

(Con)textual Perspectives on the Dead Sea Scrolls

Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

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Esther G. Chazon

(Con)textual Perspectives on the Dead Sea Scrolls

*Proceedings of the Seventeenth International Orion
Symposium, February 28–March 3, 2022*

Published in Honor of Esther G. Chazon

Edited by

Ruth A. Clements
Michael B. Johnson
Noam Mizrahi
Michael Segal



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Preface

The Seventeenth International Orion Symposium, “(Con)textual Perspectives on the Dead Sea Scrolls,” was originally intended to mark the silver anniversary of the Orion Center in 2021. The vagaries of the COVID epidemic led us to mount a rescheduled, online symposium (a first for the Center!), held in February 2022.

The symposium was conceived as a chance for scrolls scholars to share aspects of their current research, set in relation to broader contexts (literary, cultural, historical, text-critical). Scholars from Israel, North America, and Europe convened online over the course of four days, examining a diverse group of texts and writing practices from an equally diverse range of perspectives, using a variety of traditional and innovative methodological frameworks. The online setup gave us the opportunity to open the sessions to auditors from all over the globe—from Israel to Peru to Burundi to Kuwait—for rich opportunities of exchange. The webinar format also allowed us to experiment with novel meeting options, including recap sessions at the beginning of each program day which brought the previous day’s content into the current day’s sessions; “discussion rooms” for presenters and chairs, which provided a forum for exploring some ideas in more depth; and “fireside chats” with senior colleagues in the field, to hear their perspectives on the last seventy years of research.

The fully online format of the symposium presented new challenges of organization extending through time zones and continents, and many hands contributed to its success. We want especially to express our appreciation to Ms. Ruchama Roth, Orion administrator, for coordinating the myriad university departments and personnel instrumental in the successful running of the symposium. At the planning stages, Prof. Lawrence Schiffman and Kirsten Howe of NYU, as well as Dr. Joshua Scott of the Enoch Seminar, generously shared their experience in the organizing of online conferences. Our “in-house” tech team, led by Dr. Michael Johnson, included Shlomo Brand, Orion Bibliography Research Assistant, Shiran Shevah (former Orion Bibliographer), and Orion interns Daniel Park and Minwoo Nam; they were responsible for the smooth running of the online sessions. And of course, we are indebted to all the presenters who put their developing research and expertise on the table for such a wide audience.

The editors are grateful to Profs. George Brooke and Jutta Jokiranta for accepting the volume into the series, *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah*, and to Katelyn Chin and Katerina Sofianou of Brill Academic Publishers, and Bart Nijsten of TAT Zetwerk for seeing the volume through production.

We want to recognize Ben Frankel for his careful editorial assistance, and we thank the Silas S. Perry Foundation for Biblical Research for its support for the preparation of the volume. And last but not least, we want to thank the Orion Foundation, along with the Hebrew University and the Mandel Institute of Jewish Studies, for their ongoing sponsorship of the Center's work, and the Symposium in particular.

From the first Orion Symposium in 1996 ("Biblical Perspectives") to this seventeenth symposium, the Center has aimed to foster innovative research on the scrolls, and to encourage integration of that research into the larger body of knowledge about Jewish literature, history, and religion from the Second Temple period through to the early Christian and rabbinic corpora. The Seventeenth Symposium and this resulting volume constitute a fitting celebration and continuation of the Center's work.

Ruth A. Clements

Michael B. Johnson

Noam Mizrahi

Michael Segal

July 8, 2025 // 12 Tamuz 5785

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Abbreviations

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by D.N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ÄgAbh	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AS	Assyriological Studies
ATDan	Acta Theologica Danica
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBSup	Bulletin for Biblical Research Supplements
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BibSem	The Biblical Seminar
BJs	Brown Judaic Studies
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BPOA	<i>Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo</i>
BRLA	Brill Reference Library of Judaism
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CPJ	<i>Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum</i> . Edited by V.A. Tcherikover. 3 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957–1964
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DSSR	<i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader</i> . Edited by D.W. Parry and E. Tov. 6 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2004–2005
DSSSEL	<i>Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library</i> . Edited by E. Tov. Rev. ed. Leiden: Brill, 2016
EBib	Études bibliques
EDSS	<i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> . Edited by L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam. 2 vols. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000

- EJL Early Judaism and Its Literature
- ErIsr* *Eretz Israel*
- FAT Forschungen zum Alten Testament
- FRLANT Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
- GKC *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. Edited by E. Kautsch, Translated by A.E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910
- HALOT* *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, and J.J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of M.E.J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999. Electronic edition (CD-ROM), 2001
- HdO Handbuch der Orientalistik
- HeBAI* *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel*
- HSS Harvard Semitic Studies
- HTR* *Harvard Theological Review*
- HUCA* *Hebrew Union College Annual*
- IEJ* *Israel Exploration Journal*
- JAJ* *Journal of Ancient Judaism*
- JAJSup Supplements to the Journal of Ancient Judaism
- JANES* *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society*
- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JBL* *Journal of Biblical Literature*
- JEA* *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- JJS* *Journal of Jewish Studies*
- JSP* *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
- JRAS* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
- JQR* *Jewish Quarterly Review*
- JSHRZ Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
- JSIJ* *Jewish Studies, an Internet Journal*
- JSJ* *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
- JSJSup Supplements to Journal for the Study of Judaism
- JSPSup Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
- JSNT* *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
- JSOTSup Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
- JSS* *Journal of Semitic Studies*
- LCL Loeb Classical Library
- Josephus*. Translated by Henry St. J. Thackeray et al. 10 vols. LCL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926–1965
- Philo*. Translated by F.H. Colson et al. 12 vols. LCL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929–1962

<i>Leš</i>	<i>Lešonénu</i>
LHBOTS	The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
LSTS	The Library of Second Temple Studies
NETS	<i>New English Translation of the Septuagint</i> . Edited by A Pietersma and B.G. Wright. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007; 2nd printing with emendations and corrections, 2009
NIDB	<i>New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> . Edited by K.D. Sakenfeld. 5 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 2006–2009
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OCDS	Oxford Commentary on the Dead Sea Scrolls
OCM	Oxford Classical Monographs
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTP	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . Edited by J.H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985
PACS	Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
RBL	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i>
RBS	<i>Resources for Biblical Study</i>
<i>RechBib</i>	<i>Recherches bibliques</i>
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
ScrHier	Scripta Hierosolymitana
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (supplements to <i>Numen</i>)
SJ	Studia Judaica
<i>sjot</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SPhAMA	Studies in Philo of Alexandria and Mediterranean Antiquity
SPhiloM	Studia Philonica Monograph Series
<i>StBiSl</i>	<i>Studia Biblica Slovaca</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPB	Studia Post-biblica
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica

SymS	Symposium Series
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
<i>THB</i>	<i>Textual History of the Bible</i> . Volume 1: <i>The Hebrew Bible</i> . Edited by A. Lange and E. Tov. Leiden: Brill, 2016–2017. Volume 2: <i>The Deuterocanonical Scriptures</i> . Edited by F. Feder, M. Henze, and M. Pajunen. Leiden: Brill, 2020. Volume 3: <i>A Companion to Textual Criticism</i> . Edited by A. Lange and R.E. Fuller. Leiden: Brill, 2023
THBSup	Supplements to the Textual History of the Bible
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WLAW	Wisdom Literature from the Ancient World
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

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In Honor of Esther G. Chazon

Our honoree, Professor Esther (Estelle) Glickler Chazon, began her academic studies in the Religion Department at Barnard College (Columbia University), New York, focusing on Judaism and Christianity (BA, 1971–1975). During this time, she also integrated a one-year program in Bible and Jewish history at the Hebrew University (1973–1974). After she made *aliyah* to Israel, she enrolled in the Department of Jewish Thought at the Hebrew University, focusing on Hellenistic Judaism (MA, 1975–1981). From early on, Esther's scholarship has encompassed the range of Second Temple literature, including both the Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish works transmitted in translation via Christian channels as part of apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature. This broad interest is illustrated by her very first scholarly publication: "Moses' Struggle for His Soul: A Prototype for the Testament of Abraham, the Greek Apocalypse of Ezra and the Apocalypse of Sedrach" (1985/1986). Her distinctive field of expertise, however, is the literary-historical study of the poetic and liturgical works of that period, to which she was drawn while working on her Hebrew University doctoral dissertation, "A Liturgical Document from Qumran and Its Implications: 'Words of the Luminaries' (4QDibHam)," under the supervision of Professor Michael E. Stone. She was awarded the doctorate in 1992, *summa cum laude*.

Esther's doctoral research was prompted by the exciting publication of numerous fragments of liturgical works from Qumran Cave 4 by Maurice Baillet in DJD 7 (1982). In her dissertation, she focused on a single liturgical work that consists of daily prayers for the week. She produced an exemplary new edition that integrates a novel material reconstruction of its best-preserved copy (4Q504, supplemented by 4Q505–506) with detailed literary-historical commentary. While the dissertation was not published as such, it has yielded many subsequent articles, and the scholarly community eagerly awaits Esther's revised and definitive edition of the Words of the Luminaries, which is forthcoming in Brill's Dead Sea Scrolls Editions series.

Esther was quick to realize that the Words of the Luminaries sheds new light on the early history of Jewish liturgy, furnishing evidence for the rise of routine, fixed communal prayer already in the late Second Temple period. This insight went against the common opinion at that time, which assumed that this development took place only much later, as a spiritual response to the disappearance of sacrificial worship due to the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE. This recognition has led Esther to explore fundamental aspects of Jewish liturgy as reflected in Second Temple literature. To her investigations of the Words of the Luminaries, she added studies of other liturgical works found at

Qumran or preserved elsewhere, analyzing their textual remains, generic properties, literary features, phenomenological dimensions, and theological concerns. Her work is typically based on careful examination of the extant textual and literary evidence, setting it within its proper cultural context, and making critical and cautious use of rabbinic and occasionally early Christian parallels without projecting the latter's constructs on earlier texts. In addition to her original inquiries into such sources, Esther was also a member of the international team of Scrolls editors, newly formed in the 1990s to accelerate the pace of publication of the Scrolls. She was entrusted with several texts, mainly of a liturgical nature, which she published in the DJD series.

When viewed from the perspective of the history of research, Esther's work aligns with the revolutionary turn in the study of Hebrew poetry and Jewish liturgy which was sparked by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. She, along with scholars such as Billah Nitzan, Carol Newsom, Eileen Schuller, and others, published and analyzed a growing number of previously unknown works that have profoundly transformed our understanding of the development of the spiritual world of Judea in the Hellenistic–Roman period—the era when classical Judaism took form and early Christianity was beginning to emerge.

Esther taught for many years through a special Hebrew University track in Prayer Studies, as well as in other departments of the Institute of Jewish Studies, including Hebrew Literature, Jewish Thought, and Bible. She has been a welcome visitor at prestigious universities around the world, including Harvard (2001, 2017, 2019), Cambridge (2003), Yale (2007), and Oxford (2014). Parallel to her teaching and research, Esther has played a key role in shaping the field of Qumran Studies as the longest-serving Director of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, established by Professor Michael E. Stone in 1995. She has been involved with the Orion Center from its inception, co-organizing most of its international symposia—which have become a central venue for scholars in the field to present their innovative work—and co-editing their subsequent proceedings, all of which have been published in the STDJ series. She consistently broadened the international reach of the Orion Center, while proudly representing the Israeli community of Qumran scholars at the relevant learned societies, including the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL), the International Organization for Qumran Studies (IOQS), and the Enoch Seminar.

Esther's retirement from teaching coincided with the peak of the pandemic that swept the world in 2020–2022 and thus could not be properly marked at the time. Similarly, the Seventeenth Orion Symposium, which she had conceived and planned, had to be rescheduled several times, until we ultimately decided to conduct it in a fully virtual format. As all participants were schol-

arly colleagues whom Esther had personally invited, we felt that dedicating this resulting volume of symposium proceedings in her honor would be an appropriate tribute to her lasting contributions to the field. We take this opportunity to wish Esther many more years of fruitful intellectual activity, good health, and joy with her family.

The Editors

Publications of Esther G. Chazon

Authored Book

- Forthcoming *"The Words of the Luminaries": 4Q504–4Q506*. DSSE 3. Leiden: Brill.
Based on "A Liturgical Document from Qumran and Its Implications: 'Words of the Luminaries' (4QDibHam)." PhD diss., The Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 1992 (in Hebrew).

Edited Volumes

- 1997 Co-edited with Mark Kiley, ed., Moshe J. Bernstein, Randall D. Chesnutt, et al., assoc. eds. *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine: A Critical Anthology*. London: Routledge.
- 1998 Co-edited with Michael E. Stone. *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center, 12–14 May 1996*. STDJ 28. Leiden: Brill.
- 1999 Co-edited with Michael E. Stone, with the collaboration of Avital Pinnick. *Pseudepigraphical Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Second International Symposium of the Orion Center, 12–14 January 1997*. STDJ 31. Leiden: Brill.
- 2000 Co-edited with Joseph M. Baumgarten and Avital Pinnick. *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center, 4–8 February 1998*. STDJ 34. Leiden: Brill.
- 2003 Edited with the collaboration of Ruth A. Clements and Avital Pinnick. *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center, 19–23 January, 2000*. STDJ 48. Leiden: Brill.
- 2004 Co-edited with David Satran and Ruth A. Clements. *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone*. JSPSup 89. Leiden: Brill.
- 2005 Co-edited with Devorah Dimant and Ruth A. Clements. *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran: Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15–17 January, 2002*. STDJ 58. Leiden: Brill.
- 2010 Co-edited with Betsy Halpern-Amaru in collaboration with Ruth A. Clements. *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Sympo-*

sium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005. STDJ 88. Leiden: Brill.

- 2024 Co-edited with Ruth A. Clements, Armin Lange, Adolfo Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Pnina Shor. *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Seventy: "Clear a Path in the Wilderness!" Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, Cosponsored by the University of Vienna, New York University, the Israel Antiquities Authority, and the Israel Museum, 29 April–2 May, 2018.* STDJ 147. Leiden: Brill.

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- 1999 In *Qumran Cave 4.xx: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*. Edited by E.G. Chazon et al. DJD 29. Oxford: Clarendon:
- (1) "441–442. 4QIndividual Thanksgiving A, B." Pages 343–345.
 - (2) "443. Personal Prayer." Pages 347–366.
 - (3) "444. 4QIncantation." Pages 367–378.
 - (4) "449–456. 4QPrayers A–E, 4QLament B, 4QHalleluyah." Pages 391–408.
 - (5) "457a, b. 4QCreation? Eschatological Hymn." Pages 409–419.
- 1999 Co-authored with Michael E. Stone. "4QTime of Righteousness (4Q215a, olim 4QTNaphthali): A Preliminary Publication of Fragment 1 ii." Pages 124–125 in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*. Edited by D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich. STDJ 30. Leiden: Brill.
- 2000 In *Qumran Cave 4.xxvi: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1*. DJD 36. Oxford: Clarendon:
- (1) "455. 4QDidactic Work C." Pages 350–351.
 - (2) Co-authored with Michael Stone. "215a. Time of Righteousness." Pages 172–184.
- 2005 "4Q504 (4QDibHam^a)." Pages 204–257 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader, Part 5: Poetic and Liturgical Texts*. Edited by D.W. Parry and E. Tov. Leiden: Brill. [Text of Maurice Baillet, "504.–506. Paroles des Luminaires (i)–(iii)." Pages 137–174 in *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)*. Edited by M. Baillet. DJD 7. Oxford: Clarendon, 1982; reprinted 2003; text reordered and readings corrected on the basis of Esther Chazon, ed., "Words of the Luminaries": 4Q504–4Q506. DSSE 3. Leiden: Brill, forthcoming.]
- 2013 "Prayer of Manasseh." Pages 243–247 in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*. Edited by L.H. Feldman, J.L. Kugel, and L.H. Schiffman. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, Jewish Publication Society.

Articles and Book Chapters

- 1985/1986 "Moses' Struggle for His Soul: A Prototype for the Testament of Abraham, the Greek Apocalypse of Ezra and the Apocalypse of Sedrach." *The Second Century* 5: 151–164.
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