“Mystery” in the Wisdom of Solomon and 4QInstruction

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Abstract
Similar ideas and tropes found in the Wisdom of Solomon and 4QInstruction (4Q415–418, 423; 1Q26) have considerable significance for the study of early Jewish sapiential literature. One feature shared by both compositions is teaching about “mysteries.” Previous studies on these two wisdom writings conclude that there are distinct differences in what these mysteries are and how they function in the thought world of each composition. This article argues for an alternative understanding of mysteries in 4QInstruction to those presented in previous comparative studies. In light of this reassessment of mysteries, the Wisdom of Solomon and 4QInstruction are seen to participate within an intellectual space much closer to one another than previously perceived.

Keywords
4QInstruction, Qumran, wisdom literature, Wisdom of Solomon

Direct comparisons between the Wisdom of Solomon and 4QInstruction (4Q415–418, 423; 1Q26) are few and yet, as Samuel Adams has observed, “The corollaries between the two sapiential documents are a matter of great consequence for Second Temple Wisdom studies.” To date, John Collins and Matthew Goff are alone in offering sustained evaluations of common characteristics between these two compositions. Both studies focus on

1. Samuel L. Adams, Wisdom in Transition: Act and Consequence in Second Temple Instruction, JSJSup 125 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 269–71 at 271. James K. Aitken and Ekaterina Matusova, “The Wisdom of Solomon,” in Oxford Handbook of Wisdom and the Bible, ed. Will Kynes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 599–615, at 604–5 treat immortality after death in 4QInstruction, commenting that the Wisdom of Solomon’s “connection with 4QInstruction has strongest parallels” among Qumran discoveries (604).
2. John J. Collins, “The Mysteries of God: Creation and Eschatology in 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon,” in Jewish Cult and Hellenistic Culture: Essays on the Jewish Encounter with Hellenism and Roman Rule, ed. John J. Collins, JSJSup 100 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 131–143 at 131–3, 134–5.
on passages in the Wisdom of Solomon that refer to mysteries, eternal life, incorruption, and creation as found in Genesis 1–2. Commonalities are found with 4QInstruction because of shared interests in, especially, immortality and survival into the afterlife, as well as mysteries (רְז יָהִיה) and anthropology derived from Genesis creation accounts. The presence of these motifs in 4QInstruction, a composition known only from Qumran and written more than a century earlier, is seen to foreshadow developments found in the Wisdom of Solomon, a well-known Hellenistic Jewish writing.4

One of the most significant corollaries between these two textual traditions is the presence of mysteries. In order to draw comparisons, Collins and Goff focus on a similar cluster of 4QInstruction fragments, especially the so-called Vision of Hagu passage (4Q417 1 i 13b–18) where they find the creation of two different humanities. How the Hagu pericope is reconstructed, translated, and interpreted establishes 4QInstruction’s anthropology. The nature of the mystery in 4QInstruction, and who among humankind has access to it, is foundational to a comparative study with the Wisdom of Solomon.

Previous scholarship

Wisdom of Solomon 1:1–6:21, often referred to as the “Book of Eschatology,” presents a comparison between the wicked and the righteous starting in chapter two. The foolish in this chapter have a pessimistic view of existence and do not believe in the afterlife. They live indulgently, partaking of worldly pleasures, and persecute the righteous. In Wis 2:2, they say: “for we were born by mere chance, and hereafter we shall be as though we had never been.” The righteous, by contrast, are those who live virtuously and enjoy immortality (Wis 3:1, “the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and no torment will ever touch them”). The theme of immortality continues in the following chapters; sometimes “immortality” (ἀθανασίας) is explicitly stated (1:15; 3:4; 4:1; 8:13, 17; 15:3; cf. ζωή + αἰών in 5:15) and other times inferred from the context (esp. Wis 3:7, “in the time

2005), 159–80; first published in Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition, ed. F. García Martínez, BETL 168 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 287–305; Matthew J. Goff, “Adam, the Angels and Eternal Life: Genesis 1–3 in 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon,” in Studies in the Book of Wisdom, ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér, JSJSup 142 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1–21.
3. Émile Puech, “The Book of Wisdom and the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Overview,” in The Book of Wisdom in Modern Research: Studies on Tradition, Redaction, and Theology, ed. Angelo Passaro and Giuseppe Bellia (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 117–41, at 132–34 discusses 4QInstruction and immortality in the Wisdom of Solomon, esp. Wis. 5:15 “But the righteous live forever (αἰῶνα ζῶσιν), and their reward is with the Lord; the Most High takes care of them.”
4. For treatments of Wisdom of Solomon and Hellenistic philosophy, see Gregory Sterling, “The Love of Wisdom: Middle Platonism and Stoicism in the Wisdom of Solomon,” in From Stoicism to Platonism: The Development of Philosophy, 100 BCE–100 CE, ed. T. Engberg-Pedersen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 198–213; David Winston, The Wisdom of Solomon, AB 43 (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1979); James M. Reese, Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970).
5. A number of recent studies argue for the unity of Wisdom of Solomon; see Luca Mazzinghi, Wisdom, IECOT (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2019), 19–20.
of their visitation they will shine forth”). 6 In the Wisdom of Solomon, the righteous will receive reward in the hereafter, which is contingent upon right conduct. 7 4QInstruction does not use the language of immortality but teaches that the ways of iniquity result in future punishment (Q417 I i 6–8), and the righteous will be rewarded for their faithfulness (Q417 I i 14, 26; cf. Wis 4–9). Future judgment and reward are found in several other passages (Q418 55 11–12, “they will inherit an eternal possession;” Q418 69 8ff.). The fate of the wicked is destruction (Q418 162 4), while “glory everlasting and peace eternal” is promised to the righteous (Q418 126 i–ii 6–7). 8

In the Wisdom of Solomon, “mystery” (μυστήριον) occurs four times (2:22; 6:22; 14:15; 14:23), but the meaningful passage for comparisons with 4QInstruction is in chapter two. 9 Here, the wicked fail because they do not live according to the mystery:

Wis 2:1–24
21 Thus they reasoned (ἐλογίσαντο), but they were led astray,
for their wickedness blinded them,
22 and they did not know the mystery of God (μυστήρια θεοῦ),
nor hoped for the wages of holiness,
nor discerned the prize for blameless souls;
23 for God created the human being (τὸν ἄνθρωπον) for incorruption (ἀφθαρσία),
and made us in the image of his own eternity (ἀϊδιότητος),
24 but through the devil’s envy death entered the world,
and those who belong to his company experience it. (NRSV) 10

Collins observes that whereas the wisdom of Qohelet and Ben Sira is reliant upon an empirical epistemology, mysteries as found in 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon are comprehensible within Jewish apocalyptic because they reveal knowledge beyond normal human reach. A central motif of 4QInstruction is repeated exhortations to pursue a mystery called רֵז נהיה which Collins and Goff translate as “the mystery that is to be.” Collins concludes that among similarities between 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon is this concept of the mystery, from which knowledge is gained about how to act rightly. 11 This mystery reveals the fate of human beings in the hereafter as opposed to wisdom that pertains to how one prospers in this world. For Collins, the mystery in

6. Collins, “The Mystery of God,” 179 observes, “Wisdom repeatedly uses the word ἐπισκοπή, visitation, which is used in the LXX to translate the Hebrew פקודת.” These are in Wis 2:20; 3:7, 13; 4:15; 14:11; 19:15.
7. Both Collins and Goff demonstrate that this is not in the form of resurrection in either text.
8. A similarity shared with Wisdom of Solomon, see Goff, “Adam, the Angels,” 14–15; Collins, “The Mystery of God,” 178 comments that “the wicked in 4QInstruction survive for punishment in the hereafter.”
9. μυστήριον in Wis 14:15, 23 translate as “secret” in reference to rites and initiations. Wis 6:22 is direct speech to monarchs about ruling successfully, the speaker tells how wisdom came to be, stating that “I will hide no secrets (μυστήρια) from you” and traces wisdom to the beginning of creation.
10. Making an alteration to 2:22a where μυστήριον in the NRSV is translated as “secret” and 2:23a where τὸν ἄνθρωπον is translated simply as “us.”
11. Collins, “The Mystery of God,” 179.
4QInstruction “was only revealed to the elect,” whereas for the Wisdom of Solomon, “the mystery is available to those who reason rightly.”\(^{12}\) In conclusion, Collins summarizes that 4QInstruction’s mystery is “the comprehensive plan of God for humanity,” which “involves an immortal destiny, grounded in creation in the divine image.”\(^{13}\)

Goff shares a view similar to Collins’, stating that “the mystery that is to be” is a type of “supernatural revelation” that “signifies a divine deterministic plan that guides the entire range of creation.”\(^{14}\) Moreover, only the elect community can attain the knowledge of God and the cosmos.\(^{15}\) Collins and Goff agree that here are two different humanities: a spiritual people who are the elect community to whom 4QInstruction is addressed and the rest of humanity called “spirit of flesh.” They both consider Gen 1:27 and Genesis 2 and the double creation (spiritual and fleshly) as a framework for understanding anthropology in these two compositions.\(^{16}\) Collins observes that both 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon “view that it was the intention of the creator that humanity should be immortal” which is grounded in being created in the divine image.\(^{17}\) Concern with Gen 1:27 relates to being formed in God’s likeness and Genesis 2 to human fallibility and earthly creation. Collins considers that these two chapters are used in 4QInstruction to contrast to two types of people and two types of behavior, while in the Wisdom of Solomon they function to emphasize two aspects of a singular humanity. In this way, they conclude, Genesis 1–2 are typologically used by both compositions.

When mysteries in 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon are compared, an important commonality is that both understand them as the key to comprehending right and wrong behavior and its consequences which, Collins writes, “grounded in the way in which God created humanity in the first case.”\(^{18}\) Therefore, how one considers the creation of humanity in 4QInstruction and the nature of the mystery lay the foundation for comparisons with Wisdom.

**Mystery in 4QInstruction**

The term רָזָה is found or reconstructed about twenty-five times in 4QInstruction.\(^{19}\) The only other extant occurrences of this term are in the Community Rule (1QS XI 3–4) and Mysteries (1Q27 i 3–4; par. 4Q300 3 4). Throughout 4QInstruction are exhortations to contemplate and pursue this mystery. רָזָה is most often understood as a Niphal

\(^{12}\) Collins, “The Mystery of God,” 180.

\(^{13}\) Collins, “The Mystery of God,” 179.

\(^{14}\) Goff, “Adam, the Angels,” 3.

\(^{15}\) Goff, “Adam, the Angels,” 4.

\(^{16}\) Goff, “Adam, the Angels,” 9 following Collins, “The Mystery of God,” 174 in his citation and interest in Philo’s *Opif*. 134 which is significant because Philo contrasts two types of human being based upon an allegorical interpretation of Genesis 1–2. Cf. Ekaterina Matusova, “Genesis 1–2 in *De opificio mundi* and Its Exegetical Context,” *SPhiloA* 31 (2019): 57–94.

\(^{17}\) Collins, “The Mystery of God,” 178.

\(^{18}\) Collins, “The Mystery of God,” 163.

\(^{19}\) 1Q26 1 1, 4; 4Q415 6 4; 4Q415 24 1; 4Q416 2 i 5; 4Q416 2 iii 9, 14, 18, 21; 4Q416 17 3; 4Q417 1 i 6, 8, 18, 21; 4Q417 1 ii 3; 4Q418 77 2; 123 ii 4; 172 1; 179 3; 184 2; 190 2–3; 201 1; 4Q418* 8; 4Q423 3 2; 4Q423 5 2; 4Q423 7 7.
participle of רָזִּים (‘to be’) and qualifies רָז although it could be a nominal participle and translated in construct. 20 “Mystery” (רָז) alone is frequent in the Qumran discoveries (e.g., Community Rule, Pesher Habakkuk, War Scroll, Hodayot, Genesis Apocryphon, Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, Songs of the Sage, Self-Glorification Hymn, Enochic lit.). 21 As we have seen, one way to translate רָזִּים is with a future tense as the “mystery that is to be” or “mystery that is to come.” 22 Translating the term with a solely future orientation is usually associated with a particular deterministic view of the document and ontological division of humanity into two groups. One consequence of a future translation is that the term’s cosmological scope is diminished; that is, the mystery infers the totality of the temporal axis: beginning, present, and end. This mystery may relate to the consequences of human action in future, but it is unconvincing that this mystery is about a person’s predetermined eternal fate. Indeed, in the opening column of 4QInstruction (4Q416 1), the structure of the cosmos serves to justify future judgment on those who do not live according to the knowledge of good and evil, as evident around them, and sets the context for teaching about the need to live wisely.

As a Niphal participle, רָזִּים is more convincingly translated in reference to “being” and existence in broader terms. 23 The term רָז with this adjectival qualifier is better translated as “mystery of existence” with temporal meaning spanning the entire plan of God from creation to the end time. 24 The רָזִּים includes knowledge of where human beings

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20. Collins, “The Mystery of God,” 162 points to 1QS III 15 where the Niphal verb is used; however, as he points out, it is commonly translated as “all that is and shall be” (italics mine).
21. While רָז alone may denote revealed heavenly knowledge in Dan 2:27–30 and Enochic lit. (e.g., 1 En. 106:19), there is no indication that this is the case in 4QInstruction which does not portray visions and angelic mediation. Instead, 4Q Instruction conceives of diligent pursuit of the mystery which is rooted in human activity and responsibility.
22. John Strugnell, Daniel J. Harrington, and Torleif Elgvin, Qumran Cave 4 XXIV . Sapiential Texts, Part 2: 4QInstruction (Mûsâr lĕ Mēvîn): 4Q415ff. with a Re-edition of 1Q26, DJD 34 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) translate “the mystery that is to come”; Matthew Goff, 4QInstruction, WLAW 2 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2013), 14–17; Armin Lange, Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran, STDJ 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 57–61; Torleif Elgvin, “The Mystery to Come: Early Essene Theology of Revelation,” in Qumran between the Old and New Testaments, ed. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson, JSOTSup 290; CIS 6 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998), 131–39; in DJD 1:103 Józef T. Milik translates the term in 1QMysteries (1Q27) 1 i 3–4 as “le mystère future” in Qumran Cave 1, ed. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, DJD 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 103–4, note par. 4Q300 3, which Lawrence Schiffman, in Torleif Elgvin, Menachem Kister, Timothy Lim, et al., Qumran Cave 4, XV. Sapientials Texts, Part 1, DJD 20 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 105 translates as “the mystery of that which is coming into being.”
23. David J. A. Clines, ed., Dictionary of Classical Hebrew, vol. II ב-ח (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 540 רָז Niphal ptc. as noun meaning: “the present, (present) event, (present) existence, i.e., that which exists, those that exist.” The Niphal of רָז appears eight times in the Hebrew scriptures (Deut 4:32; 1 Kgs 1:27, 12:24; Joel 2:2; Mic 2:4; Zech 8:10; Neh 6:8; 2 Chr 11:4) and context clearly indicates that it has a past meaning.
24. Cf. Daniel J. Harrington, “The Rāz Nihyeh in a Qumran Wisdom Text (1Q26, 4Q415–418, 423),” RevQ 17 (1996): 549–53; Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar and Florentino García Martinez prefer “mystery of existence” in the Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Jean-Sébastien Rey, 4QInstruction: sagesse et eschatologie, STDJ 81 (Leiden: Brill, 2009),
come from and their condition (חזרות) as well as eschatological outcome. Significantly, in 4Q417 1 i 8–9, this mystery has a parallel with Wisdom and Logos as instruments in the creation of the world (Prov 3:19; Wis 8:4–6; cf. Philo, Det. 54).25 In 4Q417 1 i, the mystery is also explicitly associated with the three points of time: past, present, and future (4Q418 43 1–3; the same identification is likely found in 4Q418 122 ii 3–4).26 As such, the mystery of existence is concerned with relating humanity to their position in the cosmos and instructing them how to conduct themselves accordingly. By presenting the plan of the world from creation to judgment, human beings are able to understand good and evil and the consequences for failing to live accordingly. The translation “mystery of existence” reflects the degree to which cosmogony is embedded in 4QInstruction, found in the frequent references to Genesis 1–3. If הנהיה translates better as “mystery of existence” within a merit-based worldview, rather than “mystery that is to be” within a deterministic one, then mystery in 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon are more similar than Collins and Goff conclude.

4QInstruction’s understanding of the הנהיה is similar to Mysteries. Indeed, Lawrence Schiffman observes that in this composition, “mysteries” (რძე) refers to the mysteries of creation, i.e. the natural order of things which depends on God’s wisdom, and to the mysteries of the divine role in the processes of history.” He states that “the source from which the divine mysteries emerge” is wisdom.27 Furthermore, in addition to 4Q418 43 and 4Q418 123, 1QS III 15 and 1QS XI 3–4 have mystery taking in the entire past, present, and future.28 In 1QS XI 3–4, the mystery of existence is a source of knowledge that one gazes upon, wisdom is derived from it, and indeed an explanation is given that “all that exists (כֹּל הנהיה) is so by your will” (1QS XI 18).

Mystery and Torah in 4QInstruction

The word תורה (“torah”) never occurs in 4QInstruction and although there are multiple allusions to specific passage in the Mosaic Torah, especially Genesis 2–3, it is not thematically present.29 There is strong evidence that allows one to reasonably conclude that Mosaic Torah is not, and was not, part of 4QInstruction’s discourse. First, reconstructions by Harrington and Strugnell that find reference to revelation at Sinai are not convincing; consequently, assessments that use the editors’ presentation of these passages

25. Note that the bridging concept Logos at times relates to mystery in the context of creation (Philo, Leg. 1:104; 3:100).
26. DJD 34:151 composite with 4Q417 1 i 2–3. At times, הנהיה is clearly used to imply future, see especially 4Q418 69 ii 7 (כֹּל הנהיה עולם) and yet even here it is not exclusively so since what was from the beginning can be eternal.
27. DJD 20:31–32.
28. DJD 20:37.
29. Allusions are found to Korah’s Rebellion (Num 16; 4Q423 5); the book of memorial (Mal 3:16; 4Q417 1 i 13a–15); the commandment to honor parents (Exod 20; Deut 5; 4Q416 2 ii 15–18); references to one’s wife (Num 30:6–15 in 4Q416 2 iv; Deut 27:16 in 4Q416 2 ii 21; Deut 13:7, 28:54); and agricultural halakha (Deut 22:9; cf. Lev 19:19 in 4Q418 103 ii 6–7).
for understanding the place of Mosaic Torah in 4QInstruction may be dismissed. Second, there are three crucial passages where one finds the mystery of existence standing in the traditional place of Torah and, as such, impact significantly on our understanding of this concept in 4QInstruction.

**Reconstructions of the revelation at Sinai**

The editors of DJD 34 reconstruct two occurrences of the “hand of Moses” (<span>ביד משה</span>) in two separate manuscripts (4Q418 184; 4Q423 11). The presence of this phrase has led to confusion on an interpretive crux, namely, the relationship of the mystery of existence to the Mosaic Torah in 4QInstruction. Indeed, Andrew Teeter concludes that the mystery in 4QInstruction “is associated with the revelation at Sinai and the meditation of Moses” and “that the <span>רז נהיה</span> is discernible within and accessed by means of a textual corpus the extent of which is unclear, but which includes at a minimum the Torah itself.”30

A reassessment of manuscripts, made possible by the availability of high resolution images to the public online, finds that the editors’ reconstructions are problematic.31 First, their proposed reading of the “hand of Moses” in 4Q423 11 is unconvincing.32 Second, when “hand of Moses” does occur in 4Q418 184, the editors read <span>דבר</span> ("He spoke") “by the hand of Moses,” which then makes this a fairly clear reference to receiving Torah at Sinai. However, this is mistaken as there are not even the slightest traces of a <span>resh</span> (i.e., the final consonants of the proposed reconstruction) immediately preceding the <span>beit</span> of <span>ביד</span>, but rather traces of final letter, likely <span>pe</span> but possibly <span>tsade</span>.33 I have proposed that <span>אף</span> is a possible reading (<span>אף ביד משה</span>) and would refer to Moses’ hand in association either (1) with turning away wrath or (2) as an instrument of judgment.34 In summary, attention

30. D. Andrew Teeter, “Torah, Wisdom, and the Composition of Rewritten Scripture: Jubilees and 11QPs” in Comparative Perspective,” in Wisdom and Torah: The Reception of “Torah” in the Wisdom Literature of the Second Temple Period, ed. Bernd U. Schipper and D. Andrew Teeter, JSJSup 163 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 233–72 at 252.

31. The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library (https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/).

32. 4Q423 11 1 reads: “◦ <span>בידמ◦”; the case against reading “hand of Moses” is threefold: (1) between <span>יד</span> and <span>משה</span> should be a space when there is not; (2) either the letter <span>shin</span> or <span>waw</span> should follow the <span>mem</span> and this is not at all clear; and (3) neither the words <span>דבר</span> or <span>צוה</span> precede and therefore one cannot infer from context.

33. DJD 34:408 comments that “[t]he trace beneath the line [of their resh or heh] . . . would convert this letter into a medial pe,” and “should be dismissed as accidental” (!).

34. Benjamin Wold, 4QInstruction: Divisions and Hierarchies, STDJ 123 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 151–52 the following observations support this: (1) an exalted figure (4Q418 81 10; cf. 4Q417 2 i 14–16) is empowered “by his hand” to turn away “wrath” from the community (ורבדה לוושפ קוש), note that 1QH IV 9–15 has extended description of God turning away sin and offense “by the hand of Moses” (1. 12; cf. Num 33:1; Ps 77:21. (2) “Hand of Moses” may relate to Korah’s Rebellion in 4Q423 5 (cf. Num 16) where Korah serves as a negative example of the wicked; in Num 17:5, the “hand of Moses” is associated with Korah: “and he shall not be like Korah and his companions, just as the Lord spoke to him by the hand of Moses” ([לא יראה ידיו לא תראה כן ידיה ויהיה ידיה🎀 אליו רצוי נגש ל.). (3) The use of <span>ביד</span> elsewhere in 4QInstruction also demonstrates an instrumental use when judging (קופים <span>ביד</span> in 4Q416 2 ii 2; 4Q417 2 ii + 23 4; cf. 4Q417 2 i 24 where a creditor closes his hand against a debtor). (4)
to these fragmentary references to the phrase ביד משה finds that there is no evidence that Torah is ever mentioned in 4QInstruction, not even vis-à-vis reference to giving it by the hand of Moses at Sinai.

It is possible that 4Q418 185 is not referring to “Moses” at all. Words derived from the root נשה (“to lend”) are rare in Classical and Post-biblical Hebrew. In the Hebrew Bible, it occurs as a verb on a few occasions (Gen 41:51; Is 44:21; Jer 23:29; Job 11:6, 39:17; Lam 3:17). Deut 15:2 refers to a baseman נשה (i.e., “creditor”) from whose “hand” he lends to his neighbor ידו אשת ישה ברשותה. The root נשה is very rare elsewhere, found at Qumran only in the Damascus Document, 11QMelch, and 1QDivre Moshe (the latter two when citing Deut 15:2). The term is relatively frequent in 4QInstruction, occurring four times (4Q416 2 i 18; 4Q417 2 i 22, 4Q417 2 ii + 23 6, 7), as a participle (נושה) for “one lending” or “creditor.” Given how rare this term is in the literature of the period, and also that allusions to Deut 15:2 may be identified in the context of financial teaching in 4QInstruction, 4Q418 185 may also translate as “in the hand of a creditor [משה].”

Three passages from Instruction may be identified where traditions that typically emphasize the study of Torah replace “Torah” with the “mystery of existence.”

**Mysteries and Torah in 4Q417 1 i and Psalm 1:2b**

In 4Q417 1 i 6, the רז נהיה replaces Torah as the focus of meditation when Psalm 1:2b—“on his law they meditate day and night” (כי והוא התורה יאברך התורה יעה וימת וָלָֽיְלָה)—is rewritten as “day and night meditate on the mystery of existence (ל֯ילה יומם ו), seek always and then you shall know truth and iniquity.” This substitution in 4Q417 1 i is not using the mystery as a cipher for Torah, but rather the mystery of existence is a source of wisdom related to the cosmological outlook of the composition. This differs from Ben Sira who also alludes to Psalm 1:2b when he writes (14:20 MS A) “happy is the person who meditates on wisdom and acts wisely” (אשרי אנוש בחכמה יהגה ובתבונה יעשה). However, whereas meditation on wisdom rather than Torah in Ben Sira underscores its identification with wisdom, this is much different in 4QInstruction where Torah and the mystery are not identified. 4Q417 1 i 1–9 is arguably the richest passage in 4QInstruction for viewing the mystery’s scope, and reads:

There is an association of Moses hand to judgment in Exod 18:13; Lev 26:46; Num 36:13; Deut 33 Moses’s song is concerned with judgment (and 2 Macc 7:6; Bar 1:20, 2:2; Rev 15:3); 4QPs.-Jub* (4Q255 1 8); later traditions to the “seat of Moses” in Matt 23:2–3; קְדֵדָתָהּ מַשֵּׁה in Pes. de Rab Kahana; John 5:38 “it is Moses who accuses you” (ἔστιν ὁ κατηγορῶν ὑμῶν Μωϋσῆς).

35. Cf. Josh 1:8 and instruction to meditate on the torah day and night: לא אימתי על חצורים קונ. The reference the torah in Ps 1:2b is likely an insertion added by a pious torah observant psalter after the time of Ezra when there was a tradition of education in the torah; cf. James Luther Mays, “The Place of the Torah-Psalms in the Psalter,” JBL 106 (1987): 3–12.

36. Ben Sira claims that Wisdom became embodied in the “book of the covenant of the Most High God, the law that Moses commanded us as an inheritance for the congregations of Jacob” (24:23).

37. Collins, Jewish Wisdom, 49.
and understanding one, and by the mysteries of the wonders of the God of the awesome ones gain insight, the beginnings of to him in your and gaze, and upon the mystery of existence and the deeds of ancient times, to what is and what will be, in what eterniy to to what was and to what will be, in what in all deed and deed day and night meditate on the mystery of existence, seek always and then you shall know truth and iniquity, wisdom and foolishness in all their ways with their punishments, for all periods of eternity, and eternal punishments, and then you shall know between good and evil according to their deeds, for the God of knowledge is the foundation of truth, and by the mystery of existence He has spread out the foundation of its (fem. i.e. truth’s) deeds for all... He expounded for their understanding, with all of its deeds, to walk in the inclination of their understanding, and He expounded to humanity (??...), and in the abundance of understanding were made known the secrets of His plan, together with how they should walk perfectly in all His deeds, These things always seek early (i.e. diligently), and understand all their consequences, and then you shall know about the glory of His might with His marvellous mysteries, and the might of His deeds. And you understanding one...

In addition to the mystery encompassing past, present, and future (ll. 2–4), it also allows the maven to properly distinguish between good and evil (l. 8). The elevation of the mystery is found in lines 8–9 where truth’s deeds are founded by it: by the mystery of existence, God spreads out the foundation of deeds. Therefore, the mystery may be seen as an instrument of creation used in establishing the order of the cosmos (cf. 4Q418 126

38. Wold, *4QInstruction*, 99–103; DJD 34:151; Eibert Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction*, STDJ 44 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 52; Rey, *4QInstruction*, 278; Matthew Goff, *4QInstruction*, WLAW 2 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2013), 137–8; Elisha Qimron, *מגילות מדבר*. יד בן-צבי, 2010–14, 2:148; Menahem Kister, “ספרות החכמה בקומראן,” in *מגילות קומראן – מבואות ומחקרים / The Qumran Scrolls and Their World*, 2 vols., ed. M. Kister (Jerusalem: Yad ben-Zvi, 2009), 1:299–320 at 308.
As such, the mystery appears to operate similarly to well-known bridging concepts—Wisdom, Logos, Spirit—used to express manifestations of God’s creative activities. Indeed, the Logos within Stoic thought is a divine principle which Philo develops as an instrument by which God created the world, thereby bridging the material world with God. The Logos within Stoic thought is well known as relating to human reason. Philo develops this to equate the order of creation with right reason. When Philo associates the “law of nature” with “reason,” he describes it as imparting freedom to the wise (Philo, Prob. 46–47).40

Indeed, in Wis 8:4–6 when Wisdom is a co-creator with God, “she is an initiate in the knowledge of God” (v. 4) and “fashioner of what exists” (v. 6).

When truth’s ways are expounded to “them” in 4Q417 1 i 10–11, there are good reasons to conclude that they are “humanity.” First, the foundation of the cosmos is what is expounded upon and it is from this that one knows good and evil; therefore, it would make sense that creation, as the beginning point of wisdom, is knowable to humanity.41 Second, “He expounded” occurs twice, once in line 10 and again in line 11 (“to h[umanity]”; although the reconstruction in line 11 is only theoretical, Harrington and Strugnell read “for m[an].”42 The options of who could be given understanding is restricted to a word beginning with the letter aleph and while אדם is possible, אנוש is more likely since the giving of meditation to humanity (אנוש) in the passage immediately following (l. 16) uses this term preceded by the same preposition (ל) as found here in line 11.

Mysteries and Torah in 4Q416 2 iii 14–19

In 4Q416 2 iii 14–19 (par. 4Q418 frag. 9 lines 14–18 and frag. 10 lines 1–2), the Decalogue’s commandment to honor one’s father and mother is rewritten. These lines read:

4Q416 2 iii 14–19 (par. 4Q418 9 14–10 1–2)43:
Honor your father (Ex 20:12) in your poverty,

39. See also Matthew J. Goff, “The Mystery of Creation in 4QInstruction,” DSD 10/2 (2003): 163–86, at 170.
40. “But the unerring law is right reason; not an ordinance made by this or that mortal, a corruptible and perishable law, a lifeless law written on lifeless parchment or engraved on lifeless columns; but one imperishable, and stamped by immortal nature on the immortal mind . . .”
41. Goff, “The Mystery of Creation,” 170 comments on ll. 8–9 that “God is the foundation of the world because he created ‘its foundation and its work’ . . . In 4QInstruction one can use the mystery that is to be understood the natural order in a more comprehensive way because God used the mystery to create the world.” In Goff’s view, mysteries revealed to the elect enable the elect to comprehend the created order.
42. DJD 34:154 no commentary is offered and the Hebrew is not reconstructed; however, they translate ll. 10a–12b “He [ex]pounded for their un[der]standing every d[ee]d/cr[eatu]re So that man could walk in the [fashion (inclination) of their/his understanding, And He will/ did expound for m[an . . . ] And in abundance/property/purity of understanding were made kn[own the se]crets of his (man’s?) plan . . .”
43. Wold, 4QInstruction, 162; DJD 34:110–11; Tigchelaar, To Increase Learning, 47–8; Rey, 4QInstruction, 92; Goff, 4QInstruction, 91–2; Qimron, Dead Sea Scrolls, 2:156.
and your mother (Ex 20:12) in your low estate.
For as God is to a man, thus is his father,
and as lords are to a man, thus is his mother (cf. Mal 1:6).
For they are the womb (ברון) of your conception,
and as he placed them in authority over you,
and fashioned you according to the spirit (זיו ער הזיו), so you should serve them.
And as (the)parents uncovered your ear (גלה אוזנה) to the mystery of existence,
honor them (כבדם) for your own honor,
and in your life and for the length of your days (Ex. 20:12). vac

The Decalogue-Shema combination is found in (1) the Fifth Commandment in lines 15b–16a and (2) the Shema in line 18. Neither God nor any other single figure is the subject of the Piel verb גלה (“revealed” or “uncovered”), but rather the subject is plural which is made clear by the recipient of honor (i.e., כבדם “honor them”). A plural subject is demanded by the “they” of the parents. The use of a singular subject גלה, when גלו is needed here, may be explained by the fact that גלה אוזנה is a fixed expression in the composition (cf. 1Q26 1 4; 4Q418 123 ii 4; 4Q418 184 2; 4Q423 5 1–2; 4Q423 7 6). When this fixed expression is used, it is consistently followed by יד נבח always with the preposition י. The parent’s activity in “uncovering” their child’s ear evokes the Shema.

44. Rey, 4QInstruction, 190 reconstructs אתוי from אתוי (“appointed”) giving a threefold rationale: (1) a resh would be materially too long; (2) one would normally expect the pronoun “thee” with ר; and (3) יציא is never used with על. Goff, 4QInstruction, 94 follows Rey and adds: “If the last letter of the word were a resh one would expect its visible bottom tip to touch the base of the preceding sade.” Contra this reconstruction: (1) The resh is not too long for the space, which I have modeled based upon the 2014 infrared image (Plate 181, Frag. 1, B-499640, photographer Shai Halevi); Rey, publishing in 2009, consults the 1958 scanned infrared negative (photographer Najib Anton Albina). (2) יציא is used without “thee” elsewhere (e.g., 4Q423 5 שיא ממעשין), (3) There is at least one instance of this use of על in Jer. 18:11. (4) There are other unique teachings about spirit in 4QInstruction, e.g., “your holy spirit” in reference to a human being. (5) There are conceptual parallels in 1QHa XII 32 (כי אם ברוח יציא אל לו) and 1QHd VII 35 (אין המజד יציא). (6) The preposition על together with יציא is awkward because it requires that a direct object be supplied (“them”; i.e., Goff “And as he gave them dominion over you and appointed (them) over the spirit”); this passage is replete with “your” suffixes and one would expect “your spirit” and not “the spirit,” especially in light of the preceding statement. (7) When resh follows tsade in 4Q416 the bottom tip does touch the base of the preceding tsade (e.g., צורב in 4Q416 2 iii 13); however, when waw follows tsade in 4Q416, it also touches the base of the preceding tsade (e.g., צורב in 4Q416 2 ii 12; 4Q416 2 iv 7); in other manuscripts, the resh and tsade of יציא do not touch (e.g., 4Q417 1 i 9, 17); therefore, the observation that the bottom tip of the letter following tsade in this line does not help adjudicate whether the letter was a resh or waw. (8) יציא is infrequent in 4QInstruction and words from the root יציא are frequent (12x). (9) This reading conceptually works with the Vision of Hagu (ll. 16–17): “for in the likeness of the holy ones (i.e. angelic beings) is your fashioning” (כיה כתובית קדושים יציא).

45. The preposition י could be translated as instrumental as opposed to the object that is made known.
A well-known tradition of combining the Decalogue-Shema supports the identification of an allusion to the Shema in these lines.⁴⁶ Deut 5:1, 6:6–7 (=Shema), and 11:19 all have injunctions about educating children, which may be echoed in this line by the activity of parents exposing a child to the mystery. The Decalogue-Shema combination is relatively frequent in early Judaism based upon an interpretive rationale related to “these words” in Deuteronomy and Exodus. In the Shema (Deut 6:6), “these words” (הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה) are to be upon one’s heart and taught to one’s children (Deut 6:7) and a well-known tradition of interpreting “these words” is in reference to the Decalogue in part because Exod 20:1, which introduces the giving of the law at Sinai, begins with וידבר אלהים את כל דברי תורה ("The Lord spoke all of these words"). Moreover, Deut 11:18–20 repeats the exhortation of 6:6–9 and begins with “these words of mine” (Deut 11:18 דברי אלהי) and came to be connected with the Shema because it repeats the exhortation to “love the Lord your God with . . . your whole heart and whole soul” as well as the injunction to teach these words and bind them upon your hands.

Among the numerous examples of the Decalogue-Shema combination, one instance in Philo is noteworthy here. In Philo’s Special Laws (4:137), the context of teaching about tefillin indicates that both the Shema and Decalogue were contained in it (“The law [ὁ νόμος] says, it is proper to lay up justice in one’s heart, and to fasten it as a sign upon one’s head, and as frontlets before one’s eyes”). Philo uses νόμος and variations of it to refer to Torah, and the context here is convincingly taken as referring to written law. In Special Laws, Philo depicts parents as co-creators who are like God and uses this idea to provide a rationale for why children should honor them. Directly after discussing the commandment to honor parents (Spec. Laws 2:225–226), Philo transitions to parents’ role as instructors (2:228):

and they stand in the light of teachers, inasmuch as all that they know themselves they teach to their children from their earliest infancy . . . they also teach them those most necessary lessons which refer to choice and avoidance, the choice, that is to say, of virtues, and the avoidance of vices.

When parents impress upon children “reasonings” and “virtues,” this is in essence guiding them how to behave in accordance with the law of nature; indeed, for Philo, the Torah is a perfect copy of the Natural Law. 4QInstruction, similar to Philo, and in the wider tradition of the Shema-Decalogue combination, has parents teaching children about the mystery rather than the Torah.

In order to explore the meaning and implications of parents uncovering their children’s ears to the mystery of existence, a few observations on this activity more broadly are necessary. The expression “to uncover one’s ear” (חַלָּא + הַדָּבָר) is found in several other compositions, but not always with the Piel verb. In CD II 2, 14 the speaker tells, in first person Qal perfect, those entering the covenant that he will “uncover your ear” (חלא + דבר) to the ways of wickedness and “uncover your eyes” (’anel + עיניכם) to the deeds

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⁴⁶. The Decalogue-Shema combination is found in (1) the Nash Papyri; (2) tefillin (phylacteries) found at Qumran; (3) LXX of Deut 6:4; (4) the Letter of Aristeas (§158–160); (5) Josephus (Ant. 4:212–3); (6) m. Tamid 5:1; and (7) and Philo. For more detailed discussion, see Wold, 4QInstruction, 161–71.
of God (מעשיו אל). The Community Rule does not use this fixed expression; however, 1QS VIII 15–16 is concerned with the Interpreter of the Torah who expounds the Torah, which (l. 16) “the prophets revealed by the spirit of his holiness” (גלו הנביאים ברוח קודשו). The Hodayot uses a version of this expression too, which is found with the Qal perfect “you uncovered my ear” (גלית אוזני; e.g., IX 23, XIV 7, XV 41, XXII 6). The one who does the revealing, that is the subject “you,” is God to whom the speaker gives thanks. “My ear” is found in synonymous parallel with “my heart” (לב; or “eyes” in XXI 5) and results in understanding God’s truth (XV 41; cf. XX 37). 4QPesher Isaiah (4Q165) 1–2 states that the Teacher of Righteousness, with Piel verb, “revealed righteous instruction” (נגלת את תורת העדד).

There is one occurrence of the expression “to uncover one’s ear” in the Qumran sapien-
tial tradition outside of 4QInstruction, this is in 4QMysteries (4Q299 8 6). This fragment preserves parts of only six lines which are concerned generally with acquiring knowledge and wisdom. The first extant line (l. 5) asks, “what shall a man understand without knowl-
edge and without hearing?” This is followed by the description “[insight, the impulse of [our] heart with great intelligence, he uncovered our ears (גלית אוזננו) that we [might hear . . .]” Following this is a statement about God creating insight for all who pursue knowledge (l. 7), and then “all wisdom (כשיו) is from eternity” and is unchangeable (l. 8).

Attention to the wider use of this expression demonstrates that God may uncover one’s ears or reveal something, but that this may also be an activity of a teacher. Moreover, to have one’s ears uncovered is not about knowing secrets and the future, at least not as a regular occurrence, but rather is about obfuscation and having one’s eyes opened and gaining the ability to hear (cf. Jer 5:21; Ezek 12:2; Mark 8:18). When the speaker in the Damascus Document declares that he will uncover his disciples’ ears, it is about correction and leading them in the right way. We find in 4QInstruction parents likewise guiding and instructing their children in the ways of right and wrong, which is found in seeking the mystery of existence. To be “revealed” (גלת) in 4QInstruction takes on an aspect of teaching and when God is explicitly the subject of the verb (e.g., 4Q118 123 ii 4) may refer to the general revelation (i.e., creation).

**Mysteries and Torah in 4Q418 55 3**

4Q418 55 3 is the first preserved line of this column and has a rhetorical question, poised by the faithful, who ask, “why do we dig its (fem.) ways with toil?” (למה בעמל נכרה דרכיה). The feminine pronoun “it” likely refers to “truth” (אמת), which is frequent in the context: (1) in the next line (l. 5) attention is turned to describe those who do not pursue knowledge before describing God (l. 6) as a “God of knowledge” who created “truth” (אמת) to regulate human “desire” (חפציהם); (2) knowledge and understanding are apportioned to the “inheritors of truth” (לנוחלי אמת), resulting in “vigilance in tr[uth]” (שקד באמת); and (3) angels are described as ones who choose “truth” (l. 9). Truth is an important term in 4QInstruction, as observed in regard to 4Q17 1 i above, where it is part of creation, ordering the cosmos, and is strongly associated with the mystery of existence.

47. Possibly “understanding” (בינה) in ll. 6, 9 is the antecedent; note that truth and understanding operate as near synonyms in the context.
The rare use of the verb “dig” (כרה) is a very specific and nuanced way of describing the activity of study. In the Damascus Document (VI 1–10), one digs a “well” which is explicitly identified with Torah. In this passage, the righteous remnant resides in Damascus during an age of wickedness (CD VI 5) and pursue the Torah, which is idiomatically described as digging a well. 4QBeatitudes (4Q525 5 12) uses כרה as an activity pursuing wisdom: “the shrewd shall dig out its (i.e. wisdom’s) ways” (עדומים יכרו דרכיה). “Wisdom” and “Torah” are associated with one another in 4QBeatitudes whereas in 4QInstruction they are not. The remaining reference to this verb among Qumran discoveries is 4QSapiential Text (4Q424 3 6); here, a warning occurs not to send an emissary with a “fat heart” “to dig out thoughts” (אל תשלח לכרות מחשבות) because this undiscerning man will not find wisdom and act accordingly. When 4QInstruction speaks about “digging” the ways of truth, this resonates within a small number of occurrences that use the language of this action in reference to Torah and wisdom; however, in the context of 4QInstruction, “digging” refers to truth and infers the mystery of existence.48

In summary, in light of the observations made here, the mystery of existence in 4QInstruction may not reflect the apocalyptic worldview suggested by Collins and Goff nor represent a stark break with the epistemologies of earlier wisdom traditions. If the mystery is not defined along eschatological lines, but rather is associated with truth known from the created order, and is also the subject of study or contemplation, then it is not beyond human reach. Instead, it is in the realm of human reason and pursuit. However, the lynch pin of this alternative interpretation and consequent implications for the Wisdom of Solomon is a perceived predeterminism of two groups of humanity created separately and ontologically distinct from one another.

Recipients of the mystery, the Vision of Hagu

The Vision of Hagu passage (4Q417 1 i 13b–18) follows immediately from 4Q417 1 i 1–13a discussed in regard to the scope of the mystery of existence. This controversial pericope is unique in 4QInstruction in presenting the human condition by way of creation. The fragmentary condition of the text leaves several ambiguities. The two groups of humanity, according to Collins and Goff, are created separately as (1) the elect “spiritual people” (עם רוח) to whom the mystery is revealed and (2) the “spirit of flesh” (רוח בשר) who does not receive it.49 There are significant challenges to this translation and

48. John Kampen, “Wisdom in Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature,” in Canonicity, Setting, Wisdom in Deuterocanonicals: Papers of the Jubilee Meeting of the International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, ed. Géza G. Xeravits, József Zsengellér, and Xavér Szabó (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 89–120. 109, observes how important אמת is in 4QInstruction and understands “truth” as a designation for “the desired knowledge to be appropriated” by the maven.

49. Collins, “The Mystery of God,” 175. Collins and Goff are among the opinio communis and are only singled out here because of their focus on the Wisdom of Solomon. Harrington and Strugnell’s translation in DJD 34:155 establishes this consensus view (italics theirs): “13b but thou, 14 O understanding one, study (inherit?) they reward, Remembering the re[quital, for] it comes. Engraved is the/thy ordinance/destiny, And ordained is all the punishment 15 For engraved is that which is ordained by God against all the ini[quities of] the children of ששת
interpretation as noted below. An alternative translation, as found here, does not find a “people of spirit” at all and the oxymoronic רוח בשר (“fleshly spirit”) represent wayward humanity. The creation of all humanity “with spirit” is emphasized because their spiritual character is important to 4QInstruction’s anthropology; indeed, it is for this reason that when people are corrupted as a result of neglecting the mystery, their spirit is described as fleshly.

4Q417 1 i 13–18 (comp. 4Q418 43 11–14)⁵⁰:

And you, O understanding one, inherit your reward, by the remembrance of come. Engraved is {your} the statute and every punishment inscribed, for engraved is the decree by God, against all [nisquities of] the sons of perdition, and a book of memory is written before him, for those who keep His word, and this is a vision of meditation to a book of memorial, and He made humanity, a people with a spirit, to inherit it (i.e., the vision), for according to the pattern of the holy ones is humanity’s fashioning, and no longer is hagu given to a spirit of flesh, because it did not know the difference between [goo]d and evil, according to the judgment of his [sp]irit vacat and you, O son of an understanding one . . .

And written in His presence is a book of memorial of those who keep His word. And that is the appearance/ vision of the meditation on a book of memorial. And He /eshet(?) gave it as an inheritance to Man/Enosh Together with a spiritual people. For it (sc. Flesh) knew/knows not the difference between [goo]d and evil according to the judgement of its [sp]irit.”

50. Wold, 4QInstruction, 104–5; DJD 34:155; Tigchelaar, To Increase Learning, 52; Rey, 4QInstruction, 278–79; Goff, 4QInstruction, 137–38; Qimron, Dead Sea Scrolls, 2:148.
51. Reading רוש as a participle (cf. 4Q416 2 ii 20); cf. DJD 34:161–62, Wold, 4QInstruction, 104–108.
52. DJD 34:151 reconstruct נ滋生ָלָה which is too long; Tigchelaar, To Increase Learning, 52 reconstructs נ滋生 ע [ר].
53. The phrase ירש is as the book of remembrance in Mal. 3:16; 4QInstruction likely understands the heavenly book to be “for those who keep his word,” as opposed to a predetermined list of names, and is closely associated with the “vision of Hagu.”
54. DJD 34:163–4 suggests that was later changed to יתנשיה; cf. Tigchelaar, “Spiritual People,” 111.
55. Reading as Niphal ꜣת.
A translation that finds two creations and two humanities (cf. n. 49), which serves as the basis for comparative studies with the Wisdom of Solomon, may be problematized by the following points:

1. The Aramaic term אֲנָושׁ (l. 16) translates as “humanity” and is not used as a cipher for the first man Adam. 1QS III 17–18 (“He created humanity [אנוש] to rule the world, placing in him two spirits in which to walk”) clarifies that Gen 1:26, where אדם is created in God’s likeness and set in authority over creation, is in reference to humanity. 56

2. A convincing reconstruction of 4Q417 1 i 10–11, immediately preceding the Vision of Hagu, states that the mystery was made known to all humanity.

3. If the phrase עם רוח (l. 16) translates as “with a spiritual people,” then this is the only occurrence of a “spiritual people” not only in 4QInstruction but the whole of early Jewish literature.

4. If there are two peoples, then this is not a contrast between “spirit” and “flesh” but rather two types of spirit and one is “fleshly.”

5. There is a text-critical issue: the earlier reading of line 16 is with one עם and not two, in which case, the translation of “spiritual people” is not possible. In this earlier reading, emphasis is also on humanity having a spirit (note concern with one’s spirit elsewhere, e.g., 4Q416 2 ii 6). 57

6. The phrase עוד לֹא (l. 17) likely has a temporal sense and the most straightforward translation is “no more” rather than “not yet”; this raises the question how one could “no longer” have the vision if it had never been given in the first place. 58

7. “According to the spirit” (l. 18) helps explain the failure to act according to creation “with spirit.”

8. Throughout 4QInstruction what distinguishes the addressee from the “fleshly spirit” is pursuit of the mystery, which is the reason that they are frequently encouraged to be vigilant. Therefore, there is clear concern that the so-called “elect” will fall away.

56. Collins and Goff refer to 1QS III 17 as rationale for understanding אנוש here as the first man; however, the Treatise is purposeful in stating that humanity was created to rule the world (יהוה ברא אנוש למשלח).

57. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “Dittography and Copying Lines in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Considering George Brooke’s Proposal about 1QpHab 7:1–2,” in Is There a Text in This Cave: Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke, ed. Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioată, and Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 293–307 at 306–307 writes that the “repetition of עם . . . is almost universally seen as the correction of an erroneous haplography . . .” and “the first hand of 4Q417 repeatedly omitted words, which were then added by a second hand” and that “the possibility should at least be considered that the attempt at correction introduced the mistake.” The first hand reading then is: וינחילה לאנוש עם רוח (“He made humanity, with a spirit, to inherit it”) which is explained immediately: “for according to the pattern of the holy ones is humanity’s fashioning” (cf. Gen 3:5, 3:22 where knowing good and evil is to be like God and angels).

58. With a finite verb, as in the Hagu passage, the constituent adverb עוד has a temporal sense qualifying the verb.
9. The language of election (especially “chosen”) is rare in 4QInstruction and deterministic translations and reconstructions are questionable.\(^{59}\) (Note: In Wisdom of Solomon, the righteous are called “elect,” ἐκλεκτός, in 3:9; 3:14; 4:15, which are in parallel with “pious ones,” ὅσιος).

10. The opening column of 4QInstruction (4Q416 1) establishes God’s justice when judging the wicked based upon good and evil being known from creation and the cosmos.

11. There is nothing inherently deterministic to the mystery of existence, the future aspect of the mystery may relate to the assurance of God’s justice and judgment upon the wicked and reward for the righteous without this being a predetermined fate for individuals or communities.

The emphasis on people being made “with spirit” and in the likeness of holy ones (i.e., angelic beings, l. 17) also relates to the divine image (Gen 1:27). Moreover, it underscores that God created humanity with the ability (i.e., propensity to reason) to meditate on Hagu. The consequence of not acting according to what is evident from creation is that this human spirit becomes fleshly. This fleshly spirit has a conceptual parallel in Rom 1:20–21. In Romans, God’s eternal power and divine nature are known since the creation of the world and humanity is without excuse (Rom 1:20), but because they did not honor God despite knowing him, they became futile in their thinking (ἀλλ’ ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν), their minds were darkened (ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἁσύνετος καρδία), and they became fools (ἐμωράνθησαν; Rom 1:21–22). The removal of the privilege to meditate on Hagu (l. 17) has equivalence to the darkening of minds in Romans. To not live according to the judgment of one’s spirit (l. 18) results in corruption which is described as becoming fleshly. This too echoes what is found in Wis 2:21 where wickedness blinds the fool who reasoned falsely.

In the Hymn to Creation (1QS X–XI), the mystery of existence (1QS XI 4a) is a source of revelation about seasons and times, the created order, and the differentiation between good and evil. The author blesses God because the created order is like an eternally engraved statute (1QS X 6; חֹק חֵרוֹת). This is followed by further expressions of gratitude for creation (i.e., days, seasons, weeks of years, jubilees) before he exults that “on my tongue shall the engraved statute [חֹק חֵרוֹת] be!” (1QS X 8). In addition to this “engraved statute” referring to the created order, as such it serves the speaker to assess

\(^{59}\) The “smoking gun” that 4QInstruction is deterministic is the translation of 4Q418 69 10 as “chosen one’s of truth”; however, it occurs in a sequence of descriptions including “seekers of righteousness” and “pursuers of understanding” and translates actively and not as a passive, namely, “choosers of truth.” In 4Q416 2 ii 14, בחורי is reconstructed and is one of three descriptions (firstborn, chosen, most holy) of one who becomes a maskil. 4Q417 1 i 19 is translated as God having “appointed” (הפקוד) the ways one should go; however, a reexamination of the fragment makes clear that this word reads ופקוד and translates as “examine,” see Wold, 4QInstruction, 52–53, 244–45. Moreover, “inheritance” (נחלה) is often interpreted as deterministic; however, it relates to vocation (e.g., becoming a sage), the place of each creature within the created order, and future reward, see Daniel Daley, Inheritance, Identity and Inclusion in the Gospel of Matthew and Antecedent Tradition (PhD Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2020), 408.
his own shortcomings and the measure of his own wrongdoing (1QS X 11). Indeed, he writes that “by His law shall I convict myself” (משפטוlek הות) before expressing similarly that “my sin is before my eyes as an engraved statute” (ודמות חרות—even though he is but a “vessel of clay” (l. 23). In this column of the Hodayot, the speaker’s ears are uncovered to mysteries so that he can state that “nothing is hidden” (l. 27). The reason for this is that seasons, years, and appointed times are known from all eternity; indeed, the author says that “everything is inscribed before You with an engraving of remembrance” (ll. 25–26; על כל חקוק לפני תגרת זכרון). Not only do the Hodayot and Hymn to Creation begin to demonstrate that this language of “engraving” and “inscribing” is positively used of the design of the cosmos, but also that it relates to judgment and serves as a memorial. The language for “writing” is used in regard to creation and in 4QInstruction the “engraved statute” describes an important aspect of the mystery of existence. The verbs used for writing, inscribing, and engraving should be viewed therefore as articulations of God’s order of the cosmos and how humankind should meditate on it.

Conclusion

As the implications of the development of wisdom as found in 4QInstruction are explored, there are fundamental differences in key aspects of the reconstruction, translation, and interpretation of this composition. Regardless, agreement is found in that both 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon understand that the ability to live rightly is made possible through mystery. However, for Collins and Goff, one difference between these two compositions is that 4QInstruction’s mystery is revealed only to the elect, spiritual people and for the Wisdom of Solomon it is by reason that humankind is able to understand the mystery. In this view, 4QInstruction interprets Gen 1:27 and Genesis 2 to depict two kinds of people and their respective behavior, which contrasts with the Wisdom of Solomon where Genesis 1–2 depicts two aspects of the same human being. In the translation of the Hagu passage here, these two peoples are not found and when “spirit” (Gen 1:27) and “flesh” (Gen 2) are used, it is in relationship to a single humanity created universally. If this reading is correct, then 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon are more similar than previously recognized. Another difference between these two compositions, Collins argues, is their understanding of flesh and how it relates to corruption. For Collins, 4QInstruction does not associate flesh with corruption. Alternatively, it is argued here that the fleshly spirit, mentioned half a dozen times in 4QInstruction, are corrupted humanity. The reason that the oxymoronic term “fleshly spirit” is used is because the spirit with which all humanity is created may become fleshly if one turns away from truth.

The creation of a singular humanity in 4QInstruction, one that has it within their remit to comprehend the difference between good and evil, aligns more closely with mystery accessible by human reason as found in Wis 2:22. Whereas the speaker of the Wisdom of Solomon declares his mortality, that he is “a descendant of the first-formed child of
earth” and “molded into flesh” (Wis 7:1), 4QInstruction emphasizes spirit and describes fleshly corruption. In the Wisdom of Solomon, although humankind was created for incorruption (Wis 2:23), a type of corruption (namely, death) occurs “through the Devil’s envy” (Wis 2:24). The Wisdom of Solomon also makes a negative association of the body and the soul; in Wis 9:14–15, he declares that “the reasoning of mortals is worthless,” because “a perishable body weighs down the soul.” However, this is followed in Wis 9:17 with a statement that the one who has “learned your counsel” is the one to whom wisdom was “sent by your holy spirit from on high.” This is perhaps suggestive of the emphasis on spirit in the Hagu passage. The nuances may differ, but both compositions begin with an uncorrupted humanity, created immortal, some of whom become corrupted.

The translation of the רז נהיה as the “mystery that is to come” with apocalyptic, deterministic connotations, namely, a future orientation associated with God’s comprehensive plan, presents another contrast with the mystery in the Wisdom of Solomon where it relates to human reason. Alternatively, the “mystery of existence,” the translation suggested here, is similar to Wisdom and Logos because of its instrumental role in creation. The equation of the created order with right reason is known from Stoic thought and is present in Philo’s writings; so too, the Wisdom of Solomon associates knowledge with the created order. The mystery in 4QInstruction is the subject of pursuit and humankind is held to account for living in accordance with right and wrong known from it. The mystery of existence in 4QInstruction and the mystery in the Wisdom of Solomon (2:22), as argued in this study, are similarly knowable.

4QInstruction provides a fuller picture of early Jewish wisdom and the opportunity to evaluate ideas and tropes found across sapiential tradition. The Wisdom of Solomon, located among Jewish Diaspora literature, attests similarities found in the older Hebrew composition 4QInstruction. At the heart of this study is how the Wisdom of Solomon, which is extensively reliant upon Greek philosophical ideas, relates to Palestinian Jewish tradition. The similarities observed here indicate that the divide between “Diaspora” and “Palestinian” wisdom literature is narrower than has previously been viewed. One reason for this may be that the Palestinian Jewish compositions were shaped, in part, by the same Greek philosophical traditions that influenced the Wisdom of Solomon. If it is correct that 4QInstruction is not operating with a dualistic anthropology, is not deterministic, and the mystery is universally made known to all humanity, then there is greater continuity with the epistemologies of other wisdom writings. Locating 4QInstruction more firmly within a sapiential worldview and engaged with the broader Hellenistic intellectual context results in a closer approximation with the Wisdom of Solomon.

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60. See Jason M. Zurawski, “Separating the Devil from the Diabolos: A Fresh Reading of Wisdom of Solomon 2.24,” JSP 21/4 (2012): 366–99.
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