

THE MEANING OF MOREH SEDEQ IN THE LIGHT OF 11QTORAH*

ONE of the perennial problems of Qumran research is the role to be attributed to the figure designated *Moreh (ha)Sedeq*. (1) This designation is commonly supposed to refer to the leader of the community whose library was discovered at Qumran, (2) or less cautiously, to the founder of the Qumran sect. (3) The *Moreh Sedeq* plays a crucial role in the historical reconstructions supplied by modern scholars of the Second Temple period, and attempts to identify the *Moreh Sedeq* with some concrete historical personage have not been uncommon. (4) There has even been speculation concerning possible identifications with supramundane figures such as "dying-and-rising saviors", the Messiah, or Elijah *redivivus*. (5) Most of these historical suggestions are intriguing and worthy of careful study, but they retain limitations in their appreciation of the figure of the *Moreh Sedeq* due to an inadequate understanding

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(1) The term *Moreh (ha)Sedeq* appears in the following Qumran documents: *IQpHab* I, 13; II, 2; V, 10; VII, 4; VIII, 3; IX, 9; XI, 5 (cf. II, 8); *CD* I, 11; XX, 1, 28, 32; *IQpMicah* X, 4; *4QpPs37* III, 15 (cf. II, 18).

(2) G. JEREMIAS, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (Göttingen, 1963), 166; A. JAUBERT, *La notion d'alliance dans le Judaïsme* (Paris, 1963), 117; G. VERMES, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* revised edition (Philadelphia, 1981), 152.

(3) J. T. MILIK, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (Naperville, 1959), 74, 77; A. DUPONT-SOMMER, *Les écrits esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte* (Paris, 1959), pp. 62, 370-371 (English translation *The Essene Writings from Qumran* [Gloucester, 1973], 50, 359); M. HENGEL, *Judaism and Hellenism* (Philadelphia, 1974), I, 224; F. M. CROSS, *The Ancient Library of Qumran & Modern Biblical Studies* revised edition (Grand Rapids, 1980), 113; G. W. E. NICKELSBURG, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia, 1981), 123; J. J. COLLINS, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (New York, 1984), pp. 116, 118.

(4) A convenient list of proposed identifications can be found in VERMES, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 160.

(5) These more speculative suggestions are seldom made in current Qumran research. For a detailed summary of earlier debate, see JEREMIAS, *Lehrer*, 275-281.

of what the concept *Moreh Sedeq* signifies. This essay will attempt to make upon the basis of philological and literary data a conceptual study of the term *Moreh Sedeq* in the light of some recent textual publications.

The phrase *Moreh Sedeq* is usually translated into English as "Teacher of Righteousness"; (6) this rendering is paralleled by the German "Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit" (7) and the French «Maitre (or Docteur) de Justice». (8). The use of this particular translation appears in the earliest publication of a text that later came to be associated with the Qumran corpus, the so-called *Zadokite Fragments* or *Damascus Document*. (9) A sampling of other renderings which appear in the secondary literature includes "Righteous Teacher", (10) "Guide(s) of Righteousness", (11) "Just Judge", (12) "the Legitimate Teacher", (13) "Teacher of Truth (Lehrer des

(6) S. SCHECHTER, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries Volume I: Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge, 1910), pp. XII-XIII; R. H. CHARLES, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 2-3; G. F. MOORE, *The Covenanters of Damascus: A Hitherto Unknown Sect*, *Harvard Theological Review* (=HTR) 4 (1911), 334, 337ff.; C. RABIN, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford, 1958²), 2; P. R. DAVIES, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (Sheffield, 1983), 233; G. VERMES, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth, 1975²), 97 (cf. 67).

(7) W. BACHER, "Zu Schechters neuestem Geniza-Funde," *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie* (=ZHB) 15 (1911), 22; E. MEYER, *Die Gemeinde des neuen Bundes im Lande Damaskus: eine jüdische Schrift aus der Seleukidenzeit, Abhandlung der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse 9* (Berlin, 1919), 13; L. ROST, *Die Damaskusschrift neu bearbeitet* (Berlin, 1933), 3; JEREMIAS, *Lehrer*, 315; O. SCHWARZ, *Der erste Teil der Damaskusschrift und das Alte Testament* (Diest, 1965), pp. 5-6.

(8) I. LÉVI, *Un écrit sadducéen antérieur à la destruction du Temple*, *Revue des études juives* (=REJ) 61 (1911), 173; M. J. LAGRANGE, *La secte juive de la Nouvelle Alliance au pays de Damas*, *Revue biblique* (=RB) 21 (1912), 215, 324ff.; A. MICHEL, *Le Maitre de Justice d'après les documents de la Mer Morte, la littérature apocryphe et rabbinique* (Avignon, 1954); J. CARMIGNAC, *Notes sur les Pesharim*, *Revue de Qumran* (=RQ) 3 (1961-62), 529-533; A.-M. DENIS, *Les thèmes de connaissance dans le document de Damas* (Louvain, 1967), pp. 54-56; J. STARCKY, *Les Maîtres de Justice et la chronologie de Qumran*, in M. DELCOR (ed.), *Qumran, sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (Paris, 1978), pp. 249-256.

(9) SCHECHTER, *Fragments* (see n. 6). Most subsequent commentators appear to follow SCHECHTER in their renderings of the title.

(10) A. BÜCHLER, *Schechter's "Jewish Sectaries"*, *Jewish Quarterly Review* n.s. 3 (1912-13), 471; M. BURROWS, *The Contents and Significance of the Manuscripts*, *Biblical Archaeologist* (=BA) 11 (1948), 58; D. N. FREEDMAN, *The "House of Absalom" in the Habakkuk Scroll [IQpH 5, 8-11]*, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 114 (1949), 11; W. H. BROWNLEE, *The Midrash Peshar of Habakkuk* (Missoula, 1979), 46; CROSS, *Ancient Library*, 113 and *passim*.

(11) I. RABINOWITZ, *The Guides of Righteousness*, *Velus Testamentum* 8 (1958), 393-403.

(12) M. R. LEHMANN, *Talmudic Material Relating to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *RQ* 1 (1958-59), 400.

(13) MILIK, *Ten Years*, 76.

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(14) L. GINZBERG, *Eir* 302 (= *An Unknown Jewish*

(15) J. L. TEICHER, *The Sect of Ebionites*, *Journal of Notes on a Teacher and a Teacher* in L. H. SCHIFFM, and "wahre Lehrer" in G. I

(16) T. H. GASTER, *T*

(17) R. MEYER, *Melc Volume du Congrès Genève* 239; J. WEINGREEN, *The T Semitic Studies* (=JSS) 6 (1976), 113.

(18) H. W. WOLFF, *I* 1969), pp. 75-76 suggests th Qumran sect and had no co to explain it. Similarly, F

(19) LÉVI, *REJ* 61 (19 15 (1911), 23; GINZBERG, *Sel Qumran Studies* (Oxford, 19 Qumran Sectarian Litteral Temple Period (Philadelphia

(20) E. SELLIN, *Das* 167; MICHEL, *Maitre*, 266; (Paris, 1957), 59.

(21) ROST, *Damaskus Ancient Library*, 148 n. 82; moreh sedeq is apparently de and *Matachi* 3, 23-24. See passages (I. MARKON [ed.], *composuit Daniel al-Qumis*

Wahren)", (14) "the true teacher", (15) and "true exponent of the Law". (16) Some scholars even go so far as to enjoin that the phrase should not be translated at all. (17)

The derivation of the term *Moreh Şedeq* as employed by the Qumran sect has engendered only slightly less disagreement.

Almost all scholars are united in recognizing a biblical background for the controversial phrase, (18) but diverge in opinion as to which passage provided the impetus for the coining of this name. A majority view either the phrase 'ad yabo' *weyoreh şedeq lakem* of *Hosea* 10, 12 (19) "until he comes and teaches righteousness to you" (*yoreh* here often understood to mean "rain"), or the phrase *ki natan lakem 'et ha-moreh lişedaqah* of *Joel* 2, 23 (20) "for he gave to you the righteous teacher" (*moreh* here also often interpreted as "rain"), or both combined, (21) as the genesis of the title. That ancient witnesses understood these passages as allusions to a "teacher" or "teaching activity" is made manifest in the translations offered by the Targum, Symmachus, and the Vulgate of these passages. Other commentators call attention

(14) L. GINZBERG, *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte* Erster Teil (New York, 1922), 302 (= *An Unknown Jewish Sect* [New York, 1976], 211).

(15) J. L. TEICHER, *The Dead Sea Scrolls—Documents of the Jewish-Christian Sect of Ebionites*, *Journal of Jewish Studies* (= *JJS*) 2 (1951), 97; A. M. HONEYMAN, *Notes on a Teacher and a Book*, *JJS* 4 (1953), 131. Note the translations "correct teacher" in L. H. SCHIFFMAN, *Secular Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Chico, 1983), 7 and "wahre Lehrer" in G. MOLIN, *Die Söhne des Lichts* (Wien, 1954), 82 and *passim*.

(16) T. H. GASTER, *The Dead Sea Scriptures* (Garden City, 1976³), XII and 555.

(17) R. MEYER, *Melchisedek von Jerusalem und Moresedek von Qumran*, in *Volume du Congrès Genève (Supplements to Velus Testamentum XV)* (Leiden, 1966), 239; J. WEINGREEN, *The Tille Mōrēh Şedeq (Teacher of Righteousness?)*, *Journal of Semitic Studies* (= *JSS*) 6 (1961), 174 (= *idem*, *From Bible to Mishnah* [Manchester, 1976], 113).

(18) H. W. WOLFF, *Dodekapropheten 2: Joel und Amos* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969), pp. 75-76 suggests that the phrase *Moreh Şedeq* was a particular coinage of the Qumran sect and had no connection with the biblical passages that are often invoked to explain it. Similarly, R. MEYER, *Melchisedek*, 230 n. 3.

(19) LÉVI, *REJ* 61 (1911), 173 n. 5; LAGRANGE, *RB* 21 (1912), 215; BACHER, *ZHB* 15 (1911), 23; GINZBERG, *Sekte*, 314 (= *Sect*, 219); RABIN, *Zadokite Documents*, 3; *idem*, *Qumran Studies* (Oxford, 1957), 120 n. 4; DENIS, *Connaissance*, 55-56; D. DIMANT, *Qumran Secular Literature*, in M. E. STONE (ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (Philadelphia, 1984), 505.

(20) E. SELLIN, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch übersetzt und erklärt* (Leipzig, 1929), 167; MICHEL, *Maitre*, 266; J. T. MILIK, *Dix ans de découvertes dans le désert de Juda* (Paris, 1957), 59.

(21) ROST, *Damaskusschrift*, 7; BROWNLEE, *Midrash Peshet*, 47-48; CROSS, *Ancient Library*, 148 n. 82; JEREMIAS, *Lehrer*, pp. 312-313. The Karaite designation *moreh şedeq* is apparently derived from a combined exegesis of *Hosea* 10, 12, *Joel* 2, 23, and *Malachi* 3, 23-24. See the commentary of DANIEL AL-QŪMISĪ to the first two passages (I. MARKON [ed.], *Commentarius in librum duodecim prophetarum quem composuit Daniel al-Kūmissi* [Jerusalem, 1957], pp. 18, 29).

This essay will attempt to present literary data a conceptual analysis of some recent textual

translated into English as well as the original. This is paralleled by the work of the French «Maitre (or Master)» in particular translation of the title that later came to be known as the so-called *Zadokite Fragment*. Other renderings of the title include "Righteous Teacher" (11) "Just Judge", (12) "Teacher of Truth (Lehrer des

Volume I: Fragments of a Jewish Teacher, Fragments of a Jewish Teacher of Damascus: A Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, *JTR* 4 (1911), 334, 337ff.; C. R. DAVIES, *The Damascus Document* (Sheffield, 1983), 233; G. G. GORDON, 1975²), 97 (cf. 67).

Zeitschrift für hebräische Literatur und Semitistik, *Abhandlung der Klasse 9* (Berlin, 1919), 13; JEREMIAS, *Lehrer*, 315; *Alle Testament* (Diest, 1965),

Revue des études juives, *La secte juive de la Nouvelle École*, 215, 324ff.; A. MICHEL, *Le Maître, la littérature apocryphe et le Pesharim*, *Revue de Qumran*, *Connaissance dans le document des Maîtres de Justice et la secte, sa théologie et son milieu*

Recent commentators appear

Jewish Quarterly Review n.s. 3 (1913), 100; *idem*, *House of Absalom* in the Schools of Oriental Research, *Journal of Habakkuk* (Missoula, 1979),

Velus Testamentum 8 (1958),

to the Dead Sea Scrolls, *RQ* 1

to additional biblical passages such as *Isaiah* 30, 20ff. (22) or *Deuteronomy* 33, 9-10. (23) Finally, arguments have been made on the basis of the antithetical construction *moreh seqer* (*Isaiah* 9, 14; *Habakkuk* 2, 18) "teacher of falsehood, false teacher", thus attempting to define *Moreh Sedeq* by means of its assumed opposite. (24) All of these suggestions regarding the possible biblical derivation of the designation *Moreh Sedeq* contain a kernel of truth, and when considered together, provide a remarkably coherent description of what the sect may have understood by this term. As long as we confine our discussion to the realm of Hebrew discourse, there is little difficulty in apprehending the semantic range of the title *Moreh Sedeq*. It is only when we attempt to translate this concept into Western, post-Christian modes of expression that misunderstandings arise.

This problem is already evident in the Vulgate rendering (25) of *Hosea* 10, 12 and *Joel* 2, 23 mentioned above. *Hosea* 10, 12 ('*ad yabo' weyoreh sedeq lakem*) is translated *cum venerit qui docebit vos iustitiam*, and *Joel* 2, 23 (*ki natan lakem 'el ha-moreh lišedaqah*) becomes *quia dedit vobis doctorem iustitiae*. The latter clause is rendered in turn by LUTHER as "... der euch Lehrer zur gerechtigkeit gibt". (26) It is in these renderings that the familiar English "Teacher of Righteousness" (and its concomitant Western reflexes) first rears its head. No one would deny, of course, the association of *moreh* or *yoreh* with the idea of authoritative instruction, or for that matter, the connection of derivatives of the stem *šdq* with the concept of "justice" or "rightness". What remains puzzling is the possible connotation of the combined phrase "Teacher of Righteousness" in a setting such as *Joel* 2, 23 or the Qumran community.

(22) MOORE, *HTR* 4 (1911), 337; CARMIGNAC, *RQ* 3 (1961-62) 530. Note that LXX *Isaiah* 30, 20-21 curiously reverses the positive message of the Masoretic Text: "and the Lord will give you the bread of affliction and scant water, and no longer will those who lead you astray (= MT *morekha!*) draw near to you, for your eyes will perceive those who lead you astray (= MT *morekha*), and your ears will hear the words uttered behind you by those who would lead you astray, those who say: This is the path; we will walk on it either to the right or to the left!" Does this Septuagint passage conceal polemic against the Qumran *Moreh*?

(23) GASTER, *Scriptures*³, 6; cf. CROSS, *Ancient Library*, 148 n. 82.

(24) TEICHER, *JJS* 2 (1951), 97; HONEYMAN, *JJS* 4 (1953), 131; cf. JEREMIAS, *Lehrer*, 313; LEHMANN, *RQ* 1 (1958-59), 400; WEINGREEN, *JJS* 6 (1961), 171-172 (= *From Bible*, 110-111); M. BURROWS, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York, 1955), 144. *IQpHab* XII, 11 reads *moreh seqer* of *Habakkuk* 2, 18 as *mry šqr*.

(25) The Vulgate is cited according to the edition of FISCHER, GRIBOMONT, SPARKS, THIELE, and WEBER, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatae Versionem* (Stuttgart, 1969).

(26) Quotation from the Luther Bible taken from M. LUTHER, *Die gantze Heilige Schrift Deusch: Willenberg 1545* (München, 1972).

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(27) Compare F. ROSEN (1950-51), 411-412 n. 4: "Our dependent on the meanings w given to Hebrew *š'dāqā*. For that *š'dāqā* means righteous *š'dāqā*."

(28) Note the definition in *Dictionary*: "...just, upright, v the divine or the moral law; "

(29) See, for example, I Cition and his teaching activ Epicurus.

(30) WEINGREEN, *JJS*

(31) E.g., *Exodus* 23, 7; *Isaiah* 5, 23; 29, 21; *Proverbs*

(32) See in particular U Testament translated by K. (

Just what does "Teacher of Righteousness" mean? *Hosea* 10, 12 appears to supply an explanation: it refers to the one *qui docebil vobis iustitiam* or "who teaches righteousness to you". But this answer only restates the question in declarative form; namely, the Teacher of Righteousness is one who teaches righteousness. (27)

What indeed is the nature of the "righteousness" communicated by a so-called "Teacher of Righteousness"? The terms "righteousness" or "righteous" sound a moral ring in Western ears, conjuring up images of pious behavior and saintly demeanor associated with the acceptance of authoritative ethical guidance. (28) Was the Qumran *Moreh Šedeq* merely a wise sage concerned to instill a proper appreciation for the distinction between virtue and vice among his followers? One hardly thinks so. There is a danger here of confusing the Qumran *Moreh Šedeq* (and for that matter the rabbinic *hakamim*) with the familiar figure of the Greek philosophical teacher expounding aphoristic wisdom to a small circle of disciples. (29) This confusion is the direct result of employing words like "righteousness" or "righteous" to describe the character of the *Moreh Šedeq* or the content of his instruction.

There is furthermore another connotation to the terms "righteousness" or "righteous" that subtly influences the interpretation placed upon these concepts by Christian scholars. It is the so-called "forensic" understanding wherein the person who is pronounced "righteous" (*šaddiq*, δίκαιος) is the one vindicated in a court of law. (30) This usage is of course familiar to us from the Hebrew Bible, (31) but it plays a particularly prominent role in the polemic of Paul. (32) Here is not the place to go into the problem of the concept of "righteousness" or "justification by faith" in Pauline theology. It is invoked only to point out the danger of equating the notions of "righteousness" at Qumran and "righteous-

(27) Compare F. ROSENTHAL, *Sedaka, Charily, Hebrew Union College Annual* 23 (1950-51), 411-412 n. 4: "Our understanding of the word 'righteousness' is entirely dependent on the meanings which many centuries of theological interpretation have given to Hebrew *š'dāqā*. For clarifying the semantic range of *š'dāqā*, the statement that '*š'dāqā* means righteousness' is about as valuable as to say: '*š'dāqā* means *š'dāqā*'."

(28) Note the definition of "righteous" provided by the *Oxford English Dictionary*: "...just, upright, virtuous; guiltless, sinless; conforming to the standard of the divine or the moral law; acting rightly or justly; ...morally right or justifiable."

(29) See, for example, DIOGENES LAERTIUS 7.5-31 for anecdotes about Zeno of Citium and his teaching activity; idem, 8.9-46 for Pythagoras; and idem, 10.9-22 for Epicurus.

(30) WEINGREEN, *JSS* 6 (1961), 166 (= *From Bible*, 104).

(31) E.g., *Ezodus* 23, 7; *Deuteronomy* 25, 1; *1 Kings* 8, 32 (= *2 Chronicles* 6, 23); *Isaiah* 5, 23; 29, 21; *Proverbs* 17, 15; and cf. *Genesis* 38, 26.

(32) See in particular the discussion of R. BULTMANN, *The Theology of the New Testament* translated by K. GROBEL (New York, 1951-1955), pp. 271-285.

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ness" in Paul, an equation facilitated and abetted by this identical rendering. We need not assume that Qumranic ideology exerted any influence upon the development of Paul's thought, despite the ardent attempts of some scholars to establish such a connection. (33) The *Moreh Šedeq* does not pronounce a "righteousness... apart from the Law" (*Romans* 3, 21, 28). Torah was, as we know, central to the ideology of the Qumran sect. The terms "Teacher of Righteousness" or "Righteous Teacher" encourage, if only unconsciously, confusion and misconception among otherwise well-meaning exegetes, and one would hope that the moral and theological impact of the words "righteousness" and "righteous" would be carefully weighed in future discussion of the issue.

If we banish such theologically loaded terms as "righteousness" or "righteous" from the concept of the *Moreh Šedeq*, we take the first step toward a redefinition of this problematic expression. The task called for now is a brief rehearsal of the philological possibilities present in the components of the phrase *Moreh Šedeq*.

To assume that there is a rigid connection between derivatives of the Semitic stem *šdq* and the concepts of "righteousness", "Gerechtigkeit", *et al.* is quite misleading. The fundamental meaning connoted by the stem *šdq* in the cognate Semitic corpus would appear to be "that which is legitimate, proper, true". (34) The noun *šedeq* occurs with precisely this connotation in Hebrew literature, most prominently in adjectival formations that refer to "proper or true measures". In *Leviticus* 19, 36 we read: *mo'zney šedeq 'abney šedeq 'efal šedeq wehin šedeq yihyeh lakem* "you shall employ correct scales, exact weights, a true 'efah-measure, and a true hin-measure" (compare also *Ezekiel* 45, 10 and *Deuteronomy* 25, 15). (35) The Targumim to these biblical passages support such a meaning by rendering the Hebrew *šedeq* with

(33) BURROWS, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 333-336; *idem*, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York, 1958), pp. 119-122; O. CULLMANN, *The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity*, *Journal of Biblical Literature* (= *JBL*) 74 (1955), 217; M. BLACK, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (New York, 1961), pp. 126-128; and especially the contributions in the volume edited by J. MURPHY-O'CONNOR, *Paul and Qumran* (Chicago, 1968).

(34) See especially E. KAUTZSCH, *Über die Derivate des Stammes šdq im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch* (Tübingen, 1881), pp. 28-40; 53-59; MEYER, *Melchisedek*, pp. 229-232; and L. KOEHLER-W. BAUMGARTNER, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*³ (Leiden, 1968-), III 942.

(35) *Ezekiel* 45, 10: *mo'zney šedeq we'fal šedeq ūbal šedeq yehiy lakem; Deuteronomy* 25, 15: *'eben šelemah wašedeq yiyeh lak 'efah šelemah wašedeq yiyeh lak...* and note verses 13-14. Compare also *Job* 31, 6: *yišqeleni bemo'zney šedeq...*

Aramaic *qešol* "true" ambiguous with its em instances. There are *δίκαιος* connotes "exact usage of *δίκαιος* and theological dimensions

The employment has also been remarkable. A prominent example, occurs in *4QPatriarche dawid* "until the advent of David". The formal (*ha*)*šedeq* is obvious. Messiah" or "Messiah".

The noun *moreh* "teaching" or "guidance" exercise of this activity no reason to doubt that the term *moreh* at Qumran semantic evolution of and rabbinic Hebrew to priestly, halakhic this usage occurs in *šema torah* "and there we

(36) *Targum Onkelos* . *whynyn dšwł yhwn lkwn; yhwn lk mkyln štnn dšwł* *Targum Onkelos* rely upon *Pentateuch According to T. Neofili* and PSEUDO-JONATHAN *dšwł wmkyln dšwł wbl* *Aramaic...Volume III: The* 1962).

(37) G. SCHRENK, "Šdq" *Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart)

(38) See the discussion pp. 42-59 and D. HILL, *Greek Soteriological Terms* (Cambridge)

(39) Cross, *Ancient Hebrew*

(40) The phrase *mešic* does in later Judaism. No 24, 24).

(41) Cf. MEYER, *Melchisedek in the Old Testament* (Lund, 1962) to connote authoritative conundrums. See *Leviticus* *Ezekiel* 44, 23; *2 Chronicles*

Aramaic *qešol* "true".(36) The Septuagint however is more ambiguous with its employment of *δικαιος* for *šedeq* in each of these instances. There are instances in earlier Greek literature where *δικαιος* connotes "exact, correct, genuine", (37) but the Septuagint usage of *δικαιος* and its derivatives already displays certain theological dimensions absent from the earlier usage. (38)

The employment of *šedeq* to mean "legitimate, proper, true" has also been remarked in the Qumran corpus. The most prominent example, pointed out long ago by F. M. CROSS, (39) occurs in *4QPatriarchal Blessings 3: 'ad bo' mešiah hašedeq šemah dawid* "until the advent of the true anointed one, the descendant of David". The formal similarity of *mešiah ha-šedeq* and *moreh (ha)šedeq* is obvious. To translate the former as "Righteous Messiah" or "Messiah of Righteousness" borders on the absurd. (40)

The noun *moreh* is used in the Hebrew Bible to signify a "teaching" or "guiding" function, and is used to describe the exercise of this activity by both priest and prophet. (41) There is no reason to doubt this general semantic background for the use of the term *moreh* at Qumran. One must however reckon with the semantic evolution of *moreh* as evidenced by late biblical Hebrew and rabbinic Hebrew wherein the word comes increasingly to refer to priestly, halakhic pronouncements. An excellent example of this usage occurs in *2 Chronicles 15,3: ...ūlelo' kohen moreh ūlelo' torah* "and there was no law-giving priest and (hence) no

(36) *Targum Onkelos Leviticus 19,36: mwznwn dšwł mlqlyn dšwł mkyln dšwł whyyn dšwł yhwn lkwn; Targum Onkelos Deuteronomy 25,15: mlqlyn šlmyn dšwł yhwn lk mkyln šlmn dšwł yhwn lk.* Citations here and elsewhere in this essay of *Targum Onkelos* rely upon A. SPERBER (ed.), *The Bible in Aramaic...Volume I: The Pentateuch According to Targum Onkelos* (Leiden, 1959). Compare also *Targums Neofili* and PSEUDO-JONATHAN to the above verses. *Targum Ezekiel 45,10: mwznwn dšwł wmkyln dšwł wbyln dšwł yhwn lk,* cited from idem, *The Bible in Aramaic...Volume III: The Latter Prophets According to Targum Jonathan* (Leiden, 1962).

(37) G. SCHRENK, "δικαιος," in G. KITTEL (ed.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart, 1933-1978), II, cols. 186-187.

(38) See the discussions of C. H. DODD, *The Bible and the Greeks* (London, 1935), pp. 42-59 and D. HILL, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soleriological Terms* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 104-109.

(39) CROSS, *Ancient Library*, 113 n. 3; BROWNLEE, *Midrash Pesher*, 48.

(40) The phrase *mešiah ha-šedeq* probably possesses here a polemical edge as it does in later Judaism. Note also the term *ψευδοχριστοι* in *Mark 13,22* (par. *Matthew 24,24*).

(41) Cf. MEYER, *Melchisedek*, pp. 232-235 and in general G. ÖSTBORN, *Tora in the Old Testament* (Lund, 1945). Forms of the *hiphil* stem (*horah*) are often employed to connote authoritative direction delivered by priests regarding ritual or legal conundrums. See *Leviticus 10,8-11; 14,54-57; Deuteronomy 17,10-11; 24,8; 33,10; Ezekiel 44,23; 2 Chronicles 15,3.*

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law".(42) An example of this priestly responsibility (*sans* the word *moreh*) is preserved in *Haggai* 2, 11-14 where the prophet is commanded to procure a pronouncement of *lorah* from the Temple priests. These priests might properly be designated *morim* or "law-givers".(43) Further instances of this refinement of meaning appear in the rabbinic exegesis of *Deuteronomy* 17, 8-13 (a passage concerned with priestly *lorah*-pronouncements) found in *Sifre Deuteronomy* § 155 and *Mishnah Sanhedrin* 11, 2.(44) The latter passage especially illustrates the use of *horah* and *horayah* with the meaning of a decision pronounced upon some practical question of ritual or legal significance.(45)

This brief philological excursus enables us to return to the designation *Moreh Sedeq* with some fresh insights. It would seem

(42) Already cited by WEINGREEN, *JSS* 6 (1961), 171 (= *From Bible*, 110). Note that in *Wayyiqra' Rabba* 19,5 *kohen moreh* is interpreted as the high priesthood and *lorah* as the decisions of the Sanhedrin. The priestly office of the *Moreh Sedeq* is assured from *4QpPs37* III, 15; cf. *1QpHab* II, 8.

(43) Following ABRAHAM IBN EZRA in his commentary upon *Haggai* 2, 11: *hakohanim hem morey ha-lorah*.

(44) Cited in D. W. HALIVNI, *Midrash, Mishnah, and Gemara* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 139 n. 16. *Sifre Deuteronomy* § 155: "'And (if) someone acts presumptuously' (*Deut* 17, 12); (that is), he does not hearken to the decision of the law-court or its ruling (*morah*). 'someone acts'; (that is), for an action he is guilty of trespass, but he is not guilty if he delivers an (erroneous) judicial ruling (*horayah*)." (FINKELSTEIN, 207).

(45) *M. Sanhedrin* 11, 2: "The elder who rebels against the ruling of the court, as it is written 'If there arises a case too difficult for you to judge...' (*Deut* 17, 8-13). There were three law-courts there (Jerusalem): one sat at the gate of the Temple Mount, one sat at the gate of the Temple Courtyard, and one sat in the Chamber of Hewn Stone. They (i.e., local judges) would come to that (court) situated at the gate of the Temple Mount and say: Thusly have I interpreted and thusly have my colleagues interpreted; thusly have I taught and thusly have my colleagues taught. If they (the sitting court) had heard (a pertinent *halakah* from their teachers) they communicated it; but if not, they would come to those (judges) who sat at the gate of the Temple Courtyard and say: Thusly have I interpreted and thusly have my colleagues interpreted; thusly have I taught and thusly have my colleagues taught. If (this court) had heard (a pertinent *halakah*), they communicated (it) to them; but if not, they both came to the great law-court in the Chamber of Hewn Stone, from where *lorah* goes forth for all Israel, as it is written 'from that place which the Lord will choose' (*Deut* 17, 10). (If) he (a local judge) returns to his city and teaches and instructs in accordance with how he formerly taught, he is innocent (of being a rebellious elder), but if he rules (*horah*) that one must act in accordance (with his teaching), he is guilty (of being a rebellious elder), as it is written 'if someone acts presumptuously...' (*Deut* 17, 12). He is not guilty (of this transgression) unless he rules (*horah*) that action is in accordance with his teaching. A student who rules (*horah*) regarding proper action is innocent of transgression; his severe offense entails leniency." Compare LEHMANN, *RQ* 1 (1958-59), 400; HALIVNI, *Midrash*, 139 n. 16. The rabbinic use of *horah* and its derivatives was already stressed by WEINGREEN, *JSS* 6 (1961), 172 (= *From Bible*, 111). Note that *horah* is translated by νομοθετώ "ordain, enact laws" in LXX *Exodus* 24, 12; *Deuteronomy* 17, 10; *Psalms* 25, 8, 12; 27, 11; 84, 6; 119, 33, 102, 104; cf. also *2 Maccabees* 3, 15 and *4 Maccabees* 5, 25. See especially LXX *Micah* 3, 11, where *horah* is rendered by ἀποκρίνωμαι "give a verdict".

that a more accurate re-viewed in the light of probable textual evidence would be along the line of a novel understanding of the problem anticipated by several additional evidence that years. It is being realized that a factor in the rift between authorities in Jerusalem interpreting the ritual Torah. This should not be differences of interpretation of rabbinic accounts of the origin of disputes is the question of the pronouncement of a title *Moreh Sedeq* or "The Qumran sect to possess null and void."

The most important standing of the title *Moreh Seder*, (48) or as B. Z. Y. *IIQT* Torah (henceforth *IIQT*) instances of interpretation later came to be viewed cannot decide with certainty *IIQT* is to be attributed nature of the interpretation implies the activity of a pronouncement of an statement can be found

(46) Notably GINZBERG, *The Calendar Reckoning of the Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem, 1981), 163; WEINGREEN, *JSS Scriptures*, xii, 555. Compare presented by A. PAUL, *Écrits* (Paris, 1969), 125.

(47) Conveniently assembled 317.

(48) Y. YADIN, *Megillat Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem, 1981), 198.

(49) B. Z. WACHOLDER,

(50) Examples are supplied by *Secularian Halakah*, *RQ* 9 (1978), 115-119.

that a more accurate rendering of the phrase *Moreh Sedeq* when viewed in the light of both the philological possibilities and the probable textual evidence which remains of this figure's function would be along the lines of "True Lawgiver". This is hardly a novel understanding of the significance of the title. It has been anticipated by several scholars who have wrestled with this problem.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Their earlier analyses can now be bolstered with additional evidence that has accumulated over the past several years. It is being realized, with increasing clarity, that a central factor in the rift between the Qumran sect and the priestly authorities in Jerusalem was an irreconcilable divergence in interpreting the ritual prescriptions contained in the Mosaic Torah. This should not surprise us, as we find the same sort of differences of interpretation among Pharisees and Sadducees in the rabbinic accounts of their controversies.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Common to both sets of disputes is the question of authority, in that one group's claim to the pronouncement of authoritative *halakah* is being denied. The title *Moreh Sedeq* or "True Lawgiver" embodies the claim of the Qumran sect to possess the authority to render competing rulings null and void.

The most important textual evidence for this revised understanding of the title *Moreh Sedeq* is provided in the so-called *Temple Scroll*,⁽⁴⁸⁾ or as B. Z. WACHOLDER⁽⁴⁹⁾ has aptly rechristened it, *11QTorah* (henceforth *11QT*). This composition provides numerous instances of interpretations and rulings which diverge from what later came to be viewed as normative *halakah*.⁽⁵⁰⁾ While one cannot decide with certainty whether the physical authorship of *11QT* is to be attributed to the *Moreh Sedeq*, one can say that the nature of the interpretations contained within the document implies the activity of a person or persons engaged in the pronouncement of authoritative law. Corroboration for this statement can be found in the very structure of *11QT* itself. The

(46) Notably GINZBERG, *Sekte*, pp. 299-317 (= *Sect*, pp. 209-222); S. TALMON, *The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert*, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 (1958), 163; WEINGREEN, *JSS* 6 (1961), 162-174 (= *From Bible*, pp. 100-114); GASTER, *Scriptures*², xii, 555. Compare also the role of the *moreh sedeq* in Karaite ideology as presented by A. PAUL, *Écrits de Qumran et sectes juives aux premiers siècles de l'islam* (Paris, 1969), 125.

(47) Conveniently assembled in J. LE MOYNE, *Les Sadducéens* (Paris, 1972), 177-317.

(48) Y. YADIN, *Megillat hammiqdash* (Jerusalem, 1977); English translation *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem, 1983).

(49) B. Z. WACHOLDER, *The Dawn of Qumran* (Cincinnati, 1983).

(50) Examples are supplied by M. R. LEHMANN, *The Temple Scroll as a Source of Sectarian Halakah*, *RQ* 9 (1977-78), 579-587; J. MILGROM, *The Temple Scroll*, *BA* 41 (1978), 115-119.

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text purports to be an authentic revelation of God to Moses delivered in the setting supplied by *Exodus* 34.(51) It is thus a Torah (one is tempted to say *the* Torah) revealed to Moses on Sinai, and it partakes of the venerable authority accorded to the "traditional" Pentateuch by the remainder of the Sages. This claim to the Mosaic *imprimatur* grants to the contents of *11QT* an impeccable authority. The *Moreh Sedeq*, if indeed he is the one responsible for this fiction, could be said to be transmitting *halakhot lemošeh missinay*.(52)

One might go further and point out that by invoking the Mosaic mantle the *Moreh Sedeq* implicitly assumes the role of a "second Moses". This employment of a Moses typology, probably based upon *Deuteronomy* 18, 15-18, has often been remarked both in the Qumran texts and in secondary literature.(53) It is interesting that the name *Mošeh* does not occur in the surviving lines of *11QT*; in fact, the only sure reference is the elliptical allusion to "Aaron your brother" in Column XLIV.(54) Could not this be another means of increasing the identification of Moses and the new "lawgiver" by supplying some ambiguity as to the recipient of the revelation? At one level it is indeed Moses who is addressed in the familiar Pentateuchal style, but on another level it is conceivably the *Moreh Sedeq* who is entrusted with the promulgation of *11QT*, either as the original recipient or as the trustee of a Mosaic autograph (*CD V*, 4-5).(55)

Other sectarian writings support the conception of the *Moreh Sedeq* as one who pronounces authoritative law.(56) The most important example remains as yet unpublished. J. STRUGNELL and E. QIMRON have announced the existence of a so-called "halakhic epistle" tentatively designated *4QMiqṣat ma'asey ha-*

(51) See *11QT II*, 1-15 and the commentary of YADIN; also WACHOLDER, *Dawn*, pp. 1-32.

(52) On this category of legislation see J. D. EISENSTEIN (ed.), *Olzar Yisrael* (New York, 1951), IV, pp. 148-151; *Ensiqlopedyah Talmudil* (Jerusalem, 1947-), VIII, cols. 365-387; W. BACHER, *Satzung vom Sinai*, in *Studies in Jewish Literature Issued in Honor of Kaufmann Kohler* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 56-70 (which is substantially reproduced in idem, *Tradition und Tradenten in den Schulen Palästinas und Babyloniens* [Leipzig, 1914], pp. 33-46).

(53) H. J. SCHOEPS, *Urgemeinde — Judenchristentum — Gnosis* (Tübingen, 1956), 77-78; BLACK, *Christian Origins*, 159; DUPONT-SOMMER, *Les écrits esséniens*, 374-375 (= *Essene Writings*, 363).

(54) *11QT XLIV*, 5: *lbny 'hrwn 'hykh*.

(55) On the latter possibility cf. B. Z. WACHOLDER, *The "Sealed" Torah versus the "Revealed" Torah: An Exegesis of Damascus Covenant V, 1-6 and Jeremiah 32, 10-14*, *RQ* 12 (1986), 351-368.

(56) E.g., texts like *CD IX-XVI*; *4Q159*; *4Q512-514*; *4QHatakah^a*; *4QTeharot*. Cf. also MILIK, *Dix ans*, 36.

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(57) E. QIMRON - J. STRUGNELL, *Israel Museum Journal* 4 (1984), 198-200. The Qumran, in *Biblical Archaeology*, 1984, 198-200. The epistle are reproduced in *Qumran* (Atlanta, 1986).

(58) *Bellum* 2.145; cf. 2

(59) Primarily on the EUSEBIUS, *Praep. Ev.* 8.11 Essenes. Note I. LÉVY, *La Bible* 279: «Ce législateur est le législateur de H. GRESSMANN, *Die Religion der Essener* (Tübingen, 1926), pp. 462-463; H. J. SCHOEPS, *Urgemeinde — Judenchristentum — Gnosis* (Tübingen, 1956), 253 (modified in *The Discipline in the So-Called Damascus Covenant*, M. DELCOR, *Contribution à l'étude de la secte des Esséniens*, *RB* 61 (1954), 550-553; O. BAUERNFEIND (eds.), *Festschrift für Hans Lietzmann* (München, 1957-1972), I, 437-438; *Qumran* (1937-1980) (Berlin, 1984), 198-200.

(60) A. DUPONT-SOMMER, *Les Esséniens* (Paris, 1950), 111-112

torah (4QMMT). (57) According to these editors, it is a letter that was sent possibly by the *Moreh Sedeq* to the priestly authorities in Jerusalem. The epistle recounts approximately twenty matters regarding which the Qumran community and the Jerusalem leaders differed, all of which were of a ritual nature. Again the question is seen to revolve around the issue of authority and the persons responsible for exercising it. If the *Moreh Sedeq* is indeed the author of this epistle, he can be observed here exercising the office described in our revised understanding of the concept *Moreh Sedeq*; namely, giving "true legal decisions".

External evidence may also be brought to bear upon the question of viewing the *Moreh Sedeq* as the "True Lawgiver" of the sect. In the description by JOSEPHUS of the customs of the Essenes in his *Bellum Judaicum* there is reference made to a "lawgiver" (νομοθέτης) whose name the Essenes were forbidden to blaspheme. (58) Many scholars interpret this curious prohibition as an indication of the respect accorded Moses by the members of the sect. (59) This proscription is joined by JOSEPHUS with a similar prohibition against blaspheming the name of God. Now while the name of God is avoided in the sectarian compositions available to us (i.e., apart from copies of biblical texts and compositions masquerading as biblical texts such as *11QT*), being usually represented by the innocuous 'el, the name of Moses is not accorded this same treatment. One must then question on the basis of this parallel whether the word νομοθέτης in fact refers to the traditional Jewish lawgiver. A. DUPONT-SOMMER (60) has expres-

(57) E. QIMRON - J. STRUGNELL, *An Unpublished Halakhic Letter from Qumran*, *Israel Museum Journal* 4 (1985), 9-12; IDEM, *An Unpublished Halakhic Letter from Qumran*, in *Biblical Archaeology Today* (Jerusalem, 1985), pp. 400-407. Some phrases from the epistle are reproduced in E. QIMRON, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta, 1986).

(58) *Bellum* 2.145; cf. 2.152.

(59) Primarily on the basis of the statement in PHILO, *Hypothetica* (apud EUSEBIUS, *Praep. Ev.* 8.11.1) which asserts that "our lawgiver" trained the Essenes. Note I. LÉVY, *La légende de Pythagore de Grèce en Palestine* (Paris, 1927), 279: «Ce législateur est sans aucun doute Moïse.» See also W. BOUSSET - H. GRESSMANN, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistisches Zeitalter* (Tübingen, 1926³), pp. 462-463; H. J. SCHOEPS, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judentums* (Tübingen, 1949), 253 (modified somewhat in idem, *Urgemeinde*, 78); S. LIEBERMAN, *The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*, *JBL* 71 (1952), 205; M. DELCOR, *Contribution à l'étude de la législation des sectaires de Damas et de Qumran*, *RB* 61 (1954), 550-553; BURROWS, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 281; O. MICHEL - O. BAUERNFEIND (eds.), *Flavius Josephus, De Bello Judaico — Der jüdische Krieg* (München, 1957-1972), I, 437 n. 70; L. H. FELDMAN, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship* (1937-1980) (Berlin, 1984), 624.

(60) A. DUPONT-SOMMER, *Aperçus préliminaires sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (Paris, 1950), 111-112 (= idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey*

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514; *4QHatakah*^a; *4QTecharol*. Cf.

sed the opinion that the νομοθέτης of this passage refers to the particular "lawgiver" of the sect, the *Moreh Sedeq*. In light of our preceding discussion it would appear that this suggestion has some merit. JOSEPHUS does on occasion apply the designation to figures other than Moses. (61) It is even possible that the term νομοθέτης is intended to allude to the word *moreh* in the title *Moreh Sedeq*. Aside from such speculation, it is clear that the term νομοθέτης, as applied to the Essenes, coheres nicely with the concept *Moreh Sedeq* as outlined in this essay.

In conclusion, we summarize here the main points of our discussion. 1) The translations "Teacher of Righteousness", "Righteous Teacher", and their Western language reflexes for the Hebrew phrase *Moreh Sedeq*, while philologically permissible, result in misleading and even erroneous conclusions about the nature of this figure, due to the popular ethical and Christian theological understandings of the words "righteousness" and "righteous". 2) By contrast, viewing the *Moreh Sedeq* as the "True Lawgiver" of the Qumran sect is both philologically possible and functionally meaningful. Certain of the later Qumran finds, unavailable to the earliest scholars, demonstrate the wide-ranging halakhic disputes that divided the sect from the Jerusalem establishment. The existence of *11QT*, *4QMMT*, and other legal texts from Qumran embody the activity of one who pronounced authoritative decisions; that is, the *Moreh Sedeq* or "True Lawgiver".

John C. REEVES.

trans. by E. M. ROWLEY [Oxford, 1952], 91); *idem*, *Les écrits esséniens*, 369 (= *Essene Writings*, 358). See also K. KESSLER, *Mani: Forschungen über die manichäische Religion* (Berlin, 1889), XVI n. 1. I have been unable to consult G. LINDBOG, "Esséerna och Kristendomen," *Annales Academiae Regiae Scientiarum Upsaliensis* 5 (1961), 103-147.

(61) *Antiquities* 1.22 (pagan lawgivers); *Contra Apionem* 2.154 (pagan lawgivers); 2.161 (Minos and other pagans); 2.172 (pagan lawgivers); 2.175 (pagan lawgivers); 2.225 (LYCURGUS); 2.239 (pagans); 2.250 (pagans); 2.276 (pagans); 2.280 (pagans).

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ÉDITÉES PAR

Florentino GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ
et
Émile PUECH

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