an eponym for his followers: "the Samaritans are divided between the Dūstāniyya (i.e., Dositheans)—these are the Alfāniyya—and the Kūstāniyya."[88] In other words, al-Shahrastānī equates the Alfāniyya with the Dositheans. The curious epithet, however, antedates the taxonomic efforts of al-Shahrastānī; as we have already seen, the polymath al-Bīrūnī is aware of the existence of a Jewish group bearing this name, although he does not identify them as Samaritans, much less Dositheans.[89] Sachau simply glossed the name "Alfānīyya" as "Millenarii" in his translation of al-Bīrūnī's brief notice about this sect.[90]

According to some scholars, the word "Ilfān" may be a transcription of an Aramaic nominal form derived from the stem אלף "teach, instruct"—hence "Teacher" or "Guide."[91] This title, if it is indeed such,

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[86] al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa-al-niḥal* (2 vols.; ed. M.S. Kilani; Beirut: Dar el-Marefah, n.d.) 1.218.9-15. Compare Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie* 1.363.

[87] The explicit statements affirming the non-abrogation of the Mosaic Torah display a curious affinity with the rabbinic traditions regarding the future advent of the prophet Elijah and his pronouncements at that time. See *m. 'Ed.* 8:7 with the comments of Rambam *ad loc.* (לא יוסיף ולא ינרע בתורה); also his *Hilkhot melakim umilḥamoleyhem* 12.2. Note also Sifra, *Behuqqotay* §13 (Weiss 115d): אלה המצות אין נביא רשאי לחדש עוד דבר מעתה with *b. Šabb.* 104a; *Meg.* 2b; *Yoma* 80a; *Tem.* 16a; Rambam, *Hilkhot yesodey ha-torah* 9.1.

[88] Shahrastānī, *Milal* (ed. Kilani) 1.218.16: وافترقت السامرة إلى دوستانية وهم الألفانية وإلى كوستانية These two subdivisions of Samaritan Jewry already appear in the tenth-century history of al-Mas'ūdī: see *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-jawhar: Les prairies d'or* (9 vols.; ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and P. de Courteille; Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1861-77) 1.115. Note also al-Qirqisānī, *K. al-anwār* (ed. Nemoy) 1.40.17, or Nemoy, *HUCA* 7 (1930) 362, with the observations of S. Lieberman, *Shkiin* (2d ed.; Jerusalem: Wahrmann, 1970) 25-26. Given the discernible connections among these several testimonies, it seems likely that all are ultimately indebted to the *K. al-maqālāt* of Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq for their information on Samaritan Judaism.

[89] The fourteenth-century historian Abū al-Fida also equates the Alfāniyya with the Dositheans (see Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie* 1.344), but his information probably stems from al-Shahrastānī.

[90] C.E. Sachau, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* (London: W.H. Allen, 1879) 279. He apparently accepted here the interpretation of E. Vilmar, *Abulfathi annales Samaritani* (Gothae: F.A. Perthes, 1865) lxxii.

[91] K. Kohler, "Dositheus, the Samaritan Heresiarch, and his Relations to Jewish and

when combined with his alleged period of activity—the final century of the pre-Christian era—immediately calls to mind the figure of the sectarian מורה (ה)צדק, the so-called "Teacher of Righteousness" who plays such an important role in a number of Qumranic works. This impression is strengthened by the occurrence in this passage of yet another sobriquet employed in the *Damascus Document* for the "Teacher":

> כאשר אמר והגליתי את סכות מלככם ואת כיון צלמיכם מאהלי דמשק ספרי התורה הם סוכת המלך ... והכוכב הוא דורש התורה הבא דמשק כאשר כתוב דרך כוכב מיעקב וקם שבט מישראל

> In accordance with what Scripture says (see Amos 5:26-27): "I will exile the tabernacle of your king and the bases of your statues from my tent (to) Damascus." The books of the Torah are the tabernacle of the king . . . *and the star is the Interpreter of the Law* who came to Damascus; as it is written (Num 24:17): "A star shall come forth out of Jacob and a scepter shall rise out of Israel."[92]

In other words, the *Damascus Document* also features a "teacher" designated by the epithet "star" who belongs to the same pre-Christian period of history as al-Shahrastānī's pseudo-prophet![93] If the aforementioned correlations are indeed correct, it seems possible that the Muslim heresiologist's sources may have confounded one strand of Samaritan heterodoxy with at least one additional Jewish sectarian movement; namely, the one responsible for the production of the *Damascus Document*, a tractate intimately linked with the scrolls discovered at Qumran.

However, there remain several problems with this proposed correlation. Aside from the dubious philological derivation of the meaning "teacher" from the word "Ilfān," there is no other evidence that the

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Christian Doctrines and Sects," *Studies, Addresses, and Personal Papers* (New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1931) 46; Fossum, "Sects and Movements" 301-302 n. 34; 305 n. 42. However, אי(ו)לפן in Aramaic is not "teacher," but "learning, doctrine."

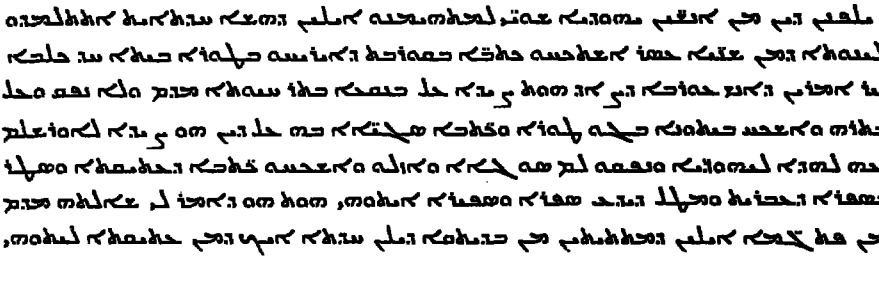
[92] CD 7:14-20. Text is cited from the photographic plates and transcriptions provided in *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (ed. M. Broshi; Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1992) [22]-[23]; the translation is adapted from that of G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: The Penguin Press, 1997) 133. The occurrence of the word "star" in the biblical text of Amos 5:26, although uncited in the lemma, undoubtedly serves as the verbal bridge to Num 24:17 and its sectarian exegesis.

[93] Kohler enthusiastically endorsed their identity; Fossum cautiously advances this possibility. See also Schechter, *Documents* xxiv. This possible correlation was unnoticed by J. Bowman, "Contact between Samaritan Sects and Qumran?," *VT* 7 (1957) 184-89.

Qumranic "Teacher of Righteousness" bore an Aramaic cognomen. Indeed, given the biblical resonances of the corresponding Hebrew designation (cf. Hos 10:12; Joel 2:23) along with the obvious play in the same phrase on the proper name "Ṣadoq" (cf. CD 5:5),[94] it is difficult to conceive why such a colorless rendering (an unqualified "teacher") would have won cross-cultural recognition. As Fossum observes, there are plausible alternative explanations for the term "Ilfān," perhaps the best of which see in the mysterious title the garbled remains of a proper name like "Philip" or "Falfuli."[95]

Moreover, it is by no means certain that the "brilliant star" of Shahrastānī and the messianic "star" of Num 24:17 are the same image.[96] Shahrastānī's pseudo-prophet claimed "he was the brilliant star mentioned in the Torah which moonlight illuminates"; nothing is said in Balaam's oracle about a lunar source for the star's incandescence, nor is the star described there as "brilliant." The phrase "brilliant star" (الكوكب الدرى) appears to be a quotation, but it is unclear from whence the phrase derives.[97] Muslim sources generally employ the term "Torah" in an expansive sense to embrace the entire Jewish biblical corpus, but even when we assess this larger pool of sources, no text emerges as a plausible solution for this enigmatic reference.

APPENDIX THREE
TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION OF BRAUN, *OrChr* 1 (1901) 304.11-308.15:



[94] See J.C. Reeves, "The Meaning of *moreh ṣedeq* in the Light of 11QTorah," *RevQ* 13 (1988) 289-90.

[95] For a near comprehensive listing of such solutions, see Isser, *Dositheans* 73-74 n. 114. An evaluation of the pre-Qumranic explanations can be found in Montgomery, *Samaritans* 259-60.

[96] *Contra* L. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1976) 35; also Fossum, "Sects" 302 n. 34.

[97] Cf. Qur'ān S. 24:35 for an almost identical phrasing.

We have learned from some trustworthy Jews who recently converted to Christianity that some manuscripts were discovered about ten years ago in a chamber within a mountain in the vicinity of Jericho. They say that a dog belonging to a certain Arab who was hunting went into a cave while pursuing an animal and did not come out. His owner went in after him and found a chamber within the mountain containing numerous manuscripts. The hunter then went to Jerusalem and informed the Jews of this (discovery). A large group came out (from Jerusalem) and went and found both biblical manuscripts as well as non-biblical Hebrew (works). Since my informant was knowledgeable about literature and a learned man, I asked him about various passages which are quoted in our New Testament as occurring in the Old Testament, but whose record is completely missing from the Old Testament, both our Christian one and their Jewish one. He informed me that they are extant and can be found in the manuscripts which

were discovered there. When I heard this from this student (of Scripture), as well as from others I asked in addition to him, and discovered that their story did not vary, I wrote about these matters to the illustrious Gabriel and also to Shubhalmaran, Metropolitan of Damascus, (to see) whether they could investigate regarding these manuscripts and see if there is contained in the Prophets the text "he shall be called a Nazarene" (Matt 2:23), or "(What) no eye has seen, nor ear heard" (1 Cor 2:9; Isa 64:3?), or "Cursed are all those hung on the tree" (Gal 3:13; Deut 21:23?), or "He has restored the boundary of Israel" (1 Kgs 14:25), as in the message of the Lord which He spoke through Jonah the prophet from Gath Hepher, or others like these which are quoted in the New Testament, but completely lacking in the Old Testament now in our possession. And I asked them that if they found these words in those manuscripts, they must by all means translate them—it is written in the Psalm beginning "Have pity on me, O God, in accordance with Your goodness" (Ps 51:1): "Sprinkle me with the hyssop of the blood of Your Cross and purify me" (Ps 51:9). This passage is not in the Septuagint, nor in the other versions, nor in the Hebrew (text). But a Hebrew (informant) told me: "We found ascribed to David in those manuscripts more than two hundred Psalms." (Therefore) I have written to them on account of these things.

I think that these manuscripts were deposited either by the prophet Jeremiah or by Baruch or by some other person who obeyed the word of God and feared him. For when the prophets learned via divine revelations (of the) captivity, pillage, and destruction destined to come upon the people due to their sins, it became as if they were firmly convinced that none of the words of God could fall to the ground. They (therefore) hid the manuscripts among the mountains and in caves and concealed them so that they would not be consumed by fire nor pillaged by despoilers. Those who concealed them died during the period of the seventy years (of Exile) or less, and when the people returned from Babylon, no one remained of those who had deposited the manuscripts. This is why Ezra and others were forced to seek out and find what (works) the Hebrews retained. That (which remained) among the Hebrews consisted of three parts. One was that (section) which after a time the seventy translators translated for the king esteemed worthy of the crown of glory; namely, Ptolemy; another was that (section) which after a time was translated by others; and the last was that which was preserved among them. If those words are found in those manuscripts which were mentioned, it is certain that they are more

reliable than those (manuscripts) preserved among the Hebrews or among us. However, what I have written about this (matter) has generated no response from them, and I have no competent envoy whom I can send. This (matter) is in my heart like a fire which burns and consumes my bones. . . .