

## **SUMMER SCHOOL: JOSEPHUS, THE ESSENES AND QUMRAN**

Veranstalter: Internationales Kolleg für Geisteswissenschaftliche Forschung (IKGF), Ruhr-Universität Bochum

Leitungsteam: PD Dr. Gudrun Holtz, Bochum; Prof. Dr. Daniel Schwartz, Jerusalem; Prof. Dr. Peter Wick, Bochum

Datum: Bochum, 13.-20. August 2009

### **Bericht und Ergebnisse**

Die summer school ist der Grundfrage des IKGF nach den Dynamiken der Religionsgeschichte zwischen Asien und Europa am Beispiel der Essener und ihrer Rezeption bei Josephus und in der Qumranliteratur nachgegangen. Josephus war gebürtiger Judäer aus priesterlichem Geschlecht, der im ersten jüdisch-römischen Krieg (66-70 n.Chr.) Kommandeur der jüdischen Truppen in Galiläa war. Während des Krieges wechselte er die Fronten und kam im Tross des siegreichen römischen Oberbefehlshabers und späteren Kaisers Titus nach Rom, wo er, protegiert vom flavischen Herrscherhaus, zum Geschichtsschreiber zunächst in aramäischer, dann in griechischer Sprache wurde. Er schrieb seine *Judaica* für ein römisches Publikum und musste deshalb den Weg, den er geographisch zurückgelegt hatte, auch kulturell nachvollziehen. Es zeigt sich, dass er im früheren *Bellum* mehr einen vorgestellten griechischen Leser vor Augen hat, in den Antiquitates sich mehr auf die römischen Wertesysteme in ihrer Differenz zu den griechischen beziehen kann. So zeigt sich an Josephus, dass auch Inkulturation ein dynamischer Prozess ist, der die religiöse Selbstdarstellung (hier: jüdische Identitätskonstruktion des Josephus) prozessual verändern kann.

Die von Josephus vorgenommene "Übersetzung" des Judentums in einen neuen kulturellen Horizont lässt sich besonders an Themen verdeutlichen, zu denen es Parallelüberlieferungen in der antiken Literatur gibt. Ein solches Beispiel sind die Essener, über die Josephus berichtet, von denen mit den Schriften vom Toten Meer - nach Überzeugung der Mehrheit der Forscher jedenfalls - aber auch Selbstzeugnisse vorliegen. Die Essener gingen im Gegensatz zu Josephus nicht in die Diaspora, sondern zogen sich in eine innere Diaspora im Land Israel zurück, was ebenfalls vielschichtige und doch andere dynamische Prozesse der Identitätsbestimmung in Auseinandersetzung mit Hellenismus und Jerusalemer Judentum auslöste. Die Probleme, die die Zuordnung der von Josephus aus westlicher Perspektive in griechischer Sprache verfassten Berichte über die Essener zu deren eigener Literatur bereitet, waren der Ausgangspunkt für die übergeordnete Fragestellung der summer school.

Die von den Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmern der summer school zu diesem Themenkomplex vorbereiteten Beiträge und die sich daran anschließenden Diskussionen bildeten das Zentrum der summer school. Das Leitungsteam führte mit Kurzreferaten in die gemeinsame Lernwoche ein. Peter Wick (Bochum) verknüpfte das Seminarthema mit der im IKGF in verschiedenen Zusammenhängen diskutierten Frage nach religionsgeschichtlichen Ausbreitungs-, Verdichtungs- und Abgrenzungsprozessen. Daniel Schwartz (Jerusalem) führte allgemein in das Seminarthema ein. Gudrun Holtz (Tübingen) legte die Bedeutung von Josephus und der Qumranliteratur für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft dar. Auf einer Exkursion nach Köln hat sich die summer school, geführt von der Kölner Archäologin Katja

Kliemann, v.a. mit dem Stein gewordenen römischen und jüdischen Erbe der Stadt beschäftigt.

Die Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer der Lernwoche haben die summer school unter drei Gesichtspunkten zusammengefasst: (1.) präsentieren sie die Hauptthesen ihrer Referate, (2.) benennen sie die Impulse, die sie während der Woche für ihre weitere Arbeit bekommen haben, und (3.) setzen sie die Ergebnisse ihrer Arbeiten mit der Grundfrage des IKGf nach den Gestalten der religionsgeschichtlichen Dynamiken zwischen Asien - Palästina - und Europa - Griechenland und Rom - in Bezug.

### **Beiträge:**

#### *I. Nadav Sharon, Hebrew University, Jerusalem*

(1) Josephus narrates three stories of Essene prophets: Judas, Menahem, and Simon. In my presentation I presented a critical analysis and source criticism of these narratives. It seems that some factors point to Nicolaus of Damascus as Josephus' source, but others point to Josephus himself, and I suggested that the most we could conclude was that some stories (or parts of stories) seem more likely to derive from Nicolaus and others from Josephus himself. Finally, we explored together the possibility that the origins of some or all of these stories were actually within the Essene sect itself, even if they had undergone later rewriting/s in Hellenistic form.

My presentation illustrates how a group, which is employing a strategy of demarcation – trying to build up boundaries between itself and the surrounding Hellenistic culture, serves the interests of figures, such as Herod, and of historians, such as Nicolaus and Josephus, who are at the opposite pole in terms of hellenization. Although, as I suggested, these Essene prophet stories may have originated within the Essene sect, paradoxically our only knowledge of them has reached us via these Hellenistic authors writing in Greek. At other points of the workshop we have seen, moreover, that despite the strategy of demarcation, at the end of the day it seems that Hellenism may have been absorbed to some degree by the Essene or Qumran sect.

(2) The gathering of German students together with Israeli students, of theologians together with historians, was highly illuminating in my view. It produced very interesting discussions and exhibited various new points of view.

(3) The overall question of demarcation vs. openness to foreign, western, culture was particularly insightful for my research, as my doctoral dissertation is about the impact of the Roman conquest of Judea upon Judean religion and society, and one specific question is its impact on the phenomenon of sectarianism in general, and on the different sects in particular.

#### *II. David (Dmitry) Kopeliovich, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

(1) My presentation was devoted to the importance of the prophet Jeremiah for the Jewish literature of the end of the Second Temple period, and particularly in the Qumran Scrolls and in Josephus' writings. Concerning the Qumran literature, a few manuscripts of the biblical book of Jeremiah have been found; in addition, the Apocryphon of Jeremiah is of especial interest, since it represents the "biographical" details which are not attested in the Bible. We can find the impact of Jeremiah in the Qumran's idea of the New Covenant and in the story on the persecution of the Teacher of Righteousness who is described here as a persecuted prophet resembling Jeremiah. Also Josephus tells the story of Jeremiah in the *Jewish Antiquities* and implicitly underlines a similarity between himself and the biblical prophet. This similarity helps Josephus to justify his own surrender to Romans and to picture himself as a persecuted prophet (this strategy is evident already in the *Jewish War*). Thus, the common strategies in Qumran's and Josephus' treatment of the biblical sources can be

discovered: the “midrashic” rewriting of the biblical stories about Jeremiah and the typological use of Jeremiah for the creation of the new images from the Second Temple period (especially of the persecuted prophets).

(2) I think that the summer school in Bochum was really important to my work. First, the discussions were very interesting, and the acquaintance with another point of view on the discussed issues always widens one’s horizons. Second, the questions asked after the presentation actually contributed to the further research and to a better understanding of its purposes. Third, the participation in the seminar has improved my proficiency in German.

(3) My work is closely related to the crossroad between East and West: the reevaluation and reshaping of Jeremiah’s traditions in Qumran was promoted to some extent by the sectarian’s intention to separate themselves from the Temple elite which was influenced by the Hellenistic culture (thus, we observe here the demarcation tendency). Concerning Josephus, some dichotomy can be observed: on the one hand, he absorbs the Greek culture and reevaluates his Jewish heritage on the Western background; on the other hand, in writing for Greeks and Romans he tries to prove the priority and supremacy of the Jewish values and to diffuse its knowledge among the nations. In the future I plan to research the impact of Jeremiah in the New Testament narrative which actually embraces East (the Hebrew Bible) and West (the ancient culture).

### *III. Meron Piotrkowski, Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

(1) My paper sought to broaden the discussion on Jews in the Diaspora and Jews in Palestine in the Second Temple Period, by introducing a further model into this picture, namely “priests in the Diaspora.” As such I compared two priestly Diaspora communities, the self-imposed Diaspora community of Qumran, and the so called Oniad community in Egypt. Scholarship on the latter issue has pointed to many similarities inherent in both communities, such as an emphasis on a shared Zadokite heritage, which led scholars to think that there must have existed a family connection between the two, based on the idea that the ‘Teacher of Righteousness’ was an Oniad. My intention was to show that such a family connection – despite the many “creative” attempts of some scholars – did not exist and that the common ground and the reason why these communities are similar, is the mere fact that they constitute of a group of priests that are in exile and no longer in reach of the Jerusalem sanctuary, which caused them to deal with that loss in a different, yet sometimes similar manner, which, e.g., would explain the emphasis on Zadok in both communities.

(2) Speaking for myself, the summer school greatly contributed to my understanding of the New Testament, a field, which is rather new to me. Furthermore, it is always enriching to discuss texts, which one reads in a certain way, with people that apply a different reading of the same texts. One may learn a great deal from that and I think, this was the case in this seminar.

(3) The very nature of two communities (Qumran and the Oniad community) of Jewish priests in exile discussed in my paper is, I think, a good example for Jews that live – or are forced to live – within the larger context of the Hellenistic world and are dealing with these circumstance in a different manner, revealing the dynamics and the diversity of how the Jewish people dealt with that issue. The Qumranites, on the one hand, chose to retreat themselves into a self-imposed exile in order to minimize their exposure to their Hellenistic surroundings (demarcation), while the Oniad community on the other, seems to have been deeply imbedded in the Hellenistic culture that encompassed their daily life in Ptolemaic Egypt. They maintained their Jewish priestly duties at their temple which was dedicated to the Jewish God, while serving as mercenaries in the Ptolemaic army and erecting funerary stelae with Greek epitaphs (absorption). Both groups, however, were simultaneously aware of their Jewish, priestly, Zadokite heritage, a fact, they never neglected. Hence I think, that this

poses a good example to show the tension inherent in these two communities, how to cope with outside influences, such as Hellenism.

#### *IV. Michael Tuval, Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

(1) In my paper “‘Being in Exile’: A Comparison of Josephus and the Qumran Scrolls Concerning the Meaning and Implications of Exile”, which I presented at the Bochum Seminar, I tried to document several aspects pertaining to the perception of being in exile by Flavius Josephus and the community of the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as to analyze the implications of their respective "exilic" situations. The first part of my presentation was dedicated to the discussion of methodological problems inherent in such a comparison. My conclusion was that despite the manifold differences between Josephus (an individual thinker) and the Qumran sect (a functioning community) such a comparison is possible, and even might shed some light not only on these two corpora of ancient Jewish literature, but also on the broader transformations and developments in ancient Judaism and early Christianity.

In the second part of the paper I dealt with Josephus' understanding of his Diasporan/exilic situation, and various transformations, which, in my view, he underwent as a religious thinker and writer as the result of his move from Jerusalem in Judea (that is, the Eastern part of the Roman Empire) to its capital, Rome (that is, the heart of the West). This short presentation formed a part of a much broader study, in which I analyze Josephus' rethinking of his various inherited convictions and categories in the light of his new situation – living and writing in Rome, in particular, and becoming a Diaspora Jew, in general. Thus, for example, I argue that from a particularistic Jerusalem priest, whose Judaism was oriented towards a specific place (Jerusalem Temple), and defined by its cult, he gradually became a cosmopolitan Jew, for whom Judaism was defined primarily in terms of Mosaic Law or constitution, not particularly connected to any territory and good for all humans, whoever and wherever they are. His understanding of "exile" also transformed from being perceived as a punishment and a dead end into a positive educational program for the Jewish people in particular, and a missionary program for the rest of the world, in general.

In the third part I analyzed the various passages in Qumran sectarian literature, in which the DSS covenanters spoke of exile. The survey of these passages demonstrated that their understanding of exile was complex: on the one hand, they perceived all the Jews who were not members of their sect to have been in the state of exile since the destruction of the First Temple, and themselves as the "remnant" and "God's planting", which in a sense inaugurated a kind of spiritual exodus. On the other hand, at the same time, they realized that they were cut off from the current Jerusalem Temple service, and spoke of themselves as leaving Judea and residing in exile.

The respective situations of Josephus and Qumran were different in many ways. It will suffice to mention that Josephus was not critical of Jerusalem Temple establishment of his day in any principal way, and his exile was not primarily a result of his personal choice. In the case of the Qumranites, their withdrawal from Jerusalem was voluntary and ideologically motivated. However, my conclusion was that in both cases we can witness a gradual creation of coherent Judaic paradigms/systems, which could function successfully without Jerusalem, its Temple, and its cult. In this sense, from their distinctive points of view, they exemplify the epoch-making transformations experienced by Judaism in Second Temple and Late Antique periods.

(2) In my case, the participation in Bochum seminar was productive in several ways. First, the seminar provoked many lively discussions, and introduced me to some new and important points of view, ideas, and ways to look at familiar phenomena. It also helped me to see my work in a broader context, and suggested some ideas for comparative analysis (such as, for

example, analyzing Apostle Paul's and Eusebius' *Lebensweg* employing methodology which I use in the case of Josephus).

(3) It also made me think concerning Josephus' and Qumran's strategies of demarcation: thus, for example, in the case of Josephus, one can see that his attempt to redefine Judaism in a foreign and multicultural environment of first-century multicultural and multi-religious Rome resulted in a new vision of what Judaism was all about. On the one hand, his renewed understanding of Judaism was heavily indebted to his specifically Roman context and environment, but on the other hand, it powerfully reasserted itself as a universal and missionary system of politics, philosophy, and ethics to be embraced by all humanity. In a different way, Qumran covenanters defined themselves as against the Jerusalem Temple establishment, which they considered to be wicked, impure, and godless. However, despite this antagonism, they virtually recreated their own community in the image and likeness of Jerusalem Temple and its priestly system. In the result, this demarcation led to the creation of a Judaic system which was independent from Jerusalem, but mirrored it in many ways.

#### *V. Johanna Nuhn, Ruhr-Universität Bochum*

(1) The ideas of a messianic figure in Qumran are multifaceted: they can be divided into four subgroups which either have a political or a religious focus. This might arise from the consideration that only a religious or a political messiah alone could not convince. The gospel of Matthew which is a literature from the second temple period shows the same fact. Matthew's messianic figure is even more contradictory, because there were three crises, which Matthew had to react on, so he overdrew his messianic image to make it stronger.

(2) The summer school has been a clear evidence that it is always worth discussing with people from different fields of research (e.g. history / theology). It is now more obvious to me, to what extent the New Testament can be overvalued and at the same time reduced to an ethical focus, leaving out every other aspect.

(3) The evidence of Qumran as a diffusion of political and religious elements serves as a model for a phenomenon that appears in many other cultural contexts. The idea of Jesus as a contradictory messiah within the Gospel of Matthew serves just as a densification of this structure. For Josephus this can also be seen in his interpretation / reevaluation of the traditional messianic idea: he conveys the religious aspect of the messiah upon Vespasian, that means he messianizes him, whereas the prediction of his sovereignty itself is demessianized.

#### *VI. Andreas Seifert, Ruhr-Universität Bochum*

(1) Flavius Josephus was born as a Jew in Palestine. In his exile in Rome he wrote his main works: *Bellum Judaicum* and *Antiquitates*. To describe destiny he uses the Greek word *heimarmene*, a word unknown in Hebrew because of the monotheistic thinking of Judaism. He used the word to describe to his pagan public the three main Jewish groups in the time of the Second Temple. Predestination which he ascribes to the Essenes and the refusal of destiny which he claims for the Sadducees had to be strange for his Roman readers, instead the position of the Pharisees had to appear familiar to a Stoic-minded public. Even so Josephus simplifies the situation of Judaism, it is possible to recognize many parallels between the description of *heimarmene* in Josephus' work and in the theological demonstrations of the DSS.

(2) The seminar with Israeli historians helped me to get another, non-theological perspective on the Qumran topic. Flavius Josephus himself was an author and an historian and not primary a theologian. The second point is the Jewish perspective on Josephus and the theology of the Qumranites. Terms like "predestination" are more problematic in a Jewish context than in a Protestant one.

(3) The absorption of a new culture is important when communicating in a foreign environment. Josephus could write to a pagan reader just in using his terms. By living in a Roman society he had to reevaluate his own Jewish traditions in comparing them with the Roman religion and Roman ways of life.

#### *VII. Jens Maschmeier, Ruhr-Universität Bochum*

(1) The paper “Predestination in Qumran und im Neuen Testament” analyses the concept of predestination in Qumran and New Testament literature (here with a focus on Paul’s letter to the Romans). In regard to Qumran a development of the views on predestination with the “Two-spirit-Teaching” as its final stage (1 QS III,14-4,26) is proposed (following Kratz, *Gottes Geheimnisse*). In the context of the Role of the Community even this teaching does not deny man’s “free will” (cf. 1QS 1; 5,1). The same can be said about predestination in Paul: On the one hand Rom 8,28-30 does not serve to determine history but to assure believers, that God’s elected people will finally participate in salvation, even if this seems doubtful in the present. On the other hand Rom 9-11 (the classical chapters for a double lot) serves to defend Paul’s mission to the Gentiles: Even though God has chosen Israel as his people, he calls non-Jewish believers in Christ. But the participation of the latter in the eschatological people of God, does not deny God’s election of Israel, which Paul defines as those, who don’t believe in Jesus as Messiah (Rom 9,4-5). On a structural level Paul’s concept of predestination comes close to that of the Pharisees (cf. Ant 13, 172-173). It differs from Qumran in so far as God’s predestination, election and providence on the one hand and man’s “free will” on the other hand are in a balance, whereas the Qumran scrolls focus on God’s predestination.

(2) The different contributions at the summer school encouraged a reading of New Testament literature as part of second temple period literature (especially the Qumran scrolls but also Josephus). In addition it advanced a historical, non-systematic reading of these texts. As an example 1 QH VII, 14-19 can be mentioned. On the one hand this text states, that God has created the wicked “for the time of wrath” (line 21). On the other hand it defines the wicked as those, “who choose what you [God] hates” (line 23). This contradiction is not necessarily to be solved by the figure, that even the choosing of evil is predestined. Predestination and man’s “free will” are complementary.

(3) Paul transfers his Pharisaic views on predestination into the context of his Gentile mission without leaving the basic structure of his former views on the subject in question: God’s providence/predestination and man’s “free will” are the two poles between which history unfolds. Even though in the praxis of his mission Paul tears down the demarcation line between Jews and Gentiles (who believe in Jesus as Christ), he doesn’t absorb Hellenistic traditions about predestination. In accordance with other Second Temple literature, Paul doesn’t pick up, for example, stoic thoughts, where free will can be defined as man’s assent to what he is driven to do.

#### *VIII. Volker Rabens, Ruhr-Universität Bochum*

In my paper: “The Holy Spirit and Holy Ways of Life in the Qumran Community”, I have discussed how religious-ethical life is empowered by the Spirit of God in the Dead Sea Scrolls. I have argued that by relating believers intimately to God (by providing cognitive and existential knowledge) and the community of faith, the Spirit transforms and empowers them to live according to God’s precepts. This thesis was supported by a number of general texts as well as by a closer look at three psalms from *Hodayot*.

The wider significance of the paper for the work of the IKGf is the comparison with Philo of Alexandria and Paul the Apostle that was indicated in the paper. Both Philo and Paul have similar views on the ethical work of the Spirit, which shows that they were part of the same

religious milieu with regard to this aspect of religious life. Whether this was due to a common tradition (the Hebrew Bible, especially Ezek. 36-37) or actual contact between them is difficult to say. However, it seems that in the case of Paul one can speak of a consolidation of this relational model of the Spirit's ethical work when one compares it with Qumran and Philo.

### **Schlussfolgerung:**

Das Seminarthema "Josephus, the Essenes and Qumran" hat sich so als fruchtbares Beispiel für das Studium religiöser Dynamiken erwiesen. Die Fragestellung, so der einhellige Konsens der summer school, ließe sich mit Gewinn auf andere Gebiete der Antike anwenden. Darüber hinaus war die summer school ein gelungenes Beispiel interkulturellen und - noch vorsichtig - interreligiösen Lernens. Theologen aus Deutschland und Historiker und Bibelwissenschaftler aus Israel lernten an der Untersuchung desselben Forschungsgegenstandes ganz unterschiedliche Fach- und auch Mentalitätskulturen kennen und übten, neue Perspektiven aufzunehmen. Die vom IKGf vorangetriebenen Fragen nach interreligiösen Dynamiken und Austauschprozessen waren für alle eine Herausforderung, die aber zu – gerade auch für die Forschung des IKGf anregenden - Ideen geführt haben (s. oben jeweils unter Punkt 3).

### **Literatur der Verantwortlichen zum Thema**

Holtz, G., *Damit Gott sei alles in allem. Studien zum paulinischen und frühjüdischen Universalismus*, BZNW 149, Berlin 2007

Schwartz, D. R. *Josephus on the Pharisees as Diaspora Jews*, in: C. Böttrich & J. Herzer (ed.), *Josephus und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen*, Tübingen 2007, 137-146

Schwartz, D. R., *The Dead Sea Sect and the Essenes*, in: M. Kister (ed.), *The Qumran Scrolls and Their World*, II, Jerusalem 2009, 601-612 (in Hebrew)

Schwartz, D. R., *Qumran and Early Christianity*, *ibid.*, 613-628 (in Hebrew)

Wick, P., *Die urchristlichen Gottesdienste. Entstehung und Entwicklung im Rahmen der frühjüdischen Tempel-, Synagogen- und Hausfrömmigkeit*, Verlag W. Kohlhammer, BWANT 150, 2. Auflage, Stuttgart u. a. 2003 (seit 2008 als BOND)

Wick, P., *Herodes im Matthäus-Evangelium: Messiasanwärter, Pharao, Antichrist*, in: L.-M. Günther, (Hgg.), *Herodes und Jerusalem*, Stuttgart 2009, 61-69

### **PROGRAM (Ruhr-Universität)**

<b>Day</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Topic</b>
Thursday (13.8.) 10.30-12.00	Peter Wick	General Introduction: Diffusion, Densification, and Demarcation in the Religious World of Antiquity: Essenes on the Borderline between "Asia" and "Europe"
	Daniel Schwartz	Josephus, the Essenes and Qumran: Introduction
	Gudrun Holtz	Importance of Josephus and the Dead Seas Scrolls to New Testament Scholarship

16.30-18.00	Nadav Sharon	Essene Prophets in Josephus and Visionaries in Qumran
Friday (14.8.) 10.30-12.00	David Kopeliovich	The Prophet Jeremiah in Josephus and in the Qumran Scrolls: A Comparative Study
Sunday (16.8.) 9.00-20.00		Excursion to Cologne: Roman, Jewish and Medieval Cologne
Monday (17.8.) 10.30-12.00	Meron Piotrkowski	Qumran, Leontopolis and Josephus' Lost High Priest: Was the Teacher of Righteousness an Oniad?
16.30-18.00	Johanna Nuhn	Zukunftserwartung bei Josephus und in der Qumranliteratur
Tuesday (18.8.) 10.30-12.00	Michael Tuval	"Being in Exile": A Comparison of Josephus and the Qumran Scrolls Concerning the Meaning and Implications of Exile
16.30-18.00	Andreas Seiffert	Heimarmene bei Josephus im Verhältnis zur stoischen Literatur und den Qumrantexten
Wednesday (19.8.) 10.30-12.00	Jens Maschmeier	Prädestination in der Qumranliteratur und im Neuen Testament
16.30-18.00	Volker Rabens	The Holy Spirit and Holy Ways of Life in the Qumran Community Final Discussion