Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls

Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center, 27-31 January 1999

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Edited by
David Goodblatt,
Avital Pinnick &
Daniel R. Schwartz

BRILL

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STUDIES ON THE TEXTS OF THE DESERT OF JUDAH

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PREFACE

After the first three Orion conferences were dedicated to more ethereal topics of Qumran scholarship (biblical interpretation, the pseudepigrapha, and the *Damascus Document*), the topic of the fourth annual symposium, "Jewish History from the Maccabees to Bar Kochba," was meant as a gesture to the real world, an attempt to move to more tangible things. This plan was seconded by the decision to include in the conference, and hence in this volume of proceedings, some studies of the most tangible elements that have come out of Qumran: animal skins, the threads used to sew them into scrolls, and pottery.

In practice, however, it turned out that the attempt to distinguish between flesh and spirit was not successful, and that no one was disappointed by that failure. Things of the spirit do have their real history, and Qumran texts do not talk history without the spirit. Thus, one way or another, people kept leading us back to texts and ideas, and texts and ideas kept leading us back to people. So, on the one hand, David Goodblatt's study of Qumran evidence for ancient Jewish nationalism turns out to be bound up, part and parcel, with the importance of the Bible at Qumran, no less than Adiel Schremer's contribution, which began with the status of books there. Similarly, Hanan Eshel's study of the Kittim (were they Greeks? Romans?) and Tal Ilan's search for Qumran allusions to Salome Alexandra result in studies of how the Qumran community read the Bible. Even Lawrence Schiffman's paper on the description of the Temple and Daniel Schwartz's on Antiochus Epiphanes move back and forth incessantly between "historical sources" and the Bible via Qumran eyes.

On the other hand, Bilhah Nitzan's study of the covenant at Qumran and Noah Hacham's examination of communal fasts are far from studies of timeless doctrines. They are bound up with the fabric and realities of a flesh and blood religious community. The same may be said of Justin Taylor's paper, which, on the face of it, attempts to resolve textual and exegetical inconsistencies in the Book of Acts, but in fact ends up by positing some real differences among various communal groups.

The three remaining studies, whose citation style follows the format

customary in the natural sciences, derive from the work of the Jerusalem Task Force for Science and the Scrolls, a group of scholars (organized by the Orion Center and the Hebrew University/ Hadassah Medical School's Kuvin Center for Infectious and Tropical Diseases) dedicated to the enrichment of Qumran studies by the application to the Scrolls and related materials of methods of analysis from the world of the natural sciences. While carbon 14 dating of the Scrolls is more or less old hat, the studies presented here show that the natural sciences have much more to offer us: such methods as neutron activation analysis of pottery (Jan Gunneweg and Marta Balla), analysis of the DNA of the skins upon which the Scrolls were written (Gila Kahila Bar-Gal et al.), and forensic techniques (Azriel Gorski) can supply hard data concerning some of the parameters within which our research must focus. The Orion Center is proud to play a role in the fostering of such fruitful cooperation among the disciplines.

The Fourth Orion Symposium was made possible by the kind and generous funding of the Orion Foundation and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. We sincerely thank them, as well as all the dedicated collaborators of the Orion Center whose devoted work makes this series a reality.

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La Jolla, California

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July 2000

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CRINT	Compendium Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DJDJ	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EJ	*Encyclopaedia Judaica*
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplement Series
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
REJ	*Revue des Études Juives*

RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature. Resources for Biblical Study
SBLSym	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SCI	*Scripta Classica Israelica*
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
SR	*Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses*
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
STDJ	Studies in the Texts of the Desert of Judah
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
TWAT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

History of the Jews and Judaism

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JUDEAN NATIONALISM IN THE LIGHT OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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As someone whose professional research interests have always included the Second Temple period, I applaud the Orion Center for their choice of topic for this symposium, *Jewish History from the Maccabees to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, because it encourages a dialogue between Qumran studies and the study of the history of Judea during late Second Temple times. Such a dialogue has been all too rare during the first half century of study of the scrolls. Not that Second Temple history was absent from Qumran studies but it was invoked only as background and context. Qumran scholars looked to Second Temple history in their attempts to identify the group which produced (at least some of) the scrolls. They used that history to identify the (very few) historical personages mentioned by name in the texts, and to suggest possibilities for uncovering the persons hiding behind such sobriquets as the Wicked Priest and the Wrathful Lion.[1] What was relatively lacking was the reverse: using the Dead Sea Scrolls to illuminate the history of the Jews. This lack meant that there was relatively little mutual dialogue. One exception concerns the period between the death of Alcimus in about 160 BCE and the appointment of Jonathan as high priest in 152 BCE. Several scholars have used Qumran materials in an attempt to reconstruct what happened in Jerusalem during these years.[2] However, it

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[1] For the few historical personages mentioned by name, see M. Broshi, "Ptolas and the Archelaus Massacre (4Q468g = 4Qhistorical text B)," *JJS* 49 (1998): 342–43. The identification of the *pwtl'ys* mentioned in this text as Ptolas, on pp. 343–45, has been contested by J. Strugnell, "The Historical Background to *4Q468g* [= *4Qhistorical text B*]," *RevQ* 73 (1999): 137–38; D. R. Schwartz, "4Q468g: Ptollas?" *JJS* 50 (1999): 308–9; and W. Horbury, "The Proper Name in 4Q468g: Peitholaus?" *JJS* 50 (1999): 310–11.

[2] I refer to those advocates of the 'Maccabean Hypothesis' of Qumran origins who suggested that Jonathan was the Wicked Priest while the Teacher of Righteousness may have been the high priest who succeeded Alcimus. This group includes G. Vermes, J. T. Milik, G. Jeremias, H. Stegemann, and J. Murphy-O'Connor. See the literature

is hard to think of other examples. There are also instances of schol-
ars who contribute both to Qumran studies and to the history of
Second Temple Judea and one would hesitate to say there was
absolutely no overlap between their work on these two subjects. Still,
we are dealing with exceptions and not the rule.

That the first half century of Qumran studies has had limited
impact on the historiography of Second Temple Judea can be illus-
trated in various ways. Let us begin by looking at the revised edi-
tion of Fitzmyer's *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, which gives us a sense of the
state of the field in 1990. Chapter Ten, a "Select Bibliography on
Some Topics of Dead Sea Scrolls Study," contains ten topics, includ-
ing archaeology, the Bible and biblical interpretation, theology, mes-
sianism, the New Testament, the calendar, and the history of the
Qumran community. The history of Judea or of the Jews, however,
is not one of the topics. The situation did not change during the
1990s, as a perusal of more current scholarship will indicate. I begin
with three recently published introductions to Qumran studies.
Vanderkam's *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* has the following chapters:
"Discoveries," "Survey of the Manuscripts," "The Identification of
the Qumran Group," "The Qumran Essenes," "The Scrolls and the
Old Testament," "The Scrolls and the New Testament," and "Con-
troversies about the Dead Sea Scrolls." Cross, in his revised version
of *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, has these chapters: "Discovery of an
Ancient Library," "The Essenes, the People of the Scrolls," "The
Righteous Teacher and Essene Origins," "The Old Testament at
Qumran," and "The Essenes and the Primitive Church." The chap-
ters in Jonathan Campbell's *Deciphering the Dead Sea Scrolls* are titled
"What Are the Dead Sea Scrolls?," "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the
Bible," "Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?," "The Dead Sea Scrolls
and Judaism," "Christianity Reconsidered," and "Controversy and
Conspiracy." No one has a chapter on the Scrolls and the history
of the Jews or of Judea.[3]

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cited by P. R. Callaway, *The History of the Qumran Community. An Investigation* (Sheffield:
JSOT Press, 1988), 212 n. 5, and 15–19, for a summary statement of the positions
of the three last-named members of this school of thought.
    [3] J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Major Publications and Tools for Study*, rev. ed.,
SBLRBS 20 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990); J. C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls
Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994); F. M. Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of
Qumran*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995); J. G. Campbell, *Deciphering the Dead
Sea Scrolls* (London: Fontana, 1996).

The absence of Jewish and Judean history characterizes not only these introductory surveys but also studies representing the cutting edge of Qumran research. Let us examine three symposia held during this decade. The papers presented at the 1992 conference sponsored by the New York Academy of Sciences were grouped for publication under the following five headings: Archaeology and History of the Khirbet Qumran Site; Studies on Texts, Methodologies and New Perspectives; The Scrolls in the Context of Early Judaism; Books, Language and History; and Texts and the Origins of the Scrolls. The history alluded to in the title of the fourth section is exhausted by a study of whether the list of treasures in the Copper Scroll is factual. The 1993 Notre Dame symposium organized its papers under the following rubrics: The Identity of the Community; The Community and Its Religious Law; The Scriptures at Qumran; Wisdom and Prayer; and Apocalypticism, Messianism, and Eschatology. Finally, to return to our present venue, the symposium sponsored by the Orion Center in 1996 was explicitly devoted to the use and interpretation of the Bible.[4] In view of this trend, it is not surprising to find the following in the foreword to a "study edition" of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The editors mention that their work is intended, *inter alia*, for scholars who do not specialize in Qumran studies. Thus, they hope that their work will be useful for those who work on the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, rabbinic literature, Semitic languages, the History of Judaism, or the History of Religions. Conspicuous by its absence from this list of specialities is the history of Judea or of the Jews.[5]

What is implicit in the evidence just cited is made explicit by Vermes. He writes, "Looking at the Qumran discoveries from an overall perspective, it is—I believe—the student of the history of Palestinian Judaism in the intertestamental era (150 BCE–70 CE)

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[4] *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects*, ed. M. O. Wise, N. Golb, J. J. Collins, and D. G. Pardee, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722 (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994); *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. E. Ulrich and J. C. Vanderkam (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994); *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May 1996*, ed. M. E. Stone and E. G. Chazon, STDJ 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

[5] F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1997–98), ix.

who is the principle beneficiary." Conversely, "The contribution of the Scrolls to general *Jewish history* [emphasis in original] is negligible. . . ." Vermes continues immediately with an explanation: "The chief reason for this is that none of the non-biblical compositions found at Qumran belong to the historical genre."[6] No doubt this fact constitutes a large part of the explanation. Certainly those who focus on political or diplomatic history will find little of immediate interest in the Qumran materials. The near or total absence of documentary texts from Qumran also deterred historians.[7] Perhaps the fact that we are dealing with a relatively out-of-the-way site peopled by as few as sixty individuals was another deterrent to study by historians of Judea.[8] Further, the biblical, parabiblical and religious character of the manuscripts attracted students whose interests lay much more in the history of Judaism than in Jewish history. The background of both the original group of editors and the current group is overwhelmingly in religion, including Bible, Apocrypha and, more recently, rabbinics.

There may be yet another factor that made historians hesitate to exploit the Qumran scrolls. Until recently much of the material was unavailable to those outside the circle of scholars with access to the manuscripts. Drawing conclusions from the texts already in the public domain carried with it the danger of relying on only part of the testimony. To be sure, any conclusion can be overtaken by subsequently discovered evidence but in the case of Qumran the danger

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[6] G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Allen Lane, 1997), 24, 17, respectively.

[7] Ada Yardeni argues that the non-literary texts attributed to Qumran and labeled 4Q342–348, 4Q351–354 and 4Q356–361 are more likely part of the Wadi Seiyal collection. See H. M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, ed., *Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Other Sites*, DJD 27 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 283. On the other hand, some documentary material has been uncovered at Qumran. See F. M. Cross and E. Eshel, "Ostraca from Khirbet Qumrân," *IEJ* 47 (1997): 17–28. As to historiographic works, see M. O. Wise, "Primo Annales Fuere: An Annalistic Calendar from Qumran," in his *Thunder in Gemini* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 186–221; M. Broshi and E. Eshel, "The Greek King Is Antiochus IV (4QHistorical Text = 4Q248)," *JJS* 48 (1997): 120–29; and 4Q578, published by É. Puech, ed., *Qumrân Grotte 4.XVIII*, DJD 25 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 205–8, and characterized by him as a 'Composition historique.' Broshi, "Ptolas and the Archelaus Massacre," 344, rejects the characterization of the first named text as annalistic or historiographic.

[8] While many suggest that the residents at Qumran numbered between 150–200, Stegemann makes a reasonable case for a much smaller number. See H. Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 46–51.

was not a vague possibility. Everyone knew there was additional material out there, liable to surface at any time. At the beginning of this decade I was putting the finishing touches on a book concerning Jewish self-government in antiquity. In a chapter concerning the view that the ideal and proper form of government was a diarchy of high priest and Davidic prince, I discussed what has commonly been called the doctrine of the two messiahs in some of the Qumran texts. The book was almost finished when I came upon the 1990 publication of 4Q376 by John Strugnell. I was fortunate because, first, I managed to see the text in time to discuss it in the book and, second, the text in no way weakened my argument.[9] I was well aware, however, that things could have turned out differently. Now that photographs of all the Qumran texts are available to the public and the rate of publication has accelerated, scholars need no longer worry about drawing conclusions from only part of the evidence.

Another factor encouraging more intensive exploitation of the Qumran materials by historians is a broadening of the scope of historical interests. For those pursuing social history, for example, study of the origins and development of the Qumran community may tell a lot about Judean society in general, and not just about several dozen individuals living on the fringes. Similarly useful for those interested in social history would be full publication of the Qumran excavations and, were it only feasible, further excavations in the Qumran cemetery. Even those who focus on the religious side of Qumran may be able to tell us things about broader Judean society, as Albert Baumgarten attempted to do in his recent book on sectarianism.[10] In my treatment of the diarchic tradition in Second Temple times, I also discussed the doctrine that rule by the high priest was the proper and traditional form of Jewish self-government. Part of the evidence, and potentially important for the argument that this doctrine antedates the Hasmoneans, was the Levi literature from Qumran.[11] Here are two instances when the Dead Sea Scrolls

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[9] See J. Strugnell, "Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. L. H. Schiffman (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 221–56. See D. Goodblatt, *The Monarchic Principle: Studies in Jewish Self-government in Antiquity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 69, and generally on the doctrine of diarchy, 57–76.

[10] A. I. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation*, JSJSup 55 (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

[11] See Goodblatt, *Monarchic Principle*, 44–45, 48–49, and on priestly monarchy in general, 6–56.

may illuminate political history and theory. Thus, as we begin the
second half century of Qumran studies with the full publication of
the Qumran texts finally near, I predict that more and more histo-
rians of Second Temple Judea will draw on these materials. The
question then will be, to what extent will the religious studies schol-
ars who have dominated the Qumran field pay attention to the work
of the historians?

The discussion up to this point has already shown how topics that
appear in the Qumran texts may reverberate with issues central to
the political life of Second Temple Judea. These texts may shed light
on the debate about the legitimacy of the Hasmonean high priest-
hood, on the political role of the high priest and possibly on the
assumption of the royal title by the high priest. Indeed, a view widely
held among scholars is that the Qumran group originated in, or at
least shared in, opposition to the Hasmonean regime. My point here
is that examination of this opposition is important not only for the
history of the few members of the Qumran group, but for the his-
tory of the Hasmonean dynasty and thus for all of Judea. In this
paper I wish to explore another historical subject where the Qumran
material may make an important contribution: Judean nationalism.

First, a digression on nationalism is necessary. During the past
generation social scientists have devoted considerable attention to the
definition of nations and nationalism. Some of the most influential
studies, for example, by Anderson and Gellner, argue that nations
are a purely modern phenomenon. To be sure, this assertion is not
new. The great semitist of the last century, Ernst Renan, already
argued, "The idea of nationality as it exists today is a new concep-
tion unknown to antiquity."[12] Even social scientists willing to recog-
nize some form of nationality in antiquity concede that it was not
quite like what exists in the modern period. To emphasize the
difference, these scholars prefer to avoid the simple term 'nation'
when discussing the ancient phenomenon. Thus Armstrong speaks
of 'proto-nationalism' or 'precocious nationalism' and Smith uses the
terms 'ethnic consciousness' and 'ethnie,' rather than 'nationalism'
and 'nation,' when treating antiquity. Even Connor, who stresses the

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[12] See B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Verso,
1991); E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).
Renan is quoted by M. Vaziri, *Iran as Imagined Nation: The Construction of National
Identity* (New York: Paragon House, 1993), 42.

'tribal' nature of nationalism, still insists that there were no real nations until the nineteenth century![13] I shall return to these reservations below but first I want to draw on this body of scholarship to suggest a definition of nation and nationality applicable to the ancient world.

Since I have trouble seeing a distinction between an ethnic and a national identity, I begin with Weber's definition of the former: "We shall call ethnic groups those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent. . . . it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. . . ."[14] To the subjective belief in common descent I would add an equally subjective belief in a common culture. Under the heading of culture I include language, religion, customs, material culture, and concepts of historical and geographic origins. Not all the latter items may be seen as indicative of ethnic identity in every case but usually some of them are invoked.[15] The subjective nature of the belief in both a shared descent and a shared culture means that national identity is what contemporary scholarship calls "socially constructed."[16] If we leave aside the issue of subjectivity, my definition of national identity can be documented in ancient literature. The clearest example may be found in Herodotus VIII.144. In this passage the Athenians are reassuring the Spartans that they will not abandon the anti-Persian coalition. First, the Athenians explain, they would never make common cause with the destroyers of the temples and statues of the gods. Further,

> there is our common Greekness [τὸ Ἑλληνικόν]: we are all one in blood and one in language, those shrines of the gods belong to us all in common, and the sacrifices in common, and there are our habits, bred of a common upbringing.[17]

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[13] See J. A. Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); A. D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford and New York: B. Blackwell, 1987); A. D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno and London: University of Nevada Press, 1991); W. Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

[14] M. Weber, *Economy and Society*, vol. 1 (New York: Bedminster, 1968), 389. Note how Connor, *Ethnonationalism*, 75, adopts this as his definition of a nation.

[15] I found the discussion of J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 17–33, very useful.

[16] Compare G. A. De Vos and L. Romanucci-Ross, "Ethnic Identity: a Psychocultural Perspective," in *Ethnic Identity: Creation, Conflict and Accommodation*, ed. L. Romanucci-Ross and G. A. De Vos (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Altamira, 1995), 350.

[17] Translation of D. Grene, *The History. Herodotus* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 611.

Even if Herodotus' attribution of this statement to the Athenians is
fictitious and has an ironical intent, I do not think this changes my
point.[18] We see here a mid-fifth-century BCE author define a con-
cept of Greekness based on common descent, language, religion and
customs. The last three items can be collapsed into the single notion
of culture, as described above.

In the following century that same combination of kinship and
culture lies behind the argument of Isocrates that the cultural com-
ponent is more significant. In *Panegyricus* 50 he writes,

> Athens has become the teacher of the cities and has made the name
> of Greek [τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄνομα] no longer a mark of race [γένος] but
> of intellect [διάνοια], so that it is those who have our upbringing
> [παίδευσις] rather than our common nature [κοινή φύσις] who are
> called Hellenes.[19]

Some take Isocrates to be extending the term 'Hellene' to whoever
adopted Greek culture, while others say he is restricting the term to
those Greeks who share Athenian culture. For my purposes what
matters is the underlying view that Isocrates is trying to modify, *viz.*,
that Greek identity is based on shared kinship and culture. It is
worth noting that the emphasis on culture over kinship (whether
for inclusion or exclusion) is apparently shared by the author of
2 Maccabees. The critique of the high priest Jason for bringing about
the height of Ἑλληνισμός in 2 Macc. 4:13 refers to cultural mat-
ters, since his ancestry was never questioned (cf. also 2 Macc.
11:24–25). Consequently, the Ἰουδαϊσμός that the book's heroes are
fighting to defend (2 Macc. 2:21) is also cultural. Thus for the author,
Israelite ancestry is not sufficient, though it may be necessary, for
true 'Judeanness.'[20]

What was the basis of the belief in a shared kinship and a com-

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[18] See the discussion in C. W. Fornara, *Herodotus: An Interpretive Essay* (Oxford:
Oxford University Press, 1971), 85–86. Compare Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*,
44–47, who suggests that this definition reflects the emergence during the Persian
war of 479–80 of Greek self-identity in opposition to an image of the barbarian.

[19] Translation of F. W. Walbank in his "The Problem of Greek Nationality,"
Phoenix 5 (1951): 45–46 (= *Selected Papers in Greek and Roman History and Historiography*
[Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985], 5), with a discussion of the inter-
pretation of the passage.

[20] Compare the discussion in S. J. D. Cohen, "Religion, Ethnicity, and 'Hellenism'
in the Emergence of Jewish Identity in Maccabean Palestine," in *Religion and Religious
Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom*, ed. P. Bilde et al. (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press,
1990), 219–21, and the literature cited there.

mon culture among the Judeans? It is unlikely that family traditions went back far enough, or extended broadly enough, to lead thousands of people spread over a fairly extensive geographical area to believe they were all related. As for culture, all indications are that Judeans shared not only the general material culture of the area but also the language and customs of most of their neighbors. For example, it is generally agreed that Aramaic was the common spoken language of most inhabitants of the area, including many or even most Judeans. Certainly Judeans, like their neighbors, used Aramaic for legal documents and for much literary production as well. A good illustration of this shared culture is the Edomite marriage contract in Aramaic recently published, which is strikingly similar to the Aramaic *ketubbot* used by Judeans.[21] Yet these common cultural factors did not prevent Judeans from despising Edomites. Contemporary with the aforementioned marriage contract is the passage in *Sir.* 50:37–38 expressing hate for, *inter alia*, "the nation (גוי) that dwells in Seʿir." In fact, the existence of Judean nationality or ethnic consciousness is widely acknowledged, despite the language and legal practices shared with non-Judeans and the lack of private knowledge of shared ancestry with all other Judeans.[22] What then was the source of the belief in a common culture and descent?

Pondering the sources of Jewish 'national identity,' indeed their "nationalist movements of a strikingly modern kind," F. Millar suggests the following, among others:[23]

> ... the possession of a text, the Bible, which was both a national history and a source of law; a national language, Hebrew; a system of law ...; social institutions, such as schools, synagogues and Sabbath worship. ...

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[21] See E. Eshel and A. Kloner, "An Aramaic Ostracon of an Edomite Marriage Contract from Maresha Dated 176 B.C.E.," *IEJ* 46 (1996): 1–22. On Jewish use of Aramaic for literary purposes see B. Z. Wacholder, "The Ancient Judaeo-Aramaic Literature (500–164 BCE). A Classification of Pre-Qumranic Texts," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 257–81. On the complex role of language and dialect in ethnic identity see the discussion of Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, 143–81.

[22] See, for example, D. Mendels, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism* (New York: Doubleday, 1992). See also Smith, *National Identity*, 48–50. Note especially his conclusion on p. 50, which finds "a closer approximation to the ideal type of the nation among the Jews of the late Second Temple period than perhaps anywhere else in the ancient world. ..." See F. Millar, cited in the next note.

[23] F. Millar, "Empire, Community and Culture in the Roman Near East: Greeks, Syrians, Jews and Arabs," *JJS* 38 (1987): 147–48.

Millar is speaking of the first and second centuries CE but I think that his explanation applies to the Second Temple era as well (leaving aside the issues of schools and synagogues, which I will discuss below). We can reduce the list to its first item, from which the others follow. It was the biblical books that provided the foundation and the building blocks for constructing the beliefs in shared descent and common culture. First, the stories about the patriarchs and the tribal eponyms in the Pentateuch established the shared ancestry of all Israelites. The books that treated later history explained the connection of the residents of Second Temple Judea with the founding fathers and mothers of the Israelite people. Second, these same books preserved the Hebrew language and saved it from sharing the fate of Phoenician, Edomite and other languages that were swept away by Aramaic. Even those who didn't speak Hebrew might still write, read or hear Hebrew.

Paradoxically, the existence of the Hebrew books enabled people to believe that their shared culture could exist in other languages. We recall that the defense of 'Judeanness' in 2 Maccabees was written in Greek. The existence of a Greek translation of the Pentateuch and other books made possible the conception of a genuine Judean culture in Greek. Similarly, parabiblical literature composed in Aramaic, such as the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the Enoch literature and the Levi materials, could also be considered part of Judean culture. The transformation of biblical books into other languages by translation, rewriting or supplementation provided a Judean vocabulary for those languages.

In view of the evidence just presented, one can ask why so many contemporary scholars are reluctant to use the categories of nation and nationality with regard to the pre-modern world. After all, as both Millar and Smith note, the Judeans appear to exhibit something very close to modern national identity. For Smith, among the factors that distinguish modern national identity from ethnic identity, which could exist in pre-modern societies, is "a common, mass public culture."[24] In the case of Second Temple Judea, however, this was restricted to the religious sphere. Thus, he attributes the mass culture aspect to "the rise of the synagogue and the Pharisees," at a time when the hope of political autonomy had been extinguished.[25]

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[24] Smith, *National Identity*, 14.
[25] Smith, *National Identity*, 49–50.

Anderson emphasizes the importance of vernacular 'print languages' for the emergence of nationalism in the early modern period.[26] He too requires a mass, public culture.

What both approaches share is the sense that as long as the belief in common descent and culture is limited to small circles of the elite, nationalism cannot emerge. What they and other students of nationalism look for is a mass movement, which would seem to require widespread literacy with access to material printed in a vernacular language, at least prior to the age of mass communication. Yet Millar and Smith realize that dissemination of the shared culture and national language could take place before printing (hence, their references to schools and synagogues). Indeed, mass communication through non-print media did not have to await the invention of radio and television. The potential of mass oral culture in antiquity is increasingly recognized.[27] The question now is whether we have sufficient evidence for the existence of any mass medium, either written or oral, for the broad dissemination of the socially constructed belief in a common descent and culture. In the case of the Judeans we must ask whether the biblical books, the repository of the shared culture and the source of the belief in shared descent, were widely disseminated in Second Temple times.

The schools and synagogues invoked by Millar and Smith are, in fact, difficult to trace back into Second Temple Judea. Close to twenty years ago I reviewed the evidence for the existence of a network of Jewish elementary schools (or community-supported teachers) in pre-70 Judea and discussed at length the two rabbinic texts that are the basis for the claim that such a network existed. *J. Ket.* 8:11, 32c attributes to Simeon son of Shetah an ordinance that "the children should attend school." Simeon is portrayed in rabbinic tradition as a contemporary of Alexander Jonathan and Salome Alexandra and so can be dated to the early first century BCE. *B. B. Bat.* 21a attributes to Joshua son of Gamala the ordinance that teachers should be appointed in every town and district to teach children beginning at age six or seven. This person is commonly, though not universally, identified with the Joshua son of Gamala who served as high

[26] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 37–46.

[27] See R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); S. Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature*, Library of Ancient Israel (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996).

priest in 63–64 and was killed about four years later by the Idumean
faction during the Judean revolt (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.9.4 §213, *War*
4.5.3 §§314–16). I concluded that while both sources may be of tan-
naitic provenance, there is no reliable evidence to corroborate either
one, neither in rabbinic literature nor in sources from Second Temple
times. Perhaps more importantly, the Second Temple sources that
refer to education among the Jews do not refer to a network of ele-
mentary schools or publicly supported teachers, but rather to private
tutors for the wealthy and, most frequently, instruction by parents
in the home.

A striking instance of silence concerning schools, in a context where
we would expect them to be mentioned, is the famous apologetic
passage in *Apion* 2.175–78. Josephus asserts a universal knowledge of
Jewish law by his compatriots. In contrast to other peoples, he writes,

> should anyone of our nation be questioned about the laws, he would
> repeat them all the more readily than his own name. The result, then,
> of our thorough grounding in the laws from the first dawn of intelligence
> is that we have them, as it were, engraven on our souls. A transgres-
> sor is a rarity; evasion of punishment by excuses an impossibility.

And how was this thorough grounding beginning with the 'dawn of
intelligence' accomplished? Josephus had already explained a few
lines earlier.

> For ignorance he [Moses] left no pretext. He appointed the law to be
> the most excellent and necessary form of instruction, ordaining, not that
> it should be heard once for all or twice or on several occasions, but
> that every week men should desert their other occupations and assem-
> ble to listen to the law and to obtain a thorough and accurate knowl-
> edge of it, a practice which all other legislators seem to have neglected.[28]

The failure of Josephus, who lived over a century after the *floruit* of
Simeon son of Shetah and was a contemporary of Joshua son of
Gamala, to mention schools in an apologetic context such as this is,
to my mind, a very loud silence. The evidence of Josephus accords
with what can be gleaned from Philo and other sources. From this
I concluded that the only common educational institution among the

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[28] The first quote is from §178, while the second is from §175. English transla-
tion by H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus*, vol. 1, LCL (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard
University Press, 1926), 363, 365. To §§176–77 compare the similar language used
by Josephus in his description of the septennial reading of the Torah, ordained in
Deut. 31:10 (*Ant.* 4.8.12 §§209–11).

JUDEAN NATIONALISM

Jews of antiquity, aside from parental instruction, was the public reading of Scripture.[29]

The practice of publicly reading passages from the Bible may have something to do with the emergence of the synagogue institution. However, the origins and early history of the synagogue are much debated and no consensus has emerged. Few would claim that the procedures in the synagogues of Late Roman and Byzantine Palestine can be projected back to Second Temple times. For our purposes we may avoid these issues. Instead we can treat the evidence for public reading of Scripture without always resolving the question of its institutional context.[30] The importance of such public readings is that they could serve as a vehicle for bringing the biblical texts to non-literate audiences. If the practice was widespread, then the belief in a common ancestry and culture could become the possession of the masses, thereby satisfying the requirement of many current definitions of nationalism. As we shall see, there is abundant literary evidence for public readings. What is less clear is the extent of the practice.

Public reading from an authoritative text is attested in the Bible itself, if we assume that the accounts are historical. However, the case of 2 Kgs 23:1–3 is clearly a one-time event. The description in Nehemiah

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[29] See D. Goodblatt, "The Talmudic Sources on the Origins of Organized Jewish Education," in *Studies in the History of the Jewish People and the Land of Israel* 5 (1980): 83–103 (Hebrew; English summary, VI–VII). Recent independent confirmation of my skepticism concerning the rabbinic sources and my assertion of the role of parents appears in C. Hezser, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 94 and 95 n. 92. Hezser has apparently not seen my article. [I take this opportunity to note that the article, which went to press while I was abroad and so was never proofread by me, suffered errors of omission and commission at the hands of the publisher.] To the public reading of Scripture compare the role of oral performances of Homer in ancient Greek education. See K. Robb, *Literacy and Paideia in Ancient Greece* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[30] See L. I. Levine, "The Second Temple Synagogue: The Formative Years," in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity*, ed. L. I. Levine (Philadelphia: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1987), 7–31; L. L. Grabbe, "Synagogues in Pre-70 Palestine: A Re-assessment," *JTS* 39 (1988): 401–10; P. V. M. Flesher, "Palestinian Synagogues before 70 C.E.: A Review of the Evidence," in *Ancient Synagogues: Historical Analysis and Archaeological Discovery*, vol. 1, ed. D. Urman and P. V. M. Flesher, Studia Post-biblica 47 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 27–39; L. I. Levine, "The Nature and Origin of the Palestinian Synagogue Reconsidered," *JBL* 115 (1996): 425–48; R. Hachlili, "The Origin of the Synagogue: A Re-assessment," *JSJ* 28 (1997): 34–47. Note that Levine, "Nature and Origin," 439–40, suggests that public reading from Scripture may have taken place at the city gate in earlier times.

8–9, by contrast, seems to suggest a yearly occurrence but even here
there is no indication of anything more frequent, nor of public read-
ings outside of Jerusalem. Other early evidence is also inconclusive.
Hecataeus of Abdera writes about the high priest as follows:

> It is he, we are told, who in their assemblies and other gatherings
> announces what is ordained, and the Jews are so docile in such matters
> that straightaway they fall to the ground and do reverence to the high
> priest when he expounds the commandments to them. And at the end
> of their laws there is even appended the statement: "These are the
> words that Moses heard from God and declares unto the Jews."[31]

Neither "announcing" (ἐκφέρειν) nor "expounding" (ἑρμηνεύειν) need
imply that the high priest was reading from a text. On the other
hand, Hecataeus was not so well informed that we must pay close
attention to his choice of verbs. Certainly one could construe the
passage to describe a public reading from the Torah and the plural
"assemblies and gatherings" could suggest some regularity in the prac-
tice. However, the presence of the high priest would seem to limit
the reading to the vicinity of the Temple. Many scholars make the
reasonable assumption that the translation of the Torah into Greek
during the third century BCE implies the practice of a public read-
ing, but I am not aware of any explicit evidence for this assump-
tion. *Ep. Arist.* 308, 310, probably from the second century BCE,
does report that at the completion of the translation the finished
work was read aloud to the assembled Jewish community, but there
is no indication that this was a regular practice.[32]

It is not until we reach the first century CE that we have clear
statements asserting regular public reading of Scripture. Both Philo
and Josephus refer to weekly readings on the Sabbath. Some of the
descriptions of what occurs at the gatherings every Sabbath are vague
(e.g., Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 2.216, *Leg. Gai.* 156, *Vit. Cont.* 30–33 [the Thera-
peutae], Josephus, *Ant.* 16.2.4 §43 [Jews of Ionia]). In these passages

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[31] Translation of F. R. Walton as cited in M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974), 28.

[32] S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 55, lists the assertion that the translation was "undoubtedly for use in synagogue worship and instruction" as part of the "wide consensus" in Septuagint studies. See there pp. 47–52 on the date of Aristeas. Compare R. J. H. Shutt, "Letter of Aristeas," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (Garden City: Doubleday, 1985), 9, for something of a recent consensus on the second century dating. See now B. Bar-Kochva, "Appendix B: The Pseudo-Aristeas," in his *Pseudo-Hecataeus, On the Jews: Legitimizing the Jewish Diaspora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 271–88. Bar-Kochva argues for a date between 120 and 111 BCE.

we find references to studying the ancestral philosophy or being instructed in the laws. They probably do refer to public reading of Scripture, but we cannot be certain. Fortunately, other texts are more explicit. Philo recounts how Moses ordained assemblies every seventh day for the reading of the laws.[33] An equally clear reference to reading aloud from Scripture every Sabbath is Philo's account of Essene practice (*Omn. Prob. Lib.* 81–82). Similarly, Philo has a contemporary opponent of Egyptian Jewry's Sabbath observance allude to their reading out loud (ἀναγινώσκοντες) from the holy books in their synagogues (*Somn.* 2.127).

In *Apion* 2.175 cited above, Josephus expressly mentions the assemblies gathered to hear the laws. Since the last four sources undoubtedly describe weekly public readings from the Torah, it is likely that the first four do also. Of the eight references, six describe the Diaspora. The description of the Essenes in *Quod omnis probus liber sit* does refer to Judea, but it concerns a small, elite group. While we would normally assume that Josephus describes the situation in Judea in *Against Apion*, many assume that the encomium of the Torah in this book relies on an Egyptian source (apart from the clearly apologetic and probably hyperbolic tone of the passage and the fact that it was written after a quarter century of residence in Rome).[34] Thus, we still lack unambiguous evidence for a common practice in Judea.

Unambiguous testimony to public reading in Judea does appear in the famous inscription of Theodotus, recounting how the latter built the synagogue for, *inter alia*, "the reading [ἀνάγνωσιν] of the law and the teaching of the commandments." The inscription thus suggests that such reading was a regular function of the institution. However, the dating of the inscription to before 70 is not assured. More importantly, we are dealing with a Greek-speaking synagogue in Jerusalem.[35] How indicative its practices are of other synagogues in Judea remains to be established. For contrast note Pseudo-Philo's

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[33] *Hyp.* 7.10–13. Cf. *Hyp.* 7.14 and Josephus, *Apion* 2.177–78.

[34] For the view that Josephus uses an Egyptian source, see D. R. Schwartz, "Josephus on the Jewish Constitution and Community," *SCI* 7 (1983-84): 47, with literature cited there, n. 59; compare A. I. Baumgarten, "The Torah As a Public Document in Judaism," *SR* 14 (1985): 18 n. 8. See the latter for the hyperbole in Josephus' account.

[35] See L. Roth-Gerson, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Synagogues in Eretz-Israel* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi, 1987), 76–86. On doubts concerning the date of the inscription see Flesher, "Palestinian Synagogues before 70," 33 n. 21, and, more extensively, H. C. Kee, "Defining the First-Century CE Synagogue," *NTS* 41 (1995): 481–500.

LAB 11:8, commonly assigned to first-century Judea and assumed to
have been written in Hebrew. In his additions to the fourth com-
mandment the author asserts that the only activity permitted on the
Sabbath is praising God in assemblies. Granted, the addition echoes
Ps. 107:32, but had the author felt that Torah study was central to
the Sabbath gathering, he could have found another verse.[36]

Were we able to rely on it, Luke 4:16–30 would provide addi-
tional evidence for Judean practice. Verses 16–21 describe how Jesus
attended synagogue in Nazareth on the Sabbath and was given a
scroll of Isaiah from which he read out loud to those assembled.
However, the parallels at Mark 13:54–58 and Matt. 6:1–6 lack the
circumstantial detail of Luke and simply mention Jesus "teaching" in
the synagogue. This same vague description recurs in the account
of Jesus teaching in the synagogue of Capernaum (Mark 1:21–28 //
Luke 4:31–37; the partial parallel at Matt. 7:28–29 comes at the
end of the Sermon on the Mount and does not involve a synagogue
setting). Similarly, the summary account of Jesus' activities in Galilee
(Mark 1:39 // Matt. 4:23–25 // Luke 4:44 and variants) refers sim-
ply to his "teaching" or "preaching" in the synagogues. Thus the
specific reference to reading from a book is unique to Luke.

The author of Luke–Acts also refers to public reading from Scrip-
ture on two other occasions. Paul was invited to speak in the syn-
agogue at Pisidian Antioch on the Sabbath "after the readings from
the Law and the Prophets" (Acts 13:14–16) and James, the brother
of Jesus, is quoted as saying, "Moses . . . has never lacked spokes-
men in every town for generations past; he is read in the synagogues
sabbath by sabbath" (Acts 15:21). While the setting here is Judea,
as it was in Luke 4, we may wonder how much knowledge the
author had of Jewish practice in the homeland half a century before
he wrote. My own suspicion is that the Lukan descriptions reflect
the practice in the author's own community and/or in the Greek-
speaking Jewish diaspora.[37] The latter is also the likely background
for Paul's reference to the Jews "reading Moses" ἀναγινωσκῆται
Μωϋσῆς (2 Cor. 3:15).

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[36] On the provenance of this work see most recently F. J. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo:
Rewriting the Bible* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 6, and
H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's* Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum *with Latin
Text and English Translation* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 199–211. While agreeing on
a Hebrew original and Palestinian provenance, Jacobson argues for a dating after
70. A later date would, I think, strengthen the contrast.

[37] For a similar view see Kee, "Defining the First-Century CE Synagogue," 490.

The evidence surveyed appears to attest the custom of regular public reading from Scripture in the Diaspora, but unambiguous evidence for this practice in first century Judea is minimal. Moreover, it is unclear how widespread the custom was.[38] This issue is crucial in the present context. Only if regular public reading was common throughout Judea could it fill the role of a mass medium needed to disseminate a socially constructed national identity among the people. Here is where Qumran may be able to help. Granted, Qumran does not supply additional evidence for the weekly public reading of Scripture.[39] The *Rule of the Community* calls for an institutionalized form of *daily* study. Thus 1QS 6:6b–7a requires continuous study of the Torah, in shifts, wherever there are at least ten members of the group. 7b–8a ordains that 'the Many' should spend a third of each night "reading the book" along with legal discussion and "blessing together." Even if we assume that the residents of Qumran were Essenes and apply the testimony of Philo to them, this still would not allow us to ascribe a weekly reading to the general public. As Josephus puts it, the Essenes had unique forms of piety (*War* 2.8.5 §128). In any event, the contribution of Qumran to our discussion comes from a different area. It is the abundance of manuscripts at Qumran that is telling. By all accounts, the number of manuscripts recovered from the caves near Qumran exceeds 800, of which about one quarter are manuscripts of books in the Hebrew Bible.[40] What is the significance of this find?

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[38] The evidence adduced above has been surveyed by others, but without sufficient attention to the provenance of the various testimonies. See, for example, the section on "Bible Reading before 70 C.E." in C. Perrot, "The Reading of the Bible in the Ancient Synagogue," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading, and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. M. J. Mulder, CRINT 2/1 (Assen and Maastricht: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 149–59; Levine, "Second Temple Synagogue," 16–17. Levine, "Second Temple Synagogue," 15, asserts that "the reading of the Torah and the accompanying rituals constituted the main and, at least in Israel, exclusive function of synagogue worship." This is a possible, but not a necessary conclusion from the evidence.

[39] I consulted L. H. Schiffman, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early History of Jewish Liturgy," in *Synagogue in Late Antiquity*, 33–48; B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, trans. J. Chipman, STDJ 12 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994); D. K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1998). Apparently this is what M. Fishbane, "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," in *Mikra*, 344, refers to when he states that "as yet there is no indication of a synagogue lection" at Qumran.

[40] Thus VanderKam, *Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 30–31; Stegemann, *Library of Qumran*, 86. Compare E. Ulrich, "The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures at Qumran," in *Community of the Renewed Covenant*, 77–93.

For the first time we have concrete evidence for the existence of a large number of books. It should be borne in mind that our sources tell us very little about collections of books in Second Temple Judah. As Shavit has noted, the literary sources do not mention public or temple libraries. 2 Macc. 2:13–14 attributes the assembling of a collection of books to both Nehemiah and Judah the Maccabee, but it provides few details. While the passage describes the documents assembled by Nehemiah, it does not do so for those collected by Judah, nor does it state where these collections were kept. Perhaps the author envisaged some kind of Temple library, but he does not say this explicitly. The idea or reality of a temple library may lie behind the references in *Jub.* 45:16 and in the *Testament of Qohat* to a collection of books possessed by the patriarchs and passed on to Levi and his descendants. As is well known, rabbinic literature assumed authoritative copies of the Torah were held at the Temple. One source speaks of a single copy of the Pentateuch, another of three, but no wider collection is mentioned.[41] In 2 Macc. 2:15, after reporting how Judah had collected books scattered during the war, the author offers to supply his addressees with any books they might need. This suggests the existence of some kind of library in Alexandria, although it is unclear whether that library is private or public. Since the addressee is "Aristobulus, tutor of King Ptolemy," the author might even be thinking of the royal library; this passage might be an analogue to the story of the Septuagint. In any event, given the ongoing uncertainty about the authenticity and date of the letter, we

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[41] See Y. Shavit, "The 'Qumran Library' in the Light of the Attitude towards Books and Literature in the Second Temple Period," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 299–317. However, Shavit does assume the existence of both libraries and significant numbers of readers. On the attribution of a collection of books to Judah the Maccabee at 2 Macc. 2:13–15, see the discussion in P. R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998), 174–82. For the *Testament of Qohat* see É. Puech, "Le Testament de Qohat en araméen de la grôtte 4 (4QTQoh)," *RevQ* 15 (1991–92): 33, frg. 1 ii 9–13. And see the comment there, 47, *ad* line 12, on the priestly connection. On master scroll(s) in the Temple see *m. M. Qaṭ.* 3:4 and the sources cited by C. Albeck in the supplementary note to this passage in his *Shishah Sidre Mishnah*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1958), 508. On the basis of these sources modern scholars have assumed that rabbinic literature attests the existence of a Temple library. See for example, S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, 2nd ed. (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1962), 22. Further discussion of the rabbinic sources can be found in S. Talmon, "The Three Scrolls of the Law That Were Found in the Temple Court," *Textus* 2 (1962): 14–27, and S. Zeitlin, "Were There Three Torah-Scrolls in the Azarah?," *JQR* 56 (1966): 269–72.

cannot learn very much from it.[42] The description of the Essenes in Josephus alludes to their books three times. He tells of their interest in "the writings of the ancients," τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν συντάγματα, from which they chose especially those concerned with spiritual and physical well-being (*War* 2.8.6 §136). Further on, Josephus tells how initiates swear to preserve "the books of their sect," τά τε τῆς αἱρέσεως αὐτῶν βιβλία (§142). Finally, he reports how some of the Essenes claim prophetic ability based in part on being well versed in "the holy books" (§159). All this does suggest a library but the description does not specify the identity of the books or their number.

Not only are references to the existence of libraries in Judea rare, Second Temple sources hardly mention the possession of books by private individuals. I have already cited 2 Macc. 2:14 and its references to "books scattered" during the war. 1 Macc. 1:56–57 refers to the destruction of Torah scrolls and the execution of those found in possession of such scrolls during the Epiphanian persecutions. Both references are too general to be very helpful. For example, neither one tells us who possessed the books that were scattered or destroyed or how common such possessions were. The same is true of the report in Josephus (*War* 2.12.2 §§228–31 // *Ant.* 20.5.4 §§113–17). During punitive actions under Cumanus (48–52 CE) against villages several miles north of Jerusalem (*Ant.* 20.5.4) in the Bet Horon area (*War* 2.12.2), a soldier found a copy of the Torah in one of the villages and destroyed it. This action stirred up so much outrage that Cumanus had the soldier executed. While these passages indicate that a Torah scroll could be found in a rural village, it also seems to suggest that possession of a scroll was not all that common. Indeed, the rarity of the scroll might explain the extreme reaction of the Jews to its destruction. While the Jews would have been outraged by the desecration of a Torah scroll, even if they were common, the

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[42] The authenticity of the letter has been defended by B. Z. Wacholder, "The Letter from Judah Maccabee to Aristobulus. Is 2 Maccabees 1:10b–2:18 Authentic?," *HUCA* 49 (1978): 89–133, and T. Fischer, *Seleukiden und Makkabäer* (Bochum: N. Brockmeyer, 1980), 86–87, 184, 216. J. Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and Their Supporters from Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus I,* SFSHJ 6 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 6–7, suggests a date between 124–60 BCE; J. A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees,* AB 41A (Garden City: Doubleday, 1983), 157–67, suggests 103 BCE; and E. Bickerman, "Ein jüdischer Festbrief vom Jahre 124 v. Chr. (II Macc. 1:1–9)," in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History,* vol. 2, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 9, pt. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980) [originally published in *ZNW* 32 (1933)], 136–37, suggests that our letter dates between ca. 60 BCE and 73 CE.

degree of outrage would be greater if they were rare. It is not clear whether the scroll was owned by an individual or the community.[43] The scroll of Isaiah from which Jesus read (Luke 4) presumably belonged to the Nazareth synagogue. Similarly "the laws" τού ἔ νόμου" that the Jews took with them when they fled Caesarea must have belonged to the local synagogue. Otherwise the Jewish leaders could not have been charged with improperly removing "the laws" from the city. Unfortunately, it is not clear whether this phrase refers to one scroll or many (*War* 2.14.5 §§291–92).

In view of the relatively few references to books in the literary sources, the concrete evidence of hundreds of books at Qumran is important as a reminder that evidence from silence can be misleading. Books may have been sufficiently prevalent in Judean society to allow the biblical texts to become a mass medium. Still, Qumran may not be representative of Judea as a whole. Even so, a scarcity of books need not indicate that knowledge of biblical writings was limited. What we must keep in mind is the extent to which many ancient books were performance texts, that is, not intended only or even primarily for private use by individuals but read aloud at public gatherings. To this day Torah scrolls are used as performance texts and no one takes them home during the week for private study. To be sure, nowadays other copies of the Torah are readily available for private reading at home, as well as for group study. In contrast, as our survey of the literary sources suggested, private copies were rare in antiquity.

The role of books as performance texts was common in surrounding Graeco-Roman society as well as in the early Christian movement.[44] A telling example, albeit relating to a much earlier period, is cited by Thomas from a report in Plutarch. The latter reports how the Athenian statesman Lycurgus, in the late fourth century BCE, kept copies of the plays of the three great tragedians in a public archive and required adherence to the "original" text. However,

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[43] Note the language at *Ant.* 20.5.4 §115 in MS E: σεβασμίως κειμένους .

[44] On the public reading of texts in the Graeco-Roman world, see M. Hadas, *Ancilla to Classical Reading* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), 50–64. Compare Thomas, *Oral Text and Written Record*, 32–34, on books as memory aids. For Christianity see H. Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 205–6, 211–31, on public reading of Scriptures in early Christian worship, and 231–37 for the gradual increase of evidence for private reading which, however, is not abundant until the third century.

the removal of the copies for private consultation was not allowed
and the performers were not even allowed to read the documents
at the archive. Instead the texts were read out loud to them by a
secretary.[45] The characterization of many ancient manuscripts as per-
formance texts is supported by the limited extent of literacy in ancient
society, including Judea during Second Temple times.[46] It against
this background also that we should assess the Qumran manuscripts.

I would argue that many of the scrolls found near Qumran func-
tioned as performance texts.[47] If this is the case, then the number
of manuscripts multiplied by the effect of public reading attests the
kind of mass medium necessary for the social construction of a Judean
national consciousness. To a certain extent my argument is inde-
pendent of the question of the origins of the scrolls. In the unlikely
event that Golb is right and what we have found are the remains
of several libraries from Jerusalem, we still must explain the distri-
bution of titles. Why do we have so many copies of certain books
and so few of others? Concerning the commonly held view that the
manuscript finds were the library of the settlement at Khirbet Qumran
we must answer the same question, as well as why a small settle-
ment needed so many copies of certain books.

An attempt to address these questions was made by Stegemann,
who also modifies the consensus view on the nature of the library. He
argues that the Essenes constituted a large, countrywide movement,
and that Qumran was the movement's center for book production.
Thus the Qumran library was a sort of reference library for the
movement and its publishing arm.[48] Stegemann goes on to explain

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[45] Thomas, *Oral Text and Written Record*, 48–49.

[46] On the limited extent of literacy in general see W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*
(Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1989), with 281–82 on
Judea. For more on the Judeans, with results compatible with those of Harris, see
M. Bar-Ilan, "Scribes and Books in the Late Second Commonwealth and Rabbinic
Period," in *Mikra*, 33–34, and M. Bar-Ilan, "Illiteracy in the Land of Israel in the
First Centuries C.E.," in *Essays in the Social Scientific Study of Judaism and Jewish Society*,
vol. 2, ed. S. Fishbane and S. Schoenfeld with A. Goldschlager (Hoboken, N.J.:
Ktav, 1992), 54–55 [*non vidi*]. See further the comments of Baumgarten, *The Flourishing
of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era*, 48–49, 121–22, 129–33. The latter sees an expan-
sion of literacy during the Hasmonean era. This claim seems to me to need fur-
ther documentation.

[47] On performance texts at Qumran see H. G. Snyder, "Naughts and Crosses:
Pesher Manuscripts and Their Significance for Reading Practices at Qumran," *DSD*
7 (2000): 26–48.

[48] For a convenient summary see P. R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools*, 166–68, and
the literature cited there. For rebuttals of Golb see, for example, VanderKam, *Dead*

the composition of the library: some manuscripts were master copies, some were worn-out copies withdrawn from use, some were the subject of special study, while those occurring in many exemplars were for communal study. By special study I assume that he means private reading by an individual, while communal study is study in groups of the kind mandated by 1QS 6:6–8. He adds that the number of exemplars of a given book might indicate the number of participants involved in the communal study of that work.[49] If I understand this correctly, he envisions a group of people studying together with each holding his own copy of the text. However, this would be a departure from what we know of ancient practice in the Greco-Roman and early Christian world. Nor am I aware of any Jewish evidence for group study with each person having a text before him. As noted above, group study in antiquity usually consisted of oral recitation or of having someone read a text aloud to the assembled.

If the Qumran scrolls were read out loud at communal study sessions, we must still address the distribution of titles. A reasonable assumption is that the books with the largest number of exemplars at Qumran were likely to have been considered the most authoritative by the people living there[50] and that the most authoritative books were the ones most likely to be read out loud at group sessions. Let us look at a list of the books attested at Qumran in at least five exemplars. Obviously, the numbers are subject to further refinement with additional study of the manuscripts.[51]

    5   *Aramaic Levi Document;* Tobit (including both Aramaic and Hebrew versions); *4QBerakhot*
    6   Jeremiah, Ezekiel, *Miqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah*
    8   Numbers; Twelve Prophets; Daniel; *Rule of War*
    10 *Damascus Document* (not counting the Cairo Genizah texts); *Shirot ʿOlat Hashabbat* (including Masada manuscript)

Sea Scrolls Today, 95–97; Stegemann, *Library of Qumran*, 64–65. See Stegemann, 51–55, for the purpose of the Qumran settlement.

[49] Stegemann, *Library of Qumran*, 80–85.

[50] Compare J. C. Vanderkam, "Authoritative Literature in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 5 (1998): 382–402. He uses frequency of citation as a criterion of authoritative status, with results broadly compatible to the results from using the numbers of exemplars as a criterion.

[51] For the numbers of the biblical manuscripts I relied on the figures in VanderKam, *Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 30–31. The figures for the non-biblical books were compiled from a variety of sources including, where possible, the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series.

12 *Community Rule*
13 Leviticus
14 Enochic literature
15 Genesis
16 *Jubilees*
17 Exodus
21 Isaiah
29 Deuteronomy
36 Psalms

The suitability of these texts for public reading is, in most cases, obvious. Psalms, *Shirot Olat Hashabbat*, and *4QBerakhot* contain hymns that could be recited in public worship. The recitation of hymns could be what 1QS 6:6–8 meant when it prescribed "blessing together" as one of the activities at the nightly sessions of "the Many." The *Community Rule, Damascus Document*, and *MMT* were also suitable for public lection. Another activity of the nightly sessions was legal discussion (לדרוש משפט). This might refer to a reading and discussion of the aforementioned documents.[52] The other frequently occurring texts are the four prophetic books (= Judaism's "Latter Prophets"), Daniel, the books of the Pentateuch, and three "parapentateuchal" works: *Jubilees, Enoch*, and *Aramaic Levi*. Certainly the central significance of "the Law and the Prophets" in ancient Judaism needs no argument. Daniel was probably considered part of the prophetic canon, as it is in the Christian Bible. Of the three last named books, it is clear from CD 16:3–4 that *Jubilees* was considered authoritative at Qumran. (In this case our argument does not merely assume what needs to be proved, that many exemplars mean the text was considered authoritative.) As to *Aramaic Levi*, the tribal eponym certainly was important as the progenitor of the priestly clan, and I have already mentioned the tradition in *Jubilees* and *Testament of Qohat* that he inherited the patriarchal library. The importance of the Enoch

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[52] On the meaning of this phrase see the comments of L. H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran*, SJLA 16 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), 32–33. And on משפט as a sectarian technical term, see there 42–47. The argument of P. R. Davies, "Redaction and Sectarianism in the Qumran Scrolls," in his *Sects and Scrolls: Essays in Qumran and Related Topics*, SFSHJ 134 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 156–59, that 1QS was a utopian document rather than one governing an actual, living community, does not affect my point. He himself, 158, correctly notes the parallel with the Mishnah. Despite its utopian character the latter has the been the subject of intensive private and group study for centuries.

literature may involve issues of calendar and angelology. In sum, the only frequently occurring book which I have difficulty explaining as a performance text is Tobit, and this work is at the low end of the frequency list.
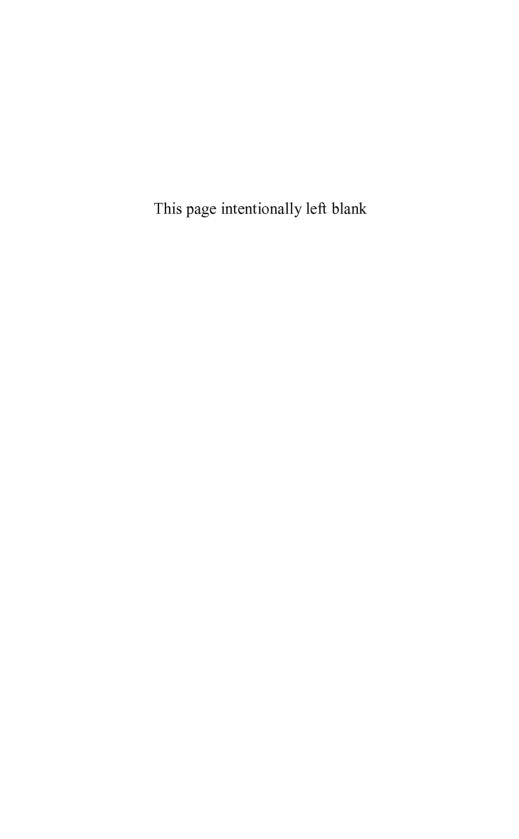
Assuming that we are dealing with performance texts, it is also possible to suggest reasons why Psalms, Deuteronomy, and Isaiah occur in the most exemplars. Other compositions like *Shirot 'Olat Hashabbat*, *4QBerakhot*, and *Hodayot* show the importance of hymns at Qumran. The book of Psalms was the model and inspiration for these compositions and thus the most likely source of hymns read out loud. Deuteronomy is perhaps the most suitable of all the books of the Pentateuch for public recitation. It has the highest concentration of homiletic material and rhetorical embellishment. For example, it is the book that contributed the *Shema*, the emergent central prayer of Judaism. The suitability of Isaiah, with its poetic style and variety of themes, for public reading is also obvious. Less clear is why it was considered more suitable than Jeremiah or the Twelve Prophets. But it is worth noting that Isaiah provides more *haftorah* readings, i.e., lections from the second of the three parts of the Hebrew Bible known as the Prophets, than any other book.[53] Finally, Ulrich points that these three books are also the ones most frequently cited in the New Testament.[54] This could mean no more than that Psalms, Deuteronomy, and Isaiah were the most widely available manuscripts. After all, those who wrote the New Testament were literate. However, it might also indicate that these three books were the most familiar to the nonliterate earliest followers of Jesus, and that they were most familiar because they were most often read aloud. It is probably coincidental that the one book, in addition to "Moses/the Law," that the New Testament mentions by name as read in a synagogue is Isaiah—but perhaps not!

To sum up, the finds at Qumran give us for the first time a large collection of books from Second Temple times. In view of the evi-

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[53] See the chart in L. Jacobs, "Torah, Reading of, History of," *EJ* 15 (1971): 1250. Isaiah supplies fifteen, followed by eleven from Kings, eight from the Twelve Prophets, seven from Jeremiah, and five from Ezekiel. See also the chart for the holiday lections, *EJ* 15 (1971): 1251. Isaiah leads there as well with six, but the distribution is much more even: Kings, Ezekiel, and the Twelve supply five each and Samuel provides four.
[54] E. Ulrich, "The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures at Qumran," in *Community of the Renewed Covenant*, 79.

dence from other sources on the practice of public reading from authoritative texts, the large numbers of Qumran scrolls could demonstrate that the practice of public reading was relatively widespread in Judea. This is especially true if Golb is right or if we accept Stegemann's arguments on the extent of the Essene movement. And if we agree that many of the scrolls functioned as performance texts, then the impact of the number of texts involved can be multiplied. The presence of twenty-seven copies of Deuteronomy does not mean that this book could reach only twenty-seven people at one time. That number of texts could easily reach hundreds, even thousands, of people at any one time. The public reading of books allowed them to reach large audiences throughout the country, including the nonliterate masses. In other words, public reading converted the books into a mass medium. Considering the content of the books read out loud, such as Deuteronomy and Isaiah, what this mass medium created among the Judeans was a consciousness of common descent and a shared culture. In other words, thanks to Qumran, we can now understand how a mass national consciousness could have been constructed in Second Temple Judea. This, in turn, allows us to interpret various historical phenomena, such as the expansion of the Hasmonean state and the anti-Roman movements, as expressions of Judean nationalism without the fear that we are guilty of anachronism.

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THE KITTIM IN THE *WAR SCROLL* AND IN THE PESHARIM*

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At the end of Balaam's prophecies (Num. 24:24), it is written: וצים מיד כתים ועני אשור ועני עבר וגם הוא עדי אבד "Ships come from the quarter of Kittim, they subject Asshur, subject Eber. They too shall perish forever." In the Table of the Nations (Gen. 10:4), the Kittim are mentioned as the descendants of Japheth, together with Javan, while in Jer. 2:10 they are discussed as follows: כי עברו איי כתים וראו וקדר שלחו והתבוננו מאוד . . . "Just cross over to the islands of Kittim and look; send to Kedar and observe carefully." Thus it seems that the name Kittim was used as a general epithet for western nations.[1]

Concerning the Kittim, Josephus said, "The name Kittim (Χεθίμ) is given by the Hebrews to all the islands and to most of the countries near the sea" (*Ant.* 1.128). Based on Num. 24:24, Jews of the Second Temple period seem to have applied the name Kittim to every nation that came to Israel by boat. Balaam's prophecy was understood as eschatological, according to which the Kittim shall rule over Asshur and Israel as well, but will finally perish. Since this was understood as a description of the End of Days, the identification of the Kittim as the nation coming from the west was of great significance to those who were waiting for the End of Days in the Second Temple period.

By the end of the second century BCE there was a dispute about the identification of the Kittim in Judea. The author of 1 Maccabees, writing at the beginning of the reign of John Hyrcanus around the year 135, identified the Kittim as the Macedonians:

> This is the history of events which began in the era of the hellenistic dynasty. The dynasty has its origins in the time of Alexander son of

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* This article was written while I was a visiting lecturer in Late Second Temple Judaism at Harvard Divinity School in 1998–99.
[1] On the connection of the Kittim to the city Citium (Κίτιον) in Cyprus, see S. E. Loewenstamm, "Kittim," *Encyclopaedia Biblica* 4 (1962): cols. 394–98 (Hebrew).

Philip, the Macedonian. This Alexander marched out from the land of Kittim ... and smote Darius, king of the Persians and the Medes, and became king in his place and thus the first to rule over the hellenistic empire (1 Macc. 1:1);

They have defeated in battle and conquered King Philip and King Perseus of the Kittim (Macedonians), who had attacked them (1 Macc. 8:5).

This identification was based on the assumption that Persia is to be identified with the Assyrian kingdom, based on Ezra 6:22: ויעשו (בני הגולה) חג מצות שבעת ימים בשמחה, כי שמחם יהוה והסב לב מלך אשור עליהם להזק ידיהם במלאכת בית האלהים אלהי ישראל "And they joyfully celebrated the Feast of Unleavened Bread for seven days, for the Lord had given them cause for joy by inclining the heart of the Assyrian king toward them so as to give them support in the work of the House of God, the God of Israel." After the conquest of the kingdom of Persia, i.e., Assyria, by Alexander the Great, one may deduce that the Kittim should be identified as Macedonian.

Another identification of the Kittim can be found at the end of the book of Daniel, edited about 165 BCE, according to which the Kittim should be identified as the Romans: למועד ישוב ובא בנגב ולא תהיה כראשנה וכאחרונה. ובאו בו ציים כתים ונכאה ושב וזעם על ברית קודש "At the appointed time, he will again invade the south, but the second time will not be like the first. Ships from Kittim will come against him. He will be checked, and will turn back, raging against the holy covenant" (Dan. 11:29–30). These verses describe the two invasions of Egypt by Antiochus IV, the first in 169 BCE and the second in 168 BCE. During the second invasion a delegation of the Roman Senate headed by Popilius Laenas was sent to Egypt to force Antiochus to retreat from Egypt. There is no doubt that the author of Daniel 11 identified the Kittim as the Romans. The Old Greek translation of the book of Daniel, as well as the Vulgate, translated Kittim as 'Romans.'[2]

Some scholars have suggested an emendation to verse 30, according to which one should read צירים כתים instead of ציים כתים.[3] Nevertheless, the resemblance between Dan. 11:29 and Num. 24:24 makes this emendation unnecessary; we may assume that this was the way the author of Daniel understood Numbers 24.

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[2] J. J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 384.

[3] H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen II* (Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1901), 422; A. Alexander and A. A. di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, AB (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1978), 270–71.

The author of the *Book of Jubilees* seems to identify the Kittim not as the Romans, but as the people who lived in the area of Greece. The Kittim were mentioned after the story of Abimelek, when Isaac cursed the Philistines to be handed to the Kittim, who will kill them by sword (*Jub.* 24:28–29). This reference does not help us to identify the Kittim, but in *Jub.* 37:10, in the description of the army enlisted by Esau to fight Jacob, the Kittim are included among his troops.[4] Therefore, it seems that the Kittim were identified here as living in the Greek islands, an area from which mercenaries stationed in Israel were known since the late Bronze Age.[5] It should be noted that there is no evidence in Israel of Italian mercenaries in the First or Second Temple periods.

Another reference to Balaam's prophecy can be found in the *Testament of Simon*, where in a description of the End of Days we read: "And all the Cappadocians shall perish, And all the Kittim shall be utterly destroyed" (6:3). From this description it is difficult to know who the Kittim are according to the author of the *Testament of Simon*.[6]

The Kittim are mentioned in seven different Qumran compositions, six of which are sectarian, expressing the world view of scribes who were part of the Qumran sect. The seventh occurrence of the Kittim is found in 4Q247, which does not seem to be of sectarian origin.[7] 4Q247 is a pesher on the Apocalypse of Weeks (*Enoch* 93 and 91).[8] The fragment reads as follows:[9]

קץ ח[קוקן]	1
ומאחריו יב]י̇א השבוע הח̇מ[ישי	2
שנים שמונים ו]ארבע מאות של̇ו]מה	3

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[4] Y. Yadin assumed that the name Kittim was added to the *Book of Jubilees* later since the number of mighty men of war from the Kittim is not specified. See Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 24 n. 8.

[5] On Kittim as Greek or Cypriot mercenaries who served in the Judean army at the end of the First Temple period, see Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981), 12–13.

[6] M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, NTSup 63 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), 21.

[7] Some scholars reconstruct כת[יא]ם in 4Q322 (the so-called 'Annalistic Calendar') as well. See B. Z. Wacholder and M. G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991), 77–78.

[8] On the Ten Week Apocalypse, see S. B. Reid, "The Structure of the Ten Week Apocalypse and the Book of Dream Visions," *JSJ* 16 (1985): 189–201.

[9] J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 256.

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4   צד]קٌיה מלך יהודה [

5   [בני לוי ועם האٌרٌ]ץ

6   [מלٌ]ךٌ[כתיים [

</div>

1. [. . . de]termined [end
2. [. . . And afterwards will co]me the fif[th week
3.] four hundred [and eighty years] Solo[mon
4. . . . of Zede]kiah king of Judah [
5. . . .] the sons of Levi and the people of the Lan[d
6. . . .] kin[g] of the Kittim [

According to the Apocalypse of Weeks (*Enoch* 93:7) the First Temple was built during the fifth week, while the sixth week is characterized by blindness and lack of the fear of God. Milik noted that line 3 of 4Q247 describes the Temple being built by King Solomon four hundred and eighty years after the Exodus (see 1 Kgs 6:1), while line 4 refers to the destruction of the Temple in the days of King Zedekiah. "The people of the land" in line 5 seems to describe the Persian period, namely the "people of the land" mentioned in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. According to Milik's understanding, the king of the Kittim mentioned in line 6 is part of a description of the hellenistic period; thus, the king of the Kittim should be identified as one of the hellenistic kings.

Of the six sectarian compositions mentioning the Kittim, the *War Scroll* is the most significant. In this work the Kittim are described as the major enemy of the sect, and are mentioned eighteen times.[10] According to the *War Scroll*, the war will last forty years, during which the Sons of Light will fight the Kittim in the first six years.[11] In 1QM 1:2, the phrase כתיי אשור "Kittim of Asshur" is found, while הכתיים במצרים "the Kittim in Egypt" are mentioned in 1:4. On the basis of these phrases, E. L. Sukenik remarked: "In my mind, the *terminus post quem* of the War Scroll can be determined by the phrase 'The Kittim of Asshur' and 'the Kittim in Egypt' found in column 1." In his opinion, these phrases refer to the Seleucids and the Ptolemies.[12] Nevertheless, Sukenik's son, Yigael Yadin, used the very

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[10] 1QM 1:2, 4, 6, 9, 12; 11:11; 15:2; 16:2, 5, 7, 8; 17:12, 14, 15; 18:2, 4; 19:10, 13.

[11] Yadin, *Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light*, 20–26, 35–37.

[12] E. L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955), 36 n. 14. This view was accepted by H. H. Rowley, "The Kittim and the Dead Sea Scrolls," *PEQ* 88 (1956): 95–97.

same phrases to argue that, like in *Pesher Habakkuk*, the Kittim men-
tioned in the *War Scroll* should be identified as the Romans. He
wrote that in the *War Scroll* we find, "'Kittim in Egypt.' Not 'of
Egypt,' as 'Kittim of Asshur.' This shows that the Kittim had an
army in Egypt, not that they dwelt there."[13]

Both Sukenik and Yadin understood the beginning of 1QM in a
similar way. Yadin's reconstruction of 1QM 1 is as follows:[14]

1 וֹז[הْ ספר סרך] המלחמה. ראשית משלוח יד בני אור להחל בגורל בני חושך
בחיל בליעל בגדוד אדום ומואב ובני עמון

2 וחי[ל יושבי] פלשת ובגדודי כתיי אשור ועמהם בעזר מרשיעי ברית.
בני לוי ובני יהודה ובני בנימין גולת המדבר ילחמו בם

3 בْ [   ] לכול גדודיהם בשוב גולת בני אור ממדבר העמים לחנות במדבר
ירושלים ואחר המלחמה יעלו משם

4 עْ[ל כול גדודי] הכתיים במצרים. ובקצו יצא בחמה גדולה להלחם במלכי
הצפון ואפו להשמיד ולהכרית את קרן

5 [בליעל. והי]אה עת ישועה לעם אל וקץ ממשל לכול אנשי גורלו וכלת
עולמים לכול גורל בליעל והיתה מהומה

6 נ[דולה בْ]בני יפת ונפל אשור ואין עוזר לו וסרה ממשלת כתיים להכני[ע]
רשעה לאין שארית ופלטה לוא תהיה

7 ל[כול בנ]י חושך

Yadin noticed that the author of the *War Scroll* had borrowed var-
ious phrases in column 1 from Dan. 11:40 and onwards. Yadin
argued that this was only a linguistic dependence rather than a con-
textual one.[15] Here are the points of resemblance between the begin-
ning of the *War Scroll* and the end of the Book of Daniel:

ספר דניאל	מגילת המלחמה
1 (יא 41) ואלה ימלטו מידו אֲדוֹם	1 (1–2) בגדוד אֲדוֹם וּמוֹאֲב וּבְנֵי עַמּוֹן
מוֹאָב וְרֵאשִׁית בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן	וחי[ל יושבי] פלשת ובגדודי כתיי
(יא 32) מַרְשִׁיעֵי בְרִית	אשור ועמהם בעזר מַרְשִׁיעֵי בְרִית
2 (יא 44) וּשְׁמֻעוֹת יְבַהֲלֻהוּ מִמִּזְרָח	2 (4) וּבקצו יצא בְחֵמָה נְדֹלָה להלחם
	במלכי הצפון ואפו לְהַשְׁמִיד ולהכרית
וּמִצָּפוֹן וְיָצָא בְחֵמָא נְדֹלָה לְהַשְׁמִיד	אֵת קֶרֶן]
וּלְהַחֲרִים רַבִּים	

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[13] Yadin, *Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light*, 258.
[14] Yadin, *Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light*, 256–59.
[15] Yadin, *Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light*, 258–59.

3 (6) ונפל אשור ואין עוזר לו וסרה   3 (יא 45) ובא עד קצו ואין עוזר לו
ממשלת כחיים

4 (6) ופלטה לוא תהיה ל[כול בן]י   4 (יא 42) וישלח ידו בארצות וארץ
חושך   מצרים
                                                              לא תהיה לפליטה

5 (11-12) והיאה עת צרה ע[זה] לעם   5 (יב 1) והיתה עת צרה אשר לא
פדוח אל ובכל צרותמה   נהיתה
לוא נהיתה כמוה   מהיות גוי עד העת ההיא

In 1981 David Flusser published an important article concerning the apocalyptic elements found in the *War Scroll*.[16] Flusser argued that the author of the *War Scroll* was aware that the last part of the vision found in Daniel 11 and 12 had not yet taken place. In other words, the author of the *War Scroll* knew that Dan. 11:40–12:3 was an unfulfilled prophecy.[17] Thus he believed that its fulfillment would occur in the near future.[18]

Comparing Daniel and the beginning of the *War Scroll*, Flusser suggested a different reconstruction of col. 1 of 1QM. Based on these suggestions, one may reconstruct this column as follows:[19]

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[16] D. Flusser, "Apocalyptic Elements in the War Scroll," in *Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period: Abraham Schalit Memorial Volume*, ed. A. Oppenheimer, U. Rappaport, and M. Stern (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben Zvi, 1980), 434–52 (Hebrew).

[17] For the latest discussion of these verses, see A. S. van der Woude, "Prophetic Prediction, Political Prognostication, and Firm Belief: Reflections on Daniel 11:40–12:3," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders*, ed. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon, Biblical Interpretation Series 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 63–73.

[18] For a recent discussion of the connection between Daniel 11 and col. 1 of the *War Scroll* see D. O. Wenthe, "The Use of the Hebrew Scriptures in 1QM," *DSD* 5 (1998): 296–98. Wenthe was not familiar with Flusser's article and he did not reach any historical conclusions.

[19] In addition to Flusser's reconstructions I have added two details: (a) Yadin did not read correctly the first two letters, ל and מ, at the beginning of 1QM col. 1 (I would like to thank Prof. Frank Moore Cross who clarified this point for me) and (b) based on 4Q378 it seems that the בעזר מרשיעי ברית בני לוי ובני יהודה ובני בנימין in line 2 are part of the description of the Sons of Darkness; see H. Eshel, "The Prayer of Joseph, a Papyrus from Masada and the Samaritan Temple on ΑΡΓΑΡΙΖΙΝ," *Zion* 56 (1991): 126 n. 2 (Hebrew). Therefore it is difficult to accept that the author of the *War Scroll* thought that the sect was the true Israel; see E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1977), 248–52.

1 למ[שכיל סרך] המלחמה. ראשית משלוח יד בני אור להחל בגורל בני
חושך בחיל בליעל, בגדוד אדום ומואב ובני עמון

2 וחי[ל יושבי] פלשת ובגדודי כתיי אשור, ועמהם בעזר מרשיעי ברית בני לוי
ובני יהודה ובני בנימין. גולת המדבר ילחמו בם

3 ב[   ]לכול גדודיהם. בשוב גולת בני אור ממדבר העמים לחנות במדבר
ירושלים. ואחר המלחמה יעלו משם.

4 וי[בוא מלך] הכתיים במצרים. ובקצו יצא בחמה גדולה להלחם במלכי
הצפון. ואפו להשמיד ולהכרית את קרן

5 [ישראל והי]אה עת ישועה לעם אל, וקץ ממשל לכול אנשי גורלו, וכלת
עולמים לכול גורל בליעל והיתה מהומה

6 נ[דולה ב]בני יפת, ונפלו אשור ואין עוזר לו, וסרה ממשלת כתיים,
להכני[ע] רשעה לאין שארית, ופלטה לוא תהיה

7 ל[כול בנ]י חושך. . . .

1. For the Maskil, disposition of] the war. The first engagement of the Sons of Light shall be to attack the lot of the Sons of Darkness, the army of Belial, the troop of Edom and Moab, and the sons of Ammon
2. and the army [of the dwellers of] Philistia and the troops of the Kittim of Asshur, and in league with them the offenders against the covenant, the sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin. The exiles
3. of the wilderness shall fight against them with [. . .], yea, against all their troops, when the exiles of the Sons of Light return from the Wilderness of the Nations to encamp in the Wilderness of Jerusalem. After the battle they shall go up from there.
4. And the king] of the Kittim will [come] in Egypt. In His appointed time He shall go forth with great wrath to fight against the kings of the north, and His anger shall be such as
5. to destroy utterly and to cut off the horn of [Israel. That shall be] the time of deliverance for the People of God, an appointed time of dominion for all men of His lot, and eternal annihilation for all the lot of Belial.
6. There shall be [great] panic [amongst] the sons of Japeth, Asshur shall fall, and none shall help him, and the dominion of the Kittim shall depart, so that wickedness be subdued without a remnant,
7. and none shall escape of [all the Sons of] Darkness. . . .

One of the important distinctions between the reconstructions suggested by Yadin and Flusser is that, according to Flusser's understanding, line 4 says that the king of the Kittim will come to Egypt. Thus, there is no evidence of the Kittim of Egypt in 1QM. In addition, in line 5 it says that the king of the Kittim will "cut off the horn of Israel," and not "the horn of Belial."

In 1982, only a few months after Flusser's article appeared, the edition of some of the war scrolls from Cave 4 was published. Among

them was 4Q496, which includes part of the first column of the *War Scroll*. This fragment reads:[20]

<div dir="rtl">

3 יצא בחמ[ה] נדולה ל[ה]ל[ח]ל[ה]ת ב[מלכי צפון

4 [ולהכרית קרן יש[ראל והיאה עת [ישועה

5 גור[ל בליעל והיתה מ[הומה נדולה

6 [וסרה ממשלת [כתיים

</div>

3. . . . He shall go forth with] great wrath to f[ig]ht against [the kings of the north . . .
4. [. . . and to cut off the horn of Is]rael. That shall be the time of [deliverance . . .
5. . . . the lot of Belial. There shall be [great] pa[nic . . .
6. . . .] and the dominion of the [Kittim] shall [depart

Line 4 of this fragment proves that Flusser's reconstruction of the beginning of 1QM 1:5 is correct. It seems that his reconstruction of the beginning of 1QM 1:4 is probably correct as well. Thus, the *War Scroll* seems to make no reference to the existence of "Kittim of Egypt." Therefore, the Kittim in the *War Scroll* are only related to Asshur. This is referred to in two other places. In 1QM 11:11–12, the author interpreted Isa. 31:8 as proof that God himself will fight the Kittim, as He did with Pharaoh[21]:

<div dir="rtl">

ומאז השמ[יעתנו מ]ועד נבורת ידכה בכתיים לאמור ונפל אשור בחרב לוא

איש וחרב לוא אדם תואכלו

</div>

From the time you had announced to us the time appointed for the mighty deed of Your hand against the Kittim, saying: "then shall Asshur fall with the sword not of man, and the sword, not of man, shall devour him."

A second reference in 1QM to the connection between the Kittim and Asshur appears in 18:2:[22]

<div dir="rtl">

. . . לאין יכתו וכתיים קום, לאין יפת בני ונפלו אשור ברדף

</div>

. . . In the pursuit of Asshur, then shall the sons of Japeth fall never to raise again, and the Kittim shall be smashed to nothing. . . .

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[20] M. Baillet, ed., *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)*, DJD 7 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 58.

[21] Yadin, *Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light*, 312–13.

[22] Yadin, *Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light*, 342–43.

During the Second Temple period, calling Syria Asshur is common.[23] Therefore, the phrase כתיי אשור must refer to the Seleucids. It is important to note that the king of the Kittim is mentioned in 1QM 15:2–3:[24] וכול ע[תודי] המלחמה ילכו וחנו נגד מלך כתיים וננד כול חיל בליעל הנועדים עמו "And all those [prepared] for battle shall go and encamp over against the king of the Kittim and all the army of Belial that are gathered unto him. . . ."

In light of the clear connection between the *War Scroll* and the end of the book of Daniel, we may assume that the *War Scroll* was composed in a time when the events that happened during the sixties of the second century BCE were still recent memories and people were able to distinguish between references to events that had already occurred and those that did not occur. Enough time had passed in order to see the difference between Dan. 11:1–39 and 11:40–12:3. Thus, the updating of the last part of Daniel's prophecy was necessary, in order to persuade the audience that these verses were still relevant and would occur in the near future. We therefore may conclude that the *War Scroll* was composed during the third quarter of the second century BCE, and that the Kittim mentioned in this scroll should be identified as the Seleucids.[25]

A composition related to the *War Scroll* that also mentions the Kittim is *Sefer ha-Milhamah* (4Q285).[26] In 4Q285 5 6, [ח]ל[ל]י[ן] כתי[ם] are mentioned. Most scholars who have worked on this fragment suggest reconstructing 5 4 as מלך הכתיים "the king of the Kittim." This passage is based on Isa. 10:34–11:1 and reads as follows:[27]

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[23] J. M. Grinz, "אנשי 'היחד'—אסיים—בית—סי(א)ן" *Sinai* 32 (1953): 26 n. 34 (Hebrew); Yadin, *Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light*, 25; Flusser, "Apocalyptic Elements in the War Scroll," 433; M. Stern, "The Assyrian Jerusalem in a Fragment of the Work of Asinius Quadratus," *Zion* 42 (1977): 295–97 (Hebrew); M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1980), 345–46.

[24] Yadin, *Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light*, 330–31.

[25] On dating the composition of the *War Scroll* to the third quarter of the second century BCE, see K. M. T. Atkinson, "The Historical Setting of the 'War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness,'" *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 40 (1957): 286; M. Treves, "The Date of the War of the Sons of Light" *VT* 8 (1958): 422.

[26] The similarity between the *War Scroll* and 4Q285 was noted by J. T. Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq et Milkî-reša' dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens," *JJS* 23 (1972): 142–43. Few fragments from 4Q285 describe the war and angelology in a fashion similar to the *War Scroll*.

[27] See G. Vermes, "The Oxford Forum for Qumran Research Seminar on the Rule of War from Cave 4 (4Q285)," *JJS* 43 (1992): 85–94; J. D. Tabor, "A Pierced or Piercing Messiah?—The Verdict Is Still Out," *BAR* 18/6 (1992): 58–59.

כאשר כתוב בדברי] ישעיהו הנביא ונוקפ[ו   1
[סבכי היער בברזל והלבנון באדיר י]פול ויצא חוטר מגזע ישי[2
[ונצר משרשיו יפרה   [צמח דויד ונשפטו את [כול]   3
[חיל בליעל ועמד מלך הכתיים למשפט] והמיתו נשיא העדה צמ[ח   4
[דויד   ויצאו בתופי]ם ובמחוללות וצוה כוה[ן   5
[הראש לטהר את בשרם מדם הן]לל[י] כתיים [וכו]ל העם   6

1. . . . As it is written in the book of] Isaiah the Prophet,
2. ["The thickets of the forest] will be cut [down with an axe and
Lebanon by a majestic one will f]all. And there shall come forth a
shoot from the stump of Jesse
3. [A twig shall sprout from his stock." . . .] the branch of David and
they will enter into judgment with [all]
4. [the army of Belial. And the king of the Kittim will be judged] and
the Prince of the Congregation, the Bra[nch of]
5. [David] will kill him [. . . and they will go out with timbrel]s and
dances. And [the Chief]
6. Priest shall command [to purify their flesh of the blood of the slain
of the Kittim. [And al]l [the people. . . .

Some of the fragments of 4Q285 are parallel to fragments of 11QBer
or 11Q14.[28] In this scroll some remains of the above fragment have
survived.[29] Although the *War Scroll* and *Sefer ha-Milḥamah* resemble
one another, there are some fundamental differences between them,
the most important of which is that the Prince of the Congregation
is mentioned in *Sefer ha-Milḥamah*, while only the High Priest and
the Chief Priest כוהן הראש are mentioned in the *War Scroll*. The
Kittim are mentioned in *Sefer ha-Milḥamah* only in eschatological
contexts. Thus, it is impossible to know to whom the author of this
composition referred. As noted above, this fragment of *Sefer ha-
Milḥamah* is based on Isa. 10:34. The same verse was interpreted
in 4QpIs[a] (4Q161), and the Kittim were mentioned in this pesher
only in the interpretation of Isa. 10:33–34. It seems, therefore, that
Pesher Isaiah was using *Sefer ha-Milḥamah* as its source. In the second
and third columns of *Pesher Isaiah* we read:[30]

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[28] See B. Nitzan, "Benedictions and Instructions for the Eschatological Community
(11QBer; 4Q285)," *RevQ* 16 (1993): 77–90; M. G. Abegg, "Messianic Hope and
4Q285: A Reassessment," *JBL* 113 (1994): 81–91; E. J. C. Tigchelaar, "Working
with Few Data: The Relation between 4Q285 and 11Q14," *DSD* 7/1 (2000): 49–56.
[29] See F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, eds.,
Qumran Cave 11:II. 11Q2–18, 11Q20–30 (DJD 23; Clarendon, Oxford, 1998), 245–46.
It is interesting that 11Q14 frg. 2 is based on the pesher to Deut. 32:6, which
appears in *Sir.* 50:26.
[30] See M. P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books,* CBQMS 8
(Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Society of America, 1979), 1.17–18, 2.75–76.

Column II

[ ] *vacat*[ ]	20
]בא אל עיתה עבר [במגרון [למכמ[ש]]	21
] יפקיד כליו עברו [מעברה נבע מלון למו חל[תה הרמה נבעת	22
[שאול נסה צהלי [קולכי בת גלים הקשיב[י לישה עניה ענתוח]	23
[נדדה [מדמנה]י[ושבי הגבים העיזו עוד [היום בנוב לעמוד]	24
[ינופף [ידו הר בת ציון נבעת ירושלים] [	25
[[פשר ה]פתגם לאהרית המים לבוא].	26
[[רה בעלותו מבקעת עכו ללחם בפל[שת	27
[[דה ואין כמוה ובכול ערי ה.]	28
[ועד נבול ירושלים[	29

Column III

] וינקפו ס[ובכי[היער] בברזל והלבנון באדיר	6
[יפול המה ה[כתיאים אש[ר] יפ[לון] ביד ישראל ועני	7
[יהודה ישפטו את] כול הגואים וניבורים יחתו ונמס ל[בם]	8
] ורמ[ין] הקומה נדועים המה ניבורי כת[יאים]	9
[אשר]ד וינקפו סובכי [ה[יער בברזל ה[מה]	10
]]·ים למלחמת כתיאים ולבנון בא[דיר]	11
[יפול המה ה[כתיאים אשר ינת[נון] ביד נדולי]	12
]]ים בברהו מלפ[ני יש]ראל	13
] *vacat*[	14

Column II

21. [. . .] "He has come to Aiath. He has passed [through Migron.] At Michma[sh]

22. [He stored his baggage. They have crossed] over the pass. Geba is a lodging place for them [Rammah becomes] ill. [Gibeah of]

23. [Saul has fled. Cry] aloud, O daughter of Gallim! Hearken [O Laisha! Answer her, O Anathoth!]

24. Madmenah [is in flight.] The [in]habitants of Gebim flee for refuge. This very [day he will halt at Nob.]

25. [He will shake] his fist at the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem."]

26. [The interpretation of the] matter with regard to the End of Days concerns the coming

27. of [. . .]*rh* when he goes up from the Valley of Acco to fight in Phil[istia.

28. [. . .]*dh*, and there is none like it, and among all the cities of *h*[.

29. even up to the boundary of Jerusalem [.

Column III

6. . . . "and the th]ickets of [the forest will be cut down] with an axe, and Lebanon together with the might one

7. will fall." . . . They are the] Kittim, who will fa[ll] by the hand of
Israel. And the poor ones of
8. [Judah will judge] all the nations, and the warriors will be filled
with terror, and [their] cour[age] will dissolve
9. . . . "and those who are lofty] in stature will be cut off." They are
the warriors of the Kitt[im]
10. [who . . .]d "And the thickets of [the] forest will be cut down with
an axe." th[ey are]
11. [. . .]m for the battle of the Kittim. "And Lebanon together with
the mi[ghty one]
12. [will fall." They are the] Kittim, who will be gi[ven] into the hand
of his great ones. [. . .]
13. [. . .]ym when he flees befo[re Is]rael. [. . .]
14 [. . .] *vacat*

Isa. 10:28–34 describes how the enemy marches from the northeast
to Jerusalem, conquering various villages on the way. When the
enemy gets very close to Jerusalem (able to shake his hand over Mt.
Zion), God will crush the enemy and Jerusalem will be redeemed. In
1974, J. D. Amusin suggested identifying the events mentioned in
this pesher on Isaiah 10 as relating to Ptolemy Lathyrus' campaign
against Alexander Jannaeus.[31] According to Josephus (*War* 1.86 =
Ant. 13.324–56), when Alexander Jannaeus established himself in
power, he tried to conquer Acco-Ptolemais. After he succeeded in
overcoming the army of Ptolemais on the battlefield, he laid siege
to the city. At that point, the people of Ptolemais called upon Ptolemy
Lathyrus IX, who was then ruling at Cyprus, to help them fight
Alexander Jannaeus. At that time, Ptolemy was not on good terms
with his mother, Cleopatra III, the queen of Egypt, who in turn was
supporting his brother, Ptolemy Alexander I. Before Lathyrus sailed
from Cyprus to Palestine, the people of Acco withdrew their request.
Nevertheless, Ptolemy Lathyrus proceeded, landed in Shiqmonah
south of Acco, and started his journey toward the city of Acco.
Alexander Jannaeus, from his side, started to negotiate with Ptolemy
Lathyrus; at the same time, Jannaeus asked Lathyrus' mother,
Cleopatra, to come to his aid. After Ptolemy Lathyrus found out
that Jannaeus had sent messengers to Cleopatra, he began to attack

[31] J. D. Amoussine [= Amusin], "À propos de l'interprétation de 4Q161 (frag-
ments 5–6 et 8)," *RevQ* 8 (1974): 381–92; J. D. Amusin, "The Reflection of Historical
Events of the First Century B.C. in Qumran Commentaries (4Q161; 4Q169; 4Q166),"
HUCA 48 (1977): 123–34.

Jannaeus. When the army of Ptolemy Lathyrus defeated Jannaeus' army and the way to Jerusalem was open to him, Ptolemy heard that the army of his mother had reached Palestine, and he decided to leave Judea and make his way to Philistia.

Amusin's suggestion for connecting the events of 103–2 BCE, as recorded by Josephus and the pesher on Isaiah 10, is based mainly on 4Q161 2 ii 27 of the pesher: בעלותו מבקעת עכו ללחם בפל[שת . . "when he goes up from the Valley of Acco to fight in Phil[istia." It should be kept in mind that the two events are similar; according to Isaiah's description the enemy will advance towards Jerusalem from the northeast, while Ptolemy Lathyrus approached Jerusalem from the city of Zafon, which is located near the Jordan, northeast of Jerusalem. On both occasions the redemption of Jerusalem could have been explained as a divine act.

Although the pesher on Isaiah is fragmentary, we can make connections between the events of 103 BCE and the historical clues found in the pesher on Isa. 10:28–34. Therefore, we can identify the Kittim mentioned in *Pesher Isaiah* as one of the hellenistic kingdoms. When the pesher was composed in the first quarter of the first century BCE (between the years 100 and 75 BCE), people still identified the Kittim as the hellenistic kingdoms, which would be destroyed by Israel (4Q161 8–10 iii 7).

We may conclude that we have seen that the Kittim were identified as the hellenistic kingdoms in 1 Maccabees, 4Q247, the *War Scroll*, and *Pesher Isaiah A.*[32] On the other hand, in two other pesharim found at Qumran they were identified as the Romans.[33] In *Pesher Habakkuk* found in Cave 1, the Kittim are mentioned nine times, and two additional times this name can be reconstructed.[34] In this pesher the title מושלי הכתיאים "the rulers of the Kittim" is found (4:5 and 10), rather than the king of the Kittim, mentioned in 4Q247 and in the *War Scroll*. The Kittim are clearly associated with the

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[32] Some scholars suggest reconstructing the name Kittim in 1QpPs (1Q16) 9 2, 4 as well, see Horgan, *Pesharim*, 1.14, 2.67.

[33] See R. Goossens, "Les Kittim du Commentaire d'Habacuc," *La Nouvelle Clio* 4 (1952): 155–61; G. J. Brooke, "The Kittim in the Qumran Pesharim," in *Images of Empire*, ed. L. Alexander, JSOTSup 122 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 135–59.

[34] The Kittim are mentioned in 1QpHab 2:12, 14, [17]; 3:4, 9, [15]; 4:5, 10; 6:1, 10; 9:7.

imperialism of the Romans. In 1QpHab 6:1–4, their worship of stand-
ards is mentioned, which resembles the worship of standards com-
mon in the Roman army:[35]

הכתיאים ויוסיפו את הונם עם כול שללם   1
כדנת הים ואשר אמר על כן יזבח לחרמו   2
ויקטר למכמרתו   פשרו אשר המה   3
זבחים לאותותם וכלי מלחמותם   4

1. the Kittim, and they shall increase their wealth with all their booty
2. like the fish of the sea. And when it says, "Therefore he sacrifices
to his net
3. and burns incense to his sign," the interpretation of it is that they
4. sacrifice to their standards, and their military arms are . . .

Pesher Habakkuk clearly refers to the conquering of the land of Israel
by Pompey, in 9:4–7:

פשרו על כוהני ירושלם   4
האחרונים אשר יקבוצו הון ובצע משלל העמים   5
ולאחרית הימים ינתן הונם עם שללם ביד   6
חיל הכתיאים   7

4. *vacat* the interpretation of it concerns the last priests of Jerusalem,
5. who amass wealth and profit from the plunder of the peoples;
6. but at the End of Days their wealth together with their booty will
be given into the hand of
7. the army of the Kittim . . .

The Kittim mentioned in *Pesher Nahum* should also be identified with
the Romans.[36] At the beginning of col. 1 of the main surviving frag-
ment (frgs. 3–4) there is a contrast between "the kings of Greece"
and "the rulers of the Kittim":[37]

[פשרו על ירושלים אשר היתה] מדור לרשעי גוים אשר הלך ארי לבוא   1
שם גור ארי[ ]
[ואין מחריד   פשרו על דמי]טרוס מלך יון אשר בקש לבוא ירושלים   2
בעצת דורשי החלקות
[ולוא נתן אל את ירושלים] ביד מלכי יון מאנתיוכוס עד עמוד מושלי   3
כתיים ואחר תרמס
[העיר ונתנה ביד   ]   vacat   4

[35] See: Horgan, *Pesharim*, 1.4, 2.15–16.
[36] Some scholars suggest reconstructing Kittim in frg. 1 and 2 of 4QpNah as
well, see Horgan, *Pesharim*, 1.46, 2.162. This column is fragmentary. Nevertheless,
it seems that this pesher refers to the Roman conquest of Judea.
[37] Horgan, *Pesharim*, 1.47, 2.163.

1. [The interpretation of it concerns Jerusalem, which has become] a dwelling for the wicked ones of the nations. "Where the lion went to enter, the lion's cub
2. and no one to disturb." The interpretation of it concerns Demetrius, King of Greece, who sought to enter Jerusalem on the advice of the Seeker after Smooth Things,
3. [but God did not give Jerusalem] into the power of the kings of Greece from Antiochus until the rise of the rulers of the Kittim; but afterwards [the city] will be trampled
4. [and will be given into the hands of . . .

The author of *Pesher Nahum* emphasized that although various invasions of Ptolomean and Seleucid kings were launched to conquer Jerusalem, Jerusalem was not conquered by hellenistic kings from the time of Antiochus (probably IV, who died in 163 BCE) until Pompey's conquest.[38]

As opposed to other compositions that we have dealt with above, in both *Pesher Habakkuk* and *Pesher Nahum* no reference to the fall of the Kittim is mentioned. We may, therefore, assume that a change in the historical concept of the Qumran community had taken place. While in the early compositions they identified the Kittim as the hellenistic kingdoms in general, and the Seleucids in particular, at the beginning of the second third of the first century BCE, perhaps a little before the conquest of Palestine by Pompey, and definitely after this event, they associated the Kittim with the Romans. This does not refer to a new invasion of the first century BCE, since it is already attested in Daniel 11.

I would like to suggest that the shift in the identification of the Kittim was not a simple change, because the Qumran community believed that they learned the true way to interpret the words of the prophets from the Teacher of Righteousness, who learned it from God himself. In 1QpHab 2 we read:[39]

5 פשר הדבר [על הבו]נדים לאחרית
6 הימים המה עריצ]י הבר]ית אשר לוא יאמינו
7 בשומעם את כול הבא]ות ע]ל הדור האחרון מפי
8 הכוהן אשר נתן אל ב[לבו בינ]ח לפשור את כול
9 . . . דברי עבדיו הנביאים

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[38] The three most significant campaigns by hellenistic kings against Jerusalem were Antiochus VII in 135 BCE, Ptolemy Lathyrus in 103 BCE, and Demetrius III in 88 BCE.

[39] Horgan, *Pesharim*, 1.2, 2.13.

5. the interpretation of the passage [concerns the trai]tors at the End of
6. Days. They are the ruthless [ones of the coven]ant who will not believe
7. when they hear all that is going to co[me up]on the last generation from the mouth of
8. the priest into [whose heart] God put [understandi]ng to interpret all
9. the words of his servants the prophets . . .

And in 1QpHab 7 we read:[40]

3   ואשר אמר למען ירוץ הקורא בו
4   פשרו על מורה הצדק אשר הודיעו אל את
5   כול רזי דברי עבדיו הנבאים . . .

3. And when it says, "so that he can run who reads it,"
4. the interpretation of it concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known
5. all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets . . .

We may assume that one of the reasons, if not the major one, for no longer copying the pesharim (sometime after 63 BCE) was that the authors of this particular genre realized that they had mistakenly identified the Kittim. Because it is always easier to correct and update oral traditions than written compositions, they stopped putting the pesharim into writing.

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[40] Horgan, *Pesharim*, 1.5, 2.16.

ANTIOCHUS IV EPIPHANES IN JERUSALEM

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4Q248, published in 1997 by Magen Broshi and Esther Eshel,[1] has been perceived as resolving two issues, both in connection with 1 Macc. 1:20–24. On the one hand, Broshi and Eshel took this tantalizingly fragmentary Qumran text to confirm 1 Maccabees' story, over against that of 2 Maccabees, concerning the chronology of Antiochus IV's robbery of the Temple of Jerusalem. On the other hand, Lawrence H. Schiffman took the passage in 1 Maccabees to show that the term עיר המקדש used in 4Q248, as in some other Qumran texts, refers to the Temple complex and not to the city of Jerusalem—an oft-debated issue.[2] In this paper, however, I argue that 4Q248 in fact supports the opposite positions concerning both questions. I argue that 4Q248 supports 2 Maccabees' date of Antiochus' robbery of the Temple, not that of 1 Maccabees, and that proper understanding of the evidence of 1 and 2 Maccabees, as well as that of Daniel and Josephus, will demonstrate that עיר המקדש refers here, in fact, to the whole city of Jerusalem and not specifically to the Temple complex.

The circumstances of Antiochus IV's visits to Jerusalem are an old question of early Hasmonean history but still open to debate. Everyone agrees that Antiochus twice invaded Egypt and withdrew from it, namely in 170/169 and in 168 BCE,[3] and everyone agrees that on his way back from Egypt to Syria he robbed Jerusalem. However, our two main sources for Jewish history of the period, 1 Maccabees and 2 Maccabees, each of which report a visit and

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[1] M. Broshi and E. Eshel, "The Greek King Is Antiochus IV (4QHistorical Text = 4Q248)," *JJS* 48 (1997): 120–29.

[2] See Broshi and Eshel, "Antiochus IV," 128, and L. H. Schiffman, "*Ir Ha-Miqdash* and Its Meaning in the Temple Scroll and Other Qumran Texts," in *Sanctity of Time and Space in Tradition and Modernity*, ed. A. Houtman, M. J. H. M. Poorthuis, and J. Schwartz, Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), esp. 107–9.

[3] On these campaigns, see O. Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV of Syria*, Classica et Mediaevalia, Dissertationes 8 (København: Gyldendalske-Nordisk, 1966), chapters 4–5.

looting by the king in Jerusalem, differ as to the date of the event.
1 Macc. 1:20 dates the visit to 143 of the Seleucid Era (henceforth:
SE), which, virtually all agree, means 170/169 BCE and hence refers
to the aftermath of Antiochus' *first* invasion of Egypt. 2 Maccabees
5, however, reports his visit to Jerusalem only after the opening verse
explicitly places it in the wake of Antiochus' *second* invasion of Egypt
(v. 1: τὴν δευτέραν ἔφοδον . . . εἰς Αἴγυπτον).

In line with a general scholarly bias favoring the historical relia-
bility of 1 Maccabees, most scholars have accepted its dating of
Antiochus' robbery in Jerusalem and simply rejected 2 Maccabees'
testimony out of hand.[4] Nevertheless, two harmonizing suggestions
have been made: (1) some scholars, most notably Abel, distinguish
between two stages in Antiochus' first Egyptian campaign and sug-
gest that 2 Maccabees' reference to the "second invasion" refers to
the latter part of the first one; (2) more recently, Gera has attempted
to deal with the problem by translating ἔφοδος as "approach" rather
than "invasion."[5] Such a translation allows Gera to take "second"
in 2 Macc. 5:1 to be alluding back to 4:21, which reports that
Antiochus visited Jaffa due to his fears of Egyptian aggression; if the
reader takes that to be Antiochus' *first* approach to Egypt, then his
first invasion of Egypt (in the usual reckoning) could be termed, in
5:1, his *second* approach to Egypt.

In my opinion, neither harmonizing solution is acceptable. The
first is rather desperate and has nothing to recommend it. Gera's,
in contrast, has a certain attraction insofar as it takes "second" in
2 Macc. 5:1 to be building not on the reader's knowledge of some-
thing the book doesn't mention (the fact that Antiochus twice invaded
the country) but, rather, on the reader's knowledge from 4:21. But
I hesitate to accept it for three reasons: (1) if read this way, 5:1
would in fact confuse the reader, because 4:21 does not mention
that Antiochus went anywhere near Egypt, while 2 Maccabees 5
definitely states that Antiochus went to Egypt and back (see v. 21);

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[4] See, e.g., Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV*, 142; E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, vol. 1, rev. and ed. G. Vermes et al. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1973), 151 (and 152–53 n. 37); M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974), 115–16.
[5] F.-M. Abel, *Les livres des Maccabées*, Études bibliques (Paris: Gabalda, 1949), 348–49 (followed by Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 153 n. 37); D. Gera, *Judaea and Mediterranean Politics, 219 to 161 B.C.E.*, Brill's Series in Jewish Studies 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 155–56.

(2) 4:21 does not call Antiochus' trip to Jaffa an ἔφοδος to Egypt (or to anywhere else); (3) in 2 Maccabees, ἔφοδος plainly means "invasion." Thus, for example, 2 Maccabees 13 begins with an account of an invasion of Judaea by Antiochus Eupator and Lysias, along with a huge army, and ends with the statement that "so ended Antiochus' ἔφοδος and his withdrawal" (13:26). To quote Ettelson: (apart from 1 Maccabees) "The word ἔφοδος is found elsewhere in the LXX only in II Macc., where it occurs indeed six times, but always in the hostile sense of 'inroad', 'assault' (II Macc. 5:1; 8:12; 12:21; 13:26; 14:15; 15:8)."[6]

Hence, there remains a real contradiction between 1 and 2 Maccabees: the former places Antiochus' robbery of the Temple in 169 BCE and the latter, in 168. Of course, an obvious possibility is that Antiochus IV visited and robbed Jerusalem after *both* of his Egyptian campaigns. Indeed, Dan. 11:28–30 seems to refer to two such visits.[7] However, we cannot simply arrange the account in 2 Maccabees 5 after the one in 1 Maccabees 1, because they both report similar things about the visit: 1 Macc. 1:21–23 gives a long and detailed list of the Temple vessels and Temple property that Antiochus stole, while 2 Macc. 5:15–16, although lacking in details, reports that Antiochus entered the Temple and stole the holy vessels and dedications. If Antiochus stole the long list of central Temple items in 169, including the golden altar, the table of presentation, the candelabrum and all their ancillary vessels, not to mention all the other vessels and gold he could find, there wouldn't have been much left to take in 168.

Hence, the reconstructions current today assume that whether Antiochus visited Jerusalem once or twice, the story of the Temple robbery, told in 2 Maccabees 5, in fact refers to the first visit. Some scholars, including Schürer and Gera, presume that Antiochus visited Jerusalem only once, in 169, and so maintain that everything in 2 Maccabees 5 applies to that visit; even the many scholars who

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[6] H. W. Ettelson, "The Integrity of I Maccabees," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 27 (1925): 319. More or less the same is indicated by the usage of the best contemporary guide to 2 Maccabees' vocabulary; see A. Mauersberger, *Polybios-Lexikon*, vol. I/2 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), 1063–66.

[7] Although this is denied by some, such as Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 152 n. 37, followed by Gera, *Judaea and Mediterranean Politics*, 155 n. 132. For insistence that Daniel implies two visits by Antiochus, see V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1959), 186.

agree that he visited Jerusalem twice nevertheless hold that while
2 Maccabees 5's account of slaughter in the city indeed refers to
the second visit, its account of the robbery of the Temple in fact
applies to what happened after the first visit.[8]

I have three objections to this usual reconstruction. First, the sim-
ilarity between the two accounts is not, I believe, as great as is usu-
ally assumed. For while it is usually assumed that both books say
Antiochus perpetrated not only robbery but also a massacre in
Jerusalem, during his visit, in fact, I believe, this is reported only by
2 Maccabees. As I have argued elsewhere,[9] the term φονοκτονία in
1 Macc. 1:24 is not to be taken, in accordance with its etymology,
to mean "massacre, murderous slaughter." That is its rendering in
all current translations but this meaning is intolerable here, because
this verse would then indicate that Antiochus perpetrated his mas-
sacre *after he left Jerusalem and returned to his own land, Syria.* Naturally,
no one is willing to accept that conclusion, and the result is an amus-
ing variety of editorial and/or translational gymnastics: some sup-
press the problematic words, others relocate them, or play with tenses,
or add words (see the Appendix). Instead of any of those forced solu-
tions, we should realize that, as Liddell–Scott–Jones and the com-
puterized *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* indicate, φονοκτονία doesn't seem
to appear anywhere else and the verb φονοκτονέω appears only in
the Septuagint (Num. 35:33 [*bis*]; Ps. 105[106]:38), as a translation
for להחניף. This should lead us to interpret φονοκτονία (1 Macc.
1:24), despite its etymology, as representing the Hebrew חונף (pollu-
tion, impurity or the like).

If we have no specific reference to a massacre by Antiochus in
1 Maccabees 1 but rather only a general allusion to the repulsive
behavior typical of wicked kings, such as the *naval* of Isa. 32:6 who,
like the Antiochus of 1 Macc. 1:24, both "does חונף" and speaks

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[8] In 1979, Christian Habicht noted that this latter view (two visits but only one
robbery of the Temple, at the time of the first visit) was the object of "weithin
Übereinstimmung" (*2. Makkabäerbuch*, Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer
Zeit I/3 [Gütersloh: Mohn, 1979], 224, ad 5:1; with bibliography). So too K.
Bringmann, *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judäa*, Abhandlungen der
Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse 3, Folge, Nr. 132
(Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 36: "In Makk 2,5,1ff. ist, wie längst
gesehen worden ist, die Strafaktion des Jahres 168 mit der Templelplünderung des
Jahres 169 v. Chr. kontaminiert worden."

[9] "Antiochus the *Naval* (1 Macc. 1:24)," *Shnaton: An Annual for Biblical and Near
Eastern Studies* (forthcoming, in Hebrew).

arrogantly, our problem disappears. Antiochus, as a wicked king, would obviously continue to be characterized by חוֹנֶף after leaving Jerusalem, as much as before.

To summarize: recognizing that φονοκτονία represents חוֹנֶף leaves us with less reason to assume that both narratives describe the same event. If previously we thought that 1 Maccabees, just as 2 Maccabees, refers to both massacre and robbery, this turns out not to be true. 1 Maccabees makes no reference to massacre, which is certainly a major part of the story of 2 Maccabees 5. This is our first point against the usual reconstruction.

Second, even without the massacre, the account in 1 Maccabees is very hard to accept. For after reporting that all the central Temple vessels were stolen in 169 and bemoaning the event in a dirge (vv. 25–28), it goes on to resume the story with the note that "after two years of days" Antiochus sent a new governor to Jerusalem (v. 29); new trouble came in the wake of that development. Should we really believe that such a serious attack on the Temple elicited no immediate reaction? Should we really believe that the Temple cult could continue for even a day, despite the loss of its most central appurtenances, or that life in Judaea and Jerusalem would go on with nothing remarkable to report for another year or two? In contrast, the story in 2 Maccabees 5 passes directly, and naturally, from the pillage of the Temple to the sending of the new governor and new troubles.

Third, Josephus, a secondary but important source, reports that Antiochus visited Jerusalem twice, dating the visits explicitly to 143 SE (*Ant.* 12.246–47) and 145 SE (*Ant.* 12.248ff.), i.e., 170/169 and 168/167 BCE, and placing the robbery of the Temple in the context of the *second* visit (*Ant.* 12.249–50). Josephus' account of the first visit has Antiochus stealing nothing from the Temple and killing only his opponents—a rational and understandable act, however unpleasant; his account of the second visit, just as in 2 Maccabees, has Antiochus massacring and enslaving thousands and also robbing the Temple. Indeed, in §251 Josephus even distinguishes those killed from those enslaved, in a way very reminiscent of 2 Macc. 5:14; there is nothing like this in 1 Maccabees 1.

Josephus, in summary, reports that Antiochus visited Jerusalem and robbed there twice. His account, just as much as Daniel, encourages us to *add* the narrative in 2 Maccabees 5 to the one in 1 Maccabees 1. But, according to Josephus, during Antiochus' first visit to the Jerusalem (*Ant.* 12.247), the king had no contact whatsoever

with the Temple; Antiochus is said only to have gained control of
the *city*, killed many of his opponents in it, robbed, and departed.
During the second invasion, in contrast, Antiochus massacred the
general population, not just his opponents, and looted the Temple.
This reconstruction is more plausible than 1 Maccabees 1, as noted,
because it doesn't require us to believe that the Jews twiddled their
thumbs until "two years of days" after a major attack on the Temple
and removal of its central appurtenances.

If we wonder why, given his usual dependence upon 1 Maccabees,[10]
Josephus departed seriously from its version of events here, or, more
precisely, why he inserted the Temple robbery details of 1 Macc.
1:21–23 into the chronological context of Antiochus' second visit, it
is difficult to find an answer. It is enough for us to surmise that he
must have thought he had a good reason to do so. Either his text
of 1 Maccabees differed from ours or he was sure, either from his
own research or from traditions to which Jerusalemites like him may
have had access, that the order was as he presented it. In any case,
it does not seem that Josephus knew of or used 2 Maccabees, although
it is possible that they had some indirect relationship.

So far, then, I have argued that it is likely that Antiochus twice
visited Jerusalem and each time committed robbery; that, contrary
to 1 Maccabees, it is unlikely that he robbed the *Temple* the first time;
and that this reconstruction is supported not only by historical prob-
abilities but also by Daniel and Josephus. I now turn to 4Q248.

This short text, containing ten fragmentary lines, refers to a king
who was (ruled?) in Egypt and "Greece" (whatever that means) and
who conducted a siege. After the siege, "he came to the Temple
City (עיר המקדש) and took it with all . . .;" then he "turned around
in the lands of Gentiles and returned to Egypt. . . ."

This text, as Broshi and Eshel saw, apparently refers to Antiochus'
two Egyptian campaigns. The text in lines 6–8, which we just quoted
in translation, is fairly complete:

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[10] See I. M. Gafni, "Josephus and 1 Maccabees," in *Josephus, the Bible, and History*,
ed. L. H. Feldman and G. Hata (Detroit: Wayne State, 1989), 116–31; L. H.
Feldman, "Josephus' Portrayal of the Hasmoneans Compared with 1 Maccabees,"
in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*,
ed. F. Parente and J. Sievers, Studia Post-Biblica 41 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994),
41–68 = *Studies in Hellenistic Judaism*, Arbeiten zur Geschichte und Literatur des
antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 30 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 137–63.

6   ואת[ה]

7   אל עיר המקדש ותפשה עם כ]

8   והפך בארצות גוים ושב למצרי[ם ...

It is clear that there is not much space left at the end of line 7. Broshi and Eshel suggest completing the line עם כ]ל אוצרותיה, and something like that is certainly likely. It is clear that there is no room to specify the Temple or to list any of its appurtenances. So, the reference to pillage in Jerusalem after Antiochus' first Egyptian campaign could only refer to pillage in עיר המקדש.

There has been a long-standing argument concerning the meaning of עיר המקדש, which appears in the *Damascus Document,* the *Temple Scroll,* and *MMT.* While some scholars have assumed or argued that it refers to Jerusalem, the city in which the Temple is found, others, including Schiffman, have argued that it in fact refers to the Temple compound. My basic tendency has always been to see עיר המקדש as a reference to the *city* of Jerusalem because that is the most obvious meaning of the Hebrew words (i.e., "the city"; "Which city?" "The one with the Temple in it") and it fits easily the first text in which it appeared, CD 12:1–2. There we read that sexual relations are forbidden in עיר המקדש; I never understood why anyone thought it necessary to forbid such relations within the Temple complex itself. Similarly, when the *Temple Scroll* prohibits, for three days, the entry of a man who has had a seminal emission into כל עיר המקדש אשר אשכין שמי בה (45:11–12), I find it difficult to see how anyone could imagine that such a stringent and inclusive law—כל עיר המקדש—could be formulated this way if the prohibition did not apply to the city itself, apart from the Temple precincts. Did the author of the *Temple Scroll* really worry that without the word כל, his readers would have thought that there were parts of the Temple complex into which an impure man may enter? Indeed, at 47:9–11 the *Temple Scroll* prohibits the introduction of impure animal skins into עיר המקדש, lest the city and the Temple become impure: ולא תטמאו את העיר אשר אנוכי משכן את שמי ומקדשי בתוכה. This clearly shows, I believe, that the author uses עיר the way we do, as a reference to the city, Jerusalem, within which the Temple is found. The same interpretation is shown, finally, by 45:9–10, which provides for a barrier to be erected between the holy Temple and the city, בין מקדש הקודש לעיר.

Thus, examination of the allusions to עיר המקדש in the *Damascus Document* and the *Temple Scroll* leads us to understanding it as a

reference to Jerusalem, the city in which the Temple is found. This,
indeed, is a widely held position. Lately, however, the argument has
reopened, due to the evidence of *MMT*.[11] However, I would side-
step that argument, for the term עיר המקדש does not appear in *MMT*
(as we have it); rather, that document is relevant only due to con-
clusions that might be drawn from its discussion of the identification
of מחנות in Jerusalem—a somewhat dim and only indirectly relevant
issue, best left aside. Rather, I would return to our discussion of
Antiochus Epiphanes, in connection with 4Q248, where the term
עיר המקדש does indeed appear.

Schiffman, in his most recent discussion of the term, argues that
4Q248 supports the view that I have rejected, namely, that עיר המקדש
denotes the Temple precincts, the *temenos*. He takes this position
because 4Q248 refers to pillage in the עיר המקדש after Antiochus'
first Egyptian campaign, the time when 1 Maccabees says that he
robbed the Temple itself. However, it should be clear that, instead,
I would view 4Q248 as support for the view that, as Josephus makes
clear, the first pillage was limited to the city itself and left the Temple
untouched.

In particular, I submit that it would be out of character for a
Qumran writer, or any apocalyptic writer, to speak only of אוצרות
"treasures" or the like when referring to Temple vessels and appur-
tenances. Whether the vessels are enumerated, as in 1 Macc. 1:21–23,
or merely summarized as "holy vessels," as in 2 Macc. 5:16,[12] 4Q248's
"treasures" are from a completely different world view. Apocalyptic
writers are not supposed to be upset over the theft of money and,
indeed, the author of 4Q248 doesn't get very upset at the end of
line 7; the crisis begins only in line 9, after the king returns to Egypt
the second time. This corresponds with Daniel 11, which summa-
rizes the first Jerusalem visit briefly (11:28b) and places the begin-
ning of the crisis, with the long account and the apocalyptic vision,

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[11] See Schiffman, "*Ir Ha-Miqdash*," also D. Henshke, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem:
The Sages and Sectarian *Halakhah*," *Tarbiz* 67 (1997/98): esp. 17–27 (Hebrew).
I would also call attention to an unpublished Hebrew University M.A. thesis by
H. Birnbaum: "The Status of Jerusalem in the Halakhah of the Dead Sea Sect"
(in Hebrew, 1999).

[12] This contrast between Palestinian interest in the Temple cult and lack of it
in the Diaspora is the first discussed in my "From the Maccabees to Masada:
On Diasporan Historiography of the Second Temple Period," in *Jüdische Geschichte
in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit. Wege der Forschung: Vom alten zum neuen Schürer*, ed.
A. Oppenheimer (München: Oldenbourg, 1999), 29–40.

during the second visit (11:30). Similarly, line 7 of 4Q248, according to Broshi and Eshel's reconstruction, corresponds to Josephus' brief reference to the theft of money alone during the first visit, while a much more interesting story begins at the end of line 8, with the second campaign to Egypt. Here, as we see from the words נפץ יד עם הקודש (echoed in Dan. 12:7) at the outset of line 9, we have an apocalyptic story, parallel to the rest of Daniel 11 and 12.

More broadly, I posit that if there were two attacks on Jerusalem before the Hasmonean revolt, the more serious one would likely be the second attack, the one that touched off the final deterioration into rebellion and persecution. Thus, we have assumed that an attack on individuals, especially if they are recognized as enemies of Antiochus IV (as Josephus reports), would have been less likely to touch off the critical series of events than a looting of the Temple, especially if accompanied by massacre and enslavement. Indeed, that is how Daniel tells the story; so, too, in 4Q248 the real story begins only with the second visit. Such a reconstruction easily fits 2 Maccabees as well, because the serious attack on Jerusalem and the Temple comes just before the more serious persecutions and revolt.

One might well ask why the author of 1 Maccabees would claim that a serious attack on the Temple failed to elicit any response, followed by a period of quiet, which was only interrupted "after two years of days" when something new happened. At this point we enter the realm of speculation. So I'll be brief and simply point out that if, as emerges from 2 Macc. 5:11, Antiochus thought that the Jews were rebelling against him in 168 BCE, then he was probably correct. We must assume that Antiochus had the means, probably even before reaching Jerusalem and certainly upon his arrival, to know whether there was a rebellion there; certainly the Jews of Jerusalem could have made the situation clear to him, were they not in rebellion. Despite the fact that the apologetic diasporan author of 2 Maccabees wants us to believe that the "rebellion" was a misunderstanding, I would tend to trust Antiochus more. But, if so, then we must ask, "Who rebelled?" The obvious answer is that whoever it was, it wasn't the Hasmoneans. Judah Maccabee is mentioned first only at the *end* of 2 Maccabees 5, and even then only in passing, just as 1 Maccabees mentions the Hasmoneans only from chapter 2 onwards, in the context of 168/167 BCE. So we conclude, with Tcherikover, that non-Hasmonean Jews rebelled against Seleucid rule in 168 BCE, and that it was *their* rebellion that elicited Antiochus' massive attack on

Jerusalem, the massacre and enslavement of multitudes of Jerusalemites, and the pillage of the Temple. The Hasmonean rebellion came only later, after Antiochus imposed his decrees against Judaism.[13]

If we now return to our last question and ask why the author of 1 Maccabees conflated the pillage of the Temple with the attack upon Jerusalem in 169 BCE and skipped over the rebellion of 168, the answer is now obvious. On the one hand, the author of 1 Maccabees was definitely a pro-Hasmonean, and his whole work is a piece of Hasmonean propaganda. Chapter one of 1 Maccabees, correspondingly, is designed to present the terrible situation of the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes. Their trials and tribulations reach their lowest point at the very end of the chapter ("and there was a very great wrath upon Israel," 1:64), preparing the reader, at the opening of chapter two, for the upbeat introduction of the Hasmoneans, the family that was to bring salvation to Israel (5:62). In this context, any admission that there were Jewish patriots who raised the banner of rebellion before the Hasmonean revolt would be totally counter-productive, so none was made. There is no reference to the rebellion of 168 BCE.

On the other hand, however, while the author of 1 Maccabees had good reason to ignore the rebels of 168, he had no reason at all to ignore the pillage of the Temple that followed upon the repression of that rebellion. On the contrary, such a graphic illustration of Antiochus' wickedness would have suited his purposes admirably.[14] To have his cake and eat it too, he moved the pillage up to 169.

In summary, 1 Maccabees claims that Antiochus' plundering of the Temple in 169 BCE elicited no response; 2 Maccabees and Josephus claim that Antiochus robbed the Temple only a year or more later and that that brought an immediate reaction. The latter version sounds more reasonable, and the former version is easily explained away as a result of the tendencies of Hasmonean propaganda. Moreover, 2 Maccabees and Josephus seem to be supported by Daniel 11 and now by 4Q248 which, of course, has much in common with Daniel 11–12.

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[13] See Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, esp. 186–90.

[14] See esp. 1 Macc. 1:10, which characterizes Antiochus simply as a "wicked sprout" from the stock of his wicked hellenistic forbears (see esp. vv. 3 and 9). On the wicked "Gentiles roundabout" of 1 Maccabees, see my "The Other in 1 and 2 Maccabees," in *Tolerance and Intolerance in Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. G. N. Stanton and G. G. Stroumsa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 30–37.

One of the fondest relics of diasporan historiography is the the-
sis that Jews never rebel against the powers that be: if the Jews are
ever persecuted by such powers it must be because the ruler in ques-
tion was crazy (e.g., Gaius Caligula), he was misled by nasty and
self-seeking advisors (e.g., Ahasuerus), or because there was some
misunderstanding. Accordingly, the diasporan author of 2 Maccabees
claimed that Antiochus attacked Jerusalem due to a misunderstand-
ing: he thought, mistakenly, that the Jews were rebelling. The nation-
alist author of 1 Maccabees, in contrast, thought Antiochus attacked
Jerusalem because *goyyim* are wicked and naturally do wicked things;
there is no need to explain why Antiochus, who was introduced in
1 Macc. 1:10 as a "wicked sprout" from wicked roots, did some-
thing so evil. One way or another, both claim that Antiochus attacked
his Jewish subjects for no good reason, a claim that works wonder-
fully in diasporan historiography. But whatever the facts regarding
diasporan history and historiography, ancient and modern, the fact
is that the Jews of ancient Jerusalem frequently acted as if they were
not in the Diaspora, but, rather, entitled to dream of a sovereign
Jewish state—and, indeed, some of the relevant sources have long
been taken to indicate that that was the case in 168 BCE, too.
4Q248 now helps us cement that conviction. That it also helps us
to understand better the chronology of the early Hasmonean period,
to bolster the historical trustworthiness of 2 Maccabees, and, perhaps,
to clarify the meaning of עיר המקדש are welcome additional bonuses.

Appendix: Some Translations of 1 Macc. 1:24[15]

1 Macc. 1:24 reads: καὶ λαβὼν πάντα ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἐποίησε φονοκτονίαν καὶ ἐλάλησεν ὑπερηφανίαν μεγάλην.[16] The obvi-
ous meaning is that Antiochus first returned from Jerusalem to Syria
and then perpetrated a massacre. A survey of commentaries and
translations indicates that no one accepts that conclusion, for it is
assumed, quite properly, a) that the author means to report a massacre

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[15] So as not to encumber this appendix with bibliographical details, suffice it to
note that all the editions, translations and commentaries mentioned here are listed
in A. Lehnardt, *Bibliographie zu den jüdischen Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*
(Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1999), 105–7.
[16] So ed. Kappler. Rahlf's edition is basically identical, except that he ends a
sentence after αὐτοῦ and adds a final ν to ἐποίησε.

in Jerusalem, and b) that the author wouldn't care if Antiochus per-
petrated a massacre in Syria. So far I have discovered seven ways
of evading the problem:

   a. Translate the text as is but notify the reader, in a note, that
      the words καὶ ἐποίησε φονοκτονίαν are out of place and belong
      before v. 21. So Kahana.
   b. Omit the problematic words (so Oesterley) or bracket them (so
      Schunck), notifying the reader that they are out of place or an
      interpolation.
   c. Change the order of the verbs (so Artom: ‏ואחרי אשר לקח את-הכל,‏
      ‏עשה הרג, דבר בגאוה רבה וישב לארצו).‏
   d. Leave the verbs in order but translate ἐποίησε φονοκτονίαν as
      if it were a past participle referring to a point in time prior to
      the actions listed before it (so Abel ["ayant répandu le sang"],
      Goldstein ["having polluted himself with massacres"], Penna
      ["dopo aver fatto una strage di uomini"], etc.).[17]
   e. Insert additional words to make clear that the massacre preceded
      the return (so Nelis: "Voor hij vertrok richtte hij een bloed-
      bad").
   f. Have some unnamed agent "take it all and go back to his land,"
      thus allowing Antiochus himself to remain in Jerusalem for the
      massacre (so the 1980 *Einheitsübersetzung*: ". . . und liess alles in
      sein Land schleppen. Er richtete ein Blutbad an und führte
      ganz vermessene Reden)."
   g. Do not translate φονοκτονία as "massacre." This is suggested
      above, and detailed in the article mentioned in n. 9 above.

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[17] Apart from the difficulty of changing the verb from a finite aorist to a par-
ticiple, note also that it seems to be impossible to suggest a Hebrew original which
could be rendered by these translations (or to explain why the Greek translator,
who could have used such a past participle had his Hebrew *Vorlage* somehow required
it, failed to do so).

SHELAMZION IN QUMRAN: NEW INSIGHTS

Tal Ilan

Shelamzion is mentioned twice by name in a Qumran document, 4Q322 (*4QCalendrical Doc Cᵃ*) and 324b (*4QCalendrical Doc Cᵉ*):

<div dir="rtl">

ל[תח לו יקר בערב]ים   1
אר[בעה לשבט זה]   2
ה שהוא עשרים בחודש]   3
[יסוד באה שלמציון]   4
[להקביל אח]   5
[ב הרקנס מרד]   6
[להקביל]   7

</div>

(4Q322 2 1–7)

<div dir="rtl">

[אנוש   5
.[ח הזוי   6
[שלמציון   7

</div>

(4Q324b 1 ii 5–7)

The context strongly suggests that the person bearing this name is the famous Hasmonean queen (reigned 76–67 BCE). This is borne out by the fact that *4QCalendrical Doc C* also mentions, apart from the priestly courses who served in the Temple, Hyrcanus (probably Hyrcanus II, Shelamzion's son) and Aemilius (probably Aemilius Scaurus, Pompey's general, who played an important role in the Roman subjugation of Palestine in 63 BCE). Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the document does not allow us any clear understanding of how these historical figures relate to one another or to the priestly courses, which are the real topic of the document. Thus, despite Michael Wise's courageous attempt to resolve the difficulties inherent in *4QCalendrical Doc C*,[1] nothing much can be said about it, except that it confirms that the sect was indeed interested in the

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[1] M. O. Wise, *Thunder in Gemini and Other Essays on the History, Language and Literature of Second Temple Palestine*, JSPSup 15 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 186–221.

Hasmonean rulers and had something to say about them.[2] It fur-
ther confirms, beyond a doubt, Clermont-Gannau's hypothesis about
the Hebrew spelling of Queen Alexandra's Hebrew name,[3] but this
is not the subject of this paper.

Taking *4QCalendrical Doc C* as a cue, I would like to explore the
possibility that Queen Shelamzion is also alluded to in other Qumran
documents, specifically in two (or perhaps three) pesharim. Furthermore,
these allusions may shed light on some of the exegetical techniques
employed by the Dead Sea sect and on their overall relationship
with the regime of the queen, and they may perhaps illuminate some
interesting aspects of intertextuality.

The most acclaimed 'historical' document in the Qumran corpus
is *Pesher Nahum* (4Q169). It has attained this privileged position because
it actually mentions two Greek rulers by name and because it describes
events that seem familiar to us from Josephus' description of the
Hasmonean kingdom.[4] It is important, however, to note that despite
this seemingly historian-friendly document, the only reason we under-
stand what it is talking about is because we have the information
mentioned in Josephus. Without Josephus' consciously historical nar-
rative, *Pesher Nahum* would be just as meaningless to us as the other
pesharim. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that my use of this pesher
for the reign of Shelamzion will also be highly dependent on Josephus'
writings.

Pesher Nahum code-names King Yannai, the Lion of Wrath (כפיר
החרון). After describing his wicked rule in column 1 (based on Nahum
2), in column 2 the exegesis turns to Nahum 3 and uses it to describe
the 'government of the Seekers of Smooth Things' (ממשלת דורשי
החלקות; 4Q169 3–4 ii 4). Column 1 already made clear to us that
the Seekers of Smooth Things had been persecuted and executed in
the time of the Lion of Wrath (4Q169 3–4 i 6–7). It makes sense,
therefore, to assume that if the text now talks of the 'government
of the Seekers of Smooth Things,' a change of administration has
taken place. Once again, from Josephus (*War* 1.107; *Ant.* 13.407) we
learn that this is indeed so: after King Yannai had persecuted the

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[2] See now M. Broshi, "Ptolas and the Archelaus Massacre (4Q468g = 4QHistorical
Text B)," *JJS* 49 (1998): 341–45.

[3] See my "The Greek Names of the Hasmoneans," *JQR* 78 (1987–88): 7 n. 28.

[4] See particularly D. Flusser, "Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes in Pesher Nahum,"
in *Essays in Jewish History and Philology in Memory of Gedaliahu Alon*, ed. M. Dorman,
S. Safrai, and M. Stern (Tel Aviv: ha-Kibbutz ha-Meuhad, 1970), 133–68.

Pharisees, his wife and successor, Queen Shelamzion, put them in power.[5] We read in *Pesher Nahum* that although the Dead Sea sect was critical of the attitude of the Lion of Wrath toward the Seekers of Smooth Things, they were in no way favourably disposed toward the new regime. In their minds it was as guilty as the previous one of bloodshed and persecution of its enemies, who were compelled to seek refuge abroad:

"הוי עיר הדמים כולה [כחש פר]ק מלאה" (נחום ג א) פשרו היא עיר
אפרים דורשי החלקות לאחרית הימים אשר בכחש ושקר[ים י]תהלכו. "לא
ימוש טרף וקול שוט וקול רעש אופן וסוס דהר ומרכבה מרקדה פרש מעלה
להוב וברק חנית ורוב חלל וכבור פגר ואין קץ לגויה וכשלו וגויתם"
(נחום ג א-נ) פשרו על ממשלת דורשי החלקות אשר לא
ימוש מקרב עדתם חרב גוים שבי ובז והתחרור בינותם ונלות מפחד אויב ורוב
פגרי אשמה יפלו בימיהם ואין קץ לכלל חלליהם ואף בגויח בשרם
יכשלו בעצת אשמתם (4Q169 3–4 ii 1–6).

The sect lays the blame for this situation at the doorstep of the Seekers of Smooth Things, but do they also make a statement about the ruler in whose name the latter practice? I think they do, although in a rather subtle way. Nah. 3:4 lays the blame for the suffering 'bloody city' on the "countless harlotries of the harlot, graceful and of deadly charms who betrays nations with her harlotries and peoples with her charms." The pesher says that this refers to the liars of Ephraim (namely, the Seekers of Smooth Things, who are the Pharisees) who lead the people astray with their teachings:

"מרוב זנוני זונה טובת הן בעלת כשפים הממכרת גוים בזנותה ומשפחות
ב[כש]פיה" (נחום ג ד) פשר[ו ע]ל מתעי אפרים אשר בתלמוד שקרם ולשון
כזביהם ושפת מרמה יתעו רבים מלכים שרים כהנים ועם עם גר נלוה ערים
ומשפחות יובדו בעצתם נ[כ]בדים ומוש[לים]. "הנני אליך נאם ה' צ[באו]ת
ונליח שולי[ך] על פניך והראה גוים מער[ך] וממלכות קלונך" (נחום ג ה)
... פשרו (4Q169 3–4 ii 7–11).

I believe that the negative female imagery of the verse itself is forceful enough to suggest that, taken by itself, it refers to the woman who was in power at the time and that the readers of the text were

aware of this allusion. The compilers of the pesher crafted it in such
a way that the verse referring to the harlot would appear exactly at
the historical-chronological juncture where the queen became the
object of the discussion.

From this interpretation we can deduce two things. The first is
that just as the sect disliked the Pharisees, it similarly disliked the
new Hasmonean ruler. They could hardly have used a worse sym-
bol to convey this notion than a harlot. In this respect the queen's
gender was of no particular importance. All Hasmoneans were bad.
However, gender plays an important role in the way the sect's exe-
gesis was applied. It seems that the presence of females was better
left as an allusion from the verse rather than explicitly mentioned
in the commentary. Shelamzion receives no code name. She is merely
referred to through the negative imagery of the biblical verse. The
suggestion that the exclusion of a direct reference to real women is
a repeated exegetical technique employed with regard to gender
differences may also be inferred from another verse in the commen-
tary on Nahum. In column 1 we read Nah. 2:12: "The lion tore
enough for his whelps and strangles prey for his lionesses," which
is then interpreted as a reference to the crucifixion of the Seekers
of Smooth Things by the Lion of Wrath:

> ["אריה טורף בדי גוריו ומחנק ללביותיו טרף" (נחום ב יג)
> פשרו]על כפיר החרון אשר יכה בגדוליו ואנשי עצתו
> "וימלא טרף] חירה ומעונתו טרפה" (שם) פשרו על כפיר החרון
> נק]מות בדורשי החלקות אשר יתלה אנשים חיים
>   (4Q169 3–4 i 4–7)

Although the verse mentions the lionesses specifically no mention is
made in the interpretation. It is, however, of some interest to note
that Josephus, when describing the crucifixion of Yannai's opponents,
informs us that "he had eight hundred of his captives crucified in
the midst of the city, and their wives and children butchered before
their eyes while he looked on, drinking with his concubines reclin-
ing beside him" (*War* 1.97). Josephus' story in this context is deroga-
tory in the extreme. It describes the king indulging his female
companions while acts of the utmost horror take place before his
eyes. This text probably reflects Nicolaus of Damascus' negative atti-
tude toward King Yannai. Nicolaus, Herod's court historian, may
have based his description of Yannai feasting with his concubines
on gossip that circulated at his time. *Pesher Nahum* may actually be

also alluding to the same hearsay. The image of the lion tearing prey for his females may remind the reader of a story she or he may have heard, of Yannai and his concubines feasting and at the same time feasting their eyes on the horrific executions. If this interpretation is correct, we find a second instance in *Pesher Nahum* where an event involving women is alluded to through a biblical verse rather than stated outright. The lionesses of the verse, who are fed by the lion, could be understood as the concubines of Josephus' narrative. The sect uses the verse to inform the reader of women present at the event.

On the basis of this interpretation I would like to suggest that another verse mentioned in *Pesher Hosea A* (4Q166) also alludes to Queen Shelamzion and her reign. Two different pesher interpretations of Hosea were found at Qumran. Both are very fragmentary. They have been distinguished from one another based on the script[6] and, as I will show presently, also on chronology. *Pesher Hosea A* discusses three verses from Hosea 2:

["והיא לא ידעה כיא] אנכי נתתי לה הדגן [והתירוש והיצהר וכסף] הרביתי
וזהב עשו לבעל" (הושע ב י') פשרו] אשר ... [וי]שבעו וישכחו את אל הם
.. [.] מצוותיו השליכו אחרי נום שלח אליהם בפי עבדיו הנבאים ולמתעיהם
שמעו ויכבדום וכאלים יפחדו מהם בעורונם. "לכן אשוב ולקחתי דגני בעתו
ותירושי [במועדו] והצלתי צמרי ופשתי מלכסות את [ערותה] ועתה אגלה את
נבלותה לעיני מאה[ביה ואיש] לא יצילני מידי" (הושע ב יא-יב) פשרו אשר
הכם ברעב ובערום להיות לקלו[ן] וחרפה לעיני הגואים אשר נשענו עליהם
והמה לא יושיעום מצרוותיהם. "השבתי כול משושה חג[נה חד]שה ושבתה כול
מועדיה" (הושע ב ין) פשרו אשר [..] עדות יוליכו במועדי הגואים ...
.(4Q166 ii 1-16)

One attempt at a historical interpretation of this pesher was made by Joseph Amusin.[7] Despite the sparse information that the pesher affords, Amusin suggested that the famine alluded to in the interpretation of Hos. 2:11–12 was the one that occurred in spring, 65 BCE, mentioned both in Josephus (*Ant.* 14.28) and in rabbinic literature (e.g. *b. Soṭ.* 49b).[8] This famine occurred during the fraternal

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[6] See discussion in M. P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*, CBQMS 8 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 138–39, 148–49.

[7] J. D. Amusin, "The Reflection of Historical Events of the First Century B.C. in Qumran Commentaries (4Q161; 4Q169; 4Q166)," *HUCA* 48 (1977): 123–52.

[8] For another opinion see D. Flusser, "Qumran and the Famine during the Reign of Herod," *Israel Museum News* 6 (1987): 7–16. On the famine in 4QpHos. A, see p. 11.

war between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the sons of Queen Shelamzion. Amusin writes,

> "Strangers" are the troops of the Nabatean King Aretas. He together with Hyrcanus II, who was supported by the Pharisees ("those who lead others astray"), was besieging Aristobulus and his allies, who had to take refuge in the Jerusalem temple. The siege coincided with the celebration of Passover (Nisan 65 BC). During the siege the country was devastated by famine, which Josephus and the Qumran commentator considered to be God's punishment for the crimes committed during the civil war.[9]

If his interpretation is correct, it would suggest that the prosperity described ruefully in the previous verse ("For . . . they shall be satiated and they shall forget God . . . his commandments [they] threw above their shoulder," 4Q166 ii 3–4) refers to the time of the queen's reign. Once again, the queen is not specifically mentioned either by name or by a code name, but the verses used to describe her are gendered and negative. They describe an unfaithful wife who has played the harlot. The gendered verse alludes to the gendered ruler. Amusin was probably right, and the Qumranites, faithful to their exegetical approach, once again use the verse rather than its exegesis in order to lament the queen's reign. There exists some further evidence to support this conjecture.

Hosea 2:10 is a typical diatribe by the prophet against Israel who has committed idolatry, by comparing the people to an unfaithful woman who has played the harlot and been unfaithful to her husband. For this her husband (God) will punish her. Hosea says: "She did not know that it was I who gave her the grain, the wine, and the oil . . . Therefore I will take back my grain in its time and my wine in its season. . . ." This verse is playing strongly on Deut. 11:13–14, in which these gifts exactly are mentioned as reward for Israel's obedience. On this positive verse, which describes an ideal existence, the rabbis appended a midrash alluding to the reign of Queen Shelamzion. According to this midrash, found in the tannaitic halakhic midrash on Deuteronomy, *Sifre*, the time (perhaps the only time) in Jewish history in which the promise of God's bliss to Israel came true was in the days of the queen. It reads:

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[9] Amusin, "Reflection of Historical Events," 149.

"[והיה אם שמע תשמעו אל מצותי . . .] ונתתי מטר ארצכם בעתו [יורה ומלקוש
ואספת דגנך ותירושך ויצהרך]" (דברים יא י-נ-יד) רבי נתן אומר: בעתו מלילי שבת
לילי שבת. בדרך שירדו בימי שלמצו המלכה.

["If you will obey my commandments . . .] I will give the rain of your
land in its season, [the early rain and the later rain, that you may
gather in your grain and your wine and your oil . . .]" (Deut. 11:13–14).
Rabbi Nathan says: . . . [This refers to the way rains] fell in the days
of Queen Shelamzion (*Sifre Deut.* 42).[10]

Since I wish to make a case here for intertextuality between this
rabbinic midrash and the Qumran pesher on Hosea, some obser-
vations on chronology are appropriate. The date of the final redac-
tion of *Sifre Deuteronomy* is not known exactly, but it is not earlier
than the third century CE. *Pesher Hosea A*, on the other hand, is
Qumranic, and could therefore not be dated much later than the
Herodian period.[11] If it indeed refers to political events during the
reign of Shelamzion, it also does not make sense that it was com-
posed much later. Thus, to claim that a first century BCE docu-
ment is found in dialogue with a third century CE compilation hardly
shows sound historical judgement. I therefore suggest that we con-
sider for a moment the composition of the rabbinic midrash on Deut.
11:13–14 independently of the compilation in which it is embedded.
If we compare the rabbis' appraisal of Queen Shelamzion's reign
with that of Josephus' *Antiquities*, we discover a striking disparity. The
rabbis love her; Josephus, or rather his source, Nicolaus of Damascus,
hates her (*Ant.* 13.430–32). Far from claiming that one source is
biased and that the other is telling the truth, I would claim that if
rabbinic literature preserves the pharisaic tradition to a certain degree,
the midrash in *Sifre* is the appraisal of this reign by Shelamzion's
co-rulers and Josephus' text is that of her detractors (and particu-
larly the Herodians who deposed her dynasty, and Nicolaus, their
mouthpiece). When would the Pharisees have formulated the midrash

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[10] A parallel tradition exists for this midrash in the tannaitic *Sifra* on Lev. 26:3–4
("If you walk in my statutes and observe my commandments and do them, then I
will give you your rains in their seasons," *Behuqotai* 1:1), but I believe it is sec-
ondary, because it is more elaborate and also because the queen is no longer pre-
sented by herself in the tradition but together with Shimeon ben Shatah.

[11] On this date for the manuscript based on palaeographic considerations, see
J. Strugnell, "Notes en marge du Volume V des Discoveries in the Judaean Desert,"
RevQ 7 (1969): 199.

embedded in *Sifre Deuteronomy*? They would probably have idealised the reign of the queen to such a degree only some time after its termination, when things began to go really wrong from their point of view and when the past seemed suddenly ideal. However, it could not have been composed very much later, when the rule of the queen had already faded into the mists of the forgotten past. I would claim that the early Herodian period would serve such a date well. This date is not so far removed from the date of composition assigned above to the pesher on Hosea.

Further, it is interesting to note that although the editors of *Sifre Deuteronomy* included the midrash on Shelamzion in their composition, it does not really fit into the general ethos of this compilation. The editors of *Sifre Deuteronomy* did not approve of queenship, as another midrash in the book suggests: "You will set a king over you" (Deut. 17:14)—a king, not a queen" (*Sifre Deut.* 157). In favour of this being an editorial statement it is useful to note that *Sifre Deuteronomy* in general used this gender-exclusionist exegetical strategy all along: Deut. 1:13 states: "Choose wise understanding and experienced men according to your tribes and I will appoint them as your heads." On this statement the midrash inquires: "[why did the text say] men? Would we have assumed women?" Obviously not. Deut. 13:12–13 reads: "If you hear in one of your cities . . . that certain base men have gone out among you" and the midrash adds, "men, not women." Deut. 17:15 reads, "You may not put a foreigner over you," and the midrash adds, "One appoints a man to supervise the public but one does not appoint a woman to supervise the public" (*Sifre Deut.* 157). Deut. 21:15 reads, "If a man has two wives . . . and they have borne him sons," the midrash comments, "sons are discussed in this Torah, not daughters" (*Sifre Deut.* 215). Verse 17 in the same chapter reads: "for he is the first issue of his strength (ראשית אונו)" to which the midrash notes: "his strength and not the strength of a woman" (*Sifre Deut.* 217). Verse 18 reads: "If a man has a stubborn and rebellious son," on which the midrash instructs "a son, not a daughter" (*Sifre Deut.* 218). Verse 22 maintains "If a man has committed a crime punishable by death . . . you hang him on a tree," to which the midrash responds "The man is hanged but the woman is not hanged" (*Sifre Deut.* 221). Deut. 23:4 states: "No Ammonite or Moabite shall enter the assembly of the Lord," and the midrash continues: "A Moabite man, not a Moabite woman; an Ammonite man, not an Ammonite woman" (*Sifre Deut.* 249). Verses 7–8 continue in

the same vain: "You shall not abhor an Edomite, for he is your brother; you shall not abhor an Egyptian, because you were a sojourner in his land. The sons of the third generation that are born to them may enter the assembly of the Lord" and the midrash adds "sons, not daughters" (*Sifre Deut.* 253). Sometimes the issue is not quite so simple. Deut. 15:12 reads "If your brother, a Hebrew man or a Hebrew woman, is sold to you, he shall serve you six years." On the complication that ensues in a case where the owner dies during this period, the midrash comments: "a Hebrew slave (continues to) serve the son but not the daughter." Furthermore, in Deut. 19:17 it states: "Then both men disputing shall stand before the Lord." Here the midrash must concede "both men: does this refer only to cases were there are two men? How about a man and a woman or a woman and a man or two women? It is written 'disputing'—This means all." However, just in case we misunderstood the uniqueness of this case, the midrash adds: "Does this mean that a woman is a reliable witness? It is written here 'both' and it is written 'both' elsewhere (verse 16). Since 'both' there means men and not women, so too here 'both' means men and not women" (*Sifre Deut.* 190). Thus even in cases that are not straightforward, the gender-exclusive exegesis is maintained.

The midrash on Queen Shelamzion is thus unique in the context of *Sifre Deuteronomy* in that it affirms the queenship of Shelamzion over and against the exclusivist editorial approach of the compilation and specifically against the texts that exclude women from queenship and other leadership roles. This aspect, together with the considerations discussed above, confirms the relative antiquity of this text.

We may thus conclude that the Qumranic midrash on Hosea is a sectarian response to the notion circulated by the Pharisees that Queen Shelamzion's reign was so idyllic, that at that time the promise of God's bounty on earth was realised. The Dead Sea sect rejoined by recruiting a verse from Hosea—the biblical antithesis of the verse of bounty from Deuteronomy—and applying it to the reign of Shelamzion (together with the wanton woman who, in their mind, represented the queen). They also went on to refer to the wars between the Queen's sons that raged after her death and to the terrible famine that followed.[12] This was their answer to the pharisaic propaganda.

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[12] The notion that the queen is to blame for the sibling war that, after her death,

I would like to finish this paper by a short note on the second
Hosea pesher found at Qumran (4Q167). It had been identified as
a separate composition due to its script and parchment analysis,
although it does not discuss the same verses as *Pesher Hosea A*. The
extant fragments of this pesher discuss Hosea 5–8, namely parts that
come after chapter 2, which was discussed in *Pesher Hosea A*. In *Pesher
Hosea B* frg. 2, it becomes clear that, chronologically, this pesher is
discussing events that pre-date those mentioned in *Hosea A*, at least
according to my reconstruction, since it mentions the Lion of Wrath,
which, in *Pesher Nahum*, is the Qumran code name for King Alexander
Yannai, who was Queen Shelamzion's husband and predecessor.

... כפיר החרון. "כי אנכי כשחל [לא[פ]ר[י]ם [וככפיר לבית יהודה" (הושע ה יד)
פשרו ע[ל כוהן יאחרון אשר ישלחו ידו להכות באפרים ... (2-1 2 4Q167).

It comes as no surprise that Hos. 5:14 evoked in the imagination of
the Qumranites the vision of King Yannai persecuting the Pharisees.
The verse reads: "For I will be like a lion to Ephraim and like a
young lion to the house of Judah." From *Pesher Nahum* we under-
stand that for the sect, Ephraim meant the Pharisees and Judah, the
sect itself. In fact, this verse in Hosea may well have been the incen-
tive for Yannai, the Pharisees, and the sect acquiring these code
names in the sect's terminology. If King Yannai had persecuted both,
this was the ultimate verse to bear this out, Yannai himself being
envisioned as a lion.

I believe that, as in *Pesher Nahum*, the Qumran sectarians intended
this pesher to expose history chronologically. If 5:14 discusses some-
thing that happened during the 80s of the first century BCE, the
next verses will discuss something that happened later. A good exam-
ple for this chronological order is found in *Pesher Nahum*. Column 1
of the pesher describes the reign of King Yannai. Column 2 dis-
cusses the reign of his wife and successor Shelamzion, and the frag-
mentary column 3 probably discusses the Roman conquest that
followed. In Hosea, however, while 5:14 seemed to describe precisely
the relations between the sect and King Yannai, 2:11–12 served as
an excellent answer to the pharisaic claims about Shelamzion. The
order of the verses did not fit the chronology of the period. The

pesher was thus cut into two. The early chapter described the later period and the latter chapters described the earlier period. On the basis of this analysis we may guess that if 5:14 was interpreted as referring to King Yannai, 6:9–10 could now be interpreted as referring again to the reign of Shelamzion. These verses speak of "Lechery committed. In the house of Israel I have seen a horrible thing. Ephraim's harlotry is there, Israel is defiled."

"וְאֲשֶׁר זִמָּה [עשׂו בבית ישראל ראיתי שעֲרֻרִיָּה שׁם זנות לאפרים נטמא] ישראל"
(הושע ו מ-י) פשׂ[רו ... ר]שעי הנוא[ים ... (4Q167 10+26 1–3).

Although the fragment of the pesher contains only part of the verses and no interpretation, we would not be far off the mark in guessing that the interpretation would now go on to decry the rule of the Pharisees–Ephraim. The Queen, however, would be unmentioned. The harlotry of Ephraim mentioned in the verse would be a fittingly gendered allusion to the sect's judgement of her and her henchmen.

Conclusion

In this study I identify two exegetical techniques employed by the Qumran community in their pesharim and a fresh interpretation of their observations and comments on the reign of Queen Shelamzion.

A. The Qumran sect interpreted the biblical texts consecutively, assuming that they are all inspired and describe the events in chronological order. Thus, if Nahum 2 is interpreted as a reference to the reign of King Yannai, then Nahum 3 refers to the subsequent rule of Queen Shelamzion. When, however, this chronological sequence failed them, they cut the biblical book into two. Thus Hosea 5–8 was interpreted separately from Hosea 2. Chapters 5–8 were understood to describe the reign of Yannai, followed by that of Shelamzion. Chapter 2, earlier in the book of Hosea, was understood to describe the reign of Shelamzion, followed by chaos and civil war during her son's reign.

B. The Qumran sectarians used gendered biblical verses when referring to Queen Shelamzion and other women but made no direct allusions to them. Why the sectarians failed to mention the queen directly, or why they failed to give her a code name, is not quite clear. Perhaps they simply found the concept of women in positions of authority intolerable. In any case, they probably felt that the biblical imagery of harlotry was strong enough to voice their revulsion.

Their use of a gendered verse from Hosea, in response to a verse of promise from Deuteronomy used by the Rabbis to praise Shelamzion, help us to unveil one of these allusions to the queen.

These two techniques allow us a glimpse of the Qumran view of the Queen's rule. They may have been displeased with her husband's mishandling of the Pharisees, but they were no more pleased with the Queen, or with the power she put in the hands of her husband's enemies. They were also thoroughly appalled by the power vested in the hands of a woman. This they viewed, with all the colorful imagery of the Bible, as harlotry and shameful female nakedness. The queen, in their eyes, was nothing more than the 'whore of Babylon' (Nah. 3:4).

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE JERUSALEM TEMPLE IN JOSEPHUS AND THE *TEMPLE SCROLL*

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Studies on the descriptions of the Jerusalem Temple found in the works of Josephus have generally concerned the correspondence between those descriptions and the Second Temple as it stood in the last days before its destruction.[1] Accordingly, such studies have usually attempted to establish a correspondence between Josephus's accounts and the Temple plan found in Tractate *Middot* of the Mishnah.[2] It has generally been assumed that some form of harmonization of the data in these two sources would yield a reasonable reconstruction of the architectural plan and appearance of what is generally termed the Herodian Temple—the Temple as rebuilt by King Herod (37–4 BCE).[3]

In his detailed introduction to the *Temple Scroll*, Yigael Yadin assumed that in some way the details of the Temple plan included in the completed *Temple Scroll* by the author/redactor[4] paralleled the Temple structure as it existed in his day—sometime in the early

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[1] E.g., M. Avi-Yonah, "Beit Ha-Miqdash Ha-Sheni," in *Sefer Yerushalayim* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1956), 392–418; S. Safrai, "The Temple," in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, ed. S. Safrai et al., CRINT 1/2 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 865–69. Cf. L. I. Levine, "Josephus' Description of the Jerusalem Temple: *War, Antiquities*, and Other Sources," in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*, ed. F. Parente and J. Sievers, Studia Post-Biblica 41 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 233–46.

[2] A critical edition is available in A. S. Kaufman, *Massekhet Middot, Shihzur Nusah Qadum* (Jerusalem: Har Yéra'eh Press, 1991).

[3] Such a synthesis is opposed by Ch. Albeck, *Shishah Sidre Mishnah, Qodashim* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1958), 313.

[4] Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983). Yadin saw the scroll as the product of the work of a single author. Subsequent scholarship has identified several sources that were brought together by a final redactor who was responsible for the complete scroll. See A. M. Wilson and L. Wills, "Literary Sources in the Temple Scroll," *HTR* 75 (1982): 273–88; M. O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 49 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1990), 195–98; F. García Martínez, "Source et rédaction du *Rouleau du Temple*," *Henoch* 13 (1991): 219–32.

Hasmonean period.[5] While certainly this must have been the case regarding certain elements common to all the Jewish Temple plans, the Temple plan of this scroll was a utopian, reformist document that sought to change radically the religious *status quo* of the author's time. It is possible that the Temple plan included in the scroll was composed even before the Maccabean Revolt.

Similarly, scholars have argued that Josephus was describing Solomon's Temple based on his first-hand knowledge of Herod's Temple. Yadin adds that Josephus may even have been influenced by the *Temple Scroll* itself and the Essenes with whom he spent some time in his youth.[6]

This constellation of interrelated issues has led us to undertake a detailed comparison of the Temple plans of Josephus and of the *Temple Scroll*. This discussion will read Josephus independently of the mishnaic material and will, in turn, compare Josephus's descriptions to those found in the *Temple Scroll*.

A few words should be said about the nature of the material in Josephus that will be studied. Josephus presents three descriptions of the Jerusalem Temple. In *Antiquities* 8, he describes the Temple as it was built by Solomon. In narrating the life of King Herod in *Antiquities* 15, Josephus describes the Temple that Herod built. Finally, in *War* 5 Josephus describes the Temple within the context of the description of Jerusalem on the eve of the Roman conquest.

The Temple plan found in the *Temple Scroll* is set out in one of the sources of the *Temple Scroll*.[7] Probably dating to the early Hasmonean period or to earlier in the hellenistic period, this plan is spelled out in great detail with exacting dimensions. It is based on exegesis of the Tabernacle texts in the Pentateuch, as well as the descriptions of the Temple in Exodus, Kings, and Chronicles, with some literary dependence on the Temple plan of Ezekiel as well.[8]

[5] Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1.386–90. For an introduction to the *Temple Scroll*, see L. H. Schiffman, "The *Temple Scroll* and the Nature of Its Law: The Status of the Question," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. E. Ulrich and J. C. VanderKam (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 37–55.

[6] Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1.192–96.

[7] For a study of this source, see Wise, *Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 61–99.

[8] See L. H. Schiffman, "Architecture and Law: The Temple and Its Courtyards in the Temple Scroll," in *From Ancient Israel to Modern Judaism. Intellect in Quest of Understanding: Essays in Honor of Marvin Fox*, ed. J. Neusner, E. R. Frerichs, and N. M. Sarna, BJS 159 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 1.267–84.

In this context, we should note that Josephus's description of the Solomonic Temple was no doubt to a great extent the product of biblical interpretation on his part.

1. *The Temple Precincts*

In *Ant.* 8.95–98 Josephus described the area of the Temple precincts built by Solomon. Immediately around the Temple there was a parapet of only three cubits. Surrounding the Temple and this parapet, Josephus says that there was another courtyard, which was square. The wall of this courtyard had four gates, each of which was closed with two golden doors. The walls were also decorated with beautiful porticoes that must have been constructed, according to this plan, on the inside of the walls. A third area, which Josephus describes as including the entire *temenos*, seems to have included the entire raised area upon which the Temple was said to have been built.

According to Josephus, the massive earthworks that created what we know as the Temple Mount were ascribed to Solomon, who had to fill up large valleys with earth and level the area to the height of the top of the mountain. The entire Temple precinct, in this description, was surrounded again with double porticoes that were beautifully roofed and were entered through silver doors.

Reading this description might give the impression that we are dealing with a three-courtyard Temple, but this is not the case. The inner area was occupied by the Temple building itself and the area into which only priests were permitted to enter. Further out, within the next precincts, were permitted Israelites, apparently male, who were ritually pure. The final area was that into which women and those of a lower purity status might enter. If one looks at the actual plan, then, of Solomon's Temple as defined by Josephus, an inner courtyard would surround the area of the Temple itself and that courtyard would itself be surrounded by the boundaries of the Temple precincts. Only two sets of walls, porticoes, and doors would then surround the Temple, not three as in the *Temple Scroll*. It does appear, however, that the courtyards of Solomon's Temple were supposed to have been concentric in the plan outlined here.

In *Ant.* 15.396–402, while describing the Herodian building project, Josephus again describes the basic setup of the Temple courtyards. In this passage, he again emphasizes the contribution of

Solomon to the expansion of the upper surface of the mountain and creating the basic platform upon which the Temple precincts stand. Herod is credited with replacing the ancient foundations of the Temple with new ones (391–92). We read that surrounding the Temple itself was a set of porticoes ringing the entire Temple enclosure—the Temple Mount. Another set of porticoes was located between the outer wall and the Temple structure. Here again, the Temple structure is surrounded by two apparently concentric courtyards, just as in the account of the Solomonic Temple. The measurements given by Josephus, namely that each side of the Temple enclosure was the length of a stade, which is between 585 and 660 feet, seem to indicate a dimension that agrees neither with the Mishnah nor with that of the present-day Temple Mount enclosure, which may have been expanded somewhat during the Islamic period.

In his description in *War* 5.184–226, Josephus again repeats the contribution of Solomon to the expansion of the Temple Mount. The Temple precincts were surrounded at the very outside by a double row of porticoes. Between this outer boundary and that of the "second court," there was a small balustrade containing the well-known signs warning gentiles not to enter further.[9] Further in was the wall of the court, which was higher than the outer area. This area is also described as quadrangular. Still higher was the wall itself. This wall surrounded a complex that included the court of the women, and, further to the west, the courts of the Israelites and priests. The Temple itself was at its western end. Four gates were installed on each of the northern and southern sides of this complex. An entry gate led into the women's court and then again opposite, to the west, from the women's court into the inner area surrounding the Temple. The wall surrounding this area was likewise outfitted with porticoes, but these were single. Detailed descriptions of the gates are given by Josephus.

In this description, it is clear that the outer wall, that surrounding the entire Temple precinct, totally surrounded that of the Temple area. Further, within the Temple complex itself, one proceeded from an outer court, the court of women, to an inner Temple court, without any concentric arrangement. Indeed, from an architectural point of view, these two courts constitute one structure subdivided by a wall.

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[9] E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, vol. 1, rev. and ed. G. Vermes et al. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1973), 378 n. 115.

The beginning of the *Temple Scroll*'s command regarding the Inner Court (11QT 36–38) is not preserved. However, it is possible to reconstruct the dimensions of the plan of this court. The text specifies an Inner Court the inside measurements of which, when the length of the sections between the gates (120 × 2) and the gates themselves (40) are taken together, is 280 cubits square. Including the thickness of the walls (2 × 7), the total outside dimension of the Inner Court is 294 cubits square.[10]

The gates of the Inner Court are located one on each of the four sides. These gates, as can be determined by comparison with the apportionment of chambers on the outside wall of the Outer Court, represented the four groups of the tribe of Levi, the Aaronide priests on the east, and the Levites of Kohath on the south, Gershon on the west, and Merari on the north. This arrangement corresponds exactly to the pattern of the desert camp as described in Num. 3:14–39.

After describing the furnishings of the Inner Court, the scroll turns to the discussion of the Middle Court (11QT 38:12–15). The Middle Court is to be concentric (if this can be said of a square) with the Inner Court, surrounding it on all four sides, and located 100 cubits further out. Here the measurements are outside measurements. Included in the 480 cubits is the width of the walls (four cubits). Ninety-nine cubits were to be between each of the three gates on each side (4 × 99 = 396). The gates were twenty-eight cubits wide (28 × 3 = 84). This yields a total length of 480 (396 + 84) cubits measured from the outside.[11]

The names and locations of the twelve gates of the Middle Court (described in 11QT 39:11–13)[12] were apportioned to each of the twelve sons of Jacob, a pattern repeated in the gates of the Outer Court as well.[13] The Outer Court is again located at a distance from the Middle Court, arranged also concentrically. Again the measurements

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[10] Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1.204. Contrast the Middle and Outer Courts for which outside dimensions (including the thickness of the walls) are given. Cf. also J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, trans. R. T. White, JSOTSup 34 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 91–96.

[11] The 100 cubits from the Inner to the Middle Court is apparently measured from the inside of the wall of the Inner Court to the outside of that of the Middle Court.

[12] See Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 2.167 and Maier, *Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, 101.

[13] Cf. J. M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law*, SJLA 24 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), 145–71, first published as "The Duodecimal Courts of Qumran, Revelation, and the Sanhedrin," *JBL* 95 (1976): 59–78.

given in the scroll are outside measurements, including the width of
the walls. The sides are each "about 1600" cubits long (11QT 48).
The actual dimension is 1590 cubits, or, including the outward exten-
sion of the gates from the outer wall, 1604 cubits. 11QT 40:11–13
specifies that "there (shall be) three gates in [it] in the east, three in
the south, three in the west and three in the north." Each section
of the wall is 360 cubits and each gate is fifty. This yields a total
of four sections of wall and three gates equaling 1590 cubits.

The scroll spells out the exact location of the respective gates for
each tribe (11QT 40:13–41:11).[14] This account of the distribution of
the gates of the Outer Court corresponds exactly with that of the
Middle Court. Both descriptions list the sons of Jacob and proceed
from the northeast corner southwards.[15]

Especially significant is the requirement that a series of chambers
be constructed in the inner wall of the Outer Court, facing inward
(11QT 41:17–42:6).[16] Three distinct structures are envisaged here.
As one approached the outer wall, one first entered the stoas, then
proceeded further into the "rooms," and then entered the inner
"chambers."[17] The rooms and chambers each measure ten cubits
wide, twenty long and fourteen high. For the chambers, we learn of
three-cubit wide entrances. In the case of the stoas, the width is ten
cubits and the height fourteen, but there are no room divisions.
Following these measurements, there is space for eighteen chambers
and their rooms on each side.[18] On top of the bottom story were
two more stories of these chambers, reached by stairways, and the
upper level was then set aside for *sukkot* (booths) which were to be
eight cubits high (11QT 42:7–12). The total height of these struc-
tures was to be fifty cubits.

In 11QT 44:3–45:2 we learn of the relationship of the chambers
to the various gates.[19] Here we see the total of sixteen sets of cham-

[14] For restoration and commentary, see Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 2.171–74.

[15] Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1.247, 255.

[16] See the commentary of Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 2.176–78.

[17] See fig. 16 in Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1.258, and the reconstruction in Y. Yadin,
The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect (New York: Random House,
1985), 141.

[18] The length of twenty cubits included the thickness of the walls (two cubits) so
that the inside measurement was eighteen. Specific details are not exact in these
measurements. See Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1.256–61.

[19] See Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 2.185–90, and Maier, *Temple Scroll: An Introduction,
Translation and Commentary*, 113–15.

bers and rooms, of three stories with the *sukkot* on top, apportioned to the eleven sons of Jacob other than Levi, and with five sections— two for Aaron and one each for the levitical clans. The apportionment of a double portion to Aaron raises the possibility that in a ritual sense Aaron holds the birthright among the sons of Jacob.

The pattern of the distribution of the chambers corresponds to the distribution of the gates. The twelve sons each receive the chambers closest to their gates in the Outer and Middle Courts, and the four levitical clans receive chambers between those assigned to their brothers, opposite their gates to the Inner Court.[20]

We should pause to sum up our comparison of the structure of the Temple precincts—the *temenos*. Josephus's accounts of both the Solomonic and Herodian Temple plans are in agreement that two courtyards existed. The entire *temenos* was surrounded by one wall and porticoes, and a second enclosure surrounded the Temple building. In the *Temple Scroll*, it was expected that three enclosures with similar, even more extensive porticoes, would surround the Temple building itself. While Herod's structure would have fit on the Temple Mount as it now exists, the structure outlined in the *Temple Scroll* would have occupied virtually the entire area of the city—assuming the massive earthworks needed could have been constructed.[21] Indeed, Josephus's plan for the Herodian Temple would have approximately matched the size of the *Temple Scroll*'s Middle Court (which was the same size as the plan of *m. Middot*).

The Herodian Temple was patterned, according to Josephus, on that of Solomon. Yet detailed study of the Temple plan of the *Temple Scroll* indicates that it was a replica of the desert camp of Israel. We can conclude, then, that as regards the general layout of the *temenos* and the internal courts, the accounts of Josephus and the plan of the *Temple Scroll* have very little resemblance. When we take into account that Josephus's inner court was rectangular and that the *Temple Scroll*'s was based on concentric squares, it is impossible to claim any real relationship.

Put simply, the attempt of the architect of the *Temple Scroll* to replicate the desert camp with the Tabernacle in its midst, as well as the Temple of Solomon, created a plan in marked contrast to

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[20] Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1.253–66.
[21] Cf. M. Broshi, "The Gigantic Dimensions of the Visionary Temple in the Temple Scroll," *BAR* 13 (Nov./Dec. 1987): 36–37.

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that of Josephus whose account of Solomon's Temple and description of the Herodian Temple depend primarily on the Solomonic structure as described in the Bible—a structure that provided the basic scheme for Herod's royal architect as well.

2. *The Temple Building*

According to the description of the Solomonic Temple in 1 Kgs 6:5–6, 8 the Temple building itself and the holy of holies were surrounded by stepped or storied structures. These chambers were entered through the outside, and, from this point of view, were not part of the actual Temple.

These structures are mentioned in the description of the Solomonic Temple. 1 Kgs 6:5–6, 8 describes the יציע built around the outside wall of the Temple. This structure consisted of three rows of chambers on each side. The lowest was five cubits wide, the next six, and the highest seven.[22] The purpose of the recesses thus created, as the building was wider on top than below, was to make it impossible to climb up the side walls.[23] There were entry ways leading from one chamber to the next and also to the chamber above.

A description of the storied structures is found in Josephus's description of the Solomonic Temple (*Ant.* 8.65–66). This description is based on his exegesis of the relevant biblical passages, which means that, like the author of the *Temple Scroll*, he searched for data about the Tabernacle in Exodus, the Temple of Kings and that of Ezekiel. Furthermore, he seems to have mixed in elements from the Temple of his own day, some of which are supported by tannaitic sources as well.

According to him, the Solomonic Temple was surrounded by thirty small chambers that had entrances, one to another. While this specific arrangement is not discussed in the biblical account, it clearly represents some interpretation of 1 Kgs 6:8.[24] He adds that each was

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[22] For the Septuagint, see Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 2.11. Apparently, it was based on a different *Vorlage*, whereas 11QT was based on a text similar to MT.

[23] S. Yeivin, "מקדש, בתי מקדש בישראל," אנציקלופדיה מקראית 5.340. See the drawing in B. Mazar, *The Mountain of the Lord: Excavating Jerusalem* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975), 100.

[24] These details are labeled "unscriptural" in H. St. J. Thackeray and R. Marcus, *Josephus, Jewish Antiquities*, vol. 5, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press and London: William Heinemann, 1934), 606 n. d. Josephus's interpretation must be based on a reading such as that of the Septuagint, which read "lowest" instead of MT's "middle" at the beginning of the verse.

five cubits wide and twenty cubits high, the height being a detail
not mentioned in the Bible. Indeed, it is probable that he imagined
an extremely high set of chambers because of his view that the
Temple was 120 cubits high. He describes three sets, one on top of
another, and says that they are "equal in proportion and number,"
which seems to contradict the increasing width of the consecutive
layers of chambers mentioned in the Bible. He also notes that the
height was equal to that of the lower story, that is, the main Temple
building, and did not surround the upper story. These structures
then would have been sixty cubits high.[25]

Josephus, in describing the Herodian Temple of his own day (*War*
5.220–21), mentions the chambers surrounding the Temple. They
had three stories and doors connecting them. He also indicates that
these chambers did not surround the upper story of the Temple,
which in his view was forty cubits high. Again, in this account as
well, he does not seem to allude to the outward slant of the chambers.

These same structures appear in the Temple plan of the *Temple
Scroll*. Effectively, these structures were part of the same building as
housed the Temple. However, since they were entered from the out-
side, they were not considered to be part of the actual Temple.[26]

In this matter, the scroll, like Ezekiel, followed the plan of the
Solomonic Temple as known from Kings. The term יצוע, restored
in the scroll, would have designated this storied structure.[27] The term
רובד is used to designate the pavement or terrace upon which each
story is constructed. This pavement would have had to have been
strong in order to support the next chamber, which protruded fur-
ther out than the one below.[28]

The scroll does appear to differ from the biblical sources followed

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[25] The rest of his account (67) depends on the Septuagint text, different from
the MT-like text that is the basis of the *Temple Scroll*. See Thackeray and Marcus,
Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 5.607 n. e.

[26] P. B. Bean, *A Theoretical Construct for the Temple of the Temple Scroll* (Ph.D. diss.,
University of Oregon, 1987), 326–27, suggests that the bottom level also served as
the foundation for the Temple in this plan.

[27] Mishnaic usage uses יצע for this architectural term, following the *qere* in MT.
It maintains the form יצוע in the meaning "couch, bed" as does MT. Yadin assumed
that the scroll would have יצוע, the form found in the *ketiv*. On the meaning of
יצע, see the detailed entry and footnote (n. 2) in E. Ben-Yehuda, *A Complete Dictionary
of Ancient and Modern Hebrew* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1960), 3.2121. See also
b. B. Bat. 61a.

[28] For a different interpretation according to which it is a support for the roof
beams of each level of chambers, see Albeck, *Qodashim*, 330–31.

by Josephus in one significant respect. It expects that there will be six levels of chambers, not three. It is difficult to understand this feature in light of the height of sixty cubits (11QT 4:10) that the scroll provides, unless the author, rejecting the view of Chronicles (see below), thought that Solomon's Temple had only been thirty cubits high. In that case, our author would be doubling the number of levels of chambers to accord with the doubling of the height of the Temple.[29]

Concerning the outside chambers, we can conclude that Josephus's descriptions are at variance with those of the *Temple Scroll* as regards the number of such chambers and the height of this outer structure surrounding the Temple. Further, the descriptions in Josephus (unlike that of *m. Middot*, by the way) make no mention of the increasing protrusion of the chambers from the building designed to prevent climbing up the side. Other than dependence on the descriptions in the Bible, there is nothing common to Josephus and the *Temple Scroll*.

The main structure was, of course, the Temple itself. For Solomon's Temple, the complete dimensions are given in 1 Kgs 6:2. There we are told that the Temple of Solomon was sixty cubits long, twenty cubits wide, and thirty cubits high. The same length and width are specified in 2 Chron. 3:3. This length of sixty cubits given in Kings and Chronicles includes the sanctuary and the holy of holies. The height given in Kings (no height appears in the Chronicles passage) is likewise only for the section of the building—the inner forty cubits— that is not included in the portico. The portico was twenty cubits wider than the Temple and ten cubits deep, as specified in 1 Kgs 6:3.[30]

The plan of Ezekiel's Temple was similar with respect to the over- all dimensions. It called for a sanctuary forty cubits long (Ezek. 41:2), not counting the portico, which makes this Temple equivalent in depth to Solomon's. The depth of the portico, like that of Solomon's Temple, was to be twenty cubits (41:2). These same figures—sixty cubits high, twenty cubits wide and sixty cubits long—are given by Josephus for the Solomonic Temple (*Ant.* 8.65–71), simply reflecting the dimen- sions found in MT. In describing the Herodian Temple, he gives

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[29] Ezekiel expected three sets of chambers (41:7). The main difference in his account is that Ezekiel specifies a total of thirty-three chambers and a width of four cubits for each. It is possible that our scroll specifies this same size, at least for the bottom chambers in line 3.

[30] The Septuagint substituted "forty" for the "sixty" of MT in this verse. Note, however, that Codex Alexandrinus has "sixty."

the very same dimensions, a depth of sixty and a width of twenty cubits, not counting the greater width of the portico (*War* 5.215).[31]

The overall dimensions of the Temple building are given in the *Temple Scroll* in an extremely fragmentary passage (11QT 4:6–8). Virtually the entire text is reconstructed. Here the scroll must have given its length as sixty cubits, which was the length of the Solomonic sanctuary. The width expected here was probably twenty cubits and the height of the sanctuary was probably specified as thirty cubits. The portico (אולם) was larger, as we will see below. Yet we must caution that this restoration cannot be considered definite in light of the reading of the Septuagint, which has "twenty-five" for the height.[32] Codex Alexandrinus, however, gives "thirty," as in the MT. Ezra 6:3 speaks of a Temple sixty cubits high and sixty wide, but our scroll took this measurement as the height of the portico in front of the sanctuary.

1 Kgs 6:3 spelled out the dimensions of the portico. It was to have a length (i.e., width) of twenty cubits beyond that of the Temple and a width (i.e., depth) of ten cubits. The very same figures appear in Josephus's description of the Solomonic Temple (*Ant.* 8.65). The twenty cubits were effectively the width beyond the Temple and the ten, the depth. Its height of 120 cubits, according to Josephus, will be taken up below. Yet in describing the Herodian Temple, Josephus tells us that the façade was 100 cubits high and 100 wide (*War* 5.207). He explains that the building behind was narrower by forty cubits (being sixty cubits wide), since the portico itself extended to the right and left of the sanctuary twenty cubits on each side. These figures, however, are contradicted, as we will see. It is possible that 100 cubits was the pre-Herodian height, to which Herod added twenty cubits.

In *Ant.* 8.64, Josephus speaks of the Solomonic sanctuary as having a height of sixty cubits. Then he claims that on top of it was another sixty-cubit story, so that the total height of the building was 120 cubits.[33] Only then, in paragraph 65, does he go on to discuss the portico that was in front of it, reaching to a height of 120 cubits. That Josephus thought that Solomon's Temple was 120 cubits high

[31] Note that *Ant.* 15.391 gives a length of 100 cubits, and no width, but the passage is corrupt.

[32] The Peshitta adds mention of the height of thirty cubits to 2 Chron. 3:3 (Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 2. 13).

[33] Cf. Thackeray and Marcus, *Josephus, Jewish Antiquities*, 5.605 n. g.

is clear from the explanation that he (or his source, Nicolaus of Damascus) puts into Herod's mouth as a reason for his decision to build the Temple (*Ant.* 15.385). Herod is made to say that whereas Solomon's Temple was 120 cubits high, the Temple built by the returning exiles was limited by the Persian authorities to sixty cubits. This notion must be derived from Ezra 6:3, which, as we already noted, speaks of a Temple sixty cubits high.

The command in 11QT 4:8–12 to build the portico specifies the size of the portico as twenty cubits long and ten cubits wide. The "length" of twenty cubits is actually the width and the "width" actually refers here to the depth of the portico. Put simply, one who entered the Temple and proceeded inwards would traverse a distance of ten cubits as he crossed the portico.

The scroll specifically informs us that the height of the portico structure was to be sixty cubits.[34] Earlier, the text mentions that the height of the sanctuary and the holy of holies is thirty cubits. There is no height given in Kings for the Solomonic portico; however, 2 Chron. 3:4 gives the probably exaggerated figure of 120 cubits.[35]

On the other hand, Herod's architects understood the Ezra passage to indicate the height of the sanctuary (their interpretation of בריא) but took the Chronicles passage to refer to the height of the portico. Hence, the total height of the building comes to 120 cubits.

The *Temple Scroll* must have understood the height of sixty cubits given in Ezra as referring to the entire structure, understanding בריא in that wider sense—not just referring to the sanctuary. The author of the plan in the *Temple Scroll* assumed that this was a sufficient height. On the one hand, he shares with the Herodian Temple the notion that the Temple building should be half the height of the portico and, therefore, emerges with a full height of thirty cubits. On the other hand, it is possible that he expects the upper chamber to be surrounded by side rooms, for which reason he expected six levels of storied structures, whereas the other traditions speak of only three.

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[34] On the height, see the detailed notes of Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 2.14–15.

[35] While the Septuagint agrees with this reading, the Codex Alexandrinus and the Syriac read "twenty." This reading may originally derive from a scribal error, or more likely is dependent on the height of the Tabernacle. In any case, it cannot apply to the Solomonic Temple.

The final aspect to be discussed here is the holy of holies. This section of the Tabernacle was ten cubits square. The twenty cubits of the *Temple Scroll* is the dimension given for the holy of holies in the Solomonic Temple plan in 1 Kgs 6:20[36] and 2 Chron. 3:8. This same dimension is given by Josephus for the Solomonic Temple (*Ant.* 8.71). The Book of Ezekiel expected a holy of holies of the same size in its Temple as well (41:4). These same dimensions are given in Josephus's description of the Herodian Temple (*War* 5.219). In view of the unanimity in the measurement of the holy of holies, the identification of the reference to twenty cubits in the *Temple Scroll* in a fragmentary passage must be accepted as definite.

When we review the dimensions of the Temple building itself, we see that Josephus and the *Temple Scroll* shared the dimensions for the sanctuary required by the biblical description of the Solomonic Temple. Josephus gives contradictory numbers for the dimensions of the façade of the portico of Herod's Temple. In any case, he described a much higher and grandiose façade than that which the *Temple Scroll* required, based on its particular biblical exegesis. Whereas Josephus spoke of 120 cubits as the height of the portico, the height in the *Temple Scroll* was only sixty. Regarding the holy of holies, Josephus and the *Temple Scroll* agree to a square structure of twenty cubits.

Conclusion

The descriptions of the Jerusalem Temple presented by Josephus and by the *Temple Scroll* share very little beyond basic details that they derived from the biblical material pertaining to the Solomonic Temple. The structure of the courtyards, the surrounding chambers, and the façades described are quite different. Several specific conclusions emerge.

1. There is absolutely no chance that Josephus used the *Temple Scroll* or the architectural plan included in it as a source.
2. The ideals of the architect of that plan for a gargantuan, redesigned Temple were never realized, even when Herod's architects rebuilt the Temple.

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[36] Understanding ולפני as if it said ולפנים, as in NJPS, "the interior of the Shrine." Cf. Rashi and Radak, ad loc.

3. According to the accounts of Josephus, the Herodian architects made no use at all of the *Temple Scroll.*

4. Josephus's plan for the Solomonic Temple resulted from biblical interpretation with minimal influence from the existing Temple of his day.

5. The description of the Herodian Temple by Josephus derived from direct information—observation of its architecture. Unlike the description of the *Temple Scroll,* Josephus's accounts represented his understanding of reality, not Utopia. Those of the *Temple Scroll* represented Utopia—not reality.

COMMUNITY AND COVENANT

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THE CONCEPT OF THE COVENANT
IN QUMRAN LITERATURE

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I

During the first decades of Dead Sea Scrolls research, the concept of the covenant in Qumran literature attracted great interest, specifically in relation to the Christian theological concept of the 'new covenant,' because of both the Qumran community's explicit self-definition as a 'new covenant' (CD 6:19, 8:21, 19:34; 1QpHab 2:3–4) and the wide range of covenant vocabulary found in the scrolls. This research, conducted mainly between the 1950s and 1980s, clarified that the Qumran concept of the covenant was based upon the religious ideology inherent in the biblical idea of the covenant between God and Israel. But while the biblical ideology of the covenant was emphasized as the basic theme of Israelite religion, at Qumran this idea was embodied in the socio-religious life of the community.[1] A reconsideration of the concept of the covenant in Qumran literature is justified by the availability in this decade of the entire corpus of Qumran scrolls. However, this reexamination should be based on the principal Qumran writings that deal with the covenant between God and Israel.

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[1] K. Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary in Old Testament and Early Christian Writings* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971); J. Licht, *The Rule Scroll: A Scroll of the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 51–80 (Hebrew); A. S. Kapelrud, "Der Bund in den Qumran-Schriften," in *Bibel und Qumran*, ed. H. Bardtke (Berlin: Evangelische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft, 1966), 137–49; J. A. Huntjens, "Contrasting Notions of Covenant and Law in the Texts from Qumran," *RevQ 8* (1972/75): 361–80; N. Ilg, "Überlegungen zum Verstandnis von ברית in den Qumrantexten," in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. M. Delcor, BETL 46 (Paris: Duculot, 1978), 257–63; J. Murphy-O'Connor, "The New Covenant in the Letters of Paul and the Essene Documents," in *To Touch the Text: Biblical and Related Studies in Honor of Joseph A. Fitzmyer*, ed. M. P. Horgan and P. J. Kobelski (New York: Crossroad, 1989), 194–204; H. Lichtenberger, "Alter Bund und Neuer Bund," *NTS* 41 (1995): 400–14; H. Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 149–65.

The religious concept of the covenant is characterized as a continual, ongoing relationship between God and Israel, a relationship that was a motivating factor in biblical and post-biblical historiography. Hence this subject may be examined from a historical perspective. Eichrodt's claim that the biblical concept of the covenant was a revolutionary factor in the relationship between human beings and their deity is noteworthy. He noted that the covenant detached religious faith from the feelings of anxiety and insecurity that characterized pagan religions, in which the human being was a plaything of various deities and of blind fate. The covenantal relationship regulated human life according to fixed laws of retribution given by a single divine authority, thereby providing hope for peace and security to those who kept the laws of the covenant.[2] As demonstrated by Mendenhall, the concept of a covenantal relationship between God and human beings, realized in monotheistic religions, was derived from Hittite treaties between sovereign and vassal (fourteenth century BCE), transforming their forensic character into a religious one.[3] This type of borrowing and adaptation was demonstrated in the Decalogue and in biblical historiography, prophecy, and liturgy;[4] its influence on Qumran theology and liturgical practice has been demonstrated as well.[5]

The intensified use of the concept of the covenant in Qumran theology may be understood in light of the continuity and renewal of the covenant relationship, even following a violation of the original stipulations, as promised to Israel in the deuteronomic literature (Deut. 4:29–31, 30:1–10; cf. also the expression of this idea in Lev. 26:39–46) and in biblical prophecy (especially Jer. 31:30–36, 32:36–41, Ezek. 36:24–28 and 37:21–28). The Qumran concept of the conti-

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[2] W. Eichrodt, *The Theology of the Old Testament* (London: SCM, 1961), 36–45; W. Eichrodt, "Covenant and Law," *Interpretation* 20 (1966): 302–21.

[3] G. E. Mendenhall, "Covenant," *The Interpreters' Dictionary of the Bible* 1 (1962): 714–23; G. E. Mendenhall, "Ancient Oriental and Biblical Law," *BA* 17 (1954): 26–46; G. E. Mendenhall, "Covenant Forms in Israeli Tradition," *BA* 17 (1954): 50–76.

[4] Mendenhall, "Covenant Forms," 62–76; Mendenhall, "Covenant," 719–21. D. J. McCarthy, *Old Testament Covenant* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972), 10–21, 24–30; D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, Analecta biblica 21 (Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1981), 157–242; Baltzer, *Covenant Formulary*, 39–62.

[5] Mendenhall, "Covenant," 721–22; D. F. Baumgartel, "Zur Liturgie in der 'Sektenrolle' von Toten Meer," *ZAW* 65 (1954): 263–65; Baltzer, *Covenant Formulary*, 99–122, 189–91. B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, trans. J. Chipman, STDJ 12 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 121–24.

nuity and the renewal of the covenant between God and Israel is examined in this paper in terms of the following aspects:

1. The significance of the 'new covenant' in the context of the history of Israel, in light of biblical and apocryphal traditions of covenant renewal;
2. The continuity of the covenant in the context of the history of the Qumran community;
3. The dilemma of simultaneously holding a concept of a covenant based upon free will and a concept of predestination.

II

The significance of the 'new covenant' in the context of the history of Israel, in light of biblical and apocryphal traditions of covenant renewal

According to Mendenhall's survey of types of biblical covenant treaties, the concept of the covenant between God and Israel was transformed, during the course of history, from a one-sided covenant, made by God with the ancestors of humanity and of Israel, into a mutual covenant.[6] The covenant between God and Noah, and later with the Israelite ancestors, the priesthood, and the Davidic dynasty, may be defined as a promissory type. According to this model, a person is chosen by God for a definite mission, but even when this mission involves the giving of a law code, as in the case of Noah, or a commandment, like the law of circumcision given to Abraham, there is no requirement of any pledge procedure, such as an oath, on the part of the person committed to undertaking these laws.[7] The covenant between God and Israel became a mutual one of the suzerain vassal type no earlier than the Sinai covenant. While preserving the element of choice, the Sinai covenant stipulated its continuity by a pledge exacted of the chosen one, Israel, to observe a code of laws (Exod. 19:8, 24:7). The Sinai covenant even included sanctions, based on the principle of retribution, contingent upon the observance of the laws (Exod. 20:5).

The renewal of the covenant, which was sustained by the grace of God even after its violation by Israel (Exod. 34), became a fixed ritual in the deuteronomic literature.[8] The book of Deuteronomy

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[6] Mendenhall, "Covenant," 717–18.
[7] Eichrodt, "Covenant and Law."
[8] M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Oxford University

as a whole symbolizes the renewal of the covenant with the new
generation after the Exodus, while the ceremony of renewal, as com-
manded in Deuteronomy 27, was performed by Joshua at Canaan
(Josh. 8:30–35). A public ceremony of covenant renewal for all gen-
erations is commanded in Deut. 31:10–13, to be executed during
the festival of Tabernacles (Sukkot) every seventh year.[9] Public cer-
emonies renewing the covenant between God and Israel were per-
formed in specific situations as well. The deuteronomic covenant
renewal became a model for a fixed ritual and for a specific situa-
tional ritual in Israel during the First and Second Temple periods,
as follows.

Considered from a historical perspective, the idea of renewal through-
out the history of Israel was embodied in situations of constitutional
reform. The establishment of each constitutional reform was formally
constituted by a covenant renewal, expressing its continuity with the
first covenant made between God and earlier generations, on the
one hand, while stressing new stipulations adapted to new situations,
on the other. Such are, for example, the deuteronomic covenant,
which was considered the renewal of the Sinai covenant, although
this was actually another covenant made by Moses in the wilderness
of Moab, stressing cultic and monarchic reform; the covenant made
by Joshua at Shechem, which stressed the eradication of the idols
held by the Israelites (Josh. 24:14–40);[10] the covenant made by
Samuel to establish the kingdom (1 Sam. 12); and the covenant made
by Josiah to establish the deuteronomic cultic reform (2 Kgs 23:1–3 =
2 Chron. 34:30–33).[11] The concept of presenting religious and social

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Press, 1972), 59–157. According to Weinfeld's study, the pattern used in the deutero-
nomic covenant is parallel not only to the pattern of the Hittite treaties, but also
to a traditional formulation of state treaties in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor.
Weinfeld demonstrated that this traditional formulation remained substantially
unchanged from the time of the Hittite Empire through the neo-Assyrian period,
when the book of Deuteronomy was composed. The contents of the deuteronomic
treaties, however, express the deuteronomic religious ideology, as may be clarified
by its typical phraseology (Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 320–65).

[9] Mendenhall, "Covenant," 718–21.

[10] See Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 66. M. Anbar, *Josue et l'alliance de Sichem (Josue
24:1–28)*, Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie 25 (Frankfurt am M.:
Peter Lang, 1992), 69–100; Hebrew version יהושע וברית שכם (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute,
1999), 59–104. According to Anbar's critical approach, as demonstrated by a close
reading of the phrases of the text, Joshua's covenant is based mainly on the deutero-
nomic phraseology, but, on the other hand, it reflects later characteristics, linguis-
tic and ideological.

[11] On the use of the concept of covenant renewal in the deuteronomic concept

reforms as covenant renewal is found in late biblical literature, such as the cultic reform of King Assa (2 Chron. 15:14–15) and the religio-social reform of Nehemiah (Nehemiah 9–10).

In biblical literature, the historical renewals of the covenant were always necessary after the breaking of a former covenant. This situation motivated hope for the eschatological renewal of the covenant between God and Israel, as formulated in Jer. 31:30–33, Ezek. 36:24–28, 37:23–28. This eschatological idea was based on the aforementioned principles of continuity and renewal. However, both prophets emphasized the eternity of the eschatological covenant, as opposed to the earlier covenants between God and Israel that were repeatedly broken by Israel's transgressions (Jer. 31:31). According to both prophets, this revolutionary act would have been attainable, not by a human action, but by a divine action either by a psychological change of Israel's disobedient character (Jer. 31:32, Ezek. 36:25) or by a divine selection removing rebels and transgressors from among the multitude of Israel (Ezek. 20:38). Thus, the significance of the eschatological 'new covenant' seems to reflect the hope for an eternal covenant. However, according to the biblical texts, the realization of this hope is dependent on new situations that seem to be utopian, and thus might have been considered by the readers of the Bible as merely a symbol for the necessary change that would ensure the eternal existence of Israel as the holy people of God (see Dan. 7:27). Nevertheless, in post-biblical literature, such as *Jub.* 1:15–29 and the Qumran literature, the concept of covenant renewal was applied to the new eschatological covenant, one based on the revealed interpretations of the Law of Moses.[12] Because the Qumran community adopted the term 'new covenant' for its legal code (CD 6:19, 20:11–12; cf. CD 19:32–34), it would seem that the hope for the eschatological renewal of the covenant between God and Israel was considered by the community not just a utopian ideal, but rather an attainable change to ensure the eternal status of Israel as the chosen people of God.

Thus, in light of the historical survey of covenant renewal, we may conclude that the history of Israel was considered, in biblical

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of establishing religious reforms, see Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 163; M. Weinfeld, *From Joshua to Josiah* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1992), 134–39 (Hebrew).

[12] On the system of setting out new interpretations to the Law of Moses held in the *Book of Jubilees*, see below.

and post-biblical literature, the history of breaking and renewing the covenant between God and Israel; the covenant's eschatological renewal was considered an eternal revision of this process.

In order to understand the Qumran concept of covenant renewal, one must survey the pragmatic changes made by the 'new covenanters of Qumran' (a term suggested by S. Talmon)[13] to ensure the eternal existence of the covenant between God and Israel. However, before examining the Qumran literature, it is worthwhile to study the development of the covenant as it is reflected in the apocalyptic Second Temple literature that preceded the Qumran writings and whose influence on the latter is apparent in many respects. For this purpose I shall use the *Book of Jubilees*, some Hebrew copies of which were preserved at Qumran.[14]

The *Book of Jubilees* reflects the development of the biblical concept of the covenant first and foremost by redressing the violations of commandments concerning the rules of feasts, Sabbaths, and the place sanctified for God (*Jub.* 1:10; cf. 1:14). According to the apocalyptic revelation of the Angel of the Presence to Moses on Mount Sinai, the eschatological reform that would have been established by Israel for observing these commandments will pave the way for the renewal of the covenant between God and Israel (*Jub.* 1:15–17, 23–25). The expression 'new covenant' is not explicit in this revelation; however, the terminology of *Jub.* 1:21–24 is concerned with the idea of an eternal, eschatological new covenant (cf. Jer. 31:32, Ezek. 36:26, Deut. 4:29; 30:2, 6).

The redressing of the commandments is founded on God's predestined decree. Thus, Israel was separated and sanctified as God's people from among all the nations for keeping the holy Sabbath, according to the laws of creation (*Jub.* 2:19, 23–33); the feasts of

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[13] Concerning this term see S. Talmon, "The New Covenanters of Qumran," *Scientific American* 225 (1971): 73–80; S. Talmon, "Waiting for the Messiah: the Conceptual Universe of the Qumran Covenanters," in his book *The World of Qumran from Within* (Leiden: E. J. Brill; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989), 273–300.

[14] Fragments of the *Book of Jubilees* were preserved in 1Q17–18, published in D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, ed., *Qumran Cave I*, DJD 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 82–84; 2Q19–20, in M. Baillet et al., ed., *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*, DJD 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 77–79; 4Q216–24, in H. Attridge et al., ed., *Qumran Cave 4.VIII. Parabiblical Texts, Part I*, DJD 13 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 1–140. See also 4Q225–27 "4QpseudoJubilees^a–c" (DJD 13.141–75) and 4Q228 "4QText with Citation of Jubilees" (DJD 13.177–85). The title of the *Book of Jubilees* is mentioned in CD 16:3–4.

the covenant are to be observed by Israel according to a 364-day calendar, as decreed by God after the flood (*Jub.* 6:32); the earth, especially the place sanctified for God, namely, the land of Israel, is to "be cleansed of the blood which is poured out upon it . . . in all of its generations" (*Jub.* 7:30–33), according to the laws of the covenant addressed to Noah and his sons after the flood (Gen. 9:4, *Jub.* 6:7–10).

Regarding this last law, Betsy Halpern-Amaru claimed, "Although undoubtedly rooted in the concern with blood in the Noah story of Genesis 9:4, the injunctions against pollution of the *medr* (the Ge'ez equivalent for land) by blood in *Jubilees* are developed through an intricate interweaving versions of verses that, in their biblical contexts, involve Israelite life in the land,"[15] namely, the prohibitions against the eating of blood (Lev. 17:14 and Deut. 12:23) and the spilling of human blood (Num. 35:33–34).[16] Other laws regarding the land of Israel as the place sanctified for God and the people of Israel as God's holy nation are given to the ancestors of Israel.[17] The redressing of the commandments regarding the Sabbath, the feasts, and the cleansing of the place sanctified for God from the pollution of spilled blood is emphasized by the author of *Jubilees* according to his system of observance, as opposed to systems held by other contemporary Jewish circles. This approach is accepted by the halakhic systems of Qumran literature.[18] The covenant of laws was imposed upon Israel in the *Book of Jubilees* by invoking a divine

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[15] B. Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible* (Valley Forge: Trinity, 1994), 27.

[16] Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible*, 28.

[17] The connection between the covenant made with the ancestors and that made with Noah is mentioned in *Jub.* 6:17–19; 19:24, 27; 21:10; 22:13 (Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible*, 28–29). However, she notes that regarding laws of morality, such as incest (*Jub.* 30:10, 33:19), "In spite of the clear references to the Land-connected purity laws of Leviticus 18 and 20, the issue of Jubilees is not defilement of the Land, but rather, like Leviticus 21, defilement of the people of Israel, God's holy nation" (Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible*, 44–45).

[18] On the controversy regarding the cleansing of the land from the pollution of spilled blood, see C. Werman, "The Rules of Consuming and Covering the Blood in Priestly and Rabbinic Law," *RevQ* 16/64 (1995): 621–36 [Hebrew version, *Tarbiz* 63 (1994): 173–83]. On the controversy regarding observance of the Sabbath, see, for example, L. H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran*, SJLA 16 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), 77–133; Hebrew version: הלכה, הליכה ומשיחיות בכת מדבר יהודה (*Law, Custom and Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 1993), 90–135. On the controversy regarding the calendar, see, e.g., A. Jaubert, "Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumran," *VT* 3 (1953): 250–64; S. Talmon, *World of Qumran from Within*, 147–85.

predestined decree (mentioned above), by changing the model of the covenant from a promissory covenant to a mutual one, and by promoting and emphasizing the idea of the continuity of the mutual covenant through all generations.

The transformation or adaptation of the promissory covenant into a mutual covenant is expressed in the *Book of Jubilees* by the undertaking of an oath to perform God's commandments. Thus, "Noah and his sons swore that they would not eat any blood which was in any flesh; and he made a covenant before the Lord God forever in all of the generations" (6:10).[19] Similarly, the Angel of the Presence instructs Moses that he "also might make a covenant with the children of Israel with an oath" on Mount Sinai (6:11). Isaac makes his sons, Jacob and Esau, swear a great oath in the name of the Lord who created heaven and earth that they would fear Him and worship Him (36:7).[20]

The theme of the continuation of the covenant as a mutual act is expressed in *Jubilees* by tying the generations, one to another, through the observance of God's commandments. Hence, the commandment to avoid the eating of blood was observed after Noah only by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (6:19), until it was commanded on Mount Sinai (6:12–14). Another law that Noah was commanded to follow was the date of the renewal of the covenant with God on the third month (*Jub.* 6:1, 4, 10–11), during the festival of Pentecost (6:17) that, according to its calendar, was to be celebrated on the fifteenth day of the third month (15:1, 16:13). This law, which according to *Jubilees* entailed a 364-day calendar, was observed by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (6:19; 14:10, 20; 15:1–10),[21] and was to be commanded for all generations (6:20–22). The strategy of imposing the covenant of laws upon Israel was accomplished in the *Book of Jubilees* by its being inherited from generation to generation.[22] Thus the

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[19] The translation of the text into English follows the edition of J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2 (New York: Doubleday, 1985), 67.

[20] This oath was undertaken in order to prevent any hatred between Jacob and Esau (*Jub.* 36:4, 8–9), but also regarding the matter of the idols, which they were commanded to scorn and whose worship to prevent by breaking all constructions used in their worship (*Jub.* 36:5).

[21] According to *Jubilees* 22, Abraham's testament to Jacob, in which he passed on to him the commandments of God, was on the festival of Pentecost, at which the renewal of the covenant was celebrated (see v. 15). According to *Jub.* 44:1–8 Jacob observed the festival of Pentecost on the fifteenth of the third month, and delayed his journey to Egypt to the sixteenth of this month.

[22] The strategy of the inheritance of the covenant of laws and its blessings to

covenant with the ancestors of Israel became a mutual covenant for succeeding generations, rather than a promissory type. By this strategy, the laws of the Torah, as interpreted to Moses by the Angel of the Presence, could have been considered the continuation of the covenant made by God with the ancestors.[23]

III

The continuity of the covenant in the context of the history of the Qumran community

The eschatological 'new covenant,' adopted by the Qumran community as the definition of its covenant with God, is considered, in the historical survey of the *Damascus Document* (CD 2:14–4:12), a continuation of the historical covenant between God and Israel for observing God's commandments. According to *Jubilees*, only Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who "were written up as friends of God and as members of the covenant for ever" (CD 3:2–4), kept the covenant throughout all the generations of Israel.[24] Thus, the only ones worthy to be considered the faithful heirs of the ancestors and with whom God has continued "to establish His covenant for ever" are those who are "steadfast in God's precepts," namely, the members of the Qumran community. In this context, God's precepts are defined as the revelations of "the hidden matters in which all Israel had

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those who observe the laws from generation to generation is apparent in *Jubilees* 20 (Abraham to Isaac and Ishmael); 21 (Abraham to Isaac); 22 (Abraham to Jacob); and 36 (Isaac to his sons). The strategy of inheritance is mentioned explicitly in *Jub.* 19:17–29 (see esp. vv. 24 and 27), but there only the blessings of the covenant are mentioned, and not the pledge of observing the laws.

[23] The concept of continuity is adopted by the *Temple Scroll* (11QT 29:7–10), regarding the connection between the observance of the cultic laws by Israel, the eternity of the covenant between God and Israel, and the eternity of the Temple (cf. *Jub.* 1:17, 26–28). See Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1973), 1.140–44, 2.91–92 (Hebrew).

[24] Cf. the idea of the connection between the covenant made with Noah and the ancestors, as mentioned in *Jubilees* (see above, n. 17). In the Apocalypse of Weeks (*1 Enoch* 93:1–10 + 91:11–17), this idea is expressed metaphorically by the term 'plant of truth' referring to "a man that will be chosen as the plant of righteous forever" in the third week (93:5), that is Abraham (cf. *Jub.* 16:26), and to the 'chosen righteous' of the seventh week (93:10), the Second Temple period, perhaps those of the Enochic apocalyptic circle. See G. Boccachini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998). J. J. Collins notes that "the election of this group thus become a focal point of the whole scheme" of the Apocalypse of Weeks; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*,

gone astray: His holy Sabbaths and His glorious feasts, His just stip-
ulations and His truthful paths, and the wishes of His will which
man must do in order to live by them" (CD 3:12–16; cf. Lev. 18:5).
According to CD 6:17b–19, these are the stipulations that "those
who entered the New Covenant in the land of Damascus" were
obliged to observe, to be undertaken by an oath (CD 15:5–10, 1QS
5:8–9, 1QH^a 14:17).[25] As these stipulations are considered to be the
commandments of Moses' Law, according to the hidden interpreta-
tion that was revealed to the Qumran community (cf. 1QS 5:8–12,
etc.), the realization of the eschatological new covenant, which ensures
the eternal status of Israel as 'the chosen people,' depends upon the
correct interpretation of the precepts. In other words, while the Sinai
covenant, in its biblical contexts, applied to the written biblical laws
(e.g., Jer. 7:9), at Qumran the renewal of the covenant applied to
the observance of these laws according to their correct interpreta-
tion. This concept reflects the halakhic activity that characterized
Second Temple Judaism since the time of Haggai and Zechariah
(Hag. 2:11–14, Zech. 7:2–3, 18–19), Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra
10:2–5, Neh. 8; 10). Indeed, during the days of Nehemiah this
halakhic activity was considered covenant renewal (Neh. 8–10).
However, the most extensive descriptions of halakhic activity as
covenant renewal seem to be *Jubilees* and the Qumran literature,
possibly motivated by halakhic controversy with other circles of
Second Temple Judaism.

   According to the historical tradition of covenant renewal in Israel,
religious constitutional reforms became formally accepted laws by
their being presented as renewals of the old covenants. Such reforms
followed change or crisis in socio-religious situations. The halakhic
systems of *Jubilees* and of the Qumran community were established
following two crises. The first occurred when the priestly manage-

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2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 62–65. It is noteworthy that in 4Q274
2 ii 5 the metaphor of planting the chosen one refers in an historical survey to
whole Israel. See C. A. Newsom, "4Q374: A Discourse on the Exodus/Conquest
Tradition," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, eds. D. Dimant and
U. Rappaport (Leiden: E. J. Brill and Jerusalem: Magnes and Yad Ben Zvi, 1992),
42–45, whereas in CD 1:7, 1QS 8:5, etc., this metaphor refers to the Qumran
community.
   [25] See E. Qimron, "שבועה הבנים" in the Damascus Document 15:1–2," *JQR* 81
(1990): 115–18; B. Nitzan, "Repentance in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea
Scrolls after Fifty Years*, vol. 2, ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill,
1999), 145–70, esp. 149–55.

ment of the Second Temple inclined towards hellenistic customs.[26] The second crisis followed when the Zadokite priesthood was deprived of control of the Temple ritual by the Hasmonean priesthood, which was sometimes influenced by the Pharisees' legal systems, especially concerning Temple worship.[27]

As inferred from the contexts of the *Damascus Document*, the designation 'new covenant' was applied to the covenant held by the original members of the community, organized by the Teacher of Righteousness in the land of Damascus (CD 6:19, 8:21, 19:33), or even to this group itself.[28] An explanation of this title occurs in CD 20:12: "the covenant and the oath which they had taken in the land of Damascus, that is the new covenant."[29] There is no explicit reference to Jer. 31:30, possibly because the connection was obvious to everyone in the community. Nevertheless, its identification with the eschatological covenant is evident in the historical survey of CD 3:12b–16a, where the covenant based on the revealed interpretation of God's commandments is considered a replacement for the earlier covenant that was broken by the generations of the First Temple period (3:10b–12a). This notion is indicated by the synonym for the 'new covenant,' ברית תשובה (CD 19:16). The reward of "seeing God's salvation,"[30] promised to those who are faithful to the new covenant established by the Teacher of Righteousness (CD 20:31–34; cf. CD

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[26] On the presumption of the anti-hellenistic tendency of Jubilees, see J. C. VanderKam, "Genesis 1 in Jubilees 2," *DSD* 1 (1994): 319–21 and bibliography; on the anti-hellenistic tendency of other apocalyptic compositions, see D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (London: SCM, 1964), 15–20.

[27] See, for example, L. H. Schiffman, "The Temple Scroll and the Systems of the Jewish Law of the Second Temple Period," in *Temple Scroll Studies*, ed. G. J. Brooke, JSPSup 7 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 239–55; F. García Martínez and J. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 91–96; H. Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran* (Leiden: Brill and Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 148–52; E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, ed., *Qumran Cave 4.V. Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah*, DJD 10 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 109–21.

[28] See Stegemann, *Library of Qumran*, 149–52.

[29] The English translation follows J. M. Baumgarten and D. R. Schwartz in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 2, *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1995), 35.

[30] On the motif of "seeing God's salvation" (CD 20:34) as referring to eschatological salvation, see Isa. 52:10, Ps. 91:16, and 98:3. In Exod. 14:13 and 2 Chron. 20:17 it refers to historical acts of salvation, both of which occurred in the wilderness, the first in the wilderness of Sinai and the second in the wilderness of Judaea, near Ein Gedi, during the ninth-century BCE reign of King Jehoshaphat. The author possibly used this motif as a prototype for eschatological salvation.

7:4b–6a), confirms that this covenant is the eschatological covenant
prophesied by Jeremiah. According to the perception at Qumran,
this covenant is the correct system of observing the Law.

The history of the Qumran community's covenant renewal may
itself be explained by the notion of the eternity of the renewed escha-
tological covenant. The defining characteristic seems to be the unac-
ceptableness of breaking the covenant, as occurred in the reality of
the Qumran community. This perception is apparent in the Qumran
literature, as we shall see below.

The history of the covenant between God and Israel, as depicted
in CD 2:14–4:12, reaches not only the first generation of the Qumran
community, but also those "who enter after them" (4:7), namely, the
"sons" (2:14)[31] to whom this admonition is addressed. They are oblig-
ated "to act according to the exact interpretation of the law in which
the very first were instructed" (4:8; cf. 8:16–18a = 19:29–31a). Similar
terminology concerning the 'new covenant' also applied to those who
were unfaithful to the precepts of the Qumran community (CD
19:33–20:1a). One may compare "all the men who entered the New
Covenant in the land of Damascus and turned and betrayed..."
(CD 19:33b–34), before the death of the Teacher of Righteousness,
to "any one who rejects the first and the last (precepts)[32] ... for they
spoke deviantly of the statutes of righteousness and despised the
covenant and the oath taken in the land of Damascus" (CD 20:8b–12a),
after his death. Murphy-O'Connor claims that a crisis of spiritual
alienation occurred in the community after the death of the Teacher
of Righteousness.[33] This conclusion is based on a reference to

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[31] See P. R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, JSOTSup 25 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1983),
56–104.

[32] On this meaning of "the first and the last" in CD 20:8–9, see J. Murphy-
O'Connor, "A Literary Analysis of Damascus Document XIX, 33–XX, 34," *RB* 79
(1972): 544–64, esp. 547–49.

[33] See Murphy-O'Connor, "Literary Analysis," 544–64. Murphy-O'Connor claims
that in the *Grundschrift* of CD 19:33–20:34 "the members of the community are
divided into three categories: (1) those who had left it both physically and spiritu-
ally; (2) those who have alienated themselves from it spiritually; (3) those who remain
faithful" (p. 545). The death of the Teacher of Righteousness is mentioned in CD
20:1 and 20:14, and O'Connor claims that this document "is a reaction to this sit-
uation, and the most striking feature is its timidity" (p. 555). This timidity is appar-
ent in the weakness of the eschatological tone that "the interpolator tried to remedy
by the insertion of 20:13c–17a" (p. 555), and 20:1, and the mutual encouragement
of the faithful members of the community, by alluding to Mal. 3:16, 18 in CD
20:17c–21a (pp. 551–52).

punishment for the betrayal of the Teacher, i.e., "the judgment of their companions who turned away with the men of mockery . . ." (20:10c–12), possibly referring to those who betrayed the 'new covenant' during the Teacher's lifetime.[34] Another betrayal, by a group called 'the house of Peleg,' is mentioned in CD 20:22b–25a (cf. 4QpNah 3–4 iv 1). Thus, it would seem that betrayal of the 'new covenant' was not a single event, but occurred throughout the Qumran community's history. This assumption may be demonstrated by numerous references to efforts made by elements within the community and without, who attempted to cause its members to transgress the precepts of the covenant and to stumble (1QpHab 5:8–11; 1QH[a] 2:34b–36, 4:7, 9c–12, 16–18; 1QM 14:10).

The main demonstration of this reality, however, is apparent in the liturgical curses against those who despise the covenant and in their ceremonial expulsion from the community. See, for example, the curse against those who entered the covenant and afterwards rejected it willfully, as given in the annual covenantal ceremony of the Qumran community (1QS 2:11–18; cf. 4Q280 2, 4Q286 7 ii [= 4Q286 6], 4Q289),[35] and the purgation ceremony involving the expulsion of those who betray the covenant (1QS 2:25b–3:12 and in 4Q266 [= 4QD[a]] frg. 11, lines 5b–18a [= 4Q270 7 i 19c–7 ii 12a]).[36] Possibly, this annual expulsion of those who betrayed the covenant was intended to avoid jeopardizing the community's expectations of everlasting salvation. Such a strategy may have been influenced by Ezek. 20:37–38, according to which a selection process throughout the 'bond of the covenant' will be held at the 'desert of the people'

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[34] See CD 1:14–2:1 and cf. 1QpHab 2:2–3 about "the trai[tors to] the New [Covenant]" "who [did] not [believe the words of] the Teacher of Righteousness."

[35] See Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 51–80; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 124–35; Hebrew version חפילה קומראן ושירתה (Biblical Encyclopedia Library 14; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1999) 90–98; J. T. Milik, "Milkî-ṣedeq et Milkî-reša' dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens," *JJS* 23 (1972): 126–37; B. Nitzan, "286–90. 4QBerakhot[a–e]," in E. Eshel et al., ed., *Qumran Cave 4.VI. Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part I*, DJD 11 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 1–74 (esp. 1–10, 27–32, 75–60, 68–74); B. Nitzan, "4QBerakhot[a–e] (4Q286–90): A Covenantal Ceremony in the Light of Related Texts," *RevQ* 16/64 (1995): 487–506; B. Nitzan, "280. 4QCurses," in E. G. Chazon et al., ed., *Qumran Cave 4.XX. Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*, DJD 29 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 1–8; B. Nitzan, "Blessing and Curses," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 95–100.

[36] For the 4QDamascus fragments related to this ceremony see J. M. Baumgarten, ed., *Qumran Cave 4.XIII. The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)*, DJD 18 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 76–78, 163–67.

in order to remove from among the exiles those who rebel and trans-
gress against the Lord. The wilderness plays a symbolic role in the
eschatological ideology of the Qumran community, as the place and
time of "preparing the way in the wilderness" for gaining eternal
salvation (1QS 8:13–16). This seems to apply both to the fulfillment
of the covenant regulations of the Qumran community and to the
removal of the rebels from the community, as was the situation dur-
ing the Exodus.[37] For this typological ideology, see the use of the
terms שבי המדבר ("the penitents of the desert," 4QpPs[a] 3:1) and
נולת המדבר ("the desert of the people," 1QM 1:3) for the members
of the Qumran community.

IV

*The dilemma of holding a concept of a covenant based simultaneously on free
will and a concept of predestination*

As we have seen, the Qumran community realized that it must peri-
odically purge itself of unfit members those who were unable to real-
ize the sect's ideal of itself as the embodiment of the eschatological
new covenant of God with Israel. That is, the sect assumed that
people entered its ranks due to their own free will,[38] and that now
and then mistakes were made. However, it is also well known that
the sect believed that a predestined fate governed the life of each
individual (see 1QS 3:15–4:26, 1QH[a] 7:20, 15:12–15, 18:24–25; CD
2:3–13, etc.; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.172).[39] The conflict between these
assumptions is evident and should have bothered the community.
Indeed, the question as to whether the members of the Qumran
community were conscious of this dilemma has already been raised
by Jacob Licht, who observed the tension between these two con-
cepts. Licht suggested that the term נדבה, in the sense of 'volun-
teering,' which appears in the term מתנדבים for the members of the
community, e.g., "who volunteer ... to set up His covenant" and

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[37] See CD 20:13b–15a alluded to Deut. 2:14.
[38] On the idea of a covenant based of free will, see for example Josh. 24:14–25.
[39] On the concept of predestination held by the Qumran community, see Licht,
Rule Scroll, 81–105; A. Lange, "Weisheit und Prädestination," in *Weisheitliche Urordnung
und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran*, STDJ 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1995); A. Lange,
"Wisdom and Predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995): 340–54.

"who volunteer to return within the community to His covenant" (1QS 5:21–22), may be the solution to this dilemma, because it points toward the willing acceptance of a predestined fate by each of its members.[40] The conscious solution to this dilemma is apparent in the phrase וכול הנעשה בו ירצה בנדבה "and (in) all that befalls him he shall delight willingly"[41] (1QS 9:24),[42] in which both concepts, predestination and free will, are expressed simultaneously.

Another solution for this dilemma may be based on the theology of the 'election of Israel,' which is characteristic of covenantal theology in both biblical and post-biblical literature, as mentioned above, and which reflects a deterministic outlook *per se*. However, whereas belonging to Israel is a fact of genealogy, membership in the Qumran community is dependent on personal decision. Nevertheless, the idea of retribution is common to both concepts, the 'election of Israel' and the deterministic sectarian outlook. Hence, according to these theological opinions, observance of the Law is the main stipulation for the eternal existence of the covenant. The concept of retribution is formulated in the Decalogue, alongside the biblical history of Israel; this is likewise the case in surveys of Israel's history in the writings from Qumran. Retribution plays a central role, for example, in such liturgical works as the weekly prayer of the *Words of the Luminaries* (4Q504–6) and the *Prayers for the Festivals* (1Q34bis 3 ii 5–8 = 4Q509 97–98 i 6b–10), along with the concept of the 'election of Israel.'[43]

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[40] Licht, *Rule Scroll*, 192–93; J. Licht, "The Concept of Nedavah in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Lectures Delivered at the Third Annual Conference (1957) in Memory of E. L. Sukenik*, ed. J. Liver (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sepher, 1957), 77–84 (Hebrew).

[41] The English translation follows Qimron and Charlesworth in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 1, *Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1994), 43.

[42] See also the following phrases of 1QS 9:24–25, 10:12–13a; 1QH[a] 16:10; and see 1QH[a] 2:20–29 about the explanation held by the author of the *Thanksgiving Scroll* for the dilemma of the suffering of the righteous despite their being chosen by God to hold His covenant.

[43] Because of the mid-second-century BCE date of the earlier manuscript of the *Words of the Luminaries* (4Q504) and the absence of explicit sectarian terminology and ideas in this weekly liturgy, E. G. Chazon considers this work a pre-sectarian prayer ("A Liturgical Document from Qumran and Its Implications: 'Words of the Luminaries' [4QdibHam]," Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1991, 85–90). I, however, claim that the absence of specific sectarian ideas characterizes most of the public prayers from Qumran, especially the fixed prayers that replaced the public sacrificial works (*Qumran Prayer*, 92–111, Hebrew version, 63–77). D. K. Falk, who

Retribution is also significant in the historical survey of the *Damascus Document* (CD 2:14–4:12), which is characterized by the sectarian concept of the choosing of the members of the 'new covenant' from among Israel. In this survey the term בחר ("choose") is used both for the choice of God (4:3–4) and for the choice of human beings. However, the use of the terminology of בחר and רצון in reference to human beings is connected with the phenomenon of rebellion against the covenant of God or against the will of God. Those who violate the covenant are defined as "having departed from God's covenant and chosen their own will" (3:11), whereas Abraham, who kept God's ordinances, "did not choose as his own spirit desired" (3:2–3),[44] and likewise those who followed him. These are the members of the Qumran community "who held fast to God's ordinances, ... with whom God established His Covenant for ever,"[45] "revealing to them hidden things in which all Israel had strayed: His holy Sabbaths, the glorious appointed times, His righteous testimonies, His true ways, and the desires of His will, which a person shall do and lived by them"[46] (3:12b–16a). In the broad context of this survey of the *Damascus Document*, the concept of 'choice' is identified with the concept of predestination, as may be inferred from the identification of those who kept God's ordinances as קריאי שם "those called by name." These are the ones whom "God raised for Himself... so as to leave a remnant for the land and fill the face of world with their seed" (2:11–12), or, formulated otherwise, "the chosen ones of Israel, those called by name, who stand in the end of days" (4:3–4).[47]

According to the deterministic view of the Qumran community, the observance of God's covenant according to its revealed interpretation served as the criterion for identifying the chosen ones of the eschatological 'new covenant,' on the one hand, and those who could not belong to this entity, on the other. Such a concept characterizes a sectarian outlook, which may in turn raise another dilemma,

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dealt with the fixed public prayers from Qumran, reached the conclusion that a common tradition for public prayers in the Second Temple period is reflected in these prayers; see *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 61–94, 215.

[44] English translation from Charlesworth, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2.17.

[45] Cf. 1QSb 1:1–3.

[46] English translation from Charlesworth, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2.17.

[47] English translation from Charlesworth, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2.15, 19.

namely, the connection of separatist groups, such as the Qumran sect, with the rest of Israel. This dilemma, as reflected in the Qumran writings, was investigated by Jacob Licht in his Hebrew article "מטעת עולם ועם פדות אל" ("The Plant Eternal and the People of Divine Deliverance").[48] This dilemma is concerned with the wide historical phenomenon of sectarianism, and is thus excluded from the focus of my article. However, it is noteworthy that another concept of the eschatological 'new covenant,' held by Pauline Christianity, later led to the separation of the Christian groups from Judaism.

In conclusion, the intensified implementation of the religious concept of the covenant in both Qumran ideology and daily life is connected with the community's eschatological outlook. The utopian promise of eschatological continuity and the renewal of the covenant between God and Israel as an eternal covenant became a tangible transformation, as the biblical covenant was adapted to the new circumstances of adhering to revealed interpretations of the Law. While the eschatological reform of the stipulations of the 'new covenant' was intended to "prepare the way in the wilderness" to eternal salvation, it led the Qumran 'new covenanters' to adhere strictly to a meticulous system of keeping the commandments of the 'new covenant.' This system was justified by adapting the biblical concept of free will to the notion of predestination in the covenantal relationship.

Appendix

The wisdom texts from Qumran have recently been published in a preliminary edition,[49] as well as in the DJD series.[50] These publications enable scholars to extend the study of theological topics into a wider area than before. Wisdom literature has an individualistic focus, dealing as it does with sapiential instructions to individuals or with theological dilemmas that trouble individuals. Nevertheless, the tradition of wisdom literature is influenced by the central theological

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[48] מחקרים במגילות הגנוזות [Essays in the Dead Sea Scrolls], in Memory of E. L. Sukenik, ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin (Jerusalem: Shrine of the Book, 1961), 49–75.

[49] B. Z. Wacholder and M. G. Abegg, A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: BAS, 1992), 1–203.

[50] T. Elgvin et al., ed., Qumran Cave 4.XV. Sapiential Texts, Part 1, DJD 20 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); J. Strugnell et al., ed., Qumran Cave 4.XXIV. Sapiential Texts, Part 2, DJD 34 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

concepts of Judaism.[51] The importance of the idea of the covenant between God and Israel in the theology of biblical, apocryphal, and Qumran literature justifies the investigation of this subject in the Qumran wisdom texts, in order to clarify whether and how this subject is handled.

In fact, the term 'covenant' appears only a few times in the wisdom texts, both biblical and from Qumran. Most of these occurrences do not refer to the covenant between God and Israel but to other covenants, such as the covenant of marriage (Prov. 2:17, 4Q415 2 ii 3–4), other personal covenants (Job 5:23, 31:1, 40:28), and the covenant of the priesthood (4Q419 1:3). The only reference to the covenant between God and Israel in the Qumran wisdom texts is probably in the phrase עשה דברי ברי[ת] in 4Q185 3:3, but due to the fragmented context of this phrase its precise meaning is somewhat obscure. As already noted by Harrington, some of the wisdom texts from Qumran follow Ps. 1:2, Job 28:28, and *Sir.* 24:23 in identifying the wisdom of God with the Law of God. This identification is apparent in 4Q525 2 ii 3–4 אשרי אדם השיג חוכמה ויתהלך בתורת עליון ("happy is the man who has attained wisdom, and walks by the Law of the Most High"),[52] and in 4Q185,[53] which may be considered an indirect reference to the covenant between God and Israel. Although 4Q525 appeals to an individual, while 4Q185 addresses the people of Israel, these texts reflect a similar literary phenomenon, that is, the identification of *hokmah* ('wisdom') and *torah* ('Law').

Appealing to the people of Israel, ועתה שמעו נא עמי והשכילו לי ("and now listen my people, pay attention to me," 1–2 i 13–14), the author of 4Q185 calls upon them to remember the wonders God did in Egypt and His portents there (lines 14–15).[54] On the basis of this historical remembrance, he then exhorts them "not to rebel against the words of God, not to step [against . . . Ja]cob, the formula He inscribed for Isaac" (1–2 ii 3–4). Mentioning God's graciousness to Israel on other occasions, the sage continues his appeal to his audience, telling them: אשרי אדם יעשנה ("Happy is the man who does

[51] D. J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 6–10.
[52] Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 66.
[53] The text of 4Q185 was published by J. M. Allegro, ed., *Qumran Cave 4.I*, DJDJ 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 85–87.
[54] Harrington suggests that this appeal may be compared to Ps. 78; see his *Wisdom Texts*, 37.

it"), ובחלקות לא יחזיקנה ... ("... and with flatteries does not appre-
hend her," 1-2 ii 13-14); כן נתן לאבחיו כן ירשנה ("as she is given
to his fathers, so shall he inherit her"), ויורישנה ... לצאצאיו ("... and
he shall give her as an inheritance to his offspring," 1-2 ii 14-15).[55]
Harrington rightly claims that the feminine suffixes in these phrases
may refer either to *hokmah* or to *torah*, or probably to both, as these
are granted to human beings and are considered divine revelation.[56]
According to this wide context, the fragmented phrase עשה דברי ברי[ת]
(frg. 3:3) seems to be parallel to דברי ה׳ ("the words of God," 1-2
ii 3), probably to the commandments of the Law that are to be
carried out (cf. 1-2 ii 13).[57]

The literary similarity between 4Q252 and 4Q185 is apparent
both in the beatitudes and in the instructions written in the context
of the explicit identification of *hokmah* and *torah* 4Q525 2 ii 3-4 (see
above). The objects of these beatitudes and instructions are of a fem-
inine nature, for example, "her ways," "her admonitions," "her chas-
tisements," etc., which may refer either to *hokmah* or to *torah*, or
possibly to both. Concerning the phrase כי בה יהגה תמיד ("on her
he always meditates," 2 ii 6), which may refer to the Law (cf. Ps.
1:2 and Josh. 1:8) that a person is instructed to put "before his eyes"
(2 ii 7), even "in the affliction of his soul" and "in his anguish" (2
ii 6), Harrington claims that "the truly wise person learns wisdom
from the Torah, which in turn sustains him in times of suffering."[58]

The terminology and contents of these texts do not reflect the
typical sectarian terminology and ideology of Qumran literature but
a common biblical and Second Temple period tradition. This tradition
refers *inter alia* to the Torah ('the Law') in general, and not to the
specific interpretation of the Law, the 'new covenant' in the sectar-
ian writings from Qumran. Even the phrase ובחלקות לא יחזיקנה ("and
with flatteries does not apprehend her," 4Q185 1-2 ii 14), in this
context, does not necessarily refer to the interpretations of the Law
held by the Pharisees, who are labeled דורשי חלקות (Seekers of Smooth
Things) in the sectarian writings, but to general deviation from the

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[55] The translation follows Allegro's edition, DJDJ 5.87.
[56] Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 38.
[57] If the phrase עשה דברי ברית is a part of the appeal to persons, its meaning
may be paralleled to the term עשה תורה relating to the performance of the com-
mandments of the Law (cf. 4QMMT B 2, C 27; 1QpHab 7:11, 8:1, 12:4; 4QFlor
1-2 i 7).
[58] Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 69.

Law.[59] Thus, these texts presumably reflect a pre-Qumran literature, probably that of the broad Essene movement prior to the breaking away of the Qumran branch (*yaḥad*) to create a group based upon strict observance.[60] This conclusion was inferred by Harrington on the basis of additional differences between these texts and the explicit sectarian texts, including other sapiential texts from Qumran.[61]

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[59] See the phrase "to seduce by flatteries the sons of men" in 4Q184 1:17; cf. Isa. 30:9–11 and Ps. 12:3–4.

[60] Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 85.

[61] Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 75–86.

"[T]HE[Y] DID NOT READ IN THE SEALED BOOK": QUMRAN HALAKHIC REVOLUTION AND THE EMERGENCE OF TORAH STUDY IN SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM*

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Back in 1984, Prof. Yehuda Liebes of the Hebrew University sought to shed light on the twentieth-century ultra-orthodox Jewish community and its ideology by drawing parallels between some of its writings and those of the Dead Sea sect.[1] In the present paper I wish to follow a similar path, though in the opposite direction: in order to explain a certain aspect of the Qumranic revolution and its historical consequences, I shall start by drawing attention to an interesting (perhaps even an important) development in orthodox Judaism of our own day.

I

In a much discussed paper published a few years ago, Haym Soloveitchik pointed out that orthodox Jewry of the past generation underwent a shift in its mode of religiosity. While in the past orthodox Jews used to anchor their religious praxis in the *living tradition* of their fathers and forefathers, in the last generation a new tendency has arisen: orthodox Jews tend to base their religious praxis on the halakhic rulings *written* in authoritative and canonized[2] texts of Jewish law.[3]

[1] See Y. Liebes, "The Ultra-Orthodox Community and the Dead Sea Sect," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 3 (1982): 137–52 (Hebrew).

[2] On the connection between canonization and authority in Jewish culture see M. Halbertal, *People of the Book: Canon, Meaning, and Authority* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

[3] See H. Soloveitchik, "Rupture and Reconstruction: The Transformation of

This shift presents us with two modes of religiosity: the one, which I would term 'tradition-based observance,' bases its religious praxis on common and accepted custom, which, it is maintained, is the way former generations used to observe the halakha. The justification for such an approach is formulated in the simple argument "This is the way we live," or "This is how it is customary among us." In contrast to this stands what I would term a 'text-based observance.' What characterizes this type of religiosity is its appeal to written—therefore authoritative—texts, as the primary source from which one should draw halakhic guidance.[4]

As Soloveitchik observes, the shift of authority to texts as the sole source of authenticity may have far-reaching effects. Not only does this shift contribute to the tendency of religious stringency and alter the nature of religious performance; it also transforms the character

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Contemporary Orthodoxy," *Tradition* 28 (1994): 64–130. An altered, less detailed, form of that paper appeared in *Accounting for Fundamentalism*, ed. M. E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994), 197–235, but references will be given to the earlier, more detailed, version. See also M. Friedman, "Life Tradition and Book Tradition in the Development of Ultraorthodox Judaism," in *Judaism from Within and from Without: Anthropological Studies*, ed. H. E. Goldberg (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987), 235–55.

Soloveitchik also attempted to explain this shift. Since, however, modern Jewish society is not the focus of my paper, I shall not attempt to discuss his interpretation, which is open to debate (see, for example, the responses of H. Goldberg, "Responding to 'Rupture and Reconstruction,'" *Tradition* 31 [1997]: 31–40; M. Steiner, "The Transformation of Contemporary Orthodoxy: Another View," *Tradition* 31 [1997]: 41–49; I. Chavel, "On Haym Soloveitchik's 'Rupture and Reconstruction': A Response," *Torah U-Madda Journal* 7 [1997]: 122–36). Rather, I would like to draw attention to several insights that emerge from his study that might be relevant to our understanding of the 'Qumranic revolution' and one of its major consequences, as I shall try to explain below.

[4] M. Kister, in a recently published paper, suggests that the Jewish marriage formula כדת משה וישראל ("According to the law of Moses and Israel") is a combination of two distinct formulae: (1) כדת [ספר] משה ("According to the law of [the book of] Moses"), and (2) כנומוס ישראל\יהודאי ("According to the custom of the Jews"). See M. Kister, "כדת משה וישראל-,חולדות של נוסחה משפטית-דחיית" in *Atara L'Haim: Studies in the Talmud and Medieval Rabbinic Literature in Honor of Professor Haim Zalman Dimitrovsky*, ed. D. Boyarin et al. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2000), 202–8 (Hebrew). These two formulae are to be found, as Kister correctly notes, in ancient sources of the Second Temple period: Tob. 6:13 and 7:12, on the one hand, and a marriage contract from 176 BCE found in Maresha (see E. Eshel and A. Kloner, "An Aramaic Ostracon of an Edomite Marriage Contract from Maresha, Dated 176 BCE," *IEJ* 46 [1996]: 1–22), on the other. Assuming that Kister's reconstruction is correct, one may think of these two diverging formulae as echoing the two modes of religiosity with which we are dealing. It is of some significance to note that most of the evidence attesting to the first formula (which emphasizes the 'Book') comes from sources written in the Jewish Diaspora. Regarding the relevance of this fact, see D. R. Schwartz's short notice in his review of Schröder, in *SCI* 17 (1998): 250.

and purpose of religious education and redistributes political power.[5] For if religion is now text-based, it must be transmitted to the next generation by institutionalized education. In such a state of affairs, the influence of teachers and educators increases dramatically, especially that of the scholar, the one most deeply versed in the sacred texts. This in turn entails a shift in political power: authority is now vested in the Sages, masters of the canonized and sacred halakhic texts.[6]

Since the text-based mode of religiosity draws knowledge from books, it is only natural that it encourages the study of books. Consequently, learning groups of halakha now flourish as never before.[7] This, in turn, produces a vast literary activity. Indeed, as Soloveitchik put it, "One of the most striking phenomena of the contemporary community is the explosion of halakhic works on practical observance."[8]

All these characteristics of the shift from 'tradition' to the 'book,' as discussed by Soloveitchik, are highly significant for our understanding of Qumran and its reformative revolution, as we shall immediately see. Yet there is another aspect to which I would also like to draw attention. These two types of religiosity, where 'text-based observance' is of a reformative and revolutionary character vis-à-vis 'tradition-based observance,' are known to students of religion from other religions and periods (e.g., the seventh-century Karaite movement in Babylon or the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation). From a comparative perspective we may say that as a rule the 'text-based' type of religiosity is a reaction to the 'tradition-based' one. Thus, by its very nature, the 'text-based' mode of religiosity is secondary and innovative.[9]

This innovation is a process that reinforces itself. Once one becomes aware of the religious demands as presented by the written sacred text, it is difficult not to sense the discrepancy between these demands and one's traditional practice, which intrinsically is almost always somewhat remote from the fixed law. The awareness of this discrepancy

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[5] Soloveitchik, "Rupture and Reconstruction," 87.
[6] Soloveitchik, "Rupture and Reconstruction," 94. See also Halbertal, *People of the Book*, 6, 129.
[7] Soloveitchik, "Rupture and Reconstruction," 83.
[8] Soloveitchik, "Rupture and Reconstruction," 68.
[9] The importance of this observation for our understanding of Second Temple Judaism (especially the radical character of sectarian ideology vis-à-vis Pharisaic traditionalism) will be discussed below.

has the potential to generate feelings of guilt that, in turn, strengthen the tendency to comply with the strict demands of religious law as embodied in the written authoritative text. The consequence of such a process is a growing denial of the living tradition as a legitimate mode of the religious way of life.

The sense of guilt accompanying the "return to the text" is indeed found in various cases where this process has taken place. An interesting example, described at some length by Israel Ta-Shema, is the confrontation of eleventh-century Ashkenazic Jewry with the Babylonian Talmud and its halakhic traditions, which had been recently introduced into Ashkenaz.[10] Another famous example is King Josiah's reaction to the discovery of the "Book of the Torah" (2 Kings 23). A more relevant example is Ezra's reading of the Book of the Torah, as described in Nehemiah. In Neh. 8:1–8, Ezra reads the Book of the Torah before the assembly. Then Neh. 8:13–14 states "On the second day the heads of the fathers' houses of all the people . . . came together to Ezra the scribe in order to study the words of the law, and they found it written in the law that the Lord had commanded by Moses that. . . ." In other words, according to these verses, this book was hitherto unknown![11] The congregation started to mourn and weep ("For all the people wept when they heard the words of the law," Neh. 8:9) because they realized that until then they had not acted in accordance with the demands of the divine law.[12]

II

At this point I would like to turn to Qumran. The sense of guilt arising from not knowing the correct path, caused by consciousness of the discrepancy between actual practice and the demands of the Torah,[13] is described by the author of the *Damascus Document*:

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[10] See I. Ta-Shema, "Law, Custom, and Tradition in Early Jewish Germany: Tentative Reflections," *Sidra* 3 (1987): 85–161 (= *Early Franco-German Ritual and Custom* [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1992], 13–105) (Hebrew).

[11] See J. M. Myers, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, AB 14 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 154; H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, Word Biblical Commentary 16 (Waco, Tx.: Word, 1985), 298. Cf. M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 107–9.

[12] See Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*.

[13] See M. Kister, "Concerning the History of the Essenes," *Tarbiz* 56 (1986): 1–19 (Hebrew); M. Kister, "Some Aspects of Qumranic Halakhah," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid,*

ויבינו בעונם וידעו כי אנשים אשימים הם ויהיו כעורים וכימגששים דרך שנים
ויבן אל אל מעשיהם כי בלב שלם דרשוהו ויקם להם מורה צדק להדריכם
בדרך לבו.

> And they understood their iniquity and knew that they were guilty
> men. And they were as blind as those who grope for a way for twenty
> years. But God considered their works, that they had sought Him
> wholeheartedly, and He raised up for them a Teacher of Righteousness
> to guide them in the way of His heart (CD 1:10–13).[14]

How this Teacher of Righteousness was to lead the group in the way
of God is not stated here. Nevertheless, a few columns later, when
trying to explain and justify King David's polygynous marriage,[15]
which, according to the author, was not only in contrast to the foun-
dation of Creation but also in contrast to the explicit demand of the
Torah ("He shall not multiply wives," Deut. 17:17), the author argues

ודויד לא קרא בספר התורה החתום אשר היה בארון כי לא נפתח בישראל
מיום מות אלעזר ויהושע והזקנים . . . עד עמור צדוק.

> David—he did not read in the sealed book which was in the ark, for
> it was not opened in Israel since the day of the death of Eleazar and
> Joshua and the elders . . . until Zadok arose (CD 5:2–5).

In other words, David did not act in accordance with the law sim-
ply because he was ignorant of the law; the Book of the Torah was
sealed in the ark and therefore inaccessible to him.

Who is "Zadok"? This question is difficult to answer. Although
many scholars identify him with a biblical figure, it seems to me

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18–21 March 1991, ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner, STDJ 11
(Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 571–76.
    [14] I follow the translation of J. M. Baumgarten and D. R. Schwartz, "Damascus
Document," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English
Translations*, vol. 2, *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, ed. J. H.
Charlesworth (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck] and Louisville: John Knox
Press, 1996). A similar theme might be reflected in *1 Enoch* 90:6–17 and *Jub.*
23:16–20; see Kister, "Concerning the History of the Essenes," 1–15.
    [15] Though it is not explicitly stated here that David is accused of marrying many
women, and though one could think of an accusation for marrying two sisters,
Michal and Merav (see *t. Soṭ.* 11:18 [ed. Lieberman, 224]), it is clear from the con-
text that polygynous marriage is the issue under discussion. See my "Qumran
Polemic on Marital Law: CD 4:20–5:11 and Its Social Background," in *The Damascus
Document: A Centennial of Discovery. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the
Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4–8 February
1998*, ed. J. M. Baumgarten, E. G. Chazon, and A. Pinnick; STDJ 34 (Leiden:
Brill, 1999), 160 n. 26.

plausible to identify him with the founder of the sect (or the Teacher of Righteousness).[16] Accordingly, one is inclined to conclude that the author of the *Damascus Document* argues that one of the sect's innovations was its rediscovery of the book and its appeal to the book as a source of halakhic guidance.

In this light we may fully appreciate the vow לשוב אל תורת משה ("to *return* to the Torah of Moses") that the newcomer to the community had to take, according to the *Manual of Discipline* (1QS 5:7–10).[17] The members of the sect are expected to devote themselves to the reading of the book: לקרוא בספר ולדרוש משפט ("to read in the book [of the Torah] and to seek [guidance regarding] the law," 1QS 6:7). In fact, the author of *4QMMT* expresses the expectation that his opponent will do likewise: ואף כתבנו אליכה שתבין בספר משה, that is,

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[16] On the identification of Zadok with the founder of the sect, see É. Cothenet, "Le Document de Damas," in *Les Textes de Qumran*, ed. J. Carmignac, É. Cothenet, and H. Lignée (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1963), 164 n. 5; J. Liver, "The 'Sons of Zadok the Priest' in the Dead Sea Sect," *Eretz-Israel* 8 (1967): 74 (Hebrew); Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Shrine of the Book, 1983), 1.394–95; B. Z. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983), 112–19. This view was expressed also by Prof. Joseph Baumgarten at the Third International Orion Symposium, "The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery," held 4–8 February 1998, at the Orion Center for the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature.

For the opposing view, that Zadok is a biblical figure from the Davidic period or a bit later, see S. Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), XXI; L. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1976), 21; J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer, Band II: Anmerkungen* (München and Basel: Ernst Reinhardt, 1960), 48; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Die essenischen Schriften vom Toten Meer* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1960), 141 n. 3; J. C. Vanderkam, "Zadok and the SPR HTWRH HHTWM in Dam. Doc. V, 2–5," *RevQ* 11 (1984): 561–70; L. H. Schiffman, *Law, Custom, and Messianism in the Dead Sea Sect* (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 1993), 53 (Hebrew).

Although I prefer the first option it should be stressed that this controversy need not undermine my main argument, since the aspect that I try to emphasize is the sect's historical view (i.e., rupture in tradition due to lack of knowledge of the Torah and its rediscovery), not its accuracy. So even if one prefers to identify Zadok with a biblical figure, the sect's concept is still one of rupture and revelation of the book. This concept, I shall argue, reflects the sect's own historical perception. See also M. D. Herr, "Continuum in the Chain of Torah Transmission," *Zion* 44 (1979): 51–55 (Hebrew). Cf. Kister, "Concerning the History of the Essenes," 5 n. 20, 8 n. 32.

[17] See also CD 16:1–2: לשוב אל תורת משה כי בה הכל מדוקדק ("to return to the Torah of Moses, for in it everything is specified [in detail]"), along with A. Rosenthal, "תורה שבכתב, ותורה שבעל פה—הלכה ומעשה" in *Mehqerei Talmud*, vol. 2, *Talmudic Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Professor Eliezer Shimshon Rosenthal*, ed. M. Bar-Asher and D. Rosenthal (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993), 451 n. 12 (Hebrew).

in Qimron's translation: "we have written to you so that you may study (carefully) the book of Moses" (C 73).[18]

Moreover, according to the *Temple Scroll* 56:3–4 halakhic decisions should be drawn on the basis of this source exclusively: ועשיתה על פי התורה אשר יגידו לכה ועל פי הדבר אשר יאמרו לכה מספר התורה ויגידו לכה באמת ("And you shall do according to the instructions which they will tell you from the book of the Torah and will tell you truly").[19] It is appropriate to recall here Yadin's persuasive observation, that the changes made here by the author of the *Temple Scroll* to the Masoretic text of Deut. 17:8–13 (especially the addition of the words מספר התורה) were aimed at emphasizing the importance of establishing halakha on the written text of the Torah alone, thus excluding the 'tradition of the fathers' as a legitimate halakhic source.[20]

All this was accompanied by a clear tendency to religious stringency. The author of the *Pesher on Psalms* accuses the sect's opponents of choosing a worthless and easy way of religious life: בחרו בקלות.[21] A similar accusation is expressed by the author of the *Damascus Document*: ויבחרו בטוב הצואר, that is, they chose the good life.[22] The tendency to religious stringency is clearly apparent in *4QMMT*; as Sussman observed, all the laws in this halakhic document display a rigorous approach to the halakha.[23]

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[18] See E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.V. Miqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah*, DJD 10 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 58. "The expression ב- הבין denotes here careful study of a *written* text" (DJD 10.59, note to line 10 [emphasis mine]). Cf. M. J. Bernstein, "The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture in 4QMMT: Preliminary Observations," in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History*, ed. J. Kampen and M. J. Bernstein, SBLSym 2 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 49–50.

[19] See Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 251, notes to lines 3–4; E. Qimron, *The Temple Scroll: A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions* (Beer Sheva: Ben Gurion University of the Negev Press and Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1996), 81.

[20] See Yadin, *Temple Scroll*; M. Kister, "Marginalia Qumranica," *Tarbiz* 57 (1988): 315–16 (Hebrew).

[21] See J. M. Allegro, ed., *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 43; D. Flusser, "Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes in Pesher Nahum," in *Essays in Jewish History and Philology in Memory of Gedaliahu Alon*, ed. M. Dorman, S. Safrai, and M. Stern (Tel Aviv: ha-Kibbutz ha-Meuchad, 1970), 160–61 (Hebrew).

[22] See E. Eshel, "4Q477: The Rebukes by the Overseer," *JJS* 45 (1994): 118, note to line 9.

[23] See J. Sussman, "The History of the Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Preliminary Observations on *Miqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah* (4QMMT)," *Tarbiz* 59 (1990): 27, 30, 33–35, 64–65 (Hebrew).

We have seen Qumran's tendency to halakhic strictness and its bibliocentricity, that is, the crucial role that Scripture plays as a source for the sect's self-definition and its unique halakhic norms. Consequently, we are not surprised that the Qumran community placed intensive study of the Torah at the center of its religious activities. According to the *Manual of Discipline* the sect established sessions for the study of the Torah:

ואל ימש במקום אשר יהיו שם העשרה איש דורש בתורה יומם ולילה תמיד
על יפות איש לרעהו. והרבים ישקודו ביחד את שלישית כול לילות השנה
לקרוא בספר ולדרוש משפט ...

> And where there are ten (members) there must not be lacking a man
> who studies the Torah day and night, constantly, one relieving another.
> And the Many shall keep watch together for a third of every night of
> the year, to read the book and to seek [guidance regarding] the law . . .
> (1QS 6:6–7).[24]

Yet, the description of the sect's history in the *Damascus Document*, quoted above, also testifies to the important role played by the 'teacher' in that context.[25] Indeed, "the scrolls are very clear about the pivotal position of authoritative teachers in the history of the community."[26]

So, in summary we can clearly see that all these features of the sect's ideology correspond to the main characteristics of the revolutionary shift from 'tradition' to the 'book,' as analyzed by Soloveitchik: the centrality of the book; the sense of guilt for not having known it before; the denial of 'tradition' as a legitimate source for the halakha; the tendency to halakhic stringency; the establishment of study sessions; and the central role played by the 'teacher.' As for

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[24] My translation. Cf. S. D. Fraade, "Looking for Legal Midrash at Qumran," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May 1996*, ed. M. E. Stone and E. G. Chazon, STDJ 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 66 and nn. 24–28.

[25] Bibliography on the "Teacher [of Righteousness]" in the Scrolls is vast and need not be cited here. For a recent survey see H. Ulfgård, "The Teacher of Righteousness, the History of the Qumran Community, and Our Understanding of the Jesus Movement: Texts, Theories and Trajectories," in *Qumran between the Old and the New Testament*, ed. F. H. Cryer and T. L. Thompson, JSOTSup 290 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 310–46.

[26] M. Fishbane, "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading, and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. M. J. Mulder, CRINT 2/1 (Assen and Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1988), 361.

the last characteristic of the religious shift noted by Soloveitchik, the production of literary works, surely there is no need to remind any-one of the sect's rich literary activity.

III

The correspondence between some of the major features of Qumranic ideology and practice and those of modern Jewish orthodoxy, as described above, has led me to think of the Qumran revolution indeed as a reform, emphasizing the 'return to the written text.'[27] This reform stood in contrast to a different mode of religiosity that had been in existence at that time, that is, 'tradition-based observance,' which emphasized *paradōsis tōn paterōn* the tradition of the fathers.[28]

Admittedly, this might seem strange at first sight, for it is often assumed that the Torah was a public document in the Second Temple period, and that knowledge of its commandments was therefore a

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[27] I shall not attempt to discuss here the question of why this supposed reform from 'tradition' to the 'book' took place. This question, though interesting and important, is beyond the scope of the present study. For two different paths, see D. R. Schwartz, "The Historical Background of the Judaean Desert Sect," in *On a Scroll of a Book: Articles on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. L. Mazor (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1997), 27–39 (Hebrew), and Sussman, "History of the Halakha," 61–63, who stress, from different perspectives, a social and ideological crisis (Sussman's scenario, however, is different from the way in which I try to present the historical devel-opment; see n. 56). A somewhat different, yet not necessarily contradictory, approach is taken by A. I. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation*, JSJSup 55 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 114–36; A. I. Baumgarten, "Literacy and the Polemic concerning Biblical Hermeneutics in the Second Temple Era," in *Education and History: Cultural and Political Contexts*, ed. R. Feldhay and I. Etkes (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 1999), 33–45 (Hebrew), who emphasizes the emergence of literacy as a prime factor underlying the rise of sects in Second Temple Judaism. Since I would like to say something about the consequences of this reform, I would emphasize for the moment its historicity, not its background.

[28] This was a well-known characteristic of Pharisaic ideology. See Josephus, *Ant.* 13.297 (see S. Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees: A Composition-Critical Study* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991], 230–40, for a detailed discussion of this text), 13.408, 17.41; *Life* 38.191; Mark 7:3. See also Josephus, *Ant.* 18.12. On the Pharisaic *paradōsis* in general, which, I think, is identical to the "tradition of the fathers," see A. I. Baumgarten, "The Pharisaic *Paradosis*," *HTR* 80 (1987): 63–77; Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees*, 288–93; B. Schröder, *Die "Väterlichen Gesetze": Flavius Josephus als Vermittler von Halachah an Griechen und Römer*, TSAJ 53 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1996); V. Gillet-Didier, "*Paradosis*: Flavius Josèphe et la fabrique de la tradition," *REJ* 158 (1999): 19–28. Most relevant to our discussion is M. Goodman, "A Note on Josephus, the Pharisees and Ancestral Tradition," *JJS* 50 (1999): 17–20.

commonplace.[29] Consequently, it is taken for granted that the study
of Torah was always a central aspect of ancient Judaism.[30] One may
argue that it is unthinkable that there were times when the study of
the Torah was not prevalent among the people of Israel. It must
therefore be stressed that I am not arguing that the author of the
Damascus Document is necessarily correct when arguing that the book
of the Torah was actually unknown prior to its discovery by the

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[29] See Hecataeus of Abdera, *Aegyptica, apud* Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*
xl.3.6 (M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 1 [Jerusalem: Israel
Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974], 28; I am indebted to Prof. Albert
Baumgarten for this reference). Stern notes that "Hecataeus . . . reflects the actual
situation in Hellenistic Judaea" (*Greek and Latin Authors*, 31, note to par. 5). Philo
argues that all Jews are familiar with their laws because of their custom of read-
ing the Torah on the Sabbath (*Hyp.* 7.12–14).
A similar claim is made by Josephus in *Apion* 2.175–78; see A. Kasher, *Josephus
Flavius, Against Apion: A New Hebrew Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, vol. 1
(Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 1996), 182–84. Concerning
Apion 1.189, which is frequently understood as a reference to public reading of the
Torah, see J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: from Rameses II to Emperor
Hadrian*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 99–100. Baumgarten
noted, however, that not only is Josephus probably using Philo at this point (Philo
himself seems to have relied on an earlier source), but the claim itself is likely to be
an exaggeration. See A. I. Baumgarten, "The Torah as a Public Document in Judaism,"
Studies in Religion 14 (1985): 18–19; Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects*, 120–21;
Baumgarten, "Literacy," 38–39. On the public reading of the Torah, see David
Goodblatt, "Judaean Nationalism in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in this vol-
ume, *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea
Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study
of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 27–31 January 1999*, ed. D. Goodblatt,
A. Pinnick, and D. R. Schwartz, STDJ 37 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 3–27.
[30] See, for example, G. Vermes, "Bible and Midrash: Early Old Testament
Exegesis," in *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 59–91; E. Schürer, *The
History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ 175 BC–AD 135*, vol. 2, rev. and
ed. G. Vermes et al. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1979), 322–25; J. Blenkinsopp,
"Interpretation and the Tendency to Sectarianism: An Aspect of Second Temple
History," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 2, ed. E. P. Sanders, A. I.
Baumgarten, and A. Mendelson (London: SCM, 1981), 1–26; D. W. Halivni, "The
Early Period of Halakhic Midrash," *Tradition* 22 (1986): 37–58 (= *Midrash, Mishnah,
and Gemara: The Jewish Predilection for Justified Law* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard
University Press, 1986], 18–37); Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 91–280; J. L. Kugel,
The Bible As It Was (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 8–16. This
view is shared by virtually all scholars who have debated the question of what form
of Torah study came first: midrash or what is called, in this context, mishnah. See,
for example, J. Z. Lauterbach, "Midrash and Mishnah: A Study in the Early History
of the Halakah," *JQR* 5 (1915): 503–27; 6 (1915): 23–95; J. N. Epstein, *Introduction
to Tannaitic Literature* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press and Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1957), 501–15
(Hebrew); C. Albeck, *Introduction to the Mishnah* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and Tel
Aviv: Dvir, 1959), 40–48 (Hebrew); Halivni, "The Early Period of Halakhic Midrash,"
18–21, and many others. In all these discussions it is assumed that the study of
Torah was widespread; the only question posited concerns chronological precedence
and historical development of its divergent types.

sect.[31] After all, acquaintance with the Bible, one may argue, is evident from the very existence of a Greek translation, the Septuagint, written some hundred years after Ezra. My point is therefore not that the book of the Torah was actually unknown, but that when halakhic issues were raised, it was not customary to appeal to the book of the Torah as the deciding factor.

One of Soloveitchik's remarks is especially enlightening in this context. After all, he admits, the study of halakha has always been central to traditional Judaism, so one may critically ask what is new about the contemporary 'book revolution.' The point is, he replies, that although Jews have always studied halakhic texts, the role these texts played in everyday's life was, until recently, quite limited.[32] Similarly, I am suggesting that with respect to halakha, at least, Qumran's bibliocentricity was an innovation. Prior to that 'revolution' it was not customary to appeal to the written text of the Torah in order to draw halakhic guidance from it.[33]

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[31] I believe this should not be completely ruled out, as we see from the stories concerning Ezra (Nehemiah 8) and Josiah (2 Kings 23). In both cases the biblical account assumes that prior to the finding of the book the people did not even know of its existence, not to mention the precise details of the commandments it contained.

[32] See Soloveitchik, "Rupture and Reconstruction," 65–66. That the study of halakhah and halakhic works is not necessarily halakhically-oriented but may serve other cultural purposes as well is demonstrated by S. C. Heilman, *The People of the Book: Drama, Fellowship, and Religion* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987).

[33] According to Albeck, "In ancient days, when the Supreme Court existed, when a [halakhic] question came before them, in a case on which they did not have any tradition, certainly they expounded and discussed the words of the Torah, and deduced *from it alone* the law"; C. Albeck, "The *Halakhoth* and the *Derashoth*," in *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume*, ed. S. Lieberman (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950), Hebrew section, 1–8 (emphasis in the original). Most of the evidence he produces, however, does not relate to the Second Temple period but to the tannaitic period. The only two examples of evidence that relate to the period prior to the destruction of the Temple, and therefore more relevant, are *m. San.* 11:2 (concerning the Supreme Court in Jerusalem: כך למדתי וכך למדו חבריי, כך דרשתי וכך דרשו חבריי ["this is what I have taught and this is what my colleagues have taught; this is how I have expounded [Scripture], and this is how my colleagues have expounded"), and *t. San.* 9:1 (concerning the procedure of rendering a final decision by the Supreme Court in Jerusalem: ונושאין ונותנין העניין כל הלילה ואם היה רוצח נושאין ונותנין בפרשת רוצח ואם היה מגלה עריות נושאין ונותנין בפרשת נילוי עריות ["and they would discuss the relevant [scriptural] paragraph all night long; if he was [accused as] a murderer, they would study the [scriptural] paragraph of [the law of] murderer; if he was [accused as] an adulterer, they would study the [scriptural] paragraph of [the law of] adultery"]).

The crucial phrases in these two sources, however, are absent from the parallels, as E. E. Urbach notes in his "The Drasha As a Basis of the Halakhah and the Problem of the *Soferim*," *Tarbiz* 27 (1958): 180 n. 49 (= *The World of the Sages* [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988], 64 n. 49) (Hebrew); E. E. Urbach, *The Halakha: Its Sources and Development* (Givatayim: Masada, 1986), 388–89 n. 49. Further, these

This can be shown in the first place by the very fact that there is almost no reference to Scripture in the early halakhic dicta of the Second Temple era. As Ephraim E. Urbach noted long ago, in all the reports found in talmudic literature regarding halakhic decisions and rulings given by authorities of the Second Temple era, prior to Hillel and Shammai, one finds no reference to Scripture at all.[34] These early rulings, without exception, contain no biblical proof-texts as their foundation or justification. Moreover, in a recent paper, Daniel Schwartz has shown that even in the sayings attributed to Hillel (whom talmudic tradition records as the one who laid the foundations for a systematic study of Scripture—that is, the seven *middot* or exegetical principles for the study of Torah),[35] reference to Scripture and use of it as a justification for a halakhic position are rarely to be found, if at all.[36]

In light of the central role that scriptural citations play in later rabbinic discourse and in light of the rabbinic tendency to add citations to halakhic statements where these are lacking, the absence of scriptural proof-texts in halakhic sayings attributed to authorities of the Second Temple period is striking, to say the least, and undoubtedly calls for an explanation. Urbach has suggested that the fact that early halakha, as it is known to us from rabbinic sources, is presented in the form of decrees, testimonies and traditions derived from custom, but without reference to Scripture, indeed indicates that in those days halakhic decisions were not derived from Scripture. Rather,

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sources are, like most of the rabbinic material relating to this institution, idealised, late, and anachronistic projections, and therefore cannot be used as evidence for the Second Temple era. See D. Goodblatt, *The Monarchic Principle: Studies in Jewish Self-Government in Antiquity*, TSAJ 38 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1994), 77–130. Even if one were to accept these sources at face value, it should be stressed that they contain no hint whatsoever as to the exact period to which they refer; it may well be the case that they 'describe' a first century CE 'reality,' while I speak of a much earlier era. It should be borne in mind that my thesis does not exclude, of course, the simple possibility of historical development; the contrary is the truth.

[34] See E. E. Urbach, "The Drasha," 166–82 (= *The World of the Sages*, 50–66); Urbach, *The Halakhah*, 93–108; Halivni, *Midrash, Mishnah, and Gemara*, 19.

[35] *T. San.* 7:11 (ed. Zuckermandel, 427); Sifra, *Baraitha de-Rabbi Ishma'el*, end (L. Finkelstein, *Sifra on Leviticus* [New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1983] 9–10); *ARN*, Version A, 37 (ed. Schechter, 110). Cf. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 344.

[36] See D. R. Schwartz, "Hillel and Scripture: From Authority to Exegesis," in *Hillel and Jesus: Comparative Studies of Two Major Religious Leaders*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth and L. L. Johns (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 335–62.

institutional authority was their main source of legitimacy.[37] This line of thought has been adopted by other scholars as well.[38]

The context in which Urbach has dealt with this phenomenon was the much debated question of which form of study of the unwritten law (תורה שבעל פה) was prevalent and common prior to the rabbinic period: midrash or, in this context, mishnah (i.e., fixed laws without any reference to Scripture). This question, which can be traced back to Maimonides and Nachmanides (as representatives of the opposing views), has occupied the minds of Jewish scholars for generations. Urbach's contribution lay in his attempt to discuss it in a historical manner and to argue for an evolution and a historical change.

I too wish to follow a similar path and to argue, with Urbach, that in the period when these rulings were given, the appeal to Scripture was simply uncommon. The context, however, into which I put the matter is slightly different; I focus on the mode of religiosity presented by the change. Therefore, I would stress not only institutional authority but also the possibility that in halakhic matters, arguments and justifications were drawn from the simple sense of the matter under discussion and that any appeal, if necessary, was to the *paradōsis tōn paterōn*, the tradition of the fathers, not to textual evidence.[39]

IV

The minor role played by the text of the Torah in halakhic contexts in those remote days becomes more and more apparent as we look closely at the earliest passages where reference to Scripture is to be found: by and large their use of the biblical text is in a manner very close to its plain meaning. At times, they even seem to be a mere repetition—in a paraphrase or in another language—of the relevant verses to the halakhic issue under discussion.[40] This fact,

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[37] Urbach, "The Drasha."

[38] See, for example, Herr, "Continuum," 53–54.

[39] So too Schwartz, "Hillel," 337. See also M. D. Herr, "The Role of the Halacha in the Shaping of Jewish History," *Contemporary Thinking in Israel* 1 (1973): 32–35.

[40] See, for example, Yose ben Yoezer's halakhic testimony ודיקרב במתא מסתאב (*m. 'Ed.* 8:4), which seems to be a mere translation into Aramaic of Num. 19:11: הנגע במת לכל נפש אדם וטמא שבעה ימים ("One who touches a corpse . . . is unclean for seven days"). See Rosenthal, "תורה שבכתב" 451–52 n. 15. Cf. Halivni, *Midrash, Mishnah, and Gemara*, 27–30; J. M. Baumgarten, "The Pharisaic-Sadducean Controversies about Purity and the Qumran Texts," *JJS* 31 (1980): 161.

which had been noted in previous scholarly discussions,[41] indicates
not only that Scripture was not used as a ground for halakhic rul-
ing but also that once it came to be used for this purpose (much
later), it was used, at first, in a very simple and primitive manner.[42]

As has been frequently observed, a similar tendency characterizes
the halakhic writings of the Qumran sect: although the use of Scripture
to justify halakha is evident, the conclusions drawn from the bibli-
cal text can usually be regarded as a plain meaning of the verse.[43]
A self-conscious explication of the manner in which the biblical text
was interpreted in halakhic contexts—halakhic midrash—is rarely to
be found.[44] This also indicates that the appeal to the written text of
the Torah was in its infancy at that time. Even what seemed to
many to be an example of highly developed halakhic midrash at

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[41] See Urbach, "The Drasha," 173 (= *The World of the Sages*, 57); Urbach, *The
Halakhah*, 96; Rosenthal, "תורה שבכתב" 448–55, esp. nn. 12–19, and the bibliogra-
phy cited there. The affinity with the literal meaning of Scripture is a feature that
characterizes, according to several scholars, the teachings of the School of Shammai.
See I. Knohl, "A Parasha Concerned with Accepting the Kingdom of Heaven,"
Tarbiz 53 (1983): 15 n. 19. The general resemblance between Shammaitic stands
and those of the 'ancient' (sectarian) halakha has been noted by many scholars too.
See Sussman, "History of Halakha," 72 n. 237, and the bibliography cited there.

[42] See further below, p. 121.

[43] See, for example, Kister, "Some Aspects of Qumranic Halakhah," 587: "The
Dead Sea sect interpreted the biblical text correctly ... according to the plain mean-
ing of the verse"; "Jubilees and the Qumran sect ... adopt the approach implied
by the plain sense of the Torah" ("Some Aspects of Qumranic Halakhah," 580);
Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10.133: "It seems that the sectarians strove to observe
the commandments in accordance with the literal sense of Scripture." Note, how-
ever, that I did not say "*the* plain meaning," but only "a plain meaning." By doing
so, I wish to avoid the difficulty of having to determine a biblical text's original
meaning. I am trying to show that the reading of Scripture at Qumran (and in
other early sources) is confined to the relevant biblical text under discussion, con-
trary to rabbinic midrash which, as is well known, brings all relevant verses into
the discussion. Cf. Fishbane, "Mikra at Qumran," 348–49.

[44] See M. J. Bernstein, "*Midrash Halakhah* at Qumran? 11Q Temple 64:6–13 and
Deuteronomy 21:22–23," *Gesher* 7 (1979): 145–66; Bernstein, "Employment and
Interpretation of Scripture in 4QMMT," 34: "there is no comprehensive, or even
large-scale, treatment of legal exegetical methodology at Qumran"; A. Goldberg,
"The Early and Late Midrash," *Tarbiz* 50 (1981): 98–99 n. 16 (Hebrew); J. M.
Baumgarten, "Halivni's *Midrash, Mishnah, and Gemara*," *JQR* 77 (1986): 62: "The use
of hermeneutic rules ... was apparently confined to rabbinic tradition. Thus, the
efforts of some scholars to find illustrations of נזרה שוה in Qumran exegesis have
not been successful"; L. H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia:
Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 220: "Somewhat rare in the scrolls is a technique
of halakhic Midrash"; Fraade, "Midrash at Qumran," 59–79: "There is relatively
little legal midrash to be found at Qumran," 74; M. Kister, "A Common Heritage,"
105: "Most Qumranic interpretations of legal passages in the Pentateuch consist of
paraphrases."

Qumran, CD 5:7–11 (prohibition of marrying one's niece) is, in fact, a simple straightforward argument derived from the general linguistic sense of the biblical law: ומשפט העריות הוא כתוב לזכרים וכהם כנשים ("the precept of incest is written from the point of view of males, but the same applies to women").[45] How far this is from tannaitic midrash, as we know it, throughout the rabbinic literature![46]

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[45] See Rosenthal, "תורה שבכתב," 453 n. 15. Cf. Herr, "Continuum," 53–54; Herr, "Who Were the Baethusians?," in *Proceedings of the Seventh World Congress of Jewish Studies: Studies in the Talmud, Halacha and Midrash* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1981), 19.

[46] See also Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10.133: "This attitude of the sect can also be seen in the halakhot themselves, with the rigid and consistent interpretations given in them to terms from the Torah, as compared to the more fluid and more innovative rabbinic interpretations of these same terms." This is not merely incidental, for if one adheres to the plain, literal meaning of a text, surely there is no need to justify the conclusions drawn from it, which, it might be argued, are not, in a sense, 'conclusions' at all. Only when deviating from the plain, literal meaning of the biblical text does one need to explicate the method by which the conclusion was drawn, in order to justify it. This is halakhic midrash. (I am indebted to Dror Yinon for this often overlooked insight.) For that reason, it would be appropriate to avoid, as much as possible, using the term 'midrash' with respect to Qumran halakhic material. Since, however, there is a certain ambiguity with the use of the term 'midrash' in this context, it seems to me that a terminological clarification is appropriate here.

Kister is undoubtedly correct, that "it is impossible to go back to the Torah without some sort of biblical exegesis" ("Some Aspects of Qumranic Halakhah," 573), and that "often . . . the sectarian law appears to derive from an interpretation of Scripture" (Kister, "A Common Heritage," 105). This does not necessarily imply, however, that any such interpretation and exegesis should be designated 'midrash'; the terms are not identical. It is true that if one takes 'midrash' to apply to any reading of the biblical text (and thus to any kind of exegesis) and if one allows for speculations regarding the methods by which the sect might have deduced from Scripture its halakhic norms (this path was followed, most notably, by L. H. Schiffman, in his *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls* [Chico: Scholars Press, 1983]), then the use of the term 'midrash' might seem adequate.

If, however, we view such speculations as problematic (see the important critical review of Schiffman's book by C. Milikowsky, "Law at Qumran: A Critical Reaction to Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code*," *RevQ* 12 [1986]: 237–49; Fraade, "Midrash at Qumran," 62; A. I. Baumgarten's review of the Hebrew edition of Schiffman's book in *Zion* 58 [1993]: 510 n. 7 [Hebrew]), and if by the term 'midrash' we refer to a specific and unique method of reading (which, as we know from rabbinic literature, is quite complicated), then 'midrash' can hardly be found in Qumran halakhic literature. This fact was admitted, after all, by Schiffman himself (see the references in n. 44 above and Rosenthal, "תורה שבכתב").

For similar reasons I would avoid using this term when describing attempts, by the authors of later books of the Hebrew Bible, to interpret pentateuchal commandments or to reconcile contradictory verses in the Torah. See Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 134–37; I. L. Seeligmann, "The Beginnings of *Midrash* in the Book of Chronicles," *Tarbiz* 49 (1980): 14–32 (= *Studies in Biblical Literature* [Jerusalem: Magnes

The absence of scriptural proof-texts from halakhic rulings attrib-
uted to authorities of the Second Temple era, on the one hand, and
the close correspondence between these halakhic rulings and Scripture,
on the other, indicate that the appeal to Scripture as a source for
guidance in halakhic matters was uncommon, at the beginning, and
very primitive. The following example will illustrate this assertion.
In a *baraita* preserved in the Tosefta, the Palestinian Talmud, and
the Babylonian Talmud, we find the following account:

דרש הלל הזקן לשון הדיוט. כשהיו בני אלכסנדריא מקדשין נשים אחר בא
וחוטפה מן השוק, ובא מעשה לפני חכמים בקשו לעשות בניהן ממזרים. אמ'
להן הלל הזקן: הוציאו לי כתובת אמותיכם. הוציאו לו, וכתוב בה 'כשתכנסי
לביתי תהוי לי לאנתו כדת משה וישראל' [ולא עשו בניהן ממזרין].

Hillel the Elder expounded (דרש) ordinary language. When the people
of Alexandria would betroth women, another man would come and
abduct her from the market, and the case came before the Sages, and
they wanted to declare (lit.: to make) their children bastards (ממזרין).
Said Hillel to them: "Show me the marriage contracts (כתובת) of your
mothers." They showed him, and it was written in it: "When you
enter my house you shall become my wife according to the laws of
Moses and Israel," [so they (i.e., the Sages) did not declare their chil-
dren bastards].[47]

As Saul Lieberman noted,[48] medieval commentaries on the Babylonian
Talmud were perplexed by this text. Taken at face value, it is difficult
to see what Hillel could have added to the explicit words of the
Alexandrians' marriage contracts, and therefore it is difficult to under-
stand why the *baraita* refers to it as a *drashah*. They took it for granted

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Press, 1996²], 454–74 [Hebrew]); D. W. Halivni, "Reflections of Classical Jewish
Hermeneutics," *PAAJR* 62 (1996): 21–22; D. W. Halivni, *Revelation Restored: Divine
Writ and Critical Responses* (Boulder: Westview, 1997), 22–26. Elsewhere I hope to
show that Sadducean and Baethesian halakha are closely related to the plain mean-
ing of Scripture, as it is traditionally taken to be (cf. Kister, "Some Aspects of
Qumranic Halakhah," 574); if this is proven correct, then, with respect to these
two groups as well, the use of the term 'midrash' should be avoided. Cf. Sussman,
"History of Halakha," 57 n. 185; D. Henshke, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem: The
Sages and Sectarian *Halakhah*," *Tarbiz* 67 (1997): 28 (Hebrew), and the bibliogra-
phy cited there in n. 88.
  [47] See *t. Ket.* 4:9 (ed. Lieberman, 68); *j. Ket.* 4:8, 28d (= *j. Yeb.* 15:3, 14d); *b. B.
Meṣ.* 104a. The concluding remark is found only in the Palestinian Talmud's ver-
sion, but it is implicit in the Tosefta.
  [48] See Lieberman, *Tosefta Kifshutah*, vol. 6 (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary
of America, 1967), 245–47.

that Hillel ('The Elder'!) made an original contribution to the under-
standing of the text under discussion, and so they refused to accept
the story at face value. This difficulty has produced several compli-
cated and forced explanations of the *baraita* in order to avoid leav-
ing the reader with the impression that Hillel did not make a significant
contribution.[49]

The text, however, is quite clear and very simple; it argues that
Hillel's innovation was his willingness to look at the written text of
the marriage contract and to rely upon it as a source to decide the
matter.[50] In that early stage, this is precisely what is meant by the
term 'midrash.'[51] Again we see that the very concept of the text as
an authority to which one may appeal in halakhic matters was rel-
atively new at that time.

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[49] This difficulty has perplexed modern scholars as well. See, for example, Kister,
"רת משה וישראל," 202 n. 2; Ch. Albeck, "Betrothal and its Deeds," in *Studies in
Memory of Moses Schorr*, ed. L. Ginzberg and A. Weiss (New York: Hotsa'at Va'adat
Zikaron Mosheh Shorr, 1944), 16 (Hebrew); L. M. Epstein, "Notes on the Status
of the Jewish Woman," *JQR* n.s. 14 (1923–24): 497–98; A. Gulak, *Das Urkundenwesen
im Talmud im Lichte der griechisch-aegyptischen Papyri und des griechischen und römischen Rechts*
(Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1935), 37–38 (= *Legal Documents in the Talmud in Light of
Greek Papyri and Greek and Roman Law*, edited and supplemented by R. Katzoff
[Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1994], 47). *En passant*, I would note that Gulak wanted
to emend the text and read השוק וחוטפה ("and one from the market
would come and abduct her") but this is unnecessary; the text describes a well
known reality in Mediterranean societies. See J. Evans-Grubbs, "Abduction Marriage
in Antiquity: A Law of Constantine (*CTh* IX. 24. I) and Its Social Context," *Journal
of Roman Studies* 79 (1989): 59–83; J. Evans-Grubbs, *Law and Family in Late Antiquity*
(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995): 183–93.
[50] See also Urbach, "The Drasha," 176–77, end of n. 35; A. I. Yadin, *Imitatio
Scripturae: Torah and Hermeneutics in the Rabbi Ishmael Midrashim* (Ph.D. dissertation;
Berkeley University, 1999), 150. This is implied in Hillel's response: הוציאו לי
כתובה אמותיכם, which indicates that the essence of Hillel's innovation was his very
willingness to use the written document to solve the halakhic difficulty. Cf. Kister,
"רת משה וישראל," 202 n. 2.
[51] Cf. Rashi, *ad b. San.* 52b, who writes of the Sadducees that they explicate
Scripture literally (של צדוקי—שדורשין מקרא ככתבו), i.e., they simply read the text
of the Torah and follow its literal meaning. On the development of the term
'midrash,' see J. Heineman, "The Development of the Technical Terminology for
the Interpretation of the Bible, PRS," *Leshonenu* 15 (1946): 182–89 (Hebrew); and,
most recently, A. Hurvitz, "Continuity and Innovation in Biblical Hebrew: The
Case of 'Semantic Change' in Post-Exilic Writings," in *Studies in Ancient Hebrew
Semantics*, ed. T. Muraoka, Abr-Nahrain Supplement Series 4 (Louvain: Peeters Press,
1995), 1–10.

V

Thus, the evidence indicates not only that Qumran's appeal to Scripture should be seen as a reforming innovation but also that it marks the beginning of this new fashion. Yet, the Dead Sea sect is only our best-documented Jewish group of the Second Temple period, and not necessarily the most important. One may therefore assume that the fashion of 'returning to the text' was accepted by others, too. Indeed, as Urbach noted, at approximately the same time we find other separatists who demanded the founding of halakha exclusively on Scripture.[52] One of them was Judah ben Dorthai, about whom we possess the following tannaitic tradition:

תניא: יהודה בן דורתאי פירש הוא ודורתאי בנו והלך וישב לו בדרום. אמר:
אם יבוא אליהו ויאמר להם לישראל מפני מה לא חגגתם חגיגה בשבת מה
הן אומרים לו? תמהני על שני גדולי הדור, שמעיה ואבטליון, שהן חכמים
גדולים ודרשנין גדולים ולא אמרו להן לישראל חגיגה דוחה את השבת.

> It was taught [in a tannaitic source]: Judah ben Dorthai departed
> (פירש), he and Dorthai his son, and went and dwelt in the South. He
> said: "If Elijah should come and say to them, to [the people of] Israel,
> "Why did you not sacrifice the *Haggiga* on the Sabbath?," what will
> they answer him?! I am astonished at the two great masters of our
> generation, Shemma'aya and Avtalion, who are great masters and great
> explicators (דרשנין), yet they have not told them, [the people of] Israel,
> that the *Haggiga* offering overrides the Sabbath!" (*b. Pes.* 70b).

Urbach noted that this *baraita* shows that Judah's departure was rooted in his willingness to draw halakhic guidance, in a matter under dispute, from Scripture.[53] This willingness, however, was not shared by Shemma'aya and Avtalion, who refused, according to this source, to rule on the basis of an exposition of Scripture. This fact indicates that the procedure had not yet gained wide acceptance.

Moreover, it is possible that refusal, or at least hesitation, to base halakhic decisions on the written words of Scripture is echoed in other sources that refer to the late Second Temple period as well.[54] Such reluctance continued to exist even later, most notably with the

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[52] See Urbach, "The Drasha," 175–76.

[53] Urbach, "The Drasha." Cf. J. Tabory, "The Paschal *Hagiga*: Myth or Reality?," *Tarbiz* 64 (1994): 42–43 (esp. n. 13).

[54] See Urbach, "The Drasha," 176–78. Urbach refers, *inter alia*, to the account of the discussion between Hillel and the sons of Bathyra on the problem of whether the Paschal sacrifice overrides the Sabbath (*t. Pes.* 4:13 [ed. Lieberman, 165]; *j. Pes.* 6:1, 33a; *b. Pes.* 66a). He assumes that the phrase אף על פי שישב ודרש להם כל היום לא

most "traditionalist" of all the rabbis, Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus.[55]

All this leads to one and the same conclusion, as we have formulated it: the appeal to the written text of the Torah as an authoritative source for halakhic matters, and as a means by which one is able to discuss halakhic questions, was a revolutionary innovation of first-century BCE Judaism, and it was actually unknown prior to that era.[56]

קיבלו ממנו עד שאמר להן יבא עלי כך שמעתי שמעתי משמעיה ואבטליון ("although he sat down and explicated [Scripture] all day long they did not accept from him until he said to them 'I swear, so I heard from Shemma'aya and Avtalion'"), found in the version of the Palestinian Talmud, reflects "a principle refusal to the *drasha* as a base for the halakha" (n. 35). However, not only this phrase is absent from the parallel (and more primitive?) version of the Tosefta, but also a comparison with the Babylonian version seems to indicate that the issue might be different—namely, the tension between "remembrance" and knowledge, on the one hand, and scholastic abilities, on the other hand. On this tension, which is fundamental to the rabbinic study circles, see A. Schremer, "'He Posed Him a Difficulty and Placed Him': A Study in the Evolution of the Text of TB *Bava Kama* 117a," *Tarbiz* 66 (1997): 415 n. 47.

[55] On Rabbi Eliezer's conservative character, see Y. D. Gilat, *R. Eliezer Ben Hyrcanus: A Scholar Outcast* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1984); M. Fisch, *Rational Rabbis: Science and Talmudic Culture* (Bloomington and Minneapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 63–64.

[56] The affinity of Sadducean halakha to Scripture (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.297; *scholion* to *Megillat Ta'anit*, 4 of Tammuz [I hope to touch upon this issue in a forthcoming study; see above, end of n. 48]) has led most scholars, starting with A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bible in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der innern Entwicklung des Judentums* (Breslau: Julius Hainauer, 1857), 134, to view the Sadducean halakha as a 'conservative' halakha, as opposed to the more 'liberal' one of the Pharisees. Seen in that light, it was customarily assumed that the Sadducean position was extremely conservative and faithful to ancient halakha and that they preserved the ancient Israelite religious cult that persisted from the time of the First Temple, through the Exile, until the late days of the Second Temple era. See, for example: R. Meyer, "Saddoukaios," *TDNT* 7:50; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 411; Sussman, "History of Halakha," 65 n. 206, 69 n. 226; I. Knohl, "The Priestly Torah versus the Holiness School: Sabbath and the Festivals," *HUCA* 58 (1987): 104–6; I. Knohl, "Post-Biblical Sectarianism and the Priestly Schools of the Pentateuch: The Issue of Popular Participation in the Temple Cult on Festivals," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, 607–9. Also on the antiquity of several Sadducean (but also Pharisaic) halakhic positions, see A. Rofé, "The Onset of Sects in Postexilic Judaism: Neglected Evidence from the Septuagint, Trito-Isaiah, Ben Sira, and Malachi," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism: Essays in Tribute to Howard Clark Kee*, ed. J. Neusner et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 39–49; S. Naeh, "Did the Tannaim Interpret the Script of the Torah Differently from the Authorized Reading?," *Tarbiz* 61 (1992): 439 (Hebrew).

As I noted above, however, since text-based ideologies, as a rule, are of secondary and reformative character vis-à-vis the prevailing, 'tradition-based,' type of religiosity, it might be argued that the Sadducean halakha is a revolutionary *return* to the text, not a conservative preservation of ancient, biblical tradition. Here I find myself in agreement with Goodman, "Note on Josephus, the Pharisees and Ancestral Tradition," who writes, "the Pharisees were essentially conservative in behaviour, and, incidentally, the Sadducean rejection of normal custom far more radical than it is usually portrayed" (p. 18). Cf. A. I. Baumgarten, "The Pharisaic *Paradosis*," 63–77.

True, there had been instruction in Israel since biblical days and there were occasions when the Torah was read and explained in public.[57] But it was only in the last generations before Hillel that the learning of the Torah became a principal force in Judaism: First, in the sectarian movements and in the Diaspora, then, through Hillel, in Jerusalem and in classical Judaism.[58]

VI

This new trend of appeal to the written text of the Torah in halakhic contexts, however, had the potential of revealing that the common, accepted, traditional way of observance is contradicted by the Torah, and thus to threaten this tradition. The simple 'traditionalist' reply, "This is how it is customary among us," could no longer suffice. The following account of a conversation between R. Joshua and a certain pious priest in Ramat Bnei Anat is illuminating in this context:

מעשה בכהן אחד חסיד ברמת בני ענת והלך רבי יהושע לדבר עמו, והיו
עוסקים בהלכות חסידים, וכיון שהגיעה עונתה של סעודה אמר לאשתו: הביאי
טיפה של שמן לתוך הגריסין. הלכה ונטלה את הפך מתוך הכירה. א"ל: רבי,
וכי הכירה טהורה היא? אמר לו: וכי יש כירה טמאה ותנור טמא? א"ל והרי
הרא אומר 'תנור וכירים יותץ טמאים הם (ויקרא, יא:לה), הא שיש תנור טמא
וכירים טמאים! . . . אמר: רבי, כך הייתי נוהג כל ימי! אמר לו: אם כך היית
נוהג כל ימיך לא היית אוכל קדשי שמים כתקונן.

There was a case of a certain pious priest in Ramat Bnei Anat, and R. Joshua went to speak with him, and they were discussing laws of piety. When it was time for the meal he said to his wife: Go bring us a drop of oil into the beans. She went and took the flask from the stove. Said [R. Joshua] to him: Rabbi, is the stove clean? Said [the pious priest] to him: Is there an unclean stove or an unclean oven [at all]?! Said [R. Joshua] to him: But Scripture says "Oven, or ranges, they shall be broken down, for they are unclean" (Lev. 11:35), so there can be that an oven and a stove may be unclean! Said [the pious priest]: Rabbi, this is how I used to do all my life. Said [R. Joshua] to him: If this is how you used to do all your life, you have never eaten sacramental food properly![59]

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[57] See above, n. 29.

[58] N. N. Glatzer, *Hillel the Elder: The Emergence of Classical Judaism* (New York: Schocken, 1966), 55. See also Vermes, "Bible and Midrash," 80–81, and further below, n. 62.

[59] *ARN*, Version B, chap. 27 (ed. Schechter, 28b–29a). On this story see S. Safrai, *In Times of Temple and Mishnah: Studies in Jewish History*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1994), 510–11, 521–22.

The context in which this story is brought is the saying ודלא שמש
חכימיא קטלא חייב ("whoever does not serve the Sages is worthy of
death"). This is a variant reading of the saying in *m. 'Ab.* 1:13: ודלא
יליף קטלא חייב ("whoever does not learn is worthy of death").[60] When
conflated, this tradition demands not only serving the Sages but also
studying Torah. The pious priest is presented as an ignoramus who
has never learned Torah and therefore does not observe the law appro-
priately. His reply to R. Joshua's rebuke is the simple 'traditionalist'
argument: "This is the way I live." This reply, however, is imme-
diately rejected: אמר לו: אם כך היית נוהג כל ימיך לא היית אוכל קדשי
שמים כתקונו ("Said [R. Joshua] to him: If this is how you used to do
all your life, you have never eaten sacramental food properly"). Thus,
the simple argument from tradition has lost its persuasive effect.

Under such circumstances, how would those who adhered to the
'tradition of the fathers' react in response to the attacks on that tra-
dition and the challenges put to it by 'book-oriented' Jews, whose
opinions had the prestige and weight of being based on the holy
words of God to Moses? One reply could have been that of some
of the Ashkenazic Jews of the eleventh century who dismissed the
'revealed book,' the Babylonian Talmud, as irrelevant and contin-
ued to adhere to their forefathers' traditions, assuming that such old
traditions could not have been so fixed unless they were, in fact,
ancient traditions that had been given to Moses himself at Sinai.[61]

But the Babylonian Talmud is one thing; the explicit words of the
Torah are another thing altogether and cannot easily be dismissed
in favor of any tradition. Therefore, those who adhered to 'the tra-
dition of the fathers' had to rise to the challenge and work hard in
order to show that their own traditions were also rooted in the bib-
lical text.[62]

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[60] On the complicated question of the relation between the text of *ARN* and the
Mishnah at that point, see M. Kister, *Studies in Avot de-Rabbi Nathan: Text, Redaction
and Interpretation* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi and the Hebrew University, 1998), 127
(Hebrew). It should be noted that the Mishnah provides a much better context for
our story (since it emphasizes learning, as the story does) than *ARN*, which stresses
the duty of serving the Sages.

[61] See Ta-Shema, "Law, Custom, and Tradition," 85ff. Note that in the story
of R. Joshua and the pious priest, the latter does not try to argue that his custom
has deep roots in the ancient Jewish way of life. Such an argument would uproot
the fundamental objective of the story, of course, and therefore would not have
been put forward by the narrator.

[62] See also J. N. Epstein, *Introduction to Tannaitic Literature*, 521. A possible consequence
of this conclusion is related to the much debated question regarding the nature of
halakhic midrash, whether it should be seen as creating halakha or essentially

The first century BCE revolution of 'returning to the text' among various streams of Palestinian Jewry had a far-reaching consequence: it was among the primary catalysts of the emergence of Torah study among Pharisaic or, better, traditional circles in the late Second Temple period.[63] It would not be irrelevant to call attention to the fact that the earliest attestation to the existence of the institution dedicated to the study of Torah, the *bet midrash*, also dates only from the late Second Temple period.[64] Thus, paradoxically, rabbinic Judaism may in large measure owe its prime value, and the existence of its institutional platform, to its 'text-oriented' opponents, of whom the most famous were the Dead Sea sect.

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supporting existing practice. Although this is not the place to examine the issue in detail, we may note that if the above conclusion is correct then one may say that in its origins, the appeal to the written text of the Torah was 'creative' among sectarian circles and 'supportive' of the prevalent practice in 'traditional' circles. In later stages of development, however, it became standard to derive halakhic rulings and concepts from Scripture, even in Pharisaic Judaism, and later, in rabbinic circles, too. Most of the sources adduced by Albeck, "The *Halakhoth* and the *Derashoth*," and others are related to this later stage.

[63] I am aware of the chronological difficulty inherent in this proposal that can be raised in this context. Because it is commonly assumed that the halakhic writings of the Dead Sea sect should be dated to somewhere in the second century BCE, this dating leaves us with quite a long chronological gap between the 'beginnings' (in Qumran) and the 'response' (in Pharisaic circles). The dating, as well as the provenance, of some of the major halakhic documents from Qumran, however, are far from certain (see, for example: I. Knohl, "Re-considering the Dating and Recipient of 'Miqṣat Maʿaśe ha-Torah,'" *Hebrew Studies* 37 [1996]: 119–25; Baumgarten and Schwartz, "Damascus Document," 6–7). In any case, we may safely assume that time was needed until the social-religious criticism of 'text-oriented' Jews had enough impact to raise Pharisaic response. Moreover, if one accepts, with Urbach ("The Drasha," 175–76), the historical reliability of the baraitha in *b. Pes.* 70b, it may be argued that the study of the Torah is evident already with Shemmaʿaya and Avtalion, who are called דרשנין גדולים ('great explicators'). This is a generation earlier than Hillel, so the chronological gap is further reduced.

[64] *T. Suk.* 2:10 (ed. Lieberman, 265), 4:5 (ed. Lieberman, 273), *t. Ḥag.* 2:9 (ed. Lieberman, 383 [= *t. San.* 7:1, ed. Zuckermandel, 425]), and parallels. See L. I. Levine, *The Rabbinic Class of Roman Palestine in Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1989), 26–29. The term *bet midrash* in *Sir.* 51:23, which is frequently referred to in this context (see, for example, I. Gafni, "Yeshiva and Metivtah," *Zion* 43 [1978]: 15–16), should be disregarded, not only because the nature of the institution it describes is obscure, but also, and foremost, because this whole chapter is a retroversion from Syriac and therefore unreliable. See M. Kister, "A Contribution to the Interpretation of Ben Sira," *Tarbiz* 59 (1990): 304 n. 2.

COMMUNAL FASTS IN THE JUDEAN
DESERT SCROLLS*

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The purpose of this paper is to examine the phenomenon of com-
munal fasts[1] in the Qumran literature. Although Flusser interpreted
several of the Qumran texts as referring to a communal fast,[2] in my
opinion, with the exception of Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement), the
communal fast does not appear in this corpus.[3] In the first part of
this paper I try to establish this argument by examining all occur-
rences of צום and תענית and their meanings in the Qumran literature.

The lack of communal fasts in the Qumran literature seems espe-
cially interesting since the texts belong to a separatist dissident group[4]
with ascetic characteristics.[5] Moreover, the Qumran literature was

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* This paper is based on part of my M.A. thesis (see n. 1), written under the super-
vision of Prof. M. D. Herr. I would like to thank him for his valuable assistance, as
well as teachers and friends who read earlier drafts of this paper and offered com-
ments: Mr. U. Fuchs, Prof. D. R. Schwartz, Prof. S. Talmon, Prof. I. Y. Yuval.
  [1] The main difference between communal and private fasts is that the first is a
group activity that has public and social, in addition to religious, aspects. See
N. Hacham, *Public Fasts in the Second Temple Period* (M.A. thesis, Hebrew University
of Jerusalem, 1995), 3–4 (Hebrew); D. Levine, *Communal Fasts in Talmudic Literature:
Theory and Practice* (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998), 1 (Hebrew).
Since the Dead Sea Scrolls deal mainly with the group's characteristics, I focus on
the public aspect. I deal with individual fasts on pp. 138–39 below.
  [2] D. Flusser, "Qumran and the Famine during the Reign of Herod," *Israel Museum
Journal* 6 (1987): 7–16.
  [3] E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–
A.D. 135)*, vol. 2, rev. and ed. by G. Vermes et al. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1979),
484 n. 110, notes that there is no reference to special fasts in the Qumran litera-
ture but does not offer any explanation.
  [4] One would expect fasts to be characteristic of this group, as was the case for
other groups of separatists and dissidents towards the end of the Second Temple period,
e.g., the Therapeutae, according to Philo (*Vit. Cont.* 34–35) and John the Baptist
and his disciples, according to the Gospels (Matt. 9:14–17, Luke 5:33, Mark 2:18–22).
  [5] Thus Josephus describes them: οὗτοι τὰς μὲν ἡδονὰς ὡς κακίαν ἀποστρέσονται,
τὴν δὲ ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὸ μὴ τοῖς πάθεσιν ὑποπίπτειν ἀρετὴν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν "They
shun pleasures as a vice and regard temperance and the control of the passions as
a special virtue" (*War* 2.120; trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus*, vol. 2 [LCL;
London: Heinemann, 1927]). See also: J. Milgrom, "Fasting and Fast Days: In the
Bible," *EJ* 6 (1971): 1189–91; R. Rader, "Fasting," *Encyclopedia of Religion* 5 (1987):

written in the land of Israel, and many sources written there men-
tion communal fasts.[6] Therefore, one might expect communal fasts
to appear in this literature. In the second part of this paper, I try
to explain the absence of communal fasts in the Qumran literature
and, in the course of doing so, to refine one aspect of the concept
of communal fasting.

I

Fasts are hardly mentioned in the Judean Desert scrolls that have been
published. The word צום ('fast') appears in *Pesher Habakkuk* on Hab. 2:15:

הוי משקה רעיהו מספח חמתו אף שכר למען הבט אל מועדיהם—פשרו על
הכוהן הרשע אשר רדף אחר מורה הצדק לבלעו בכעס חמתו אבית גלותו
ובקץ מועד מנוחת יום הכפורים הופיע אליהם לבלעם ולכשילם ביום צום
שבת מנוחתם.

> Alas for him who makes his neighbor drink, putting (to him) his wrath—
> yea makes him drunk, so as to gloat at their festivals—Its prophetic
> meaning concerns the Wicked Priest who pursued the Righteous Teacher
> in order to make him reel, through the vexation of his wrath, at his
> house of exile. It was at the time of the festival of the resting of the
> Day of Atonement that he manifested himself to them, in order to
> make them reel and to trip them on the day of fasting, the sabbath
> of their resting (1QpHab 11:2–8).[7]

This source clearly does not speak of any other public fast but
the fast of Yom Kippur, and has been interpreted as an allusion to
the persecution of the Teacher of Righteousness and his men by the
Wicked Priest, one of the leaders of the people, on Yom Kippur,
reckoned according to the sectarians' calendar.[8]

288; Y. Sussman, "The History of *Halakha* and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Preliminary
Observations on *Miksat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah* (4QMMT)," *Tarbiz* 59 (1989–90): 69 n. 228:
פרישותם הקנאית של בני כת מדבר יהודה היא המאפיינת והמייחדת אותם "The zealous
asceticism of the members of the Judaean Desert Sect is that which characterizes
and distinguishes them" (my translation). The rules concerning the possibility of
owning private property (e.g., 1QS 6:22) and marriage (CD 7:6–9; see D. R.
Schwartz's note in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English
Translations*, vol. 2, *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, ed. J. H.
Charlesworth [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck); Louisville: Westminster John
Knox Press, 1995], 25 n. 67) are good examples of this group's asceticism.

[6] See the lists in nn. 50 and 51.

[7] B. Nitzan, *Pesher Habakkuk: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea (1QpHab)* (Jerusalem:
Bialik Institute, 1986), 190 (Hebrew); English translation: W. H. Brownlee, *The
Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk*, SBLMS 24 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 179.

[8] See S. Talmon, "Yom Hakkippurim in the Habakkuk Scroll," in *The World of*

The word תענית (also translated as 'fast') appears or is reconstructed with a similar meaning in several other texts. In CD 6:18–19, the members of the covenantal community are requested

ולשמור את יום השבת כפרושה ואת המועדות ואת יום התענית כמצאת⁹ באי
הברית החדשה בארץ דמשק

> and to observe the Sabbath day in its exact details, and the appointed times and the day of the fast as it was found by those who entered into the new covenant in the land of Damascus.[10]

It would seem, from the context, that the reference in this instance is to Yom Kippur, since 'the day of the fast' is supposed to conclude the list, 'Sabbath and appointed times,'[11] thus making Yom Kippur an extremely suitable candidate.

The word תענית appears twice in the *Psalms Pesher*:

ועניים ירשו ארץ והתענגו על רוב שלום פשרו על עדת האביונים אשר יקבלו
את מועד התענית¹² ונצלו מכול פחי בליעל ואחר יתענגו כול ב[...]י הארץ
והתדשנו בכול תענוג¹³ בשר (4Q171 1–10 ii 8–11)

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⁹ Thus the reading of most of the editions of the CD. See for example the reading of Schwartz, *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, 25–26, and his translation "as it was found." *The Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1988), microfiche (Hebrew), reads כמצאת? and P. R. Davies, in his *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document*," JSOTSup 25 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 248, reads במצאת. M. Broshi, ed., *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of Book, Israel Museum, 1992), 21, reads כמצאת and notes that this has the meaning כמצוות (= according to the commandment). See also: L. H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran*, SJLA 16 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), 35–36 and n. 87. In contrast, A. M. Habermann, *Megilloth Midbar Yehuda: The Scrolls from the Judean Desert* (Tel Aviv: Machbarot Le-sifruth, 1959), 80 (Hebrew), reads כמצות.

¹⁰ Schwartz's translation in *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, 25.

¹¹ Similarly, Yom Kippur appears also at the end of the series of Sabbath and festivals in 11QPs 27:7–8: ולקרבן השבתות ... ולכול ימי המועדות ולי ם הכפורים שלושים שיר I thank Prof. S. Talmon for this reference.

¹² J. M. Allegro, ed., *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)*, DJDJ 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 43, reads התענה but in an earlier publication, "A Newly-Discovered Fragment of a Commentary on Psalms XXXVII from Qumran," *PEQ* 68 (1954): 71–73, he reads התענית, as do many other scholars (see Nitzan, *Pesher Habakkuk*, 135 n. 42). After the discovery of additional appearances of התענית, the editors of DJD also reverted to reading התענית in this and the following quotation; see M. Baillet, ed., *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)*, DJD 7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 179, and elsewhere.

¹³ Here as well Allegro reconstructed תענית in his first publication; however, in this case, his second reconstruction seems preferable, because these words are a commentary on the clause in the verse: והתענגו על רוב שלום. See the review of

And the humble shall possess the earth and they shall delight in the
abundance of peace—Its interpretation concerns the congregation of
the Poor Ones who will accept the season of the fast and will be deliv-
ered from all the snares of Belial, and afterwards all the [. . .] of the
earth will delight and will luxuriate in all the delights of the flesh.
(4Q171 1–10 ii 8–11)[14]

ובימי רעב יש[בע]וּ כיא רשעים יובדו פשרו א[שר] יחים ברעב במועד
הֹ[תענן]יתֹ[ו] ורבים יובדו ברעב ובדבר כול אשר לוא יצא[ו. . .] לדיוֹת עֹ[ם]
עדת בחירו (4Q171 1–10 iii 2–5)

and in the days of famine they will be satisfied, but the wicked will
perish—Its interpretation is that he will keep them alive in famine, in
the season of the fast whilst many shall perish by famine and plague,
all who did not go out [. . .] to be with the Congregation of his Elect
(4Q171 1–10 iii 2–5).[16]

The phrase מועד התענית ('the season of the fast') has been discussed
extensively in scholarly literature.[17] The accepted interpretation of
these passages links them to the events to which *Pesher Habakkuk*
alludes—the persecution, by the Priest, of the sect members (who
possess a special calendar) on the day on which they observe Yom
Kippur. If this is correct, then the fast in these passages is Yom
Kippur.[18] This interpretation would mean that none of the published
scrolls speaks of a non-fixed public fast and that all public צומות and
תעניות should be identified with Yom Kippur.

   Flusser, however, offers another explanation for the sources that
mention תענית.[19] He connects it with the famine that occurred during

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R. Weiss, "Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan . . . by J. Allegro," *Kirjath
Sepher* 45/1 (1969): 58–59 (Hebrew).

   [14] Pesher on Ps. 37:11; English translation of Allegro, DJDJ 5.43 and 46.

   [15] The reconstruction follows Weiss, "DJDJ . . . by J. Allegro," 58–59, as opposed
to the reconstruction by Allegro. See n. 12 above.

   [16] Pesher on Ps. 37:19–20; Allegro, DJDJ 5.44 and 46.

   [17] For a summary of most of the discussions of the first twenty-five years see
M. P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*, CBQMS 8 (Washington,
D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 192–93, 206–7. See further
the suggestion of R. B. Coote, "'MW'D HT'NYT' in 4Q171 (Pesher Psalm 37),
Fragments 1–2, Col. II, Line 9," *RevQ* 8 (1972): 81–85, that the phrase מועד התענית
has a double meaning and means fasting as well as affliction.

   [18] S. Talmon, "The Calendar of the Covenanters of the Judean Desert," in *The
World of Qumran from Within*, 167; Weiss, "DJDJ . . . by Allegro," 58–59; Nitzan,
Pesher Habakkuk, 135 n. 42.

   [19] Flusser, "Qumran and the Famine," 7–16.

the time of Herod[20] and, Flusser maintains, was depicted in several
of the pesharim. On Hos. 2:11, . . . לכן אשוב ולקחתי דני בעתו "As-
suredly, I will take back My new grain in its time . . .," the pesher reads:

פשרו אשר הכם ברעב ובערום לחיות לקל[ו]ן] וחרפה לעיני הגואים אשר
נשענו עליהם והמה לוא יושיעום מצרוחיהם (4Q166 ii 8–14)

> Its interpretation is that he smote them with hunger and nakedness to
> be a sha[me] and ignominy in the sight of the Gentiles upon whom
> they relied, but they will not save them from their torments (4Q166
> ii 8–14).[21]

Both Josephus and the *Hosea Pesher* mention famine, nakedness, and
an appeal for external aid. In addition, Josephus mentions a plague,
while famine and plague are mentioned in 4Q171 1–10 iii 2–5, quoted
above. Flusser therefore suggests that these passages reflect the inter-
pretation of the sect regarding the famine in the time of Herod.

4Q171 1–10 iii 2–5 also mentions מועד התענית. Flusser concludes
that, according to this pesher, those who observed the 'season of the
fast' survived the famine, while those who did not join the sect per-
ished from the famine and plague. מועד התענית occurs in 4Q171
1–10 ii 8–11 above: a poverty-stricken congregation that accepted
upon itself the 'season of the fast' was saved from the snares of
Belial. It seems, Flusser argues, that this particular fast was estab-
lished due to the famine and saved the sectarians from harm; there-
fore, the 'season of the fast' was worthy of commemoration. The
Damascus Document adds יום התענית to the Sabbath and the festivals
whose observance is obligatory (CD 6:18–19). According to Flusser,
the addition of this fast day was in commemoration of the fast that
saved the sect members. This interpretation of יום התענית is prefer-
able, in Flusser's opinion, because "the word *ta'anit* is never applied
[elsewhere] to the fast of the Day of Atonement."[22]

Flusser's argument deserves to be re-examined. He and other schol-
ars did not relate it to the appearances of תענית in two other col-
lections of Qumran documents, the *Festival Prayers* and the *Songs of
the Sage*. The first two passages are from the *Festival Prayers*, followed
by three passages from the *Songs of the Sage*:

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[20] Josephus, *Ant.* 15.299–316.
[21] English translation of Allegro, DJDJ 5.32.
[22] Flusser, "Qumran and the Famine," 12.

זכורה אדוני מועד רחמיך ועת שׁוֹב[.] [. . .] ותקימהוֹ²³ עלינו מועד תעניה חוק   1
עוֹ[לם . . .] וֹאֹתה ידעתה הֹנסתרֹות וֹהֹנֹגֹלֹוֹת . . .]י[.]ֹעת יצרנו . .ֹ.ֹם
[. . .] קומַנֹוֹ וֹשֹׁוֹכבנו (4Q508 2 2-6)

1. Remember, O Lord, the season of Your mercies and the time of
return [. . .], and You have established it for us as a season of a fast,
an eter[nal] law, and You, know what is hidden and what is reveal[ed . . .
Y]ou have known our inclinations . . . [our rising u]p and lying down
(4Q508 2 2-6)²⁴

לֹרחמהם על תעניתם (4Q509 16 3)   2

2. Have mercy on them for their fasting (4Q509 16 3)²⁵

ואני משכיל משמיע הוד תפארתו לפחד ולבֹ[הל] כול רוחי מלאכי חבל   3
ורוחות ממזרים שד אים ליל׳ת אחים ו[ציים . . .] והפונעים פתע פתאום
לתעות רוח בינה ולהשם לבבם ונֹ[פשׁ]תם בקץ ממשל[ת] רשעה ותעודות
תעניות בני אוֹ[ר] באשמת קצי ננוע[׳] עוונות ולוא לכלת עולם [כי א]ֹם
לקץ תעניות פשע (4Q510 1 4-8)

3. And I, the Instructor, proclaim the majesty of his beauty to frighten
and ter[rify] all the spirits of the destroying angels and the spirits of
the bastards, the demons, Lilith, the howlers and [the yelpers . . .] those
who strike suddenly to lead astray the spirit of understanding and to
appall their heart and their so[uls] in the age of the dominion of
wickedness. And the appointed times for the fasts of the Sons of Ligh[t]
in the guilt of the times of those smitten by iniquity not for eternal
destruction but for the age of fasts of sin. (4Q510 1 4-8)²⁶

תֹעֹותו בתעֹנֹ׳יות ולא לכֹל[ת עולם (4Q511 8 5)   . . . 4

4. . . . lead him astray by fasts and not for [eternal] destruc[tion (4Q511
8 5)²⁷

תעניות וֹעד תום (4Q511 121)   . . . 5

5. . . . fasts till the end (4Q511 121)²⁸

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²³ The scribe wrote a final *mem* and then replaced it with *heh* and *waw*.
²⁴ Baillet, DJD 7.178–79. Translation of all passages, with the exception of the
second, is mine.
²⁵ Baillet, DJD 7.191. Translation by B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*,
trans. J. Chipman, STDJ 12 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 109.
²⁶ Baillet, DJD 7.216. On the reconstruction ונ[פשׁ]תם see Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer
and Religious Poetry*, 240 n. 54.
²⁷ Baillet, DJD 7.224.
²⁸ Baillet, DJD 7.256. Besides these appearances, the editors reconstructed 4Q511
10 in accordance with 4Q510 1 4–8 as follows:

It is clear that most of these passages are fragmented and difficult to interpret. However, the first passage, 4Q508 2 2–6, is undoubtedly connected with the passages from the *Psalms Pesher* quoted above, since it also mentions the phrase מועד תענית 'a season of a fast,' a link that bears further examination.

4Q508 2 2–6 is part of the prayer for the season of the fast. It contains an appeal to the Lord to remember the season of His mercy; this time is apparently depicted as a season of a fast that was established 'for us' as a law (most probably, it should be completed '. . . as an eternal law'). The prayer then mentions that the Lord knows what is hidden and, apparently, what is revealed, our inclinations and our lying down. The statement ותקימהו עלינו מרעד תענית חוק "You have established it for us as a season of a fast . . . law" is suited to Yom Kippur. It is highly unlikely that any other season of fast and mercy that does not appear in the Pentateuch would be defined as a "law" that the Lord established "for us."[29] It should be recalled that Yom Kippur is indeed defined in the Pentateuch as חקת עולם לדרתיכם "a law for all time, throughout the ages" (Lev. 23:31) and חקת עולם "a law for all time" (Lev. 16:31 and 34, with a minor change).[30] In addition, Falk notes the connection between מועד רחמיך "the season of Your mercy" that appears in this passage, and the presumed conclusion of the prayer for Yom Kippur, which contains the formula אשר רחמנו "who had mercy on us."[31] Whether we accept

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1 [רוחי מלאכי חבל רוחות ממזרים שדאים] ליל[י . . .]
2 אחים וציים . . . [והפונעים פתע ל]חעות רוח? *vac?*
3 [בינה ולהשם לבבם ונ . . . חם ב]קץ ממשל(ת) רשעה
4 [והעודרות תעניות בני אוֹן).. . . באשמ] קצי ננועי)
5 [עוונות ולא לכלת עולֹ]ם (°זֹזֹקֹ) [. . כי א]ם לקץ
6 [תעניות פשע]

See Baillet, DJD 7.225–27.

[29] See the discussion on the question of the object to which the word ותקימהו refers in Baillet, DJD 7.179; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 100 n. 37.

[30] For a comparison between the prayer in this passage and the prayer for Yom Kippur, see M. Weinfeld, "Prayers and Liturgical Practice in the Qumran Sect," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport (Leiden: E. J. Brill; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Yad Ben Zvi, 1992), 246–47; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 100 n. 39.

[31] D. K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 165–69. The fragment in which the phrase אשר רחמנו appears is 4Q508 22 + 23. Falk identifies this prayer as a part of the liturgy for Yom Kippur mainly because, in his opinion, מועד התענית in 4Q508 2 3 is equivalent to יום התענית in the *Damascus Document*. Nevertheless, in this paper I have tried to provide evidence for this interpretation of the phrase's meaning and not to depend on Falk's assumption.

Baillet's suggested reconstruction for 4Q508 2 2–6,[32] which connects it with the prayer for Yom Kippur published in DJD 1,[33] or whether we prefer—as would seem to be correct—Falk's reconstruction,[34] it appears that, for these reasons, מועד תענית ('a season of a fast') in this passage refers to Yom Kippur.[35]

If so, we have a precedent for calling Yom Kippur by an appellation that includes תענית; consequently, it is possible and reasonable also to interpret יום התענית in the *Damascus Document* as a reference to Yom Kippur. מועד התענית 'the season of the fast' appears also in the pesher on Psalms, and it is reasonable to assume that the phrase has the same meaning there.[36] There is no reason to assume that its meaning in the *Psalms Pesher* is different from that in the prayer for Yom Kippur. Even if we were to accept Flusser's hypothesis and identify the disasters described in the pesharim with the famine in the time of Herod, there is no reason to infuse the familiar phrase מועד התענית with the new meaning of an unknown fast. כל אשר לא יצאו ... להיות עם עדת בחירו "All who did not go out [. . .] to be with the Congregation of his Elect" may definitely refer to the well-known disagreement over the calendar and the date of Yom Kippur; those who accepted the season of the fast in accordance with the reckoning of the sect received a good reward, were saved from the

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[32] Baillet, DJD 7.178–79.

[33] 1Q34^bis 2 + 1 6. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, eds., *Qumran Cave I*, DJD 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 152–54. See also Y. M. Grintz, "An 'Avoda'-Service of the Day of Atonement from Qumran," in *Chapters in the History of Second Temple Times* (Jerusalem: Y. Marcus, 1969), 155–58 (Hebrew). If, like Grintz and Baillet, we assume that 1Q34^bis 3 ii is from the prayer for Yom Kippur, then we see that this prayer includes sections on the importance of the laws relating to light and on the wickedness of those who do not follow these laws. Both subjects are associated with the polemic over the appointed time of Yom Kippur. However, it is not certain that this fragment is in fact a part of a Yom Kippur prayer (e.g., see Falk, *Festival Prayers*, 178–80, and further references there). Since Milik's completion of 1Q34^bis 2 + 1 2 (כאשר עינינו נפשוחינו) has been shown to be incorrect (see Baillet, DJD 7.186; Falk, *Festival Prayers*, 163), a connection cannot be made between this paragraph and any fast at all.

[34] Falk, *Festival Prayers*, 168.

[35] It is unclear why Baillet, DJD 7.179, is uncertain whether this תענית was also a fast, since he himself lists the appearances of the word תענית in the scrolls and he reconstructs the text using the words תפלה ליום כפורים "prayer for the Day of Atonement."

[36] Although the terms are identical, in the *Psalms Pesher* the phrase appears with the definite article (מועד התענית) and in the prayer for Yom Kippur as indefinite (מועד תענית). In the prayer for Yom Kippur the subject of the sentence is the season (of mercy) and it is described as having been fixed as the appointed time of fasting; thus the definite article is superfluous.

snares of Belial, and survived the famine. This interpretation is sup-
ported by the three passages in which מוֹעֵד 'season' appears with
תענית 'fast,' by the *Damascus Document*, and by *Pesher Habakkuk*, in
which the word מוֹעֵד adjoins the phrase מנוחת יום הכיפורים "the rest-
ing of the Day of Atonement," and is immediately followed by the
word צום. Thus they all allude to the centrality of the timing of the
fast of Yom Kippur, and to the polemic concerning the calendar.[37]

An additional allusion to the dispute concerning Yom Kippur may
possibly be found in 4Q510 1 4–8. Of the three quotations from
the *Songs of the Sage*, the first, which mentions תעניות twice, is the
least fragmentary. Many scholars interpret the word תעניות in this
source as having a meaning other than 'fasts.'[38] However, ancient
Jewish sources do not offer any other certain meaning for תענית apart
from 'fast'[39] and, in the absence of clear evidence, it is preferable to
attribute to it its usual meaning in this case as well. On both occa-
sions in this passage, תעניות occurs in the construct state, first in con-
junction with בני אור, and later with פשע. The word פשע appears to
be the opposite of בני אור; thus תעניות בני או[ר] 'fasts of the Sons of
Light'—fasts that are deemed desirable and good—are contrasted
with תעניות פשע, undesirable fasts. There is a similar parallel between
תעודות ... בני אור 'the appointed times . . . of the Sons of Light' and
קצי נגועי עוונות 'the times of those smitten by iniquity,' i.e., between

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[37] The interpretation by those scholars mentioned above in n. 18 is thus cor-
roborated by the inclusion of מועד התענית in the Yom Kippur prayer.

[38] Baillet, DJD 7.216–18. He interprets תעניות as a reference to the suffering of
the Sons of Light; it is not eternal suffering. He attributes to תענית similar mean-
ings in other sources but not a fast. See B. Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran 'לפחד
ולבהל' Evil Ghosts," *Tarbiz* 55 (1985–86): 19–46, esp. 22, 24 n. 26, and 30 nn.
53–54 (Hebrew); Nitzan offers a similar analysis: "ותעודות תעניות בני או[ר] are the
times of trouble and oppression of the Sons of Light" (30 n. 53; my translation).
Likewise, I. Ta-Shema, "Notes to 'Hymns from Qumran,'" *Tarbiz* 55 (1985–86):
441 (Hebrew), concurs with Nitzan's interpretation of תעניות as "distress." This is
the standard interpretation of תענית, according to E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead
Sea Scrolls*, HSS 29 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 97, 115. However, in my opin-
ion this argument is not necessarily decisive.

[39] With reference to the verse in Ezra 9:5, ובמנחת הערב קמתי מתעניתי "And at
the evening sacrifice I arose from my fasting," which is often discussed in this con-
text, there is no hard evidence that a fast is meant but, at the same time, there is
no evidence of the opposite. See the dictionaries F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A.
Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,
1968), 777, s.v. תענית, under III ענה; L. Koehler et al., *The Hebrew and Aramaic
Lexicon of the Old Testament*, vol. 4 (trans. M. E. J. Richardson; Leiden: Brill, 1999),
1769, s.v. תענית.

the feasts of the Sons of Light and of the sinners.⁴⁰ The expression קצי נגועי עוונות is used with the word אשמה 'guilt' in the construct state (באשמת), thus suggesting that the appointed times (feasts) of the sinners are connected to their guilt (sins).

Since the expression קצי נגועי עוונות offers a contrast to תעודות בני אור . . ., one may infer that the source of guilt is the differences in the appointed times for festivals between the sect and the rest of Israel. In other words, the passage is concerned with the differences in calendar. The specific festival mentioned here is תעניות; it would appear, therefore, that the subject matter is the dispute between the sect followers and the Wicked Priest over the date of Yom Kippur.⁴¹ Mention of this day in the context of the calendrical dispute is particularly appropriate since it was on Yom Kippur that the Wicked

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⁴⁰ The standard meaning of the word קץ in the scrolls is "season, age," but this word has other meanings. See S. Talmon, קץ, *TWAT* 7 (1993): 89–92. In the phrase קצי נגועי עוונות the meaning appears to be a "specific time" or a "festival." For these meanings see 1QpHab 11:6: ובקץ מועד מנוחת יום הכיפורים ". . . the time of the festival of the resting of the Day of Atonement . . ." (see Nitzan, *Pesher Habakkuk*, 191; Talmon, *TWAT*, col. 91). The plural קצי refers to Yom Kippur over the course of years or to the various appointed times of those smitten by evil which differ from those of the Sons of Light. For an interpretation of תעודה as a defined period of time, see E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 115; for an example of this, see *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 1, *Rule of Community and Related Documents*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 5 n. 54.

According to my suggestion, קץ has two different meanings within the same fragment. At the beginning and end it means "age" or "period." In the middle קצי means "appointed times," "festivals," as in 1QpHab. The notion that the same word can appear twice in a sentence with two different meanings should not be ruled out: e.g., מועד appears three times, each time with a different meaning, in 1QM 3:4–7. The plural usage of תעניות can be interpreted as "each and every fast," thus referring to one particular fast day which recurs after a set period of time such as a year. Also compare the use of plural expressions of time in *m. Ber.* 1:1, 2, 5: מאימתי קורין . . . בערבים . . . בשחרים . . . מזכירין יציאת מצרים בלילות "For what time in the evening . . . in the morning. . . . The going forth from Egypt is rehearsed . . . at night" (Danby's translation; the expressions of time in the Hebrew original are plural). In addition, the plural may be used here since it is used in the construct state in conjunction with the plural תעודות; and, as is the case in the writings of the Sages, when a word is used in the construct state in conjunction with a plural word, then it too must be plural. The word תעודות is plural here like other words of time that occur in the scrolls in the plural; see Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 68. I wish to thank Dr. Yochanan Breuer and Dr. Joseph Offer who helped me with these linguistic questions.

⁴¹ The beginning of the fragment refers to הפונעים פתע פתאום לתעות רוח בינה ולהשם לבכם ונ]פש[חם "they who strike suddenly to lead astray the spirit of understanding and to appall their heart and their so[uls]," and is highly appropriate as a reference to the persecution of the Teacher of Righteousness on Yom Kippur by the Wicked Priest who הופיע . . . לבלעם ולכשילם "he manifested . . . in order to make them reel and to trip them."

Priest persecuted the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers, precisely because of the differences in their calendar. Thus, Yom Kippur itself is the most poignant symbol of this dispute. Analysis of other more fragmented passages is likely to be consistent with this interpretation.

The reference to the appointed time of Yom Kippur in a song against demons (שִׁיר שֶׁל פְּגָעִים)[42] is reasonable because the sudden trauma of the persecution on Yom Kippur is a fresh memory in the consciousness of the sect, as 1QpHab 11:2–8 emphasizes. It thus follows that in its prayers or incantations, the sect would beg to be spared such afflictions.

I conclude, therefore, in contrast to Flusser, that יוֹם הַתַּעֲנִית and מוֹעֵד הַתַּעֲנִית are designations for Yom Kippur,[43] and that the other occurrences of תַּעֲנִית and its various forms in the scrolls also refer to this day.[44]

Besides the sources discussed above, there is no further evidence of public fasts in the Qumran scrolls. We do know of some occurrences of תַּעֲנִית, צוֹם and the roots ענ"ה and צו"ם, but not in connection with public fasts. At most, they refer to fasts by individuals. A passage from the *Damascus Document* containing the word צוֹם was recently published by Baumgarten. This source, which is concerned with punitive measures, indicates that the sect members regarded their system of punishment as an alternative to sacrifices offered for sins.

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[42] This definition was given to the *Songs of the Sage* by I. Ta-Shema, *Notes*, 441; J. M. Baumgarten, "The Qumran Songs against Demons," *Tarbiz* 55 (1986): 442–45 (Hebrew). Nevertheless, since Yom Kippur is central to this prayer, one cannot necessarily assume that this prayer is one of the שִׁיר לְנַגֵּן עַל הַפְּגוּעִים mentioned in 11QPs 27:10.

[43] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 102–3 and n. 51, suggests a connection between the time of דְּרוֹר in 11QMelch and the liturgy for Yom Kippur (and the Day of Remembrance יוֹם הַזִּכָּרוֹן [Rosh Hashanah]). See the Hebrew version of her book, *Qumran Prayer and Poetry*, Biblical Encyclopedia Library 14 (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1996), 71–72. She regards this as the time of mercy that was "anticipated by the men of Qumran," and it is therefore necessary to add this time in "which the eschatological redemption was anticipated" to the various associations and ideas that have developed concerning the status of Yom Kippur in the Scrolls. Can we assume that there is a connection between the persecution by the Wicked Priest on Yom Kippur and the eschatological expectations of this day?

[44] Falk, *Festival Prayers*, 172–73, raises the possibility that 4Q509 16 3 refers to the festival of Sukkot, although he also acknowledges that this argument has no solid basis and that, in terms of content, it could refer to Yom Kippur or, indeed, to any festival. It seems to me that the combination of רַחֲמִים (mercy) and תַּעֲנִית that appears in 4Q508 2 2–6 and that was identified by Falk as a reference to Yom Kippur increases the likelihood that 4Q509 16 3 also refers to Yom Kippur.

‫... על הרבים ויקבל את משפטו מרצונו כאשר אמר ביד מושה על הנפש אשר‬
‫תחטא בשינה אשר יביאו את חטתו [ו]את אשמו ועל ישראל כתוב אלכה לי‬
‫אל קצי [ה]שמים ולו אריח בריח ניחוחכם ובמקום אחר כתוב לשוב אל אל‬
‫בבכי ובצום ובמקום כתוב קרעו לבבכם ואל בגדיכם‬

... over the Many and let him accept his judgment willingly, as He said through Moses concerning the soul that sins unwittingly, that they shall bring his sin-offering [and] his guilt-offering. And concerning Israel it is written, I will get me to the ends of heaven and will not smell the savour of your sweet odours. And elsewhere it is written, To return to God with weeping and fasting. And in <another> place it is written, Rend your hearts, not your garments (4Q266 11 1–5).[45]

The phrase ‫לשוב אל אל בבכי ובצום‬ is probably based on one or more biblical verses, the most likely source being Joel 2:12 ‫שבו עדי‬ ‫בכל לבבכם ובצום ובבכי ובמספד)‬ "Turn back to Me with all your hearts, and with fasting, weeping, and lamentation . . .").[46] In my opinion, this source offers no evidence that the sect observed a public fast day. The first 'quotation' in this passage ‫אלכה לי אל קצי‬ ‫[ה]שמים ולו אריח בריח ניחוחכם]‬ provides evidence that it is not desirable to offer a sacrifice when a sin has been committed. The third 'verse' ‫קרעו לבבכם ואל בגדיכם‬ states that repentance must be internal and not an external act of rending garments. Thus, this verse proves that one can atone for sin without having to offer sacrifices that, in themselves, are undesirable. The 'verse' ‫לשוב אל אל בבכי ובצום‬ reinforces this notion. Thus ‫בכי ובצום‬ (weeping and fasting) are not in themselves a goal but, rather, they symbolize the need for internal change and correction of one's actions. This being the case, one cannot interpret these acts as obligatory for atonement.[47] But even if we interpret the 'quotation' as teaching us about the various means of atonement, one does not need to apply it to public acts of atonement since the

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[45] J. M. Baumgarten, ed., *Qumran Cave 4.XIII. The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)*, DJD 18 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 76–77. On the identity of the passages cited in this text as if they were biblical verses, see J. M. Baumgarten, "A 'Scriptural' Citation in 4Q Fragments of the Damascus Document," *JJS* 43 (1992): 95–98.

[46] See Baumgarten, "A 'Scriptural' Citation," 98; M. Kister, "On a New Fragment of the Damascus Covenant," *JQR* 84 (1993–94): 249–50.

[47] This is also apparent from the similarity between this paragraph, which discusses the punishments for sect members who have sinned, and 1QS 3:8, which describes what someone who leaves the sect must do in order to return. In both cases it is clear that atonement and self-correction are solely dependent on internal change, and 1QS clearly hints that fasting is not essential for this type of correction. See below, pp. 144–45.

law-breakers in the passage cited above from the *Damascus Document* are described in either the singular or collective singular.[48]

Thus, except for Yom Kippur, there are no public fasts in the scrolls. Other occurrences of צום do not negate this conclusion.[49] Public fasts do not appear in the *War Scroll* or in other contexts concerned with war in the Dead Sea Scrolls. This is in marked contrast to contemporary sources concerned with wars.[50] Further, public fasts do not appear in other contexts.

This silence appears to speak volumes. One would expect other occurrences of public fasts in the sectarian literature, since the sect was ascetic and centralized; that is to say, this group would logically accept upon itself communal fasts or mark them in some form. Additionally, sources from the same period or proximate to it mention

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[48] על הנפש אשר; "let him accept his judgement willingly"; וקבל את משפטו מרצונו תחטא בשגגה אשר יביאו "concerning the soul that sins unwittingly, that they shall bring." The first sentence after our passage is also in the singular: וכל המואס במשפטים "and whoever disobeys the laws."

[49] The word צום appears in another unpublished fragment that has been discussed by a few scholars, 4Q265 7 ii 4: ום. . . . נדול וצום ביום. . . . There is not enough evidence in the text that precedes and follows this fragment to allow reconstruction of the missing sentences or the subject under discussion. J. M. Baumgarten, "Scripture and Law in 4Q265," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May 1996*, ed. M. E. Stone and E. G. Chazon, STJD 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 26–27, points out that it was initially suggested that there was a connection between this verse and Passover, even though he himself claims that there is no other mention of a fast being observed on Passover and, indeed, he goes on to discuss some of the problems with this suggestion. Baumgarten himself reconstructs the sentence differently, and connects the צום under discussion to Yom Kippur. This connection seems reasonable and concurs with the view offered here. However, even if this connection is denied, the use of this fragmented sentence to question the theory that the only fast day mentioned by the scrolls is Yom Kippur is tenuous.

Other unpublished fragments contain תענית or the root צו״ם but, to the best of my understanding, one cannot draw any conclusions from them: 4Q525 15 7 (É. Puech, ed., *Qumran Cave 4.XVIII. Textes Hébreux [4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579]*, DJD 25 [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998], 151–53), 4Q417 3 4, 4Q428 11 4.

[50] 1 Macc. 3:17, 47; 2 Macc. 13:12; Jdt. 4:9, 15; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.290, 20.86–89; *Life* 290–303. The absence of fasts in descriptions of war stands in contrast to biblical accounts of fasts before or during times of war (e.g., Jud. 20:26, 1 Sam. 7:6, 2 Chron. 20:3; see also 1 Sam. 14:24 and 28:20; in connection with Jer. 36:9, see A. Malamat, "A New Record of Nebuchadrezzar's Palestinian Campaigns," *IEJ* 6 [1956]: 251–52). For fasts during time of war, see N. Hacham, *Public Fasts in the Second Temple Period*, 12–63; D. Levine, *Communal Fasts in Talmudic Literature*, 92–94, 96–99, 100; A. Tropper, *The Fast: Its Meaning and Causes in the Second Temple Period* (M.A. thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1999), 49–62 (Hebrew).

public fasts instituted for war, mourning, and other purposes.[51] The
Qumran literature, in contrast, completely ignores this phenomenon.
This distinct and unexpected[52] disregard of public fasts would not
seem to be incidental but rather is an intentional consequence of a
position regarding public fasts, that, with the exception of Yom
Kippur, negates them.

II

What is the meaning of this position? Why does the literature of the
Judean Desert sect ignore the religious-communal phenomenon of
public fasts? In the following section I will suggest an explanation.

The priestly sect[53] whose writings were found in the Judean desert
severed its ties with Jerusalem, the Temple, and its rituals, and was
severely critical of the administration of the Temple. The sect regarded
the worship conducted in the Temple as invalid and impure, apply-
ing various epithets to their rivals who officiated in the Temple.[54]
This stance was likely to lead to two opposing results: fanatical adher-
ence to the laws of the Temple and the halakhic demand to main-
tain its uniqueness and sanctity, on the one hand,[55] and the creation
of 'substitutes' for the Temple rites for the sectarians who had been
dissociated from it for so many years, on the other.[56] The subject
of atonement is one example of replacing sacrifices with substitutes.[57]

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[51] 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees, Judith, *Assumption of Moses, 1 Baruch, 2 (Syriac)
Baruch, 4 Ezra,* Josephus (*Antiquities* and *Life*), and *Treatise of Shem.*

[52] Further proof of this expectation can be seen in Flusser's interpretation of מועד
התענית in 4QpPs which, perhaps, stems from the assumption that the scrolls con-
tained evidence of communal fasts.

[53] On the sect's priestly aspects, see, for example, Sussman, "History of Halakha
and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 61, 70–71, and D. R. Schwartz, "Qumran between
Priestliness and Christianity," in *The Scrolls of the Judaean Desert: Forty Years of Research,*
ed. M. Broshi et al. (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and Israel Exploration Society,
1992), 178 nn. 4, 5 (Hebrew).

[54] Various epithets appear in the *Damascus Document*, e.g., ויעבירו ברית, סרי דרך,
טמא את המקדש. See Sussman, "History of Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 62 and
n. 195.

[55] Sussman, "History of Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 67–68.

[56] Sussman, "History of Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 73–74 n. 238.

[57] Much has been written on the sect's alternative means of atonement. I mention
only a few examples: the passage from CD published by Baumgarten, "A 'Scriptural'
Citation"; Kister, "On a New Fragment of the Damascus Covenant"; Schwartz,
"Qumran between Priestliness and Christianity," 178–79; and H. Lichtenberger,
"Atonement and Sacrifice in the Qumran Community," in *Approaches to Ancient
Judaism,* vol. 2, ed. W. S. Green, BJS 9 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), 159–71.

It may also be reasonably assumed that the liturgy of the Qumran sect, in contrast with that of groups who did not go into seclusion in the desert, functioned as a 'substitute' for the Temple rituals, while those who were still associated with the Temple neither needed nor wanted such a substitute.[58] The common feature shared by these 'substitutes' is the replacement of a rite entailing preoccupation with flesh and blood by a ritual conducted by means of speech and prayers, membership in the sect, and strict observance of the commandments.[59] This may be viewed as a process of rationalization that perceived the sacrifices as a means of addressing God and as a catalyst for the correction of deeds; therefore prayers and keeping the commandments were likely to be a good alternative for the Temple offerings. This line of thought could have led, in a similar manner, to regarding the fast as a physical act that constituted a means of addressing God and catalyzing the correction of actions, and that it, in turn, could be supplanted by more appropriate spiritual means.

Numerous sources from various periods testify to a similarity or affinity between fasts and sacrifices.[60] *M. Ta'an.* 4:3 recounts that "the men of the *Ma'amad* [those who stand by the daily offering in Jerusalem] fasted four days in the week" (Danby's translation) ואנשי מעמד היו מתענין ארבעה ימים בשבוע, clearly showing that the purpose of the fast was to reinforce the offering so that it would be willingly accepted. In this case, fasts and the daily offering are bound together in a common religious system and they function side by side. Similarly, the prophets criticize fasts in the same tone that they criticize sacrifice. Of sacrifice, it is said: כי חסד הפצתי ולא זבח ודעת אלהים מעלות "For

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[58] See, for example, S. Talmon, "The Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer in Israel in Light of Qumran Literature," in *The World of Qumran from Within*, 200–43; M. Weinfeld, "Grace after Meals at the Mourner's House in a Text from Qumran," *Tarbiz* 61/1 (1991): 15–23; "Prayer and Liturgical Practice in the Qumran Sect," in *The Scrolls of the Judaean Desert: Forty Years of Research*, 160–75; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 47–49; E. Fleischer, "On the Beginnings of Obligatory Jewish Prayer," *Tarbiz* 59 (1989–90): 414–16 and n. 46. Yet the problem is not simple; see the conclusions of E. G. Chazon, *A Liturgical Document from Qumran and Its Implications: "Words of the Luminaries" (4QDibHam)* (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1991), 99–116, esp. 115–16.

[59] See, for instance, n. 47 above on 1QS 8:24–9:11 and pp. 144–45 below on 1QS 3:8.

[60] The list of examples presented here is not from the Dead Sea Scrolls. Its purpose is to indicate a possible attitude concerning fasting, sacrifice and the relationship between the two. The same attitude can be found in various places and in various contexts. It seems to me that the same attitude exists in the Qumran sect, and thus offers an explanation for the absence of public fasts from its world.

I desire goodness, not sacrifice; Obedience to God, rather than burnt
offerings" (Hos. 6:6, JPS translation). And of fasts it is said: הן לריב
ומצה תצומו, ולהכות באגרוף רשע לא תצומו כיום להשמיע במרום קולכם
"Because you fast in strife and contention, and you strike with a
wicked fist; your fasting today is not such as to make your voice
heard on high" (Isa. 58:4). Thus the same criticism of sacrifices is
made of fasts: sacrifices are deemed undesirable since they are mis-
taken for a goal rather than a means, and fasts are undesirable for
the same reason. Here, too, fasting is an element of the same phys-
ical rite as the sacrifice, and the danger that the worshipper will
overestimate their efficacy, independent of his moral regeneration,
exists for both. Further, Jer. 14:12 draws a comparison between fasts
and sacrifices: כי יצומו אינני שמע אל רנתם וכי יעלו עלה ומנחה אינני רצם
"When they fast, I will not listen to their outcry; and when they
present burnt offering and meal offering, I will not accept them."[61]

In other sources, fasting is presented as a substitute for sacrifice.
When the Babylonian Amora Rav Sheshet kept a fast, on conclud-
ing his prayer he added the following:

> בון העולמים גלוי לפניך בזמך שבית המקדש קיים אדם חוטא ומקריב קרבן
> ואין מקריבין ממנו אלא חלבו ודמו ומתכפר לו, ועכשיו ישבתי בתענית
> ונתמעט חלבי ודמי, יהי רצון מלפניך שיהא חלבי ודמי שנתמעט כאילו
> הקרבתי לפניך על גבי המזבח ותרצני (b. Ber. 17a)

> Sovereign of the Universe, Thou knowest full well that in the time
> when the Temple was standing, if a man sinned he used to bring a
> sacrifice, and though all that was offered of it was its fat and blood,
> atonement was made for him therewith. Now I have kept a fast and
> my fat and blood have diminished. May it be Thy will to account my
> fat and blood which have been diminished as if I had offered them
> before Thee on the altar, and do thou favour me (b. Ber. 17a).[62]

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[61] In this verse, both sacrifice and fasting are depicted as means to a common
goal, to be heard and found acceptable by God. See also Sir. 34:21-31, although
the fast of an individual is the subject.

[62] The fast is also treated similarly in a piyyut recited on the eve of Yom Kippur:
ירצה צום עמך אשר דמו לך מזה השוב הלבו כעל זבח וקרבנו אל תבזה "Let the fasting
of thy people, who sprinkle their blood to thee be accepted; esteem their fat as if
it were that of a sacrifice, and despise not their offering" (translation of A. Rosenfeld,
The Authorised Selichot for the Whole Year [London: n.p., 1957], 337). E. E. Urbach,
"Ascesis and Suffering in Talmudic and Midrashic Sources," in The World of the
Sages: Collected Studies (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988), 442-45 (Hebrew), claims that
following the destruction of the Second Temple there was a surge in fasts, and he
ascribed this phenomenon to fasts being regarded as תחליף ותמורה לכפרה של

These excerpts show that it was likely that fasts and sacrifices were considered to belong to the same system of religious ritual, either practiced together or one replacing the other. Their common denominator is the focus on flesh and blood and, moreover, the inflicting of harm on a living creature and the diminishment of life for the purpose of sanctification. Thus, the critical approach that is adopted toward sacrifices is likely to be adopted towards fasts.

It is possible that this process clarifies the lack of fast days, with the exception of Yom Kippur, in the scrolls. This suggested assessment comprises at least two stages that are logical but not necessarily chronological: first, as a result of the sect being far from the Temple and out of contact with it,[63] a decline in the practical importance of sacrificial offerings along with a concurrent increase in the importance of prayers, oral appeals to God, and adherence to the sect's laws and rules; second, the spread of rationalization and the perception of communal fasts as a part of this process. It is important to note that this does not indicate a decrease in importance of adherence to the commandments,[64] but rather a decrease in the significance of those physical rites associated with sacrifices.

The importance of Yom Kippur is not diminished by this process since it is one of the commandments specified in the Torah, with an emphasis on its being חקת עולם לדרתיכם בכל משבתיכם "a law for all time, throughout the ages in all your settlements" (Lev. 23:31), that is, everywhere, without reference to the Temple.[65] Moreover, the sources cited above strengthen the hypothesis that Talmon presented forty years ago, that Yom Kippur was charged with special historical significance for the sect, due to the persecution of the

הקרבנות "a substitute and an exchange for the atonement of sacrifices." If this is so, then we have a further example of fasting as a functional equivalent to sacrifices.

[63] See Schwartz, "Qumran between Priestliness and Christianity," 179–81, and, in contrast, Sussman, "History of Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 71–72 and n. 236.

[64] As happened during the parallel process of rationalization in Christianity. On this parallelism see for example Schwartz, "Qumran between Priestliness and Christianity," 176–81.

[65] In my opinion, the fact that Yom Kippur is the only fast mentioned in the Pentateuch does not explain the absence of communal fasts in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Various non-biblical festivals, such as the festivals of the first wines and oils, were added to the sect's annual calendar, and the laws of the sect include sectarian rules on issues that are not discussed in the Pentateuch. In addition, the majority of prayers is not based on the Pentateuch; thus, the absence of fasts in the Pentateuch does not explain their absence in the scrolls. As I have discussed here, the silence surrounding the subject of fasts requires clarification.

Teacher of Righteousness by the Wicked Priest; consequently, this fast day was devoutly observed by the sect.

Thus, while our point of departure was that an ascetic sect would surely have included communal fasting among its practices, we now come rather to the conclusion that, even if the sect was generally ascetic, the sectarians viewed such fasts not as a type of asceticism, abstinence or self-affliction but, rather, as an expression of repentance and supplication. Since fasting bears some similarity to sacrifices, the diminishment of the role of sacrifices by the sect entailed the marginalization of fasts, too.

If this analysis is correct, one may conjecture that this attitude had an impact not only on communal fasts but also on fasting in general, i.e., individual fasting was no longer regarded as a means of atonement because other more appropriate and more spiritual means, less closely associated with the physical realm, were regarded as efficacious for atonement. Such an interpretation seems correct for 1QS 3:8: ובענות נפשו לכול חוקי אל יטהר בשרו "It is by humbling his soul to all God's statutes, that his flesh can be cleansed" (Charlesworth's translation). This sentence does not address fasts but rather entreats submission to the laws of God, according to the sect's interpretation.[66] As Licht points out, "the language hints at Lev. 16, 29–31," verses concerning Yom Kippur. Indeed, both texts contain the combination ענ"ה + נפש and the root טה"ר and both speak of atonement for sins. Yet, despite these linguistic similarities, the case, as Licht points out, is different. The use of similar language for disparate cases indicates an alternative interpretation of the expression עינוי נפש in 1QS. עינוי נפש no longer means a fast to atone for sins but rather submission to God's laws and commitment to follow them. It is important to note that the expression ענות נפשו appears only once in the Bible, in a verse that criticizes fasting: . . . הכזה יהיה צום אבחרהו יום ענות אדם נפשו "Is such the fast I desire, a day for men to starve their bodies?" (Isa. 58:5). 1QS thus uses the same language as Isaiah, and the content of this prophecy is accepted to have a most extreme literal meaning: it is not a fast per se that God desires but rather submission to the laws of God. This sentence thus expresses a reluctance to view fasting as a means of atonement and attempts

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[66] See the interpretation of this verse in J. Licht, *The Rule Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea, 1QS, 1QSa 1QSb* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 75–79 (Hebrew), and its translation cited above.

to suggest other, better, ways of atonement and purification of the body. In other words, the body is not purified thorough self-denial of one's needs but rather by obeying and submitting to God's laws.[67]

Despite this source, it seems to me that the cases of individual fasting in the Qumran literature do not provide enough evidence to form the basis of a comprehensive description of the phenomenon. For now one must be content with the conclusion that, with the exception of Yom Kippur, the communal fast did not exist in Qumran and that its very absence reflects a significant process of rationalization in the religious practices of the sect.

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[67] The phrase בענות נפשו also appears in 4Q525 2–3 ii 6: ובענות נפשו לא יעל[נה] "and by humbling his soul he does not . . ." (my translation; for a different translation and interpretation, see Puech, DJD 25.122, 225). The juxtaposition clearly indicates that the subject is suffering and not fasting, and so this fragment is not relevant to this discussion. This sentence indicates a freer use of the expression ענות נפשו. That being the case, the scrolls do not limit use of this expression to fasts but also apply it to general suffering. Rabbinic literature also debates whether the meaning of the expression עינוי נפש may have been broadened (see *m. Ned.* 11:1–2). Nevertheless, there is clearly no basis to rule out the definitive interpretation of the sentence in 1QS 3:8.

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THE COMMUNITY OF GOODS AMONG THE FIRST CHRISTIANS AND AMONG THE ESSENES

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The community of life and goods in the early church, as portrayed in the Acts of the Apostles, is a topic that has attracted commentary, mostly edifying, throughout the ages. In more recent times, critical attention has been drawn especially to the summaries in Acts 2:44–45 and 4:32–35 and to the narratives concerning Barnabas (4:36–37) and Ananias and Sapphira (5:1–11). I believe that much light is thrown on these texts by certain passages in the Qumran documents, as well as in the descriptions of the Essenes given by Philo and Josephus. Taken together with other similar literary contacts, they suggest that the environment from which Christianity emerged was close to the Essenes.

The first point to make concerning the texts of Acts is that it is not necessary to assume that all do, or were intended to, refer to one and the same practice.

1. *The first summary, 2:44–45*

I refer you to the Appendix where you will find, in Greek and English, both the standard Alexandrian Text of this passage and the Western Text form as it has been reconstituted by M.-É. Boismard and A. Lamouille.[1] Close comparison of these two text forms here, as elsewhere, leads to fruitful results and adds depth to the picture conveyed in Acts. It is part of our working hypothesis that the WT is, on the whole, prior to the Alexandrian Text, which represents a revision. On the other hand, the Western textual tradition continued to have a life of its own and can contain clarifications of, or glosses on, the earlier text.

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[1] *Le texte occidental des Actes des Apôtres. Reconstitution et réhabilitation*, 2 vols., "Synthèse" 17 (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1984). M. E. Boismard is, at the time of writing, preparing a revision of his Western Text, to be published in Paris by Gabalda. A later note will refer to a revised reading in 2:45.

a) In v. 44, the WT reads literally: "And all those believing were ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό." This Greek expression is used frequently in the LXX to translate the Hebrew יחד and יחדו. This expression has a special, quasi-technical significance in the Qumran literature, where it is one of the ways in which the community names itself. It has been pointed out that the expression "to be to the יחד" is used in 1QS 5:2 in the sense of "to belong to the community."[2] If this expression underlies the Greek ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, the opening words of this verse, in the WT, might be translated: "All the believers belonged to the community."[3]

This emphasis on a radical community of life in the primitive text of 2:44 is matched by the statement, "they had all things in common" (εἶχον ἅπαντα κοινά), which deserves to be taken in its literal sense.[4] Living together, they pooled all their resources. The Qumran *Community Rule* lays particular stress on forming a community not only of life but also of possessions (1QS 1:11f. and 5:2). The gospels seem to suggest that Jesus and the Twelve formed such a community (cf. Matt. 15:21, 27, 29 and par.; John 12:6, 13:29); the early chapters of Acts portray the disciples as continuing to live in this way after the Ascension.

V. 45 (WT) goes on to describe what this community of goods meant in practice: "as many as had properties or possessions used to sell[5] (them) and they used to divide the price (τὴν τιμήν)[6] among those who had need." It is not said when they used to sell their goods, but if we suppose that "all the believers" lived together and had all things in common, then we must suppose that this was done upon entering the community.[7]

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[2] M. Wilcox, *The Semitisms in Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 96.

[3] Thus B. J. Capper, "Community of Goods in the Early Jerusalem Church," *ANRW* II.26.2 (1995): 1730–74, esp. 1739f.

[4] For the expression πάντα κοινά in Greek literature, see the discussion below on 4:32.

[5] The AT has simply "they used to sell . . .": the expression in the WT can be regarded as a precision.

[6] Thus the revised Western Text of Boismard. It could well represent an attempt to explain the more difficult αὐτά, which Boismard originally read in the Western, as well as in the Alexandrian Text (cf. also τὰς τιμάς in 4:34).

[7] Those commentators who suppose that 2:44–45 describes the same practice as that in 4:32, 34–35 take the verb, formulated in the imperfect tense, as meaning that from time to time, as there was need, they used to sell their goods; thus K. Lake and H. J. Cadbury, *Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. 4 (London: Macmillan, 1933), 29; F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary*,

The two Greek words for the goods that were sold, κτήματα and ὑπάρξεις, can both mean "possessions" in a general sense but each has a more precise meaning. κτήματα, cognate with the verb κτάομαι, "to obtain (for oneself)," frequently refers specifically to real estate, so farms and houses: in 5:1 Ananias sells a κτῆμα that, in the following verse, is referred to as a χωρίον or "farm." The second expression, cognate with the verb ὑπάρχω in its sense of "belonging to," can mean specifically "chattels." The intention is thus to emphasize that all possessions of all kinds were sold. Such an intention would support the interpretation that this passage describes a radical self-divestment of property, rather than the sale of a piece from time to time.

There is no expressed subject for the second verb, διεμέριζον. Commentators have supposed that it is the same as for the first verb, so that those who sold their goods also divided the proceeds, whereas in the parallel in 4:34b–35 they brought the prices obtained and laid them at the feet of the apostles, who then redistributed them. However, there is no necessity to carry the subject of the first verb over to the second; grammatically, the second subject can just as well be an indefinite "*they* used to divide." Codex Bezae (D) reads: "and they used to divide them *every day* (καθ᾽ ἡμέραν) . . .," whereas most other witnesses have this expression in the following verse. Since Codex Bezae is here supported by the Old Latin (*it*) and two patristic witnesses, Speculum and Pseudo-Augustinus, the question arises whether this may not be the original WT (although it is not accepted as such by Boismard-Lamouille). It does at least correspond to the "daily distribution" mentioned in Acts 6:1, in which the Hellenists' widows were neglected, or so they complained.

b) The AT of v. 44a differs in two respects from the corresponding WT. First, instead of the present participle of "believe" (πιστεύοντες), with its emphasis on the continuing state of the believers, it has the aorist participle (πιστεύσαντες), which is found also in 4:32 and emphasizes rather the act by which they became believers, that is to say, came into the community of believers. Second, it omits the verb "were," which means that the adverbial expression ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό must be read as qualifying either the immediately preceding participle or the following verb "had (all things common)." It is likely that the change is intended to modify subtly the sense of the adverb

3rd ed., rev. and expanded (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans and Leicester: Apollos, 1990), 132; C. K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994), 169.

so that it now implies that the believers were morally "at one" in
believing or in having all things common, therefore close to the "one
in heart and mind" of 4:32.

At the end of v. 45 there is a further notable difference between
the WT and the AT. The former tells us that the goods were divided
"to those having need," whereas the AT reads "to all accordingly
as any had need." This reading represents a harmonization with
4:35 ("to each accordingly . . .").

c) Although our passage is brief and does not go into many details,
it seems, especially when read according to the WT, to describe a
radical form of common life and property, which resembles that
reported of the Essenes by Josephus (*War* 2.8.3 §122): "Riches they
despise, and their community of goods (κοινώνικον) is truly admirable;
you will not find one among them with greater property (κτήσει)
than others. They have a law that new members on admission to
the sect shall hand over their substance (οὐσίαν) to the order, with
the result that you will nowhere see either abject poverty or inor-
dinate wealth; the individual's possessions (κτημάτων) join the single
substance (οὐσίαν) which belongs to all as brothers."[8] The Qumran
Community Rule (1QS 6:13–22) specifies that at the end of one year
of a candidate's probation, "his property (הונו) and his earnings
(ומלאכתו)" are to be handed over to the one in charge but not amal-
gamated with the goods of the community until the successful com-
pletion of a second year of probation. Here we notice the use of two
words for property, as in Acts 2:45, no doubt with a similar intention
of indicating that every kind was to be brought into the community.

2. *The second summary, 4:32–35*

The second summary on community of life and goods presents itself
as a companion to and even as a repetition of 2:44–45, an impres-
sion reinforced, as we have seen, by the harmonization of the con-
clusion of 2:45 (AT) with that of 4:35. In fact, although the second

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[8] Comparison with the Essene way of life is even more striking if one refers to
the corresponding passage in the "Slavonic" Josephus: "Of riches, they want none,
and there is among them no property of any sort, but all with them is common,
even clothing and food"; this last item is found also in Philo's description of the
Essenes quoted by Eusebius, *Praep. evang.* 8.11.12. For the "Slavonic" Josephus, see
H. St. J. Thackeray, *Flavius Josèphe: L'homme et l'historien*, translated and annotated
by Étienne Nodet, with an appendix on the Slavonic version of the *War* (Paris:
Éditions du Cerf, 2000).

summary repeats and transposes the themes of the earlier passage, at least 4:32 implies a different form of life and of the sharing of material resources, as we shall now see in detail.

a) V. 32 begins with the statement, "The company of those who had become believers had one heart and soul." Here the Greek word τὸ πλῆθος should indeed be translated as "company," implying a group that is not simply an indeterminate "crowd," but constituted and of limited membership, if not in number at least by qualification (here, those who had become believers), and capable of acting and deciding. Once again, there is a correspondence with the vocabulary of the Qumran documents, this time with רוב. On the other hand, to describe them as having "one heart and soul" introduces a different emphasis from that of the earlier passage, where "those believing" were "together." We are dealing here with a company which, though striving for unity of heart and mind—I so interpret the Lucan hyperbole—did not practise strict community of life. The WT insists, however, on the unity of the believers, by adding: "and there was no separation (διάκρισις) among them." On the other hand, Luke does not omit reports of certain dissensions within the community itself, notably the "murmuring" of the Hellenists against the Hebrews in 6:1, even though they are generally settled amicably.[9]

The expressions "heart" and "soul" are frequently juxtaposed in the Old Testament, especially in the familiar commandment of Deut. 6:5 (see also Deut. 10:12; 11:13; 13:4; 26:16; 30:2, 6, 10, etc.). Unity or singleness of heart represents human integrity, and the prophets promise in the name of God that, when the people return to the Lord, he will give them "a single heart and a single way of life" (Jer. 32:39), "a single heart and a new spirit" (Ezek. 11:19). Singleness of heart can also, of course, represent unanimity. It occurs in this sense in 1 Chron. 12:39, where all Israel is "one heart" in wanting to make David king. The Septuagint translates this expression as "one soul." The latter expression is found also in Greek literature. It is quoted by Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* 9.8.1168b, as a proverbial saying on friendship. To Aristotle is also attributed the saying that a friend is "one soul dwelling in two bodies" (Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.20.) Similar expressions are frequent in Greek writings on the theme of friendship.[10]

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[9] An exception would be the sharp disagreement that led Paul and Barnabas to separate (Acts 15:39), a rift that is not healed within the narrative of Acts.

[10] For further examples, see the usual commentaries, also J. Dupont, "La com-

Another "tag" from Greek literature is to be found at the end of
the same v. 32, where we read that the company of those who had
become believers had "all things common" (πάντα κοινά). This was
also a maxim about friendship, attributed to Pythagoras. It too became
a commonplace in hellenistic thinking and writing.[11] Already in 2:44
we were told that the believers "had all things common." There, as
we have argued, the expression should be taken as referring to a
strict sharing of goods by the pooling of resources by those who
lived together. Here, however, it seems to refer to a different practice
of community of goods, consonant with a way of life in which those
concerned are not "together" but cultivate "unity of heart and soul."

The meaning of the expression "all things common" in Acts 4:32
is indicated by the explanatory phrase: "and they did not say that
any of their belongings (ὑπαρχόντων) was their own private property
(ἴδιον)."[12] This would mean in practice that, among the believers, as
among true friends, the possessions of each were at the disposition
of all. The text implies that those concerned retained their posses-
sions, but they were prepared to make them available to other mem-
bers of the community. Just such a practice is prescribed by Plato
for the guardians of the city (*Rep.* 3.416d and 5.462c). Writing in
the fourth century CE, Iamblichus uses a vocabulary similar to that
of Acts as he describes the way of life of the Pythagoreans (*De Pyth.
Vita* 167–69): "The beginning of justice is to experience the same
sentiments in having at best a single body and *a single soul* (μίας
ψυχῆς) and to affirm regarding the same thing: This belongs to me,
this belongs to another, as Plato testifies who received it from the
Pythagoreans . . . for *all was common to all* (κοινὰ γὰρ πᾶσι πάντα), even
things, and *no one possessed anything as their own* (ἴδιον δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν
ἐκέκτητο)." There seems to be an echo of a similar practice also in
Josephus' description of the Essenes in *War* 2.8.4 §127: "There is

munauté des biens aux premier jours de l'Église (Actes 2, 42.44–45; 4, 32.34–35),"
in *Études sur les Actes des Apôtres*, Lectio Divina 45 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967),
503–19, esp. 513–16. An interesting parallel is attributed to the Epicureans by
Numenius (*apud* Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 14.5): "The school of Epicurus resembles a
true commonwealth (πολιτεία), altogether free of factionalism, sharing one mind
and one disposition (ἕνα νοῦν, μίαν γνώμην). . . ."
    [11] See, once again, the commentaries and Dupont, "La communauté des biens,"
505–9.
    [12] Thus the WT; the AT is formulated slightly differently, but with no change of
meaning. The term ὑπάρχοντα used here seems to mean "belongings" in general,
without any attempt to distinguish between real and personal property, as in 2:45.

no buying or selling among themselves, but each gives what he has to any in need and receives from him in exchange something useful to himself; they are, moreover, freely permitted to take anything from any of their brothers without making any return." If so, then in Josephus, as in Acts, there are allusions to two rather different ways of practising community of goods, both of which are attributed to the same group (compare §122).[13] Josephus himself indicates that not all Essenes lived in exactly the same manner as the community he describes at length, but that there were others who married, who would have practised community of goods rather differently.

b) V. 33 interrupts the summary, separating v. 32 from vv. 34–35. Commentators generally agree that it did not originally form part of the same unit. Its inclusion could be a subtle indication on the part of Luke that he is in fact following two sources and that the two parts of the summary are not necessarily describing the same practice of community of goods.

V. 34 tells us that "there was no one needy among them" (cf. Deut. 15:4). The rest of this verse and the following explain how the community ensured that none of its members was in want: "*For* those who were possessors of farms (χωρία) or houses" (the WT has only houses) used to sell them and bring (πωλοῦντες ἔφερον) the prices (of what they had sold, adds the AT) and lay them at the feet of the apostles."[14] A distribution was then made (διεδίδετο), no doubt by the apostles, "to each as anyone might have need." In other words, the proceeds of the sales went into a common fund, administered by "the apostles," which was intended to meet the needs of those members who would otherwise be in want.

As we have already remarked, these words seem to be an amplification of 2:45; in addition, v. 35 specifies who managed the common fund and saw to the disbursements. In that case, vv. 34–35 originally referred to the same practice of absolute community of goods as the earlier passage. But that is certainly not the same practice as that described in v. 32.

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[13] But the corresponding "Slavonic" passage has: "There is no commerce among them: that which each one needs, he takes as his own, without anyone preventing him"; this would imply rather a common stock, and so once again a strict community of goods.

[14] This last expression is repeated in each of the two narratives that follow. Commentators refer to Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 68: "ante pedes praetoris in foro expensum est auri pondo."

By placing vv. 34–35 after v. 32 (with the interposition of v. 33), Luke may intend to make the whole passage describe a practice that was closer to that of his own day. All is now governed by the statement: "and they did not say that any of their belongings was their own private property." It is therefore implicit in the modified description that members normally kept their own property and supported themselves. According to our text, the common fund was maintained by the proceeds of the sale of property belonging to members of the group. In this modified description, such persons did not divest themselves of it upon entering the group, as in the absolute community of goods, but were prepared to sell property from time to time— the force of the imperfect tenses here—for the benefit of the community's fund, and so of needy members. That not all did so is apparent elsewhere in Acts (cf. 12:12, 21:16). In any case, in the examples that follow from outside the New Testament, contributions to the common fund are expected to be made out of income or earnings, rather than from capital.

We should not be surprised that Acts should attest two or even three different ways of practising community of goods, viz. an absolute community, as at Qumran, in 2:44–45 and originally in 4:34–35: one of 'Pythagorean' type, according to which members made their goods and property available to one another, in 4:32; and a community welfare fund maintained by voluntary donations, in the Lucan redaction of 4:32–35. In the Jewish sectarian literature to which we have often referred, we can observe not only analogies with these passages in Acts, but variant practices among groups of similar type.

c) With our text from Acts 4:32, 34–35, we can compare a passage from the *Damascus Document*:

> And this is the rule of the Many, to provide for all their needs: the salary of two days each month at least. They (the members) shall place it in the hand of the Inspector (*Mebaqqer*) and of the judges. From it they (the Inspector and the judges) shall give to the orphans and with it they shall strengthen the hand of the needy and the poor, and to the elder who is [dy]ing, and to the vagabond,[15] and to the prisoner of a foreign people, and to the girl who has no protector, and to the unma[rried woman] who has no suitor; and for all the works of the company ... (CD 14:11b–16).[16]

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[15] This may refer to a member of another similar community who is on a voyage and has sought food and lodging; cf. Josephus, *War* 2.8.4 §124f.

[16] English translation from F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, tran. W. G. E. Watson (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 44.

Although the group for whom the regulations of the *Damascus Document* are intended is clearly Essene-type, it does not appear to practise the strict community of life and goods prescribed by 1QS: the members in receipt of a salary apparently keep most of it to live off; the same document elsewhere (13:15f.) seems to suppose that members had property of their own, but prescribes that "no one should make a deed of purchase or sale without informing the Inspector of the camp. . . ." In fact, the *Damascus Document* criticizes excessive or unjustified wealth (CD 6:15, 8:5, 19:17).

The Essenes of whom Philo writes[17] seem to have practised a form of community of goods somewhere between that envisaged by the Qumran *Community Rule* and that envisaged by the *Damascus Document*. This form makes a distinction between patrimony or capital and income. They kept property that they already possessed but its use and usufruct were ceded to the community: "No-one dares to acquire anything in absolute private property (ἴδιον . . . τὸ παράπαν), neither house, nor slave, nor land, nor flocks, and equally equipment (παρασκευαί) and supplies of wealth; but they put all these things together in common and reap the common profit of all" (*apud* Eusebius, *Praep. evang.* 8.11.4). They earn their living as farmers, herdsmen, artisans (8.11.8–9). They bring their wages and give them "to the one treasurer who has been appointed"; each one then receives in return what he needs in order to live (8.11.10). Here, however, strict community of life is practised in the form of a common table and even a common supply of clothes (8.11.11–12).

The descriptions of Acts 2:44–45 and 4:32, 34–35 do not conform exactly to any of the forms of community of goods attributed to the Essenes. Yet, it is easy enough to recognize characteristic features of the Essene type. They at least suggest that there is no good reason for excluding *a priori* the historical value of our texts.[18] They

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[17] In a text that may have formed part of his lost *Pro Iudaeis Apologia* and is preserved by Eusebius, *Praep. evang.* 8.11.1–19; there seems to be no reason to suspect that Eusebius has not left us the text as he found it. Similarly, but with less precise detail, in *Omn. Prob. Lib.* §§85–87.

[18] Texts of the second and third centuries show that the community of goods continued to be characteristic of the Christians: *Did.* 4.8, *Barn.* 9.8a, Tertullian, *Apol.* 30.19.4. We can infer from Lucian of Samosata that community of goods was one of the things that everyone knew about the Christians (*Peregr. mort.* 13). According to Epiphanius, the Ebionites claimed to be so called ("the poor") "because, they say, in the times of the apostles, of the custom of selling their belongings and laying (them) at the feet of the apostles" (*Pan.* 30.17.2). See also Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 14.2; 67.1, 6.

also add to the impression that the first community described in the early chapters of Acts had a customary way of life that rather closely resembled that of the Essenes.

3. *Barnabas, 4:36–37*

The second summary is followed by two narratives that are generally taken to provide a "positive" and a "negative" example of the community of goods described in 4:32, 34–35. That may well have been Luke's intention; the narratives in question are not, however, without difficulties.

The first, 4:36f., introduces the person known as Barnabas, who is to play a significant role in Acts (see 9:27; 11:22, 30; 12:25; chs. 13–15) and who is mentioned also in 1 Cor. 9:6, Gal. 2:1–13, and Col. 4:10. Attention in these latter texts is focused on his relations with Paul. Here we are told about Barnabas himself and his origins and learn that he sold a "field" (ἀγρός)—perhaps in Cyprus—and laid the price (χρῆμα) at the feet of the apostles. This information is couched in terms practically identical with those of v. 35. Commentators generally admit, however, that it is derived from pre-Lucan tradition. It probably referred originally to the entry of Barnabas into a strict community of life and goods. In the Lucan redaction, however, it serves rather as an example of generous giving.

4. *Ananias and Sapphira, 5:1–11*

After the exemplary story of the "good" Barnabas comes the cautionary tale of the "bad" Ananias and Sapphira and their sad end— or so we might suppose. But there is a problem with Acts 5:1–11, even on this level of a "negative" text corresponding to 4:36, for, after the story of someone who sells his land for the benefit of the community, we might expect one about someone who refuses to do so. But—and this is not the least difficulty with our text—Ananias (with the consent of his wife) sells his "land" (κτῆμα) for the benefit of the community. So what is the nature of his fault? (Most readers of Acts are troubled more by the punishment inflicted on the guilty pair, with no mercy or time to repent, than by this question.)

a) V. 1 tells us that Ananias, together with his wife Sapphira, sold a piece of land. Acts twice mentions that Sapphira cooperated with

her husband, here in the sale of the land and, in the next verse, in keeping back part of the sum realized by the sale. Her collaboration was not simply moral but also legal, and necessarily so, as she would have had a vested interest in her husband's property, part of which would have been secured to her by her marriage contract.[19]

V. 2 contains the heart of the problem: "Ananias—with the consent also of his wife—*embezzled* some of the price and bringing a part laid it at the feet of the apostles." The Greek word translated here as "embezzled," which is repeated by Peter in v. 3, is ἐνοσφίσατο. In hellenistic Greek the word νοσφίζω occurs "not infrequently" and implies: a) that the theft was secret, b) that the object stolen was part of a larger sum, and c) usually, that the property stolen had been entrusted to the thief for safe-keeping and good management, so, typically, the property of a minor embezzled by a guardian, royal funds embezzled by ministers or agents, public funds by state officials, sacred vessels by the high priest, public trust funds by the trustees, the spoils of war.[20]

All commentators point out that the same word is used also in LXX Josh. 7:1–26 of Achan, who took some of the spoils of Jericho that had been vowed to the Lord, that is to destruction, and so brought a curse upon the Israelites that was lifted only when the culprit was discovered and stoned to death. The parallel between Ananias and Achan is, however, far from perfect. Not only is Ananias punished directly by God, but, even more important, the two crimes are not at all the same. Achan took something of what had never been his, and which already belonged to the Lord. On the other hand, as Peter makes clear in v. 4, the land belonged to Ananias, and even after he had sold it, the money obtained was still his. How can he be said to have "embezzled" part of the price?

Peter in vv. 3–4 accuses Ananias of "deceiving the Holy Spirit" and of "lying not to men but to God"; in v. 8 he asks Sapphira if she and her husband had received "this amount" for the land, and on receiving an affirmative answer, accuses them of "putting the Spirit of the Lord to the test." Commentators therefore generally infer—for it is never clearly stated—that the crime of Ananias and

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[19] Thus J. D. M. Derrett, "Ananias, Sapphira and the Right of Property," in his *Studies in the New Testament*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 193–201, esp. 195f.; see also I. R. Reimer, *Women in the Acts of the Apostles: A Feminist Liberation Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 1–29.

[20] Lake and Cadbury, *Beginnings of Christianity*, 4.50, with references.

Sapphira consisted in making a false declaration concerning the amount they had received for the sale of their land, pretending that the amount laid "at the feet of the apostles" was the whole sum, whereas it was only a part. Their motive may have been to get the glory of having given all. So their crime, then, was not theft or embezzlement, since they had a perfect right to keep their own property, but rather one of lying. It is all very confusing, and their punishment seems all the more disproportionate.

b) We are looking therefore for a situation where property initially belongs to an individual, who has full rights over it, including the price obtained for its sale, but which then becomes in full the property of the community, in such a way that the previous owner has no right to retain any of it. This situation would fit that of a candidate for a community of Essenes, living under a system of strict community of goods such as that prescribed by the *Community Rule* and described in Josephus' report on the Essenes. According to this system, as we have seen, those joining the group handed over their property, of whatever sort; it would be returned to them if they left during the probationary period, but on their final aggregation, it became part of the property of the community. They would be expected to transfer all of their assets, even though they could withdraw them and depart up to the time of final acceptance. So a candidate who presented part of his property, while declaring that it was the whole, would be embezzling the community that had acquired provisional rights to the whole property, as well as making a false declaration.

It seems reasonable to think that Ananias, with the consent of his wife, made such a transfer of their assets upon entering the community described in Acts 2:44–45 but kept back part, although they were obliged to hand over all and declared that they were doing so.[21] Their story should therefore be associated, like that of Barnabas, with the first summary, 2:44–45, which describes a strict community of goods. Why Luke placed it after the second summary, where he seems to intend to describe a less strict practice, one can only guess. Perhaps he merely wanted to fill out his description with two exemplary narratives, one positive, the other negative.

In summary, it seems that Luke in Acts 2:44–45 and 4:32–5:11

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[21] Thus B. J. Capper, "The Interpretation of Acts 5.4," *JSNT* 19 (1983): 117–31, who draws the parallel with 1QS.

makes use of traditional material concerning the practice of community of goods in the primitive church. The first passage (especially when read in the restored Western Text) describes a strict practice in which literally "all things are common," analogous to that of the Essenes according to Josephus (*War* 2 §122) and at Qumran (1QS 6:13–22). The second summary, which is apparently a fuller version of the earlier account, really consists of two parts. The first, in 4:32, describes a practice of community of goods ascribed by Greek writers to friends and philosophers who share their property; there are hints of this also in Josephus, *War* 2 §127. On the other hand, 4:34–35, taken alone, seems once again to refer to the same strict practice as in 2:44–45. However, when vv. 34–35 are read in sequence after v. 32, the impression is given rather of a common fund to which members contribute from time to time; such a practice is attested of an Essene-like group in CD 14:11b–16, where, however, the contributions are made from income or earnings, rather than from capital as in Acts. If Acts thus attests to two or even three rather different ways of practising community of goods, that would not be so surprising, given the "variations on a theme" to be found also among other Jewish sectarian groups of a similar type.

Appendix

2:44–45 AT		2:44–45 WT	
πάντες δὲ οἱ πιστεύσαντες	All who had become believers	Καὶ πάντες οἱ πιστεύοντες	And all the believers
ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό	together	ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ	were together and
εἶχον ἅπαντα κοινά,	had all things common,	εἶχον ἅπαντα κοινά,	had all things common,
καὶ τὰ κτήματα	and the properties	Καὶ ὅσοι κτήματα εἶχον	and as many as properties had
καὶ τὰς ὑπάρξεις ἐπίπρασκον	and the belongings they used to sell	ἢ ὑπάρξεις ἐπίπρασκον	or belongings used to sell
καὶ διεμέριζον αυτὰ	and they used to divide them	καὶ διεμέριζον αυτὰ	and they used to divide them

πᾶσιν καθότι	to all as		
ἄν τις	anyone	τοῖς χρείαν	to those
χρείαν εἶχεν.	had need.	ἔχουσιν.	having need.

4:32, 34–35 AT   **4:32, 34–35 WT**

τοῦ δε	Of the	τὸ δε	The
πλήθους	company	πλῆθος	company
τῶν	of those who	τῶν	of those who
πιστευσάντων	had become	πιστευσάντων	had become
ἦν	believers wa	ἦν	believers was
καρδία καὶ	heart and	ψυχὴ καὶ	soul and
ψυχὴ μία,	soul one,	καρδία μία,	heart one,
		καὶ οὐχ ἦν	and there was
		χωρισμὸς	no departure
		(D διάκρισις)	(D separation)
		ἐν αὐτοῖς τις	among them
καὶ οὐδὲ	and no-one	καὶ οὐδέ τι	and not
εἷς τι	anything		anything
τῶν	of his	τῶν	of (their)
ὑπαρχόντων	belongings	ὑπαρχόντων	belongings
αὐτῷ			
ἔλεγεν ἴδιον	said was his	ἔλεγον ἴδιον	they called
εἶναι	own		their own
ἀλλ' ἦν	but there were	ἀλλ' ἦν	but there were
αὐτοῖς	to them		
ἅπαντα	all things	πάντα	all things
κοινά.	common	κοινά.	common.
οὐδὲ γὰρ	For there was	οὐδὲ γὰρ	For there was
ἐνδεής τις	no-one needy	ἐνδεής τις	no-one needy
ἦν		ὑπῆρχεν	
ἐν αὐτοῖς,	among them,	ἐν αὐτοῖς,	among them,
ὅσοι γὰρ	for as many as	ὅσοι	as many as
κτήτορες	possessors	κτήτορες	possessors
χωρίων ἢ	of farms or		
οἰκιῶν	of houses	οἰκιῶν	of houses
ὑπῆρχον,	were,	ὑπῆρχον,	were,
πωλοῦντες	selling used to	πωλοῦντες	selling used to
ἔφερον τὰς	bring the	ἔφερον τὰς	bring the
τιμὰς τῶν	prices of what	τιμὰς	prices
πιπρασκομένων	had been sold		
καὶ ἐτίθουν	and lay them	καὶ ἐτίθουν	and lay them
παρὰ τοὺς	at the	παρὰ τοὺς	at the
πόδας	feet	πόδας	feet
τῶν	of the	τῶν	of the
ἀποστόλων,	apostles, and it	ἀποστόλων,	apostles, (and)
διεδίδετο δὲ	was divided	διεδίδετο ἔνι	it was divided

ἑκάστῳ	to each	ἑκάστῳ	to each one
καθότι	as	καθότι	as
ἄν τις	any might	ἄν τις	any might
χρείαν εἶχεν.	have need.	χρείαν εἶχεν.	have need.

4:36–37

Now Joseph (WT Joses) called Barnabas by the apostles, that is interpreted Son of consolation, a levite (not in WT), a Cypriot by descent (γένει), since he possessed a field (ἀγρός), sold and brought the price and laid (it) at the feet of the apostles.

5:1–10

Now a man by name Ananias with Sapphira his wife sold a property (κτῆμα) and embezzled (ἐνοσφίσατο) some of the price with his wife's connivance, and brought a part (μέρος τι) and laid it at the feet of the apostles. But Peter said to Ananias, "Why has Satan filled (WT hardened) your heart, to lie to the Holy Spirit and embezzle some of the price of the farm (χωρίον). Did it not remain yours while it remained (i.e. unsold)? And even when sold, was it not in your power (ἐξουσία)? What put it in your heart to do this wicked thing? You have lied not to men but to God." Hearing these words, Ananias fell lifeless. Etc.

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NATURAL SCIENCES AND THE SCROLLS

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THE GENETIC SIGNATURE OF
THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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Introduction

The Dead Sea Scrolls are unique early records of our cultural heritage. Some of the scrolls were nearly complete when found but the majority were greatly fragmented. Some fragments could be pieced together by matching text patterns, scribal characteristics, ink, and factors such as physical damage (Stegemann, 1992), but many others are still unmatched. New technologies developed in forensic science and anthropology have demonstrated that it is possible to recover DNA from archeological specimens, including parchment (Woodward et al., 1996). This new technology may help us to match these fragments, as well as to reveal more about the choice of animals whose skins were used for writing these texts.

DNA contains the genetic information of an organism. This information is coded in genes and is capable of self replication. DNA is found in both the nucleus and cellular organelles—the mitochondria—which are found in multiple copies in the cell. In this research we analyzed the DNA of two different regions in the mitochondria, the cytochrome b and the mitochondrial control region (D-loop). Each of them is about 1,100 nucleotides in length. The nucleotides are the molecules that compose the DNA. The cytochrome b gene is species-specific while the D-loop region can identify species, individuals and closely related individuals such as would be seen in a herd or flock (Irwin, 1991).

The DNA recovered from ancient specimens is fragmented in pieces several hundred nucleotides long. We can devise means of

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analyzing each of the fragments and combining the results to obtain information on the entire sequence. The fragmented DNA contains significant information, because it is a unique signature of the individual animal. These samples provide an opportunity to study the genetic characteristics of ancient organisms and to describe individual and population histories.

The initial contribution of DNA analysis to the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls is in determining the animal species from which the parchments were made and in characterizing the genetic characteristics of the local animal population. This method can also aid in grouping together scroll fragments and assist in the matching of new text sequences and verifying the matches that have been done by other methods. With the rapid advances in technology it should be possible to achieve these goals.

In this study we applied DNA analysis to the Qumran parchments in order to examine the above questions.

Methods and Materials

The major technological advance that has made this study feasible is the polymerase chain reaction (PCR; Saiki et al., 1988). Starting with the few remaining copies of DNA extracted from the original tissue sample, PCR amplifies specified fragments of DNA up to millions of copies.

In this study parchments from Qumran were sampled under the supervision of the curators of the scrolls to prevent damage. The samples were cut with small delicate scissors or a blade at either the edges of the sheet (areas that are not crucial for matching in the future) or in blank areas. The sample size was small, approximately 0.5 cm², in order to minimize the damage. Seven samples were taken from different storage boxes (DSSF1, DSSF, 4Q259 810 sample 24, DSS 3–14 Cave 3, DSS 3–15 Cave 3, DSS 17 Cave 4) and others from scrolls. From the *Temple Scroll*, the most complete scroll and the longest, eleven small pieces were taken from six pages and one stitch. On one page two samples were taken from different locations, one from the fragment attached to the sheet and the other from the sheet itself. This sampling was in order to verify the morphological matching.

DNA was extracted from the small pieces of parchment twice

independently. The DNA was extracted using the Guanadinum method (Boom et al., 1990) and sequestered on silica for purification (Hoos and Paabo, 1993). PCR amplification was performed with six sets of primers, for both mtDNA regions, amplifying each of about 170 base pair long. Applying seven sets of primers increased the chances of amplifying DNA since each set identifies a different section of the gene. The amplified DNA was sequenced by a direct sequencing reaction using the Termo Sequenase kit (Amersham) to determine the genetic signature of the sample.

The procedure, including extraction and amplification, was carried out under strict conditions to ensure that the DNA was obtained from the original sample and not from contamination by contemporary DNA. In order to verify the results, each parchment sample was divided into two and DNA was extracted, amplified and sequenced from each sample twice, each time with new reagents to prevent possible contamination. Independent verification was performed in another laboratory for four samples.

The DNA sequences of the scrolls were compared using the GCG program package (Devereux et al., 1984). The results of the sequence comparison yielded the genetic variability profile within and between the samples sampled.

Results

Out of twenty samples DNA was recovered from fourteen scroll fragments from different sources. Although PCR of both cytochrome b and D-loop was examined in all of the samples, only four samples have sequences of both regions (Table 1). For most of the samples one of the cytochrome b and D-loop regions was amplified. All the *Temple Scroll* fragments and two blank fragments (DSSF1, DSSF2) were amplified with the same set of primers.

The first two fragments sampled (DSSF1, DSSF2) were the blank fragments that came from the same storage box but differ in color and thickness. Despite the morphological differences, the DNA analysis of the cytochrome b locus indicated that they were identical and probably made out of ibex (Table 1).

The cytochrome b sequences obtained from seven samples, from five different sheets, the *Temple Scroll,* and a stitch of the *Temple Scroll,* were all shown to be derived from domestic goats (Table 1).

Sample	Cytochrome b		D-loop		Species Identification
	C. hircus	C. ibex	C. hircus	C. ibex	
DSS Fragment 1		+			Ibex *(C. ibex nubiana)*
DSS Fragment 2		+			Ibex *(C. ibex nubiana)*
Temple Scroll 11QT1			+		Domestic goat *(C. hircus)*
Temple Scroll 11QT2	+		+		Domestic goat *(C. hircus)*
Temple Scroll 11QT3	+		+		Domestic goat *(C. hircus)*
Temple Scroll 11QT5	+		+		Domestic goat *(C. hircus)*
Temple Scroll 11QT5a	+		+		Domestic goat *(C. hircus)*
Temple Scroll 11QT7	+				Domestic goat *(C. hircus)*
Temple Scroll 11QT9	+				Domestic goat *(C. hircus)*
Temple Scroll Stitch	+				Domestic goat *(C. hircus)*
4Q259 810 Sample 24	+				Domestic goat *(C. hircus)*
DSS 3–14 Cave 3			+		Domestic goat *(C. hircus)*
DSS 3–15 Cave 3	?	?	?	?	Domestic goat *(C. hircus)*
	not definite		not definite		or Ibex *(C. ibex nubiana)*
DSS 17 Cave 4				+	Ibex *(C. ibex nubiana)*
Total	8	2	6	1	

Table 1: *Identification of Qumran parchments using DNA analysis*

In order to identify individuals and to determine the degree of relatedness of the animals used to produce the parchment in the *Temple Scroll*, the D-loop sequence was obtained from five of the samples. The sequences derived from these five fragments were domestic goat but were not identical. The sequences showed great similarity which supports the idea that the animals from which the parchments were made came from the same herd. Two samples were derived from the same sheet. One sample was from the main sheet and the other a fragment that had been matched due to morphology and text. These two fragments had an identical sequence, proving that the earlier matching was correct (Figure 1).

   In addition to the *Temple Scroll* another four blank fragments were sampled. Their sequences indicate that sample DSS17 (Cave 4) is from ibex, whereas samples DSS3–14 and DSS3–15 (Cave 3) and 4Q259 810 were from domestic goat, like the *Temple Scroll* samples, and very similar to modern domestic goats (Table 1).

Figure 1: The similarity among D-loop sequences of the Dead Sea Scrolls

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Baladi   NNNNNNNNNN NNNNNNNNNN ACCCGGAGCA TGAATTGTAG CTGGACTTAA
Ibex     .................. ..................... NNNNNN....... ..................... .....................
TS120    .................. ..................... NNNNNNNNNN NNNNNNNNN. ..X.................
TS120    .................. ..................... NNNNNNNNNN NNNNNNNNNN NNNNNN........
DSS244   .................. ..................... N.................... ..................... ....................
DSS244   .................. ..................... N.................... ..................... ....................
DSS247   .................. ..................... N.................... ..................... ....................
SDS      TATGGCCGTC TGAGGCCCTX .........A............ .CT................ .....................

Baladi   CTGCATCTTG AGCATCCCCA TAATGGTAGG CACGAGCATC ACAG-TTAAT
Agrimi   ..................... ..................... ..................... ..................... ..........-..........
Ibex     ..................... ..................... ..................... ..................... ..........-..........
TS119    NN...............Y ..................... ......Y............. ......Y................ ..X.-.................
TS120    ...................Y ..................... .X...C............. ......Y................ ...C.-....Y........
TS117    NNNNNNNNNN ..................... ...............CX ......X................ ...C.-..Y..........
TS118    NNNNNNNNNN ..................... ...............CX ......X................ ...C.-..Y..........
TS122    NN...............X ..........X......... .........C......X. ......Y................ ..........-.C..........
TS121    ...................Y ..................... .........X........... ......Y................. ..X.-................
DSS244   .................. ..................... ..................... ..................... .TG.-..............
DSS247   .................. ..................... ..................... ..................... ...G.-..............
SDS      ..................... .............A.... ...................... ....TXX..........T .T...G.C..........

Baladi   GGTCACAGGA CATAATTNNN NNNNNNNNNN NNNNNNNNNN
Agrimi   ..................... .............CATT ACGTTGCATT TCACCATNNN
Ibex     ....................: ........TACNNN NNNNNNNNNN NNNNNNNNNN
TS119    C................YY. .........TTATTA NNNNNNNNNN NNNNNNNNNN
TS120    C................Y... .........YCATTA NNNNNNNNNN NNNNNNNNNN
TS117    ..................... .........GACATT ANNNNNNNNN NNNNNNNNNN
TS118    ..................... .........GACATT ANNNNNNNNN NNNNNNNNNN
TS122    X..................... .........XACATT ACANNNCACA CTATCAACNN
TS121    C..................... ............ACATT ANNNNNNNNN NNNNNNNNNN
DSS244   ......G.............. ......GTACATC CCNNNNNNNN NNNNNNNNNN
DSS244   ..................... .......G.CATCC CAXANNNNNN NNNNNNNNNN
SDS      ....................: .......NNNNNN NNNNNNNNNN NNNNNNNNNN
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N or X = missing data
. = Identical sequence
Y = C or T nucleotide
Agrimi = *Capra aegagrus cretica* (wild goat from Crete, modern DNA)
Baladi = *Capra hicus* (known as one of the primitive breed of domestic goats in the Levant, modern DNA)
Ibex = *Capra ibex nubiana* (the Nubian ibex from the Levant, modern DNA)
TS = *Temple Scroll* sample number
DSS244 = Dead Sea Scroll 3–15 Cave 3
DSS247 = Dead Sea Scroll 17 Cave 4
SDS = Dead Sea Scroll 3–14 and 3–15 Cave 3

Conclusions

The study of the Dead Sea Scrolls by DNA analysis demonstrates our ability to recover authentic sequences of ancient DNA from parchments. One of the main difficulties in the analysis of ancient DNA is the preservation of DNA in the original tissue. The structure of the parchment and the dry climate of the Judean desert may have helped to protect the enclosed DNA.

In view of the finding that most of the parchments were made from domestic goat skins, we consider it important to place their origin. The first approach should be to characterize the genetic profile of the goatlike remains from Qumran. Zeuner (1960) reported that some 408 of 492 animal bones found in the first excavations in Qumran were identified morphologically as sheep or goat. Unfortunately, those bones are not currently available and so we have not yet been able to characterize the goat population from Qumran.

Our molecular results differ from those of Ryder (1965). His conclusion, that most of the Qumran parchments were made out of hairy sheep, was based on microscopic analysis of the size and density of hair follicles. The diagnosis of hairy sheep is surprising, as the hairy sheep is not known in the region at this period. Using DNA analysis we have not yet identified any parchment as derived from sheep.

The genetic analysis of the sequences obtained from the samples contributes to the understanding of the animal species from which the parchments were made, while the identification of individual DNA polymorphisms determines the degree of relatedness of the animals used. Moreover, the scrolls can be analyzed as a collection of animal skins from past ruminant populations. Thus, in addition to their importance in Dead Sea Scroll research, they may contribute to our knowledge of the genetic variation in past goat breeds. The DNA sequences that were obtained from the different scrolls shed light on the species and population of animals that were used to make the parchments. The *Temple Scroll* was written on domestic goat skins while the blank fragments were written on an ibex and domestic goat skins. The ibex is the most common wild animal in the region.

With further comparisons using ancient and contemporaneous bone material from Qumran and its surroundings we should be able to place the information obtained into a database that can be used to

identify the animal source. Since this is a biological system, it evolves. Unlike the study of Gunneweg,[5] which can map geographically the clay source of a scroll jar, this system may give a chronological answer to a source of parchment. It may be possible to explore the source of the animals that produced these skins and the trade which governed their distribution. Thus, molecular biology can contribute to the analysis of the scrolls and shed light on the life of the people who wrote and lived by the rules recorded in them.

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[5] "How Neutron Activation Analysis Can Help the Research into the Provenance of the Dead Sea Jars at Qumran," in this volume, *Historical Perspectives: Jewish Perspectives from the Maccabees to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 27–31 January, 1999* (ed. David Goodblatt, Avital Pinnick and Daniel R. Schwartz; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 179–85.

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ANALYSIS OF MICROSCOPIC MATERIAL AND THE STITCHING OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS: A PRELIMINARY STUDY*

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The application of microscopic and forensic techniques to archaeology can retrieve information about human activity that is present in the archaeological record and is currently not being recovered. A basic tenet in the forensic sciences is the Locard Exchange Principle, which states "Every contact leaves traces. Whenever any two objects come into contact with one another they affect one another in some way" (Robertson and Vignaux, 1995). The nature of the effect and the particles exchanged or deposited will depend upon the nature of the contact and of the objects. The evidence of these contacts is not a result of conscious thought; most times, due to the small size of the particles exchanged, one is not even aware that evidence of the contact is carried away from it.

Following the Locard Principle, forensic scientists have developed an arsenal of techniques to obtain data from small and microscopic amounts of material. The purpose of these analyses is to obtain interpretable information that can shed light on an event or series of events. These events normally have at their core human actions.

This study is a preliminary study to determine if microscopic traces are present on the Dead Sea Scrolls and if trace evidence and other forensic science techniques can provide new information. Two types of examinations will be attempted, one of microscopic traces associated with the scrolls and the other, of the stitching.

Microscopic Traces

The definition of what one is trying to determine is desirable before an analysis. I will attempt to answer two very basic but unconsidered questions. Are there microscopic particles associated with the scrolls? If there are, can these particles be characterized utilizing analyses based on the light microscope?

The material selected was pieces of cellophane tape that had been removed by the Dead Sea Scrolls laboratory of the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. At the time of their discovery, the scholars studying the scrolls used cellophane tape to join together the many fragments of the manuscript.

The glue side of these pieces was scanned utilizing a stereo microscope at various magnifications between 6.3 and 40 diameters. Fibers and microscopic particles of apparent interest were manually removed, and analyzed utilizing a polarized microscope at magnifications between 100 and 630 diameters.

In addition to the cellophane tape pieces, which were felt to be heavily contaminated by particles of modern origin, two jars associated with the scrolls and on display at the Shrine of the Book of the Israel Museum were examined. These jars were selected because they had been found whole, rather than reassembled from fragments that had been washed, and had covers on them. The two jars were overturned over clean paper and tapped lightly. The material falling out of the jars onto the paper was analyzed. The analysis followed the same stereo and polarized light microscope scheme outlined above.

Many particles and fibers were found on the cellophane tape pieces. Not every particle or fiber was characterized, but the following classes of material were identified: a) hair fragments, human and wool; b) pollen particles; and c) synthetic and natural fibers. Some of the wool fibers were dyed. The natural fibers consisted mainly of flax and cotton, with some of the cotton being dyed.

Many particles and fibers were retrieved from the jars. Again, not every fiber or particle was characterized. Hair fragments, including human, animal and wool, were identified. Some of the wool fibers were dyed and one of the animal hairs appears to be cat of non-modern origin. Pollen grains and insect parts were also present in the material from the jars as well as synthetic and natural fibers. The natural fibers again consisted of mostly cotton and flax, with some of the cotton being dyed.

Thus the preliminary questions were answered in the affirmative. There are microscopic traces associated with the scrolls and these are capable of being characterized by light-based microscope types of analysis. In addition, several collateral finds were reached. Using the amount of synthetic fibers present in the material as an indicator of degree of contamination, the material in the jars was much less contaminated than the cellophane tape pieces. Also the dirt in the jars from which the microscopic particles and fibers were removed is different between the jars. Thus it is evident that these two jars had different histories.

I would be remiss if I did not discuss the problem of dating the microscopic traces. Trace evidence normally undergoes a process of replacement by subsequent events. That is to say that as the person or object moves or is moved, the older particles tend to fall off and to be replaced by newer particles. In the case of the jars and the scrolls, this movement from the time of storage was relatively minimal. For this reason, addition, rather than replacement, was more prevalent. Thus, the traces could be either modern or ancient. While the synthetic fibers are, on the face of it, of modern origin, fibers such as cotton and flax could be of either modern or ancient origin. We face the same problem with hairs. Aging changes the appearance of hairs and fibers but changes of appearance are not readily quantifiable. At this time, no dating technique is known that will allow for the dating of the small amounts of material we are dealing with. Work will need to be done on the dating question if this type of analysis is to live up to its potential.

Stitching

Two manuscripts were studied in the scroll vault of the Shrine of the Book at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. They were the *Habakkuk Commentary* and the *Isaiah Manuscript A* from Cave 1.

The stitching joining the panels of these manuscripts was studied utilizing a hand magnifier and ruler. The manner of stitching, its twist and direction were recorded. In addition, the twist direction and composition of the individual sewing threads was recorded. While these are very simple parameters, changes in them are considered as indicative of different tribes and cultures (Maslowski, 1996, and Peterson, 1996). Stitching tends, once learned, to be automatic, consistent,

and repetitive. One tends to teach the method and manner one learned. Thus, the tradition and manner of stitching tends to be transmitted from one person and generation to the next. That is not to say that there are not differences but the differences are more in a range of expression for an individual sewer than in style and manner. From the characteristics outlined above, I will attempt to derive information about the manner of stitching and the person or persons doing the stitching. The findings are presented in Table 1.

Scroll		Stitching			Thread		
Name	Seam No.	Direction	Count Range per inch	Count Average per inch	No. of Strands	Twist Direction of Strand	Strand Comp.
Habakkuk Commentary	1	Z	7 to 9	8	2	Z	Fibers
Isaiah Manuscript A Cave 1	1	S and Straight	—	—	1	—	Fibers
	2	Straight	5 to 6	5.5	2	Z	Fibers
	3	—	5*	5*	2**	Z**	Fibers**
	4	Very Slight S "Straight"	5 to 7	5.5	2	?*** Perhaps S	Fibers
	5 Bottom	Straight	5 to 6	5.5	?***	?***	?***
	5 Top	Straight			2	Z	Fibers
	5 Repair	Random			2 or 4 Folded over?	S	Fibers
Notes:		Average count of 2, 3, 4 and 5 = 5.4			** Based on thread fragment		
		* Based on holes			*** Thread hidden by seam		

Table 1: *Stitching and thread characterization*

From the data in Table 1 we can see that the scrolls have been stitched at least four separate and distinct times. The average count in seam 1 of the *Habakkuk Commentary* is 8, while the count in seams 2, 3, 4, and the top and bottom of seam 5 in the Isaiah manuscript is approximately 5.5. This represents two separate events. The thread in seam 1 of the Isaiah manuscript is a single-strand thread, while

the thread in the other seams is a double-strand; this is a third sewing event. The fourth sewing event is seen in the repair of seam 5 of the Isaiah manuscript. This repair has random rather than ordered stitching and a sewing thread with an S-twist rather than the Z-twist seen in the other seams of this manuscript.

Two of the people doing the stitching appear to have been working to a standard (seam 1 of the *Habakkuk Commentary* and seams 2, 3, 4, and the top and bottom of seam 5 in the Isaiah manuscript). The work is of high quality, attempts were made to minimise its visibility when reading the document, and the manner, albeit showing individual differences, is repetitive. The third, and perhaps a fourth, person doing the stitching did not do high quality work. No attempt to hide the stitching was made and the work does not follow any standard.

Since there is no repetitive pattern present, I was not able to determine if the repair in seam 5 of the Isaiah manuscript was done by a person other than the person who sewed seam 1 of the Isaiah manuscript. I characterize this as a repair instead of a join/seam as there is high quality stitching done to the standard both above and below it.

Due to the poor quality of the stitching in seam 1 of the Isaiah manuscript, and the fact that this stitching completely joins the two panels, it can be deduced that these panels were sewn together in a hasty fashion at a time other than the manufacture of the manuscript. I was not able to determine at the time if there was evidence for previous stitching in seam 1. I did not remove any samples of thread from the stitching in an attempt to identify the material.

Conclusions

It has been proven that there are microscopic traces on the scrolls that can be characterized utilizing classical light microscopic and forensic methodologies. Information as to the number of people who stitched two scrolls has also been derived.

Scientific methods can provide information on technologies, places, flocks, and people associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls. This information, while having value in its own right, can be of value to other scholars by providing them with non-subjective methodologies to test facts indigenous to their hypotheses.

As valuable as the application of science can be to scroll research,

any removal of material, even in microscopic quantities, alters the scrolls. The scrolls are valuable manuscripts and there are many factors and interests that must be considered before any material can be collected from them. What is of concern to one discipline may not be readily apparent to a person from another discipline. Thus, collaboration between scientists and textual scholars is needed in order to draft non-intrusive approaches based on meaningful questions. Thus, we can gain maximum information for all with minimum damage or alteration of these priceless documents.

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HOW NEUTRON ACTIVATION ANALYSIS CAN ASSIST RESEARCH INTO THE PROVENANCE OF THE POTTERY AT QUMRAN*

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Introduction

The Dead Sea Scrolls are perhaps the best known ancient documents discovered in the twentieth century. Over the past fifty years, the scrolls have been painstakingly cleaned, pieced together, and partially or fully published. The origin of the scrolls, however, has remained an enigma, as have the people who allegedly wrote these scrolls. In light of this situation, the present authors decided to trace the provenance of the pottery of Qumran, including the scroll jars in which the scrolls were apparently found. The word "apparently" is intentional, because no scroll has ever been removed from a jar by an archaeologist.

As the title of this paper suggests, neutron activation analysis (NAA) is able to shed light on the origin of the Dead Sea Scrolls by tracing the pottery which the Essenes allegedly used and, specifically, the storage jars used to ship or hide manuscripts which were uncovered in the Qumran caves.

The goal of our ongoing research project is:

1. to trace Qumran pottery by its chemistry rather than by style because the latter has not provided the expected information in terms of relating style to a chronology and stratigraphy at the site;

2. to establish the relationship between the pottery found in the Qumran settlement and the eleven surrounding caves where scroll materials have been found;

3. to study which pottery was locally made and which was brought in from elsewhere in order to learn about trade between Qumran and surrounding settlements.

A pilot study on the provenance of Qumran pottery found in the settlement and the caves began in 1998 at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, in collaboration with the Nuclear Reactor Facility at the Technical University of Budapest and with the École Biblique et Archéologique Française in Jerusalem. This paper is divided into a description of the method that was used to obtain the most trustworthy results by tracing the Qumran pottery to its manufacturing site and showing an example of what we have learned.

The study of pottery is usually the only window we have into the lives of the earliest civilizations. Not only can one get a view into the evolution of an early technology based upon pottery but one may also learn in some detail about the development of what may well be the earliest commercial trade or simply human interactions between individuals or groups of people. This applies to the Qumran settlement as it does to any other site.

Most of the published papers on the pottery of Qumran are in agreement that the pottery was made at the site.[1] In spite of the validity of such a statement, there remains some uncertainty concerning which pottery was definitely manufactured at Qumran, which pottery is possibly locally made but dubious, and which has to be excluded as locally made altogether. Of the third group, one may ask from where this pottery came. These findings will bear weight when trying to identify the site(s) where the scroll jars were made and whence they came to Qumran. Perhaps some of the scrolls can be traced by the provenience of the jars. We are convinced that in the light of the results of analysis of the pottery assemblages published by us over the past twenty-five years,[2] laboratory methods can be of great benefit, specifically in the case of Qumran.

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[1] [Editors' note: For recent studies on the pottery of Qumran, see Jodi Magness, "Qumran Archaeology: Past Perspectives and Future Prospects," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, vol. 1, ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 47–77, especially 59–61 and bibliography at 75–77, and Jodi Magness, "The Community at Qumran in Light of Its Pottery," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects*, ed. M. O. Wise, N. Golb, J. J. Collins, and D. G. Pardee, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722 (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 39–50.]

[2] J. Gunneweg, I. Perlman and J. Yellin 1983, *The Provenience Typology and Chronology of Eastern Terra Sigillata*, Qedem 17, Monograph of the Institute of Archaeology at

Method

The technique used to analyze Qumran pottery samples is neutron activation analysis, specifically designed to fingerprint chemically a ceramic vessel or just a shard. It is based on the premise that each clay source on Earth has a different geochemical history, hence a different chemical composition, and can therefore be distinguished from all others (Perlman & Asaro, 1969; Gunneweg et al., 1988). Thus pottery made from these clays can also be distinguished from pottery of clay from other sources. NAA has the capability to determine quantitatively about thirty-five chemical elements—for the major part trace elements—that provide the so-called chemical fingerprint of a vessel. The elements belong to all the different groups on the periodical table.

By subjecting a set of samples to a beam of neutrons in a nuclear reactor, one sets off a nuclear reaction that includes all of the chemical elements, and ultimately results in the abundance of the elements. The purpose of the irradiation is to convert a small fraction of the stable isotopes of the various elements into a radioactive form that emits gamma rays. These mono-energetic gamma rays will later identify the element, while the abundance of the element is determined by counting the gamma-photons that are emitted in a predetermined length of time.

Grouping

After we have analyzed a considerable number of pottery shards and other materials that are supposed to be specific to a site, we attempt to construct a pottery group or groups based upon chemical

composition by using multivariate statistics. Characteristic statistical values (mean vector and covariance matrix) of the group or groups are defined as well as the chemical outliers. A group or groups tested on a given confidence level can be used from now on for further comparisons. To determine the relation of any pottery piece with this group, one has to establish the statistical match of the chemical composition of the artifact in question with that of the reference group. We have devised certain criteria for deciding whether the test piece is part of the group.

Modus operandi

Ninety-one samples of reference materials and vessels were taken from Qumran finds to establish a local chemical profile and a search for a statistical match of the vessels to this profile respectively. Pottery powder obtained by a sapphire drill was placed into a plastic cup and registered. The powder was then weighed and sealed in a polyethylene vial. These vials were irradiated in the nuclear reactor of the Technical University of Budapest with a neutron flux of 2.4 × 10.[12] A Canberra HPGe Well-type Detector, connected to a Canberra S100 Multichannel Analyzer, performed the Gamma-spectrometric measurements. For the evaluation of spectra, SAMPO 90 software was used. Standardization was made by the so-called single comparator method, using gold as the comparator element. The accuracy of the measurements was controlled by measuring the NBS 1633a Coal Fly Ash Standard Reference material.

An Interesting Find

If we find that there is a corroboration between what has been learned from the pottery vis-à-vis the epigraphy and palaeography of the scrolls themselves, our goal is achieved. One may be able to prove that independent information providing the same conclusions can be reached through different disciplines. However, before reaching that conclusion we first have to sample systematically as many pieces of pottery as possible, from as many caves. Only this may provide the necessary data needed for sound conclusions.

Among the scrolls discovered at Qumran is a minor assembly of Greek papyrus fragments found together in Cave 7. This cave con-

tained no Hebrew scrolls but was filled with many Greek papyri of various texts. Among them were fourteen alleged Gospel of Mark papyrus scroll fragments. The other ten caves contained Aramaic and many Hebrew manuscripts. For some Christian scholars (O'Calla-ghan, 1974; Thiede, 1992), the Cave 7 fragments became the cornerstone of New Testament textual studies because they seemed to represent the earliest written Christian documents. In the same cave, a large ledge-handled jar bearing the name "ROMA" was also found. Those who believed in the authenticity of the so-called New Testament texts found in Cave 7 viewed this jar as a corroborating sign and the link between the origin of the scrolls from overseas (Rome) and Qumran.

The ROMA inscription, written twice in paint or ink on the shoulder of the jar near the opposed pierced ledge handles, fit Thiede's theory that fourteen preserved papyrus fragments of Mark's Gospel could "have reached Qumran from Rome within a fortnight, via Jerusalem or directly from the port of Yafo or Caesarea Maritima" (Thiede, 1996). Furthermore, he mentioned that the inscription "ROMA" might indicate "'the provenance of its contents," i.e., the scrolls had been identified as coming from Rome.

We made it our task to determine whether the Roma jar had been imported from either one of the four mentioned sites, Rome, Jerusalem, Caesarea and Yafo (Jaffa), or whether it was locally made and preserved on the shores of the Dead Sea at Qumran. If the jar happened to be made locally, one would have to exclude Rome or any other possible site of origin.

The chemical compositions of pottery found at Jerusalem and Caesarea Maritima are well represented in our data banks. However, there is no adequate site-specific reference for Rome or Yafo sufficient to establish a statistical match. To circumvent this inconvenience, our neutron activation analysis study focused upon establishing the chemical fingerprint of the local Qumran ware itself. Ninety-one ceramic vessels and vessel fragments were sampled covering all types of pottery found in the Qumran settlement and its caves.

Preliminary Results

From the results obtained at Qumran, we were able to form a chemical group of pottery that matched certain reference materials. These

include a series of crude lids for ovens (some of them unfired) and clay balls, which must be deemed to be local to the site where they were found. This chemical group consisted of thirty-seven samples, accounting for fifty percent of the pottery whose provenience we wanted to determine. In Fig. 1 we show the graph of the Qumran pottery in principal component space.

Fig. 1. Principal Component Analysis graph of the Qumran pottery. The lower half of the encircled squares is pottery local to Qumran itself.

The Roma jar clusters with locally made pottery plotted in the lower half of the encircled group of samples. This is the first time that Qumran's local chemical fingerprint has been established. In this context, "local" means that the pottery was definitely made at Qumran or in its immediate vicinity. It is possible that the jar was used to contain or to bury materials that came from another site, in this case Rome. However, various graffiti, letters, names and short sentences are written on another group of fifty ostraca found at Qumran, representing an equal number of pottery vessels, among them jars. These graffiti might be the remains of an index system for jars con-

taining certain scrolls. Only after the origin of the ostraca has been traced by neutron activation, however, will it be possible to confirm or refute the Roma jar as the container where certain "Roman" manuscripts were kept. One cannot make an exception for Rome just because of the name. If there were a system whereby signs or letters on the outside of the jars indicated their contents, one would have to find further corroborating evidence. We therefore plan to sample the ostraca found at Qumran in the continuation of our NAA study in the near future.

We are certain that ascertaining the provenance of the Roma jar has shed light on at least one of the mysteries which was, rightly or not, connected to Early Christianity. For almost fifty years the Roma jar has posed a riddle to archaeologists, historians, and biblical scholars alike. The overall conclusion can be drawn that the Roma jar was locally made in Qumran and, therefore, did not come from Rome or anywhere else. All the rest remains as yet a desideratum and worthy of investigation.

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