

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: *1QpHab* I, 13; II, 2; V, 10; VII, 4; VIII, 3; IX, 9; XI, 5 (cf. II, 8); *CD* I, 11; XX, 1, 28, 32; *1QpMicah* 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 Šedeq* signifies. This essay will attempt to make upon the basis of philological and literary data a *conceptual* study of the term *Moreh Šedeq* in the light of some recent textual publications.

The phrase *Moreh Šedeq* 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. Klass 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 Maître 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 Qumrân* (=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 Qumrân*, in M. DELCOR (ed.), *Qumrân, 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, Schechters "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 Pesher of Habakkuk* (Missoula, 1979), 46; CROSS, *Ancient Library*, 113 and *passim*.

(11) I. RABINOWITZ, *The Guides of Righteousness*, *Vetus 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 F* teacher" in L. H. SCHIFFM and "wahre Lehrer" in G. I

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

(17) R. MEYER, *Mele 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
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(19) LÉVI, *REJ* 61 (1915 (1911), 23; GINZBERG, *Sei Qumran Studies* (Oxford, 1915) *Qumran Seclarian Literalis Temple Period* (Philadelphia, 1920).

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

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

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nslated into English as ing is paralleled by the the French « Maitre » or particular translation t that later came to be o-called *Zadokite Frag*ing of other renderings e includes “Righteous” (11) “Just Judge”, (12) of Truth (Lehrer des

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 Šepeq* 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 ſepeq 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 naṭan lakem ’et ha-moreh liṣedaqah* 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

s Volume I: *Fragments of a*
I. CHARLES, *Fragments of a*
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eukidenzeitl. Abhandlung der
Klass 9 (Berlin, 1919), 13;
3; JEREMIAS, *Lehrer*, 315;
Alle Testament (Diest, 1965),

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La secole juive de la Nouvelle
2), 215, 324ff.; A. MICHEL, *Le*
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Vetus Testamentum 8 (1958),
to the Dead Sea Scrolls, *RQ* 1

(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, *Se sectarian 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, 1976²), XII and 555.

(17) R. MEYER, *Melchisedek von Jerusalem und Moresedek von Qumran*, in
Volume du Congrès Genève (Supplements to Vetus Testamentum XV) (Leiden, 1966),
239; J. WEINGREEN, *The Title Moreh Šepeq (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 Šepeq* 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, *Sekle*, 314 (= *Sect*, 219); RABIN, *Zadokite Documents*, 3; idem,
Qumran Studies (Oxford, 1957), 120 n. 4; DENIS, *Connaissance*, 55-56; D. DIMANT,
Qumran Sectarian 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 découverte dans le désert de Juda*
(Paris, 1957), 59.

(21) ROST, *Damaskusschrift*, 7; BROWNLEE, *Midrash Peshar*, 47-48; CROSS,
Ancient Library, 148 n. 82; JEREMIAS, *Lehrer*, pp. 312-313. The Karaite designation
moreh Šepeq 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-QŪMISI to the first two
passages (I. MARKON [ed.], *Commentarius in librum duodecim prophetariorum quem*
composuit Daniel al-Kūmissi [Jerusalem, 1957], pp. 18, 29).

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 šefer* (*Isaiah* 9, 14; *Habakkuk* 2, 18) "teacher of falsehood, false teacher", thus attempting to define *Moreh Šefer* by means of its assumed opposite. (24) All of these suggestions regarding the possible biblical derivation of the designation *Moreh Šefer* 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 Šefer*. 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 ſefer lakem) is translated *cum venerit qui docebit vos iustitiam*, and *Joel* 2, 23 (*ki natan lakem et ha-moreh lisedaqah*) 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 *sdq* 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 ſefer* of *Habakkuk* 2, 18 as *mry ſqr*.

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

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

Just what does "Teacher" mean? *Teacher* appears to supply an *vobis iustitiam* or "who answers only restates the Teacher of Righteousness".

What indeed is the teacher by a so-called "righteousness" or "righteousness"? conjuring up images associated with the guidance. (28) Was the concerned to instill a balance between virtue and vice so. There is a danger (and for that matter the of the Greek philosophy to a small circle of disciples employing words like the character of the *Moreh*?

There is furtherly "righteousness" or "righteousness" placed upon the so-called "forensic" or pronounced "righteous" court of law. (30) This Hebrew Bible, (31) but it is polemic of Paul. (32) It is of the concept of "righteousness" in Pauline theology. It is equating the notions of

(27) Compare F. ROSEN (1950-51), 411-412 n. 4: "Our dependence on the meanings we give to Hebrew *šedakā*. For that '*šedakā*' means righteous."

(28) Note the definitive *Dictionary*: "...just, upright, virtuous, divine or the moral law; .

(29) See, for example, I. CITION and his teaching active Epicurus.

(30) WEINGREEN, *JJS* 1 (1953), 131.

(31) E.g., *Exodus* 23, 7; *Isaiah* 5, 23; 29, 21; *Proverbs* 3, 3.

(32) See in particular the *Testament* translated by K. (

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Just what does "Teacher of Righteousness" mean? *Hosea* 10,
12 appears to supply an explanation: it refers to the one *qui docebit*
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 *ḥakamim*) 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" (*ṣaddiq, 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-

3 (1961-62) 530. Note that
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, 18 as *mry šqr*.
n of FISCHER, GRIBOMONT,
alam Versionem (Stuttgart,

om M. LUTHER, *Die ganze*
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(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'dākā*. For clarifying the semantic range of *š'dākā*, the statement
that '*š'dākā* means righteousness' is about as valuable as to say: '*š'dākā* means
š'dākā'."

(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., *Exodus* 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.

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 Sedeq* 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 Sedeq*, 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 Sedeq*.

To assume that there is a rigid connection between derivatives of the Semitic stem *ṣdq* and the concepts of "righteousness", "Gerechtigkeit", *et al.* is quite misleading. The fundamental meaning connoted by the stem *ṣdq* in the cognate Semitic corpus would appear to be "that which is legitimate, proper, true".(34) The noun *sedeq* 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 sedeq 'abney sedeq 'efat sedeq wehin sedeq 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 *sedeq* 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 *ṣdq* 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*? (Leiden, 1968-), III 942.

(35) *Ezekiel* 45, 10: *mo'zney sedeq we'fat sedeq ubal sedeq yehig lakem*; *Deuteronomy* 25, 15: *'eben šelemah wa'sedeq yiyeh tak 'efah šelemah wa'sedeq yiyeh tak*...and note verses 13-14. Compare also *Job* 31, 6: *yiqseleni bemo'zney sedeq*...

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

The employment has also been remarkably prominent example, occurs in *4QPatriarch dawid* "until the advent David". The formal (*ha)sedeq* is obvious. Messiah" or "Messiah

The noun *moreh* "teaching" or "guiding" exercise of this activity no reason to doubt the term *moreh* at Qu semantic evolution of and rabbinic Hebrew to priestly, halakhic this usage occurs in *2 torah* "and there w

(36) *Targum Onkelos* whynyn dqšwl yhwn lkwn; yhwn lk mkyln šlmn dqšwl *Targum Onkelos* rely upon *Pentateuch According to T. Neofli* and *PSEUDO-JONATHAN* dqšwl umkyln dqšwl ubly Aramaic...Volume III: The 1962).

(37) G. SCHRENK, "δικαιοντας τὸν θεόν" in *Neuen Testamen* (Stuttgart 1962).

(38) See the discussion pp. 42-59 and D. HILL, *Greek Soteriological Terms* (Cambridge, 1963).

(39) CROSS, *Ancient 1*

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

(41) Cf. MEYER, *Melchisedek in the Old Testament* (Lund, 1907) to connote authoritative conundrums. See *Leviticus* 44, 23; *2 Chronicles* 32, 18.

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the Hebrew *sedeq* with

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

The employment of *sedeq* 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 **ha-sedeq** semah dawid "until the advent of the *true* anointed one, the descendant of David". The formal similarity of *mešiah ha-sedeq* and *moreh (ha)sedeq* 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: ...ālelo' kohen moreh ālelo' torah "and there was no law-giving priest and (hence) no

(36) Targum Onkelos *Leviticus* 19, 36: muznwn dqšwl mlqlyn dqšwl mkyln dqšwl whynyn dqšwl yhwn lkwn; Targum Onkelos *Deuteronomy* 25, 15: mlqlyn šlmyn dqšwl yhwn lk mkyln šlmyn dqšwl 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: muznwn dqšwl wmkyln dqšwl wblyn dqšwl yhwn lk, cited from idem, *The Bible in Aramaic...Volume III: The Latter Prophets According to Targum Jonathan* (Leiden, 1962).

(37) G. SCHRENK, "δίκαιος," in G. KITTEL (ed.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testamente* (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 Soteriological Terms* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 104-109.

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

(40) The phrase *mešiah ha-sedeq* probably possesses here a polemical edge as it does in later Judaism. Note also the term φειδόχριστοι 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.

lem, *More Light on the Dead Sea
The Significance of the Qumran
, Journal of Biblical Literature
Christian Origins* (New York, 1961),
volume edited by J. MURPHY-

*Derivate des Stammes sdq im
28-40; 53-59; MEYER, Melchi-
SER, Hebräisches und aramäisches
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al sedeq yehiy lakem; Deulerono-
yah waṣedeq yiyeḥ lak...and note
o'zney sedeq...*

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 *torah* 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 *torah*-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 *torah* 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-torah*.

(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 *torah* 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 νομοθέτω "ordain, enact laws" in LXX *Exodus* 24, 12; *Deuteronomy* 17, 10; *Psalm* 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 ἀποκληται "give a verdict".

that a more accurate reviewed in the light of probable textual eviden would be along the line novel understanding of anticipated by several problem. (46) Their ear additional evidence tha years. It is being reali factor in the rift betw authorities in Jerusal interpreting the ritual Torah. This should no differences of interpretat rabbinic accounts of the of disputes is the questio the pronouncement of a title *Moreh Sedeq* or "T Qumran sect to possess null and void.

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(46) Notably GINZBERG, *The Calendar Reckoning of the* (1958), 163; WEINGREEN, JSS *Scriptures*^a, xii, 555. Compar presented by A. PAUL, *Écrits* (Paris, 1969), 125.

(47) Conveniently assem 317.

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

(49) B. Z. WACHOLDER,

(50) Examples are supp of *Seclarian Halakah*, RQ 9 (1978), 115-119.

sponsibility (*sans* the where the prophet is *borah* from the Temple designated *morim* or refinement of meaning *mg* 17,8-13 (a passage found in *Sifre* 11,2.(44) The latter and *horayah* with the practical question of

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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, *IIQTorah* (henceforth *IIQT*). 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 *IIQT* 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 *IIQT* itself. The

(46) Notably GINZBERG, *Sekle*, 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*, 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.

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 *IIQT* an impeccable authority. The *Moreh Šedeq*, 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 Šedeq* 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 *Mosheh* does not occur in the surviving lines of *IIQT*; 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 Šedeq* who is entrusted with the promulgation of *IIQT*, 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 Šedeq* 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 *IIQT* 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.), *Otzar Yisrael* (New York, 1951), IV, pp. 148-151; *Encyclopedyah Talmudit* (Jerusalem, 1947-), VIII, cols. 365-387; W. BÄCHER, *Salzun 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 Tradenlen in den Schulen Palästinas und Babylonien* [Leipzig, 1914], pp. 33-46).

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

(54) *IIQT* XLIV, 5 : *tbnw 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*; *4QHalakah^a*; *4QTeharot*. Cf. also MILIK, *Dix ans*, 36.

torah (*4QMMT*). (57) *Ad* was sent possibly by the Jerusalem. The epistle regarding which the Qum differed, all of which were seen to revolve around responsible for exercisin author of this epistle, he described in our revised namely, giving "true leg

External evidence question of viewing the sect. In the descriptio Essenes in his *Bellum "lawgiver"* (ουμοθέτης) w blasphem. (58) Many as an indication of the the sect. (59) This pro similar prohibition agai while the name of God available to us (i.e., compositions masquerad usually represented by accorded this same tre basis of this parallel wh traditional Jewish lawg

(57) E. QIMRON - J. STRUGNELL, *Israel Museum Journal* 4 (1986); *Qumran, in Biblical Archaeology* (Atlanta, 1986).

(58) *Bellum* 2.145; cf. 2

(59) Primarily on the EUSEBIUS, *Praep. Ev.* 8.11 Essenes. Note I. LÉVY, *La Discipline des Essènes* (1926), pp. 462-463; H. J. S. (Tübingen, 1949), 253 (modified by M. DELCOR, *Contribution à l'étude de la Discipline des Essènes*, *RB* 61 (1954), 550-553; O. BAUERNFEIND (eds.), *Flammarion et les Essènes* (München, 1957-1972), I, 437 (1937-1980) (Berlin, 1984).

(60) A. DUPONT-SOMMER, *Le Seigneur de la Mer* (Paris, 1950), 111-112.

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External evidence may also be brought to bear upon the question of viewing the *Moreh Šedeq* 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 *IIQT*), 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. Eu.* 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. SCHÖEPS, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums* (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 Qumrân*, *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*

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 *1QQT*, *4QMKT*, 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. LINDESBORG, "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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