BRILL

The Power of the Wisdom Label in Dead Sea Scrolls Research and the Curious Case of 4Q419 (4QInstruction-Like Composition A)

Charles P. Comerford | ORCID: 0000-0001-8332-8893
University of Birmingham, Birmingham, UK
cpc715@bham.ac.uk

Abstract

This article tells the story of 4Q419, a manuscript that was once associated with a well-known Wisdom text: 4QInstruction. However, following its removal from 4QInstruction and re-categorisation as an "Unclassified Manuscript" in the 1990s (see DSSR 6 and DJD 39), 4Q419 has been largely overlooked by the scholarly community. There are two core objectives to this article. First, it encourages scholars to re-engage with a neglected manuscript that still has much to contribute to discussions of pluriformity, textual development, and the scribal background of 4QInstruction. Second, this article attempts to shed light on the ramifications of scholarly adherence to the Wisdom label and raises broader concerns about the degree to which our designated labels influence the way we read, understand, and talk about the Scrolls.

Keywords

wisdom – 4Q419 – 4QInstruction – labels – genre

1 Introduction

The Wisdom label has played a significant role in the identification, reconstruction, and presentation of the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus. Though the word Wisdom (or Sapiential) is not used as a volume title or section heading in any of the first eight volumes of the DJD series published before the 1990s, there are a handful of physical, handwritten labels with the words Wisdom or Sapiential (or some abbreviation of these terms) observable in photographs of the

Scrolls taken by Najib Anton Albina in the 1950s and 1960s.[1] These Wisdom labels can be found alongside fragmentary compositions that were recognised as prospective Wisdom texts by scholars working in the scrollery of Jerusalem's Rockefeller Museum.[2] When a large number of these fragmentary compositions were made publicly accessible by the Israel Antiquities Authority in 1991, some of the new compositions referred to as "Wisdom" or "Sapiential" in inventories produced by Emanuel Tov and Stephen Reed appear to correspond with the earlier handwritten Wisdom labels.[3] Photographs of these labels therefore provide insight into the formative labelling practices that have subsequently shaped the way contemporary scholars read and understand the Scrolls.

Yet assurance in the credibility of the Wisdom label has waned in recent years. This is due in part to several recent publications in biblical scholarship that raise serious concerns with regards to the usefulness and reliability of the Wisdom label and its associated constructs (e.g., "Wisdom tradition," "Wisdom literature").[4] In addition, researchers have come to appreciate the multifaceted nature of the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus, with many acknowledging that these texts contain a blend of literary features that cut across conventionally defined categories of literature, such as Liturgical, Legal, Priestly, Prophetic, Apocalyptic, and Wisdom.[5]

It is against the backdrop of a growing scepticism with regards to the efficacy and vitality of the Wisdom label in biblical and Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship that this article examines the case of 4Q419 (4QInstruction-Like Composition A).[6] As the name implies, 4Q419 was once believed to be related to the composition known as 4QInstruction.[7] In fact, during the early stages of its

---

1　See Figures 2, 3, and 4 in the Appendix. All images in the Appendix were photographed by Najib Anton Albina, courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

2　Formerly the Palestine Archaeological Museum (PAM).

3　Tov, "The Unpublished Qumran Texts"; Reed, *Inventory*.

4　Dell, "Boundaries of 'Wisdom'"; Kynes, *Obituary for "Wisdom Literature"*; Sneed, "Wisdom Tradition"; Vayntrub, "Wisdom in Transmission"; Weeks, "Wisdom Literature."

5　F. García Martínez, "Sapiential, Liturgical, and Poetical," 6; Kister, "Wisdom Literature," 19; Najman, "Jewish Wisdom," 461.

6　The work has also been titled "Sapiential Work B." See Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 73; Kampen, "Diverse Aspects of Wisdom," 1.236; Reed, *Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue*, 111.

7　Other names for this composition include מוסר למבין ("Instruction for the Understanding One") proposed by the editors in DJD 34 (see below), or חכמת רז נהיה ("Wisdom of the Mystery of Existence") proposed by Menachem Kister, "Wisdom Literature from Qumran," 304. Some also choose to refer to the composition as "Instruction" in acknowledgment of the fact that not all manuscripts associated with the composition came from Cave 4 (e.g., 1Q26). Given that the current designated name for 4Q419 is still "4QInstruction-Like Composition A," this

reconstruction in the 1950s and 1960s, there is evidence suggesting that 4Q419 was regarded as another copy of 4QInstruction together with the manuscripts 4Q416, 4Q417, and 4Q418.[8] However, following a brief assessment of its literary features in the 1990s, 4Q419 was removed from the manuscripts of 4QInstruction because of its perceived lack of sapiential content. As a result, 4Q419 was reassigned to the category of "Unclassified Manuscripts," and it has since been largely overlooked by contemporary scholars.

The decision to remove 4Q419 from 4QInstruction has had a devastating impact on scholarly interest in and engagement with this manuscript. But should a manuscript become totally disconnected from a prominent composition simply because it does not correspond with the labels chosen by scholars to identify and distinguish ancient texts? Reflecting on this question, this article proceeds with two core objectives in mind. First, following a review of the history of research on 4Q419 and a critical examination of the reasons given for its later removal from 4QInstruction, this article will explore several significant and overlooked points of contact between 4Q419 and the manuscripts of 4QInstruction. It will argue that, despite 4Q419's lack of sapiential content, the manuscript retains an important literary connection with 4QInstruction that is deserving of scholarly attention, particularly in conversations relating to textual fluidity, pluriformity, and the scribal background of 4QInstruction. Second, through the example of 4Q419, this article seeks to shed light on the power of the Wisdom label in historical and contemporary Scrolls research. Scholarship has come a long way in recognising that genre labels are not static entities, but are fluid, flexible, and breakable constructs that help us to understand rather than define the text.[9] However, there are still issues with the ongoing use of these categories that need to be addressed. This article encourages researchers to be less reliant on scholarly designated labels that not only govern *how* we read texts, but also have the effect of determining *which* texts we choose (or choose not) to engage with.[10]

---

article will use the name "4QInstruction" as it most closely corresponds with the title given to 4Q419.

8   See § 3.1.

9   See studies by Collins, "Wisdom as Genre"; Newsom, "Spying out the Land"; eadem, "Pairing Research Questions"; Wright, "Joining the Club."

10   This article joins chorus with other studies that have examined the influence of names and labels assigned to texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus. See Brooke, "From Florilegium"; Justnes, "On Being a 'Librarian'"; Najman and Tigchelaar, "Preparatory Study of Nomenclature"; Ulrich, "Our Sharper Focus"; Zahn, "Talking about Rewritten Texts."

## 2	A Brief Overview of 4Q419

4Q419 is preserved in eleven fragments,[11] with only fragments 1 and 8 (col. ii) containing enough content for analysis. The remaining nine fragments are extremely scant, with some pieces preserving only a word or a few broken letters. The extant text in frg. 1 appears at first to instruct its intended addressee(s) to act according to commandments given "by the hand of Moses" (4Q419 1 2) and advocates for the establishment of the Aaronic priesthood by God, who "chose the seed of Aaron" (4Q419 1 5).[12] The final part of the text appears to establish a dichotomy between people described as those who "seek diligently" against those who "defile themselves" (4Q419 1 10–11).

4Q419 frg. 1 lines 1–12[13]	4Q419 frg. 1 lines 1–12 (Hebrew)
1. which you will do in accordance with all the pre[cepts	[—אשר תעשו על פי כול הִמשפֿ]טים
2. unto you by the hand of Moses and which he will do[	[—אליכם ביד משה ואשר יעֿשהֿ]
3. by the hand of his priests, for they are the faithful ones of the coven[ant of God	[—ביד כוהניו כיא המה נאמני ברי]ֿת אל
4. he will make known that which is h[is] and the [	[—יודיע את אשר ל]וֿ ואת הטֿ]
5.]and he chose the seed of Aaron to make [them] st[and	[—ויבחר בזרע אהרוֹן להֿעֿ]מיד אותם]
6. his [w]ays and to bring near a soothing odor [offering by fire?]	[—דֿ]רֿכיו ולגיש ניחוח אֿ]שה]
7. and he appointed them [] ... for a[ll] his people and[	[—ויתנם שֿ] [אֿשֿר ל]כוֹ]ל עֿמֿו וֹ]
8. and he charged [them	[—]°°[—]• ויצֿו]
9. a throne which is lofty. When he makes them know[	[—] כסא אשר רם בהודֿ]י]עֿםֿ]
10. he lives forever and his gl[o]ry is forev[er	[—הֿוֹא חֿי עולם וכבֿ]ו]דו לעֿ]ד]
11. you will seek diligently, but an abomination of impurity is in [	[—תשחרו ותועבת נדה בֿ]
12. their love and they defile themselves in all[the ways of	[—אהבתם ויתגוללו בכולֿ] דרכֿי]

Frg. 8 col. ii is thematically different from frg. 1, focussing instead on concepts of punishment and divine judgment (although God remains the subject). Most of the phrases preserved in the text hint at an eschatological setting: "he will number them" (4Q419 8 ii 3), "he will restore" (4Q419 8 ii 5), "times of eternity" (4Q419 8 ii 6), "to their ground they will return" (4Q419 8 ii 8), and God appears to have a "hand" in determining the fate of "the spirit of all [flesh]" (4Q419 8 ii 7). According to Tanzer, the word ונאספה in line 7 refers to the "removal of the

---

11	Eibert Tigchelaar has suggested there may be another fragment (*4QMisc*, Fragment 10 from PAM 43.679) that overlaps with parts of 4Q419 1 10–12. Tigchelaar, "More Identifications," 64–65; see also DJD 36:332.

12	DJD 36:324.

13	Translations of 4Q419 are provided from DJD 36, with minor adaptations.

spirit from all flesh which is a euphemism for dying,"[14] which again emphasises the fragment's eschatological context. The poor state of the fragment, however, makes it difficult to discern the form of some words. For example, Tanzer notes in line 4 the word מהמה, which could be read either as a pronoun ("from them") or as a verb (המם, "to make a noise," "confuse, confound").[15] It is also ambiguous as to who the 3rd plural suffix is referring to in lines 4 and 7 (דרכיהם and אדמתם). References to "they/them/their" are surprisingly common in the fragmentary remains of 4Q419,[16] but it is not always clear who the pronoun is referring to. In some cases, the 3rd plural suffix denotes the probable recipients of the text (e.g., 4Q419 1 3, "… his priests, for *they* are the faithful ones of the coven[ant …]"), while in other cases it appears to denote an opposing or unfavourable group (4Q419 1 12, "*they* defile *themselves*"). The pronoun could also reasonably be understood as a reference to all humanity, which may be the case in 4Q419 8 ii 8 ("[t]o *their* ground *they* will return").[17] However, the fragmentary condition of the manuscript often makes it unclear.

4Q419 8 ii 1–8	4Q419 8 ii 1–8 (Hebrew)
1. his pleasure [	חפצוׄ]—[
2. and in his word [	וׄבדברו]—[
3. when [ ] and he will number them[	בשׄ[—] וׄיספרׄם[ ]ׄ[—]
4. confusing their ways with the punishme[nt of	מהמה דרכיהם עם פקוד[ת—]
5. to darkness. And from his treasure house he will restore[	לחושד ומאוצרו ישב[—]
6. (his) produce to all the times of eternity[	תבואות לכול קׄצׄי עׄוׄלם]—[
7. If he closes his hand, then the spirit of all [flesh] will be gathered in[	אם יקפוץ ידו ונאספה רוח כול [בשר—]
8. [t]o their ground they will return[	[—]אׄל אדמׄתם ישובוׄן[—]

On a surface-level reading, most scholars have concluded that the textual remains of 4Q419 do not preserve enough sapiential terminology and phraseology to warrant any association with the Wisdom label.[18] Yet for over forty

---

14 DJD 36:331.
15 DJD 36:330.
16 4Q419 frg. 1 3, 5(?), 7, 8(?), 9, 12; frg. 2 1; frg. 4 2; frg. 6 2; frg. 7 1; frg. 8 ii 3, 4, 8.
17 DJD 36:330.
18 See DJD 36:320–22; Elgvin, "Admonition Texts," 180; Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 73; Goff,

years it appears as though 4Q419 was regarded as another copy of the most prominent Wisdom text in the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus: 4QInstruction. It is the purpose of this article to examine how these manuscripts first came to be related, why they were torn apart, and why there might be good reason to bring 4Q419 back into conversation with the manuscripts of 4QInstruction, albeit with different research questions in mind.

3   History of Research on 4Q419

To understand 4Q419's connection with the manuscripts of 4QInstruction—that is, the manuscripts corresponding with the sigla 1Q26, 4Q415, 4Q416, 4Q417, 4Q418, 4Q418a, 4Q418c, and 4Q423[19]—it is necessary to understand how the literary materials discovered in caves from the Judean Desert were identified, organised, and reconstructed in the early years of Scrolls research.[20] In a report published in December 1956, Pierre Benoit provides some insight with regard to the complex nature of the work carried out by scholars in the scrollery:

> In order to appreciate the hardships of their exasperating work, and to bear with the delays that they require, one needs to see the Qumran staff members wandering the length of the big tables where the fragments are laid out under glass, see them bend down here and there and try a score of combinations, only the last of which may work.[21]

After examining the physical features and literary contents of the fragments, members of the Scrolls team then had to try to identify which fragments belonged to the same composition. Naturally, the difficulty of this task increased significantly when the content of the fragments had no obvious literary

---

<div style="border-top:1px solid;width:30%"></div>

Discerning Wisdom, 277–80; Kampen, "Diverse Aspects of Wisdom," 1.236. I have found only one scholar who argues in favour of viewing 4Q419 as a Wisdom text based on the presence of sapiential terminology and phraseology: André Caquot, "Les textes de sagesse" (esp. 27–28). Caquot's ideas will be explored in §5.2.

19   There is some variation of opinion concerning the manuscripts associated with 4QInstruction, particularly with regard to the separation of the manuscript 4Q418 (see Rey, *4QInstruction*, 3; Bakker, "Figure of the Sage," 1–2, n. 1). This article follows the divisions suggested by the editors in DJD 34, who divide 4Q418 into four separate manuscript copies: 4Q418, 4Q418a, 4Q418b, 4Q418c (although they do not consider 4Q418b to be a copy of 4QInstruction).

20   For the full list of scholars who were part of the team who worked on the Scrolls before their official publication, see DJD 39:1–2.

21   Benoit, "Editing the Manuscript," 80.

parallels. In such cases Benoit asserts that, in order to establish a connection between these unknown fragments, "the scholar must be able to bring to bear a great familiarity with this *genre* of literature, as well as an intuitive 'flair' … and a great deal of patience!"[22] The necessity for determining the purported genre of a fragmentary composition is also attested by the editors in the first volume of the DJD series, who claim that "the largest number of fragments had to be classified according to purely empirical criteria; based on the literary genre or certain allusions that were thought to be found in some scantly preserved snippets of texts."[23] In addition, the handwritten labels mentioned above that identify manuscripts as "Wisdom" or "Sapiential" further demonstrate the perceived importance of determining the genre of a composition in the early years of Scrolls research.[24]

Evidently, genre designation of this kind was regarded as a significant step in the process of identifying and reconstructing new compositions in the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus.[25] The question, then, is how was 4Q419 perceived by the first generation of Scrolls researchers and how did those scholars come to associate 4Q419 with the manuscripts of 4QInstruction?

3.1 Identifying 4Q419 with the Manuscripts of 4QInstruction

The earliest possible indication of a connection between 4Q419 and the manuscripts that were initially referred to as "Sapiential Work A" is observable in John Strugnell's report in 1956, where he makes the following remark:

> The text of the *sapiential work* known as 4Q26 [*sic*; read 1Q26][26] is likewise enlarged to a considerable extent by the fragments of a MS from 4Q. In addition, it may well be identical with a work represented by four MSS; the largest of these occupies 7 plates and thus is probably the most extensively preserved non-biblical MS from 4Q; nevertheless, the identity of the group with 1Q26 is still only a possibility.[27]

---

22 Ibid., 80 (emphasis original).

23 "Enfin le plus grand nombre des fragments a dû être classé selon des critères purement empiriques, en se basant sur le genre littéraire ou certaines allusions que l'on a cru déceler dans cer misérables bribes de textes." DJD 1:43. Translations from French to English are my own.

24 See again Figures 2, 3, and 4.

25 With regards to their presentation, most of the non-biblical texts covered in the DJD volumes (especially those from vol. 10 onwards) are presented according to their designated genre, which is reflected in the title of each volume (see also DJD 39:14).

26 Cf. Strugnell's report in French, "Le Travail D'Édition," 64.

27 Strugnell, "Editing the Manuscript," 93 (emphasis original).

TABLE 1   Sapiential works from Tov and Reed's inventories

4Q#	Tov's list	Reed's list
4Q415	Sap. Work B[a]; Sap. Work B[b]	Sap. Work II[b]
4Q416	**Sap. Work A[b]**	**Sap. Work I[b]**
4Q417	**Sap. Work A[c]**	**Sap. Work I[c]**
4Q418	**Sap. Work A[a]**	**Sap. Work I[a]**
4Q419	**Sap. Work A[d]**	**Sap. Work I[d]**
4Q423	Tree of Knowledge	Sap. Work on Tree of Knowledge Sap. Work V = 1Q26
4Q423a	Sap. Work E	

Strugnell's hypothesis would prove correct as several points of overlap between the manuscripts 1Q26, 4Q423, and 4Q418 were later confirmed, thus verifying that 1Q26 and 4Q423 were indeed copies of 4QInstruction.[28] However, Strugnell does not specify in his report the sigla of the "four manuscripts" that he claimed were connected to 1Q26 and 4Q423.

It would be another 36 years before these four manuscripts would re-emerge in the inventories of Scrolls published separately by Emanuel Tov and Stephen Reed in 1992.[29]

As indicated by the boldened parts of the table, the four manuscripts corresponding with the title "Sapiential Work A/I" recorded by Tov and Reed are 4Q416, 4Q417, 4Q418, and 4Q419. Moreover, in a paper presented at the New York Academy of Sciences in December 1992 (and published in 1994), Torleif Elgvin attests that he started his investigation of these writings "with the presupposition that Sap. Work A existed in four copies, 4Q416/417/418/419, and that

---

28   Strugnell and Harrington comment in DJD 34 that: "[t]he overlaps which had been noted already in 1956 between 1Q26 1 and 4Q423 4 and again between 1Q26 2 and 4Q423 3, showed then that 4Q423 was another copy of 1Q26 … A further overlap, of 4Q423 8 with 4Q418 81 (a fragment acquired only later) showed decisively that both 4Q423 and 1Q26 were, in fact, further copies of the same long sapiential work that was found in 4Q418 and … other copies of 4Q415 ff. … that is, of '4QInstruction'" (DJD 34:535).

29   Tov, "The Unpublished Qumran Texts"; Reed, *Inventory*. It should be noted that Reed first started working on the cataloguing of the Scrolls for the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Centre (ABMC) in March 1989. Reed's work is based on preliminary lists compiled by Elisha Qimron in 1984, later updated by Strugnell. Reed's work was eventually shared with Tov, and both were published in the same year. In addition, Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin Abegg follow Reed's list in their *Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Manuscripts. Fascicle Two*, which was also published in 1992.

4Q415 and 4Q423 were separate works."[30] In the early 1990s, then, it is clear that 4Q419 was thought by some scholars to be one of the four manuscripts noted by Strugnell in his report in 1956. However, this conclusion has been problematised by Eibert Tigchelaar, whose argument must now be considered before proceeding on to how and why 4Q419 was eventually removed from 4QInstruction.

3.2 Eibert Tigchelaar's Counterargument: 4Q419 Was Never Part of 4QInstruction

In chapter one of his book, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones* (2001), Tigchelaar makes the following claim with regards to 4Q419 and its relation to the manuscripts of 4QInstruction:

> It is now easy to recognize that things have become muddled in this inventory. The list mentions four manuscripts of what was then provisionally called Sapiential Work I, namely 4Q416, 4Q417, 4Q418, and 4Q419. A second error relates to 4Q415 which is titled in this inventory 'Sap. Work IIᵇ', the same title that is given to 4Q426. Since the four manuscripts 4Q416, 4Q417, 4Q418, *and* 4Q415 (not 4Q419) had already been positively identified as four copies of the same composition in 1955, the list used by Reed (and given to him by Strugnell) contained mistakes and should not be regarded as a record of Strugnell's views in the eighties.[31]

Tigchelaar's argument is based on two pieces of evidence. First, he refers in his analysis to a photograph (PAM 41.907), which contains two fragments of 4Q418 (frgs. 167 a+b) joined together by a piece of paper with the handwritten label, "Wisdᵉ I."[32] Tigchelaar observes that this Wisdom label is a reference to 4Q415 frg. 11, as indicated by the overlap between lines 3–7 of the fragment and portions of 4Q418 frg. 167 a+b.[33]

Second, Tigchelaar examines the sigla and descriptions on the card-index covers produced by Strugnell (and other members of the Scrolls team) in the privately printed *Preliminary Concordance* (1988). Tigchelaar notes that 4Q415 is designated with the same description as other manuscripts of 4QInstruction, which he illustrates in the following table.[34]

---

30 Elgvin, "Admonition Texts," 180.
31 Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 12–13.
32 See Figure 5 in the Appendix.
33 Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 6.
34 Ibid., 10.

TABLE 2   Strugnell's sigla and descriptions for manuscripts of 4QInstruction in the *Preliminary Concordance*

Siglum in *PC*	Description in *PC*	DJD number
Sl 52	Strugnell—Hebrew—Sapiential	4Q415
Sl 53	Strugnell—Hebrew—Sapiential	4Q416
Sl 54	ᵃ	4Q417
Sl 55	Strugnell—Hebrew—Sapiential	4Q418
Sl 60	Strugnell—Heb.	4Q423

a   The card describing the manuscript 4Q417 is not included in the *Preliminary Concordance*. In consideration of its absence, Tigchelaar surmises that "it had the description 'Strugnell—Hebrew—Sapiential'" (ibid., 10, n. 17).

Based on Tigchelaar's evaluation of the available evidence, he concludes that 4Q415 (*not* 4Q419) must have been identified by Strugnell as the fourth manuscript in addition to 4Q416, 4Q417, and 4Q418, which were already well-established copies of 4QInstruction.

Tigchelaar, however, does not consider any evidence supporting the claim that 4Q419 may have been the fourth manuscript. For instance, though PAM 41.907 certainly reveals a connection between 4Q415 and 4Q418, there are other photographs indicating that 4Q419 was similarly linked to the manuscripts of 4QInstruction. Indeed, of the nine photographs taken of 4Q419 between 1955 and 1960, four show fragments of 4Q419 together with the manuscripts of 4QInstruction (as well as other fragments from different compositions), and two of those four photographs show fragments of 4Q419 alongside *only* the manuscripts of 4QInstruction.[35] Most notable among these is PAM 43.222, photographed in January 1960. The image contains two large fragments of 4Q417

---

35   PAM 41.504 (February 1955) contains fragments of 4Q417 and 4Q419 (as well as 4Q378, 4Q425, and 4QM); PAM 42.580 (June 1958) contains fragments of *only* 4Q417 and 4Q419; PAM 42.818 (October 1958) contains fragments of 4Q415, 4Q419, and 4Q423 (as well as fragments of 4Q373, 4Q379, 4Q414, and 4Q420); PAM 43.222 (January 1960) contains fragments of *only* 4Q417 and 4Q419. It should be noted that the fragments listed on the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library and in Stephen Reed's *Catalogue* are not totally compatible. For instance, in Reed's list, photos containing fragments of 4Q419 include PAM 41.504, 41.798, 42.580, 42.818, 43.222, and 43.534 (Reed, *Catalogue*, 111). Reed's list does not include PAM 41.638, 42.043, or 42.044, yet it is possible to identify fragments of 4Q419 in these photographs: frg. 8 i–ii is present in PAM 41.638 (although a piece of the first line of column ii appears to be missing from the fragment!), frg. 4 is present in PAM 42.043, and frg. 3 is present in PAM 42.044.
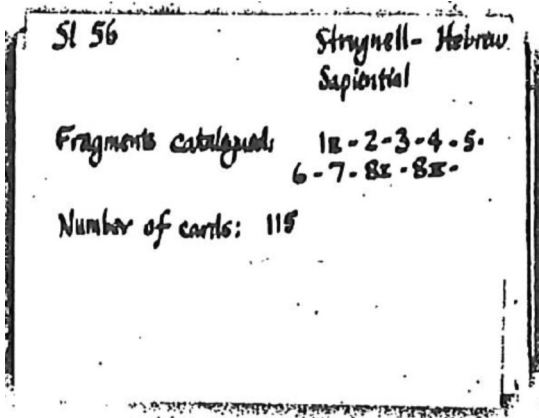
FIGURE 1
Strugnell's Card Index (SL56 = 4Q419)
Note: Richter, *Preliminary Concordance*. The conversion of early sigla to modern sigla for the Scrolls is detailed in Stephen Reed's *Catalogue* (for SL56 to 4Q419, see Reed, *Catalogue*, 111).

(cols. i and ii) on a plate with nine fragments of 4Q419.[36] It is surely not coincidental that the fragments in this photograph preserve the most prominent example of textual overlap between 4Q419 and 4QInstruction (4Q417 2 ii 4 and 4Q419 8 ii 7).[37]

Furthermore, one problem (that Tigchelaar himself notes) with regards to the card-index covers is that the sapiential description is not used for 4Q423,[38] which is unexpected given that Strugnell had already begun to suspect a connection between 4Q423 and the other manuscripts of 4QInstruction in 1956. But a second problem (that Tigchelaar does not note) is that the description for 4Q419 is identical to the other manuscripts that were then associated with 4QInstruction: "Strugnell—Hebrew—Sapiential."

It is difficult to know for certain what Strugnell believed to be the fourth manuscript of 4QInstruction. Strugnell himself does not address the issue in his general introduction to DJD 34 or in any of his later publications. It is possible, based on the evidence considered above, that Strugnell might once have suspected that *both* 4Q415 and 4Q419 were copies of 4QInstruction. Nonetheless, it is certain at least that some scholars—such as Tov, Reed, and Elgvin—believed in the early 1990s that 4Q419 was part of 4QInstruction. Now we must consider the reasons for its expulsion.

---

36   See Figure 6 in Appendix. Note that the 4Q419 fragments were placed upside-down on the plate. My colleague, Ingrid Breilid Gimse, has suggested that this might have been done so that scholars could easily distinguish between the fragments of 4Q417 and 4Q419.

37   The significance of this particular point of contact will be explored in §5.2.

38   Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 10.

4   The Removal of 4Q419

The first to call for the removal of 4Q419 was Elgvin in a conference paper pre-
sented at the New York Academy of Sciences in 1992 entitled, "Admonition
Texts from Qumran Cave 4."[39] In this paper, Elgvin argued for the removal of
4Q419 from 4QInstruction (then Sapiential Work A) on the basis that its con-
tent is not compatible with the Wisdom label that had historically been used
to describe the composition.

> My study seems to indicate that 4Q419 is not another copy of Sap Work A.
> It has some phrases in common with the latter composition, but does
> not represent the same text. 4Q419 frg. 1 is concerned with the status
> and duties of the Aaronic priests, a theme not found in the other texts.
> It seems therefore more reasonable to consider 4Q419 as a separate com-
> position.[40]

One can observe the influence of Elgvin's conclusions regarding the severance
between 4Q419 and 4QInstruction in Devorah Dimant's inventory of the Scrolls
published in 1994. Citing Elgvin's conference paper as her source,[41] Dimant
separated 4Q419 from 4Q416–4Q418 (which are titled "Sapiential Work A") and
placed it in a separate row with the vague title "Wisdom Texts," together with
4Q408.[42] Around the same time, Stephen Reed also changed the title of 4Q419
from "Sapiential Work Iᵈ" in his 1992 *Dead Sea Scrolls Inventory* to "Sapiential
Work B" in his 1994 *Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue*.[43] Additionally, Daniel Harring-
ton published an article in 1994 entitled, "Wisdom at Qumran," in which he
fleetingly remarked on the possibility that 4Q419 is "less likely" to be part of
4QInstruction than 4Q415, 4Q423, and 1Q26.[44] The comment here is brief, but
two years later Harrington would provide a more detailed explanation in his
influential book, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*.

> The text once designated Sapiential Work B (4Q419) may not be a wisdom
> text at all. Of its eleven fragments only two (1 and 8) are substantial. It
> [4Q419] was related to Sapiential Work A (1Q26; 4Q415–418, 423) on the

---

39   The conference proceedings were eventually published in 1994.
40   Elgvin, "Admonition Texts," 180.
41   Dimant, "Qumran Manuscripts," 43, n. 48.
42   Ibid., 43.
43   Compare Table 1 in section §3.1 above with Reed, *Catalogue*, 111.
44   Harrington, "Wisdom at Qumran," 139.

basis of the phrase from Deuteronomy 15:7 ("if He [God] will shut His hand, the spirit of all flesh will be removed") that appears in both 4Q416 2 ii 2–3 and 4Q418 8 7. But the style and content of the two works are quite different. Fragment 1 of 4Q419 addresses a plural audience, and exhorts them to act according to the Law of Moses, to respect the eternal priesthood chosen from the seed of Aaron, and to avoid the abomination of impurity. Column 2 of fragment 8 uses third person language to talk about God's visitation, which will mean rewards for the righteous and destruction for the wicked: "to their earth they shall return" (line 8; see Psalm 104:29).[45]

Harrington's comments mirror Elgvin's initial assessment regarding the differences in "style and content" between 4Q419 and 4QInstruction. Moreover, like Reed, Harrington refers to 4Q419 as "Sapiential Work B," which appears to reflect the general shift in scholarly opinion with regards to the relationship between 4Q419 and the manuscripts of 4QInstruction. A few years later, this view was echoed by John Kampen in his contribution to *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (1998).

> Although 4Q419 has been labelled 'Sapiential Work B,' Daniel Harrington has rightly called into question its relationship to the wisdom tradition. Frg. 1 speaks of the משפטים which were delivered via the hand of Moses and then passed on to the priests; the readers are also enjoined to avoid abomination. This appears to reflect the language of legal literature, and is reminiscent of Deuteronomy in particular, rather than actual wisdom concerns.[46]

By the end of the 1990s, there was an overwhelming agreement among scholars that the textual remains of 4Q419 do not contain enough sapiential material to be regarded as a copy of 4QInstruction. So effective was this consensus that when the manuscripts of 4QInstruction were formally published in DJD 34 in 1999, there is no mention from the editors of 4Q419's prior association with the composition.[47]

---

45   Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 73.

46   Kampen, "Diverse Aspects of Wisdom," 1.236.

47   The editors do, however, comment briefly on the appearance of a phrase in 4Q419 8 ii 7 which occurs in 4Q416 2 ii 2–3 (and elsewhere, see § 5.2.). Here is the full comment: "Note that the whole phrase [in 4Q416 2 ii 2–3], protasis and apodosis, is found also in a different work, 4Q419 8 ii 7; it is more likely, historically, that 4Q419 came later and was quoting from 4Q415ff." (DJD 34:95).

Part of the reasoning behind 4Q419's removal appears to derive from a particular understanding of genre that has recently come under fire in both biblical and Qumran scholarship. In the past, scholars tended to think of literary genres as rigid constructs that were designed to reflect the intentions of the author in a fixed historical setting. It was also believed that the generic traits of a text could be isolated for examination by utilising the form-critical method developed by Hermann Gunkel and his peers at the turn of the twentieth century. Through this mode of analysis, scholars believed they could uncover pieces of the historical reality *behind* the text. Yet for this method to work, the forms of the text had to be intrinsically (and sometimes exclusively) tied to the traditions and worldviews of the authors who penned them. As Gunkel himself asserted, "Just as an individual person in Israel would consider it a crime to act in a way not done in Israel, so an author would stand under the strong command of the traditional styles of a particular genre."[48] Thus, for Gunkel, the earliest genres that were composed within "a specific social context (*Sitz im Leben*) were addressed to a particular audience and orientated towards a definite purpose and are therefore almost always unmixed."[49] This notion that genres are often unmixed appears to have played a part in the expulsion of 4Q419 in the 1990s. Evidently, the perceived discord between the priestly language in 4Q419 and the sapiential features in 4QInstruction was, for the abovementioned scholars, an irreconcilable factor that resulted in the swift removal of 4Q419. More recently, however, modern biblical and Scrolls scholars have begun to move away from this understanding of genre in favour of an alternative understanding that aligns with somewhat newer developments in genre theory. Literary theorists have argued that genres are not rigid, taxonomic structures with hard-line boundaries, but are "fuzzy" and "flexible" constructs capable of blending or breaking at the creative whim of an author.[50] As such, new models for understanding how texts relate to one another—such as "family resemblance" or "prototype theory," which emphasise the vague and overlapping boundaries of literary genres—have become popular among biblical and Scrolls researchers.[51] This more recent shift towards an appreciation for the fluidity of literary genres problematises the primary basis for removing 4Q419 from 4QInstruction in the

---

48   Gunkel, "Literature of Ancient Israel," 28.

49   Ibid., 31.

50   See Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, esp. 37; Frow, *Genre*, esp. 10.

51   For an explanation and utilisation of "family resemblance" theory in discussions concerning biblical Wisdom texts, see Dell, "Boundaries of 'Wisdom.'" For "prototype theory" in Scrolls scholarship (with a specific focus on Wisdom texts), see Wright, "Joining the Club"; Collins, "Wisdom as Genre."

1990s. If a text can express multiple forms and styles of writing convention-
ally associated with a variety of literary genres—as is the case in many of the
Scrolls—then a difference in genre is not necessarily indicative of a different
composition. Though it is difficult to verify a direct correlation between texts
when one is dealing mainly with highly damaged manuscripts or fragmentary
remains, there may be other clues that can inform us about the relationship
between the texts.

With that in mind, this article will now consider significant points of contact
between 4Q419 and 4QInstruction to demonstrate that there is scope for future
scholarly discussion concerning these manuscripts.

5   Points of Contact between 4Q419 and 4QInstruction

5.1   *The Aaronic Priesthood*

Despite 4Q419's predominantly priestly language being used as justification
for its removal, several studies have examined the use of priestly language in
4QInstruction.[52] In the General Introduction of DJD 34, the editors (Strugnell
and Harrington)[53] are struck by a relatively sizeable chunk of text in 4Q418 frg.
81 + 81a, which they argue attests, more so than any other fragment of 4QIn-
struction, to the "priestly maven's supra-national authority."[54] 4Q418 81 + 81a 3–
4, for example, alludes to Numbers 18:20, where Aaron is singled out to receive
God as his inheritance (in place of an inheritance in the land; see parallel texts
below).

There are other examples of this kind in 4QInstruction (see 4Q418 103 ii 6–9;
4Q423 3 4–5). Yet perhaps the clearest evidence of priestly language is observ-
able at the opening of 4Q423 frg. 5, which begins with a supralinear line of
text that alludes to the influence of a priestly patriarchy. The text reads, "and
take care lest you give back to Levi the prie[st] …" and the next line continues
by referring to the "judgment of Korah" (cf. Numbers 16). Reflecting on these
lines, Elgvin claimed in an article entitled "Priestly Sages" (2004) that refer-
ence to the judgment of Korah in 4Q423 frg. 5 most likely served as a warning

---

52   See Lange, "In Diskussion"; Tigchelaar, "The Addressees of 4QInstruction"; Fletcher-Louis,
      Glory of Adam; Shirav, "Social Context of 4QInstruction."
53   Torleif Elgvin was also an editor of DJD 34. However, he is credited only for his work on
      4Q423. Strugnell and Harrington are credited for writing the General Introduction and the
      other manuscripts of 4QInstruction.
54   DJD 34:21. The editors here use the term "maven" (מבין, literally "understanding one") to
      refer to the purported addressee of the composition. Most, however, now use the more
      common spelling: *mevin*.

not to oppose the priestly authorities that were active during the circulation of 4QInstruction.[55] In fact, despite his earlier assertion that 4Q419 could not be regarded as a copy of 4QInstruction because of its interest in the Aaronic priesthood, Elgvin claimed in his "Priestly Sages" article that 4QInstruction may have emerged "from scribal (Levitical?) circles operating outside the temple."[56]

4Q418 81 + 81a 3–4[57]	4Q418 81 + 81a 3–4 (Hebrew)
… And He [God] is your share and your possession among the human race [and over] his inheritance you are made ruler. And so you honour him in this, by consecrating yourself to Him, just as He has made you a Holy of Holies [for all] the world and among all the heavenly ones.	‏...והוא חלקכה ונחלתכה בתוך בני אדם]‏ ‏ובנ[חֹֹלתו המשילֹכֹה. ואתה‏ ‏בזה כבדהו בהתקדשכה לו כאשר שמכה לקדוש‏ ‏קודשים] לכול [תֹּבל ובכול] א[לֹ]ים[‏
Num. 18:20 (NRSV)	Num. 18:20 (Hebrew)
Then the Lord said to Aaron: "You shall have no allotment in their land, nor shall you have any share among them; I am your share and your possession among the Israelites."	‏ויאמר יהוה אל-אהרן בארצם לא תנחל וחלק‏ ‏לא-יהיה לך בתוכם אני חלקך ונחלתך בתוך בני‏ ‏ישראל:‏

Though instances of overlapping priestly language do not necessarily confirm a scribal connection between the composers of 4Q419 and the composers of the manuscripts of 4QInstruction, it is striking that the Levitical background of 4QInstruction proposed by Elgvin appears to correspond with the priestly content of 4Q419, which was one of the primary reasons for its removal. It is therefore possible—if more time was permitted for scholars to engage with the text of 4QInstruction before labels were formally assigned—that Elgvin and others might have thought twice about there being some connection between the social and scribal backgrounds of 4Q419 and 4QInstruction.

---

55   Elgvin, "Priestly Sages," 80.
56   Ibid., 86.
57   Translations of 4QInstruction are provided from DJD 34, with minor adaptations.

5.2   *Overlapping Language*

The clearest evidence of direct overlap between 4Q419 and 4QInstruction comes in the form of a distinctive phrase that occurs in three manuscripts of 4QInstruction (4Q416, 4Q417, 4Q418) and in 4Q419: "If he closes his hand, then the spirit of all [flesh] will be gathered in …"

Fragment	Hebrew text
4Q419 8 ii 7	אם יקפוץ ידו ונאספה רוח כול [בשר—]
4Q417 2 ii 4	[אם] יקפוץ ידו ונאספה רו]ח כול בשר—[
4Q416 2 ii 2	[—] ואם [יקפּוֹץ יׁדֹוׁ] ונאספה רוח כול[
4Q418 8 1	א]ם יקפוץ [ידו ונאספה רוח כול בשר]—[

Sarah Tanzer comments on how this distinctive phrase was largely responsible for the belief that 4Q419 was related to the manuscripts of 4QInstruction;[58] a claim that is further substantiated by PAM 43.222, which contains both 4Q419 8 ii 7 and 4Q417 2 ii 4.[59] It is notable that the phrase is most clearly preserved in these two fragments, which is perhaps why they were placed together on the same plate in the first place. In addition, André Caquot highlights several instances in the smaller fragments of 4Q419 that overlap with the manuscripts of 4QInstruction and argues that they provide a further "clue that the manuscript is 'sapiential.' "[60] For example, the hiphil ה[מׁשׁיֹל ("to give authority") occurring in 4Q419 4:1 is common in 4QInstruction,[61] and the noun חפץ ("delight") appearing in 4Q419 8 ii 1 (חפצוֹ) is likewise proportionally very frequent in 4QInstruction.[62] These instances, however, do not necessarily provide evidence that 4Q419 is sapiential in character—the terms themselves do not correspond with conventionally defined Wisdom terminology—but they do

---

58   DJD 36:322. See also Caquot, "Les Textes de Sagesse," 28; Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 73; Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 278–80.

59   See Figure 6 in Appendix.

60   "Ce sont les petits fragments de 4Q419 qui donnent l'indice que ce manuscrit était 'sapiential'." Caquot, "Les textes de sagesse," 28.

61   4Q415 9 8; 4Q416 2 iii 12 (par. 4Q418 9 + 9a–c 12), 17 (par. 4Q418 9 + 9a–c 18); 4Q416 2 iv 2, 3, 7; 4Q418 10a–b 5, 8; 4Q418 81 + 81a 3, 9, 15; 4Q418 228 2; 4Q418 259 2; 4Q418a 18 4; 4Q423 1–2 i 2. Tanzer cautions, however, that the poorly preserved letters in 4Q419 frg. 4 make it difficult to identify the root of the verb (DJD 36:326).

62   On the characteristic use of חפץ in 4QInstruction, see Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 237–38; DJD 34:30.

strengthen the idea that there is a literary connection between 4Q419 and the manuscripts of 4QInstruction.

Scholars have tended to focus on the diverging aspects of the texts rather than their similarities. For example, with regards to the distinctive phrase mentioned above, most point out that the phrase appears to be utilised in different contexts. In 4Q419, God is the subject, and the notion of God closing his hand seems to reflect God's power and authority over the lives of the living. Yet in 4QInstruction the expression appears to be used in the context of moneylending and is perhaps developing on the sense of "tightfistedness" or "stinginess" that is cautioned in Deut 15:7.[63] As a result of their differing contexts, Matthew Goff concludes that while there "may be a direct connection between 4QInstruction and 4Q419," this particular point of textual agreement "is not sufficient grounds for considering 4Q419 part of 4QInstruction," and thus there is "no clear basis for understanding 4Q419 as a wisdom text."[64] However, while strictly speaking the content of 4QInstruction and 4Q419 can arguably be pigeonholed into different literary categories (e.g., Wisdom and Priestly), the presence of this distinctive phrase—as well as other aforementioned points of contact—suggests that there is a familiarity of sorts contained in the language of these ancient texts. This raises questions about the nature of the literary relationship between 4Q419 and the manuscripts of 4QInstruction. Did one text (or set of texts) "influence" or "precede" the other?[65] Were composers directly quoting from one another or did the language of the texts develop as a result of being cultivated within similar scribal backgrounds? Addressing questions of textual fluidity in composite texts can, as James Nati has recently argued, help "us to think about pluriformity beyond a single genre."[66] In the case of 4Q419, though its textual remains do not align with conventional features associated with the Wisdom label, the points of contact it shares with the manuscripts of 4QInstruction are significant and contribute to ongoing conversations concerning textual fluidity, pluriformity, and textual development in the Scrolls.

---

63   DJD 36:331; Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 279.

64   Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 279–80.

65   Goff (*Discerning Wisdom*, 279) and Strugnell and Harrington (DJD 34:95), for example, have argued that 4Q419 is reliant on the manuscripts of 4QInstruction. For a critical perspective on the reconstruction of textual histories and assertions of literary dependence, see Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting*, esp. chapter 3, "Revision and Reuse," 74–97.

66   Nati, *Textual Criticism*, 41.

6   Conclusion

This article has sought to achieve two core objectives. First, it encourages scholars to re-engage with a manuscript that has been largely neglected as a consequence of its unfair expulsion from 4QInstruction. By shedding light on the questionable reasons for 4Q419's removal and by highlighting significant points of contact between 4Q419 and 4QInstruction, this article lays the groundwork for future scholarship to reintegrate 4Q419 into discussions of pluriformity, textual development, and the scribal background of 4QInstruction.

Second, on a broader level, this article has attempted to demonstrate the power of the Wisdom label and its role in influencing scholarly engagement with 4Q419. It argues that handwritten Wisdom labels assigned to manuscripts in the 1950s and 1960s have greatly shaped the way that contemporary scholars read and interpret them. Yet for 4Q419, the lack of explicit sapiential content meant that it could no longer be associated with the Wisdom label which had become so integral to the identity of 4QInstruction. As a result, while interest in the topic of Wisdom in the Scrolls flourished following the formal publication of new Wisdom texts in the 1990s—with many studies magnifying 4QInstruction as the prime example of a Wisdom text in the Scrolls[67]—4Q419 has remained largely untouched by scholars since it was re-tagged with the comparatively unappealing label: "Unclassified Manuscript."

But are our labels worthy of the interpretative power that we sometimes grant them? It certainly helps to recognise that there was a great need in the early 1990s to quickly categorise all the new fragmentary compositions made publicly accessible by the Israel Antiquities Authority in 1991. The sorting of these manuscripts did much to establish order out of the chaos that might have followed if scholars had been given time to engage with the newly published manuscripts before they were formally identified and categorised.[68] However, the urgency to assign labels to new compositions in the early 1990s may have unwittingly contributed to 4Q419's premature removal from 4QInstruction. Rather than reconsider the suitability of the Wisdom label for the manuscripts

---

[67]   For monographs on 4QInstruction, see Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*; idem, *4QInstruction*; Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*; Jeffries, *Wisdom at Qumran*; Rey, *4QInstruction*; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*; Wold, *Women, Men and Angels; 4QInstruction: Divisions and Hierarchies*. The DJD series also dedicates an entire volume to the composition (DJD 34) and the number of articles that examine 4QInstruction are too many to list.

[68]   One example of a hastily published work is Robert Eisenman and Michael Wise's *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* in 1992, which was criticised for its inaccurate portrayal of 4QInstruction (among other texts) by Harrington and Strugnell ("Qumran Cave 4 Texts").

of 4QInstruction—which would no doubt have had huge implications for other newly designated Wisdom texts—it seems it was simpler to remove 4Q419 from the discussion altogether in order to preserve the coherency of the Wisdom label. However, the issue is not that 4Q419 is not compatible with the Wisdom label, but that the Wisdom label is not compatible with the entire content of 4QInstruction. Indeed, there are many instances in the text where sapiential features occur alongside literary elements that correspond with texts traditionally defined as apocalyptic or priestly.[69] This cross-pollination of literary features (not limited to 4QInstruction) reveals an entirely new species of literature that has yet to be adequately defined and presents an on-going challenge for researchers.

Nonetheless, the Wisdom label remains for now the dominant characterisation of 4QInstruction. Though it may take time collectively to agree on more appropriate labels for compositions like 4QInstruction (or indeed agree that new labels are required), it helps at least to be reminded of their power and influence. Designated labels not only shape the way we approach and understand the texts, but they also serve as signposts that point out which texts are most worthy of our attention. Moreover, labels can be misleading when they do not sufficiently accord with the content of the texts to which they are assigned. This is especially troubling for new scholars whose first point of engagement will likely be with the label of a text, rather than the text itself. The example of 4Q419 therefore not only invites us to resist the impulse to draw neat dividing lines between compositions based on their purported literary genre, but it also prompts us to question whether our existing labels are fit for purpose.[70] These issues (and more) will be explored further in my forthcoming doctoral thesis, which reflects on broader concerns relating to name designation and the reapplication of biblical categories for the Scrolls—with specific focus on the Wisdom label and 4QInstruction.

---

69   For studies that examine this blend of traditionally defined apocalyptic and sapiential features in 4QInstruction, see Collins, "Wisdom Reconsidered"; Elgvin, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism"; F. García Martínez, "Wisdom at Qumran"; Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*; "Wisdom and Apocalypticism"; Nickelsburg, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism." For studies that examine priestly elements in 4QInstruction, see n. 52 above.

70   Both John Collins ("Wisdom as Genre") and Matthew Goff ("The Pursuit of Wisdom") have recently argued in favour of the continued use of Wisdom as a category of literature in Scrolls research. This article takes a step in a different direction.

Acknowledgments

Appendix

FIGURE 2A   PAM 41.798 (taken January 1955)—Plate containing fragments 4Q185 and 4Q419 (among others) with the handwritten label: "4QWisd^d (app) 19 JMA"
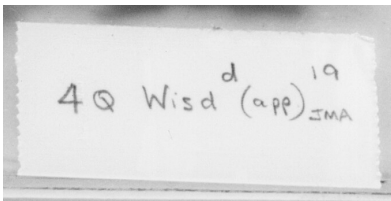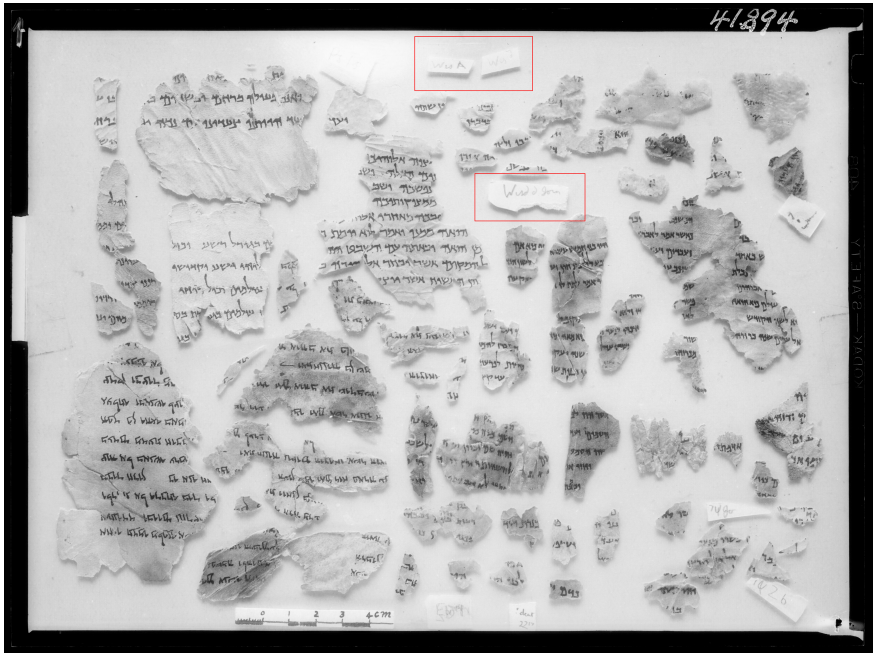

FIGURE 2B
Close-up of label

FIGURE 3A   PAM 41.894 (taken January 1955)—Handwritten labels: "Wisd d Join," "Wis A," and
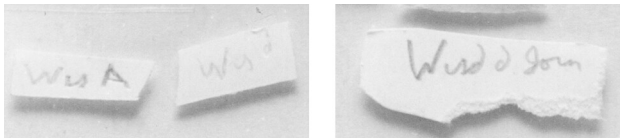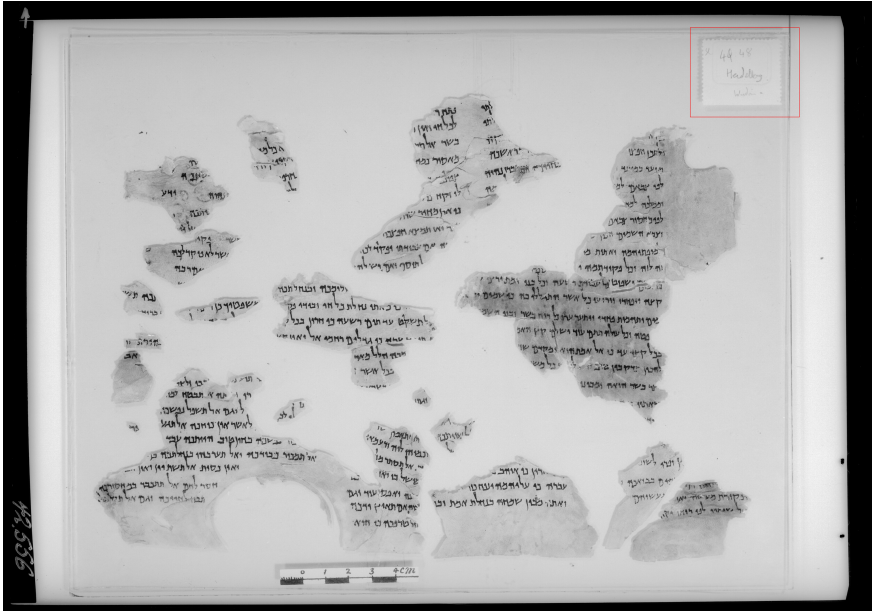   "Wis^a/d(?)"

FIGURE 3B
Close-up of labels

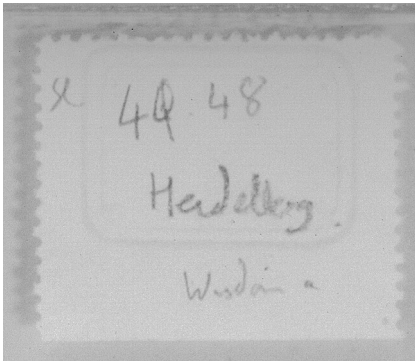FIGURE 4A   PAM 42.556 (taken May 1958)—Handwritten label: "4Q48 Heidelberg Wisdomᵃ"
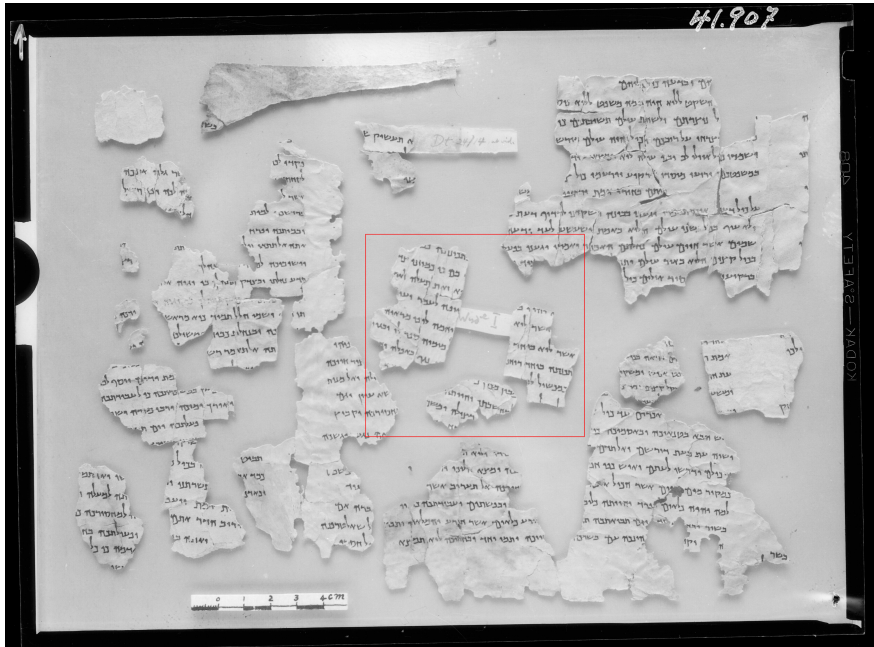

FIGURE 4B
Close-up of label

FIGURE 5A   PAM 41.907 (taken January 1955)—4Q418 167a+b (par. 4Q415 2). Frgs. connected by handwritten label: "Wisdᵉ I"
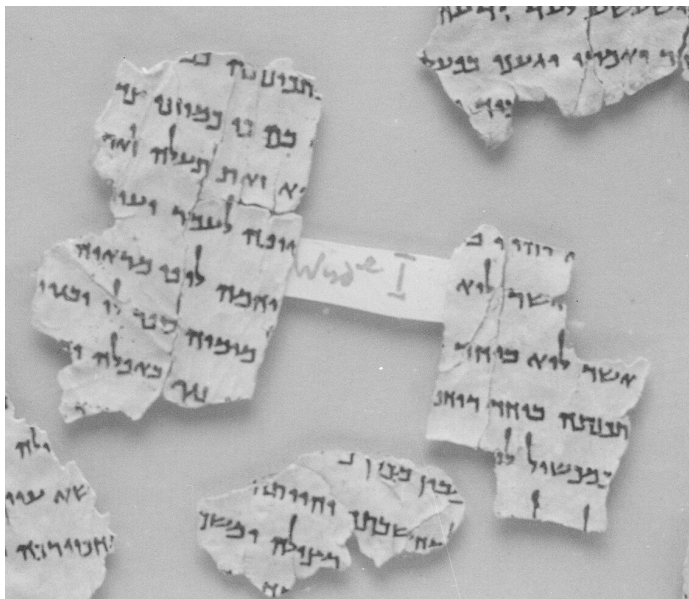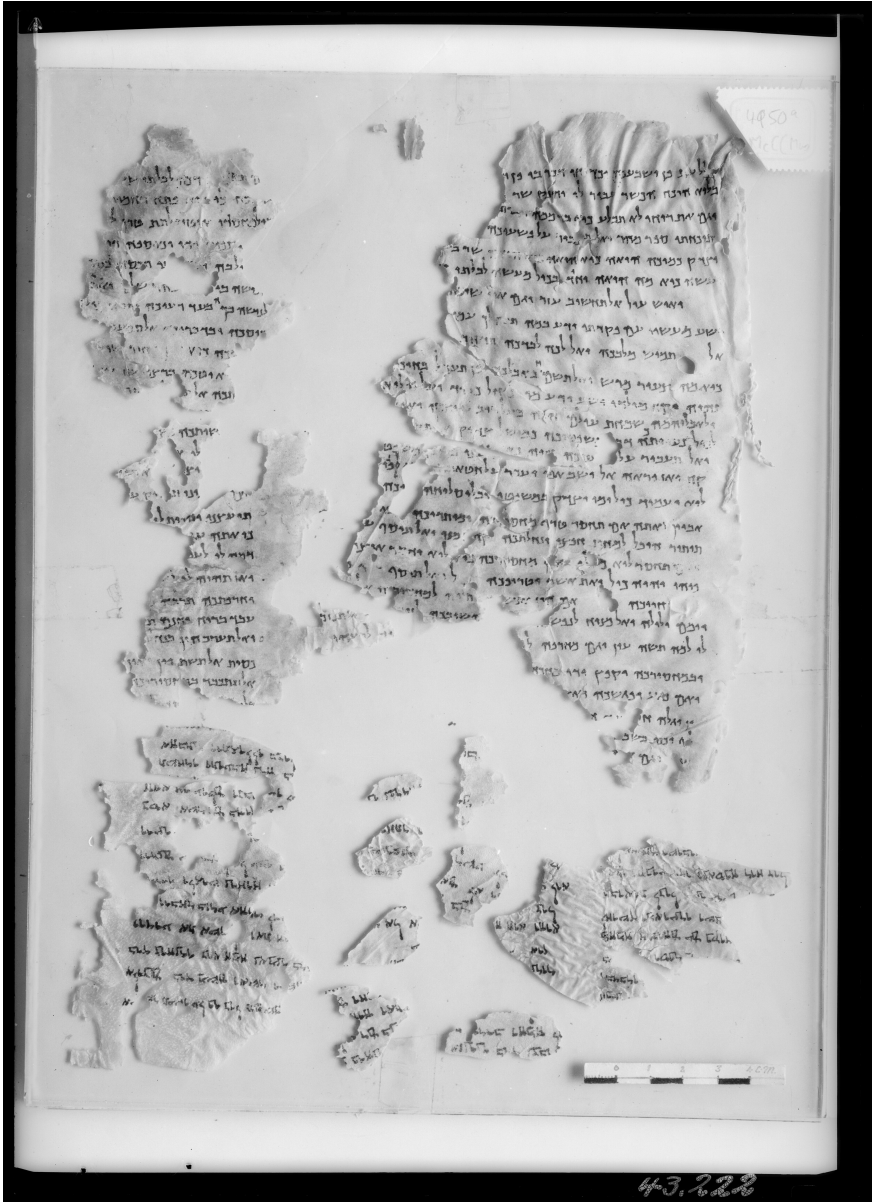

FIGURE 5B   Close-up of label

FIGURE 6   PAM 43.222 (photographed in January 1960)—Fragments of 4Q417 and 4Q419
             Note: The larger fragments on the top half of the plate are 4Q417 cols. i–ii. The
             remaining fragments (turned upside down) on the bottom half of the plate are
             fragments of 4Q419.

Bibliography

Bakker, Arjen. "The Figure of the Sage in *Musar le-Mevin* and *Serek ha-Yahad*." Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2015.

Barthélemy, Dominique, and Józef T. Milik. *Qumran Cave I*. DJD 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.

Brooke, George J. "From Florilegium or Midrash to Commentary: The Problem of Re-Naming an Adopted Manuscript." Pages 129–50 in *The Mermaid and the Partridge*. Edited by George J. Brooke and Jesper Høgenhaven. STDJ 96. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Benoit, Pierre. "Editing the Manuscript Fragments from Qumran." *BA* 19 (1956): 75–96.

Caquot, André. "Les textes de sagesse de Qoumrân (Aperçu préliminaire)." *RHPR* 76 (1996): 1–34.

Collins, John J. "Wisdom Reconsidered, in Light of the Scrolls." *DSD* 4 (1997): 265–81.

Collins, John J. "Wisdom as Genre and as Tradition in the Book of Sirach." Pages 15–32 in *Sirach and Its Contexts: The Pursuit of Wisdom and Human Flourishing*. Edited by Samuel L. Adams, Greg S. Goering, and Matthew J. Goff. JSJSup 196. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Dell, Katharine J. "Deciding the Boundaries of 'Wisdom': Applying the Concept of Family Resemblance." Pages 145–60 in *Was There a Wisdom Tradition?* Edited by Mark Sneed. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015.

Dimant, Devorah. "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance." Pages 23–49 in *Time to Prepare a Way in the Wilderness. Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advances Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1989–1990*. Edited by Devorah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

Eisenman, Robert H., and Michael O. Wise. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered: The First Complete Translation and Interpretation of 50 Key Documents Withheld for Over 35 Years*. Rockport, MA: Element Books Ltd, 1992.

Elgvin, Torleif. "Admonition Texts from Qumran Cave 4." Pages 179–96 in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects*. Edited by Michael O. Wise et al. Annals of the New York Academy of Science 722. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994.

Elgvin, Torleif. "Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Early Second Temple BCE—The Evidence of 4QInstruction." Pages 226–47 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*. Edited by Galen Marquis, Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000.

Elgvin, Torleif. "Priestly Sages? The Milieus of Origin of 4QMysteries and 4QInstruction." Pages 67–87 in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead*

Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Centre, 20–22 May 2001. Edited by John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements. STDJ 51. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Elgvin, Torleif, et al. *Qumran Cave 4.xv: Sapiential Texts, Part 1.* DJD 20. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H.T. *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls.* STDJ 42. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Fowler, Alastair. *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1982.

Frow, John. *Genre.* Second Edition. London: Routledge, 2015.

García Martínez, Florentino. "Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran." Pages 1–11 in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo, 1998: Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet.* Edited by Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen M. Schuller. STDJ 35. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

García Martínez, Florentino. "Wisdom at Qumran: Worldly or Heavenly?" Pages 1–15 in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition.* Edited by Florentino García Martínez. BETL 168. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.

Goff, Matthew J. *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction.* STDJ 50. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Goff, Matthew J. *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls.* VTSup 116. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Goff, Matthew J. *4QInstruction.* Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013.

Goff. Matthew J. "Wisdom and Apocalypticism." Pages 52–68 in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature.* Edited by John J. Collins. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Goff, Matthew J. "The Pursuit of Wisdom at Qumran: Assessing the Classification 'Wisdom Literature' and Its Application to the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 617–34 in *The Oxford Handbook of Wisdom and the Bible.* Edited by Will Kynes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021.

Gunkel, Hermann. "The Literature of Ancient Israel." Pages 26–83 in *Relating to the Text: Interdisciplinary and Form-Critical Insights on the Bible.* JSOTS 384. Edited by Timothy J. Sandoval and Carleen Mandolfo. Translated by Armin Siedlicki. London: T & T Clark, 2003. Originally published in 1906 as "Die Israelitische Literatur," pages 51–102 in *Kultur der Gegenwart.* Leipzig: Teubner Verlag.

Harrington, Daniel J. "Wisdom at Qumran." Pages 137–52 in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant. The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls.* Edited by Eugene Ulrich and James C. VanderKam. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994.

Harrington, Daniel J. *Wisdom Texts from Qumran.* London: Routledge, 1996.

Harrington, Daniel J., and John Strugnell. "Qumran Cave 4 Texts: A New Publication." *JBL* 112 (1993): 491–99.

Jeffries, Daryl J. *Wisdom at Qumran: A Form-Critical Analysis of the Admonitions in 4QInstruction*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2004.

Justnes, Årstein. "On Being a 'Librarian': Labels, Categories, and Classifications." Pages 15–29 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library*. Edited by Sidnie W. Crawford and Cecilia Wassén. STDJ 116. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Kampen, John I. "The Diverse Aspects of Wisdom in the Qumran Texts." Pages 211–43 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years*. Vol. 1. Edited by Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

Kister, Menachem. "Wisdom Literature and its Relation to Other Genres: From Ben Sira to Mysteries." Pages 13–47 in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Centre, 20–22 May 2001*. Edited by John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements. STDJ 51. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Kister, Menachem. "Wisdom Literature from Qumran." Pages 299–319 in *The Qumran Scrolls and Their World: Between Bible and Mishna*. Vol. 1. Edited by Menachem Kister. Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2009. [Hebrew]

Kynes, Will. *An Obituary for "Wisdom Literature": The Birth, Death, and Intertextual Reintegration of a Biblical Corpus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

Lange, Armin. "In Diskussion mit dem Tempel: Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kohelet und Weisheitlichen Kreisen am Jerusalemer Tempel." Pages 113–59 in *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom*. Edited by Antoon Schoors. BETL 136. Leuven: Peeters, 1998.

Lange, Armin, and Ulrike Mittmann-Richert. "Annotated List of the Texts of the Judean Desert Classified by Content and Genre." Pages 115–64 in *Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judean Desert Series*. Edited by Emanuel Tov. DJD 39. Oxford: Clarendon, 2002.

Najman, Hindy. "Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Period: Towards the Study of a Semantic Constellation." Pages 459–72 in *Is There a Text in this Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*. Edited by Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioată, and Charlotte Hempel. STDJ 119. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Najman, Hindy, and Eibert Tigechelaar. "A Preparatory Study of Nomenclature and Text Designation in the Dead Sea Scrolls." *RevQ* 26 (2014): 305–25.

Nati, James. *Textual Criticism and the Ontology of Literature in Early Judaism: An Analysis of the Serekh ha-Yaḥad*. JSJSup 198. Leiden: Brill, 2022.

Newsom, Carol A. "Spying out the Land: A Report from Genology." Pages 437–50 in *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*. Edited by Ronald L. Troxel, Kelvin G. Friebel, and Dennis R. Magary. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005.

Newsom, Carol A. "Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre: A Case Study of the Hodayot." *DSD* 17 (2010): 241–59.

Nickelsburg, George W.E. "Wisdom and Apocalypticism in Early Judaism: Some Points for Discussion." Pages 17–38 in *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism*. Edited by Benjamin G. Wright and Lawrence M. Wills. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2005.

Reed, Stephen A. *Dead Sea Scrolls Inventory Project: Lists of Documents, Photographs and Museum Plates. Fascicle 9. Qumran Cave 4 (4Q364–4Q481) Strugnell*. Compiled by Stephen A. Reed. Cataloguer at ABMC In Cooperation with the Israel Antiquities Authority (Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center), 1992.

Reed, Stephen A. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue: Documents, Photographs and Museum Inventory Numbers*. Compiled by Stephen A. Reed, revised and edited by Marilyn J. Lundberg, with the collaboration of Michael B. Phelps. SBL Resources for Biblical Study. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994.

Rey, Jean-Sébastien. *4QInstruction: Sagesse et Eschatologie*. STDJ 81. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Richter, Hans-Peter. *A Preliminary Concordance to the Hebrew and Aramaic Fragments from Qumrân Caves II–X Including Especially the Unpublished Materials from Cave IV*. 5 Volumes. Printed from a card index prepared by Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, W.G. Oxtoby, and J. Teixidor. Prepared and arranged for printing by Hans-Peter Richter. Editorum in Usum (privately printed in Göttingen, 1988).

Shirav, Anna. "The Social Context of 4QInstruction Reconsidered: Wisdom, Inheritance, and Priesthood in 4Q418 frg. 81." *DSD* 29 (2022): 76–103.

Sneed, Mark. "Is the 'Wisdom Tradition' a Tradition?" *CBQ* 73 (2011): 50–71.

Strugnell, John. "Editing the Manuscript Fragments from Qumran." *BA* 19 (1956): 92–94.

Strugnell, John. "Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân." *RB* 56 (1956): 64–65.

Strugnell, John, Daniel J. Harrington, and Torleif Elgvin. *Qumran Cave 4, XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2. 4QInstruction (Mûsār Lĕ Mēbîn): 4Q415ff. with a Re-Edition of 1Q26*. DJD 34. Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.

Tanzer, Sarah J. "419: 4QInstruction-like Composition A." Pages 320–32 in *Qumran Cave 4: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1*. Edited by Stephen J. Pfann. DJD 36. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000.

Tigchelaar, Eibert J.C. "More Identifications of Scraps and Overlaps." *RevQ* 19 (1999): 61–68.

Tigchelaar, Eibert J.C. "The Addressees of 4QInstruction." Pages 62–75 in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo, 1998: Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*. Edited by Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen M. Schuller. STDJ 35. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Tigchelaar, Eibert J.C. *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and*

Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction. STDJ 44. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Tov, Emanuel. "The Unpublished Qumran Texts from Caves 4 and 11." *JJS* 43 (1992): 101–36.

Tov, Emanuel. "The Unpublished Qumran Texts from Caves 4 and 11." *BA* 55 (1992): 94–104.

Ulrich, Eugene. "Our Sharper Focus on the Bible and Theology Thanks to the Dead Sea Scrolls." *CBQ* 66 (2004): 1–24.

Vayntrub, Jacqueline. "Wisdom in Transmission: Rethinking Sirach and Proverbs." Pages 33–55 in *Sirach and its Contexts: The Pursuit of Wisdom and Human Flourishing.* Edited by Samuel L. Adams, Greg S. Goering, and Matthew J. Goff. JSJSup 196. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Wacholder, Ben Zion, and Martin G. Abegg. *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls. The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four. Fascicle Two.* Washington, D.C.: Dead Sea Scroll Research Council, Biblical Archaeology Society, 1992.

Weeks, Stuart. "Is 'Wisdom Literature' a Useful Category?" Pages 3–23 in *Tracing Sapiential Traditions in Ancient Judaism.* Edited by Hindy Najman, Jean-Sébastien Rey, and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Wold, Benjamin. *Women, Men and Angels: The Qumran Wisdom Document Musar-leMevin and its Allusions to Genesis Creation Tradition.* WUNT II 201. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.

Wold, Benjamin. *4QInstruction: Divisions and Hierarchies.* STDJ 123. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Wright, Benjamin J. "Joining the Club: A Suggestion about Genre in Early Jewish Texts." *DSD* 17 (2010): 260–85.

Zahn, Molly M. "Talking about Rewritten Texts: Some Reflections on Terminology." Pages 93–120 in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period.* Edited by Hanne von Weissenberg, Juha Pakkala, and Marko Marttila. BZAW 419. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Zahn, Molly M. *Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism: Scribal Composition and Transmission.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.