
Steinemann, Hartmut. *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde*. Bonn, 1971. Important study that includes the suggestion that "illegitimacy" is a nuance of "wicked."


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**WILES OF THE WICKED WOMAN.** Six fragments in early Herodian script have been ascribed to a sapiential-poetic work termed *Wiles of the Wicked Woman* on the basis of the theme of the first fragment and of similar motifs in fragments 3, 5, and probably also 6. The first fragment is of considerable length (eighteen lines) and bears a strong resemblance to *Proverbs* 7 in that it describes a female who is a dangerous seductress of pious men. There is, however, one fundamental difference. In *Proverbs* 7 it is (as in *Prv*. 5 and 6.20–35) indeed the foreign woman who represents a danger for the upright and wise man with, however, an additional connotation: the attitude in favor of the foreign woman is seen as the antithesis of a life lived in accordance with wisdom. Wiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184), on the other hand, represents the female figure as much more than a temptation to lead a life contrary to the tenets of wisdom; she has become, rather, the personification of an antagonistic group, and the central controversy has evolved into the author’s concern for the correct fulfillment of the entire Torah. The implacable nature of the controversy reflected in this work is characterized by dualistic traits. It is no longer simply a question of morality but that of the right or wrong observance of God’s will in general and in its details reflects a symbolism much nearer to the old biblical concept of idolatry as adultery and fornication than to the moralistic attitude of normal wisdom literature. [See Wisdom Texts.] The sapiential motifs of this moralistic variety, as they are attested in *Proverbs* 5–7, underwent, then, in Wiles of the Wicked Woman a theological transformation whereby they were applied to group controversies of a fundamental character. Those portions of Wiles of the Wicked Woman that offer a reproach concerning effective rhetoric (4Q184 1.1–2) and misleading advice (cf. 4Q184 1.14–15) point perhaps to the same people who in other texts appear as followers of the “Man (or Preacher) of Lies.” Regardless of whether this group should be seen as a forerunner of the later Pharisees (Amusin, 1986), what is obvious is that Wiles of the Wicked Woman reflects fundamental group dissensions and a perceived deception on the part of a group of antagonists.

It is difficult to establish a date for the controversy behind these polemics, as they are generally applicable throughout a long stretch of time after the initial rift. It is, however, not impossible that their first application dates back to the controversies in Judea in connection with the events immediately before and during the reign of Antiochus IV, when, according to the Damascus Document (CD i), the people went astray because of the propaganda of a certain person who, along with his fellows, abandoned a position that the “Teacher of Righteousness” still tried to defend.

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**WISDOM TEXTS.** The presence of the biblical wisdom books at Qumran is indicated by the fragments of Job (4Q99–101), *Proverbs* (4Q102–103), *Ecclesiastes* (4Q109–110), and Ben Sira (2Q18 and 11QPsalms, 11Q5 xxi.11–17; xxi.1), along with Targums of Job from Caves 4 and 11 (4Q157; 11Q10). Although it has long been acknowledged that there are wisdom elements in the Rule of the Community, Hadayot, and other core Qumran texts, the Qumran library includes other Jewish wisdom texts from the Second Temple period.

The most prominent literary form among the sapiential texts from Qumran is the wisdom instruction. In it a sage
instructs an individual ("O understanding one") or a group ("sons") using the customary devices of calls to pay attention, imperatives and negative prohibitions ("you shall not . . ."), and reasons ("for . . ."). The most extensive wisdom instruction is Sapiential Work A (1Q26; 4Q415–418, 423). Other examples of the genre include sapiential works 4Q185 and 424, Ways of Righteousness and Wisdom Text with Beatitudes (4Q525), Mysteries (1Q27) and Mysteries (4Q299–301). All are in Hebrew.

The Qumran library also contains Hebrew hymns and poems that speak about wisdom in the context of creation (11Q5 xvii.9–15), celebrate the place of wisdom in the community of the righteous (11Q5 xviii.1–16), and describe in graphic detail the search for Wisdom as a female figure (11Q5 xxii.11–17; xxiii.1) and the seductions of her evil counterpart Lady Folly (Wilès of the Wicked Woman 4Q184). Still other very fragmentary Cave 4 manuscripts have been labeled as sapiential on the basis of their vocabulary (Sapiential Work F 4Q307; Sapiential Work C 4Q425; The Two Ways 4Q473; Sapiential Work 4Q486; Sapiential Work 4Q487; Sapiential Hymn 4Q498; sapiential fragments? 4Q308; and 4Q408, 410–413, 426, 472, 474–476).

The wisdom instructions imply a secular setting in which those being exhorted engage in business and legal affairs, relate socially to various kinds of persons, and deal with family matters. The wisdom hymns and poems would have been very appropriate for the Qumran setting and for the community envisioned in the Rule of the Community. But they contain nothing that would tie them exclusively to such a community. No single explanation fits all the Qumran wisdom texts. The hymns and poems may have been Second Temple Jewish compositions that were judged as appropriate for inclusion in the Qumran library. The instructions may reflect an earlier secular stage in the Jewish religious movement that developed into the Qumran community or of which the Qumran community was a branch. Or they may have been composed in and for the wider movement in which groups (as in the Damascus Document) lived in a manner that was more fully integrated into Jewish society in the Second Temple period.

Instructions. The most extensive wisdom instruction found at Qumran is Sapiential Work A. It appears in six fragmentary copies (1Q26, 4Q415–418, 423). If the extensive margin at the right-hand side of Sapiential Work A (4Q416) marks the beginning of the work, the language of that fragment indicates that the instructions appear in a cosmological framework ("season by season . . . the hosts of the heavens He has established . . . luminaries . . . signs of their festivals") and in an eschatological framework ("He shall pronounce judgment upon the
nancial matters—borrowing from others, paying back loans promptly, honesty, and possible punishments (i.17–28). Here the “mystery that is to be/come” has as parallel phrases “the birth time of salvation” and “who is to inherit glory and trouble”—thus confirming the eschatological dimension of this concept.

The nature of the “mystery that is to be/come” receives further clarification in fragment 2 of Sapiential Work A (and its parallel text in 4Q418 43). Here the “understanding one” is urged to concern himself with the raz nihyeh (i.1, 13–14, 18). One whomeditates on it is promised ethical knowledge (“truth and iniquity, wisdom and foolishness” i.6–7), an understanding of creation (“by the mystery that is to be/come he has laid out its foundation”; i.8–9), and a glimpse of the future (“what is to be”; i.5). This instruction also refers to heavenly books or tablets (see Ex. 32.16): “Engraved is the ordinance and ordained is all the punishment. For engraved is that which is ordained by God against all the iniquities of the children of Seth. And written in his presence is a book of memorial of those who keep his word” (i.15–16). Access to these sources of divine revelation is granted to those who constitute a “spiritual people” and not those of “fleshy spirit” (ii.16–17).

Other substantial fragments of Sapiential Work A appeal to the threat of eschatological judgment and sanctions as a motive for wise and righteous behavior in the present. The “foolish ones” of Sapiential Work A (4Q418 69) are told to expect the “everlasting pit” and annihilation (6–8), while the righteous ones (4Q418 126.ii) are promised an angelic existence of meditating on God’s power, glory, and faithfulness, and praising his name continually. In the present there exists a correlation between the righteous on earth and the angels in heaven: “Angels of holiness serve him in heaven; but the earth he has given over to the sons of truth” (4Q418 55.8–9). Thus the angels can serve as an example and a goal for the righteous on earth (see also 4Q418 69.12–13; 81.4–5).

Sapiential Work A is unusual in providing wisdom instructions directly to a woman. In Sapiential Work A (1 = 1 verso of 4Q414; 4Q415 2.i.1–9) the singular imperatives and prohibitions are feminine in form. The woman is told to honor her father-in-law, to cling to her husband’s bosom, not to neglect her “holy covenant” (marriage), and to be a subject of praise “on the mouth of all men.”

In the fragmentary instruction contained in sapiential work 4Q185, the sage addresses more than one person (“sons of men . . . my people . . . you simple ones . . . my sons”) and uses the literary conventions of the instruction genre (calls to pay attention, commands and prohibitions, reasons for obeying them) and beatitudes. The three instructions concern the coming judgment and the fragility of humankind (i.4–13), the might of God displayed in the Exodus (i.13–ii.3), and the ways of iniquity and of righteousness (ii.3–8). The first beatitude (ii.8–13) declares happy those to whom God has given “her,” while the second beatitude (ii.13–iii.1) insists on the need and rewards of remaining faithful to “her.” The feminine referent seems to be Wisdom personified, though a case can be made for identifying “her” as the Torah. More likely, the instruction equates Wisdom and the Torah (as in Sir. 24.23). It presents “her” as both a divine gift and an object that the righteous should seek, act upon, and hand on to the coming generations.

The wisdom instruction in sapiential work 4Q424 concerns the kinds of persons to be avoided or shunned for carrying out certain tasks. The sage is instructing someone who is or will be engaged in commerce and lawsuits. The latter is first warned against liars and “shaky” persons, fools and dullards, constant complainers, those who are devious in speech, greedy stewards, and short-tempered judges (1.4–13). The list of persons to be avoided admits of a more moral or spiritual interpretation: those who judge before they investigate, those with blurred vision, the hard of hearing, and the “heavy of heart” (3.1–7). It is complemented by a list of persons to be sought out and relied upon in one’s business and legal affairs: the intelligent, knowing, righteous, truthful, and so forth (3.7–10). The text’s division of humankind into the foolish/wicked and wise/righteous is typical of Jewish wisdom literature. There is no appeal to eschatology or divine judgment, or to anything distinctively “Qumranian” in what has survived of this text.

The text called Ways of Righteousness (4Q420 1.ii.1–5; 4Q421 1.ii.13–15) is similar in content to the list of wise and righteous persons in sapiential work 4Q424 3.7–10; there is nothing particularly sectarian about this list. The righteous person walks in God’s ways, is prudent in dealing with others, seeks truth and justice, and remains faithful to the ways of righteousness. Social relations, and especially persons to be avoided and befriended, are a major concern of wisdom literature (see Proverbs and Ben Sira).

The Wisdom Text with Beatitudes (4Q525) is a long wisdom instruction in which the speaker addresses an audience in the plural (“sons”). Its series of beatitudes (2.i) declares “happy” one who speaks the truth, as well as those “who cling to her statutes,” “who rejoice in her,” and “who seek her with pure hands.” The link between wisdom and the Torah is again so close (as in 4Q185) that it is difficult to determine which (or both?) is the referent. The fifth beatitude is an extensive description of “the man who has attained wisdom and walks by the law of the
most high," thus indicating the equation between wisdom and the Torah. Other fragments of this work deal with the precious character of wisdom (2.iii), the link between wisdom and the Torah (4.8–13), the rewards of pursuing wisdom (14.ii.8–13), prudence in speaking (14.ii.18–27), and the rewards and punishments associated with pursuing wisdom/righteousness and folly/iniquity (15).

The wisdom instructions known as Mysteries and Mysteries—(1Q27, 4Q299–300 [Mysteries 5, 4Q301?]) are important because of their focus on the "mystery that is to be come" (raz nihyeh) and the association of that mystery with human knowledge and activity in the present. Because the foolish/wicked do not know how to discern between good and evil and between falsehood and truth, and because they fail to understand the "mystery" and the "former things," they will be condemned in the coming visitation and eventually "be no more." The result of this judgment will be the triumph of God's wisdom and its acknowledgment by all creation: "Knowledge will fill the world and folly will be there no more." The eschatological scenario will take place when the hypocrisy of the nations becomes manifest. The text also criticizes "magicians skilled in transgression" who have not looked upon the eternal mysteries or come to understand knowledge (4Q300 1.i.1–5).

The Words of the Sage to Sons of Dawn (in Cryptic A Script; 4Q298) is best preserved in its formulaic introduction ("Listen to me... hear my words... pay attention"). The body of the work links cosmological matters and moral instructions.

On the basis of their vocabulary several other Cave 4 texts (4Q307–308, 408, 410–412, 425–426, 472–476, 486–487, and 498) have been classified as sapiental. But there is not enough complete text to grasp what contributions they might make to understanding wisdom at Qumran beyond expanding the vocabulary and repertory of motifs.

Hymns and Poems. Interspersed among the biblical psalms in Psalms from Cave 11 at Qumran are several compositions that either are clearly sapiental texts or at least contain wisdom elements. The prose summary of David's compositions describes David as a sage (among other things): "wise and brilliant like the light of the sun, a scribe, intelligent and perfect in all his ways before God and men" (11Q5 xxvii.2–3).

The Hymn to the Creator (11Q5 xxvi.9–15) refers in passing to the role of wisdom in God's creative activity: "Blessed be he who makes the earth by his power, who establishes the world by his wisdom. By his understanding he stretched out the heavens..." (xxvi.13–14). Such language is reminiscent of Proverbs 8.22–31 and related texts that develop the idea of wisdom as God's agent in creation and prepare for the personification of Wisdom and her identification with the Torah (see Sir. 24).

The work previously known as Psalm 154 or Syriac Psalm II appears in its Hebrew form in 11QPsalms (11Q5 xviii.1–16). Two of its stanzas may be important for understanding wisdom at Qumran. The first of these two stanzas (xviii.3–6 [verses 5–8]) describes wisdom as a gift from God, whose purpose is to make known God's glory: "to recount the greatness of his deeds she has been made known to humans." The second wisdom stanza (xviii.10–13 [verses 12–15]) gives a picture of a wisdom community that would fit well at Qumran: "From the gates of the righteous her voice is heard, and from the assembly of the pious her song." The community's banquet is a wisdom feast, and wisdom is identified with the Torah: "When they eat in fullness, she is mentioned; and when they drink in community together, their meditation is on the law of the most high." Although there is no definite link between Psalm 154 and the Qumran community beyond its being part of a manuscript found in Cave 11, the content of this psalm would have been very appropriate for a community in which the Rule of the Community and the Hodayot were core texts.

A more thoroughgoing sapiential composition is the autobiographical poem on the search for Wisdom known previously from Ben Sira 51.13–30 and found in fragmentary form in 11QPsalms (xii.11–17, xiii.1). It presents a vivid personification of Wisdom as a female figure. Whether Ben Sira wrote it or it was attached to his book later is a matter of long-standing debate. The Qumran version is somewhat erotic, though probably not as erotic as was supposed by its first editor, James A. Sanders. It describes the speaker's quest for Wisdom and Wisdom's revelation of herself to him (xii.11–15 [Sir. 51.13–17]) and the speaker's resolve to live by Wisdom's teachings (xii.15–17 [Sir. 51.18–19]). The poem is an acrostic, with a new letter of the Hebrew alphabet beginning each line. Its lively portrayal of Lady Wisdom offers a sharp contrast to the lurid representation of Lady Folly in Wiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184).

The highly negative poem about Lady Folly in Wiles of the Wicked Woman stands in the tradition of Proverbs 1–9, where folly is often presented as a seductress preying upon the simple and foolish. In its erotic but ultimately conventional portrayal of Lady Folly, Wiles of the Wicked Woman describes how she leads astray the unwitting by means of her body, garments, and lodgings: "her heart is set up as a snare... her clothes are shadows of twilight... her lodgings are beds of darkness" (4Q184 1.2–7). Her inheritance or "lot" is amid everlasting fire. In a play on the biblical descriptions of Wisdom (see Jb. 40.19, Prv. 8.22), Lady Folly is called "the beginning of all the ways
of iniquity.” She lies in ambush against the righteous man and seeks to turn him “from the ways of righteousness.” This poem is more concerned with the subversion of the “righteous” than with the corruption of the “wise,” though in the last analysis in Jewish wisdom literature they are the same.

The sapiential text sometimes called the Hymn of Knowledge (4Q413) may be the beginning of or an introduction to a hymn about acquiring wisdom. The speaker (first person singular) addresses a group (second person plural) and promises them knowledge about God’s plan for humankind, God’s will regarding human actions, and the appropriate rewards and punishments.

Significance of the Qumran Wisdom Texts. By providing new examples of wisdom instructions as well as wisdom hymns and poems, the Qumran wisdom texts expand the corpus of Second Temple Jewish wisdom literature. In some cases (Psalm 154, Sir. 51.13–19) we now have access to the (original) Hebrew version of texts previously known primarily in Syriac or Greek translations. The instructions are most closely linked to Proverbs (especially 1–9 and 22–24), Ben Sira, and I Enoch (94.1), and so can be used in the explication of those texts (and vice versa).

With respect to the New Testament, the Qumran wisdom instructions provide parallels at least to the genre of the sayings source Q, the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 5.1–7.29), the Sermon on the Plain (Lk. 6.20–49), the Letter of James, and the parenetic sections of the Pauline Epistles. In particular, the series of at least five beatitudes in the Wisdom Text with Beatitudes (4Q525) is an important formal parallel to Matthew 5.3–12 and Luke 6.20–23, though their theological orientations (sapiential versus eschatological) differ. Their appeal to eschatology as a horizon for ethical activity (as in Sapiential Work A and sapiential work 4Q185) is also very prominent in the ethical teachings of Jesus and the early Christians. This combination of ethics and eschatology renders questionable recent scholarly attempts to portray Jesus as a non-eschatological wisdom teacher and to separate sapiential and eschatological strata in the sayings source Q. [See Q Source.]

There are analogies between the appeals in the Qumran wisdom texts to the “mystery to be/come” and the Synoptic Gospels’ emphasis on the “kingdom of God.” Both concepts are assumed rather than defined and are proposed as the key to understanding God’s plan for the future and for human existence in the present.

The portrayals of Wisdom as a personal figure in Ben Sira (and perhaps in the Hymn to the Creator) and of Lady Folly in the Wiles of the Wicked Woman add to the dossier of Jewish texts that are useful for interpreting the early Christian hymns that celebrate Jesus as the Wisdom of God (see Jn. 1.1–18, Col. 1.15–20, and Heb. 1.3).

[See also Beatitudes; Mysteries; Psalms, Hymns, and Prayers; Sapiential Work; and Wiles of the Wicked Woman.]

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