When surveying the literature of the Qumran sect, we notice immediately that this movement was typically Jewish and was firmly based on Old Testament foundation, coupled with a great respect for the Law and the prophets. Therefore it is self-evident that the Books of the Old Testament should have influenced the members of the sect, in a greater or lesser measure. This also applies to the book of Ezekiel, and for this purpose a good deal of comparative matter can be collected. Here we shall touch on only a few points of comparison, some of a more formal nature and of lesser importance, others again of greater significance.

(i) To begin with we mention a point of comparison which may perhaps seem accidental, but which is interesting, nevertheless. It is a known fact that the pronomina and pronominal suffixes are usually written with a final-ḥê in the complete Isaiah manuscript from cave 1Q, but not, as a rule, in the M.T. Yet the forms -ḥēmâ, -ḥēmâ, and -ḥēmâ for example, do indeed occur in the M.T. and, for that matter only in Ezekiel, according to Gesenius-Kautzsch. (Ezek. 13:26, 40:16 and 1:11).

(ii) Another point to be noted briefly, is the fact that the name Kittîrim, which is so important in dating the Qumran documents especially in its original sense: the inhabitants of the Phoenician colony Kition on Cyprus, probably with the rather expanded meaning of Cyprus and the islands in the eastern Mediterranean Sea. Later, of course, the appellation received a wider meaning and consequently the Macedonians or Greeks are indicated by it in I Macc. 1:1 and 8:5 and Jubilees 24:28-29 and 37:10; and in the Septuagint of Dan. 11:30 and the Targum of Num. 24:24 “Romans” are intended. The last-mentioned is probably also the meaning of the term in the Qumran-pesêr on Nahum, hence it appears that the term was explained “zeitgeschichtlich” as relating to the mighty nations of that time (cf. a term like Vandals). Hence the meaning of the term in Ezekiel can throw no light on the problem regarding the date of the Qumran documents.

1. Compare the references to Jews from Ezekiel in the extra-genre of works on the Qumran documents in e.g. L. van der Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre, (2nd ed.); A. S. van der Woude, Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumran (2nd ed.); P. Weli, “Zur Identität der Überlieferung des Buches der Propheten.”


(iii) In the Qumran documents we find a large number of expressions and ideas which were probably borrowed from the book of Ezekiel. This is true of most of the documents which have already been published. Here we shall mention some:

In the Military Rule we meet with the term Gog, for instance, (lQM xi 16) which certainly has been derived from Ezek. 38-39. Further we draw attention to the following typical expressions from Ezekiel, which also appear in this document and probably give evidence of the direct influence of Ezekiel:

"execute judgments in" (or against or upon, Ezek. 5:10, 15; 11:9; 16:41; 25:11 etc. and 1QM xi 11), “make booty of its booty” (Ezek. 29:19; 38:12, 13; 39:10 and 1QM xiv i), the use of qhl to indicate a “multitude” (Ezek. 38: 4, 7, 13, 15; 1QM xv 10-11 cf. xiv 5 and xviii 3 as well as “assembled ones” in xix 10), the expression “fire of my wrath” (Ezek. 21:31; 22:21,31; 38:19; 1QM xiv 1). As in Ezekiel so in the Qumran documents the appellations “altar” and “table” are used as alternatives (Ezek. 11:22; 44:16; 1QM ii 6 and 2QJN i 6(?). The idea “wilderness of the people” (Ezek. 20:35 cf. 11:17 and 38:8) probably helped to determine the wording of 1QM i 3 (cf. 4Qpis fragment i 1). For the return of the nations compare Ezek. 36:22ff; 37:15ff; 38; 39:27-28; 1QM i 3, xi 16, cf. ii 3). The idea expressed in Ezek. 42:14 and 44:19, that the priests should wear different garments within the sanctuary, definitely helped to influence the rule that the priests were not allowed to wear their battle attire within the temple (1QM vii 11).

The influence of the book of Ezekiel on the Military Rule of Qumran is also emphasised by J. van der Ploeg in his commentary on 1Q1M. He makes special mention of the influence of Ezek. 38-39 and in particular of Ezek. 39:6. The description in Ezek. 40-48 (e.g. the sequence in Ezek. 46-47) must, according to Van der Ploeg, have influenced the Qumran description.

It is, however, not only in the descriptions of the Military Rule that the influence of Ezekiel is evident. It is equally clear that Ezek. 34:21-24 helped to decide the choice of words in 1QSb v 26. In this connection we would further point out that the m'baqqër was charged with the care of his people like a father and a shepherd (CD xiii 9). Here we are reminded of

5. In the notes chet is transcribed ch and shin sh. The abbreviations commonly used today, are:

CD: Cairo Damascus (or Zachariah) Fragments.
IQP: Hakirah (from Qumran cave 1) also called Huyuns.
IQM: Jerusalem Neubauer text (from 30).
IQM: Milcham manuscript (from 1Q) also called Military Rule.
IQ: Shek Hajirah (from 1Q) also called Rule of the Community.
IQM: "Permessious" — fragments reckoned along with IQS.
IQM: Shek Kedem (from 1Q) also called Rule of the Congregation.
IQM: Haddakuk pesher (from 4Q).
IQM: Josiah pesher (from 4Q).

6. Of minor importance is the idea of people covering the land like snow or a cloud of mist — Ezek. 38:16; 39:8; 1QM iii 9, and also the fact that the enemies mentioned in Ezek. 38:2, 5, 13, 14 are also met with in 1QM i 1-2.


8. Cf. his op. cit. pp. 26-27. He also compares Ezek. 39:16 and 17 with 1QM vii 10. 2Q1 with xi 15, 30:10 with xii 10 and especially Ezek. 38:21 with xi 17. He also mentions that in 1QM we read of the intervention of God as Ezek. 38:27-25 and compares those who bury corpses (1QM vii 21) with the burial of those killed in action to cleanse the land (Ezek. 39:14-16).

Ezek. 34 and especially of the tender care as voiced in Ezek. 34:11-16. On the other hand we must bear in mind that the same idea occurs in several other places in the Old Testament and is sometimes portrayed with the same tenderness (cf. Isaiah 40:11; Ps. 23:1-4; also Zech. 11; Micah 5:4 etc.). In the Benediction-fragments (IQSb v 20) we also meet with the nāšī as an eschatological commander and leader. Likewise in CD vii 20 and 1QM v 1. This appellation and idea is evidently influenced by Ezek. 34:24 as well as 37:25; 44:3; 45:7; 16; 46:2, 4, 8 etc. As in Ezek. 44:46 so also in the above-mentioned Qumran documents, the eschatological nāšī performs duties alongside the priest.

In the Rule of the Community (1QS), again, we find the word k’īl used in the sense of “perfected (in beauty or glory)” (1QS iv 7) as in Ezek. 27:3; and in 1QS v 12 the same expression “fury to come up” is used as in Ezek. 24:8. Further, 1QS v 25 - vi 1 demands that a transgressor shall be warned when he transgresses, otherwise the witness of the act shall also be guilty of transgression. This idea is possibly a reflection of Ezek. 3:18-21 (cf. Lev. 19:17) and therefore it is no new precept of Qumran. The fact that Ezek. 44:21 also states that no priest may drink wine when he is about to enter the temple-court, is interesting. It reminds one of the use of timūš (and not jājāš in 1QSa ii 17 and 1QS vi 4-6. The sect of Qumran could then have regarded themselves as true and worthy ministers of the sanctuary.

In addition, Ezek. 44:22, like 1QSa i 9-12 and CD iv 20-v 2 assumes the act of marriage. This was probably the general view at Qumran, and Ezek. 44:22 could have served as Biblical “proof” for their attitude. Thus it seems clear that the Qumran sect took the stipulations of Ezekiel into account — especially Ezek. 44 and probably the whole section Ezekiel 40-48.

The Hymns of Qumran also give proof of the influence of the book of Ezekiel. Thus we read of “the stumblingblock of their iniquity” in 1QH iv 15, which, according to Van Selms, is an expression which must be regarded as an idiom of Ezekiel (cf. 7:19; 18:30; 14:47; 44:12.) In Ezek. 11:19 and 36:26 mention is made of a heart of stone; likewise in 1QH xxviii 26. 1QII iv 33-34 uses the same figure of speech (knees that shall flow like water) as Ezek. 7:17. Ezek. 21 (verses 3, 5, 9) and 1QH vi 29 make mention of an eschatological sword, whereas 1QM xvi 1 like Ezek. 38:21 mentions a sword which is called to judgment. Ezek. 31 seems to have had special influence on 1QH and the metaphor of the tree in 1QII vi 15-17 is surely the clearest illustration thereof. Van Selms therefore states that the world of thought of the poet of the Hymns was more dependent upon Jeremiah and Ezekiel than on Isaiah. This applies not only to his vocabulary and metaphors, but also to the fact that he acknowledges the glory of God as the main purpose of everything.
In the Habakkuk document expressions can also be indicated, which probably can be ascribed to the influence of Ezekiel. 1QpHab xi 13 like Ezek. 44:7, 9 makes mention of an uncircumcised heart. Further 1QpHab vi 16-vii 8 (cf. ii 7-10) — mentioning a prophecy which was fulfilled only later and which then became intelligible — reminds us of Ezek. 12:27 and 20:49. It would also be possible to refer to the cruel conduct of the enemy according to Ezek. 9:6-7 (cf. 28:23) and 1QpHab vi 10-12 (cf. iv 5-9), but such similarity may have been accidental. The manner in which the command or word of God is explained in Ezek. 12:10 is reflected to a certain extent in the pêšêr commentaries of Qumran; and the (unjust) building operations in 1QpHab x call to mind those that “built up a wall” in Ezek. 13:10-15, 22-28.

The Cairo Damascus Fragments not only contain numerous proofs of the influence of Ezekiel, but we also meet with quotations from Ezekiel in this document. Amongst others we can point out that expressions like “idols in their heart” in CD xx 9 were probably derived from Ezek. 14:3 and “strengthen the hand of” (i.e. support) in CD xiv 14 (cf. vi 21) could have been influenced by Ezek. 16:49. Ezek. 13:9-11 and 22:28 most probably influenced the choice of words in CD vii 12- xix 34-35 where mention is made of untempered mortar. We further read in CD iv 20 that the opponents of the sect are “builders of a wall” where the same text from Ezekiel could have played a part in the choice of words. Besides these, CD xx 3 alludes to Ezek. 22:20-22 and the relation between Ezek. 13:9 and CD xiv 35 (= i.e. the inclusion in and recording of God’s people) is unmistakable. According to most scholars the “390 years” mentioned in CD i 5-6, are derived from Ezek. 4:5. This date is worthless in determining the date and origin of the documents, also for the reason that chronology of the Persian and Hellenic periods are quite confused in Jewish sources.

In CD xix 12 Ezek. 9:4 is not only quoted, but it is definitely stated that the Lord “hath spoken” the words quoted “by the mouth of Ezekiel” — therefore we have a definite quotation from the book of Ezekiel. This also applies to the quotation from Ezek. 44:15 in CD iii 21-iv 1 (cf. iv 2-4) where Ezekiel is mentioned.

(iv) After the discovery and deciphering of the miśmârît documents from the fourth Qumran cave (and Talmor’s explanation of 1QpHab), there can now be no doubt that the sun-calendar propagated in the book of Jubilees and to which reference is evidently made in the Cairo Damascus fragments (CD xvi 2-4), was the cultic calendar of the Qumran sect. Now Mlle. Jaubert asserts that this calendar was the old calendar of the priests in Israel which was used in various places in the Old Testament and which also was the calendar of Ezekiel. He would then always have had his revelations on the days which were of particular importance at Qumran: Wednesdays, Fridays and Sun-
days. The dates mentioned in Ezekiel, are the following:

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The M.T. reading of Ezek. 8:1 does not agree with Mlle. Jaubert's interpretation, but she refers to the reading in codex Petropolitanus, according to which this event also fell on one of the “isolated” days (Sunday, Wednesday, Friday). Taking everything into consideration, it appears that most of the dates in Ezekiel fell on the “isolated” days. Yet we must bear in mind that in any case there was a great possibility for any date to fall on one of these three weekdays. Consequently it cannot be proved that Ezekiel made use of the same calendar as Qumran, though the possibility may not be excluded. In any case the Qumran movement did not derive its calendar from Ezekiel, but if both of them used the same calendar, then both represented a priestly tradition.

(v) In the Rule of the Community of Qumran, we find a text which can perhaps be rendered as follows:

"Then God in His faithfulness will purify all the deeds of man,

He will cleanse the composition of man for Himself

by annihilating every disposition of injustice which shelters in his flesh

(21) and by cleaning him of all deeds of wickedness

by a spirit of holiness

and He will sprinkle on him a spirit of truth"

21. A. Jaubert, La Date de la Cène, pp. 32-41, where she advocates an astronomical explanation of Ezek. 8 in terms of the four constellations and compares it with the four seasons.

22. The Roman figures indicate the twelve months of the year. The calendar is accurately repeated every quarter, consequently e.g. the dates in the first (6) and seventh (VII) month fall on precisely the same day. (To avoid confusion the following foot-notes are indicated by letters of the alphabet).

23. The dates with dates are those mentioned in Ezekiel. This date is mentioned in Ezek. 9:1-2, 20:17 and 9:18.

24. The day is mentioned in Ezek. 1:1-2 and 3:21.

25. This day is mentioned in Ezek. 30:20 and 45:30.

26. We meet with this date in Ezek. 34:2 and 40:13.

27. This date is mentioned in Ezek. 1:1-2 and 3:21.

28. Ezek. 42:21 mentions this day.

29. In Ezek. 42:25 and in the LXX of Ezek. 3:17 this day is mentioned.

30. Perhaps Ezek. 9:1 indicates this date.

31. The LXX of Ezek. 9:1 mentions this date.

32. This date is found in Ezek. 20:13.

33. Perhaps Ezek. 10:17 mentions this day.

34. This date is found in Ezek. 34:1-22 and possibly also in 20:1. (In codex P it is found in 8:11).

35. In the MT of Ezek. 8:1 and the LXX of 32:21 we find this date.

36. Perhaps this is the date mentioned in 32:17.
like water of purification (to liberate) from all atrocities of falsehood
and the rotating (22) of the spirit of uncleanness,
to grant the upright insight into the knowledge of the Almighty
and the wisdom of celestial beings
and to make wise the unreproachable of conduct,
for God hath chosen them for an everlasting covenant.'

(1QS iv 20-22)

Here we read that in the last days God will pour forth
His Spirit like water of purification. This idea of sprinkling with
the Spirit of God, is found in texts like Isaiah 32:15; 44:3 and
Joel 3:1 (Bible translations 2:28), and also in Ezekiel 39:29.
Here the text of Ezekiel could definitely have influenced the
Qumran view. This surmise is strengthened if we add to it Ezek.
36:25-27, where we read successively of sprinkling with water
for the purification of God's people, then of a new heart and
spirit within them and finally of the Spirit of God which will be
imparted to them that they shall keep God's commandments.25

This idea of an eschatological baptism with the Spirit of
God, which Ezekiel mentions, had a marked influence on Jewry,
seeing we meet with it not only at Qumran but also with John
the Baptist and in Acts 2.26

It is probable that the Qumran sect, like other Jews, and
especially the Essenes and the priests in the temple, made use of
ritual lustration. Here texts such as Ezek. 36:25-27 (cf. Ezek.
37:23) could definitely have determined the spiritual meaning of
such ablutions. It can therefore not be denied that the texts
quoted from Ezekiel (36:25-27; 37:23 and 39:29) must have con­
tributed to the views of the Qumran sect with regard to the
meaning of their ritual baths and to the determining of the idea
of an eschatological purification and sprinkling with God's Spi­
rit. It also does not seem as if the Qumran sect dissented from
the Old Testament views (especially as expressed in Ezekiel).

(vi) The expectations concerning the consummation, as ex­
pressed in Ezekiel, undoubtedly exercised influence on the Qum­
ran sect. We have only just referred to the idea of an escha­
tological sprinkling with water and the Spirit, which is found in
Ezekiel and the Qumran manuscripts.

Similarly we find, in both sources, the idea of an eschatolog­
al struggle with hostile people. Thus there is no doubt that
considerable influence from Ezek. 38-39 formed the basis for the
theology of the Military Rule. To this we can add that the ene­
mies mentioned in the Military Rule, are once called Gog (1QM
xi 16), but also those mentioned elsewhere in Ezekiel as e.g. Edom
(25:12-14), Moab (25:8-11), Ammon (25:1-7), Philistines (25:
15-17) and the Chittim (27:6) appear again in 1QM i 2. It is,
however, not only in the Military Rule that we read of an escha­
tological struggle, it is also found in the pēsēr commentaries on
Ps. 37:9-10 and Isaiah 10-11. This tradition naturally did not

25. i.e. when the termination of all injustice appears and the determining judgment of God commences, cf.
106 iv 18-19.
27. Cf. also the quotation from Ezek. 47 in the Epistle of Barnabas 11:10-11.
originates with Ezekiel only, nor was it accepted only by the Qumran sect, but also by most Jews of that period.26

Even more definitely do we trace the influence of Ezekiel on the members of the Qumran sect in their expectations of a new Jerusalem and a new cult. Today it can hardly be doubted that the members of the Qumran sect were only occasional opponents of the Jerusalem cult and that they looked forward to a time when they themselves would be the leaders of the cult in Jerusalem.27 At the time of their temporary withdrawal, however, they constantly studied the manner in which the restored cult should be practised, as was also done by many rabbis after 132 A.D. and by Ezekiel during the exile. How this restored cult and temple will be arranged is described i.a. in the Qumran documents on the New Jerusalem, fragments of which have already been found in at least five caves28 and which reveal considerable agreement with Ezek. 40-48; or rather the available fragments are only intelligible in the light of Ezek. 40-48. In illustration we shall translate the legible words of 2QJN ii-iix31: ‘... and their breadth ... (2) ... and the whole altar (or: table) ... (iii 2) ... [and the breadth thereof one (or: the same) measure ... (3) [the gate] (?) which (is) in front of it ... (4) ... the inner wall of [the gate] ... (vi 1) ... the total measure ... forty-two ... (vii 1) ... fifty ... and it has ended ... (viii 3) ... the inner walls, also(?) stone ... (4) the others of the outside(?) twenty ... (5) ... and they atone thereon for ... (6) ... and it shall no more cease all the days ... (7) ... the court, [and] he showed me another ... (8) ... hundred ... (ix 2) and he also [showed me]...’ Influence of Ezekiel on such a passage is evident.

(vii) In order to understand the Qumran documents it is important to realise that it was a priestly movement.29 There were indeed definitely-appointed priests, who, on account of their Zadokite descendancy held a special position of honour and authority. It is also on this very point that the Jerusalem priests of that day were opposed and rejected as unlawful priests.30 In this respect they were the followers of the priest-prophet Ezekiel, who emphasised the chosen position of the descendants of Zadok (Ezek. 40:16 and 44:15). As in Ezek. 44:10-13; 48:11 and 13 etc. the Levites were subordinate to the priests, as is evident i.a. in 1QSa i 22-23 where we read: ‘And the Levites must take their stand, each one (23) according to the pronouncement of the sons of Aaron.’

From another viewpoint, however, all the members of the sect were sons of priests and evidently adhered as closely as possible to the Old Testament laws with regard to the priesthood.31 The prooftext for this statement is taken from none other than

27. For full proof see our above-mentioned thesis, pp. 581-586 and with regard to our next sentence, cf. op. cit. pp. 626, note 102.
30. See particularly A. S. van der Woude, op. cit., pp. 220, 221-222.
31. See also at place ii note 11 above.
Ezekiel, for we read in CD ii 21-24: 'God decreed it for them by the hand of the prophet Ezekiel by saying: "The priests and the Levites and the sons of (iv) Zadok who upheld the service of My sanctuary when the children of Israel erred (2) away from Me — they must sacrifice fat and blood for Me." The "priests" are the converts of Israel (3) who left the land of Juda, and (the "Levites" are) those who joined them and the "sons of righteousness" (4) are the elect of Israel, the called by The Name, those who stood firm at the end of the days.'

We may just note here that in this text, which reminds one a great deal of the peshēr commentaries, the words of Ezekiel are interpreted so as really to make the whole sect servants of the sanctuary of Jahwe, but on the other hand the text of Ezekiel has been amended to obtain the threefold grouping in priests, levites and "children of righteousness" — a typical Qumran grouping (e.g. CD xiv 3-6).

That the text of Ezekiel should also have been used in their polemics against the non-Zadokite priesthood, which exercised authority over the cult in Jerusalem in those days, can not yet be proved by direct quotations from the documents, but the absolute rejection of the Jerusalem priestly group, e.g. in the Habakkuk-peshēr and the manner in which the Zadokite descendancy of the priests is emphasised in the Qumran documents, as in 1QS v 2-3 and 1QSa i 1-3, leaves no doubt that the sect appealed to Ezekiel authority over the enlite in Jerusalem in those days, can not yet absolute rejection of the Jerusalem priesthood, whilst they also respond to the pronouncements of the sons of Zadok — the priests who keep the covenant ... " (1QS v 2) and also the parallel "everything that has been revealed by it to the children of Zadok — the priests who keep His covenant and seek His goodwill." (1QS v 9). The words of 1QSa i 2 also remind us of the texts mentioned above, for there it is stated that at the end of days the Congregation of Israel shall walk "according to the precepts of the sons of Zadok, the priests, and the men"...
of their covenant . . . " and similarly 1QSa ii 2-3 where we read of the men who assemble "for the Council of the Community in Israel (3) in the presence of the sons of Zadok, the priests."

1QS b iii 22-28 also speaks clearly of the durable and honoured position of the Zadokite priests: "Words of blessing; for the [teacher, to bless] the sons of Zadok, the priests whom (23) God has elected to keep His covenant [for ever and to test] all His ordinances in the midst of His people and to instruct them (24) as He commanded . . ." And finally 1QS ix 7 speaks in unmistakable terms when we read: "Only the sons of Aaron shall have authority in judicial matters and over property and on the strength of their pronouncement the lot too shall proceed for every regulation of the men of the Community."

The influence of Ezekiel who watched so diligently over the legitimacy of the priesthood of the descendants of Zadok, can certainly not be denied here.

Thus, although relatively few Ezekiel texts from the Qumran caves have come to light, there is no doubt that the book of Ezekiel definitely had marked influence on the Qumran sect. We noted it with regard to typical expressions as well as with regard to future expectations, especially the future of the cult, but most of all with regard to the priesthood since the most important proof-texts for the struggle of the sect against the Jerusalem priesthood of that time were definitely provided from the book of Ezekiel. Thus it is evident, as already stated elsewhere, that the Qumran sect just like the prophet Ezekiel had close contact with the priesthood and cult of the temple.

46. See the above-named thesis, pp. 167/68 for the full text.
47. It is precisely with regard to these matters that Ezekiel exerted its influence on the New Testament.

(Consequently it seems as if the Qumran sect and Christianites were interested in varying matters and moved in different schools of thought.)