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# THE SELF-UNDERSTANDING OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS COMMUNITY

An Eternal Planting, A House of Holiness

ELIZABETH V. DOWLING



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Paul Swarup



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## PREFACE

The term Dead Sea Scrolls community (DSS community) is used in this study as an inclusive term. The writer is fully aware that the identification of the DSS community/communities remains one of the debated issues in Qumran scholarship. Serious questions have been raised over the scrolls that were identified as 'sectarian', and a re-evaluation of the evidence seems to be in order. The possibility of more than one community is indicated by the numerous differences between the various texts like the Rule of the Community and the Damascus Document. Within the rule itself there are significant differences between the extant copies (cf. 1QS V:1 with 4Q258 I:1). By using the term 'DSS community' I do not refer to one specific community that produced all the 'sectarian scrolls' but rather to various communities that lived in the period from about 175 BCE to 70 CE at Qumran<sup>1</sup> and elsewhere but were connected to, and involved in one way or another with, the process which gave rise to the 'sectarian scrolls'.

1. Archaeological evidence points to the use of the Qumran site by a community between 100 BCE and 68 CE (Hempel *EDSS*, p. 746). However, this does not preclude the origins of the DSS community being in an earlier period and away from Qumran.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations and citation conventions for biblical books, Apocrypha, Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Josephus, Philo, rabbinic literature and Targums follow standard forms as specified in ‘Instructions for Contributors’, *JBL* 117 (1998), pp. 555–579. For the DSS literature the standard citation conventions laid out in García Martínez and Tigchelaar’s *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, pp. 1327–1360, are followed. Abbreviations for manuscripts and versions of the Hebrew Bible are as in BHS.

AB	Anchor Bible
<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
<i>Ahw</i>	<i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i>
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ATD	Acta Theologica Danica
BASORSS	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplementary Studies
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BDB	Brown, Driver and Briggs – Hebrew Lexicon
BH	Biblical Hebrew
<i>BHS</i>	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
<i>BR</i>	<i>Bible Review</i>
BST	Bible Speaks Today
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CCWJCW	Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish & Christian World
<i>CHJ</i>	<i>Cambridge History of Judaism</i>
col(s).	column(s)
CQS	Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
CUP	Cambridge University Press
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>

DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
ECDSS	Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls
EDSS	<i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i>
<i>ErIsr</i>	<i>Eretz Israel</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
fem.	Feminine
Frg(s).	Fragment(s)
GBS	Guides to Biblical Scholarship
GKC	Gesenius, Kautzsch and Cowley – Hebrew Grammar
<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>The Heythrop Journal</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HALOT</i>	<i>Koehler and Baumgartner – Hebrew Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
impf.	imperfect
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBQ</i>	<i>Jewish Bible Quarterly</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JM	Joüon and Muraoka – Grammar of Biblical Hebrew
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
<i>JSSt</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KB	Koehler and Baumgartner – Bilingual Dictionary
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LXX	Septuagint
masc.	masculine
MSS	Manuscripts
MT	Masoretic Text
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary
NCB	New Century Bible
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTL	New Testament Library
NT	New Testament

OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>OtSt</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
OUP	Oxford University Press
pl.	plural
ptcpl.	participle
PTSDSSP	Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RdQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
S	Syriac Version
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
<i>Sem</i>	<i>Semitica</i>
sfx.	suffix
sing.	singular
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SSU	Studia Semitica Upsaliensia
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia theologica</i>
StBL	Studies in Biblical Literature
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
SVTG	Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
<i>THAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
TA	Theologische Arbeiten
<i>ThLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>ThZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>TynB</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
v(ss)	verse(s)
Vg.	Vulgate
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>ZNTW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### *1. Prologue*

Ideologies give a sense of identity and direction to any community. It enables them to understand who they are, and gives them a *raison d'être*. The people of the DSS likewise had their own ideology which gave their community its particular shape. This ideology therefore needs to be examined to enable us to appreciate something of the community's own self-understanding. This study looks at some of the key sectarian documents and other texts used by the Dead Sea Scrolls community in an effort to gain insights into their self-understanding from internal evidence. This will also enable us to uncover the biblical traditions that influenced the ideology and self-understanding of the DSS community. The birth of the DSS community occurred in a period of eschatological ferment, with an intense expectation of the imminent end of history as prophesied by the prophets. The people of the DSS saw in their community's story the fulfilment of all that had been prophesied concerning the salvation of the righteous and the destruction of the wicked. Righteousness and wickedness are the two principal categories by which they viewed themselves and others. The community used two key metaphors, 'an eternal planting' and 'a house of holiness', to express their own role in the unfolding events. These two metaphors embrace a wide range of biblical themes which they appropriated for themselves. In this study, fourteen different excerpts from the DSS have been examined to show the importance of these two metaphors for their self-understanding. The people of Qumran drew deeply from biblical traditions, but were not bound by them, and they nuanced their traditions to address their own new realities.

#### *2. An Eternal Planting, A House of Holiness*

The purpose of this study is to identify the use of the 'eternal planting' and 'temple/sanctuary' metaphors within the Dead Sea Scrolls, and to explore the way they are developed. The unique coupling of these two metaphors

also needs to be investigated. The nexus of ideas in the eternal planting, the echoes of Eden, the glory of Adam and the establishing of the temple point to a nostalgia for the restoration of the land and her people. It is in the context of partially fulfilled prophecies and promises in the post-exilic period that these two metaphors have so much to offer. The DSS community came into existence in such a climate. This study gives due attention to this post-exilic hope of restoration and the expectation of the eschaton that play such a major role in the teaching of the DSS. An enquiry into the meaning of these symbolic traditions, and the historical development of them, should enable us to understand Palestinian Judaism and the DSS community better. Since it is in this context that Christianity and the NT were born, it is important to understand this context, and the development of ideas from the Hebrew Bible on through the intertestamental period and into the NT.

A preliminary perusal of the manuscripts reveals that there were two specific received traditions that were extensively reworked and used by the DSS community, as is illustrated neatly in 1QS VIII:5: 'the council of the community will be established in truth *vacat* for an *eternal planting*, a house of holiness for Israel and a most holy assembly for Aaron...' The metaphors of the 'plant/planting' and the 'temple/sanctuary', as will become apparent, give us fresh insight into the self-understanding of the community. The idea of 'plant/planting' is usually represented in the Hebrew by **מִטֵּעַ**, and in the Aramaic by **נִצְבָּה**, with the adjectives 'eternal' (1QSVIII:5; 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV[VI]:15; *1 En.* 93.5), 'righteous' (*Jub.* 1.16–17), or 'upright' (*1 En.* 93.2) regularly in attendance. The expression 'eternal planting' is used among the DSS and other texts composed during the Second Temple period to express a biblical idea about the people of Israel restored and established by God.<sup>1</sup> This is one of the key metaphors which the sectarian community uses to express their self-awareness as a 'holy nation'. Apart from this term, other 'planting' imagery involving **נִצַּר**, **שֵׁרֵשׁ** and the 'world tree' also comes into play. The second metaphor is that of the 'temple' or the 'sanctuary', which the sectarian community uses in description of itself as a spiritual temple. The Hebrew terms that are used are **מִקְדָּשׁ** and **בַּיִת**. This enabled them to express their identity as the 'royal priesthood' who functioned within the spiritual temple, which was, their own community.

### 3. *History of Research*

There have been studies by Licht (1961), Ringgren (1961), Dexinger (1977), Fujita (1978), Tiller (1997) and Elgvin (1998), examining the metaphor

1. Tiller *EDSS*: 272.

of 'planting' or 'eternal planting'. Most of these studies have looked at particular aspects of the metaphor or at a specific text in which it occurs. Thus far, there has been no detailed thematic textual study, which is where this study fits in. Similarly, studies on the idea of the community as the spiritual temple have been undertaken by Gärtner (1965), McKelvey (1969), Dimant (1986), Wentling (1989), Briggs (1999), and Brooke (1999). Others like Vermes (1973) and Lee (2001) have worked on certain aspects of these metaphors. However, there has been no exhaustive study of the metaphors of the 'eternal planting' and the 'temple/sanctuary' that has traced the growth of this tradition and of the theology of it against the background of the relevant biblical material. This study seeks to fill that gap.

#### *4. Methodological Statement*

This study works at two levels: the textual and the theological. At the textual level, it is based on a close philological and historical examination of the metaphors. Each text is understood initially as an individual, discrete passage, then placed within the framework of the document in which it is found, and then finally within the Qumran corpus as a whole. Each passage is then compared and contrasted with the relevant text(s) in the Hebrew Bible to see how the text has been reworked or nuanced to suit the new context. Comparison is then made with other Jewish texts and traditions from Second Temple sources, and on occasion with the Targums, in order to provide a broader background for exegesis. Even though the Targumic material is from a later period, there is overlapping and continuation of many traditions, and so comparison is useful.<sup>2</sup> Once the correct text is established, on the basis of photographs, microfiche and the CD-ROM of the MSS, the various emendations and reconstructions that have been suggested are re-examined and either followed or revised. Philological comments relating to the texts discussed are noted.<sup>3</sup>

At the second (theological) level, this study presents an analysis of the metaphors of the 'plant' and the 'temple/sanctuary' as applied to the community. It provides a commentary, as well as a theological explanation, of these two motifs. The aim is to tie together the various threads that run through the Qumran documents and thus enable us to understand the ideology of the DSS community in the context of Second Temple Judaism. It should be noted that 'Dead Sea Scrolls community' is used as an

2. Common exegetical traditions underlying 1QpHab and the Targum have been observed by some scholars (cf. Gordon 1994: 83–95).

3. Schiffman uses a similar methodology in studying 1QS<sup>a</sup> (Schiffman 1989: 10).

umbrella term in this study, referring to the sectarian communities present at Qumran and elsewhere.

### 5. Overview

The key question that is addressed in this study is the choice of these two metaphors of 'eternal planting' and 'house of holiness'. Why are these two metaphors crucial in giving us an insight into the beliefs of the DSS community? A cursory glance at the history of Israel will help us to locate the emergence of the DSS community in its context. Long after Cyrus had given the Judeans the freedom to go back to their land and the temple had been rebuilt, the promised restoration had not taken place. The conditions show that, even after the return from the exile and the rebuilding of the temple, the messianic age that people were hoping for had not arrived. From the Qumranians' point of view, the commandments of the Lord were not heeded, oppression of the underprivileged was rampant, and the Jerusalem cultus was corrupt. The office of the high priest was no longer sacred and had come to the point where it could be purchased or politically manipulated. Israel as the covenant people of God no longer lived a life that was distinct from the people around them or the people who ruled them. The only corrective to this was to make sure that there would be a remnant who would be a holy nation and seek the Lord, and who would carry out the duties of the temple. The DSS community thus sought to live out their lives as the alternative covenant community, as the people of God, where righteousness was practised and true sacrifice was offered. They drew on the biblical tradition of being a '*kingdom of priests and a holy nation*' (Exod. 19:6). The two metaphors of 'eternal planting' and 'house of holiness' enabled them to hold together these two fundamental ideas of identity as the people of God and the priesthood of God. The idea of 'a holy nation' was amply covered by the metaphor of the 'eternal planting' which, in the biblical tradition as well as in other Jewish exegetical traditions, stood for the righteous throughout history. The metaphor of 'the house of holiness', on the other hand, covered all that had to do with the temple and the priesthood. Since these were fundamental concerns, it is necessary to examine the wide range of theological interests that these two metaphors cover. Planting imagery also enabled them to justify their move to the wilderness, since they saw themselves as the community preparing the way for the Lord to come. They would not be able to do this while living in Jerusalem, and so they accepted the isolation of Qumran. Contrasts between the righteous and the wicked as seen in Psalm 1 and in Jer. 17.8 encouraged them to distinguish sharply between themselves and the wicked priesthood in Jerusalem. Moreover, the DSS community saw itself as that which fostered the birth of the eschatological community of the faithful.

The spirit of this era was one of eager expectation of the eschaton, and the members of the DSS community saw themselves as actors in this final drama of God. They were going to be the community of faith through whom God would bring about his acts of judgement on the wicked. In order for them to act as God's messengers they had to show and establish themselves as the righteous. It is here that we observe the DSS community drawing from biblical traditions (Isa. 48.18–20; cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI [VIII]:4–6) and endorsing the view that they as a community were indeed established by God himself. Establishing this claim to divine election was necessary for them if they were indeed to be the righteous whom God had chosen, and if this was not to be the doing of mere humans. They were eager that God would bring about the restoration that they had been promised by the prophets. It was a desire for paradise or Edenic conditions where the whole of creation would be enjoying *shalom*. The imagery of the eternal plant helps link the ideal world of Eden with the depiction of the community. The concept of Eden also acts as the prototype for the sanctuary where God's presence would be continually present. For this to happen, there needed to be a transformation of the existing conditions. This could only come about by a new creation. The Qumranians saw themselves as the agents of transformation bringing about the new creation which the prophet Isaiah had prophesied. The desert, according to Isaiah, would be filled with streams and the barren earth would become a well-watered garden. This suited them ideally because they were residing in the desert, and they thought of themselves as the agents who would bring about this new creation. Planting imagery fits in neatly with the ideas of new creation and transformation. There is new life, there is growth and there is transformation, all of which was what they wanted to see themselves experiencing as a community.

As the priesthood of God they would be 'a house of holiness', that is a 'sanctuary' or 'temple'. Their members, as a community, would constitute the true spiritual sanctuary, in contrast to the Jerusalem temple and priesthood which had become corrupt and wicked. They would act in its place. It is in this spiritual temple that the iniquities of the people would be atoned for, not through animal sacrifices, but by leading a life which was characterised by truth, justice and perfection (1QS IX:4–5). The example of Phinehas acting as an agent of judgement inspired them, because Phinehas stood against his own people who had rebelled against the Lord his God, and made atonement for the Israelites (Num. 25.13). Because of this the Lord had established with Phinehas and his descendants a covenant of perpetual priesthood. The community was going to atone for the sins of Israel. The covenant that was made with the priesthood is now to be re-established with the DSS community (1QS VIII:8–10a). Moreover, the founding of the DSS community is likened to God's making the covenant with Israel at Sinai.

The motif of the elect as the sanctuary and as the eternal planting enabled the DSS community to believe that they were the ones who were in the presence of God. They perceived that the land and the sanctuary were defiled and saw themselves as the purified, proleptic sanctuary which atoned for the polluted land and people, and in turn experienced the eschatological dwelling of God in their midst. The sanctuary imagery primarily expresses the idea that God was in their midst, since he had accepted them as his priesthood. They believed that they were fulfilling the prophecy of Ezekiel according to which God would make a covenant of peace with his people and would set his sanctuary among them forever (Ezek. 37.26–28). The metaphor ‘house of holiness’ defines the identity of the community as the spiritual temple as opposed to the physical temple in Jerusalem. The collocation of the temple motif and the plant motif can best be seen in Ezekiel’s vision of the new temple where the river flows out from the sanctuary and the trees growing on the banks of that river have eternal fruitfulness and bring about healing for the nations. The DSS community saw themselves as *a holy nation and a royal priesthood* enabling the healing to take place. Life was to be lived under the covenant conditions.

### 6. Summary

The study falls into two main parts. Part One deals with the ‘plant/planting’ motif in its occurrences in the Hodayot (1QH<sup>a</sup>), Rule of the Community (1QS/4QS), Damascus Document (CD/4QD, 5QD, 6QD) and 4Q/1QInstruction (4Q415–418/1Q26). Part Two deals with the ‘temple/sanctuary’ motif, found in 4QFlorilegium (4Q174), Temple Scroll (11QT<sup>a</sup>), Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400–407; 11Q17), Rule of the Community (1QS/4QS), and the *pesharim* of Habakkuk and Isaiah (1QpHab and 4Q161–165). Each chapter is divided into two main sections: the first deals with the text and its context, and the second has a discussion of the metaphor. Finally, conclusions are drawn on the basis of the discussion in Parts One and Two and their constituent sections.

Following the introduction in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 deals with plant imagery in the Hodayot (1QH<sup>a</sup>). Two specific texts have been examined: 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIII (V):20 – XV (VII):5+ Frg. 26 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):4–40; 1QH<sup>b</sup> Frg. 2; 4QH<sup>b</sup> (4Q428) Frg. 10:11–12. In the first text the DSS community sees itself as the eternal plant – a righteous remnant. It envisages itself as the sole representative of the old Israel, a holy remnant who had been favoured by God to inherit the universe. They also see themselves fulfilling the messianic function of judging the wicked. The DSS community was to walk in truth and then fulfil the role of judging the wicked. The metaphor of the eternal plant that the psalmist portrays here has Edenic echoes. The psalmist and his community would be in the Garden of Eden where they

would be in the presence of God because they were his inheritance. The DSS community is also likened to a 'world tree' with a universal role. Just as Israel as a nation was chosen for the sake of the nations, so the DSS community saw itself as a separated and distinct people, but with a universal vision of being a blessing to the rest of the cosmos.

In the second text, images of a fertile plantation are used to describe the community. Here the psalmist draws from Isa. 41.18–20 and reworks it to portray himself and his community as those through whom God would make all things new. The new creation motif is taken up and the desert is transformed through the power of God and the presence of the DSS community. They understood themselves to be a separated people totally under the protective care of God. In this text there is also a collective identification for Isaiah's **מָלְאִךְ**. In the biblical tradition the **מָלְאִךְ** in Isaiah 11 is usually interpreted as a royal Messiah who would come from David's line. However, here it takes on a collective identity and fulfils the messianic role of judging the nations. The Messiah was also to be the saviour and restorer of Israel who would establish justice. The text also has verbal echoes of the suffering servant in Isa. 53.3. The DSS community now takes on these roles also.

Chapter 3 deals with plant imagery in the Rule of the Community. Two texts from the rule have been examined: 1QS VIII:1–10 and 1QS XI:7b–9a. In the first text the DSS community is likened to an eternal planting, who were to be doers of truth, righteousness and justice. Doing justice and practising righteousness was the purpose for which God had called Abraham and made a covenant with him (Gen. 18.19). It was only by doing this that the promise to Abraham of being a blessing to the nations would be fulfilled. The DSS community was to carry out this promise by keeping the same ethical demands that were laid on Abraham. The new community which was to come into existence was to be based on justice and righteousness in contrast to what was happening in Jerusalem. They were to be the proleptic eschatological community practising these things. In 1QS VIII the idea of the eternal plant is juxtaposed with the metaphor of the sanctuary. These two metaphors were crucial for the DSS community, and we can observe the author/redactor switching between one metaphor and the other. As for the idea of being the *people of God* and the *priesthood of God*, the concepts of 'a holy nation' and a 'royal priesthood' as in Exod. 19.6 seem to represent the biblical tradition behind this. They were to be a 'house of holiness for Israel and a most holy assembly for Aaron'. 'Israel' stands for the people of God, and 'Aaron' stands for the priesthood of God, which were both used to refer to the members of the DSS community. There is also one text in 4Q504 Frg. 4:10 where there is an explicit reference to the community as a kingdom of priests and a holy nation. As in the Hodayot, the eternal plant stands as a symbol of the Garden of Eden, which is equated with the sanctuary. This entry into Eden is also the reversal of the expulsion



of humankind from the garden of Eden and the presence of God. The DSS community thus sees itself as the agents of this reversal.

In the second text 1QS XI:7b–9a, there is a combination of the motifs of the elect and the temple in reference to the DSS community. Election terminology is extensively used in this section, and there is some dependence on the Song of Moses in Exod. 15.17. Both Israel and the DSS community were to be the foundation for the dwelling place of God, the sanctuary. The exodus from Egypt, the desert wandering and the revelation of the law at Sinai were paradigms for the DSS community. They believed that it was the Lord who had redeemed them, and therefore they were the elect who were God's own inheritance and who remained in the presence of God. God would be their God and they would be his people. All this speaks of the new covenant that God had promised in Ezek. 37.26–28, where God would sanctify Israel, and in consequence of which his sanctuary would be among them forever.

Chapter 4 deals with plant imagery in the Damascus Document. The texts that are examined are CD I:5b–8a; 4QD<sup>a</sup> (4Q266) Frg. 2 I:10–12; 4QD<sup>c</sup> (4Q268) Frg. 1:12b–15a. The dominant theme in this section is that of the remnant. The DSS community is identified as a root of the planting from Aaron and Israel – the priestly and the lay elements – whom God had raised up 390 years after giving them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar. The author of CD calculates 390 years from the destruction of the temple in 587 BCE and so indicates that the DSS community originated, in effect, at the beginning of the second century BCE. The period before the rise of the community was a time when Israel persisted in sin and were still under the wrath of God even though they had returned to the land of their ancestors. This is consistent with the biblical tradition in Ezra-Nehemiah which states that, even though they had returned to the land and the exile had ended, they were still in a state of servitude (Neh. 9.36). The DSS community traces its ideological roots to the Babylonian exile, since when the rest of Israel had rebelled against God and were subject to God's anger. But it is in this context of disobedience and rebellion that the 'root of the planting' is raised in order to bring in the promised restoration. They see themselves as a community which is part of the post-exilic remnant, raised by God to fulfil his purposes. The DSS community also thought of itself as the inheriting remnant whom God had raised up to inherit the land. This again has echoes of the Abrahamic covenant; there is a promise of their filling the earth with descendants (CD II:11–12a). The members of the community were also seen as a repentant remnant, as they had to enter into a covenant of repentance (CD XIX:16). They were expected to have a positive orientation towards the Torah and to shun evil. Repentance and obedience were to be the marks of the restored community.

Chapter 5 deals with plant imagery in 4Q/1QInstruction. Two texts are examined: 4Q418 Frgs. 81, 81a:7b–14 and 4Q423 Frgs. 1, 2:1–9. In the first

text we note that planting imagery is used to depict the DSS community as God's inheritance, as God's holy people and as a priestly community. The exodus tradition (Exodus 19) and the wilderness tradition (Numbers 18) are exegetically adapted and reworked to address the community's own context. In the exodus tradition, Israel as a people were to be characterized by holiness. Similarly, the DSS community appropriates all that was said about Israel to itself. Just as Israel was asked to set themselves apart and consecrate themselves for the Lord's service, they also set themselves apart. There is also a reworking of Exod. 29.43–46, where Aaron and his sons are consecrated together with the tent of meeting and the altar. The purpose of this consecration was that Aaron and his descendants would be serving God as priests. These biblical traditions enable the DSS community to endorse their own identity as the true priesthood. The priesthood that God instituted was to be exercised in the midst of the community. The priest was to exemplify nearness to God, and nearness to the community. The priests were given the responsibility of teaching the law and thereby bringing God to the people, and they were to intercede on behalf of their people, thereby bringing the people to God. The priests had no inheritance in the division of the land: God was to be their inheritance (Numbers 18). They were to model holiness in all that they did. The key concerns that are found in Numbers 18 are the purity of the sanctuary and the corresponding purity of the priests. The DSS community therefore have an elaborate system of purifying themselves with their lustrations. They also see themselves performing the priestly duties of interceding and atoning for the larger community, and they are asked to sanctify themselves so that God may set them apart as the 'holy of holies'. The sanctified community is now equated with the temple. The idea of Israel as the firstborn of God is also appropriated by the community. The dedication of the firstborn originated from God sparing their firstborn when the destroyer passed over the Israelite firstborn in Egypt. The principle of the firstborn is now applied to the individual members of the DSS community.

The second text, 4Q423 Frgs. 1, 2:1–9, looks forward to a reversal of what happened in the garden of Eden. The DSS community acts as the eschatological community. They eagerly await the end of the present age and the inauguration of the new age. They were going to be the ones called by God's name and made holy so as to be the eternal planting that would bring glory to God. They were to regain the original garden as part of their inheritance, and therefore would be in a renewed situation in the presence of God. They also see themselves as the ones to whom God has given wisdom to discern the times. They were given this wisdom in order that they should be witnesses to righteousness and truth. Immortality and eternal life were part of the DSS community's expectation of the future.

Part II of this study covers chapters 6–10 and deals with 'temple/sanctuary' imagery. Five scrolls are examined in this section: 4QFlorilegium

(4Q174), Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400–407; 11Q17), Temple Scroll (11QT<sup>a</sup>), Rule of the Community (1QS/4QS), and the *Pesharim* of Habakkuk and Isaiah (1QpHab and 4Q161–165).

Chapter 6 deals with temple imagery in 4QFlorilegium (4Q174). The text that is examined is taken from 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) III:1–13. This text is primarily a *midrash* on 2 Sam. 7.10–14, with two supplementary texts, viz. Exod. 15.17–18 and Amos 9.11. The main theme in 2 Samuel 7 is the building up of a house (dynasty) for David. Exodus 15.17b–18 is quoted to make a connection between the Davidic house and the sanctuary which the Lord was to establish. The hermeneutical link is the occurrence of **נָטַע** in 2 Sam. 7.10 and Exod. 15.7. The ‘house’ is interpreted both as ‘dynasty’ and ‘sanctuary’. Even though the ‘house’ refers to the eschatological descendant of David, here the DSS community take it as a referent to themselves. God had commanded them to build for him a **מִקְדָּשׁ אָדָם**, a sanctuary of men/Adam for the presentation of the temple offerings. The DSS community sees itself as the **מִקְדָּשׁ אָדָם**, as if they were formed to be a sanctuary proleptically. They functioned as a temporary compensation for the invalid atonement in the desecrated temple at Jerusalem. Their lay members were to be a ‘holy house’, and their priests the ‘holy of holies’. This text also paints a colourful picture of the eschatological community as the restored Adam, the sanctuary of men, and Eden, the place of rest. The DSS community sees itself in the likeness of Adam as God intended him to be, with paradise restored and Adam regaining his lost glory. There is also in this text a reference to the **צִמְחָה רוּיִד** whom God would raise at the end of time to restore Israel. The commentator does not take much interest in the role of the Davidic Messiah, as his focus is on the DSS community itself. The explicit messianic mention of the **צִמְחָה** in Jer. 23.5 seems to have influenced 4QFlor. III:10–13. The community does not see a direct descendant of David being the righteous branch, but rather think of themselves as the **צִמְחָה רוּיִד** whom God has raised up.

Chapter 7 looks at temple imagery in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. The text under consideration is taken from 4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:1–21; 4Q401 Frg. 15. The angelic priesthood, the praises offered by angels, the heavenly temple, the chariot of God and the sacrifices offered in the heavenly temple are key elements in ShirShabb that are appropriated by the DSS community. They were thus able to create a collective religious experience of being in the heavenly temple, exercising their role as the faithful priesthood in spite of their present circumstances, and they could also validate their priestly role despite their separation from Jerusalem. Two main themes are covered in this section: the establishment of the angelic/human temple community and the practice of the priesthood in the heavenly temple. In this text God sanctifies for himself from among the holy ones a people to be an ‘eternal sanctuary’. They were meant to be his priests, servants and angels of his glory. ShirShabb provides a means by which the

people of God could not only commune with angels, but also enjoy a virtual experience in the heavenly temple among the angelic priests.<sup>4</sup> The DSS community uses these songs to express their self-awareness as being the priesthood of God in liturgical communion with the angels and participating in the heavenly temple.

The second theme that is touched upon in this section is the exercise of priesthood in the heavenly temple. Purity, atonement and teaching seem to be the threefold responsibility that is expected of them. Maintaining the purity of the heavenly temple by this angelic/human priesthood was of the utmost importance because of the presence of God in their midst. Sanctification is achieved rather as in the earthly temple, that is, through knowledge and obedience of God's commands. However, God himself as the source of all holiness bestowed holiness on them. As noted earlier, the DSS community also exercised the priestly role of atoning for those who repented from sin. As part of their priestly responsibility, they were also engaged in teaching the rest of the angelic and human community about matters of holiness and the commands of God. Finally, they also fulfilled the priestly role of blessing other people in God's name.

Chapter 8 discusses temple imagery in the Temple Scroll. The text that is examined is 11QT<sup>a</sup> (11Q19) XXIX:2–10. There seems to be a reference to two sanctuaries in this text. The first, which the people of Israel were to build, the Lord promises to consecrate. This sanctuary would exist until 'the day of creation' when God would build the eschatological sanctuary. The text draws on Ezek. 37.26–28 and Lev. 26.42 and reworks them. The reworking shows that there is a priestly and cultic interest in 11QT<sup>a</sup>. For Ezekiel the glory of God was the indicator of the presence of God in the sanctuary. In this text the author shows that God will indeed consecrate his sanctuary and make his glory reside in it. Though there is a reference to two sanctuaries, the first sanctuary seems to be a proleptic sanctuary which anticipates the eschatological temple which God himself would create. This idea would have been attractive to the DSS community, since they identified themselves with the proleptic sanctuary.

The text also talks about the building and establishing of a sanctuary that the Lord would create in accordance with the covenant with Jacob at Bethel. Three biblical texts seem to have influenced this text (Gen. 28.10–22, 35.1–15 and Lev. 26.42). The first two passages are about the theophanies that Jacob experienced at Bethel and the third explicitly mentions the term 'covenant'. In Gen. 28.22 Jacob states, 'This stone ... is to be a house of God.' A sanctuary was to arise from there, or the place would acquire the status of a sanctuary, at which Yahweh was to be worshipped. Genesis 28.10–22 also makes extensive use of the word **מקום**. The six occurrences of 'the place' in this passage and the renaming of the place show the

4. Newsom *EDSS*: 889.

significance of 'the place', which is used elsewhere in a cultic sense as the 'place of worship' (Deut. 12.5). Though in Genesis Jacob is seen to be the founder of the later sanctuary in Bethel, the author of the Temple Scroll interprets this sanctuary as the proleptic sanctuary which God will establish for himself. The presence of God in the midst of the sanctuary was important to the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup>. This fits in neatly with the thinking of the DSS community, who believed that they were the proleptic sanctuary in whose midst God was present. Because of this they purify themselves just as Jacob and his family did at Bethel (Gen. 35.1–15). The third biblical passage is Lev. 26.42, which is also expanded and reworked in Ezek. 37.26–27, where the covenant with Jacob is remembered, indicating that the covenant is eternal. Both sanctuary and covenant traditions are taken up by the author, with the word לעולם being the key link. The covenant promises special relationship, and the sanctuary continuous presence, both of which enable the DSS community to see itself as the True Israel and the descendants of Jacob.

Chapter 9 deals with temple imagery in 1QS. Three sections deal with temple imagery: 1QS V:4–7, VIII:4b–10 and IX:3–6. The DSS community were inspired by the ideology of בית קודש. Various epithets like 'house of truth', 'house of perfection and truth', 'holy house for Aaron', 'foundation', 'tested wall, a precious cornerstone' and 'a most holy dwelling' are used to describe the community. The holy of holies is identified with the priests of the community. The members of the community now atone for others by leading a righteous life. The DSS community is seen to be 'a tested wall, a precious cornerstone'. Just as the cornerstone in Isa. 28.16 acts as a stone of judgement and as a stone of salvation, so also the DSS community see themselves fulfilling the double role of blessing and judging. They also rework אבן to חומת to facilitate a reference to the community. God's presence was in the midst of the spiritual temple, that is, their own community, which brought judgement to the unrighteous, but salvation to their own community. They also make use of the Zion tradition which emphasized Yahweh as the founder of Jerusalem and its temple. However, they rework the Isaianic oracle by dropping בציון to show that the DSS community was indeed the temple. They practised justice and righteousness and worshipped God in Spirit and in truth, offering the atoning sacrifices of prayer and praise (IX: 3–5)<sup>5</sup>, and therefore God was no longer in Jerusalem but with them. The priestly role of Aaron atoning for the sins of the people of Israel through offering sacrifices is now taken over by the DSS community. Prayer and an ethical life according to the requirements of the Torah functioned for sacrifices and offerings, making for a better atonement than animal sacrifices. It is not as though the DSS community believed that

5. Betz 1987: 96.

sacrifices had lost their validity, but rather that they were against the corrupt priesthood in Jerusalem who continued with their sacrifices, but with no ethical difference in their behaviour.

Chapter 10 discusses temple imagery in the *pesharim*. Two texts are discussed here: 1QpHab XII:1–10 and 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup> Frg. 1:1–8. Temple imagery in 1QpHab is primarily understood by a reference to Lebanon, which is understood symbolically as the sanctuary. The text in 1QpHab XII:4 states that ‘Lebanon is the Council of the community and the animals are the simple ones of Judah’. There is an exegetical tradition of equating Lebanon with the sanctuary which probably originated from the fact that cedar-wood from Lebanon was used in the construction of Solomon’s Temple. This tradition is now appropriated by the DSS community to portray itself as a sanctuary. The Targum also interprets Lebanon as ‘sanctuary’, confirming that the exegetical tradition of interpreting Lebanon as the sanctuary carried on into a later period. There is also *double entendre* in the second part of the column where the author of 1QpHab talks about the Wicked Priest and the abominable acts that he commits in the precincts of the temple and about how he afflicts the poor (1QpHab XII:6–10). While on the surface this may seem to be an explicit reference to what is happening in Jerusalem, it is equally probable that the author is talking about the Wicked Priest’s treatment of his own community. By using the terms ‘Lebanon’ and ‘poor’ the author of 1QpHab primarily refers to the DSS community who were violated both as the ‘poor’ and as the sanctuary. A second symbolic significance of Lebanon is that of natural beauty, bounteous resources and a fertile land. The idea of an evergreen garden has echoes of Eden, a figure which could be applied to the righteous. It is this kind of idea that has influenced the author of 1QpHab, who understood the community both as a ‘sanctuary’ and as an ‘eternal planting’, with Edenic and paradisaic echoes, both of which seem to be suggested by the term ‘Lebanon’.

In the Isaiah *peshet* the text that is dealt with is 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup> Frg. 1:1–8. It cites parts of Isaiah 54:11–12 and then interprets it to suit the community’s own circumstances. Though the Isaianic text talks about the restoration of Zion as the temple city, the *peshet* takes it as referring to the DSS community. The members of the council of the community are seen as precious stones in the midst of other stones chosen by God. They are the foundation of the new Jerusalem who will give judgements according to the Urim and the Thummim. The DSS community believed that the new creation had begun, with God laying the members of the community as the foundation of Zion. New Jerusalem/Zion is envisaged as the eschatological restored Israel, the temple city, in which they fulfil a key role, functioning as the spiritual temple, teaching the law and giving instruction to the people.

Chapter 11 draws together all the themes that have been discussed in chapters 2–10 and shows that these two metaphors of the ‘eternal planting’ and ‘house of holiness’ are indeed two sides of the same coin, confirming

the double identity of the community, and viewing them as the 'royal priesthood', and 'holy people', fulfilling the role of the 'True Israel'. They stand in a long line of tradition as inheritors of the Abrahamic covenant and as the elect. They see themselves as the proleptic temple, or the 'sanctuary of men', awaiting the eschaton when God will be in their midst. They look forward to the restoration of Eden/paradise where they will continue to be in communion with him.

## PART ONE

### Chapter 2

#### PLANT IMAGERY IN THE HODAYOT

##### *Introduction*

The Hodayot Scroll from Cave 1 (1QH<sup>a</sup>) was among the scrolls from Qumran that eventually reached Prof. E.L. Sukenik of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1947. It was found in two separate parts. The first part contains three sheets with four columns each, a total of twelve columns. The number of lines in each of the columns varies from 35 to 41. The second part was a 'crumpled mass of about seventy detached fragments of leather of assorted sizes' when he acquired it.<sup>1</sup> Some fragments of the Hodayot were also found in Cave 4 and were identified as partial copies of the same. They are listed as 4Q427–432 (4QH<sup>a-f</sup>). A second manuscript from Cave 1, 1Q35 (1QH<sup>b</sup>), which is made up of three fragments, also forms part of the Hodayot repertoire. Altogether there are eight manuscripts of the Hodayot.<sup>2</sup>

The Hodayot must be understood as examples of the Qumran community's liturgical prayers and songs of praise expressing the faith of the community.<sup>3</sup> They arise from the existence of the community and its history, but they do not in themselves recount the history. They are composed as the 'words of an individual to portray his assurance of salvation and fear of destruction in an existence where the battle lies between the power of God and the powers of Belial. However, the individual is not any one definite historical person.'<sup>4</sup> Eissfeldt claims that the 'I' of 1QH<sup>a</sup> in most cases reflects the collective, the DSS community as a whole.<sup>5</sup> Mowinckel also states that when dealing with many of the Qumran hymns 'the speaking Ego is not an individual, but Jerusalem or the congregation'.<sup>6</sup> These prayers

1. Sukenik (1955), p. 37.

2. Stegemann (1990), p. 192.

3. I begin with the Hodayot because of the wealth of information it has about the beliefs of the DSS community.

4. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 348.

5. Eissfeldt 1965: 656.

6. Mowinckel 1956a: 269.



were used both individually and communally and were composed by cultic personnel who were well versed in the biblical Psalms.<sup>7</sup> Two hymns in the collection make extended use of plantation imagery, and will be discussed below.

### I. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIII (V):20 – XV (VII):5 + Frg. 26

The first psalm under consideration is found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIII (V):20 – XV (VII):5.<sup>8</sup> I follow Holm-Nielsen's division for this psalm.<sup>9</sup> The *Gattung* of the psalm is the 'Individual Thanksgiving Song'. Gunkel identifies several features of the Individual Thanksgiving Song within the psalms of the Hebrew Bible. He claims that the original setting of this genre was a worship service.<sup>10</sup> These thanksgiving songs usually comprise: (1) an introduction in which the worshipper expresses his intention to thank God for his saving work; (2) an account of the deliverance; (3) an acknowledgement of God as the deliverer; and finally (4) giving thanks (תודה). Mowinckel agrees that this pattern is reflected in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIII (V):5–19, the psalm which precedes the one under consideration. Scholarly consensus seems to indicate that the Individual Thanksgiving Songs of the Hodayot go back to a single author because of the similarity of the psalms with their oft-repeated themes and phrases.<sup>11</sup>

The psalm under consideration falls into the category of the 'Teacher Hymn', which contains the same elements as the Individual Thanksgiving Song. Morawe, Jeremias, Becker and Kuhn classify this hymn as an 'Individual Thanksgiving Psalm'.<sup>12</sup> It is a psalm of assurance in which the psalmist exhibits confidence in the goodness and justice of God. He believes that God will not forsake those who turn to him for help, particularly those who are poor and weak and have no-one to defend them. Others have forsaken him, but he believes that God will not, and that the wicked will be destroyed.

Plant imagery within this psalm occurs in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):13b–19a. This section is dealt with in detail below.

7. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 348.

8. Hereafter, in references and quotations relating to 1QH<sup>a</sup> the column and the line numbers listed are according to the reconstruction of Stegemann and Puech; the column numbers of the *editio princeps* of Sukenik are given in parentheses (Puech [1988] and Stegemann [1990]).

9. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 99.

10. Gunkel 1933: 265–92.

11. Murphy-O'Connor 1986: 130–31.

12. Morawe 1960: 166; Jeremias 1962: 171; Becker 1963: 53; Kuhn 1966: 23.

A. Text – 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):13b–19a;<sup>13</sup> 4Q428 Frg. 8:1–5;<sup>14</sup> 4Q429 Frg. 4 I:1–5.<sup>15</sup>

- 13b . . . . [י]שיב  
 14 פריו כי [...] והם ישובו בפי כבודכה ויהיו שריכה  
 בגורןל קדושיכה שורשם  
 15 פרח כצנין שדה עןד עולם לגדל נצר לעופי מטעת עולם  
 ויצל צל על כול תנבל וצמרתן  
 16 עד שחקינם ושרשיו עד תהום וכול נהרות עון תנלחחנה אתן  
 [דלן]ותיו והיה לןעץ רם לאין  
 17 חקר [...]ערו על תבל לאין אפס ועד שאול יגיגעו שרשיו  
 ויהיה מעין אור למקור  
 18 עולם לאין הסר בשביבי נוגהו יבערו כול בני עולה והיהן לאש  
 בערת בכול אנשי  
 19a אשמה עד כלה

### B. Textual Notes

1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):13b–14

Sukenik reads כרו. I read פריו 'its fruit', with Dupont-Sommer and Licht.<sup>16</sup> It is impossible to read כרו as there are four letters visible in the Microfiche,<sup>17</sup> CD-ROM,<sup>18</sup> and in Sukenik's Plate 40.<sup>19</sup> The antecedent of 'its' seems to be the remnant whom God will raise, mentioned in lines 8–13. In keeping with the reading פריו 'its fruit', I have reconstructed the word preceding it to read [י]שיב which would agree with פריו. The letters שיב are visible in Sukenik's Plate 40 as well as on the CD-ROM.<sup>20</sup> Since it is the motif of the eternal plant that is being discussed in the following lines, the context allows the reading 'he will restore its fruit', where the subject may be God.

[גורןל קדושיכה שורשם]: Reconstruction following Mansoor based on a similar occurrence in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX (XI):11–12.<sup>21</sup> From the plant illustrations

13. I follow Sukenik's reading for this column unless stated otherwise (Sukenik 1955: plate 40).

14. DJD: 29, 138–39.

15. DJD: 29, 190–91.

16. Dupont-Sommer 1957: 53; Licht 1961: 113.

17. Tov 1993: *DSS Microfiche* 132, 4243AB–1.

18. Prepared by the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies and edited by E. Tov: Dead Sea Scrolls, Electronic Reference Library on CD, Vol. 2, (1999), produced by Brill, with computer enhanced images, hereafter referred to as Tov 1999: CD-ROM.

19. Sukenik 1955: plate 40.

20. Tov 1999: CD-ROM.

21. Mansoor 1961: 144.

that follow these lines, and on the basis of 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):6, 7 and 10, Holm-Nielsen suggests שורשם, which is followed here.<sup>22</sup>

1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):15

כצנין שרה ען: Reconstruction following Mansoor; cf. Isa. 40.6.<sup>23</sup>

לגול: The ג is written supralinearly with some erasure.

תנבל וצמרתו: Reconstruction based on Ezek. 31.3. תנבל is partially present in 4Q428 (4QH<sup>b</sup>) Frg. 8:3.

1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):16

שחקינם ון שרשי: Reconstruction based on 4Q428 (1QH<sup>b</sup>) Frg. 8:4, which has [עד שחקים ושרשיו...].<sup>24</sup>

תלחלחנה את דלניתו: Reconstruction based on 4Q428 Frg. 8:4. Schuller states that the ת is clearly visible and suggests that the verb should be a 3rd fem.<sup>25</sup> The feminine verb could have been triggered by the ות ending in נהרות which is usually treated as a masculine. Schuller observes that there seems to be a trace of the ל following the ת in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, which made Stegemann suggest the root לחח used as a pilpel impf. 3rd fem. pl. as in Mishnaic Hebrew.<sup>26</sup> This suggestion is quite probable since there is internal evidence for the use of the noun-form לח by the psalmist on two other occasions in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI (III):29 and XVI (VIII):19. Other suggested reconstructions such as [ישקו את...].<sup>27</sup> have been eliminated because of the probable ל.

לעץ רם לאין חקר: Following Wallenstein,<sup>28</sup> '[a tall tree without] limit'. Other possibilities are to read לינובל לאין חקר 'to [a stream without] limit' with Licht,<sup>29</sup> or ויהיה ליער לאין חקר 'et il deviendra une [forêt im]mense', with Dupont-Sommer.<sup>30</sup> In this context the description is of a tree, and it would therefore make better sense to follow Wallenstein (cf. Isa. 2.13).

1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):17

חקר [ו]ער: Bardtke and Dupont-Sommer<sup>31</sup> read [and the glory of its forest] ערו [וכבוד י]ער [and the glory of its forest] (cf. Isa. 10.18). Wallenstein<sup>32</sup> reads ערו [וכבוד י]ער [and

22. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 115.

23. Mansoor 1961: 144.

24. DJD: 29, 139.

25. DJD: 29, 139.

26. DJD: 29, 139; BDB: 535.

27. Licht 1957: 114.

28. Wallenstein 1955–56: 247.

29. Licht 1957: 114.

30. Dupont-Sommer 1957: 53.

31. Bardtke 1956a: col. 599; Dupont-Sommer 1961: 219.

32. Wallenstein 1955–56: 248, 259.

whose shoots] spread unendingly'; cf. Isa. 32.15 where the Niphal of ערה is followed by על with the meaning 'pour out', and Ps. 37.35 where the Hithpael of the same root is used with reference to one spreading oneself as a tree. Licht<sup>33</sup> reads [לנהר ירום], '[to the river it pours forth in floods]'. I read [ויערו ....], '[...and its for]est', in partial agreement with Bardtke and Dupont-Sommer.

והיה שאול יגיעו שרשיו [והיה]: Gaster<sup>34</sup> translates '[and its roots sink deep] into hell', and Bardtke<sup>35</sup> reads 'der Verdammnis reicht sein Wurzelstock'. Wallenstein<sup>36</sup> reconstructs ועד שאול יגיעו and translates Sheol rather freely as '[reaching] the utmost parts thereof'. Licht<sup>37</sup> reconstructs ועד שאול יבקעו פלגיו, 'and to Sheol its streams break through'. Holm-Nielsen<sup>38</sup> suggests supplementing Wallenstein's reconstruction [ויערו] with Gaster's [שרשיו] to read 'its roots will extend to'. García Martínez and Tigchelaar<sup>39</sup> reconstruct it with a 3rd fem. sing. sfx [שרשיה]. The antecedent to the suffix is the tree or the eternal plant, in which case it would be better to reconstruct it with the 3rd masc. sing. sfx. Since the lacuna in the manuscript is more likely to have contained another word, I follow Holm-Nielsen and reconstruct יגיעו שרשיו 'its roots will extend to'.

1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):18

בני עולה ודיהן: Bardtke and Dupont-Sommer<sup>40</sup> reconstruct בני חשך. Wallenstein and Licht<sup>41</sup> prefer בני עולה. Holm-Nielsen<sup>42</sup> reconstructs רשעה, followed by ודיהן. Since [... עולנה] is found in 4Q429 (4QH<sup>c</sup>) Frg. 4 I:5, and a similar phrase is found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIII (V):8, the above reconstruction is adopted.

הסר: Reading Hiphil infinitive absolute of סור.

### C. Translation

13b. he will [re]store

14. its fruit because [...] and they will turn back according to your glorious word and they will be your princes in the lo[ft of your holy ones. Their root]

33. Licht 1957: 114.

34. Gaster 1957: 157.

35. Bardtke 1956a: col. 599.

36. Wallenstein 1955–56: 248.

37. Licht 1957: 114–15.

38. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 116.

39. García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 174.

40. Bardtke 1956a: col. 599; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 54.

41. Wallenstein 1955–56: 248; Licht 1957: 115.

42. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 116.

15. sprouts like the flo[wer of the field f]orever, to make a shoot grow up as the branches of the eternal plantation. And it shall cover the whole ea[rth] with its shade, [and] its [top]
16. (shall go) up to the cloud[s], [and] its roots to the great deep. All the rivers of Eden [will water] its [bra]n[ch]es and it will be as [a great tree without]
17. limit...[and] its [for]est upon the earth without end; [its roots will extend to] Sheol, [and it] will be a source of light, an
18. eternal and permanent (lit. without being removed) fountain. In its shining flames all the son[s of injustice] will burn, [and it will become] a fire that burns among all the men of
19. guilt until destruction.

*D. Commentary*

The psalm can be broadly divided into the following sections:

1. Introduction 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIII (V):20–22a
2. Account of the opposition 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIII (V):22b–32a
3. Recounting of God's goodness in the midst of despair 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIII (V):32b–XIV (VI):3
4. Future hope of God's intervention 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):4–19
5. Conversation with God 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):20–24a
6. Recounting of protection by God 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):24b–36
7. The psalmist's suffering continues 1QH<sup>a</sup> XV (VII):1–5

Plant imagery occurs in the section on the future hope of God's intervention, therefore that section will be commented upon.

*1. Future hope of God's intervention 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):4–19*

After giving an account of his opposition and recounting God's goodness in the midst of despair, the psalmist now looks forward to God's intervention and his saving acts. In line 6 the psalmist exhibits confidence in the fact that anyone who relinquishes sin and turns to God will be accepted by God. There would be a remnant whom God would raise as his inheritance and purify from guilt. The remnant would be a forgiven people, because of God's great compassion and forgiveness.

In lines 9b–13 the psalmist indicates that God instructs and teaches the remnant according to his truth and establishes them in the council for his glory. The purpose of instructing them is that they in turn will recount God's great and mighty works of salvation to future generations, and that through their retelling other nations will come to faith in God. All the men of the community are together with the angels and there are no mediators. Direct interaction with God is now open because they have been chosen by God to be a royal people.

Lines 14–19 describe the remnant community as a fruitful community. In spite of their insignificant and small beginnings, they will be like an eternal plant which grows into gigantic proportions and has significant impact over the globe. The image of a global tree has been borrowed from Ezekiel 31 and Daniel 4. The fruit and remnant language has been drawn from Isa. 27.6 and Isa. 37.31–32 (// 2 Kgs. 19.30–31). The picture that is drawn is of paradise regained. They will be with the angelic beings and will take part in the judgement of the wicked. The final section of the psalm continues with the psalmist conversing with God (lines 20–24a) and recounting God’s protection (lines 24b–36), though his suffering is still present (XV [VII]:1–5).

## II. Plant Imagery

### A. Eternal Plant – A Righteous Remnant

Beginning with 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):8 the psalmist talks about a remnant whom God will raise up, purify from guilt and direct according to his word and his truth. This theme is later picked up in lines 13b–19a, which talk of an eternal plantation. Tiller states that the point here is that ‘God will raise up a remnant of his people who will be purified, pardoned, instructed and established in a council where they will recount God’s mighty deeds and be in the company of the angels.’<sup>43</sup> The section begins with ‘he will [re]store its fruit because...’ and then breaks off. Although there is no antecedent to the 3rd person suffix ‘its’, the reference seems to be to the fruitfulness of the remnant. The reason that God will ‘restore’ its fruit is introduced with the word ‘because’, but the following words of the sentence are missing. Parts of this section appear to have been borrowed from Isa. 27.6 and Isa. 37.31–32 (// 2 Kgs. 19.30–31).

Isa. 27.6:

הַבָּאִים יִשְׂרָשׁ יַעֲקֹב יִצְיָץ וּפְרַח יִשְׂרָאֵל וּמְלֵאוּ פְּנֵי־תֵבֶל  
תִּנְבֹּה׃ .6

In the (days) to come Jacob will take root, Israel will blossom and sprout and fill the face of the earth with fruit.

Isa. 37.31–32:

וְיִסְפֹּה פְּלִיטַת בֵּית־יְהוּדָה הַנִּשְׁאָרָה שְׂרָשׁ לְמִטָּה וְעֵשָׂה  
פְּרִי לְמַעְלָה׃ .31  
כִּי מִירוּשָׁלַם תֵּצֵא שְׂאֵרִית וּפְלִיטָה מִהָר צִיּוֹן קִנְיַת יְהוָה  
צִבְאוֹת תַּעֲשֶׂה־זֹאת׃ .32

And the surviving remnant of the house of Judah will again take root downwards and bear fruit upwards.

43. Tiller 1997: 330.

For from Jerusalem the remnant will go out and the survivors from Mount Zion; the zeal of the Lord of hosts will do this.

Targum interprets it as follows:

And the *delivered* of the house of Judah will continue<sup>44</sup> and will be left as a tree which sends its roots downwards, and raises its top upwards.<sup>45</sup>

The idea of a future restoration is quite explicit in the following lines of 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):

- 13b. he will [re]store
14. its fruit because [...] and they will turn back according to your glorious word and they will be your princes in the lo[t of your holy ones. Their root]
15. sprouts like the flo[wer of the field f]or ever, to make a shoot grow up as the branches of the eternal plantation. And it shall cover the whole ea[rth] with its shade, [and] its [top]
16. (shall go) up to the cloud[s], [and] its roots to the great deep.

First, we should note the points of comparison between the hymn and the Isaiah passages. Both the psalm and Isa. 27.6 relate to future expectation ('in the days to come' / 'he will restore'). With [...] פרח כצִי' in line 15 we can compare יציץ ופרח found in v. 6. Similarly, ומלאו פני-תבל is paralleled by [...] ריצל על כל ת[בל]. The Hebrew word for 'fruit' used in 1QH<sup>a</sup> is פרי, instead of the relatively uncommon תנובה (only 5x in the Hebrew Bible). The idea of the root growing downwards and fruit going upwards has been taken from Isa. 37.31–32. The Targum also sees the remnant of the house of Judah as a tree which is deeply rooted, its branches spreading to the skies. The remnant going out from Mount Zion is replaced by the eternal plant which covers the earth. The restoration, fruitfulness and universal influence expressed in Isaiah have been represented in 1QH<sup>a</sup> with similar vocabulary. We must therefore inquire as to how the DSS community applied the 'remnant' idea to themselves.

The 'remnant' idea has evolved, even if not so clearly and discretely as envisaged by de Vaux.<sup>46</sup> He observes three stages in the development of the idea as expressed by the prophets of the Hebrew Bible: (1) in the pre-exilic period it denotes the Israelites on home ground; (2) in the exilic period it represents the deportees; and (3) in the post-exilic period it refers to the congregation of Ezra. Although de Vaux defines it neatly for these three periods, the development was less tidy. Clements notes that the later

44. 'Will continue' renders both MT and *Tg.* though the targumic form is plural. See Chilton 1987: 74.

45. Chilton 1987: 74.

46. De Vaux 1933: 539.

development of the idea was influenced by the tension between the historical reality of Israel in diaspora and the theological belief that they were God's elect. He further states that it is in this context that the 'return of the remnant became an image and model of Jewish hope, and thereby the concept of a remnant entered into a central position in Jewish eschatological hope.'<sup>47</sup> Talmon notes that, with the temple destroyed and the cultic paraphernalia looted, the priests were deprived of their function and influence. He observes that this did not lead to a search for a new means of worship, but resulted rather in 'the emergence of an intensified dream of a future restitution' of the temple, the cult and the people of God.<sup>48</sup> There was a transfer of the idea from factuality to conceptuality. The historical fact was that they were in diaspora, but the belief was that they were the 'elect' and therefore would be restored in the course of time. Elements of doom and salvation are also associated with the remnant concept. Those who had been dispersed from Israel would one day be restored to their homeland, leading to reconciliation with God, restitution of their fortunes and the punishment of the wicked.<sup>49</sup>

This idea has been drawn from Isa. 61.3 where there is a transformation of fortunes for the people of Zion: 'to give them a garland instead of ashes, the oil of gladness instead of mourning, the mantle of praise instead of a faint spirit. They will be called oaks of righteousness (וְקָרָא לָהֶם אֵילִי) (דְּצִדִּיק), the planting of the Lord (בְּטַעַי יְהוָה), to display his glory.'<sup>50</sup> In this verse and what follows (vss. 4–7), the prophet announces the hope of what is to come. The people of Israel will all be righteous. They will inherit the land forever. They will be the shoot of God's planting and through them God will be glorified. The DSS community has reworked these traditions and actualized them to apply to themselves.

The DSS community understood themselves to be the sole representatives of the old Israel. The Persian period has been telescoped, and now they see themselves as the generation immediately after the exile. They assume the role of 'the seed of Israel' (CD XII:21–22), the holy remnant who had been favoured by God to fill the universe (CD II:11–12).<sup>51</sup> This idea has its roots in the prophecy of Ezekiel at the time of the siege of Jerusalem when he symbolically lies down for a certain period of time representing the length of the exile (Ezek. 4.1–8). This is dealt with in detail in CD I:3–8, which will be discussed in chapter 3.

The DSS community applied to themselves the metaphor of the 'eternal planting', which has been used to depict the righteous through time. Tiller

47. Clements 1980: 118.

48. Talmon 1991a: 22–23.

49. Talmon 1991a: 22–23.

50. NRSV.

51. Talmon 1987: 117.



notes that the metaphor of the 'eternal planting' is 'a designation for the righteous: either the righteous at the time of Noah, the nation of Israel, the righteous within Israel, or a particular community. It interprets and applies a biblical tradition (especially Isa. 60.21 and Isa. 61.3) that describes the restored people of God as a plant, established by God as a plant, established by God in the land and lovingly tended so that it produces righteous deeds, glory to God and future growth.'<sup>52</sup> Dimant states that 'in sectarian parlance the plant refers to the group of the elect and the just, now few and hidden but destined to rule the world'.<sup>53</sup> The self-understanding of the community seems to be that they were the righteous remnant, as seen in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):7b–8: '... in a little while you will raise a survivor among your people, and a remnant among your inheritance and you will purify them to make them clean from guilt'. So they see themselves as the new Israel, and a holy remnant, and used the imagery of the eternal plantation to designate themselves as such.

### *B. Community – Judging the Wicked*

The role of judging the wicked, usually seen as a messianic function, is fulfilled by the community in 1QH<sup>a</sup>. Horbury notes that messianic expectations during the Herodian period included messianic judgement whereby the Messiah would condemn and destroy his adversaries.<sup>54</sup> This is picked up in 4Q285, Frg. 5, in an exegesis of Isa. 10.34–11.5, where the foe will be destroyed by the Davidic Messiah. As much as we note in the above passages that the individual Messiah will judge with uprightness and will destroy the wicked, we see the same role being attributed to the community in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):17–18, where the community is seen as a source of light which would be involved in judging the wicked and destroying them. 1QS VIII:6 gives instructions about what the community was to do: לעשות אמת וצדקה ומשפט ואהבת חסד, 'to do truth, righteousness, justice and to love mercy'. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):9–10 they are instructed by God to walk in the truth. Those who are wicked will be judged and annihilated and the righteous will be saved. The role of judging the wicked has been taken on by the community, who act as a destroying fire consuming all the wicked (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV [VI]:17b–19a).

1QpHab V:1–5 also deals with the chosen ones as the agents of judgement.

1QpHab V:1–5

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| למשפט שמתו וצור למוכיחו יסדתו טהור עינים | .1 |
| מראות ברע והבט אל עמל לוא תוכל           | .2 |

52. Tiller 1997: 313.

53. Dimant 1984: 539.

54. Horbury 1998: 60.

- פֶּשֶׁר הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִכְלֶה אֶל אֶת עֵמוּ בִּיד הַגּוֹיִם .3  
 וּבִיד בַּחִירוֹ<sup>55</sup> יִתֵּן אֶל אֶת מִשְׁפַּט כּוֹל הַגּוֹיִם וּבְתוֹכָתָם .4  
 יֵאֲשֹׁמוּ כָּל רִשְׁעֵי עֵמוּ אֲשֶׁר שָׁמְרוּ אֶת מִצְוֹתָיו .5  
 בְּצַר לָמוֹ .6a

1. You appointed him for judgement; O Rock, you established him to reprove him. (Your) eyes (are) too pure
2. to look on evil, you are not able to look at trouble.
3. Interpretation of the word: God will not destroy his people by the hand of the nations
4. but into the hand of his elect God will give judgement over all the nations; and by their reproof
5. all the evil-doers of his people will be guilty, by (the reproof of)<sup>56</sup> those who will keep his commandments
- 6a. in their distress, ....

Habakkuk 1.6 indicates that God was raising the Chaldeans as the instrument of his judgement. In v. 12 the prophet acknowledges that God had appointed them to execute judgement.

יְהוָה לְמִשְׁפַּט שִׁמְתוֹ וְצוּר לְהוֹכִיחַ<sup>57</sup> יִסְדָּתוֹ:

O Lord for judgment you set him, O Rock you have established him to reprove.

In line 3 the *peshet* interprets v. 12 in the opposite way, saying that ‘God will *not* destroy his people by the hand of the nations’, but that the elect of God will be the ones who will execute judgement. The author of the Habakkuk *peshet* resorts to a kind of ‘converse translation’, a technique used frequently in the Targums, Peshitta, LXX, Vulgate and the NT where the translator considers it more appropriate to say the opposite of what the Hebrew text appears to be saying.<sup>58</sup> The underlying theme in the *peshet* is that God will vindicate the faithfulness of the elect and that he will use them to bring about judgement on the wicked. The purpose of this reworking of

55. The form could be the singular or the plural written defectively. Dupont-Sommer reads a singular form and applies it to the Teacher of Righteousness (Dupont-Sommer 1950: 134). Del Medico reads it as the singular and says it refers to the future Messiah (Del Medico 1951: 365). Delcor and Carmignac have recognized the possibility of either the singular or the plural reading (Delcor 1952: 365; Carmignac 1961: 101). Van’t Land and van der Woude have argued for a defective spelling of the plural (Van’t Land and van der Woude 1954: n. 4). Brownlee initially argued that it was a defective spelling but later suggested that the singular noun has to be taken as a collective as it seems to be parallel to עֵמוּ in the previous line. I follow Brownlee’s suggestion (Brownlee 1979: 86).

56. Knibb 1987: 227.

57. 1QpHab reads לְמוֹכִירוֹ, a Hiphil ptcl. + 3rd masc. sing. sfx.

58. Klein highlighted the phenomenon of ‘converse translation’ particularly with reference to the Targums of the Pentateuch (Klein 1976: 515–37). Gordon sees this phenomenon prevalent in the Peshitta, LXX, Vulgate and the NT (Gordon 1999: 3–21).

the prophecy of Habakkuk is to make it relevant to the immediate context, and to declare that God is in control of history and will direct it in the way in which he wants it to progress.<sup>59</sup> The idea of the elect being the ones to whom judgement is given is present in Dan. 7.22: 'Until the Ancient of Days came, and judgment was given<sup>60</sup> to the saints of the Most High, and the time came when the saints possessed the kingdom.'

The idea of the elect taking part in the eschatological judgment is not a new idea in the Hodayot or the Habakkuk *peshet*,<sup>61</sup> but appears to have originated earlier, to judge from Dan. 7.22.<sup>62</sup> The saints of the Most High participate in the final judgement and in establishing the everlasting kingdom.<sup>63</sup> The author of Daniel shows that persecution of the 'holy ones' will come to an end and that they will possess the kingdom in perpetuity even though the immediate reality seems to be to the contrary (cf. Dan. 12.7, 24, 18 and 27). This was particularly important for the DSS community as they were under pressure and were experiencing the arrogance of the human will to power on the part of the Jerusalem priesthood. Although their troubles did not come to an end immediately, they pressed on in the faith that they would be judging the wicked in days to come and would be part of God's eternal kingdom. This idea is also reflected in 1 Cor. 6.2, 'Do you not know that the saints will judge the world?'<sup>64</sup> (cf. Matt. 19.28; Lk. 22.30 '... you shall sit on thrones *judging* the twelve tribes of Israel'). Although individualized, there is some idea here of judgement being exercised collectively.<sup>65</sup>

59. Harris 1966: 52.

60. BHS notes that LXX, S, Vg. read יְהוָה, the active rather than the passive of the MT.

61. Carbon-14 and palaeographic dating tests of the Hodayot suggest the period 21 BCE – 61 CE or 50 BCE – 70 CE respectively for its composition (Schiffman [1994], pp. 32–33).

62. Goldingay 1989: xxv, notes that the book of Daniel had been composed over a period stretching from the late sixth to the early second century BCE. Others like Collins would date Daniel 7 to the beginning of the Hellenistic period (c. 332–301) (Collins 1993: 35).

63. Collins 1993: 319. The term לְקַדְּשֵׁי עֲלִיוֹנוֹן has been discussed as to whether the 'holy ones' are celestial beings or whether they could refer to human beings as well. Collins argues that 'holy ones' in Daniel 7 refers to heavenly beings (Collins 1993: 313). Hasel, on the other hand, argues that, out of the thirteen references to קְדוּשִׁים in the Hebrew Bible, apart from the book of Daniel, seven refer to celestial beings, one to a body of faithful people and out of the remaining disputed five, three refer in all likelihood to terrestrial beings. He draws evidence from Ugaritic and Akkadian texts where the word refers to cultic functionaries and states that the adjective 'holy' refers to both heavenly as well as earthly beings and antedates the emergence of the classical Hebrew language. He further argues that, in harmony with the Hebrew Bible motifs of a holy people, 'the saints of the Most High' in Daniel 7 are to be identified as God's faithful people who constitute his remnant people (Hasel 1975: 178–79, 182–83, 191–92). Brekelmans also agrees that in the literature belonging to the time of Daniel, i.e. the Apocrypha and the literature of Qumran, קְדוּשִׁים is used for both angels and humans (Brekelmans 1965: 328).

64. 1 Corinthians is dated to about 55 CE (Bruce 1971: 25).

65. Dodd 1952: 68.

Other intertestamental literature expresses similar ideas. *1 Enoch*, which is dated between the second century BCE and the first century CE,<sup>66</sup> expresses the idea of the righteous being partners with God in the judgement of the wicked. It states that God will come with ‘myriads of his holy ones to execute judgement upon all’, and that he will destroy all the ungodly and convict them of their ungodliness and their arrogant words which they uttered against him (*1 Enoch* 1.9; cf. Wis. 3.8).<sup>67</sup> This passage is quoted in the NT in Jude 14–15. Out of the numerous fragments of *1 Enoch* in Aramaic found at Qumran, 4QEnoch<sup>c</sup> has elements of *1 Enoch* 1.9.<sup>68</sup>

4QEnoch<sup>c</sup> I: 15–17 reads

[...רבנות את קדישונה...] .15

[...בשרא על עוברי...] .16

[...] רברבן וקשין [...] .17

15. [when he comes with the myri]ads of [his] holy ones [to execute judgement on all; and he will destroy all the ungodly]
16. [and he will convict all flesh of [all their ungodly] deed[s which they have ungodly committed ]
17. [and for all their] great and hard [words which sinners have uttered against him....]<sup>69</sup>

The phrase ‘he comes with myriads of his holy ones’ has been drawn from ‘The Blessing of Moses’ (Deut. 33.2), which opens with a theophany. In a similar theophanic manner *1 Enoch* 1.9 notes that God would come with his holy ones and execute judgement against all the wicked for their ungodly deeds and their arrogant claims. Jude, in turn, interprets the Enochic prophecy about the eschatological coming of God and applies it to the Parousia of Christ.<sup>70</sup> From the perspective of the community, the ‘holy ones’ would be the members of the community. They were the ones who were going to participate in the judgement of the wicked in the final judgement.

However, although the community was confident that they would participate in the judgement of the wicked, they were still conscious that they as a remnant would themselves be a purified, pardoned and instructed community. This purification and cleansing which they would undergo is not seen as part of God’s judgement, but might be compared with the

66. Charlesworth 1983: I, 5.

67. Black 1985: 26

68. The *Enoch* fragments found at Qumran are: 1QEnGiants<sup>a-b</sup> (1Q23–24); 2QEnGiants (2Q26); 4QEn<sup>a-g</sup> (4Q201–202, 4Q204–207 and 4Q212); 4QEnastr<sup>a-d</sup> (4Q208–211); and 4QEnGiants<sup>a-e</sup> (4Q203, 4Q530–533).

69. Reconstructed from the Ethiopic following Black 1985: 26.

70. Bauckham 1983: 96.

cleansing ritual that the prophet Isaiah goes through at the time of his call (Isa. 6.5–7). They are thereby equipped to be the nucleus of the new community.

The role of the community parallels the function of the ‘shoot’. The role of the נצר who as the Davidic Messiah and judge would destroy the wicked is now transferred to the DSS community. The tradition of interpretation moves from expectation of a king in the Davidic line, an individual, to a much wider, collective concept of the whole nation of Israel, and finally to a particular community who will judge the wicked.

### *C. Eternal Plant – Eden/Paradise*

The picture of the eternal plant that the psalmist portrays has Edenic echoes; his idea of paradise is where he and the remnant will be in the presence of God. He believes that the judgement of the wicked will take place there. The tree is portrayed as having roots going down to Sheol and being watered by the streams of Eden. The idea that Sheol is below the earth is part of Hebrew cosmology. The ‘world picture’ in the P narrative of Genesis ‘is that of a flat disked earth topped by a solid and transparent semicircular firmament, with threatening but controlled waters beneath the earth and above the firmament.’<sup>71</sup> It is these waters that sustain the eternal plant and make it grow into a global tree.

The picture of the righteous as plants in a garden has strong biblical roots. Psalm 1.3 talks about the righteous as a tree (כעץ) planted by streams of water, which yields its fruit (פרי) in due season and whose leaves do not wither; and all that he does prospers. In Isa. 51.3 God comforts Zion, saying that he will transform all her waste places and will make her wilderness as Eden (וישם מדבר כעדן) and her desert as the garden of the Lord (וערבתה כגן יהודה). Joy and gladness will be found in it, along with thanksgiving and the sound of music. Similarly, Isa. 58.11 talks about the restored nation as a well-watered garden (והיית כגן רודה), and as a spring whose waters never fail. Jeremiah 32.41 also talks about God planting the righteous in the promised land. In Ps. 92.12–14 the righteous are compared to a palm tree and the cedars of Lebanon. They are planted in the house of the Lord and produce fruit even in old age. These verses show that the idea of the righteous as plants was common in Hebrew thought. In Ps. 1.3 the one who keeps the Torah is compared to a perennial tree which bears fruit in due season. The DSS community see themselves as those who keep the Torah and are righteous. Thus IQH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):8–9: ‘... for all their deeds are in your truth ...’ They are the ones who have been faithful to the law, the righteous whom God had planted in his garden. The garden was a place

71. Gottwald 1985: 474–76.

where they were in close communion with God, and is closely associated with the restoration of Israel. In Isa. 51.3 the people who are addressed are the exiles. God promises that their land will be restored and will be like the garden of Eden. The promise of a restored Israel and a restored land is now applied metaphorically by the DSS community. They are the garden, the eternal plant whom God has restored. They are also the eternal spring whose waters never end. Eden is a place set aside for the faithful and the righteous. Wallace notes that ‘many of the motifs of Eden are also those of the divine dwelling in Mesopotamian and Canaanite myth. These include the unmediated presence of the deity, the issuing of divine decrees, the source of subterranean life-giving waters which supply the whole earth, abundant fertility, and trees of supernatural qualities and great beauty’.<sup>72</sup> These motifs found in the garden of Eden have now been transferred to the DSS community, as for example in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):13: ‘for all the men of your council and in the lot together with the angels of your presence, without intermediaries between (בניִים)<sup>73</sup> (them) [your holy ones] ...’

Similar ideas of the righteous being plants in paradise are expressed in other Jewish literature of the intertestamental period. *Pss. Sol.* 14.3b–5<sup>74</sup> states that the ‘paradise of the Lord (ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ κυρίου), the trees of life are his pious ones (τὰ ξύλα τῆς ζωῆς ὅσοι αὐτοῦ). The planting of them is firmly rooted forever (ἡ φυτεία αὐτῶν ἐρριζωμένη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα); they shall not be plucked up all the days of heaven; for the portion and the inheritance of God is Israel.’<sup>75</sup> Fujita notes that here the plants of the Lord refers not to Israel as a whole, but to righteous Jews who live according to the law and are morally pure. They are the ones who receive paradise, which is identical to the garden of Eden in the primeval time. The *Endzeit* is a return to *Urzeit*. Here they enjoy eternal life as trees which flourish forever.<sup>76</sup> The *Testament of Dan* 5.12<sup>77</sup> states that the ‘saints will rest in Eden and the righteous will rejoice in new Jerusalem.’<sup>78</sup> The concept of Eden being a place of rest for the righteous and referred to as paradise was common during this period. It is interesting to note that new Jerusalem is seen as the parallel to Eden. *4 Ezra* 7.36<sup>79</sup> talks about a ‘paradise of delight’ which the righteous will inhabit in the world to come.<sup>80</sup>

72. Wallace 1992a: 282.

73. There is a dual form of the noun as in 1 Sam. 17:4.

74. Wright 1983: 640–41. Wright dates the *Psalms of Solomon* between 125 BCE and the early first century CE, or more narrowly from 70 to 45 BCE.

75. Greek reading from Rahlfs 1935: 483.

76. Fujita 1978: 31.

77. Kee 1983: 777–78, dates it to about 150 BCE.

78. Hollander and De Jonge 1985: 286.

79. Metzger 1983: 520, dates *4 Ezra* to about 100 CE.

80. Metzger 1983: 538.

Similarly in 2 *Enoch* 8.1–3:<sup>81</sup>

And the men took me from there. They brought me up to the ... third heaven. And they placed me in the midst of ... Paradise. And that place has an appearance of pleasantness that has never been seen. Every tree was in full flower. Every fruit was ripe, every food was in yield profusely; every fragrance was pleasant. And the four rivers were flowing past with gentle movement, with every kind of garden producing every kind of good food. And the tree of life is in that place, under which the Lord takes a rest when the Lord takes a walk in Paradise.<sup>82</sup>

Paradise was the garden of Eden where the righteous would be in the presence of God. It would be a place of rest for God as well as the righteous. A similar idea is found in the NT in Rev. 2.7 where those who are faithful would be given permission to eat from the tree of life which is in the paradise of God. The DSS community had a similar understanding. They would be in paradise with God because they were his inheritance. They were going to be sustained with a continuous supply of water from the rivers of Eden. In other words, paradise is seen as life within the community in the presence of God, a place of plenty, a place of *shalom*.

#### *D. Eternal Plant – A World Tree with a Universal role*

The DSS community saw themselves as a separated and distinct people, but they also had a universal vision. They would recount to others God's wonderful and mighty works so that 'all nations will know your truth and all peoples your glory' (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV [VI]:12). This is portrayed through the imagery of the 'world tree'.

The 'world tree' also forms part of the Edenic scene. In the oracle in Ezek. 31.1–9, Assyria is portrayed as a majestic and splendid tree greater than all the other trees in the garden of Eden. All the other trees were envious of this 'world tree'. In Dan. 4.4–18 Nebuchadnezzar has a dream about a majestic 'world tree' whose top reached the skies and was visible from everywhere. This tree was beautiful as well as fruitful, and the birds and the beasts found food and shelter in it. A messenger from heaven is commanded to fell this tree, leaving only the stump. The 'world tree' here represents Nebuchadnezzar in all his pomp and glory. This imagery of the 'world tree' drawn from Ezekiel 31 and Daniel 4 has been used by the psalmist in the Hodayot. In both these chapters the 'world tree' symbolises kings and nations.

The imagery of the 'world tree' in 1QH<sup>a</sup> has been reworked particularly from Ezek. 31. 4–7.

81. Andersen 1983: 91–97, dates it to the late first century CE.

82. Andersen 1983: 115.





The quotations reveal the amount of vocabulary that has been borrowed from Ezekiel 31: תהום in v. 4 and line 16; נהרות in v. 4 and line 16; מטע in v. 4 and line 15; ובצלו in v. 6 and ויצל צל in line 15. כל גוים in v. 6 is represented by כול תנבל; שרש occurs in v. 7 and line 16 and in the reconstruction of line 17; דליותיו comes in v. 7 and line 16. The 'world tree' surpasses all earthly trees; its roots are watered by the waters of תהום as well as the rivers of Eden, and its top reaches into the skies and branches out in all directions. The tree is a source of sustenance and shelter for all creatures that live in it. All kinds of birds nest in its boughs and the animals bear their young beneath it. The political agenda of the allegory is seen in v. 6 where it is said that all the great nations will congregate in its shadow.<sup>84</sup> The DSS community borrows the image of the 'world tree' used in Ezekiel to designate a king, namely Pharaoh, and now appropriates it to themselves.

Zimmerli compares תהום in Genesis 7 and 8 with its use in Ezekiel 31 and states that, while the flood narrative reveals the uncanny power of chaos lurking in the תהום, Ezek. 31.3 seems to speak of a tamed deep, one which has been made into a blessing for the cosmos and which is invoked on Joseph's head in the 'blessings of heaven above, blessings of the deep (ברכת תהום) that couches beneath' (Gen. 49.25; Deut. 33.13).<sup>85</sup> Block notes that the verb-forms גרלוהו, רממתהו, הלך, and שלחה (Ezek. 31.4) highlight the agentive, life-giving role of the waters. They possessed the energy and the impulse from which the tree drew its life.<sup>86</sup> The DSS community view תהום in a similar manner. It is no more a threat, but a life-giving agent and a blessing given by God. The community in turn has become a blessing to the rest of the cosmos.

The world tree imagery also occurs in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):4–13. Here much of the imagery of the planting has been drawn from Psalm 80. In Psalm 80 the protective walls around the great vine are broken down and it is thus vulnerable to attacks by passers-by as well as beasts and other living creatures of the forest.<sup>87</sup> The passers-by, the beasts and the living creatures which destroy the vine are symbolic of the enemy nations which ravage the nation of Israel and bring destruction on it.<sup>88</sup> On the contrary, the image of the 'world tree' in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII) is one of hope and blessing. On its shoot and leaves all the animals of the forest graze, and its trunk serves as a

84. Block 1998: 186.

85. Zimmerli 1983: 149.

86. Block 1998: 186.

87. זי is used to refer to 'locust or worms', according to Semitic philology. Akkadian *zizānu* 'a kind of locust' and post-biblical Aramaic זי, זיקא 'mite, worm', lit. 'that which moves' (In rabbinic literature it is grouped with Hebrew words meaning 'flies, locusts or gnats'). Reading 'locusts' or 'worms', which are both small but destructive creatures, would stand in contrast to the beasts (lit. boar); cf. Thomas 1964: 385.

88. Cf. Ps. 68.31 where the word זיקה is used to signify enemy nations.

pasture-land. Its branches provide rest for the birds of the air. The beasts no longer provide a negative image of destruction. There is a partial parallel to this in the interpretation of *בהמות* (Hab. 2.17) given at 1QpHab XII:4, where the animals are described as the ‘simple ones of Judah’ – that is, the animal figure is treated as a relatively positive symbol, granted that *בהמות* is normally used to describe *domestic* animals. The Targum to the same verse also interprets *בהמות* as ‘its (Sanctuary) people’ – a spiritual community,<sup>89</sup> thereby indicating that the term *בהמות* or *היות* is used for people outside the community who would be nurtured and influenced by the psalmist and his community. Again, *מרמס* (1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI [VIII]:8), a term normally associated with destruction in the Hebrew Bible, as in Isa. 5.5, 10.6, is reworked from being a term of destruction meaning ‘a trampling’, to that of a pasture-land for cattle. The image of destruction is thus transformed in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, and the ‘world tree’ is a source of blessing providing sustenance, security and rest for those who come under its shade.

A similar text has also been found in one of the manuscript fragments from Cave 4 attributed to the Rule of the Community 4Q262 (4QS<sup>b</sup>) Frg. B.<sup>90</sup>

4Q262 Frg. B reads:

- |                                     |    |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| [.....]תחת דליתו ישתו עד[.....]     | .1 |
| [.....]שחקים ודליותו עד[.....]      | .2 |
| [.....]בהרי מרום ינובב פרינו[.....] | .3 |
| [.....]ם שבעה בוזהר ה[.....]        | .4 |
| [.....]כשמי טוזהר ב[.....]          | .5 |
| [.....]מלקוש[.....]                 | .6 |

1. [.....] beneath its branches they shall drink until [.....]
2. [.....] the clouds, its branches to [.....]
3. [.....on the] high [moun]tains it shall bear [its fruit] [.....]
4. [.....] seven [.....]m with the splendour of the [.....]
5. [.....like] the clear heavens in [.....]
6. [.....] the latter rain [.....]<sup>91</sup>

The text most certainly describes in poetic language the future glorious condition of Israel or the community using the common biblical image of a great tree.<sup>92</sup> The biblical background for this text seems to be Ezek. 17.22–24, which pictures Israel in the end of days as a flourishing cedar. In Ezek. 17.23 and 34.14 the phrases *בהר מרום ישראל* and *בהר מרום*

89. Gordon 1989: 153.

90. DJD: 26, 193.

91. Text and translation from Alexander and Vermes DJD: 26, 193–94.

92. Alexander and Vermes DJD: 26, 194.

ישראל occur in the context of the future restoration of Israel. Whereas the 4QS text is not explicit as to who the referent is, it is quite clear in 1QH<sup>a</sup>XIV (VI) and 1QH<sup>a</sup>XVI (VIII) that it is the DSS community understanding themselves as the restored Israel.

Within the biblical tradition the ‘world tree’ represents kings and kingdoms as in Ezek. 17.22–24; 31.2–14; Dan. 4.4–18 (cf. Mark 4.32). This biblical tradition has now been reworked by the DSS community, whereby they remove its negative features of pride and judgement (as in Ezekiel 31 and Daniel 4) – which make it a tree to be felled – and fill it with new, positive content according to which they see themselves as a source of blessing to the nations. The ‘world tree’ demonstrates growth, fruitfulness, permanence and the provision of shade for the whole world. Within the Babylonian literature the idea of greatness of the all-encompassing nature of the gods, temples, god’s net, or the mythical tree itself is expressed in terms of having roots in the nether world and reaching up to the heavens.<sup>93</sup> In the narrative of ‘Erra and Ishum’ the sacred tree is described likewise in lines 150–153:

Where is the wood, flesh of the gods,  
suitable for the lord of the uni[verse],  
The sacred tree, splendid stripling, perfect for lordship,  
Whose roots thrust down an [sic] hundred leagues  
through the waters of the vast ocean to the depths of hell,  
Whose crown brushed [Anu’s] heaven on high?<sup>94</sup>

Similarly, the ‘Hymn to Ninurta’, rev. 18–19 states: ‘When you enter Ešumeša, the house which stretches to heaven and the underworld ...’<sup>95</sup> The idea of the community’s greatness and widespread influence is expressed in similar fashion. The community would now have the task of creating a new kingdom which enjoys universal well-being, and they express this in the imagery of the eternal plant.

### III. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):4–40; 1QH<sup>b</sup> Frg. 2; 4QH<sup>b</sup> (4Q428) Frg. 10:11–12<sup>96</sup>

The second psalm under consideration is 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):4–40; 1QH<sup>b</sup> Frg. 2; 4QH<sup>b</sup> Frg. 10:11–12. Dupont-Sommer entitles this section as ‘L’allégorie du «Rejeton»; le Maître de justice comme source d’eaux vives et comme jardinier de la plantation éternelle; ses souffrances physiques et

93. Lambert 1960: 327.

94. Foster 1993: II, 779.

95. Lambert 1960: 120. Ešumeša is Ninurta’s temple in Nippur.

96. DJD: 29, 141; Earlier this fragment was numbered as Frg. 7.

morales.<sup>97</sup> He identifies the Teacher of Righteousness as the source of living water and the gardener of the 'everlasting planting'. Morawe, Jeremias, Becker and Kuhn classify this hymn as an 'Individual Thanksgiving Psalm'.<sup>98</sup> For the division of this psalm, I follow Licht, Dupont-Sommer and Jeremias.<sup>99</sup> The section where plant imagery occurs is in lines 4–13 and 20–26 which will be discussed in detail.

A. Text – 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):4–13, 20b–26;<sup>100</sup> 1QH<sup>b</sup> Frg. 2; 4QH<sup>b</sup> Frg. 10:11–12<sup>101</sup>

4. אַן־דְּכָה אֲדוֹנִין כִּי נִתְּנִי בַמִּקּוֹר נֹחֲלִים בִּיבִשָּׁה וּמְבוּעַ מַיִם  
בֶּאֱרֶץ צִיָּה וּמִשְׁקֵי
5. גֵּן [בְּעֶרְבָה וְהִיָּה מִטַּע בְּרוֹשׁ וְתוֹדָהר עִם תְּאִשׁוּר יַחַד  
לְכַבּוּדָּהּ עֲצֵי
6. חַיִּים בְּמַעֲיָן רַח מְחֻבָּאִים בְּתוֹךְ כּוֹל עֲצֵי מַיִם וְהָיוּ לְהַפְרִיחַ  
נֹצֵר לְמִטְעַת עוֹלָם
7. לְהַשְׂרִישׁ טֶרֶם יִפְרִיחוּ וְשׁוֹרְשֵׁיהֶם לְיוֹבֵלִין יִשְׁלַחוּ וַיִּפְתַּח לְמַיִם  
חַיִּים גִּזְעוּ<sup>102</sup>
8. וְהָיוּ לְמִקּוֹר עוֹלָם וּבְנֹצֵר עֲלֵיו יִרְעוּ כּוֹל [חֲזִיקַת יַעַר וּמִרְמַס גִּזְעוּ  
לְכָל עוֹבְרֵי
9. דְּרַךְ וְדִלִּיתוּ לְכוּל עוֹף כְּנָף וַיִּרְמוּ עֲלָיו כּוֹל עֲנָצִין מַיִם  
כִּי בְּמִטְעַתָּם יִתְּשִׁגּוּ
10. וְאֵל יוֹבֵל לֹא יִשְׁלַחוּ שׁוֹרֵשׁ וּמִפְרִיחַ נֹצֵר קִנְוֹדֵשׁ לְמִטְעַת  
אֲמַת סוֹתֵר בְּלוֹא
11. נַחֲשָׁב וּבְלוֹא נִדְעַ חוֹתֵם רַחוּ *vacat* וְאֵתָהּ [אֵל שְׁכַתָּה בְּעַד  
פְּרִיז בְּרַח גְּבוּרֵי כּוֹחַ
12. וְרוּחוֹת קוֹדֵשׁ וְלֵהֲטֵ אֵשׁ מִתְּהַפְכַת בַּל יִבּוֹא זֶר בְּמַעֲיָן חַיִּים  
וְעַם עֲצֵי עוֹלָם
13. לֹא יִשְׁתָּה מִי קוֹדֵשׁ בַּל יִנּוּבֵב פְּרִיז עִם [מִטַּע שְׁחֻקִים כִּי  
רָאָה בְּלֹא הַכִּיר
- 14a. וַיַּחֲשׁוּב בְּלֹא הָאֲמִין לְמִקּוֹר חַיִּים וַיִּתֵּן יִ[...][...] הָ עוֹלָם
- 20b. ... וּמִטַּע פְּרִי [...] רַ עוֹלָם לְעֵדֶן כְּבוֹד וּפְרוּחַ עוֹלָם]
21. וּבִידֵי פִתְחָתָהּ מִקּוֹרֵם עִם מִפְּלָגִין[.....] לְפָנָתָהּ עַל קוֹ נִכּוֹן וּמִטַּע
22. עֲצִיָּהֶם עַל מִשְׁקֵלֵת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לֹא[.....] לְפִאֲרַת כְּבוֹד בְּהִנְיָפֵי  
יָד לְעִזּוֹק
23. פְּלָגִיו יִכּוּ שְׂרָשָׁיו בְּצוֹר חֲלָמִישׁ וְ[...]. בֶּאֱרֶץ גִּזְעַם וּבַעַת חוֹם  
יַעֲצוֹר
24. מַעַח וְאֵם אֲשִׁיב יָד יְהִיָּה כְּעֶרְעָרִין גִּזְעוּ כְּחֲרָלִים בְּמַלְחָה וּפְלָגִיו

97. Dupont-Sommer 1957: 62.

98. Morawe 1960: 166; Jeremias 1962: 171; Becker 1963: 53; Kuhn 1966: 23.

99. Licht 1957: 131–39; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 62–69; Jeremias 1962: 171.

100. I follow Sukenik's reading for this column unless stated otherwise (Sukenik 1955: plate 42).

101. DJD: 29, 141.

102. An additional 1 present in the scroll וְגִזְעוּ is a copyist's mistake (Licht 1957: 134).

25. יעל קיץ ודדרר לשמיר ושית ון [...] שפתו יהפכו כעצי באושים  
לפני

26. חום יבול עליו ולא נפתח עם מי עין [...] ...

*B. Textual Notes:*

1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):4

Translating במקור with ב essentiae.<sup>103</sup>

1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):5

גן [בערבה והיה]: Only the final ה of והיה is visible in a 200% magnification on the CD-ROM.<sup>104</sup> Reconstruction based on Isa. 41.19, as the words following והיה have been taken from it. Holm-Nielsen reads [עון בערבו] or [ודית]ה<sup>105</sup> and partially reconstructs והיה or [ודית]ה.<sup>105</sup>

ברוש ותדהר עם תאשור: This phrase has been taken from Isa. 41.19 and Isa. 60.13. עצי חיים: The singular is used in Gen. 2.9; 3.22, 24 where the reference is to the tree of life in the garden of Eden.

1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):8

Reading and partially restoring [חית] with Licht and Holm-Nielsen;<sup>106</sup> cf. Pss 50.10; 104.20. Also interpreting מרמס as 'treading place', rather than as a 'trampled down pasture ground'<sup>107</sup> or as 'trampling' or 'over-trodden land'.<sup>108</sup> Though the word is usually used in the Hebrew Bible as a term for destruction, here it seems to have a neutral meaning as in Isa. 7.25, where it is a treading-place for sheep. Holm-Nielsen translates it as 'dwelling place',<sup>109</sup> Mansoor as 'trampling place',<sup>110</sup> and Dupont-Sommer as 'trod underfoot'.<sup>111</sup> He maintains that it refers to the Teacher of Righteousness as one who is despised.

גזעו: The י is a *mater lectionis* for the *hireq*; cf. Job 14.8 גזעו.<sup>112</sup>

1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):9

כול עין מים: Reconstruction following Licht; cf. Ezek. 31.14.<sup>113</sup>

103. Dupont-Sommer 1957: 62; (cf. JM § 133c; GKC § 119i).

104. Tov 1999: CD-ROM.

105. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 148.

106. Licht 1957: 134; Holm-Nielsen 1960: 150.

107. KB 1998: 568.

108. HALOT: 637.

109. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 142.

110. Mansoor 1961: 153.

111. Dupont-Sommer 1961: 226.

112. Kutscher 1974: 157.

113. Licht 1957: 134.

יתשגשגו: The verb is a Hithpilpel intensive imperfect from the root שגג meaning 'grow upwards', a by-form of שגה/שגא; cf. Isa. 17.11.<sup>114</sup>

1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):10

ק[ן]רש: Partial reconstruction.

1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):11

There is a *vacat* after the word רזו. The word ל[א] is partially reconstructed by most commentators.

1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):12

בל יבוא זר בן: Partial reconstruction following Licht;<sup>115</sup> cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):27.

1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):13

ע[מטע]: Partial reconstruction following Licht; cf. Zech 9.17.<sup>116</sup>

1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):14a

ה...[...י] ירתן: Scroll damaged at this point.

1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):20

רפתח עלם: Reconstructing following Dupont-Sommer.<sup>117</sup>

1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):21

מפלגי has a supralinear מ in the manuscript; cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI (III):30, XVIII (X):25.<sup>118</sup>

1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):22

Cf. Ezek. 31.5; Isa. 10.33. The height of the tree seems to have been drawn from these verses.<sup>119</sup> For לעזוק cf. Isa. 5.2.

1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):24

For בערען cf. Jer. 48.6.<sup>120</sup>

1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):25

For the phrase לשמיר ושית cf. Isa. 5.6; 7.24–25.<sup>121</sup>

114. HALOT: 1306; GKC § 55f.

115. Licht 1957: 135.

116. Licht 1957: 135.

117. Dupont-Sommer 1957: 66.

118. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 155.

119. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 155.

120. Dupont-Sommer 1957: 67.

121. Mansoor 1961: 156.

1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):26

Partially reconstructing [...] עֵינַי מִי with García Martínez and Tigchelaar.<sup>122</sup>  
The ך in מִי is written supralinearly in the manuscript.

C. *Translation*

4. I g[ive you thanks Lord] because you set me as a fountain of streams on dry ground, and a spring of water on the barren earth, and a well irrigated
5. garden [in the desert. It will] be a planting of Cypress, Elm, with Box-tree together for your glory. Trees
6. of life in a secret source being hidden in the midst of all the trees of water and they will make a shoot grow up as the eternal planting,
7. to take root before they sprout, and their roots they will send to a stre[am] and its stem opens to the living waters
8. and it will be an eternal spring. And on the shoots of its leaves all the [beas]ts of the forest will graze, and its trunk will be a treading place<sup>123</sup> for all who pass over the
9. way, and its branches for all the winged birds. Above it will rise all the tr[ees] of the water because they will grow in their planting,
10. but to the stream they do not send (their) root. But the h[o]ly shoot sprouts<sup>124</sup> into a planting of truth, hidden, not esteemed,
11. not known, its secret sealed *vacat*. And you O [Go]d have protected its fruit in secret with mighty warriors
12. and holy spirits and a flashing<sup>125</sup> flame of fire. No [stranger] w[ill enter] the spring of life, nor with the eternal trees
13. will he drink waters of holiness, nor bear fruit with the [plant]ing of the clouds, for he sees, but does not recognise,
- 14a. notices, but does not believe, in the spring of life, and gives eternal [...]
- 20b. ... But the planting of fruit ... eternal, for the garden of glory and bears [fruit forever].
21. And with my hand you have opened their spring with channels ... to turn [th]eir... to the correct line and the planting of
22. their trees according to the levelling instruments of the sun, ... boughs of glory. When I stretch my hand to dig out

122. García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 182.

123. See textual notes for discussion.

124. Holm-Nielsen argues that פָּרַח here has the same meaning as the Qal; cf. Ps. 92.14; Job 14.9. He argues that translating it as a causative would be introducing a new subject not mentioned before, namely God, and would cause difficulty in relation to סִוְרָר (Holm-Nielsen 1960: 151).

125. As in Genesis 3.24.

23. its channels, its roots will strike against the rocky flint and ... their trunk in the earth and in the time of heat it retains
24. strength.<sup>126</sup> But if I remove my hand it will be as a juniper] ... its trunk as weeds in salt plains, its channels
25. will grow up briers and thorns; to thistles and thorn bushes and ... of its banks will turn into sour vines;
- 26a. because of the heat its leaves wither,<sup>127</sup> it does not open with the waters of the spr[ing...].

#### D. Commentary

The psalm can be broadly divided into the following sections:

1. Thanksgiving narrative and the planting of truth 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):4–14a
2. An account of the psalmist's persecution 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):14b–15
3. Recounting God's goodness 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):16–20a
4. An account of God's planting 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):20b–26a
5. The suffering of the psalmist 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):26b–35a
6. Restoration of the psalmist 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):35b–40

Since plant imagery occurs in the thanksgiving narrative (lines 4–14a), and in the account of God's planting (lines 20b–26a), these sections will be commented on.

#### 1. Thanksgiving narrative and the planting of truth 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):4–14a

In lines 4–7 the psalmist gives thanks to God that he has placed him as a fountain of streams in the midst of dry ground. He and his community had been set apart as God's planting. In lines 8–11a the psalmist describes the eternal plant as a 'world tree'. The birds and the beasts of the fields find refuge in the eternal plant. They would be a holy remnant who would be walking according to the truth (line 10). Though the Hiphil participle **וּמְפָרִיחַ** is used in conjunction with the 'holy shoot' (line 10), there is no textual antecedent that could serve as the subject and therefore has to be taken intransitively with the same meaning as the Qal.<sup>128</sup> It is therefore the 'holy shoot' which sprouts into a planting of truth. Bardtke translates **וּמְפָרִיחַ** as a causative and introduces God as subject.<sup>129</sup> However, in what follows 'God' is addressed in the second person (line 11), and it is therefore

126. Although the word **מִלְטָה** means 'refuge' or 'protection', here it needs to be derived from BH **עָזָר** meaning 'strength'.

127. Jeremias 1962: 253. Cf. Ps. 1.3, Ezek. 47.12.

128. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 151. Cf. Job 14.9; Ps. 92.14.

129. Bardtke 1956b: col. 715.



unlikely that God is the subject in line 10. García Martínez translates the verb as a Hiphil transitive: ‘However, he who causes the holy shoot to grow in the true plantation hides, not considered, nor known, its sealed mystery.’<sup>130</sup>

Muraoka reads lines 10 and 11 as follows:

מפריח<sup>131</sup> נצר קן חדש למטעת אתם<sup>132</sup> סותר בלוא נחשב  
ובלא נודע חותם רזו

He agrees that *מפריח* can be taken as an intransitive Hiphil, though he is not certain that *סותר* and *חותם* are Qal participles with *רזו* as their shared object, as they might as well be Pual perfects.<sup>133</sup> Muraoka does not make it clear how he reads *אתם* for *אמת* nor does he offer any translation, which makes it difficult to determine whether he has misread the text or not. Here *סותר* and *חותם* need to be taken as Pual perfects, as the same idea is expressed in lines 5 and 6 where the trees of life are ‘being hidden’ in a secret source.<sup>134</sup> The use of the Niphal in *נחשב* and *נודע*, along with the Pual participles in lines 6 and 18, indicates the use of the passive throughout this section, thereby encouraging the reading of *סותר* and *חותם* as Pual perfects rather than as Qal participles.

Lines 11b–14a describe God as the one who protects the fruit of the eternal plant with his mighty warriors and holy spirits. There is an allusion to the garden of Eden with the angel guarding the tree of life (Gen. 3.24). This is then followed by a narration of the psalmist’s persecution (lines 14b–15) and an account of God’s goodness to him (lines 16–20a). The planting imagery resumes in line 20b.

## 2. *An account of God’s planting 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):20b–26a*

The fruitful plant – the shoot about which the psalmist had spoken earlier – now grows and begins to bear fruit. The psalmist sees God using him as the gardener who has opened all the channels of water in the right amount. He is the one who digs the channels for irrigating the plantation (line 21). He knows the technically correct way to plant, allowing enough distance between the plants to enable them to get the appropriate amount of sunshine (lines 21–22). He is the one who digs the canals and clears them of all the rocky stones (lines 23).<sup>135</sup> His teaching is a matter of life and death for the community (lines 16–26).

130. García Martínez 1997: 181.

131. Muraoka reads *מפריח* (Muraoka 1997: 101.), whereas the text of 1QH<sup>a</sup> reads *ומפריח* (Sukenik 1955: plate 42.).

132. Muraoka misreads as *אתם* (Muraoka 1997: 101.), whereas it is quite clear in Sukenik’s plate 42 that it should be read as *אמת* (Sukenik 1955: pl. 42.).

133. Muraoka 1997: 101.

134. Cf. line 18 where the Pual is used in reference to the swelling waters which come from a hidden place.

135. Echoes of Isa. 5.2.

In the rest of the psalm (lines 26b–40) the psalmist narrates his personal suffering and desperately tries to see God at work in the midst of the community, but the reality is contrary to it, and almost consuming him. It is because of these experiences that the psalmist alternates in this psalm between his laments and the assurance of what God is doing in his life and within the community. The struggle experienced by the psalmist stands out in the conflation of the imagery and in the movement from one image to another. At the conclusion of the psalm there is tremendous assurance concerning what God has done for him. Though he was suffering, he is now an instrument who is going to be used by God to sustain those who are weak and weary.

#### IV. Plant Imagery

##### A. The Eternal Planting – The Community as God’s Plantation

Images of a fertile plantation are used within this psalm primarily to describe the community. The psalmist draws upon Isa. 41.18–20 to endorse the view that he and his community were actually established by God himself. Isaiah 41.18–20 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):4–6 compare as follows:

Isa. 41.18–20	1QH <sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):4–6
<p>18. אַפְתַּח עַל־שְׁפִיִּים נְחִירֹת</p>	<p>4. אֹנְרֵכָה אֲדוֹנִיךָ כִּי נִתְנִי</p>
<p>וּבְתוֹךְ בְּקַעֲוֹת מַעֲיֵנוֹת אֲשִׁים</p>	<p>בַּמְקוֹר נְחָלִים בִּיבֶשֶׁה וּמְבוּעַ</p>
<p>מִדְּבַר לֶאֱגֹם מַיִם וְאֶרֶץ צִיָּה</p>	<p>מַיִם בְּאֶרֶץ צִיָּה וּמִשְׁקֵי</p>
<p>לְמוֹצְאֵי מַיִם:</p>	<p>5. גַּן [...] מִטַּע בְּרוֹשׁ וְתֹדֵהָר</p>
<p>19. אַתָּן בְּמִדְּבַר אֶרֶז שְׁטָה</p>	<p>עִם תְּאִשׁוּר יַחְדָּר לְכַבֹּדְכָה עֲצֵי</p>
<p>וְהִרְסוּ וְעֵץ שִׁמֹּן אֲשִׁים בְּעֶרְבָה</p>	<p>6. חַיִּים בְּמַעֲיָרָה מִחֻבָּאִים</p>
<p>בְּרוֹשׁ תִּתְדַהֵר וְתִתְאִשׁוּר יַחְדָּר:</p>	<p>בְּתוֹךְ כּוֹל עֲצֵי מַיִם וְהִיוּ</p>
<p>20. לְמַעַן יִרְאוּ וְיִדְעוּ וְיִשְׁיִמּוּ</p>	<p>לְהַפְרִיחַ נֹצֵר לְמִטְעַת עוֹלָם</p>
<p>וְיִשְׁכִּילוּ יַחְדָּר כִּי יִדְהִיָּה</p>	
<p>עֲשֵׂתָה זֹאת וּקְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל</p>	
<p>בְּרֵאָה:</p>	

Comparing 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):4–6 with Isa. 41.18–20 shows the amount of vocabulary that has been borrowed: נְזָרוֹת in v. 18 is represented by נְזָלוּם in line 4; מְעִינֹת occurs in v. 18 and מְעִין in line 6; אֲשִׁים in vss. 18 and 19 has been replaced by נְתַנִּי in line 4; מַיִם (twice) in v. 18 is found in line 4; צִיָּה occurs in v. 18 and in line 4; וְעֵץ in v.19 is paralleled by עֵצִי in line 5. The varieties of trees בְּרוֹשׁ, תְּדַדָּר and תְּאֲשׁוּר are mentioned in v. 19 and in line 5. יְחַדֵּי in v. 19 is paralleled by יְחַד in line 5.

The psalmist picks up these verses from Deutero-Isaiah and then reworks them to portray himself and his community as those through whom God had fulfilled what he had promised.<sup>136</sup> The new creation motif is taken up by the psalmist. There is a making new of the old. The dry ground will become a fountain of streams; the barren earth will become a well-irrigated garden. There is a miraculous transformation of the desert as the DSS community continues to experience the transforming power of God. God had acted, and the psalmist had been set in a fertile place together with his community. The last two lines of v. 20 have been paraphrased and reworked to draw attention to the fact that all this had been done for the praise of God's mighty acts (line 5).

Lines 6b–8a seem to have been drawn from Jer. 17.8.

Lines 6b–8a :

- .6b וְהָיוּ לְהַפְרִיחַ נֹצֵר לְמַטְעַת עוֹלָם  
 .7 לְהַשְׂרִישׁ טֶרֶם יִפְרִיחוּ וְשׁוֹרְשֵׁיהֶם לְיוֹבֵלָן יִשְׁלַחוּ וַיִּפְתַּח לַמַּיִם  
 חַיִּים גִּזְעוּ  
 .8a וְהָיוּ לְמַקּוֹר עוֹלָם ...

They will make a shoot grow up as the eternal planting, to take root before they sprout, and their roots they will send to a stream, and its stem opens to the living waters and it will be an eternal spring ...

Jer. 17.8:

- .8 וְהָיָה כְּעֵץ שֶׁתָּלוּל עַל-מַיִם וְעַל-יּוֹבֵל יִשְׁלַח שְׂרָשָׁיו  
 וְלֹא יִרָא<sup>137</sup> כִּי-יָבֵא חֹם וְהָיָה עֲלֵהוּ רֶעֶנָּן וּבִשְׁנַת בַּעֲרָת  
 לֹא יִדָּאָג וְלֹא יִמָּשׁ מִעֲשׂוֹת פָּרִי:

They shall be as a tree planted by the water, sending out its roots by the stream. It shall not fear when heat comes, and its leaves shall stay green; In the year of drought it is not anxious and it does not cease to bear fruit.<sup>138</sup>

Those who trust in God are seen as a tree that is planted by the water in Jeremiah. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> the psalmist similarly identifies himself and his community as trees planted by God in a fertile region with plenty of water. He

136. Cf. Isa. 44.3; 49.10.

137. Reading with LXX and S.

138. NRSV.

compares the community to a planting of cypress, elm and box trees. These trees are by nature large, sturdy and evergreen,<sup>139</sup> and are used symbolically for a person who is flourishing. In *b. San.* 93a the myrtle tree is said to be symbolic of the righteous, as also in a marginal reading of *Tg. Zech.* 1.8 (Codex Reuchlinianus), which reads 'among the righteous who were in exile in Babylon' for MT 'among the myrtles'.<sup>140</sup> *Tg. Isa.* 55.13 also interprets 'myrtle' as 'those who fear sin'.<sup>141</sup> *The Psalms of Solomon*, which are dated to the first century BCE, exhibit a similar kind of symbolism:

The saints of the Lord shall live by it (the Law) for ever; the paradise of the Lord, the *trees of life*, these are His saints. Their planting is rooted for ever; they shall not be uprooted for as long as heaven shall last (14.3–4).<sup>142</sup>

So the idea of the righteous being compared to well-watered trees and plants is paralleled elsewhere. The trees of life (lines 5–6) are the members of the community. The eternal plant (line 6) comes into existence in their midst.

How does this eternal planting come into existence? The existing community fosters the birth of the eschatological community, depicted as the eternal planting, but also sees itself as being part of the eternal planting. As the psalm progresses the psalmist includes himself as he develops the metaphor (see lines 21–25). On the one hand, he uses the metaphor to describe the community, but on the other, he and the community become part of that same metaphor. Holm-Nielsen notes that 'of the elect it is true that their acceptance of the revelation of God has already placed them within the eschatological situation; the eschatological salvation is already present with them.'<sup>143</sup> This makes the psalmist oscillate between one role and another. Tiller rightly comments: 'the textual confusion and intermixture of poet and metaphor indicates that the writer felt that he participated in the planting or growth of the shoot that was to become an eternal plant of global proportions. This probably represents a conflation of the image of the historical Israel as the plant (involving the writer's present action) with that of eschatological restored Israel as the plant.'<sup>144</sup>

The DSS community understood themselves to be a separated people totally under the protective care of God (lines 11–13). No stranger could enter that place or participate in the life that they were leading or be fruitful

139. Jacob 1992: 803–17.

140. Gordon 1989: 186.

141. Chilton 1987: 109.

142. Dupont-Sommer 1961: 226.

143. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 297.

144. Tiller 1997: 332.

as they were. But there were other trees in the plantation which were not rooted in the waters of life (line 10). This probably reflects the conflict that the psalmist was going through, whereby he doubts the credibility of his opponents. However, the psalmist indicates that God had used him as a gardener to plant all the trees in the right place so that they might grow well and retain their strength. He sees his role as vital for the growth of the shoot. Using plantation imagery the psalmist describes his role in building up the community – the plantation of God.

### *B. The Community – Collective Identity of the נצר*

The word נצר occurs only four times in the Hebrew Bible, thrice in Isaiah (Isa. 11.1; 14.19; 60.21) and once in Daniel (Dan. 11.7). In the Hodayot it occurs five times (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV [VI]:15; XV [VII]:19; XVI [VIII]:6, 8, 10), and the reference on four occasions is to the collective idea of the community as the plant, the other reference in XV (VII):19 being unclear. As far as 1QH<sup>a</sup> is concerned, the נצר motif has taken on a corporate dimension as in Isa. 60.21. Compare 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):14b–15, 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):5b–11 and Isa. 60.21:

1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):14b–15

14b. Their root]

15. sprouts like the flo[wer of the field f]or ever, to make a shoot (נצר) grow up as the branches of the eternal plantation (מטעת עולם). And it shall cover the whole ea[rth] with its shade, [and] its [top] ...

1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):5b–11

5b. Trees

6. of life in a secret source being hidden in the midst of all the trees of water and they will make a shoot grow up as the eternal planting (להפריח נצר למטעת עולם),
7. to take root before they sprout, and their roots they will send to a stre[am] and its stem opens to the living waters
8. and it will be an eternal spring. And on the shoots (ובנצר) of its leaves all the [beas]ts of the forest will graze, and its trunk will be a treading place for all who pass over the
9. way, and its branches for all the winged birds. Above it will rise all the tr[ees] of the water because they will grow in their planting
10. but to the stream they do not send (their) root. But the h[o]ly shoot sprouts into a planting of truth (ומפריח נצר קנודש למטעת אמת), hidden, not esteemed,
11. not known, its secret sealed

Isa. 60.21 reads:

And all your people shall be righteous; they will inherit the land for ever as a shoot of the Lord's<sup>145</sup> planting (נִצֵּר מִטְעֵי יְהוָה), the work of his<sup>146</sup> hands for glory.

In these three texts there is a movement of the נִצֵּר tradition from an individual to a corporate dimension. There is also an allusion in both the Hodayot texts to Isa. 11.1, particularly to the idea of the shoot becoming fruitful branches.

וַיֵּצֵא חֹטֵר מִגִּזְעֵי יֵשׁוּעַ וְנִצֵּר מִשְׁרָשָׁיו יִפְרֹה:

And a branch will go out from the stump of Jesse and a shoot will bear fruit from his roots.

Within the biblical tradition, Isaiah 11 is usually interpreted as referring to a royal Messiah who would come from David's line. However, the likening of a king to a branch or shoot was common in some of the ancient near eastern traditions. Sommer notes that the comparison of a king to an eternal branch or shoot occurs repeatedly in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, from the seventh century BCE, though there is also evidence of its use in non-royal prayers for progeny.<sup>147</sup> In Isaiah we note a gradual development within the tradition. In Isa. 11.1, as well as in Jer. 23.5, 33.15, the reference is to a royal figure, a new or future Davidic king who will govern with justice. This 'messianic' text has been reworked in Isa. 60.21 where the נִצֵּר refers to the whole nation of Israel: 'All your people will be righteous and they will inherit the land forever, the shoot of God's planting...' A similar idea is reflected in Isa. 55.3 where 'the sure mercies of David' (חֲסִדֵי דָוִד הַנְּאֻמִּים)<sup>148</sup> are also extended to the community at large. Eissfeldt argues that the point here is that the covenant made with David is transferred to Israel.<sup>149</sup> He compares and contrasts it with Psalm 89 where the hope is that an individual in the Davidic line will continue to reign, whereas in Isa. 55.3 the prophet does not see the Davidic kingdom as part of the blessings of the coming day of salvation. It is a blessing on the nation of Israel. There is a distinct development of the tradition from focussing on one royal individual in the Davidic line, to the collective, the whole nation, as the royal, righteous branch who will walk in righteousness and inherit the earth.

145. Reading מִטְעֵי יְהוָה with 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>.

146. Reading יְדִיד with 1QIsa<sup>ab</sup>, LXX.

147. Sommer 1998: 86, 249.

148. The phrase חֲסִדֵי דָוִד הַנְּאֻמִּים has been long debated as to whether it is a subjective genitive or objective genitive. Caquot (1965: 45–59) and Beuken (1974: 49–64) read it as a subjective genitive. Williamson reads it as an objective genitive where David is the recipient of the 'sure mercies' of God rather than as 'the manifestation of David's loyalty'. In the discussion above it is taken as an objective genitive. See Williamson (1978: 31–49).

149. Eissfeldt 1962: 206–07.

In 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII) the collective identity of the planting is reflected in the way נצר is used. It occurs three times in lines 6, 8, and 10. והיו להפריח ונצר למטעת עולם in line 6 alludes to Isa. 11.1 with reference to the 'shoot'. The shoot does not reflect any messianic expectation, nor is the figure developed in this psalm, but it seems to be the collective identity of the community. On the other hand, Tg. Isa. 11.1 reads as follows:

And a King shall come forth from the sons of Jesse, and the Messiah shall be exalted from the sons of his sons.<sup>150</sup>

The Targum treats נצר as a direct reference to a Davidic king who will be the Messiah.

Likewise, the *peshet* to Isaiah 4Q161 III:17–21a (4QpIsa<sup>a</sup>), which interprets Isa. 11.1–4, reads as follows:

17–21a  
 פשר על צמח דוד העומד באחורית הימים  
 אחיבו ואל יסומכנו בן...התורה ]  
 כסא כבוד נור קודשן ובגדי רוקמנות  
 בידו ובכול הגנאים ימשול ומגוג  
 כול עמים תשפוט חרבו<sup>151</sup>

lines 17–21a:

[Its interpretation concerns the Shoot of] David who will arise at the [end of days.....] his enemies, and God will sustain him with [...the] Law [.....th]rone of glory, a [hol]y crown, and garments of variegat[ed stuff.....] in his hand, and over all the Ge[n]t[ile]s he will rule, and Magog [...a]ll the peoples shall his sword judge.<sup>152</sup>

The *peshet* interprets Isa. 11.1–4 as a reference to the Shoot of David, a triumphant individual who will come at the end of time, whom God will sustain with his Spirit and who will rule over all the nations and judge them. In 4Q285 the *peshet* describes the 'Branch of David' as the Prince of the Congregation. Vermes states that 'the Prince of the Congregation is the Messiah, Shoot of Jesse, who is expected to judge, smite the earth and kill the wicked (Isa. 11.4).'<sup>153</sup> He compares 4Q285 with 4Q161, Frgs. 8–10, and maintains that it refers to the triumphant eschatological [Branch] of David who is to rule over all the nations and judge them. He then comes to the conclusion that the whole exegetical context of 4QpIsa<sup>a</sup> and 1QSpb, and all the parallel uses of the titles Prince of the Congregation (CD VII:20;

150. Chilton 1987: 28.

151. Allegro DJD: 5, 14.

152. Allegro DJD: 5, 14.

153. Vermes 1992a: 88.

1QM V:1) and Branch of David (4Q252 [4QP Bless] V:4–5; 4QFlor. 3:11–13) point to the triumphant Messiah son of David, of Jewish and Qumran expectation.<sup>154</sup>

Jewish, including Qumran, messianic expectation is a complex issue. The expectation of the Davidic Messiah had a place in Jewish eschatology in the centuries before and after the turn of the era. Vermes notes that this is evident in the *Psalms of Solomon* 17 and 18, Philo and the Eighteen Benedictions.<sup>155</sup> He comments that the Messiah depicted was not some ‘shadowy figure’ but, rather, follows the contours of the traditional image. The expectation was of a king in David’s line who would be the saviour and restorer of Israel. He would establish justice as depicted in Isaiah 11, and as it featured prominently in Jewish messianic thought. Others, like Green, argue that preoccupation with the Messiah was not a ‘uniform or definitive trait’, nor a common reference point, among early Jewish writings and those who produced them.<sup>156</sup>

Moreover, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):10–11 the psalmist describes the ‘holy shoot’ in language which is reminiscent of the (so-called) Servant Songs. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):10–11 reads: ‘the holy shoot sprouts into a planting of truth, hidden, not esteemed, not known, its secret sealed ...’, with which we may compare Isa. 53.3b: ‘and as one hiding their faces from him, he was despised, and not esteemed’. The psalmist seems to have derived ‘hidden’ and ‘not esteemed’ from Isa. 53.3. In Isaiah the reference is to the servant as a figure of suffering and rejection. The Targum, on the other hand, interprets the servant of Isaiah 53 as a victorious Messiah rather than as a suffering servant:

*Then the glory of all the kingdoms will be for contempt and cease: they will be faint and mournful as a man of sorrows and one appointed for sicknesses: and as when the face of the Shekinah was taken up from us, they are despised and not esteemed.*<sup>157</sup>

The Targum reworks the verse so that it is the kingdoms that are despised and not esteemed. In 1QH<sup>a</sup>, on the other hand, the psalmist reworks this section and applies it to the community. The community was fulfilling the role of the ‘servant’.

In 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):35b–36 there are echoes of the ‘Suffering Servant’ as in Isa. 50.4.

154. Vermes 1992a: 88–89.

155. Vermes 1973b: 130–34.

156. Green 1987: 10.

157. Chilton 1987: 104. Italics show where the text of the Targum differs from the MT.



Isa. 50.4	1QH XVI (VIII):36
4. אֲדַנִּי יְהוָה נָתַן לִי לִשְׁׁן לַמּוֹדִים	36. קוֹל [...] לַמּוֹדִים [...]
לְדַעַת לַעוֹת <sup>158</sup> אֶת יַעֲקֹב דְּבַר יַעֲרִיר בְּבִקְרָב יַעֲרִיר לִי אֶזְנִי לִשְׁמֹעַ כְּלַמּוֹדִים:	לַחַיּוֹת רוּחַ כּוֹשְׁלִים וְלַעוֹת לַעֲאֵף <sup>159</sup> דְּבַר נֹאֲלָם כּוֹל שְׁפָתַי

<sup>160</sup> [ן]לעוֹת is paralleled in לעוֹת and לעוֹת is represented by למוֹדִים. <sup>160</sup> יַעֲקֹב is present as [ל]עֲאֵף, with a rare orthography, and דְּבַר is present in both cases. Although this is an echo of the 'servant' in Isa. 50.4 and refers to an individual, the psalmist appropriates it for himself saying, 'the voice of ... my instruction ... and to give life to the spirit of those who stumble, and to support the faint with a word. Silent are all the lips of ...' (1QH<sup>a</sup>XVI [VIII]:36). Many Jewish commentators interpret the servant as a collective identity. Rashi comments on Isa. 52.13 as follows:

ישכיל עבדי – הנה באחרית הימים יצליח עבדי יעקב – צדיקים  
 שבהם.<sup>161</sup>

Behold in the latter days my servant Jacob will prosper – the righteous ones who are in them.

Similarly Ibn 'Ezra:

עבדי – כל מי שדיה בגלות מישראל והוא עבד השם<sup>162</sup>

My servant means each individual belonging to Israel, who was in exile, and he is God's servant.

158. לעוֹת normally has the meaning 'to be bent' or 'be crooked' in the Qal and in the Piel 'to bend', 'falsify' or 'pervert'. However, the required meaning seems to be paralleled in Aramaic and Arabic cognates with the sense 'help, sustain' (Oswalt 1998: 320) or 'prepare, fix' (Sokoloff 1990: 401). The LXX reads ἡνικα, 'when (it is fit to speak a word)', representing the reading לעֲת (Zeigler 1939: 310–11).

159. Peculiar orthography where the ך is replaced by an ך. Cf. 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 31.10 (Martin 1958: II, list 45.3)

160. לעוֹת could just possibly have triggered לַחַיּוֹת, as it has the idea of sustaining and making alive.

161. Cohen 1998: 332.

162. Cohen 1998: 334.

There is canonical parallel in the 'Servant Songs' as well, with the individual and the collective idea being held in equipoise without the need of placing one over the other. Isaiah 49.1–7 represents a collective concept of Israel as the servant while Isa. 42.1–7, Isa. 50.4–11 and Isa. 52.13–53.12 speak of the servant in a more individualistic way. Within Isa. 40–66 the term עֶבֶד occurs in one form or another 34x. Interestingly, the term in the noun-form occurs 20x in Isa. 40–53 in the singular and not once in the plural. However, from chs. 54–66 the noun-form occurs in the plural 11x, and not once in the singular. This clearly indicates how the servant is 'individualized' in chs. 40–53 (excluding 49),<sup>163</sup> whereas in chs. 54–66 the servants are seen as a section within the community.<sup>164</sup>

As far as Qumran is concerned there seems to be an expectation of two Messiahs: an Aaronic priestly Messiah and a Davidic royal Messiah (1QS IX:11<sup>165</sup>; CD XII:23–XIII:2). Horbury states that the 'Qumran material indicates that a dual priestly and royal messianic concept did not exclude the special development of the notion of the Davidic messiah, and the inclination towards envisaging a single figure.'<sup>166</sup> The arguments so far have been that the references either indicate that there is a dual priestly and royal concept or 'a special development of the notion of the Davidic messiah'.<sup>167</sup> However, if the evidence of the Qumran corpus is brought together, it seems that the notion of the Messiah oscillates between the dual and the collective, between the Davidic and Aaronic Messiahs on the one hand and the community on the other.

163. Even though the servant is individualized in chs. 40–53, he still can be a figure for the community.

164. A similar idea of an individual Messiah is expressed in LXX Gen. 3.15. The LXX translates ΚΑΤΙ using the masculine singular *αὐτός* which refers back to its antecedent *σπέρματος*, a neuter noun. Martin compares the other occurrences of ΚΑΤΙ in Genesis and its translation in the LXX, and comes to the conclusion that the LXX deliberately does this because it anticipates an individual Messiah; thereby the LXX becomes the earliest evidence of an individual messianic interpretation of Gen. 3.15 (Martin 1965: 425–27). In Rom. 16.20 Paul takes the idea further and interprets the 'seed of the woman' as the messianic community (Dunn 1988: 905).

165. 1QS IX:11 is missing in 4QS<sup>d</sup> (4Q258) as the MSS is fragmentary at this point. 4QS<sup>c</sup> (4Q259) starts from 1QS IX:12 and hence missing there as well (Alexander and Vermes DJD: 26, 110, 144).

166. Horbury 1998: 60.

167. Ginzberg, Talmon, Lichtenberger and other scholars are of the opinion that the reference in CD is not just to one Messiah but to two (Ginzberg 1976: 209–56; Talmon 1987: 123–26; Lichtenberger 1998: 10). Horbury, Vermes and others are of the opinion that the dual priestly and royal messianic concepts did not exclude envisaging a single Messiah, the Davidic Messiah (Horbury 1998: 60; Vermes 1992a: 88).

## Chapter 3

### PLANT IMAGERY IN THE RULE OF THE COMMUNITY (1QS/4QS)

#### *Introduction*

One of the most significant sectarian documents found in the Qumran caves is the Manual of Discipline, later called the Rule of the Community (1QS) (סֵרֶךְ הַיְחִיד). Fragmentary remains of copies of the rule were also found in Caves 4 and 5. Altogether portions of ten manuscripts were found in Cave 4 (4Q255–264 or 4QS<sup>a-j</sup>), two tiny fragments of a copy of the rule in Cave 5 (5Q11),<sup>1</sup> while a quotation of the rule is included in a fragment of another sectarian text (5Q13).<sup>2</sup> The rule is a composite work, but the arrangement of the text in the 1QS manuscript seems to indicate that it was meant to be a read as an entity.<sup>3</sup> On the basis of the palaeographic range of the manuscripts (c. 150 BCE – c. 50 CE) Alexander and Vermes state that 1QS, dating from 100 BCE, is probably the product of a long process of literary development, and they conclude that the rule in one form or another was studied and applied for almost the whole period of the community's existence.<sup>4</sup>

The rule was an important text for the sect. This is indicated not only by its title, סֵרֶךְ הַיְחִיד, but also by its contents and the number of extant copies. It consists of a set of regulations to govern the life of the community, probably for the members living at Qumran.<sup>5</sup> The rule relates to the sect's fundamental beliefs and practices. Apart from the regulations, there is a section on the doctrine of the two spirits and also some hymnic material at the end of the document. Two sections within 1QS contain the imagery of the eternal plant. The first is 1QS VIII:1–10a and the second

1. Alexander and Vermes classify the fragmentary 5Q11 as a non-S text but state that it probably contained S material (DJD: 26, 3–4). However, Hempel notes that the editors have not been consistent in their approach in classifying 5Q11, and states that 5Q11 was clearly published as a copy of S in DJD: 3, and that identification has been widely accepted since (Hempel 2000b: 329–33).

2. Knibb *EDSS*: 793.

3. Knibb *EDSS*: 793.

4. DJD: 26, 9.

5. Knibb 1987: 77.

1QS XI:7b–11a. Another manuscript where plant imagery is dealt with is 4QS<sup>b</sup> Frg. B. Since this section describes a ‘world tree’ it has been discussed in the previous chapter on the Hodayot where this imagery occurs more explicitly.<sup>6</sup>

### I. 1QS VIII:1–10a

This section occurs within the larger context of the programme for the new community (VIII:1–IX:26), and seems to have been written before the community actually came into existence.<sup>7</sup> Knibb suggests that it presents the programme or manifesto of the group which would shortly form the nucleus of the DSS community. Columns VIII–IX can be divided into two major sections, the first dealing with the group (VIII:1–IX:11) and the second with the leader (IX:12–26a).<sup>8</sup> The first section contains imagery of the ‘eternal plant’. This section is divided into three parts with the use of the introductory formula ‘When these things will be...’, in VIII:4b, 12b, and IX:3.

#### A. Text – 1QS VIII:1–10<sup>9</sup>

1. בעצת היחד שנים עשר איש וכהנים שלושה תמימים בכול  
הנגלה מכול
2. התורה לעשות אמת וצדקה ומשפט ואהבת חסד והצנע  
לכת איש אם רעהו
3. לשמור אמונה בארץ ביצר סמוך ורוח נשברה ולרצת עון  
בעושי משפט
4. וצרת מצרף ולהתהלך עם כול ב; { } מדת האמת ובתכון העת  
בהיות אלה בישראל
5. נכונה {ה} עצת היחד באמת { } vacat למיעת עולם בית קודש  
לישראל וסוד קודש
6. קדשים לאהרון עדי אמת למשפט וב; {י} חירי רצון לכפר  
בעד הארץ ולהשב
7. לרשעים גמולם vacat היאה חומת הבחן פנת יקר כל vacat
8. ידועו יסודותיה ובל יחישו ממקומם vacat מעון קודש קודשים
9. לאהרון ברעת עולם<sup>10</sup> לברית משפט ולקריב ל<sup>11</sup> ניהוח  
ובית תמים ואמת בישראל

6. See Chapter 2: Section II. D: The World Tree with a Universal Role.

7. Sutcliffe 1959a: 137–38; Murphy-O'Connor 1969: 529.

8. Knibb 1987: 127.

9. I follow the reading of Qimron for this column unless stated otherwise (Qimron 1994: 34). Also the whole text of line 10 is examined because of the numerous supralinear insertions, in order to discern the manner and order in which they should be read.

10. The word עולם has been emended to עולם (cf. II:3).

10. להקם ברית לחוקת עולם ויהי לרצון לכפר בעד הארץ  
 ולדחוק משפט רשעה (...) בהכין אלה ביסוד היחוד  
 שנתים ימים בתמים דרך ואין עלה

### B. Textual Notes

1QS VIII:1

4Q259 II:9 reads איש for אנשים.<sup>11</sup>

1QS VIII:2

The phrase לעשות אמת וצדקה ומשפט ואהבת חסד והצנע לכת has been taken from Mic. 6.8 and reworked to suit the context. 4Q259 II:10 has צדקה without the conjunction.<sup>12</sup> In the last part of the quotation the scribe has written אם rather than עם, possibly indicating that the *Vorlage* read אלהיך; or it could be that the scribe first thought of writing את and reverted to [ע].

1QS VIII:3

The phrase לשמור אמונה בארץ ביצר סמוך seems to be dependent on Isa. 26.1–3. See Ps. 51.19 for ורוח נשברה and Lev. 26.43 for ולרצת עון. 4Q259 II:11 has an additional word ובענה, after סמך, meaning ‘and with humility’.

1QS VIII:4

A letter has been erased in the word ב{.}מדת. The letter may have been marked initially with an erasure dot and later removed completely. Wernberg-Møller suggests that the original text actually read ביסדת האמת, ‘on the foundation of truth’ (cf. V:5). He observes that the ס and מ have similar forms, and hence possibly the error. He prefers the extant reading ב{.}מדת because it makes a good parallel with ובתכן.<sup>13</sup> In the edition of 4Q259 published by Qimron and Charlesworth, Qimron reads [בעמדת], presumably with the meaning of ‘walk with all [who stand] in the truth’,<sup>14</sup> but Charlesworth translates as if the reading is ב{.}מדת: ‘walk with all by [the measure of] truth’, as in 1QS.<sup>15</sup> The erasure seems to have faint marks resembling the two arms of the letter ע. Alexander and Vermes note that עמדה is attested only once in biblical Hebrew, in Mic. 1.11, and apparently not in Qumran or Mishnaic Hebrew. מדה is well attested in Qumran Hebrew with the meaning, ‘measure, limit’ (cf. 1QH I:29; V [XIII]:21;

11. DJD: 26, 139.

12. DJD: 26, 139.

13. Wernberg-Møller 1957: 123–24.

14. Qimron 1994: 86.

15. Charlesworth 1994: 35, 87.

IX [I]:17 ; XVII [IX]:1). Here it seems to have the meaning ‘principle, measure, standard’.<sup>16</sup> מַדְדָּה makes a good parallel in the context, and therefore the second scribe seems to have made the correction.

#### 1QS VIII:5

There is a *vacat* after {ל} באמת. The *lamed* has been erased.<sup>17</sup> In למטעת the letter ט has been inserted and written supralinearly as the scribe realised the error in the spelling. 4Q259 II:14 has [שפט עולן], which seems to imply למטעת [למן שפט]. Qimron reconstructs 4Q259 II:14 as follows:

[באמת למן שפט עולן ומטעת עולם ביתן קודש קודשים לאהרן]

There is a case of homoioteleuton in lines 13–14 as compared with 1QS VIII:5–6, the word אמת having triggered the mistake. The parablepsis<sup>18</sup> occurs when the scribe’s eye skipped from one אמת to the other, the *vacat* probably being the reason for the lapse.

#### 1QS VIII:6

The *waw* of חירי וב has been erased and a *yodh* added supralinearly, changing the form from a Qal active ptcl. to an adjective, both in the masc. pl. construct.

#### 1QS VIII:7–8

היאה חומת הבחן פנת יקר בל ירעזעו יסודיחיהו ובל  
יחישו ממקומם

Most of this line has been borrowed from Isa. 28.16 and rephrased:

לכן כה אמר אדני יהוה הנני יסד בציון אבן אבן בחן  
פנת יקרת מוסד מוסד המאמין לא יחיש:

There is a *vacat* after the word גמולם, and the rest of the line has been left blank after בל. אבן has been replaced by חומת as possibly more appropriate in an allusion to the community.

ירעזעו: Hithpael imperfect of זוע; יתועזעו\* >metathesis with alteration of the >חטעזעו\* >further assimilation >ירעזעו. The verb is reflexive and has an intensive meaning, ‘to tremble, quake’ (cf. Hab. 2.7).<sup>19</sup> Tg. Isa. 28.16 also uses ירעזעון for יחיש in the MT.<sup>20</sup> Driver cites examples from the Akkadian cognate *hāšū*, which has the meaning ‘be agitated, disturbed’, as well as ‘hasten’. He infers that the Hebrew חוש, like *hāšū*, has

16. DJD: 26, 141.

17. Charlesworth 1996: 47.

18. McCarter 1986: 39.

19. BDB: 266.

20. Sperber 1962: 54.

preserved both meanings, and therefore translates *לֹא יִדְּוֵשׁ* as 'shall not be moved'. He prefers to read *יִדְּוֵשׁ* as a Qal rather than as a Hiphil.<sup>21</sup>

The word *יִסְוֹדוּתִיהוּ* has been written supralinearly over *וּבֹל*. There is also a *vacat* after *מִמְקוֹמָם*.

*מִעֵתָּה* is used here to describe the temple; cf. Ps. 26.8, 2 Chr. 36.15.

#### 1QS VIII:9

*רִיחַ נִיחֹחַ*: 'pleasing odour', as in Exod. 29.18, Num. 15.13, etc.; cf. 1QS III:11, IX:5, where the phrase occurs. The scribe has supralinearly inserted the word *רִיחַ*. *וּלְקָרִיב* is for *וּלְהִקְרִיב* with the omission by syncope of the *ה* of the Hiphil infinitive.<sup>22</sup> Cf. Lev. 1.3 for the sacrificial terminology.

*תַּמִּים וְאִמָּת*: cf. Jos. 24.14; Jdg. 9.16, 19; also 1QS V:6 for *לְבֵית הָאִמָּת*.

#### 1QS VIII:10

The scribe has erased the letter *מ* and has written *קו* supralinearly in *וְהָיוּ לְרִצּוֹן*; cf. CD XV:5.<sup>23</sup> There is also a supralinear insertion of *עוֹלָם בְּעַד הָאָרֶץ וְלִחְרוֹץ מִשְׁפַּט רִשְׁעָה* after *וְאִין עוֹלָה*, and also of the phrase *וְאִין עוֹלָה* after an erasure of a couple of words. Qimron has suggested that the supralinear text at this point originally read as *וְאִין עוֹלָה*, then *בְּתַמִּים דְּרַךְ* was erased and added after *שְׁנַתִּים יָמִים*, over-writing the original *יְבֻדְלוּ* where the *יב* was reworked and corrected to the *ב* of *בְּתַמִּים*. *יְבֻדְלוּ* was then inserted supralinearly at the beginning of the next line. He also maintains that this supralinear material is by a different hand.<sup>24</sup> Alexander and Vermes similarly place the insertion of *וְאִין עוֹלָה* after the reconstruction of *בְּתַמִּים דְּרַךְ* following *שְׁנַתִּים יָמִים* and read *וְאִין עוֹלָה* after the reconstruction of *וְאִין עוֹלָה*, translating, 'in perfection of way, without iniquity...'<sup>25</sup> Brownlee and Charlesworth take *וְאִין עוֹלָה* with the previous insertion and read *וְאִין עוֹלָה* after *וְאִין עוֹלָה*, translating, 'and to decree the condemnation of wickedness that there may be no wrong doing',<sup>26</sup> and Charlesworth, 'to decide judgement over wickedness; and there will be no more iniquity'.<sup>27</sup> So also Knibb renders, 'to determine the judgement of wickedness; and there shall be no more injustice'.<sup>28</sup>

21. Driver 1931: 253–54.

22. Qimron cites other examples of the omission of *ה* in the infinitive of some conjugations (cf. Qimron 1986: 48).

23. Brownlee 1951: 33.

24. Qimron 1994: 34.

25. DJD: 26, 106.

26. Brownlee 1951: 32.

27. Charlesworth 1994: 35.

28. Knibb 1987: 128.

Since there is a clear gap between the previous supralinear insertion and the insertion of *ואין עולה*,<sup>29</sup> as well as the presence of two cancellation dots<sup>29</sup> after *רשעה*,<sup>30</sup> which may indicate the erasure as well as the end of the insertion,<sup>30</sup> it would be difficult to justify reading the text as one continuous sentence; *contra* Brownlee and Charlesworth.<sup>31</sup> Brownlee argues that the original scribe wrote *יבדלו* at the end of line 10 but had carelessly omitted the two preceding words *בתמים דרך*. This was later inserted above the line at this point. By reason of its length, a longer insertion by a later scribe necessitated the erasure of *בתמים דרך* in order to prevent confusion. This scribe had erased *יבדלו* at the end of line 10, restored *בתמים דרך* to its proper position here in the line, and then rewrote *יבדלו* in its proper place above the first word of line 11. He therefore takes *ואין עולה* with the previous insertion rather than after *בתמים דרך* as indicated above. This lacks consistency because, if the scribe had erased the word *יבדלו* and wrote *בתמים דרך* in its place, then it is more likely that where he had erased *בתמים דרך* in the supralinear insertion he would have written *ואין עולה*, in which case it could be taken as a continuous insertion. Moreover, as Alexander and Vermes argue, these translations are difficult to justify and *ואין עולה* should be taken as a descriptive nominal clause, since syntactically it cannot express purpose or result (cf. IV:23 where this phrase also occurs).<sup>32</sup> This seems most probable and is followed in the text of line 10 set out above.

### C. Translation

1. In the council of the community (shall be) twelve men and three priests perfect in all that has been revealed from the whole
2. Torah, to do truth and righteousness and justice and kindly love and to walk humbly, a man with his neighbour,
3. to keep faithfulness in the land with a steadfast purpose<sup>33</sup> and a broken spirit, and to make amends for iniquity with the doers of justice
4. and (enduring the) distress of fiery testing, and to walk with everyone in the measure of truth and according to the rule of time. When these things will be in Israel
5. the council of the community will be established in truth *vacat* for an eternal planting, a house of holiness for Israel and a most holy assembly

29. Tov 1999: 240.

30. Wernberg-Møller 1957: 128.

31. Brownlee 1951: 33; Charlesworth 1994: 35.

32. DJD: 26, 106.

33. Cf. Isa. 26.3.



6. for Aaron, witnesses of truth for justice and chosen by (God's) pleasure to atone for the land and to repay
7. the wicked their recompense. *vacat* It is a tested wall, a precious cornerstone. *vacat*
8. Its foundations shall not shake or move from their place. *vacat* A most holy dwelling
9. for Aaron with eternal knowledge of the covenant of justice and in order to offer a pleasing <sup>fragrance</sup>, and a house of perfection and truth in Israel
10. to establish a covenant according to the eternal sta<sup>tu</sup>tes. And these will be pleasing to atone for the land and to decide firmly the judgement of wickedness {.....}. When these things will be established in the foundation of the community for two full years in an impeccable way, <sup>and without iniquity.</sup>...

*D. Commentary*

1QS VIII:1–10a can be divided as follows:

1. Introduction (VIII:1–4a)
2. The Community as the Eternal Planting and the Sanctuary (VIII:4b–10a)

*1. Introduction (VIII:1–4a)*

Lines 1–4a form a short introduction to this section, indicating the purpose and the nature of the group. There would be twelve men and three priests, making a group of fifteen as the **עצת היחוד**. It is debated among scholars whether the **עצת היחוד** referred to an 'inner council', or whether it referred to the whole community. It may have been used in this context in reference to an inner council, but the same designation is used elsewhere of the whole community (III:2; V:7; VI:13–14; VIII:11)<sup>34</sup>. Scholars like Baumgarten, Milik, and Cross believe that the fifteen are an inner council of leading members,<sup>35</sup> whereas others such as Leaney, Murphy-O'Connor, Schiffman, Knibb, Metso and Hempel believe that they denote the whole community.<sup>36</sup> In the light of the above-mentioned references this latter view seems more likely. The fifteen mentioned here represent the nascent community with the

34. Sutcliffe observes that **עצת היחוד** in 1QpHab XII:4 also signifies the community at large. However, in this passage the reference to the community is not explicit (Sutcliffe 1959a: 136).

35. Baumgarten holds that in 1QS VIII:1 the **עצת היחוד** refers to a select deliberative body even though the term is frequently used elsewhere for the sect as a whole (Baumgarten 1976: 59–78); cf. Milik 1959: 100; Cross 1995: 166–67.

36. Leaney 1966: 211; Murphy-O'Connor 1969: 529; Schiffman 1983: 25; Knibb 1987: 129; Metso 1997: 80; Hempel 1999b: 78.

required number of members to establish themselves as such.<sup>37</sup> The ‘twelve’ represent the tribes of Israel and the ‘three’ the three priestly clans (Num. 3.17). The group was thus symbolic of the ‘True Israel’.

The aim of the community was to prepare the way for God’s coming by withdrawing into the wilderness at Qumran, and by being perfect in respect of all that had been revealed to them in the Torah (lines 1–2, 13–14). Lines 2–3 are a reworking of Mic. 6.8, according to which the community were supposed to be doers of truth, righteousness, justice and kindly love, and to be walking humbly with *their neighbour*, rather than ‘with God’ as in Micah. The substitution of רעהו for אלהיך seems to have been done for theological reasons, and not just to reflect the reality of community life.

Similar considerations appear to have affected some of the ancient versions. The LXX reads *καὶ ἔτοιμον εἶναι τοῦ πορεύεσθαι μετὰ κυρίου θεοῦ σου*, meaning ‘be ready to go with the Lord your God’, and the Targum: ‘*You shall be modest by walking in the fear of your God*’ (בהלכא ברחלתא),<sup>38</sup> while the Peshitta translates ‘you shall be ready to go after (*bt*) your God’.<sup>39</sup> All three versions have difficulty with the idea of ‘walking with God’. The LXX uses *πορεύεσθαι* rather than *περιπατεῖν*, the word normally used for walking, as in Gen. 3.8, 10. In Gen. 5.22, the LXX also avoids ‘walking’ and reads *εὐηρέστησεν*, ‘pleased (God)’. The governing factor seems to be anti-anthropomorphism out of deference towards God, since humans may not be thought of as walking with God. A similar change is found in *Tg. Onq.* to Gen. 5.22: ‘*Enoch walked in the fear of the Lord*’ (ויתהלך תוך ודהליך תוך בדהלתא דיו), representing MT *את האלהים*. When used in relation to God, biblical expressions such as ‘walking with’ (Gen. 5.22), ‘walking after’ (Deut. 13.5), or ‘walking before’ (Gen. 24.40), are paraphrased by the targumist in terms of reverence or worship.<sup>40</sup> This is in line with rabbinic opinion in *b. Sof.* 14a.<sup>41</sup> ‘R. Hama son of R. Hanina further said: What means the text, *ye shall walk after the Lord your God*? Is it, then, possible for a human being to walk after the *Shechinah*; for has it not been said, *For the Lord Thy God is a devouring fire*? But [the meaning is] to walk after the attributes of the Holy One, blessed be He.’<sup>42</sup>

Further, in *m. Abot* 4.1, the tractate equates the need to honour fellow creatures with that of honouring God.

37. Hempel 1999b: 78.

38. Cathcart and Gordon 1989: 124; Sperber 1962: 448. Italics where the Targum differs from MT.

39. *Vetus Testamentum Syriace* III.4 1980: 52.

40. Grossfeld 1988: 51.

41. The word *רחלת* is inserted by the targumist whenever a human being is depicted as ‘walking with God’, as indicated in the example, or in the event of a human being forgetting God; cf. Deut. 6.12, 8.11, 14, 19 (Grossfeld 1988a: 29).

42. Klien 1985: *b. Sof.* 14a.

איזהו מוכבד? המכבד את הבריות שנאמר כי מכבדי אכבד<sup>43</sup>

Who is honoured? The one who honours (his) fellow creatures (humans), as it is said, 'For those who honour me (God), I will honour'.<sup>44</sup>

Honouring God can only be brought about by human beings conducting themselves in the world according to his commands.<sup>45</sup> Within the tractate, Ben Zoma quotes from the book of Samuel to remind Jews that Eli's sons were rebuked by God for dishonouring his name by treating the sacrifices and the worshippers with contempt. Honouring God therefore involved right relationships within society and thus with God himself.

In lines 3 and 6 of 1QS VIII the community is expected to honour God by atoning (כפר and רצון) for the sins of the people by practising justice. The shift from 'God' to 'neighbour' indicates a similar conception of honouring God within the context of human society and human relationships. Theological and practical considerations necessitate the change. The transcendent character of God was primary for the community and therefore anything that was thought to reduce God to the likeness of human beings was unacceptable. At the same time resentment within the ranks necessitated guidelines for right conduct between the members of the community.<sup>46</sup> Humility and faithfulness to God were meant to be their hall-mark. They were to walk according to these principles and according to the revelation which took place during divinely appointed times.<sup>47</sup>

## 2. *The community as the eternal planting and the sanctuary (VIII:4b–10a)*

After the initial period, the community was to be established in truth as an eternal planting and as a sanctuary (lit. house of holiness). The symbolic reference to the eternal planting indicates that the DSS community was to be a life-giving community. Apart from being a life-giving community, the DSS community were now fulfilling the role of 'True Israel' and they understood this to be the Lord's doing. Since the Lord had set them apart as the faithful remnant, they were expected to keep his commandments and walk in the truth so as to be the eternal planting.

The theme of the community as sanctuary is picked up in lines 5b–10a. It would be a 'house of holiness', that is, a 'sanctuary' or 'temple'.<sup>48</sup> Its members would constitute the true spiritual sanctuary, as opposed to the temple of Jerusalem which they considered defiled. Within the sanctuary formed by the community, the initiates were to atone for the iniquities of the

43. *m. Abot* 4.1; Blackman 1963: 516.

44. Quotation from 1 Sam. 2.30.

45. Lehman and Prins 1992: 276.

46. Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):14b–15.

47. Cf. 1QS I:9, III:10; Leaney 1966: 120.

48. Cf. 2 Chron. 3.8.

people of Israel by walking according to the truth (line 5) and by doing justice, but not by means of animal sacrifices (cf. 1QS IX:4–5). They were also to act as true witnesses in the judgement of the wicked and to pay them their just reward for their evil (lines 6–7). There is an allusion here to the action of Phinehas,<sup>49</sup> which is again picked up in line 9. Phinehas acts as an agent of judgement by spearing to death the Israelite man who has taken the Moabite woman into his tent, after which the divinely inflicted plague stops. Because of this act the Lord grants him a covenant of peace: ‘It shall be for him and for his descendants after him a covenant of perpetual priesthood (ברית כהנת עולם), because he was zealous for his God, and made atonement for the Israelites’ (Num. 25.13).<sup>50</sup>

It is recorded in the Psalms that the plague stopped because Phinehas interceded (ויפלל), and so it was ‘reckoned to him as righteousness from generation to generation for ever’ (Ps. 106.30–31). Ben Sira 45.23–24 (Heb.) highlights the zeal of Phinehas and adds further detail.

בגבורה [.....]	וגם פינחס [ן אלעזר
ויעמד בפרץ עמו:	בקנאו לאלודה כל
ויכפר על בני ישראל	אשר נדרבו לבו
ברית שלום לכלכל מקדש:	לכן גם לו הקים חק
כהנה גדולה עד עולם. <sup>51</sup>	אשר תהיה לו ולזרעו

Phinehas stood against his own people because in his heart he had freely offered to make atonement for the children of Israel. God had therefore established with him a ‘covenant of peace, to support the sanctuary’, which resulted in him and his descendants possessing the high priesthood forever.<sup>52</sup> The DSS community likewise associated its priesthood with judging the wicked and atoning for errant Israelites. The community indicates its knowledge of this covenant with Phinehas, which it describes here as the ‘covenant of justice’ (line 9). This covenant is invoked as the priests at Qumran are blessed by the Maskil: ‘[May he re]new the covenant of [eternal] priesthood for you’ (1Q28b III:26 [Rule of the Blessings]).<sup>53</sup> It was this covenant of perpetual priesthood that would be re-established within the DSS community.<sup>54</sup> Not only is the covenant with Phinehas known, but the founding of the community is likened to the re-establishment of God’s covenant with Israel at Sinai.<sup>55</sup> This section seems to conflate the covenant

49. Cf. Num. 25.1–13.

50. NRSV; cf. Ps. 106.30–31.

51. Beentjes 1997: 3, 81; In MSS B, E, F, and the Masada Scroll, the Hebrew text is arranged stichometrically, in two distinct columns with a clearly marked blank space between them.

52. Hayward 1996: 62–65.

53. García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: I, 107.

54. Knibb 1987: 132.

55. Knibb 1987: 132.

made at Sinai and the covenant with Phinehas (lines 9–10). In 1QS V:8–9 entry into the community necessitates an oath ‘to return to the law of Moses’. Here the covenant is understood as a continuation and a renewal of the Mosaic covenant.<sup>56</sup> The same idea is expressed in VIII:10 where the founding of the community is presented as the re-establishment of God’s covenant with Israel. However, in lines 9–10 the terms used (ברית עולם) seem to allude to the covenant made with Phinehas. This is then a variant of lines 6b–7a, repeating the idea that the community would atone for Israel as well as judge the wicked. Lines 7b–10 take up the idea of the DSS community as a spiritual temple, which will be dealt with in detail in Part Two.

## II. Plant Imagery

### A. The Eternal Planting – Doers of אמת צדקה ומשפט

The DSS community are seen to be doers of אמת וצדקה ומשפט. The same phrasing occurs in 1QS I:5 ולעשות אמת וצדקה ומשפט, and also in 1QS V:3–4 ולעשות אמת יחד וענה וצדקה ומשפט, as part of the rule which is set out for the functioning of the community. While lines 2–3 are dependent on Mic. 6.8, there are numerous nuances which have been worked in. The common word-pair צדקה ומשפט is not found in Mic. 6.8, where משפט occurs alone. However, the triplet אמת צדקה ומשפט occurs in Jer. 4.3, and the word-pair צדקה ומשפט occurs within the Hebrew Scriptures in the order צדקה ומשפט (5x: Gen. 18.19; Job 37.23; Ps. 33.5; Prov. 21.3; Isa. 58.2), as here, and numerous times in the reverse order משפט וצדקה (24x: 1 Kings 10.9; 1 Chron. 18.14; Isa. 33.5; Jer. 9.23; Ezek. 18.5; Amos 5.7, 24; 6.12, etc.). The reworking has also incorporated the additional word אמת and substituted רעהו for אלהיו. This reworking has possibly been done in order to deal with resentment in the ranks and disturbances within the community, giving rise to guidelines for right conduct between members of the community (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIII [V]:22b–32a) as well as for the theological reasons noted earlier.<sup>57</sup>

The eternal planting comes into existence ‘when these things will be in Israel’ (line 4). What do ‘these things’ refer to? Lines 1–4a show that ‘these things’ refers to the initial formation of the community consisting of both lay and priestly elements. The formation centres around keeping the Torah

56. Bockmuehl observes that in 4QS<sup>b,d</sup> the oath of entry into the עצת הדין (1QS V:7–9) is described primarily as a penitential act of returning to all that has been revealed to the men of the קודש from the Torah, whereas in 1QS this has become an act under public scrutiny of the community and an explicit oath (שבועת אסר). He also states that in 1QS it is set in a comprehensively commandment-oriented context (ככול אשר צודה) and in a more clericalized concept of community authority and interpretation than 4QS<sup>b,d</sup> (Bockmuehl 1998: 552).

57. See section I. D. 1. Introduction (VIII:1–4a) in this chapter.

and doing truth, justice and righteousness. These are the conditions laid out for the emergence of the eternal plant. The same phrase ‘these things’ occurs in *Tg. Hab. 2.4*, ‘Behold, *the wicked think that all these things are not so*, but the righteous shall live by the truth *of them*.’<sup>58</sup> Here the Targum compares and contrasts the attitudes of the wicked and the righteous with reference to the ‘things’ mentioned in vss. 2–4a, where the Lord speaks about the eschaton and the judgement of the wicked. So also *Tg. Isa. 28.16b*: ‘*and the righteous who believe in these things will not be shaken when trouble comes*’, for MT: ‘one who trusts will not panic’. *Tg. Hab. 2.4*, *Tg. Isa. 28.16* and 1QS VIII:4b all involve a retrospective reference in ‘these things’, where the righteous believe that what has been foretold about the eschaton will become a reality soon.<sup>59</sup> With this in mind the DSS community see themselves as a proleptic eschatological community, coming into being as an eternal plant at the occurrence of ‘these things’.

The association of the plant and righteousness is seen in *Jubilees* as well.<sup>60</sup> In *Jub. 21.23–24*, Abraham instructs Isaac to keep to the way of the Lord, so that the Lord would raise a ‘righteous plant’ from his descendants.<sup>61</sup> The raising up of the righteous plant is an initiative taken by the Lord, but there is the conditional element of keeping to the will and way of the Lord. The plant of righteousness is also found in *1 Enoch*, in the ‘Apocalypse of Weeks’ (93.1–10; 91.12–17). *1 Enoch 93.5* records that a man will be elected as the ‘plant of righteous judgement, and his posterity shall become the plant of righteousness for evermore.’<sup>62</sup> The ‘man’ is Abraham and the ‘plant’ is Israel, which will become a plant of righteousness in the future. This fits in neatly with the biblical account of the call of Abraham in *Gen. 18.19*:

כִּי יִדְעֹתֶיךָ לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא אֶת־בְּנֵיךָ וְאֶת־בֵּיתְךָ אֶתְרֵיךָ וְשִׁמְרֵךָ  
 דְרֹךְ יְהוָה לַעֲשׂוֹת צְדָקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט לְמַעַן תִּבְרָא יְהוָה עַל־אַבְרָהָם  
 אֶת־אֲשֶׁר־דָּבַר עִלְיָךְ:

לַעֲשׂוֹת צְדָקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט is the purpose for which God had called out Abraham and made a covenant with him. The promise of posterity, land and being a blessing to the nations is to be fulfilled only through Abraham’s and his descendants’ practising צְדָקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט.

This idea is reflected in *Jub. 36.3, 6* in the context of Isaac blessing Jacob and Esau: ‘do what is *right and just* on the earth so that the Lord may bring

58. Gordon 1989: 150–51.

59. The NT also picks up the same idea of ‘these things’ in *Mk 13.29*, referring to things just mentioned that will happen in the end times. So also in *Heb. 10.37–38* where the righteous are asked to persevere till the eschaton.

60. *Jubilees* is dated between 153 and 105 BCE, and so it is possible that the redactor of 1QS was aware of the text of *Jubilees* (Charles 1973: 6).

61. VanderKam 1989: 126.

62. Charles 1973: 263.

on you everything which the Lord said he would do for Abraham and his descendants ... so that he may make you numerous and increase your descendants in number like the stars of the sky and plant you in the earth as a *righteous plant* which will not be uprooted throughout all the history of eternity.<sup>63</sup> There is an element of permanence and blessing in the relationship between God and the descendants of Abraham represented by righteous Israel. This concept gives shape to the ideology of the DSS community, who were established by the Lord to be an eternal planting and who were now fulfilling the role of the renewed and recreated covenant community. The promise of being a blessing to the nations is now carried on by the DSS community when they keep the same ethical demands which were placed on Abraham.

There is a close connection between the metaphor of 'planting' and the practice of righteousness and justice in other biblical texts. In Isa. 5.7 what the Lord expects from his 'pleasant planting', Israel and Judah, is **מִשְׁפֵּט וצִדְקָה** but instead they had produced **מִשְׁפָּח וצִעֲקָה**, bloodshed and outcry, which involves a word-play on the original terms in the Hebrew. Similarly, in Isa. 61.1–3, where the Lord promises to restore the fortunes of Israel. The people of Israel will be called 'oaks of *righteousness*, the *planting* of the Lord (to display his glory)' (**אֵילֵי הַצִּדְקָה מִטַּע יְהוָה**).<sup>64</sup> There is a proclamation of transformation, and a reversal of fortune brought about by the Lord. A new name and status suggest a new nature and new potentialities.<sup>65</sup> There is a unique relationship between the Lord and Israel and the consequence of that relationship is righteousness and acknowledgment of the glory of God.<sup>66</sup> It is this ethos that the DSS community appropriate as they understand themselves to be the 'eternal plant'. There is a new beginning based on justice and righteousness as they lay out the programme for the new community which is about to come into existence.

### *B. The Eternal Planting – Eden and the Sanctuary*

The idea of the eternal plant is juxtaposed with the concept of the sanctuary in 1QS VIII. Lines 4b–5 state that the 'council of the community would be established in truth for an eternal planting, a house of holiness for Israel and a most holy assembly for Aaron'. The manner in which these two concepts have been juxtaposed indicates that the ideas of the eternal planting and the sanctuary overlapped in the author/redactor's mind, and was switching therefore between one metaphor and the other. A similar combination is seen in *Jub.* 1.16–17 where the Lord promises Israel: 'I will

63. VanderKam 1989: 237–38.

64. NRSV.

65. Motyer 1993: 501.

66. Tiller 1997: 315.

transform them into a *righteous plant* with all my mind and all my soul. They will become a blessing, not a curse: they will become the head, not the tail. I will build my *temple* among them and will live with them; I will become their God and they will become my true and righteous people.<sup>67</sup> *Jubilees* seems to be dependent on Jer. 32.41: 'I will rejoice in doing good to them, and I will *plant them* in this land in faithfulness, with all my heart and all my soul.'<sup>68</sup> While Jeremiah records that God will 'plant' Israel in the land, *Jubilees* combines the ideas of the Lord transforming Israel into a righteous plant and his building the sanctuary among them. It is this combination that 1QS has drawn on.

The 'eternal plant' seems to stand *per* synecdoche for the garden of Eden, which is equated with the sanctuary. The linking of Eden with the sanctuary is seen in the book of *Jubilees* and also in some sectarian documents. The Levitical laws for postpartum purification (Lev. 12.2–8), in order to participate in the cult, are explicitly connected in *Jub.* 3.8–14 with events in the life of Adam and Eve. In the first week Adam was created and in the second Eve was shown to him, and so the periods of impurity for a male or female child are justified on that basis: seven days for a male child and fourteen for a female. Adam was brought into Eden after forty days and Eve after eighty days, which were the numbers of days required for purification. The justification is that Eden 'is the holiest in the entire earth, and every tree which is planted in it is holy ... She is not to enter the sanctuary until the time when those days for a male or a female are completed'.<sup>69</sup> Whatever applies in the sanctuary is based on events that took place in Eden.<sup>70</sup>

This idea is picked up in 4QSD (4Q265) Frg. 7 II:11–16a:

In the first week [Adam was created, but he had nothing sacred (?) until] he was brought to the Garden of Eden. And a bone [of his bones was taken for the woman but nothing sacred (?)]<sup>71</sup> did she [ha]ve until she was brought to h̄im in the Garden of Eden after eighty days,] [for] the Garden of Eden is sacred and every young shoot which is in its midst is a consecrated thing. [Therefore a woman who bears a male] shall be impure seven days, as in the days of her menstruation shall she be impure, and th[irty-three] days shall she remain in the blood] of her purity.<sup>72</sup>

67. VanderKam 1989: 4–5.

68. NRSV.

69. VanderKam 1989: 17–18.

70. Brooke 1999: 294.

71. The phrases 'he had nothing sacred' (line 11) and 'nothing sacred' (line 12) are reconstructions by Baumgarten which are not found in *Jubilees*. He states that the context suggests that Adam was not immediately permitted something which he later had in the garden, presumably access to *sancta*, such as the fruit of the garden (DJD: 35, 72). Other scholars like García Martínez and Tigchelaar do not follow this reconstruction as there is no supporting textual evidence (García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: I, 549).

72. DJD: 35, 70–71.



The narrative appears to be a rewriting of Lev. 12.2–5, similar to that of *Jub.* 3.13–14, where the aetiology of the laws for postpartum purification of a new mother are drawn from the narrative of Adam and Eve and their entrance into the garden of Eden.<sup>73</sup> The entrances of Adam and Eve into Eden could be viewed as paradigmatic for the acceptance of newly born infants of either sex into the sacred sphere.<sup>74</sup> The purification period stipulated for the mother is applied to the child. The key statement is that ‘the garden of Eden is sacred and all its young shoots are sacred’. The law which applies to the sanctuary is transferred to the garden of Eden. Eshel has categorised this as Halakhic-Aetiological Exegesis.<sup>75</sup>

The connection between Eden and the sanctuary is also exhibited in *Jub.* 3.27. Here Adam offers incense in the garden, which anticipates the actions prescribed for the High Priest in Exod. 30.34–36.<sup>76</sup> *Jubilees* 8.19 is explicit in combining the motifs of the garden and the temple: ‘And Noah knew that the garden of Eden was the holy of holies and the dwelling of the Lord.’

We have already noted that the motif of the eternal planting and the Eden motif have been appropriated by the DSS community in the *Hodayot*.<sup>77</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII):4–26 is a poem dominated by the plant motif, with two references to Eden (lines 5 and 20). The eternal plant is watered by all the rivers in Eden (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV [VI]:16). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII) the DSS community attributes holiness to the entire garden including the trees and the rivers which are protected by ‘mighty warriors and holy spirits and a flashing flame of fire’ (lines 11–12), which indicates a closure of the gates of Eden. Ringgren notes that the new covenant implies the reopening of the gates of paradise and access to Eden.<sup>78</sup> This is reflected in *T. Levi* 18.10–11 in connection with the priestly Messiah ‘who will open the gates of paradise, and will remove the threatening sword against Adam, and will give the saints to eat from the tree of life’. Rev. 2.7 also describes the reversal of the expulsion of humankind from Eden: ‘To everyone who conquers, I will give permission to eat from the tree of life that is in the paradise of God.’<sup>79</sup> In Gen. 3.22 this is precisely the outcome feared by God, as a result of which humankind had to forfeit Eden; John shows that the judgement has now been reversed.<sup>80</sup> The imagery of the eternal plant enables 1QS to link a

73. Baumgarten 1994: 5.

74. DJD: 35, 60.

75. Eshel 1997: 9–10.

76. Brooke 1999: 294.

77. See Chapter 2: section IV. A on 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI (VIII) where the community sees itself as God’s plantation.

78. Ringgren 1961: 8–9.

79. NRSV.

80. Brown 2001: III, 139.

reference to the ideal world of Eden with a depiction of the community.<sup>81</sup> The concept of Eden acts as a prototype for the sanctuary.

In *Jubilees* the Lord promises to build the sanctuary in Israel's midst, whereas in 1QS the DSS community perceive themselves to be the sanctuary (line 5). This reflects the idea of paradise already regained. Yet, while the DSS community appropriate the text from *Jubilees*,<sup>82</sup> they do not consider themselves to be a purely eschatological community since they understand themselves to be the eternal plant proleptically fulfilling the role of the sanctuary.

The identification of the planting with Eden and the sanctuary may also be seen in 4Q500 Frg. 1. This is a fragment of about six lines in Herodian script which Baillet dates to the first half of the first century BCE.<sup>83</sup>

	ב[כ]איכה ינצו ן	.2
	י[קב תירושכה ]ב[נ]ני באבני ]	.3
	ל[שער מרום הקודש ]	.4
	מ[טעכה ופלגי כבודכה ב ]	.5
	כ[פות שעשועיכה ]	.6
	ו[כר]מכה	.7

2. ]may your [mulb]erry trees blossom and [
3. ]your winepress [bu]ilt with stones [
4. ] to the gate of the holy height [
5. ]your planting and the streams of your glory [
6. ]the branches of your delights [
7. [and] your [vine]yard.

Baumgarten identifies the biblical source for this fragment as the song about the Lord's vineyard in Isa. 5.1–7.<sup>84</sup> The vineyard had not only vines but a winepress built in it, as in Isa. 5.2 (וגם יקב חצב בו) (line 3). The delightful branches (כפות שעשועיכה) are derived from 'the planting of his delight' in Isa. 5.7 (נטע שעשועיו), which is a metaphor for the people of Judah/Israel as the vineyard. Baumgarten notes that all the second person suffixes refer to God, and so he reconstructs line 7 as ו[כר]מכה 'and your vineyard'. Tg. Isa. 5.2 sheds light on the identity of the tower and the wine press with a different interpretation. ובנית מקדשי בנייהון ואף מדבחי ייהבית לכפרא על חטאיהון<sup>85</sup> 'and I built my sanctuary in their midst,

81. Brooke 1999: 293.

82. Over fifteen copies of the book of *Jubilees* were found at Qumran. Only Psalms, Deuteronomy, Isaiah and Genesis are represented by more copies than *Jubilees* (VanderKam 1994b: 40).

83. DJD: 7, 78.

84. Baumgarten 1989: 1.

85. Sperber 1962: 9.

and I even gave my altar to atone for their sins',<sup>86</sup> representing MT יבן מגדל בו בתוכו וגם יקב חצב בו, 'he built a watchtower in the midst of it, and hewed out a wine vat in it'.<sup>87</sup> Elements of the vineyard are identified with the temple and the altar. The targumist interprets the tower as the sanctuary and the wine press built in it as the altar from which blood runs like flowing wine. This interpretation is also reflected in *t. Suk.* 3.15: יבן מגדל בתוכו זה היכל יקב חצב בו זה מבחב וגם יקב חצב זה השית<sup>88</sup> 'and he built a tower in its midst, this refers to the temple; and he dug a winepress in it, this refers to the altar; and also he dug a winepress in it, this refers to the channel'.<sup>89</sup> The winepress refers both to the altar and to the channel in which the blood flows away. This has echoes of Ezekiel 47 where rivers of living water flow from the threshold of the temple and bring life and healing to the nations. The text also has the phrases 'streams of your glory' and 'your planting' which allude to the garden of Eden. The planting, Eden and temple motifs are skilfully woven together in 4Q500, expressing hope of the flourishing of Israel, which the DSS community would have perceived as a reference to themselves. It is a small but significant link in the continuing chain of biblical and Second Temple traditions about the Lord's planting, his vineyard, which refers to the temple and alludes to the garden of Eden.<sup>90</sup>

### *C. Eternal Planting – Designation of the Righteous Throughout History*

Beginning with Noah and including Abraham, as noted above, the 'planting' is a biblical metaphor used to designate the righteous throughout history. This tradition can also be traced in the pseudepigraphical literature. In the book of *Enoch* the Lord sends a messenger to warn Noah about the oncoming deluge so that 'he may save his life and escape for all time; and from him a *plant shall be planted* and established for all generations for ever' (*1 Enoch* 10.3).<sup>91</sup> God also promises Noah that he will destroy all iniquity from the face of the earth after which 'the *plant of righteousness*' would appear and be a source of blessing for all through its deeds of righteousness (*1 Enoch* 10.16).<sup>92</sup> The descendants of Noah would be the righteous plant.

In *Jub.* 7.34, Noah addresses his children saying, 'Do what is just and

86. Chilton 1987: 10.

87. NRSV.

88. Lieberman 1962: 270.

89. Brooke 1995: 272.

90. Baumgarten 1989: 6.

91. Black 1985: 30.

92. Black 1985: 30.

right so that you may be rightly *planted* on the surface of the entire earth.<sup>93</sup> In *Jub.* 16.26 Abraham is seen in similar terms: ‘for he knew and ascertained that from him there would come a *righteous plant* for the history of eternity...’.<sup>94</sup> In *Jub.* 36.6 it is the descendants of Isaac whom God would plant in the earth as a ‘*righteous plant*’.<sup>95</sup>

In the Hebrew Bible, Isa. 5.7 records that the ‘vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel, and the people of Judah are his pleasant planting (צמח)’. In this passage the idea of the planting is collective. Also in Isa. 60.21, restored Israel will be the ‘shoot’ that the Lord plants; they will be righteous and possess the land forever. The metaphor of the planting expresses the relationship between God as the gardener and Israel, who is transformed and established as a righteous plant. Tiller initially states that the metaphor of the ‘eternal planting’ must be ‘understood as a designation for the righteous: either the righteous at the time of Noah, the nation of Israel, the righteous within Israel, or a particular community.’<sup>96</sup> But when he examines 1QS VIII:5 he states that the ‘eternal planting’ should be understood as a poetic name for the council of the community, and then later on as a title referring to a particular community in a series of titles found in VIII:4–7. However, despite his assertions, it is difficult to maintain that it is a title or a poetic name. It is, rather, a description of the community’s self-understanding and self-depiction.

The plant of righteousness in *Jubilees* is understood by Fujita as repentant Israel. He notes that although in other texts the plant is seen as the descendants of the ‘righteous forefathers’ (Noah, Abraham), in *Jub.* 1.16–17 it refers to an eschatological group of people who repent and turn to God.<sup>97</sup> 1QS does not indicate explicitly whether the DSS community considered themselves to be the descendants of the ‘righteous forefathers’, but they do seem to stand in the line of this tradition as they understood the lineage of the plant of righteousness to be based on God’s election of the righteous.<sup>98</sup>

The metaphor of the ‘eternal planting’ is not a new concept at Qumran but an existing biblical tradition. It describes the people of God as a plant – planted and rooted in the land of his choice in order to be righteous, by which means the surrounding nations would know the Lord. The DSS community appropriate this biblical tradition and apply it as a metaphorical self-designation rather than as a title. Tiller says that the use of the expression

93. VanderKam 1989: 48.

94. VanderKam 1989: 100.

95. VanderKam 1989: 238.

96. Tiller 1997: 313.

97. Fujita 1978: 39.

98. Cf. Fujita 1978: 34; 1QS XI:7.

'righteous plant' in *Jub.* 1.16, together with the idea that God will dwell in the midst of his people, should help us to understand the metaphor of the 'eternal plant'. He observes that the idea of the 'eternal plant' is an 'eschatological establishment' of the righteous survivors of the judgement. He states that it relates to a 'future age' of living together with God and to a 'future restoration' of the righteous. But he concludes that these ideas have been only partially assimilated and that the community was already participating in the 'heavenly angelic cult'.<sup>99</sup> The text indicates something which is in the present and that will be consummated in the future. The DSS community see themselves participating in the judgement of the wicked, and so the metaphor of the 'eternal plant' cannot refer purely to a post-judgement remnant (lines 6–7). On the contrary, the metaphor seems to represent a mixture of the righteous remnant idea and the idea of a new creation which the sectaries rework for their own situation, with both contemporary and eschatological implications.

### III. 1QS XI:7b–9a

#### *Introduction*

Plant imagery also occurs in 1QS XI:7b–9a, which belongs to the larger section of IX:26b–XI:22 comprising the Liturgical Calendar and the concluding hymn (X:9–XI:22).<sup>100</sup> Guilbert divides this hymn into three sections: (1) *Résolutions d'attitude personnelle* (X:9–XI:2); (2) *Le traitement divin des catégories d'hommes* (XI:2–15), and (3) *Bénédiction en forme d'action de grâces* (XI:15–22).<sup>101</sup> He identifies these divisions with the help of the formula *בני אנוכי* or *אנוכי*. 1QS XI:7b–9a falls into the category of '*Le traitement divin des catégories d'hommes*' concerning the people whom God had chosen. The following lines set out the imagery of the 'eternal plant':

#### A. Text – 1QS XI:7b–9a<sup>102</sup>

	7b
לאשר בחר אל נתנם לארוחת עולם וינחיו { } ם בגורל	
קדושים ועם בני שמים חבר סודם לעצת יחד יסוד <sup>103</sup> מבנית	8
קדש למטעת עולם עם כול	
קץ נדיה	9a

99. Tiller 1997: 328.

100. Guilbert 1959: 343.

101. Guilbert 1959: 343.

102. I follow Qimron's reading for this column unless stated otherwise (Qimron 1994: 48).

103. See textual notes.

## B. Textual Notes

1QS XI:7b

A letter has been erased and the ך written supralinearly in לאשר. 4Q258 XII Frg. 6 has a few letters of line 7: [ינחילם בגורל קדושים .....].<sup>104</sup>

בחר לאשר is *casus pendens* as it is resumed by the retrospective pronoun in נתנם. Wernberg-Møller states that this reading supports the reference to the following sequence about the eternal possession; cf. Gen. 17.8, 48.4; Lev. 25.34 for similar phraseology.<sup>105</sup> Scholars such as Brownlee and Tiller see that the antecedent of the suffix in נתנם is the gifts that have been bestowed on the DSS community, as listed in lines 6–7a.<sup>106</sup> I read נתנם with the meaning ‘placed them’.

בגורל – ב has a partitive significance.<sup>107</sup>

ם{?}: Supralinear insertion of ל over an erasure.

1QS XI:8

This line is not preserved in 4Q258 XII (Frg. 6). Wernberg-Møller suggests emending the text from וסוד מבנית קודש to וסודם בית קודש and translates ‘their assembly is a house of holiness’.<sup>108</sup> Brownlee also says that the Hebrew here does not make sense in whatever way it may be construed, and prefers to read וסודם followed by בנות, translating ‘their assembly will be in the Holy Abode’.<sup>109</sup> I read יסוד ‘foundation’, as ו and י are very similar in the script (cf. Exod. 29.12; Lev. 4.7, etc.), *contra* most scholars who read וסוד and translate by ‘assembly’ or ‘foundation’.<sup>110</sup>

## C. Translation

- 7b. To those whom God chose, he placed them as an eternal possession and caused them to inherit in the lot of the  
8. holy ones.<sup>111</sup> And he united their assembly with the sons of heaven to

104. DJD: 26, 127.

105. Wernberg-Møller 1957: 152.

106. Brownlee 1951: 45; Tiller 1997: 328.

107. GKC § 119m; Lohse 1964: 61.

108. Wernberg-Møller 1957: 43.

109. Brownlee states that the reference here is to the heavenly abode of angels and sanctified spirits (Brownlee 1951: 45).

110. Charlesworth 1996: 53; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: I, 96.

111. Angelic or celestial beings are referred to as the ‘holy ones’ in the following passages: Job 5.1, 15.15; Ps. 89.6,8; Zech. 14.5; Sir. 42.17; *T. Levi* 3.3; *Ps. of Sol.* 17.49 (Brownlee 1951: 45). However, in Dan. 7 and other texts the term seems to refer to God’s faithful people. See discussion in Chapter 2: section II. B. Community – Judging the Wicked.

- (be) the council of the community and the foundation of the building of holiness for an eternal planting through all  
9a. the ages that will be.

#### *D. Commentary*

##### *1. The heritage of the elect (7b–9a)*

The writer shows that God had chosen the DSS community to form the council of the community and had appointed them as an eternal possession. The community were now also to be part of the heavenly council. God had taken the initiative in choosing them as a faithful remnant and now, along with the angelic beings, they were to be the foundation for the building of holiness, which is the sanctuary. They would also be the eternal plant for ages to come. Tiller notes that a 'particular historical group of people within Israel are designated as the eternal planting because they also participate in the eschatological blessing of participation in heavenly activities with the angels.'<sup>112</sup>

### *IV. Plant Imagery*

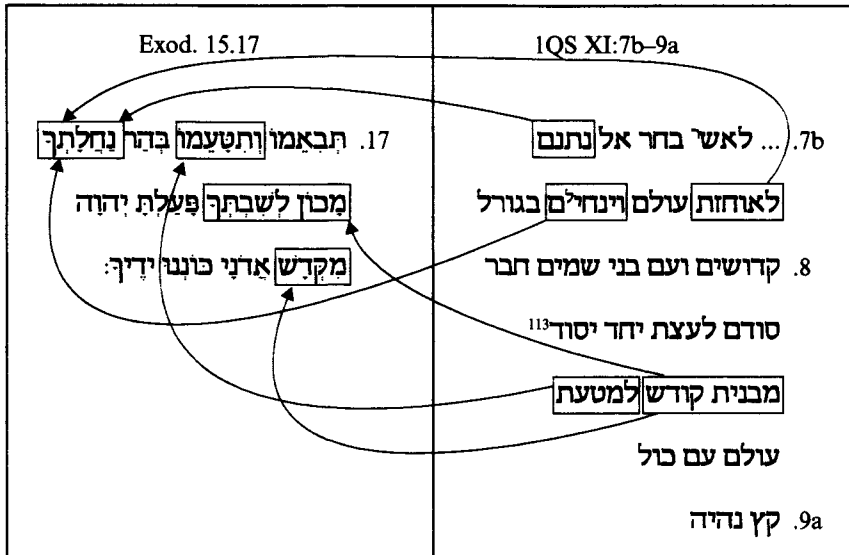
An important feature of this passage for our purposes is the combination of the motifs of the elect and the temple to refer to the DSS community.

#### *A. The Eternal Planting – The Elect and the Sanctuary*

The *motif* of the elect is present in lines 7b–9a. The following vocabulary indicates that the DSS community believed that they were the elect: בגורל, ובחירי העת, and לאנחות עולם, and וינחלים. These words are frequently used in the sectarian writings to describe the elect of God. Within 1QS we have כי אבם בחר אל לברית עולמים 'the men of God's lot' (II:2); 'For those whom God chose for an eternal covenant' (IV:22); ובבחירי העת 'the chosen ones of the period' (IX:14), לאשי בחר אל 'to whom God chose' (XI:7) and בגורל קדושים 'in the lot of the holy ones' (XI:7) in the current passage.

1QS XI:7b–9a shows some dependence on the Song of Moses recorded in Exod. 15.17:

112. Tiller 1997: 329.



Most of the motifs expressed in this verse are found in 1QS XI:7b-9a. The motif of being the Lord's planting represented by *ותטעמו* is expressed by *למטעת* in line 8. *נתנם* and *לאחוזת עולם* in line 7 correspond to *נחלתך*, indicating that they were the Lord's possession. *מבנית קדוש* in line 8 is parallel to *מקדש* and *מכון לשבתך*, by which they identified themselves as the Lord's sanctuary.<sup>114</sup> Both Israel and the DSS community were going to be the foundation for the dwelling place of God, the sanctuary. It was through the exodus event that Israel was redeemed to become the people of God. Whenever Israel's tradition of the redemption at the sea was recounted, the subsequent leading of the people into the land was seen as their entering into their inheritance (cf. Isa. 63.11-18; Ps. 78.53-54).<sup>115</sup> The exodus from Egypt, the desert wandering and the revelation of the law at Sinai were for the DSS community a paradigm of what would happen to them in the eschaton.<sup>116</sup> They acknowledge that it was the Lord who had redeemed them, but the concept of the community seems to have replaced the inheritance of the land. The purpose of the election of Israel was that she had a mission: to be a light to the nations around her. The election and the covenant were closely linked because loyalty to the covenant ensured that she would continue to fulfil the promise made to Abraham, and disobedience meant that they were a hindrance to that blessing being extended to others. The priesthood at Jerusalem, who should have ensured that the

113. See textual notes.

114. However, there is no verbal connection with Exod. 15.17.

115. Childs 1974: 251-52.

116. Schiffman 1989: 70.



covenant obligations were kept, were the ones who had defiled it (CD V:6–7; XX:23; 1QS V:19–20).<sup>117</sup>

It is in this context that the DSS community understood itself to be the ‘elect’ whom God had chosen and to whom he had given an eternal possession. They were now keeping the obligations of the covenant and therefore fulfilling the purpose of the elect. However, the DSS community differed from other Jewish groups in their view of election. The community understood its election as an election of individuals rather than of the nation of Israel, and they perceived themselves to be the restored Israel.<sup>118</sup> This is contrary to Second Temple expectation which hoped for a future re-establishment of Israel in which all Israel would be restored. The participation of other Israelites was only possible if they joined the community as individuals. Further, one could not be born into the sect. Entrants had to take an oath (1QS V:8).<sup>119</sup>

The motif of the elect as the sanctuary as well as the eternal plant is expressed in line 8. The DSS community saw itself as a ‘house of holiness for Israel’, as the ‘most holy assembly for Aaron’ (1QS VIII:5–6), and as a ‘most holy dwelling (מֵעוֹן) for Aaron’ (1QS VIII:8). The community was now fulfilling the role of the temple made up of both priestly and lay elements. מֵעוֹן refers to the dwelling place of God in Ps. 26.8 and 2 Chron. 36.15. It is this idea which the community incorporate as they understand that the dwelling of God is in their midst. 1QM XII:1–2 states that the multitude of the holy ones and the hosts of angels are in God’s glorious dwelling (מֵעוֹן). This idea is reflected in 1QS XI:8 where God has united their assembly with the sons of heaven so that they will be the foundation of the building of holiness as well as the eternal planting. As much as the angels were in the presence of God, they too were now in the presence of God.

This combination of the sanctuary motif and the elect motif is found in the book of *Enoch* and in Ezekiel 37. In *1 Enoch* righteous Jews are seen to be the righteous plant which will come after the evil period towards the end of time. In *1 Enoch* 93.2 there is a discourse concerning the ‘children of righteousness and the eternal elect sprung from the plant of righteousness and uprightness.’<sup>120</sup> This is also reflected in 4QEnoch<sup>s</sup> III:19–20: [ב...]י<sup>121</sup> מן נִצְבַת יִצְבַתֵּא [..], ‘...from the firmly planted planting’. God raises the elect to oppose the prevailing evil power. In 93.9–10 the seventh week is described as the time when a perverse generation would arise, and at

117. García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: I, 80–81, 556–57, 578–79.

118. Sanders 1977: 270.

119. Alexander suggests that physiognomy may have played a part in admitting members to the community, and possibly, in determining rank within it (Alexander 1996: 394).

120. Black 1985: 85.

121. יִצְבַתֵּא – emphatic n. m. s. with the meaning ‘firmly planted’ (Jastrow 1992: 588–89).

its close the 'elect shall be chosen, as witnesses to righteousness, from the eternal plant of righteousness'.<sup>122</sup> 4QEnoch<sup>8</sup> IV:12 has fragments of the same:

ויעם סופה יתבחרן בחירין לשהד {ה} י קשט מן נצבת קשט עלמא

[At its close] the ch[osen one]s [will] be chosen as witnesses to justice from the p[lant] of ever[last]ing justice'.<sup>123</sup> The righteous ones had been elected so that God would give them the full knowledge concerning the mystery of the universe at the eschaton, after which a new era of righteousness would be established. The redactor of 1QS states that wisdom, knowledge and prudence which had been hidden from others had been revealed to him.<sup>124</sup> So he and his community were a specially endowed people with knowledge of all the eschatological events. The book of *Enoch* also records that at the end of the eighth week the 'royal House of the Great One' would be built, in splendour, for all generations forever (*1 Enoch* 91.13).<sup>125</sup> Fragments of this section have also been found at Qumran.<sup>126</sup> 4QEnoch<sup>8</sup> IV:18: ויתבנא היכל ומלכות רבא ברבות זזה לכול דרי עלמין 'and there shall be built the [r]o[y]al Temple of the Great One, in His glorious splendour, for all generations forever'.<sup>127</sup> The building of the sanctuary is to be in the midst of the eternal dwelling place of the righteous. There is a synthesis of the motif of the 'eternal planting' and that of the sanctuary. In this there appears to be a significant influence of *1 Enoch* on 1QS XI. The DSS community perceived the land and the sanctuary to have been defiled, and so they saw themselves as the purified, proleptic sanctuary which atoned for the pollution of the land, experiencing the eschatological dwelling of God in their midst. They were the 'True Israel' whom God had elected to judge the perverse generation at Jerusalem and who were to usher in the new era of righteousness. They were the members of the new covenant and they now constituted the basis for the temple. Ezek. 37.26–28 points to the reality which was in their midst: 'I will make a covenant of peace with them; it shall be an everlasting covenant with them; and I will bless them and multiply them, and will set my sanctuary among them forevermore. My dwelling place shall be with them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Then the nations shall know that I the Lord sanctify Israel, when my sanctuary is among them forevermore'.<sup>128</sup>

122. Black 1985: 86.

123. Milik 1976: 265–66; cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: I, 444–45.

124. 1QS XI:5–6.

125. Black 1985: 86.

126. The Aramaic fragments amount to no more than 5% of the Ethiopic book, sometimes representing little more than an identifiable word or letter. Cf. review by Ullendorf and Knibb 1977: 601.

127. Milik 1976: 266–67; cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: I, 444–45.

128. NRSV.

The imagery of the eternal plant and the temple has paradisaical echoes drawn from Ezek. 47.12: 'On the banks, on both sides of the river, there will grow all kinds of trees for food (כל־עץ מאכל). Their leaves will not wither nor their fruit fail (ולא־ייתם פרייו), but they will bear fresh fruit every month, because the water for them flows from the sanctuary (מן־המקדש). Their fruit will be for food, and their leaves for healing.'<sup>129</sup>

In Ezekiel's vision of the new temple the river flows out from the sanctuary. The trees that are growing on either side of the banks of this river have eternal fruitfulness and would be used for food as well as for the healing of the nations. It is the river of paradise that the writer envisages, whose streams make glad the city of God (Ps. 46.4). The idea of a plant which is eternal is based on this paradise motif drawn by Ezekiel. In 1QS the writer sees the community fulfilling this role. They are the ones who would continuously bear fruit and bring healing to the nations. This is reflected in 1QS IV:6b–7 where the reward for those who walk in the truth will be 'healing, plentiful peace with a long life, fruitful offspring with all everlasting blessings, eternal joy with endless life, and a crown of glory with a garment of honour in eternal light'. Tiller states that there is nothing in the context to indicate what the internal meaning of the metaphor of the 'eternal planting' may be,<sup>130</sup> but looking at it from a wider context and with the immediate reference to the foundation of the building of holiness suggests one meaning. We may assume that they saw themselves as the true proleptic temple and also as the eternal plant which would bring blessing and healing to the nations. The paradox of the imagery of the plant is that the plant is something which grows and then dies, but here it is seen as a plant which lives forever.

129. NRSV.

130. Tiller 1997: 329.

## Chapter 4

### PLANT IMAGERY IN THE DAMASCUS DOCUMENT

#### *Introduction*

Two medieval Hebrew manuscripts of the Damascus Document (CD, Cairo: Damascus Document) along with other MSS were found in the store-room of a synagogue in Old Cairo at the end of the nineteenth century referred to as MS A and MS B. MS A is longer and older, contains sixteen pages, and is dated to the tenth century CE. MS B is dated from the twelfth century CE and is made up of two pages<sup>1</sup> containing a different version of pages 7–8 of MS A, as well as additional material which constitutes the end of the Admonition as known from the Cairo text and laws. Fragments of the Damascus Document (D) were also found at Qumran in Caves 4, 5, and 6 (4QD, 5QD, 6QD). 5QD and 6QD contain small amounts of text and were published by Milik and Baillet in 1962.<sup>2</sup> However, Cave 4 yielded eight MSS of D, 4QD<sup>a-b</sup> and 4QDpap<sup>h</sup> (4Q266–273), which were published in 1996 by Baumgarten on the basis of transcriptions by Milik.<sup>3</sup>

Hempel notes that 4QD<sup>a-c</sup> (4Q266–268) provide a substantial amount of additional text to the beginning of CD I, approximately one column of about 24–25 lines.<sup>4</sup> The prologue begins '[The elaboration of the laws by the Sage for the s]ons of Light to keep away from the way[s of wickedness]'...<sup>5</sup> Within this prologue there is an admonition beginning at 4QD<sup>a</sup> (4Q266) Frg. 1a–b:5 with the words, '[And now hearken] unto me and I will make known to you...'<sup>6</sup> Vermes notes that the context is eschatological and alludes to a revelation by God to those 'who search His commandments and walk in the perfection of way'.<sup>7</sup> The 4Q MSS have enabled scholars to confirm that

1. Hempel 1998: 1. The original editor of the document marked these two as pages 19–20.
2. DJD: 3, 128–31, 181.
3. DJD: 18.
4. Hempel 2000a: 27.
5. Baumgarten tentatively reconstructs the opening line based on 4QS<sup>d</sup>, which similarly opens with these three elements: the nature of the work; the title of the teacher; and the intended audience, מדרש למשכיל על אנשי התורה המתנבאים, cf. 4Q298 Frg. 1 I:1. DJD: 18, 32.
6. DJD: 18, 32.
7. Vermes 1997: 145.

the Laws were an integral part of the document. The essential character of CD is that of an elaboration of laws with a hortatory preface and conclusion.<sup>8</sup>

The preliminary admonition (4QD<sup>a</sup> [4Q266] Frgs. 1a–b:1–5a) and the first description of the origins of a movement (CD I:1–II:1; 4QD<sup>a</sup> [4Q266] Frg. 2 I:6b–24; 4QD<sup>c</sup> [4Q268] Frg. 1:9–17) set the stage for the rest of the document. Plant imagery occurs in the opening paragraph of CD in the Admonition section found in CD I:5b–8a.

I. CD I:5b–8a;<sup>9</sup> 4QD<sup>a</sup> (4Q266) Frg. 2 I:10–12; 4QD<sup>c</sup> (4Q268)  
Frg. 1:12b–15a

A. Text – CD I: 5b–8a

.5b ובקץ חרון שנים שלוש מאות  
.6 ותשעים לתיתו אותם ביד נבוכדנאצר מלך בבל  
.7 פקדם ויצמח מישראל ומאהרון שרש מטעת לירוש  
.8a את ארצו ולדשן בטוב אדמתו

B. Textual Notes

CD 1:6

ליתו Plene spelling with the additional י in CD-A as well as the ת which has a *dagesh forte* in it.<sup>10</sup> ל is translated ‘after’ following Jeremias<sup>11</sup> and Knibb<sup>12</sup> *contra* Rabinowitz<sup>13</sup> and others.

CD I:7

4QD<sup>a</sup> (4Q266) Frg. 2 I:11b–12a has ומא[הרון]ל ומא[הרון]ן  
שור[ש מטעת לירוש]

4QD<sup>c</sup> (4Q268) Frg. 1:14 has ומאה[רון]ן ומאה[רון]ן  
ש[ורש מטעת לירוש]

פקדם ויצמח: There is a semantic connection between the verb פקד and the sprouting of the planting. פקד usually indicates the involvement of God’s special favour upon his people: Joseph make his brothers swear that they would take his bones from Egypt to Israel when God would visit them (פקד יפקד Gen. 50.25); the terms of the oath were fulfilled by Moses when God eventually visits them.

8. Baumgarten DJD: 18, 7.

9. I follow the reading of Qimron for this column unless otherwise stated (Qimron 1992: 11).

10. GKC § 66i.

11. Jeremias 1962: 153–54, 158.

12. Knibb 1983: 113.

13. Rabinowitz 1954: 14.

(פקד יפקד Exod. 13.19). So also in Ben Sira פקד is a sign of God's favour when the temple was visited and strengthened during the high priesthood of Simeon.<sup>14</sup>

CD I:8

ולדשן: By elision for וּלְהַדְשֵׁן<sup>15</sup>

4QD<sup>a</sup> (4Q266) Frg. 2 I:12b has אנת ארצן ולדשן בטוב אדמתו

4QD<sup>c</sup> (4Q268) Frg. 1:15a has את ארצו ולדשן בטוב אדמתו

### C. Translation

- 5b. And at the end of (his) anger, three hundred and
6. ninety years after giving them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon,
7. he visited them and he caused to sprout a root of planting from Israel and Aaron to take possession of
- 8a. his land and to be fat in the goodness of his ground.

### D. Commentary

1. *Origins of the community* CD I:5–8a; 4QD<sup>a</sup> (4Q266) Frg. 2 I:10b–12; 4QD<sup>c</sup> (4Q268) Frg. 1 I:12b–15a.

Since plant imagery occurs in the section CD I:1–II:1, the wider context is discussed before dealing with it specifically. CD I:1 marks the beginning of MS A from the Cairo Genizah. Both 4QD<sup>a</sup> Frg. 2 I:6 and 4QD<sup>c</sup> I:8–9 leave a blank space before starting with the opening words of CD I:1, thereby indicating this to be a new section. It begins with a call to the community to listen (lines 1–2). The call is to the faithful ones who 'know justice and understand the actions of God', reminding them that God has a case against all those who have spurned him. The main concern of the author of CD is with God's judgement during the DSS community's own time.<sup>16</sup>

Following the call to attention and the announcement that God has a dispute with all flesh, lines 3–11a contain a description of the unfaithfulness of Israel, God's judgement upon them, and the preservation of a remnant. The author of CD reports that God has hidden his face from Israel and from his sanctuary (line 3). This has been taken from Ezek. 39.23 where the Lord states that he hid his face from Israel and gave them into the hands of their adversaries because they had dealt treacherously with him. The

14. Hayward 1996: 47.

15. Lohse 1964: 66.

16. Knibb 1987: 19.

allusion in CD I:3 is to events after the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple in 587 BCE.<sup>17</sup> According to the author of CD, God remembered his covenant with the ancestors and saved a remnant. Three hundred and ninety years after they were taken into exile by Nebuchadnezzar, God raised up 'a root of planting' in order to possess the land. It is from the surviving remnant of the exile that God raises his 'planting'. The beginnings of the movement are attributed to the intervention of God. The figure of 390 years is taken from Ezek. 4.5. If the date is taken from 587 BCE then it brings us to the early second century BCE which seems to be the likely period for the beginning of the DSS community. The author of the Damascus Document draws on this 390-year tradition and is in effect saying that the origin of the DSS community marks the end of Israel's punishment. Knibb notes that the intention of the author was not to give us a chronological sequence of events as much as to make a theological point linking the beginnings of the movement with the ending of Israel's exile.<sup>18</sup> Hempel notes that the origins of the community are depicted in this account in a two-stage process: lines 3–9a describe the emergence of a pious movement three hundred and ninety years after the fall of Jerusalem, while lines 9b–11a mark a second phase with the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness after a period of twenty years, a pivotal moment in the emergence of the community.<sup>19</sup> She further argues that lines 9b–11a are a piece of propaganda by the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness.

Lines 7–10a reflect God's initiative in visiting Israel and causing a 'root of planting' to sprout from them. The clause *שורש מטעת לירוש את ארצו* has been drawn from Isa. 60.21: *יירשו ארץ נצר מטעי*.<sup>20</sup> The order of words has been changed and *נצר* is replaced by *שורש*. There is also evidence of some assonance between *שורש* and *לירוש*. Ben Sira is similarly influenced by Isa. 60.21 and 61.3 as he compares Simon's sons with cedar trees, imagery deriving from Ps. 92.12–14 where there is mention of the righteous and those planted in the house of the Lord.<sup>21</sup> This again provides evidence for traditional exegesis, understanding that the righteous people of God were a planting. The visitation of God probably took the form of a specific event but the text gives us no indication as to what it could have been. Knibb maintains that the symbolic language refers to the appearance of a reform movement amongst Jews in Palestine which marked the beginning of the Essene sect.<sup>22</sup> However, based on the given text the only certainty is that

17. Cf. Lam. 2.7; Ezek. 8.8, 10.18–19, 11.22–23 for the idea of God abandoning his sanctuary.

18. Knibb 1987: 20.

19. Hempel 1999a: 321.

20. Reading *יירשו ארץ נצר מטעי* with 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>.

21. Hayward 1996: 6.

22. Knibb 1987: 21.

God was raising up a group of people as the ‘root of planting’ in order that they might possess the land. The movement was to benefit from the blessings of God upon the land (line 8). They were also marked by a recognition of sin and guilt, and experienced a period of wandering for twenty years without a clear notion of what God required of them. Because of this, God was pleased with their sincere seeking and therefore raised a Teacher of Righteousness to lead them and teach them God’s ways (line 11).

## II. Plant Imagery

### A. Root of the Planting – The Post-Exilic Remnant?

CD I:5b begins, ‘And at the end of (his) anger, three hundred and ninety years after giving them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, he visited them and caused to sprout a root of planting from Israel and Aaron’. What do the 390 years refer to? Who are the ‘root of planting’ that God raises up? As noted earlier, the period of 390 years has been taken from Ezek. 4.4–5: ‘Then lie on your left side, and place the punishment of the house of Israel upon it: you shall bear the punishment for the number of the days that you will lie there. For I assign to you a number of days, three hundred and ninety days, equal to the number of the years of their punishment; and so you shall bear the punishment of the house of Israel.’ In the biblical text this three hundred and ninety day period is assigned to the northern kingdom, Israel,<sup>23</sup> while the following verse about lying forty days on the right side indicates forty years of punishment for Judah. If the 390 years were the period of punishment, when did it start and when did it finish? Calculating the time from the accession of Solomon in 975 BCE until the fall of Jerusalem in 587 BCE gives a period of 388 years. But the problem is with the *terminus a quo*: Solomon’s accession to the throne bears no relation to any exile or period of punishment. Should it not rather be taken from the Assyrian conquest of the northern kingdom of Israel and the diaspora in 722–21 BCE? It appears that the author of the LXX notices the problem and attempts to smooth it out. The LXX has 190 days instead of 390 days for the punishment of Israel, and retains the 40 day period of punishment for Judah. The LXX has *καὶ ἐγὼ δέδωκά σοι τὰς δύο<sup>24</sup> ἀδικίας αὐτῶν εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἡμερῶν ἐνεήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας καὶ λήμψῃ τὰς ἀδικίας*

23. Zimmerli comments that the reference to the prophet’s bearing of guilt has undergone a scribal interpretation. The פסוק in v. 4 could be construed as ‘the number of days which you lie = as long as you lie’. V. 5, however, shows a clear interest in the reckoning of the guilt and a correspondence between the scale of the guilt and the length of the punishment: 390 days for 390 years. The LXX, however, reads 190 days. Cf. Num. 14.34 for a similar equation (Zimmerli 1979: 165).

24. Missing in some MSS.



τοῦ οἴκου Ἰσραηλ. The 190 days probably take into consideration only a 150-year time span difference between the punishment of Israel and Judah, with the northern kingdom coming to an end politically 150 years before the southern kingdom (from the time of the subservience of Menahem to Assyria in 738 BCE until 587 BCE).<sup>25</sup> The 40 years of punishment allotted to Judah is understood by the LXX to be common to both Judah and Israel from 587 BCE onwards. The Targum finds the 390 years intimidating and therefore mitigates the sentence by reducing it by half: 'I have imposed<sup>26</sup> upon you *double for* (על חר תרין)<sup>27</sup> their sins; according to the number of days, three hundred and ninety days you shall bear the sins of the House of Israel.'<sup>28</sup> However, the author of CD transfers what is written about the northern kingdom to the southern kingdom and talks about God handing the latter over to Nebuchadnezzar. The origins of the Qumran movement is dated to 390 years after the fall of Jerusalem.

Knibb observes that there is a distinct assumption in CD as well as in other intertestamental literature that Israel remained in a state of exile long after the return in the last decades of the sixth century.<sup>29</sup> The emergence of the DSS community actually marks the end of the exile for Qumranians. This in turn was to be the immediate prelude to the final judgement and the beginning of the messianic era.<sup>30</sup> Similar views about an on-going exile in other intertestamental literature are identified by N.T. Wright.<sup>31</sup> This idea of a continuing exile is not represented in the biblical tradition. In Deutero-Isaiah the prophet is asked to proclaim to Israel 'that her hard service has been completed, that her sin has been paid for, that she has received from the Lord's hand double for all her sins'.<sup>32</sup> Even if the return from exile did not bring with it the fulfilment of the glorious promises of the prophets, people had returned, and so there was an awareness that a return from exile had already taken place. Bryan argues that the view that Judah was in exile during the Second Temple period should be seen as another 'paradigm' and motif for understanding the nation's situation and not as an

25. Zimmerli 1979: 167.

26. Lit. 'given'.

27. Cf. LXX δύο in some MSS.

28. The Hebrew שְׁנַי 'years of' is taken as a number, 'two'. The Aramaic expression על חר תרין lit. 'two for one' translated 'double', is how the *Tg.* translates כפליים in Isa. 40.2. It is possible that the targumist relates the Ezekiel passage to Isa. 40.2 (Levey 1987: 27).

29. Knibb 1987: 20. Wright also observes that the perception that Israel had returned to the land but was still in the 'exile' of slavery under the oppression of foreign overlords was shared by writers across the board in Second Temple Judaism. He cites CD I:3–11 to support his case (Wright 1992: 269).

30. Knibb 1976: 263.

31. Wright 1992: 268–70.

32. Isa. 40.2.

'invariable aspect of Israel's ongoing self-awareness'.<sup>33</sup> This is in line with Knibb's analysis of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*,<sup>34</sup> that is, that a historical understanding of the exile is more or less abandoned and that only a theological interpretation of events exists. The theological scheme employed in the testaments explains the fact that the Jews were scattered in the dispersion and looks for the eschatological intervention of God to bring the people back into the land.<sup>35</sup>

Similarly, Ackroyd points out that in Dan. 9.24 the seventy year period is taken as 'weeks of years' and so it is, in effect, an exile lasting 490 years from the fall of Jerusalem to the restoration under Judas Maccabaeus, taking us well beyond the sixth century. Here the exile is no longer a historic event to be dated to one period but is understood as being a lasting condition from which only the final age will bring release.<sup>36</sup> That complete fulfilment did not take place was mainly due to the people's lapsing into sin following the return, rather than to the perception that no restoration had taken place and that the historical exile had not in any sense ended. Wright cites Neh. 9.36 to support the notion of the continuation of the exile.<sup>37</sup> McConville and Koch, on the other hand, show that a partially realised eschatology is at work in Ezra-Nehemiah. There is a mood of thankfulness in Ezra 1.1 that Jeremiah's prophecy<sup>38</sup> has been fulfilled in the return from exile, together with the feeling that the present circumstances do not represent God's full purposes for the returning community. McConville shows that the prayer of Ezra uses motifs from Jeremiah 31 and Isaiah 40–66 in ways which are both overlapping and complementary, in order to express the idea that the exiles' current situation was a stage in the ultimate fulfilment of prophecy.<sup>39</sup> Collins and Knibb cite texts from *Jubilees* to reflect the perception that the exile was ongoing in the view of most Jews of this period.<sup>40</sup> Bryan counters this argument by citing *Jub.* 23.13 and 22 where the significance of the exile has been reduced. Captivity is one of a litany of curses meted out to the 'evil generation' by a plurality of nations, and this recalls Deuteronomy 32 where

33. Bryan 2002: 20.

34. The testaments in their pre-Christian form date very probably from some time during the 2nd century BCE (Knibb 1976: 265).

35. Knibb 1976: 265–66.

36. Ackroyd 1968: 242.

37. Wright 1992: 269.

38. Williamson comments that the prophecy of Jeremiah in Ezra 1.1 has been generally misunderstood by commentators as a reference to such passages as Jer. 25. 11–12 and 29.10. He states that Jeremiah 51 needs to be taken into consideration as it is a prediction of the fall of Babylon (Williamson 1985: 9–10).

39. Koch 1974: 184; McConville 1986: 222.

40. Collins 1984: 60. Cf. *Jub.* 1.5–18; Knibb 1989: 7–11.

exile is one of the many curses for disobedience.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, it is difficult to imagine that, in the light of the Hasmonean victories, people still widely perceived themselves to be in exile.<sup>42</sup> In spite of this, the observation of Knibb, Collins and Wright that some of the intertestamental literature indicates that the 'idea' that the exile did not end cannot be denied. The only explanation is that, although bound to the historical reality of the exile in the sixth century, the exile *as such* had become the symbol of a period when people encountered great difficulties, viewed not only in terms of punishment but also with the hope of restoration.<sup>43</sup>

If the idea of a continuing exile cannot be maintained within the traditions of the Hebrew Bible, how does the author of CD understand this period of 390 years? He calculates the 390 years from the destruction of the temple in 587 BCE and informs his readers that the origins of the community are, in effect, the beginning of the second century BCE. He considers the period before the rise of the community as a period when Israel persisted in sin and were therefore still under God's anger even though they had returned to the land of their ancestors from which God had driven them out. This is in line with the information in Ezra-Nehemiah. Neh. 9.36 states that the Israelites were slaves in the land which God had given to their ancestors to enjoy its fruit and its good gifts. Nehemiah then says 'Its rich yield goes to the kings whom you have set over us because of our sins ... we are in distress.'<sup>44</sup> So, although they had returned to the land after the exile had ended, they were still in a state of servitude.

Similarly, in the prayer of Ezra 9, McConville notes links between past and present sin, and between past and present punishment (vss. 6–7). He states that Ezra 9.8–9 describes the post-exilic community's situation as one of 'qualified privilege'. Favour has been shown to them for a 'brief moment' (במעט ררגע), and a 'little reviving' (מחיה מעט) has been granted in their bondage. The use of מעט shows the restriction upon the favours described. The Lord has shown his mercy to the exiles before their overlords, but this

41. Bryan 2002: 17.

42. Rajak argues that the Hasmoneans were not any more free than their predecessors. The arrangement of the office of the high priest was a re-invention of the old office and enhanced in the post-exilic period in which the high priest was anointed with oil. This was a new practice allowed by the Selucids when handling their subject aristocracies. The high priesthood traditions from the First Temple were taken and reworked to suit the requirements of the second. Such restated 'native' traditions were more powerful than any external influences in shaping the way Hasmonean rulers could present themselves, thereby suggesting an aura of freedom (Rajak 1996: 103). This ideology of freedom is present during the Second Temple period especially in the light of the Hasmonean victories. As far as the DSS community is concerned the exile is understood to have come to an end with the formation of the community.

43. Ackroyd 1968: 242.

44. NRSV.

does not completely change their situation. The situation of the exiles could have been worse (cf. Ezra 9.13), or could have been better. Its ambiguity is explained as a punishment for their sinfulness; the instrument of that punishment being Persia, to whom they are in bondage.<sup>45</sup> McConville observes that the role of Persia in Ezra-Nehemiah is similar to that of Assyria in Isaiah 10. Assyria, despite her own claims, is portrayed as an instrument in the hands of the Lord. Ezra 6.22 records that 'the Lord had made them joyful and had turned the heart of the king of Assyria to them', where Persia is identified with Assyria.<sup>46</sup> The Ezra-Nehemiah generation are certain that the exile has ended even though all the promises of restoration by the prophets have not come to pass.

In CD, the author sees the 390 years as a period of God's punishment. Even though the post-exilic remnant had returned to the land, Israel had persisted in sin and so they were subjugated under various rulers during the time from Nebuchadnezzar right up to the start of the second century BCE. All the rulers who subjugated them seem to be encapsulated in Nebuchadnezzar, who is taken to be a symbol of subjugation. The DSS community traces its ideological roots to the Babylonian exile, since when the rest of Israel has been in error and subject to divine wrath. Whether its historical roots lie there is not certain.<sup>47</sup> But it is in this context of disobedience that the 'root of the planting' is raised to bring that fulfilled restoration which they were longing for. They see themselves as the 'root of the planting', a part of the post-exilic remnant, a community which has been raised by God to bring his promises to the prophets to fruition. They were going to be the instruments who would bring in the dawn of the eschaton when the partial fulfilment would be complete.

#### *B. Root of the Planting – An Inheriting Remnant*

God had raised the root of the planting from Israel and from Aaron לירוש ארמון. The remnant raised from 'Israel and Aaron' refers to the laity and priests of which the DSS community was comprised.<sup>48</sup>

45. McConville 1986: 209–10.

46. McConville 1986: 210.

47. Murphy-O'Connor argues that the 'returnees of Israel who went out of the land of Judah and were exiled in the land of Damascus' (CD VI:5) actually refers to the Babylonian exile. He states that the answer is indicated by the historical summary of CD II:18–III:12 which culminates with the exile to Babylon. Among those who survived that catastrophe God had made a covenant forever, revealing to them the hidden things in which all Israel had strayed (CD III:13–14). This covenant, he says, can only be 'the new covenant in the land of Damascus' (CD VI:19; XIX:33–34). 'Damascus', therefore, is seen as a symbolic name for Babylon (Murphy-O'Connor 1974: 220–21).

48. Cf. CD VI:2b–3a; 1QS V:6, VIII:5b–6a.

Davies states that the historical review in the passage (CD I:1–12) represents a ריב which God brings against Israel. The turning away of God's face, his giving them to Nebuchadnezzar, the leaving of a remnant and the raising up of the 'root of the planting' to return to the land and to inherit it are all part of the ריב – a natural outcome of the covenant being broken because of Israel's transgression.<sup>49</sup> The turning away of God's face comes from Ezek. 39.23: 'The nations will know that the house of Israel went into exile for their sin (כי בעונם גלו) because of their unfaithfulness against me (מעלויבי), and I hid my face from them (ואסתר פני מהם)<sup>50</sup> and I gave them into the hand of their adversaries and all of them fell by the sword.' The sins and the punishment associated with this ריב are not yet something of the past.<sup>51</sup> The ריב is seen as a process which commenced with God turning away his face when Judah went into exile, but still continued even after the return to the land because of their spurning of him (line 2). A similar reference to God turning away his face is seen in another account of the origin of the community in CD II:8b: [...יִסְתֵר אֶת פְּנֵיו מִן הָאָרֶץ מִיָּמֵינוּ] עד תוֹמָם, 'And he hid his face from the land, from... until their end.' It was at this time, when Israel persisted in sin, and when God turned away his face from them, that the DSS community came into existence.

The DSS community saw themselves as the remnant whom God had raised up in order that they might inherit the land. The belief is then qualified by the explanation 'to be fat in the goodness of his ground'. CD:11–12a has: ובכולם הקים לו קריאי שם למען התיר פליטה לארץ ולמלא פני תבל ומזרעם<sup>52</sup>, 'And amongst all of them he raised for himself renowned ones in order to leave a remnant of survivors for the land and to fill the face of the earth with their descendants.'<sup>53</sup> This line is a conglomeration of Isa. 27.6 ובכולם הקים לו קריאי שם למען התיר פליטה, where תנובה has been replaced by מזרעם, and Isa. 37.31–32 where שארית has been substituted by התיר. פליטה is taken from v. 32. Inheriting the land and filling the earth have echoes of the covenant with Abraham.<sup>54</sup> In *Jub.* 19.21 we have similar phraseology where Abraham says of Jacob that 'he will be blessed forever and his descendants will fill the entire earth'.<sup>55</sup> However, the present reality did not reflect that promise of blessing. Since the time the temple had been destroyed and the Jews had been taken into exile there was always a dream of a future restoration of the temple, the cult and the people of God.<sup>56</sup> The DSS community saw the

49. Davies 1983:66.

50. Cf. Mic. 3.4.

51. Davies 1983:66.

52. CD-A has הוֹתִיר which Qimron proposes to read as הוֹתִיר (Qimron 1992: 13).

53. Hempel's translation (Hempel 1999: 322).

54. Cf. Genesis 15.

55. Vanderkam 1989: 114.

56. Cf. Chapter 2: section II. A. Eternal Plant – A Righteous Remnant.

origin of their community as the beginning of the restoration of the people of God. They had separated themselves from mainstream Jewish society and were involved in an 'ideational struggle' over the exclusive right to represent legitimately the 'True Israel'.<sup>57</sup> As the 'True Israel' or inheriting remnant, their theological self-understanding oscillated between a highly idealised concept of the historical biblical Israel and a 'utopian vision' of a future historical world which would represent a glorified restoration of the past.<sup>58</sup> They had interpreted the 390 years as a literal figure and were therefore hoping that Israel's fortunes would be restored in the immediate future, culminating in the re-establishment of the Jerusalem Temple.<sup>59</sup>

In chapter 3 parallels with the 'elect' and the remnant in the book of *Enoch* were discussed.<sup>60</sup> In the Enochic Apocalypse of Weeks<sup>61</sup> the entire history of the world is systematized into a total period of ten weeks. The raising up of a remnant occurs in the seventh week immediately after the destruction of the temple. This week will also give rise to an apostate generation. At its close the 'elect' will be chosen (93.10). They will be the eternal plant of righteousness who will enjoy special revelation. In the eighth week the righteous will execute judgement over the wicked (91.12), and in the ninth week judgement will be revealed for the whole earth and the wicked will be no more (91.14). Finally, in week ten, there will be the judgement of the Watchers and the emergence of a new heaven (91.15). The post-exilic period is therefore compressed in the Apocalypse of Weeks, in *Jubilees* 1, and in CD.<sup>62</sup>

In the Enochic tradition the destruction of Jerusalem and dispersion of Israel are seen as punishment for the people's own iniquity. The 'chosen' ones are a sectarian remnant, which implies rejection of other post-exilic Jews.<sup>63</sup> Tiller states that the fragmentary 4QEn<sup>a</sup> 1 III:19–20 draws a slightly different picture from that of the Ethiopic *Enoch* which presents a close relationship between the 'elect' and the 'plant'. He states that the Aramaic text has *מִן נִצְבֵת יִצְבֵתָא* [...], 'from the sure planting', claiming that the *מִן* expresses that the children of righteousness and the elect of eternity 'were from or did something from' the plant of truth; they were distinct from the eternal planting.<sup>64</sup> However, the Ethiopic has 'from' in 93.2 as well as 93.10,

57. Talmon 1991a: 35.

58. Talmon 1991a: 37.

59. Talmon 1991a: 37–38.

60. Cf. Chapter 3: section IV. A. The Eternal Planting – The Elect and the Sanctuary.

61. *1 Enoch* 93.3–10, 91.11–17.

62. Cf. CD III (Collins 1990: 38).

63. Collins 1990: 30.

64. Tiller 1997: 319.

and in both instances the elect are chosen 'from the eternal plant of righteousness'. The eternal plant of righteousness here is national or ethnic Israel from whom 'the elect' or 'remnant' will be chosen.<sup>65</sup> The 'root of planting' in CD I seems to correspond roughly to the emergence of the chosen righteous in the eternal plant of righteousness in *1 Enoch*. Tiller argues that CD I:7–8 mixes two different kinds of metaphors: the remnant as root and the plant as the righteous people of God. He translates lines 7–8 '... and he caused a plant root to spring from Israel and Aaron so that they might inherit his land and prosper on the good things of the earth'.<sup>66</sup> It is this kind of tradition that the DSS community incorporate into their idea of being the remnant. The period of wrath was coming to an end and therefore God was raising them up to be the remnant to inherit the land and to enjoy its goodness. The rest of Israel was destined for judgement.

### *C. Root of the Planting – A Repentant Remnant*

CD I:8–9 states that the 'root of planting' whom God made to sprout from Israel and Aaron realized their iniquity and knew that they were guilty. They were like blind people groping for the way over a period of 20 years. And 'God understood their deeds because they sought him with a whole heart, and so raised a teacher of righteousness to direct them in the ways of his heart' (lines 10b–11). A similar passage is also found in CD VI:1–7 where God raises from Aaron 'men of knowledge' and from Israel 'wise men' and makes them listen. These were the people whom God used to dig the well, the 'well' being a symbol for the law of God. Those who dug the well were the שְׂבִי יִשְׂרָאֵל. Much debate has gone on over deciding whether שְׂבִי יִשְׂרָאֵל<sup>67</sup> refers to the 'penitents of Israel', 'converts' or the 'returnees of Israel'. Iwry proposes that it is a reference to a group of new covenanters from the Jewish diaspora in Syria who returned to Judaea some time during the early Hasmonean period.<sup>68</sup> Murphy-O'Connor similarly argues that it refers to a group, once forced to leave the land of Judah, who have now returned.<sup>69</sup> Collins on the other hand states that the 'men of understanding from Aaron and the men of wisdom from Israel' must be identified with the plant root of CD I and therefore are the 'penitents'.<sup>70</sup> In CD I:8 the 'plant

65. Black 1985: 291.

66. Tiller 1997: 333.

67. שְׂבִי can be vocalized as a noun or as a participle, and the participle can be understood in two different ways. Vocalized as a noun שְׂבִי means 'captivity' (Rabbinowitz 1954: 16.), and vocalized as a participle שְׂבִי means 'converts', 'repentant' in a religious sense, or 'returnees' in a geographical sense (Iwry 1969: 80.).

68. Iwry 1969: 80.

69. Murphy-O'Connor 1970: 212.

70. Collins 1990: 39.

root' is explicitly stated to be the 'penitents' of Israel. He further states that the context in VI:5 requires that the **שְׂבִי יִשְׂרָאֵל** are a new movement and therefore **שְׂבִי** should be translated 'penitents' rather than 'captivity' or 'returnees'. Knibb notes that the phrase is ambiguous but that in the light of other passages should be understood as being of religious rather than geographical significance.<sup>71</sup> The phrase **שְׂבִי יִשְׂרָאֵל** also occurs in CD IV:2–3 where it refers to the priests who went out from Judah to Damascus.<sup>72</sup> However, there is no reference to Damascus here (CD IV). The going out is a voluntary separation of a reform movement and has no reference to an exile. 1QS V:1 also talks about members of the community who freely volunteered themselves to repent from all evil and to follow a pattern of life according to the commands of God. Fabry notes that the root **שׁוּב** occurs 31x in CD and 29x in 1QS with different shades of meaning.<sup>73</sup> Repentance is a key factor for entry into the community. The members enter into 'a covenant of repentance' (CD XIX:16) and their repentance is worked out in a pattern of detailed halakah. Bryan notes that the 'turning away from evil' does not suggest that a member is returning to obedience after sinning but that it expresses 'a positive orientation toward Torah which precludes the practice of sin'.<sup>74</sup>

According to Schiffman the repentant pattern of life adopted by the community manifests convictions about the nature of the eschaton. He compares the correspondences between the way of life anticipated in IQSa for the messianic age, with 1QS, CD and other halakah which dictate the rule of life for the present. He states that the community described in 1QS and CD is an attempt to create the same level of perfection and purity which would characterize the future age.<sup>75</sup> Purity requirements for the messianic assembly are closely paralleled in 1QS.<sup>76</sup> Israel responds to the decrees of the Torah because it believes that it will continue to be unchanged in the coming of the eschaton. The eschaton is seen as the mirror of the present, therefore keeping of the Torah is in line with expecting the eschaton.

Within the Hebrew Bible, Holladay notes that the verb **שׁוּב** was used for a return from exile as well as for a return to the Lord's covenant.<sup>77</sup> The association of the two ideas is found in many texts employing **שׁוּב**.<sup>78</sup> Uses of **שׁוּב** in the participial form are found in the book of Isaiah referring to the repentant. Isa. 1.27 has **וְשֹׁבֵיהֶּ** 'and those in her who repent', and

71. Knibb 1987: 48.

72. Cf. CD VIII:16; XIX:29.

73. Fabry 1975: 20.

74. Bryan 2002: 58.

75. Schiffman 1989: 9.

76. Schiffman 1989: 11–71.

77. Holladay 1958: 146.

78. Cf. Isaiah 10; Jeremiah 30–31.



Isa. 59.20 וְלִשְׁבֵי פָשַׁע, 'and for those who repent of their sins'. In CD 1:14-18 שְׁבֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל probably represents an association of both ideas: the idea of the repentant, as well as of the returnees. The DSS community see themselves as being both the repentant and the returned, thereby being the true remnant of the exiles. The notion of the exile is used as a motif to remind them that it is repentance from sin that would bring them back to favour with God and thus they would prosper and enjoy the fat of the land.

*Jubilees* 1. 15–16 has a similar idea about the repentant:

After this they will return to me from among the nations with all their minds, all their souls and all their strength. Then I will gather them from among all the nations ... I will transform them into a righteous plant with all my mind and all my soul.

Also, *Jub.* 23.26 states that in the last days, in the midst of an evil generation (23.14–16), 'children will begin to study the laws, to seek out the commands and return to the right way'. Both these texts show that repentance is not only a prerequisite for restoration but 'it initiates and constitutes a way of life appropriate to the eschaton'.<sup>79</sup> Repentance is equated to Torah obedience as set forth in the rest of the book of *Jubilees*. Knibb notes that *Jub.* 1.14–18 makes use of a theological pattern of sin, exile and return found also in other writings of the Second Temple period whose roots can be traced to Deut. 4.25–31.<sup>80</sup> However, he interprets the passage eschatologically and states that, according to *Jubilees*, 'the true end of Israel's state of exile, which was conditional upon repentance, still lay in the future'.<sup>81</sup>

In the *Psalms of Solomon* there is a slightly different perspective on repentance. There is a strong dichotomy between the righteous and sinners in these psalms. The psalms acknowledge that the righteous sin, but the sins of the righteous are almost always said to be done in ignorance rather than willfully (3.7; 13.7; 18.4).<sup>82</sup> Within the *Psalms of Solomon* there is no clear indication that the righteous were former sinners, but rather that they have repented of sins merely committed in ignorance.

However, in CD I:8–9 the DSS community 'realise their iniquity' and they know that they are 'guilty'. There is a deliberate turning away from sin to God. God had required of them to turn away from darkness to light, to move away from the world and to be members of the יְחִיד. In their disciplined adherence to the Torah the DSS community were fulfilling the command of God, thereby preparing themselves for the eschaton by repentance and obedience.

79. Bryan 2002: 58.

80. Knibb 1989: 11.

81. Knibb 1989: 11.

82. Sparks 1984: 649–82.

## Chapter 5

### PLANT IMAGERY IN 4Q/1QINSTRUCTION

#### *Introduction*

The study of the sapiential tradition in the intertestamental period has been greatly enriched by finds of similar literature at Qumran. The largest body of material is found in 4QInstruction (4QInstruction<sup>a-f</sup>) or 4Q מוסר למבין previously designated as Sapiential Work A (Sap. Work A). These sapiential admonitions are addressed to a *mēvîn* whom Strugnell and Harrington understand to be an 'expert' or an 'expert in the making', and hence suggest that the title should be 'Instruction for a Maven/Student'.<sup>1</sup> It is similar to the characteristic literary device of proverbial Wisdom literature which addresses its recipients as בן, a son or a student. 4QInstruction is a composition preserved in possibly eight fragmentary copies, one from Cave 1 (1Q26), six from Cave 4 (4Q415, 416, 417, 418, 418a, and 423),<sup>2</sup> and possibly one from Cave 4 (4Q418c).<sup>3</sup> Two copies (4Q415 and 4Q416) were rolled up in the reverse direction with the innermost leaf containing the beginning of the scroll, indicating that these scrolls were in active use until 68 CE, i.e. till the end of the DSS community.<sup>4</sup> The large number of scrolls and the fact that the text was copied until a late date in the history of the DSS community indicate that 4Q/1QInstruction was popular and important within the community.<sup>5</sup> Stegemann observes that only copies of the most important books were hidden in Cave 1, of which 4QInstruction is one.<sup>6</sup>

The nature of 4QInstruction is Wisdom instruction expressed in small units without much apparent concern for logical or thematic progression.<sup>7</sup> Ideologically the work presupposes a non-sectarian and non-monastic

1. DJD: 34, 3.

2. DJD: 34, 1.

3. It is not certain whether 4Q418c is a separate copy or part of 4Q418 (DJD: 34, 501).

4. Elgin 1995: 440.

5. DJD: 34, 2.

6. Stegemann 1994: 89–90.

7. Harrington 1994: 144.

setting in life and originates from a Wisdom circle. The ones who are instructed are engaged in business, have dealings with all kinds of people, marry and have children. It is a didactic book which provides instructions to the wise on how to relate to one's neighbour and to God. Its Wisdom sayings are often in proverbial form and provide practical guidelines for relationships to function well within society.

Further, 4QInstruction contains discourses which deal with eschatology and the revelation of God's mysteries to the elect (4Q417 Frg. 2 I:15–27). The coming judgement of the wicked and the lot of the elect are also treated at length (4Q416 VI:17–VIII:15; 4Q416 Frgs. 1, 3, 4; 4Q418 Frg. 69). 4Q418 Frg. 81 preserves almost a full column of text on the spiritual inheritance of the elect and their eschatological community. This fragment contains the metaphor of the 'eternal plant' (line 13), which is dealt with in detail below. 4Q423 Frg. 2, lines 1–9, also contains plant imagery which will be discussed.

### I. 4Q418 Frgs. 81, 81a: 7b–14<sup>8</sup>

#### A. Text – 4Q418 Frgs. 81, 81a: 7b–14

- 7b ואתה דרוש משפטיו מיד כול יריבכה בכל  
מיל[... והוא על כול]
- 8 אהבהו ובהסד {עולם} וברחמים על כול שומרי דברו וקנאתן  
[על כול שונאיהן]
- 9 ואתה שכל פתח לכה ובאוצרו המשילכה ואיפת אמת  
פיקד [עליכה ...]
- 10 אתכה המה ובידכה להשיב אף מאנשי רצון ולפקוד  
על[ אנשי בליעל...]
- 11 עמכה בטרם תקח נחלתכה מידו כבד קדושו ובטורם[...]
- 12 פתח [מן]קוד כול קדשים וכול הנקרא לשמו קודש[ים]..... יהיו
- 13 עם כול קצנים הדרי פארתו למטעת עולם[...]
- 14 [..]יה תבל בן יתהלכו כול נחלי ארץ כי בשמנו נקראו[...]

#### B. Textual Notes

4Q418 Frg. 81:7

מיל[... והוא על כול]: Reconstruction by Elgvin<sup>9</sup> based on an early photograph PAM 40.618. The photograph also has a few additional letters reading *יריבכה בכל* after the word *יריבכה*.<sup>10</sup>

8. I follow the reading of Strugnell and Harrington in this column unless otherwise stated (DJD: 34, 302).

9. Elgvin 1998: 119.

10. DJD: 34, 302; Elgvin 1998: 119.

4Q418 Frg. 81:8

[וקנאתו [על כול שונאיהו]: Reconstruction by Elgvin.<sup>11</sup>

4Q418 Frg. 81:9

At the end of the lacuna there should have been an antecedent to הַמָּוֶה in line 10, either two nouns such as צַדֵּק וּמִשְׁפָּט or a plural construct chain such as מִזְחֵי צַדֵּק parallel to אֵיפֶת צַדֵּק.<sup>12</sup>

פִּיקָד: Supralinear insertion of the ו.

[פּוֹקֵד+עַל: 'Lay upon as a charge'.<sup>13</sup>

4Q418 Frg. 81:10

[...אנשי בליעל...]: Reconstruction by Elgvin.<sup>14</sup>

4Q418 Frg. 81:11

[...ובט[רם]: Reconstruction by Elgvin.<sup>15</sup>

4Q418 Frg. 81:12

[מ]קֹר: Fragment missing. Strugnell and Harrington reconstruct it to read [שיר ] but this is not clear.<sup>16</sup> Reading [מ]קֹר with Elgvin<sup>17</sup> as it makes better sense and is also paralleled in line 1.

לשמו: The שם has been corrected to שמו with the final ם remaining.

[קודשין]....יהיו]: Reconstruction by Elgvin.<sup>18</sup>

4Q418 Frg. 81:13

ק[צ]ים: Fragment broken at this point with traces of the top of צ visible.

[...עיןלם]: Reconstruction following Elgvin.<sup>19</sup>

4Q418 Frg. 81:14

[תב]ל בן: Reconstructing תב[ל] with Strugnell and Harrington.<sup>20</sup> The בן is uncertain according to Strugnell and Harrington, but in a 500%

11. Based on PAM 40.618; See DJD: 34, 302.

12. DJD: 34, 307.

13. BDB: 823.

14. Elgvin 1998: 119.

15. Elgvin 1998: 119.

16. DJD: 34, 308.

17. Elgvin 1998: 119.

18. Elgvin 1998: 119.

19. Elgvin 1998: 119.

20. DJD: 34, 302.

magnification on the CD-ROM the base stroke of the כ and the vertical stroke of the ו are partially visible.<sup>21</sup>

[...בשמנו ונקראו...]: Reconstruction following Elgvin.<sup>22</sup>

### C. Translation

- 7b. ... But you, seek his judgements from the hand of every adversary of yours, among all ...[...he ...toward all]
8. love him; and with {eternal} faithfulness and mercies concerning all who keep his word but [his] zeal [is against all who hate him].
9. But as for you, he open[ed up in]sight for you and over his storehouse he has made you to rule. And a true ephah has been la[fi]d as a charge upon you ...]
10. they are with you. And it is in your power (lit. hand) to turn away anger from the men of (his) good pleasure and to punish [the men of Belial...]
11. with you/your people. Before you receive your inheritance from his hand, glorify his holy ones and bes[fo]re ...
12. He opened a [fo]untain for all the holy ones and everyone called by his name are hol[y]....they will be]
13. during all pe[ri]ods the splendours of his boughs/glory for an eter[nal] planting [...]
14. ... the wor[ld]. In it] all the ones who will inherit the earth will walk because by [his] name [they are called ...].

### D. Commentary

#### 1. *The expectations of the eschatological community 4Q418 Frgs. 81, 81a:7b–14*

4Q418 Frg. 81:7b–14 seems to be a section from the Wisdom literature of the Second Temple period appropriate to the context of the DSS community, and it was therefore taken and reworked to suit their needs. The individual members of the community understood themselves to be the *mēvîn*. The *mēvîn* was to seek God's judgements upon all his adversaries (4Q418 Frg. 81:7b), and similarly the DSS community sought God's judgement against all the sons of Belial. Following that, 4Q418 Frg. 81:8 reflects part of the decalogue found in Exodus 20. {עולם} ברחסד ובהויה אהבהו וכולן על כולן אהבהו וברחמים על כול שומרי דברו וקנאתו]ן [על כול שונאייהו]ן אבכי יהוה אלהיך אל קנא פקד עין ... לשנאי ועשה חסד לאלפים לאהבי: ולשמרי מצותי: In the Exodus context God's mercy extends to those who

21. Tov 1999: CD-ROM.

22. Elgvin 1998: 119.

love him and keep his commandments, whereas in 4Q418 it relates to the elect of the remnant community, with which the DSS community identifies itself. 4Q418 Frg. 81:9–11 shows that God had given the instructee insight and that all his resources were freely available to him. The members of the DSS community understood themselves to be the instructees, who were being instructed by God through the teachings of the instructor. And so the instructions are read by the community with their own situation in mind. Using the resources given by God they were to guard the community from God's wrath as well as protect it from the men of evil. 4Q418 Frg. 81:9–14 contains instructions from the instructor reminding the *mēvîn* of what God has done for him and exhorting him to praise God's holy ones. The exhortation suggests that this may be a reference to a more precise function or priestly office in the context of ritual worship.<sup>23</sup>

4Q418 Frg. 81:11 has the temporal clause בטרם followed by the imperative to receive the נחלה. However, it is not clear what this inheritance is. In 4Q418 Frg. 81:3 God was to be the community's inheritance. Here the inheritance seems to be that of priesthood. This fits with the ideology of the DSS community who understood their priestly role to be an inheritance, a gift which God had given them.<sup>24</sup> As the ones who received this inheritance, the community saw themselves participating in the lot of the angels. We find this idea in the Hodayot where the righteous are raised to the ethereal realm and share the lot of the angels and experience the life of eternity.<sup>25</sup>

In 4Q418 Frg. 81:12–14 the metaphor of the eternal planting is used. Although the text is broken here, we have noted earlier the use of plant imagery in clearly sectarian contexts such as 1QS VIII and CD I which would have encouraged the application of this imagery in 4QInstruction to the DSS community themselves. They would have interpreted this text to mean that God had established them as the promised eternal plant – the remnant community, the holy ones who are called by his name. All who inherit the earth will be part of this planting because they are called by his name. This has Edenic echoes and identifies the planting with the eschatological fulfilment at the end of time.

## II. *Plant Imagery*

### A. *The Eternal Planting – God's Holy People*

The imagery of the eternal planting in 4QInstruction is appropriated by the DSS community as it holds together the idea of the community being God's

23. DJD: 34, 15.

24. Cf. 1Q26 I:7 // 4Q423 IV:3–4.

25. See 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI:20–25 (III:19–24) and compare 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV:11 (VI:8); XV:23–25 (VII:19–22); XIX:15–16 (XI:12–13).

holy people and their fulfilling the role of priests. There is an exegetical adaptation of the exodus and wilderness traditions found in Exodus 19 and Numbers 18. The following themes within these two traditions are picked up and reworked. The theme of separation (Exod. 19.6) is taken up by *הבדיל* and *הנזר* (4Q418 Frg. 81:2); of consecration (Exod. 19.10) by *התקודש* (4Q418 Frg. 81:4); of inheritance (Num. 18.20) by *נחלתכה* and *חלקכה* (4Q418 Frg. 81:3); of priesthood (Exod. 19.22; Num. 18.20) by *התקודש* (4Q418 Frg. 81:4) and *נחלתכה* (4Q418 Frg. 81:3); of holiness (Exod. 19.6) by *קודשים* (4Q418 Frg. 81:12); and of the firstborn (Exod. 13. 11–16; Num. 18.15–17) by *בכור* (4Q418 Frg. 81:5). Priestliness and holiness are two categories through which Israel is given to understand its special identity as an elect people, the people of God.<sup>26</sup> Exod. 19.6 helps us to understand the purpose of Israel's calling: *וְאַתֶּם תִּהְיוּ לִי מִמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים וְגוֹי קָדוֹשׁ*.

Holiness and priestliness are very closely connected themes, holiness being seen as the corner-stone of Israelite religion by many theologians of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>27</sup> In the book of Exodus the Lord promises that Israel will be a people characterized by holiness. Wells notes that this characteristic is associated with the presence of the Lord, and is revealed to special people such as Moses. She further states that the term *קודש* expresses the goal of Israel's calling. It encompasses the various dimensions of relating and belonging to God: dependence (Exod. 19.4); obedience (Exod. 19.5a); personal relationship and emotional aspects under the figure of the treasured possession (Exod. 19.5b); and religious and loyal dimensions in virtue of their being priestly subjects (Exod. 19.6).<sup>28</sup> Israel was expected to live in such a manner as would reflect the character of God whose chosen people they were. Israel was to understand herself as belonging to God, as a priestly nation and as a nation which bore the marks of holiness and which had to live up to her identity.<sup>29</sup> This unique relationship which Israel enjoyed in no way precludes God or Israel relating to other peoples of the earth. *Jubilees* also says that the descendants of Abraham would become nations, 'but one of Isaac's sons would become a holy progeny and would not be numbered among the nations, for he would become the share of the Most High. All his descendants had fallen into that (share) which God owns so that they would become a people whom the Lord possesses out of all the nations; and that they would become a kingdom, a priesthood and a holy people.'<sup>30</sup> *Jubilees*

26. Wells 2000: 58.

27. Many 'theologies' of the Hebrew Bible have holiness as their central theme; Vriezen says: 'The holiness of God is ... the central idea of the Old Testament faith in God' (Vriezen 1970: 300; cf. deVries 1983: 45).

28. Wells 2000: 55.

29. Wells 2000: 62.

30. VanderKam 1989: 98.

foresees the coming together of Israel as the people of God and as a priesthood right from the time of the promise to Abraham. It also records in 32.3 Jacob's investiture of Levi as priest and the recognition of Levi as the Lord's portion.<sup>31</sup>

Using 4QInstruction, the DSS community similarly understood themselves to be a holy people whom God had chosen for himself. God had enabled the members of the DSS community to be a source of ceaseless praise, blessing God's holy name. Following this, 4Q418 Frg. 81:2 states that God had separated them 'from every spirit of flesh ... [Fo]r he has made everything'. The combination of the idea of separation with the rhetorical phrase **כִּי־אֵלֹהִים הוּא עֹשֶׂה כֹל** [...], describing God as creator and possessor of everything and everyone has echoes of Exod. 19.5 where God says to Israel: 'you shall be my treasured possession out of all the peoples. Indeed, all the earth is mine' (וְהָיִיתֶם לִי סִגְלָה מִכָּל־הָעַמִּים כִּי־לִי כָל־הָאָרֶץ).<sup>32</sup> Similar phrasing occurs in Isa. 44.24: **אֲנֹכִי יְהוָה עֹשֶׂה כֹל נְטוּה שָׁמַיִם**, Isa. 45.7: **אֲנִי יְהוָה עֹשֶׂה כֹל־אֵלֶּה**, and in Ben Sira MS B 43.27: **וְקֵץ דְּבַר הוּא הַכּוֹל**: 'let the last word be "He is the all."<sup>33</sup>

This clearly indicates that many of the ideologies exemplified in 4QInstruction have biblical precedents. The instructor in 4QInstruction almost plays a role akin to Moses by reminding the *mēvîn* that it was God who had separated and chosen him, and he exhorts the instructees to separate themselves from all that God hates (4Q418 Frgs. 81:2) and to consecrate themselves from all the 'abominations of the [soul]', as in Exod. 29.43–46:

I will meet with the Israelites there [Tent of Meeting], and it shall be sanctified by my glory; I will consecrate the tent of meeting and the altar: Aaron also and his sons I will consecrate, to serve me as priests. I will dwell among the Israelites, and I will be their God. And they shall know that I am the Lord their God, who brought them out of the land of Egypt that I might dwell among them; I am the Lord their God.<sup>34</sup>

An exegetical adaptation of Exod. 29.43–46 is now applied to the DSS community. In the exodus event it is God who consecrates the tent of meeting as well as Aaron and his sons. The purpose was that the Aaronides would be a separated group with the single purpose of serving God as his priests. Moreover, the dwelling of God would be in the midst of the people. There is a unique sense of belonging as the Lord repeatedly says, 'I will be their God', 'I am the Lord their God' (2x) who dwells among them. This sense of belonging and being the people of God has been adapted by the

31. VanderKam 1989: 209.

32. The Hebrew word used for 'separation' is different but the idea is the same.

33. Beentjes 1997: 76; translation Skehan and Di Lella 1987: 486.

34. NRSV.



DSS community as they see themselves fulfilling a similar role. The idea is picked up from 4Q418 Frg. 81:12 as they identify themselves as the holy ones who are ‘called by his name’. Being called by the name of God gives them a special identity as the people of God. Eichrodt states that the experience of special divine favour is described as a ‘knowing or a calling by a new name’ in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>35</sup> He further states that the phrase ‘to be called’ is widely used to indicate a new way of life.<sup>36</sup> The name by which they were called needed to reflect the character of that name – the name of the Lord. Similarly, Philo also records the change of character implied in the giving of Jacob’s new name Israel: μεταχαραχθέντα καινὸν τύπον Ἰσραήλ, ‘newly engraved as a new character Israel’.<sup>37</sup> Hayward says this language ‘smacks of the artisan or metalworker, re-stamping, re-molding or re-minting a metal or other substance into a new form’.<sup>38</sup> It is this idea which pervades the concept of being called by God’s name. The people of God are refashioned in the image of God. In the NT the book of Revelation picks up this idea where God promises a new name for the faithful who persevere until the end. This again has eschatological overtones. God had established the community as the promised eternal plant who would bear the glory of his name (4Q418 Frg. 81:12).

The instructor then states that all who are called by God’s name and inherit the land will walk in the eternal planting. There is a shift in the metaphor of the ‘eternal planting’ from the community being the people of God, to being a physical garden where all the righteous ones of God will walk. The shift reminds us of Eden which we have seen elsewhere to be both the people of God and the final dwelling-place of the righteous.<sup>39</sup>

Further, Israel’s self-understanding as the firstborn of the Lord is now taken up by the DSS community. The instructor states that God cast their lot and appointed them for himself as a בכור (4Q418 Frg. 81:5). This concept is taken from Exod. 4.22: ‘Israel is my firstborn son’, and Num. 3.13: ‘For all the firstborn are mine. When I struck down all the firstborn in Egypt, I set apart for myself every firstborn in Israel, whether man or animal. They are to be mine. I am the Lord.’<sup>40</sup> Similarly, 4Q504 (4QDib-Ham<sup>a</sup>) Frgs. 1–2 III:6: ‘for your glory you created us, you established us as your sons in the sight of all the peoples. For you called Israel “My son, my firstborn son (בכור)” and have corrected us as one corrects his son.’<sup>41</sup> So also in Ben Sira 36.12:

35. Eichrodt 1967: II, 40.

36. Cf. Isa. 1.26; 9.5; 44.5; 62.2; 65.15; Hos. 2.1; Rev. 2.17.

37. *Somm.* I. 129.

38. Hayward 2000: 223.

39. Chapter 2: section II. C. Eternal Plant – Eden/Paradise.

40. Cf. Deut. 32.6.

41. DJD: 7, 141; cf. 4Q DibHam<sup>a</sup> Frg. 26:5 where בכור is present (DJD: 7, 166).

רחם על עם נקרא בשמך ישראל בכור כיניתה<sup>42</sup>

‘show mercy to the people called by your name; Israel, whom you established as your firstborn’. Likewise in 44.23b Ben Sira alludes to the recognition that God gives an inheritance to Jacob/Israel as the firstborn in Gen. 28.13–15:<sup>43</sup>

ויכוננוהו בברכה ויתן לו נחלתו

‘and he established him with a blessing and gave him his inheritance’. Ben Sira brings together the concept of being called by God’s name and being the בכור.<sup>45</sup> 4QInstruction provides the opportunity for the DSS community to proclaim that they were both called by God’s name and were indeed the firstborn of God.<sup>46</sup> It is not a specific exegetical interpretation at Qumran but rather a link in the long chain of exegetical traditions beginning with the Hebrew Bible and prevalent in the Second Temple period, now utilised by the DSS community. *Jubilees* 2.20 combines the idea of election and the sanctification of the post-exilic remnant: ‘I have chosen the descendants of Jacob among all those whom I have seen. I have recorded them as my firstborn son and have sanctified them for myself throughout the ages of eternity.’<sup>47</sup> The dedication of the firstborn to God originated in that God had spared them when the angel of death passed over and killed all the firstborn of the Egyptians. The principle of the firstborn is applied to the individuals of the DSS community since they understood themselves to have been set apart by God. In the same way that the Lord had claims on Israel, so also the community understood itself as belonging to the Lord as God’s holy people, his בכור.<sup>48</sup>

42. Beentjes 1997: 62.

43. Cf. Exod. 4.22; Hos. 11.1.

44. MS B margin reads *ויכוננוהו בבכורה* ‘and he established him as the firstborn’ or ‘and he established him with firstbornness’, the *ו* taken as an indicator of an abstract noun (GKC § 122q) meaning ‘with the right of the firstborn’ (Beentjes 1997: 78). MS B text reads *בברכה*, ‘with a blessing’ and G *εὐλογίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐν κληρονομίᾳ* (Zeigler 1965: 335). *εὐλογίας αὐτοῦ* = *בברכותיו*. The Greek and the main text of MS B seem to follow an exegetical tradition of the LXX which translates *בכורה* as *εὐλογία*. Cf. 1 Chron. 5.1–2 where the LXX uses *εὐλογία* for the first and third occurrences of *בכורה*, influenced probably by an overall reading of Genesis 48–49. Cf. Williams 1998: 369–71.

45. Cf. Ben Sira 45.15 where Aaron has the role of serving God and blessing the people of Israel in God’s name.

46. Out of the fifteen occurrences of *בכור* (excluding partial and complete reconstructions) among the 1Q, 4Q and 11Q documents, nine refer to the setting aside of the firstborn of both cattle and people for God; 4Q251(Halakha A) Frg. 10:5; 4Q416 (Instruction<sup>b</sup>) Frg. 2 II:13; 4Q418 (Instruction<sup>a</sup>) Frg.81:5; 4Q423 (Instruction<sup>b</sup>) Frg. 3:4; 4Q426 (Sapiential-Hymnic Work A) Frg. 1 II:2; 4Q504(DibHam<sup>a</sup>) Frgs. 1–2 III:6; 11Q19 (11QT<sup>a</sup>) LII:7, 8 (2x).

47. VanderKam 1989: 13.

48. The word *בכור* occurs 109x in the Hebrew Bible, of which 16x refer to God setting apart the firstborn for himself predominantly in the book of Exodus and Numbers. Exod. 13.2, 13, 15–3x; 22.28; Num. 3.12, 13, 41, 45; 8.16, 17–2x, 18; 18.15–2x.

*B. The Eternal Planting – A Priestly Community*

A second category through which the DSS community understood herself as following Israel's identity was that of priestliness. As far as Israel was concerned, not only were they a holy people but they were also a priestly people. The priesthood which God instituted needed to be exercised in the midst of the Israelite community. The priest was to be a model of 'nearness' to God (Exod. 24.2; cf. 28.43; 30.20), of service (Exod. 29.44; Num. 8.15–16), of belonging (Num. 3.12b–13; 8.14), of blessing (Num. 6.22–27); in a word, of holiness.<sup>49</sup> The priests were also given the responsibility of teaching the law of the Lord to the rest of the people (Lev. 10.10–11) and also distinguishing the holy and the common. They also had the role of interceding for the people. When it came to sharing in the inheritance of the land among the Israelites, God was the inheritance for the Aaronides/Levites. The members of the DSS community also held these two categories of holiness and priestliness together. In particular, they understood God to be their portion and their inheritance in line with the Aaronides/Levites. 4Q418 Frg. 81:3 has: *והוא חלקכה ונחלתכה בתוך בני אדם*. This idea has been picked up from the promise to Aaron and the Levites in Num. 18.20:

*וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־אַהֲרֹן בְּאַרְצֶם לֹא תִנְחַל וְחֶלֶק לֹא יִהְיֶה לְךָ  
בְּתוֹכָם אֲנִי חֶלְקְךָ וְנַחְלָתְךָ בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:*

The latter part of this verse is also partially attested in 1Q26 I:7 (4Q423 IV:3–4): *וַאֲמַר לוֹ אֲנִי חֶלְקְכָה וְנַחְלָתְכָה בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל*. There are priestly echoes in the choice of words: *נחלה*<sup>50</sup> is used to describe 'inalienable' or 'hereditary' property, which was what the Lord was going to be for the community.<sup>51</sup> So also with *חלק*, meaning 'a share of possession', and indicating a very personal sense of belonging.<sup>52</sup> In 4Q418 the term *בני ישראל* has also been changed to *בני אדם*. The *mēvîn* now has the status of the Aaronides but his authority and influence are extended. No more was it to be only among the 'sons of Israel', but among the 'sons of Adam/humankind'.<sup>53</sup> Since each of the members of the DSS community understood themselves as the *mēvîn*, it is they who now have a wider role. The idea of the Lord being Aaron's portion is reflected in Ben Sira 45.20–22: *καὶ προσέθηκεν Ααρων δόξαν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κληρονομίαν ... πλὴν ἐν γῆ λαοῦ οὐ*

49. Wells 2000: 62.

50. Levine observes that *נחלה* reflects a complex legal system. He states that a *נחלה*, however acquired, always represents what is received. In the Mari dialect of Akkadian the cognate '*naḫālu*' means to 'hand over (property), to convey'. In biblical Hebrew it has both the ideas of receipt and conveyance (Levine 1993: 449–50).

51. HALOT: 687.

52. HALOT: 323.

53. DJD: 34, 20.

κληρονομή σεις καὶ μερίς οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ ἐν λαῷ αὐτὸς γὰρ μερίς σου καὶ κληρονομία. The extant Hebrew text of MS B also reflects the same reading:

20. [...] לאהך כבוד יתן לו נחלתו:  
22. אך [...] לא ינחל ובתוכם לא יחלק נחלה:<sup>54</sup>

In Numbers 18, the promise that God would be their inheritance is set out in the midst of laws governing the duties of the Aaronide priesthood and those of the Levites associated with them. The key concerns of priesthood that dominate chapter 18 are the purity of the sanctuary and the corresponding purity of the priests. To maintain this purity, access to the sanctuary was restricted only to properly consecrated personnel, who in turn were to attend to their own purification. The furniture and the sacred vessels also had to be kept pure. These were the tasks of the priesthood.<sup>55</sup> The DSS community likewise saw themselves as playing a priestly role in the midst of the larger community. They had a very elaborate system of purifying themselves with their lustrations, and the *mikvaoth* found on the site are evidence of that. Cultic interests are extensively discussed in 4QInstruction, which enables the DSS community to appropriate these texts for their own cultic context.<sup>56</sup> The community did consist of both priestly and lay segments. Even though the origins of 4QInstruction may not belong to the DSS community, but to an offshoot of Jewish Wisdom circles deeply interested in the cult, it is still a piece of work which fitted the purpose of the DSS community and it was therefore freely used by them.<sup>57</sup>

The priestly role of intercession found in 4QInstruction is also picked up by the DSS community. The *mēvîn* is understood to have the ‘power to turn away anger (להשיב אף) from the men of (His) good pleasure’ (4Q418 Frg. 81:10).<sup>58</sup> We have noted earlier in 1QS<sup>59</sup> that the DSS community associated its priesthood with judging the wicked and atoning for errant

54. Beentjes 1997: 81.

55. Levine 1993: 435.

56. Discussion regarding the offering of the firstborn (4Q423 Frg. 3:4 // 1Q26 Frg. 2:4); vows of the wife being annulled by the husband (4Q416 Frg. 2 IV:8-9); regulations about not mixing property during admission based on Lev. 19.19 and Deut. 22.9-11 (4Q418 Frg. 103:6-9); festivals and calendrical questions (4Q 416 Frg. 1:3, 4Q418 Frg. 118:3, 4Q418 Frg. 211:3, 4Q423: Frg. 5:5-6); concerning נודד (4Q417 Frg. 4 II:2; 4Q418 Frg. 20:2); the elect and the lot (הפיל גורלכוד; 4Q418 Frg. 81:5); cf. Lange 1998: 131, 148-49.

57. Strugnell and Harrington argue that the work neither came from the Qumran sect nor from any secular associates of the sect, nor yet from pre-sectarian groups, but rather was a general offshoot of Jewish Wisdom (DJD: 34, 22).

58. Wolters advances the observation of Fitzmyer (Fitzmyer 1971: 101-104) and states that מאנשי רצון provides a better background for Lk. 2.14 ἀθρώποις εὐδοκίας as it shares both words, אנשים as well as רצון, in contrast to 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII (IV):32-33 and XIX (XI):9 which have בני רצון (Wolters 1994: 291-92).

59. Cf. Chapter 3: section I. D. 2. The Community as the Eternal Planting and the Sanctuary (VIII:4b-10a).

Israelites; they stood in the line of Phinehas who turned away God's wrath from the Israelites with his zeal and saved them from being completely destroyed: **הַשִּׁיב אֶת-חַמְתִּי מֵעַל בְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּקִנְאוֹ אֶת-קִנְאֹתִי בְּתוֹכָם** Num. 25.11; (cf. also the roles of Moses [Ps. 106.23] and Jeremiah [Jer. 18.20]). Elgvin<sup>60</sup> comments that the priest has the power to protect the community against God's wrath. He says that the same thought is found in 4QShirShabb. where the songs of the sage have apotropaic power: he shall make known God's splendour, 'in order to frighten and ter[rify] all the spirits of the angels of destruction and bastard spirits...' (4Q510 I:4–5). Newsom also states that the instructor is able to draw upon his special knowledge of the heavenly realms and by reciting its wonders is able to offer protection for the community.<sup>61</sup> While this may be true in 4QShirShabb., it is the priestly role of intercession which is reflected in 4QInstruction. The turning away of wrath is also seen in Ben Sira as part of Elijah's role prior to the restoration of the twelve tribes:

הַכְּתוּב נִבְּחַן לַעֲת                    לְהַשְׁבִּית אֶף לַפָּנַי [.....]  
 לְהַשִּׁיב לֵב אֲבוֹת עַל בָּנִים                    ....

'It is written, in time to come to put an end to the wrath (of God) before<sup>63</sup>....to turn the hearts of fathers to the children.' This is a citation of Mal. 3.24 which says that God will send Elijah before the day of the Lord and that 'he will turn the hearts of fathers to their children and the hearts of children to their fathers'. 4Q521 Frg. 2 III:2 also alludes to Mal. 3.24: **נִבְּחַן בָּנִים בְּאִיִּם אֲבוֹת עַל בָּנִים**, 'for it is sure: the fathers will return to the children'. The coming of Elijah as a prelude to the day of the Lord is part of the restoration ideology of the Second Temple period, and the DSS community see themselves as fulfilling the Elijah traditions of restoration by turning away the wrath of God and preparing the people for the Lord's return. This closely links up with the idea of the intercession of Phinehas (Ps. 106.30–31) which has been discussed in Chapter 3.<sup>64</sup> *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* goes so far as to identify Phinehas as Elijah and the latter as a high priest: The sons of Kohath: Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel; and the life of Kohath *the pious* was one hundred and thirty three years. *He lived until he saw Phinehas, he is Elijah the high priest who is to be sent to the exiles of Israel at the end of*

60. Elgvin 1998: 124.

61. Newsom 1990a: 381.

62. Ben Sira 48.10; Beentjes 1997: 86.

63. Gk. *has kopáσαι ὀργήν πρὸ θυμοῦ* and Syr. = the day of the Lord.

64. Cf. Chapter 3: section I.D.2: The Community as the Eternal Planting and the Sanctuary (VIII: 4b–10a).

65. *Tg. Ps.-J. Exod. 6.18.* Elijah is called high priest in *Tg. Ps.-J. Exod. 40.10* and *Deut. 30.4* (Maher 1994: 176). Moreover, Phinehas is identified with Elijah in *Bib. Ant. 48.1–2* (James 1971: 210–11), and also in *Pirqe R. El. 29* (Friedlander 1916: 213). For a specific study of this tradition see Hayward (1978: 22–34).

days.<sup>65</sup> The Elijah/Phinehas tradition of the priesthood had been part of traditional exegesis and used by the DSS community long before it crystallized in later rabbinic literature.

Within 4QInstruction there is a combination of the idea of being the firstborn of God with that of priesthood, and this has been drawn from texts like Exod. 13.2; Num. 3.41, 45; 8.16; 18.6, 20. Knohl<sup>66</sup> points out that the term *הברדיל* is used for the separation of the Levites and the other Israelites to the Lord himself in the priestly writings of the Torah.<sup>67</sup> In 4Q418 Frg. 81:1, however, it is the Lord who separates (*הברדיל*) the righteous from the rest of the ungodly. Similarly, the DSS community understood themselves to have been separated by God from the ungodly, the sons of Belial. But this is followed by an injunction in 4Q418 Frg. 81:5 asking the *mēvîn* to make the effort to sanctify himself (*בהתקדשכה*), because God was setting him apart as the 'holy of holies'. The *mēvîn* is corporate and stands for the DSS community who see themselves as the ones being instructed, and they therefore sanctify themselves so that God may set them apart as the 'holy of holies'. Temple imagery takes over here and the sanctified community is now equated with the temple. In the Hebrew Bible it is the Lord who takes the initiative in consecrating the people of Israel: *אני יהודה מקדשכם*, 'I am the Lord who consecrates you' (Exod. 31.13; Lev. 20.7–8; 21.8; 22.31–32), is a formula which conveys the message that the sanctity bestowed by God upon Israel is a basic fact and first principle behind the observance of the commandments.<sup>68</sup> In 4QInstruction the *mēvîn* is asked to separate himself from all the abominations of the soul (4Q418 Frg. 81:2) so that he would be the living temple for all the world.<sup>69</sup> This is understood corporately by the DSS community. As much as God had blessed the *mēvîn* in 4QInstruction with every good thing (4Q418 Frg. 81:6), so also did the DSS community perceive its own blessing and were now expected to walk continually in faithfulness to him.

### III. 4Q423 Frgs. 1, 2:1–9<sup>70</sup>

#### A. Text – 4Q423 Frgs. 1, 2: 1–9

- {וכל}
1. [...] וכל פרי תנובה וכל עץ נעים נחמד להשכיל הלוא גן נעים]
2. [הוא ונחמד] ל[השכיל מ]וא[דה ובו המשלכה לעבודה ולשמרו vacat גן נאות

66. Knohl 1995: 192.

67. Knohl reclassifies the corpus of Priestly writings in the Torah according to their origins as the Priestly Torah and writings of the Holiness school (Knohl 1995: 6).

68. Knohl 1995: 183.

69. Temple imagery will be dealt with in detail in a later section.

70. I follow Elgvin's reading for this column unless otherwise stated DJD: 34, 507–508.

[... הארמה] קוץ ודרדר תצמיח לכה וכוחה לא תתן לכה [...]	.3
[.....] במועלכה vacat [.....]	.4
[.....] vacat ילדה וכל רחמי הורית[.....] ל[.....] ה[.....] שן[.....] תה כל אוטכה	.5
[.....] בכל חפציכה כי כל תצמיחן לכה[.....] תמיד לא	.6
[.....] ובמטען[.....] בם ה[.....] מואס [הרע יודע הטוב	.7
[.....] בין דרכו ודרך	.8
[.....] ה ולחם	.9

*B. Textual Notes*

4Q423 Frgs. 1, 2:1

{וכל}: The word has been written supralinearly above the second וכל and later erased.

[נעים]: Reconstruction following Elgvin.<sup>71</sup>

4Q423 Frgs. 1, 2:2

[הוא ונחמד]: Reconstruction following Elgvin.<sup>72</sup>

[השכיל מן] ארדה: Reconstruction following Elgvin.<sup>73</sup>

[גן נאות]: Reconstruction following Elgvin.<sup>74</sup>

4Q423 Frgs. 1, 2:3

[..... הארמה]: Reconstruction following Elgvin.<sup>75</sup>

4Q423 Frgs. 1, 2:7

[.....] ובמטען[.....] בם ה[.....] מואס [.....]: Reconstruction following Elgvin.<sup>76</sup>

4Q423 Frgs. 1, 2:8

ודרך: An original ודכך was corrected to ודרך.<sup>77</sup>

*C. Translation*

4Q423 Frgs. 1, 2:1–9

1. [...] and every fruit produce and every pleasant tree desirable to make wise. Is it not a garden of deli[ght]
2. [and desirable] to [make] wise exc[eed]ingly. And in it he made you rule to till it and guard it. vacat A gar[den of dwell]ing

71. DJD: 34, 508.  
 72. DJD: 34, 508.  
 73. DJD: 34, 508.  
 74. DJD: 34, 508.  
 75. DJD: 34, 508.  
 76. DJD: 34, 508.  
 77. DJD: 34, 508.

3. [... the earth] thorns and thistles will it sprout for you, and its strength will not yield to you, [...]
4. [...] in your unfaithfulness *vacat* ...
5. [...] *vacat* her child and all the compassion of the one pregna[nt ...] you [...]
6. [...] all your treasures
7. [...] in all your delight, for everything it causes to sprout [for you...] continuously not
8. [...] and in a planting[...] them [... rejecting] the evil and knowing the good
9. [...] be]tween his way and the way of
9. [...] and bread.

#### D. Commentary

##### 1. Garden of Eden – Reworked 4Q423 Frgs. 1, 2:1–9

These fragments of 4QInstruction paraphrase and interpret the garden of Eden story. 4Q423 Frgs. 1, 2:1–2 set out the scenario at Eden and the stewardship entrusted to Adam to till the land and guard it. There is a difference between the Genesis account and the 4QInstruction interpretation in that the garden, and not just a tree, is described as giving knowledge. The phrase *וְכָל עֵץ נָעִים נִחְמַד לְהַשְׁכִּיל* is a conflation of Gen. 2.9 *וְכָל-עֵץ נִחְמַד לְמִרְאָה* and Gen. 3.6 *וְנִחְמַד הָעֵץ לְהַשְׁכִּיל*. The word *הַמְשִׁילָכָה* (line 2) alludes to Gen. 1.26–28, 2.15–16 and describes God placing human beings as stewards over creation. The passage indicates that there is some kind of relation between Adam and the *mēvîn*. The knowledge refers to an eschatological restoration of the wisdom of Adam given to the ‘sons of Adam’.<sup>78</sup> The same word *הַמְשִׁילָכָה* is used in 4Q418 Frg. 81.3 with reference to the God-given inheritance of the elect: ‘and he is your portion and your inheritance in the midst of the sons of Adam, and in his inheritance he made you govern’. The word probably has a double referent, referring to Adam and the garden of Eden, on the one hand, and on the other, to the elect ‘sons of Adam’ in relation to the end-time community and their inheritance.

4Q423 Frgs. 1, 2:3–4 refer to the situation in Eden after the sin of Adam and Eve. The curse on Adam in relation to the earth is described. There is a reversal of all that the garden stood for, and now the earth will bring forth thorns and thistles and working it will be a difficult proposition. 4Q423 Frgs. 1, 2:5–6 continue to describe the condition of human beings. They seem to paraphrase the curse on the woman in giving birth to children with great pain and also about her relationship with her husband. 4Q423 Frgs. 1, 2:7 picks up the theme of the planting and probably refers to God restoring

78. DJD: 34, 509.



the wise to live in an Edenic planting where they would reject evil and would have knowledge of that which is good. This is then appropriated by the DSS community as it expresses its ideology and self-understanding as the eternal planting who have received knowledge to walk in the paths of righteousness and reject evil living in a restored Eden.

#### *IV. Plant Imagery*

##### *A. The Eternal Planting – The Eschatological Community*

As with other eschatological writings there is a looking forward in 4QInstruction to a turning-point in the events of history, to the end of the present age and the inauguration of the new age.<sup>79</sup> Eschatological themes similar to those in other literature of the Second Temple period are also reflected: the idea of the final judgement where the wicked will be punished and the righteous rewarded; the expectation of a new age of glory; the idea of a renewed garden in which the righteous would live (4Q418 Frg. 81:13–14); and the metaphor of the eternal planting. The eternal planting in 4QInstruction has reference to both the eschatological community and a literal planting. It has Edenic echoes in that God has opened a fountain for all the holy ones which will sustain the elect and the angels (4Q418 Frg. 81:1). All those called by his name will be made holy and they will be the eternal planting bringing glory to God. The antecedent of the 3rd masc. sing. sfx. in ׀ is the eternal planting. 4Q418 Frg. 81:14, however, interprets the eternal planting as a garden in which the ones who inherit the earth will walk. Inheriting the earth and walking in the eternal planting is reminiscent of God walking in the garden of Eden (Gen. 3.8). The community interprets 4Q418 Frg. 81:14 as a reference to itself and to how they will regain the original garden as part of their inheritance, and therefore be in a renewed situation. As much as the *mēvîn* was to seek the judgement of all the wicked (4Q418 Frg. 81:7), the DSS community also sought the judgement of those who were contending against them. God had given the *mēvîn* insight and had made him govern all his treasures. Likewise, the DSS community understood that God had given them insight and had appointed them to govern. Moreover, they were expected to intercede and turn away God's anger from those who would respond, and punish others who would not. As the eschatological community they were also part of the angelic community.

4QInstruction has an eschatological understanding of history and its periods. In the present period God has chosen to reveal the mysteries of

79. Knibb 1999: 381.

history and the eschaton to the *mēvîn*.<sup>80</sup> History has been divided into different periods and there is an expectation of a definitive end, when God will intervene and banish evil forever.<sup>81</sup> This fits in with the ideology of the DSS community as reflected in 1QS 4:18–19: ‘God in the mysteries of his knowledge and the wisdom of his glory has determined an end to the existence of injustice and at the appointed time of the visitation he will destroy it forever.’ We have also noted earlier that there is a similar division of history in the Apocalypse of Weeks in *1 Enoch*. In this, at the end of the seventh week ‘the elect will be chosen as witnesses to righteousness from the eternal plant of righteousness’. This is then followed by the judgement of the wicked by the righteous, and finally a new heaven is revealed. The apocalypse covers large periods of history with short strokes and is primarily concerned with the end of history. But although it envisages an ‘end’, this is not a fixed point. Rather, it is an eschatological scenario where the old order passes away and the new takes over.<sup>82</sup>

Wisdom traditions also play a key role in the eschatological understanding of the DSS community. They see themselves as the elect who live through these different periods with special wisdom because of an eschatological act of God. In the Apocalypse of Weeks, the seventh week concludes with the choosing of the elect, who are given sevenfold wisdom and knowledge (93.1–10). So also *1 Enoch* presents this eschatological act of election in terms of a gift of wisdom which enables the ones who receive it to keep the Torah in a manner that will bring salvation in the coming judgement (99.10). In the Apocalypse of Weeks there is a sketchy recitation of history with different protagonists of good and evil. There are two sets of parallels between ancient times and the end-time. The first is in the second week when ‘falsehood and violence spring up’: that generation is punished by the flood and only Noah and his family are saved. The second prototypical age is when Abraham<sup>83</sup> is ‘chosen as a plant of righteous judgement, and his posterity will come forth as a plant of eternal righteousness’ (93.5).<sup>84</sup> The antitype of these two ages is the author’s own time, the seventh week when a completely perverse generation arises.<sup>85</sup> However, ‘at its conclusion, the elect will be chosen as witnesses of righteousness from the eternal plant of

80. Cf. 4Q418 Frg. 123 II:2–6: ‘at the coming of years and the going of the periods [...] everything that is in it with what came into being and what will be [...] its period, as God opened the ear of those who understand for the mystery to come [...] and] you that understand when you meditate upon all these things [...] in] her [ha]nd are balanced your deeds with [their] times[...’ (Elgvin 1996: 141).

81. Collins 1997: 52.

82. Collins 1997: 54.

83. Black 1985: 290.

84. Black 1985: 87.

85. Nickelsburg 1982: 341.

righteousness, to whom will be given sevenfold wisdom and knowledge. And they will uproot the foundations of oppression, and the destruction of falsehood therein to destroy it utterly'.<sup>86</sup> The purpose of this wisdom is to equip the elect as witnesses of righteousness or truth. In this capacity they will uproot the violence of the wicked and the falsehood of those who deceive.<sup>87</sup> In 4QInstruction God had given the *mēvîn* insight (4Q418 Frg. 81:9), as well as the ability to judge correctly (4Q418 Frg. 81:9–10), which takes on a corporate dimension in the understanding of the DSS community. As the eschatological community they see themselves in a similar age where the wicked must be punished. That responsibility is now given to the community, to be executed through the wisdom and insight given to them. Even though these Wisdom traditions did not originate at Qumran, the community had access to sapiential literature which was handed down to them. They then put their own convictions into words by means of inherited Wisdom terminology. The DSS community shared the creed of the early Jewish sapiential literature that 'correct conduct in life, fear of the Lord and clinging to his revealed will attest to insight and true knowledge', but understood this in the light of their own context.<sup>88</sup>

By their correct conduct and adherence to God's revealed will they would magnify God's glory and be the eternal planting (4Q418 Frg. 81:13). There is a play on the word פֶּאֶר and an allusion to Ps. 92.13–14 where the righteous are compared to the cedars of Lebanon which are שְׁתוּלִים בְּבֵית יְהוָה. פֶּאֶר may refer both to the glory of God and to the boughs of the eternal planting. The author has left it ambiguous so that there could be a dual reference. The instructor in 4QInstruction was part of the eternal planting and the *mēvîn* is himself called a holy one (4Q418 Frg. 81:4) and is asked to bless the 'holy ones' (4Q418 Frg. 81:1). As noted earlier, the *mēvîn* represents the individual members of the DSS community, and they are now in the company of the angels. Both 1QS and 1QH<sup>a</sup> regularly juxtapose the 'eternal planting' and the heavenly status of the community. This juxtaposition indicates that the DSS community are already experiencing the eschatological blessings of living with God's holy ones.<sup>89</sup>

Similarly, 4Q423 Frgs. 1–2:7 refer to the end-time community and God given knowledge. In this context וּבְמִטֵּעַ acts as a double referent for the DSS community, referring to a planting in the garden of Eden and to the eschatological DSS community. As seen earlier in 4Q418 Frg. 81:13–14, מִטֵּעַ in 4QInstruction is a designation for the eschatological community.<sup>90</sup>

86. Black 1985: 86.

87. Nickelsburg 1982: 341.

88. Van der Woude 1995: 256.

89. Tiller 2000: 272; Elgvin 1996: 141.

90. Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV(VI):15–19, XVI (VIII):5, 9, 20, 21; 1QS VIII:5; CD 1:7.

4Q415 Frgs. 2 i + 1 ii also use the language of planting: ‘and the seed of’ (line 4); ‘[F]or thy seed will not depart’ (line 5); ‘and thou shalt rejoice in the fruit’ (line 6); ‘at all times it will blossom’ (line 8); ‘and become renewed’ (line 9). The preserved text seems to contain promises of reward concerning eternity and progeny. One cannot tell whether the sentence refers to the immortality of the *mēvîn*’s זרע or to the survival of his descendants.<sup>91</sup> However, eternity and immortality are part of the DSS community’s expectation, and the surrounding text with its references to blessings on future generations for their present conduct in 4Q415 Frgs. 2 i + 1 ii serves their purpose well.<sup>92</sup> A similar idea is also seen in 4QpapAdmonitory Parable (4Q302) Frg. 2 II:2–9 where the tree in the parable may symbolise Israel, whom God had raised and treated as his chosen people, but whom he would abandon and destroy were they to sin.<sup>93</sup> In the Hebrew Bible and in the literature of the Second Temple period the metaphor of the plant is used to depict the righteous community, the true descendants of Abraham. This refers either to the national Israel of the eschaton or to a more narrowly defined group of the ‘elect’ or the DSS community.<sup>94</sup> However, in 4QInstruction the restoration of the people of God is on an individual basis for all those called by God’s name. There is no mention of the restoration of Zion or of the people of the twelve tribes, or of a Davidic king, or of any other eschatological figure.<sup>95</sup>

91. DJD: 34, 46.

92. DJD: 34, 45; cf. 4Q415 Frg. 8:3, Frg. 21:24.

93. DJD: 20, 136.

94. Cf. Isa. 60.21, 61.3; *Pss. Sol.* 14.1–4; *1 Enoch* 84.6, 93.5, 10; *Jub.* 1.16, 36.6.

95. Elgvin 1996: 141.

## PART TWO

### Chapter 6

#### TEMPLE IMAGERY IN 4QFLORILEGIUM (4Q174)

##### *Introduction*

Twenty-six fragments from Cave 4 dated to the second half of the first century BCE make up 4QFlorilegium. Steudel has arranged the extant fragments through material reconstruction according to their damage patterns and has proposed that eighteen fragments belonging to two different sheets of parchment can be assigned to six different columns.<sup>1</sup> The remaining eight fragments are left as 'die weiterhin nicht eingeordneten Fragmente von 4Q174.'<sup>2</sup> In the discussion below I follow the column numbering of Steudel.<sup>3</sup>

4QFlorilegium is a thematic interpretation of various passages of scripture: parts of Deuteronomy 33, 2 Samuel 7 and Psalms 1–2. The remains of column II<sup>4</sup> (Frgs. 4, 9, 10, 11) contain a quotation from Deut. 33.20–21 with an interpretation. Fragment 4 has hints of a discussion of the rule of Belial and may have had a quotation of Isa. 24.17–18 (cf. CD IV:10–14)<sup>5</sup> before leading on to 2 Sam. 7.10.<sup>6</sup> The sectarian nature of this composition is made clear by the principal fragments which, apart from the sovereignty of God, are primarily concerned with the character of the community as the eschatological temple in anticipation, and as the elect of Israel who are enduring a time of trial.<sup>7</sup> 4QFlor. (4Q174) is concerned with the way various unfulfilled blessings and prophecies are proleptically being fulfilled in the experiences of the DSS community.

1. Steudel 1994: 23–9.
2. Steudel 1994: 23–9; Frgs. 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25 and 26.
3. The column under discussion is numbered col. III by Steudel whereas Allegro numbers it col. I.
4. Steudel's column numbers are used throughout.
5. Steudel 1994: 40.
6. Puech 1993: 573; Brooke *EDSS*: 297.
7. Brooke *EDSS*: 298.

## I. 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) III:1–13

Temple imagery appears in 4QFlor. (4Q174) III:1–13 where the interpreter explains the text of 2 Sam. 7. Column III (Frgs. 1, 2, 21) preserves top and bottom margins, showing that there were nineteen lines in each column of this manuscript.<sup>8</sup> The column begins with the continuation of the quotation from 2 Sam. 7.10–11 which is further interpreted by means of Exod. 15.17–18. Brooke notes that the main feature of this unit is the pun on בית 'house', with reference to the sanctuary and its metaphorical significance in relation to the royal house of David.<sup>9</sup> While the pun is not explicit in the 2 Samuel text, it is the key feature in 4QFlor. (4Q174). The text of column III, lines 1–13 is dealt with in detail.

A. Text 4QFlor. (4Q174) III:1–13<sup>10</sup>

1. ולוא ירגיז ערך אויבניו ולוא יוסיף בן עולה [לענתו] כאשר  
בראישונה ולמן היום אשר
2. [צויתי שפטים] על עמי ישראל הואה הבית אשר [יבנה]  
ל[וא] באחרית הימים כאשר כתוב בספר
3. [משה מקדש] יהוה [ב]וננו ידיכה יהוה ימלוך עולם ועד הואה  
הבית אשר לוא יבוא שמה
4. וגם דור עשירי עד עולם ועמוני ומואבי וממזר  
ובן נכר וגר עד עולם כיא קדושו שם
5. יגל[ה] [כבודו] לעולם תמיד עליו יראה ולוא ישמוהו עוד  
זרים כאשר השמו בראישונה
6. את מקד[ש] ישראל בחטאתמה ויואמר לבנות לוא מקדש אדם  
להיות מקטירים בוא לוא
7. לפניו מעשי תודה ואשר אמר לדוד ו[ה]ניחתי לכה מכול  
אויביכה אשר יניח להמה מכול[ו]
8. בני בליעל המכשילים אותמה לכלותמנה באונמה כאשר באו  
במחשבת [ב]ל[ין]על להכשיל בנין
9. און[ר] ולחשוב עליהמה מחשבות און למנען ית[פשו] לבליעל  
במשגת אונמה *vacat*
10. והגיד לכה יהוה כיא בית יבנה לכה והקימותי את זרעכה  
אחריכה והכינתי את כסא ממלכתו
11. [לע]לם אני [א]היה[ן] לוא לאב והוא יהיה לי לבן הואה  
צמח דוד העומד עם דורש התורה אשר
12. יקום] בצי[ון] באחרית הימים כאשר כתוב והקימותי את  
סוכת דוד הנפלת היאה סוכת
13. דוד הנפלת] אשר יעמוד להושיע את ישראל *vacat*

8. Brooke *EDSS*: 297.

9. Brooke 1985: 129.

10. I follow Brooke's reading in this column unless otherwise stated (Brooke 1985: 86–87).

*B. Textual Notes*

## 4QFlor. III:1

ף[ולוא ירגז עןר אויבניו ולוא יוסיןף]: The horizontal stroke in ב is visible clearly in a 500% magnification of the photographs PAM 42.605, 43.440 on the CD-ROM<sup>11</sup> and PAM 41.807 on the Microfiche.<sup>12</sup> Brooke confirms reading ב from an examination of the original manuscript.<sup>13</sup> ולוא יוסיןף<sup>14</sup> is reconstructed from 2 Sam. 7.10. However, the MT reads the plural בני-עולה and ולא-יסיפו; so also the Syriac. But the LXX agrees with 4QFlor.: προσθήσει υἱὸς ἀδελφίας. Brooke suggests combining the reading of ולוא ירגז עןר אויבניו with the text of 2 Sam. 7 to reconstruct עןר אויבניו 'and their (Israel's) enemies will not disturb them anymore'.<sup>15</sup>

## 4QFlor. III:2

[צוירתי שפטימ]: Reconstruction following 2 Sam. 7.11.

[יבנה] ל[וא ב]אחרית: Reconstruction partially following Habermann, omitting יהוה as there is not sufficient space to include the four letters.<sup>16</sup> Brooke states that יבנה makes sense here owing to the biblical quotation which follows and also the frequency of בנה in the rest of 4QFlor. Its occurrence in III:10, where the corresponding section of the MT has יעשה, further supports this reconstruction. He also restores the ל with a third person singular suffix *plene* ל[וא] which is followed here.<sup>17</sup> Steudel follows Dimant and reconstructs [יכין] ל[וא] based on the verb occurring in Exod. 15.17–18, to indicate a connection between the citation and the pesher (מכון and כוננו).<sup>18</sup> She suggests in support III:10 where ודכינורתי is used. The weight of internal evidence favours יבנה, as the same verb is used in line 6 (לבנת), and line 10 (יבנה).

## 4QFlor. III:3

[משה מקדש] יהוה [כ]וננו: Reconstruction following Yadin based on Exod. 15.17.<sup>19</sup> Steudel, through her material reconstruction, has identified Frg. 21 as containing the word יהוה, preceding [כ]וננו.<sup>20</sup> Several Hebrew MSS of Exod. 15.17 from the Cairo Genizah and the Samaritan Pentateuch read יהוה instead of MT's ארני.<sup>21</sup>

11. Tov 1999: CD-ROM; PAM 42.605, 43.440.

12. Tov 1993: PAM 41.807.

13. Brooke 1985: 97.

14. Even though there is a stroke visible next to the vertical stroke of the ף, it seems to be the hook of the final ף rather than a ך; cf. Frg. 24 where the word מצרף occurs.

15. Brooke 1985: 99.

16. Habermann 1959: 173.

17. Brooke 1985:99–100.

18. Dimant 1986: 168; Steudel 1994: 42.

19. Yadin 1959a: 95.

20. Steudel 1994: plate A.

21. Von Gall 1918: 147; cf. BHS Exod. 15.17.

4QFlor. III:4

[גם דור עשירי עד עולם]: Allegro compares the לוא יבוא שמחה in line 3 with Deut. 23.3–4 and Ezek. 44.9.<sup>22</sup> Skehan and Strugnell reconstruct עד ערל לב וערל בשר

[עולם based on Ezek. 44.9.<sup>23</sup> Brooke suggests that because of the common occurrence of the three excluded classes of people, the ממזר, the מואבי, and עמוני, in 4QFlor. and Deut. 23.3–4, it is better to make restorations following these verses. He restores [גם דור עשירי עד עולם] which is followed here.<sup>24</sup>

וגר: Though other possible readings have been suggested, Baumgarten's work has shown that גר is the best reading here on the basis of evidence derived from the rabbinic tradition. According to the rabbinic interpretation of Deut. 23.3 in *b. Qidd.* 4.1, גר is associated with ממזר and the נתינים who were restricted from entering the congregation of the Lord, that is, to marry into legitimate families. Baumgarten also states that the restriction was on entry into the assembly of the Lord (קהל יהודה), which is the context of Deuteronomy, and not on participation in the activities of the congregation (עדה).<sup>25</sup>

קדושו שם: Most scholars read קדושי and so Allegro translates 'for my holy ones are there'.<sup>26</sup> Dupont-Sommer and Lohse take קדושי as a participle and conclude line 4 as 'ceux qui portent le nom de saints', 'they that are called saints' and 'diejenigen, die den Namen Heilige tragen', 'those who carry the name saints'.<sup>27</sup> Yadin renders 'for his holy ones there will be forever'.<sup>28</sup> Steudel translates 'die Heiligen des Namens'.<sup>29</sup> Brooke notes that unless it is an actual scriptural citation, it is difficult to justify a first person suffix.<sup>30</sup> As far as the participial construction is concerned, Brooke notes that it is an exceptional construction for the Hebrew to carry without some recourse to the following line. Maier, Slomovic, Brooke and Dimant read קדושו שם, a defective plural noun 3rd masc. sing. sfx., referring to the eschatological figures mentioned in 4QFlor. III:10–13. This is followed here.<sup>31</sup>

22. DJD: 5, 55.

23. Strugnell 1970: 221.

24. See Yadin who mentions Deut. 23.3–4 in association with 11QT XLV:13 (לא יבוא ליה) concerning the protection of the sanctuary from the blind (Yadin 1983: II, 136).

25. Baumgarten 1977: 82.

26. DJD: 5, 54.

27. Dupont-Sommer 1961: 312; Lohse 1964: 257.

28. Yadin 1959a: 96.

29. Steudel 1994: 30.

30. Brooke 1985: 105.

31. Maier 1960: I, 185; Slomovic 1969: 7; Brooke 1985: 106; Dimant 1986: 167.



4QFlor. III:5

גלה with כבוד [יגל]ה [כבודו]לעולם Restoration deriving from the use of כבוד with גלה in Isa. 40.5 יהוה כבוד יגלה, 'and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed'.<sup>32</sup>

4QFlor. III:6

מקד[ש]ישראל: All scholars restore likewise.<sup>33</sup>

*Plene* spelling with the א for לו and בו, which is frequent at Qumran.

4QFlor. III:7

מעשי תודה: Reading with Strugnell, Brooke and Steudel.<sup>34</sup> ר and ד in the text are similar and very difficult to distinguish (cf. line 13 דויד and line 14 רשעים). The 'deeds of thanksgiving' is appositional to מקטירים (cf. Amos 4.5). Steudel states: 'Bestätigt wird die Lesung מעשי תודה durch den kultischen Kontext der Stelle.'<sup>35</sup> Yadin suggests that 2 Sam. 7.11 may also be alluded to in 11QT III:3, which shares similar concerns with 4QFlor. III:4–7.<sup>36</sup> Brooke argues that even though the scribe wrote תודה he did not thereby entirely exclude the possibility of the audience appreciating that he was punning on the phrase מעשי תודה because in the next column he describes the way in which the elect in the community will perform the whole law (4QFlor. II:2 הוועשו את כול התורה).<sup>37</sup>

והניחתי: Restored *plene* from MT of 2 Sam. 7.11 והניחתי.

4QFlor. III:8

לכלותמנה ולשחיתמה: Habermann<sup>38</sup> reconstructs באנתמה; Yadin<sup>39</sup> לבלותמנה ובעוותתמה; Slomovic<sup>40</sup> במחשבותתמה; Brooke<sup>41</sup> לבלותמנה במשגתמה. All these reconstructions seem to be longer than the space available. Steudel<sup>42</sup> reconstructs באשמה which seems to be shorter than the required reading. Dimant's<sup>43</sup> reconstruction fits with the available space and is followed here.

להכשיל בני אור: Reconstruction based on 1QS III:24 בני אור.<sup>44</sup>

32. Brooke 1985: 104.

33. DJD: 5, 53; Brooke 1985:107; Dimant 1986: 167; Steudel 1994: 25; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 352.

34. Strugnell 1970: 221; Brooke 1985: 108; Steudel 1994: 44.

35. Steudel 1994: 44.

36. Yadin 1983: II, 5.

37. Brooke 1999: 288.

38. Habermann 1959: 174.

39. Yadin 1959a: 96.

40. Slomovic 1969: 7.

41. Brooke 1985: 109.

42. Steudel 1994: 44.

43. Dimant 1986: 167.

44. Brooke 1985: 109.

## 4QFlor. III:9

למ[ען ית]פשו: A similar discussion of how men are ensnared by Belial is found in CD IV:16–20 where the root תפש is used four times (line 16, line 18–2x, line 20). Based on that, Yadin,<sup>45</sup> Habermann<sup>46</sup> and Brooke<sup>47</sup> reconstruct as above and are followed here.

א[ת]מה: Most scholars read א[ת]מה except Strugnell<sup>48</sup> and Steudel<sup>49</sup> who read א[ש]מה and Yadin<sup>50</sup> who reads במשגתימה. Brooke<sup>51</sup> rightly notes that although Strugnell's proposal gives a stronger and clearer reading, the מה of the word to be restored is better read as the suffix from a syntactical point of view, and that is the reading followed here. There is a *vacat* at the end of this line.

## 4QFlor. III:10–11

רוהג[יד]: Restoration based on quotation from 2 Sam. 7.11b.

לע[לם אני אהיה]: Restoration based on quotation from 2 Sam. 7.13–14.

## 4QFlor. III:12

יקום] בעין ב]אחריית: Allegro omits reconstructing the first word and restores בעין ב]אחריית, which all scholars follow. As far as the first word is concerned, Habermann,<sup>52</sup> Yadin,<sup>53</sup> Slomovic,<sup>54</sup> Strugnell<sup>55</sup> and Dimant<sup>56</sup> all reconstruct יקום. There is also a possibility of reconstructing the Hiphil יקום, suggested by Dimant<sup>57</sup> and followed by Steudel.<sup>58</sup> Brooke<sup>59</sup> reconstructs ימשול and Van der Woude<sup>60</sup> ימלוך. Although Strugnell reconstructs יקום, he makes the action of the דורש התורה parallel to the העומד of the צמח דויד, and understands the דורש התורה to be the tent of David which is fallen.<sup>61</sup> This not only misunderstands the earlier use of the extended dependent relative clause in Hebrew, expressed with the article

45. Yadin 1959a: 96.

46. Habermann 1959: 174.

47. Brooke 1985: 110.

48. Strugnell 1970: 221.

49. Steudel 1994: 45.

50. Yadin 1959a: 96.

51. Brooke 1985: 111.

52. Habermann 1959: 174.

53. Yadin 1959a: 97.

54. Slomovic 1969: 7.

55. Strugnell 1970: 221.

56. Dimant 1986: 169.

57. Dimant 1986: 169.

58. Steudel 1994: 45.

59. Brooke 1985: 114.

60. Van der Woude 1957: 173.

61. Strugnell 1970: 221.

prefixed to the participle, but also misinterprets the long citation of 2 Sam 7.10–14, of which lines 11–12 are explanatory.<sup>62</sup> Brooke argues that a similar construction of עמד + משל occurs in Dan. 11.3 and 1QpHab VIII:9 and should therefore be assumed here.<sup>63</sup> A similar construction appears in Ben Sira MS A 10.4.<sup>64</sup> However, it is better to reconstruct יקום, as the same verb occurs in the biblical citation of Amos 9.11 which follows.

4QFlor. III:13

הנופלנת א[שר]: All scholars agree on this reconstruction.

### C. Translation

1. and [his] enemies [will not disturb him any]more; [neither] will violent men [contin]ue [to afflict] him as before and as from the day when
2. [I commanded judges] to be over my people Israel. It is the house which [he will build] for [him in] the last days, as it is written in the book of
3. [Moses. ‘A sanctuary,] O Lord, your hands have [es]tablished. The Lord will reign forever and ever.’ That is the house where these do not enter
4. [even to the tenth generation and for]ever: Ammonite or Moabite or bastard or the foreigner or proselyte forever, because his holy ones are there.
5. [His glory will be rev]ealed [for]ever, it will be seen continually over it. And strangers will not devastate it again as they devastated before
6. the sanctuar[y] of I[srael] with their sins. And he commanded them to build for him a sanctuary of men/Adam, for incense offerings to be in it for him,
7. before him, works of thanksgiving. And that he said to David, ‘And I [will give you re]st from all your enemies’, which means he will give rest to them from al[!]
8. the sons of Belial who cause them to stumble in order to destroy th[em] with their wicked]ness just as they came with the plots of Bel[i]al to cause to stumble the so[ns]
9. of lig[ht], and in order to devise against them plots of wickedness [so th]at they may be [ca]ught by Belial through their wi[cked] error. *vacat*
10. And the Lord [dec]lares to you that he will build a house for you. And I will raise your seed after you, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom

62. Brooke 1985: 113–14.

63. Brooke 1985: 114.

64. Beentjes 1997: 34.

11. [for]ever. I [will be] to him as a father and he will be to me as a son. He is the shoot of David who stands with the Interpreter of the Torah who
12. [will arise] in Zi[on at] the end of days as it is written 'I will raise the booth of David which is fallen', he is the booth of
13. David which is fall[en, w]ho will arise to save Israel. *Vacat*

#### D. Commentary

##### 1. The interpretation of 2 Sam. 7.10–14 – 4QFlor. (4Q174) III:1–9

4QFlor. III:1–9 is a *midrash* on 2 Sam. 7.10–14<sup>65</sup> with two supplementary texts: Exod. 15.17–18 and Amos 9.11. These texts are linked to the primary text or to each other through the exegetical principle of *gezerah shavah* (catchword).<sup>66</sup> The association between the two 'houses', one promised to David and the other in the Song of the Sea reference (understood by the community as the eschatological temple hoped for by the Israelites), is made by the root נטע found in both texts. מקום in 2 Sam. 7.10 is also interpreted as referring to the eschatological temple. After bringing the two texts together, the commentator interprets them on the basis of laws pertaining to the קהל יהודה drawn from Deut. 23.1–3, and applies them to the eschatological temple which he foresees. He identifies מקדש יהודה with קהל יהודה, seeing in the latter a reference to the exclusion of foreigners from the cultus, as it was during the time of Nehemiah.<sup>67</sup> Three temples are referred to in this section: the Solomonic Temple (4QFlor. III:5–6); the DSS community as the sanctuary in the present (4QFlor. III:6); and the eschatological temple which God will build (4QFlor. III:3–4).

4QFlor. seems to have drawn on the idea of a Sabbath rest for the people of God from 2 Sam. 7.10 (4QFlor. III:1). The theme is picked up again in 4QFlor. III:7 where the rest promised to David is interpreted as the period when God will give the DSS community rest from the sons of Belial, who cause the sons of light to stumble in order to destroy them. The DSS community are concerned with the various unfulfilled promises to the house of David which are now seen to be fulfilled in and through their community.

4QFlor. III:2–7 concerns the building of a 'house'. The main theme in the oracle in 2 Sam. 7 is the Lord's building of a house (dynasty) for David, and the second part of verse 12b is picked up in 4QFlor. III:10b–11a: ודקימותי וזרעכה אחריכה והכינתני את כסא ממלכתו לעולם. In 2 Sam. 7 the reference is to Solomon who is David's seed, who is to be established forever. זרעך אחריך אשר יצא ממעיך (2 Sam. 7.12 // 1 Chron. 17.11) parallels expressions from Gen. 15.4 and Gen. 17.7. Echoes of the Abrahamic

65. The text of 2 Sam. 7.10–14 represented in 4QFlor. is not that of the MT, LXX or S, yet it is not very different from them (Brooke 1985: 98).

66. Slomovic 1969: 7.

67. Myers 1965: 207 and Williamson 1985: 385–86.

Comparative Chart between 4QFlor. III:1–13 and the Biblical Texts it utilises – 2 Sam. 7:10–14; Ex:15:17–18; Deut. 23:3–4; Jer. 23:5 and Amos 9:11.

4QFlor. III:1–13

2 Sam. 7:10–11a

10. ושמתי מקום לעמי לישראל ונטעתיו ושכן תחתיו  
 ולא ירגז עוד ולא יסיפו בני עולה לענותו כאשר  
 בראשונה:  
 11a. ולמן היום אשר צייתי שפטים על עמי ישראל

Ex. 15:17b–18

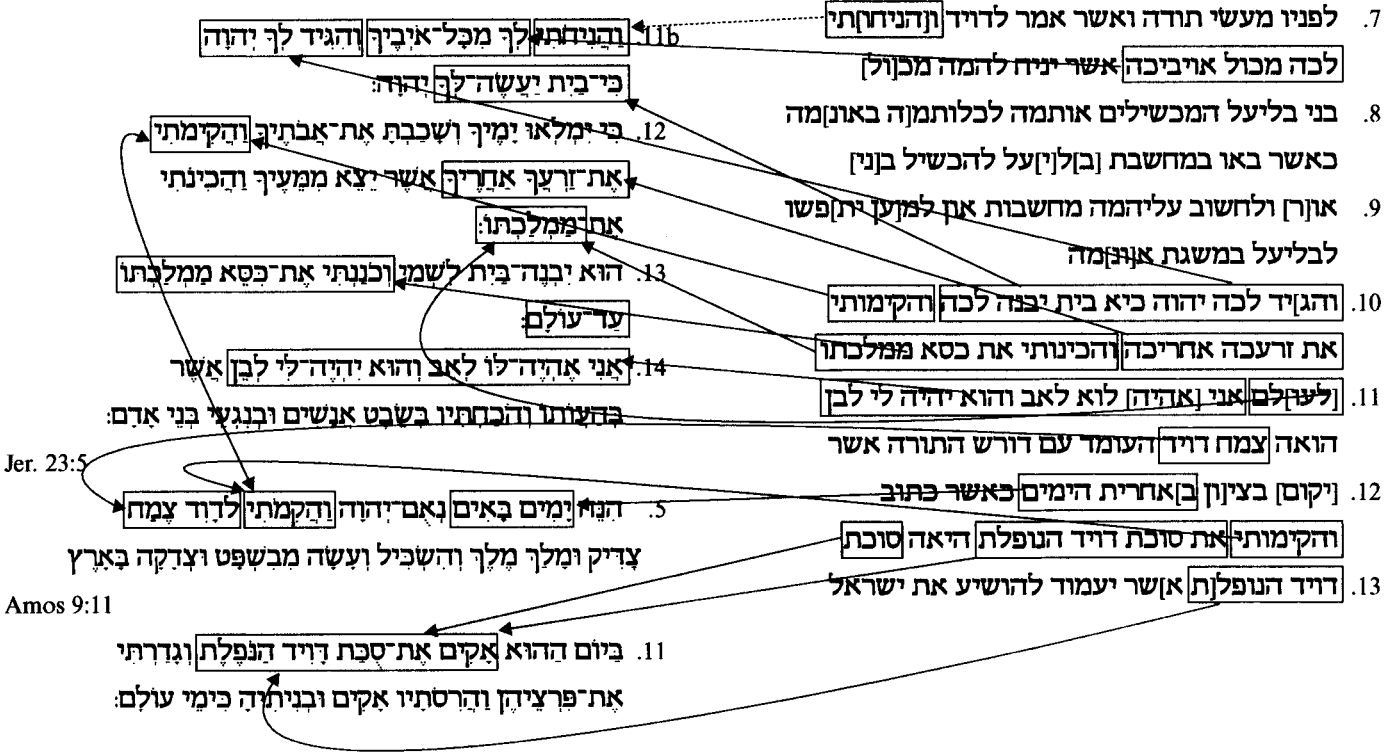
17. תבאמו ותטעמו בהר נחלתך מכוך לשבתך  
 פעלת יהוה מקדש אדני כוננו ידיו:  
 18. יהוה ימלך לעלם ועד

Deut. 23:3–4

3. לא יבא ממזר בקהל יהוה גם דור עשירי לא יבא  
 לו בקהל יהוה:  
 4. לא יבא עמוני ומואבי בקהל יהוה גם דור עשירי  
 לא יבא להם בקהל יהוה עד עולם:

1. ולוא ירגז עוד אויביו ולוא יוסיף בן  
 עולה.. לענותו כאשר בראשונה ולמן היום אשר  
 צייתי שפטים על עמי ישראל הואה הבית אשר  
 יבנה לנא באחרית הימים כאשר כתוב בספר  
 3. נמשה מקדש יהוה כוננו ידיכה יהוה ימלך עולם  
 ועד הואה הבית אשר לוא יבוא שמה  
 4. גם דור עשירי עד עולם ועמוני ומואבי וממזר  
 ובן נכר וגר עד עולם כיא קדושו שם  
 5. יגנלה נכבודו לעולם תמיד עליו יראה ולוא ישמוהו  
 עוד זרים כאשר השמו בראשונה  
 6. את מקדש ישראל בחטאתמה ויואמר לבנות לוא  
 מקדש אדם להיות מקטירים בוא לוא

1 The commentator identifies the direct object of 2 Sam. 7:10 מקום, with the direct object of Exod. 15:17 מקדש based on the scriptural precedent of the use of מקום to indicate the temple. Cf. Deut. 12:5, 11, 26; 14:25; 1 Kgs. 8:29; Neh. 1:9; 2 Chr. 6:20. See also the parallelism of 1 Chron. 16:27 and Ps. 96:6 where מקום replaces מקדש (Dimant [1986], p. 173).



covenant which are built into the Davidic covenant are now picked up by the DSS community. The age of David and Solomon was regarded in many ways as the fulfilment of the promises made to Abraham.<sup>68</sup> Now the community sees itself in the role of being a blessing to the nations.

## 2. *The eschatological figures – 4QFlor. (4Q174) III:10–13*

Parts of 2 Sam. 7.11b–14 are quoted in this section and are interpreted in the light of the two eschatological figures, the ‘interpreter’ and the ‘shoot of David’. The quotation has been considerably edited to provide the right text for the interpretation. This is a deliberate application of an exegetical principle<sup>69</sup> by which a text can be treated before it is quoted, and thereby made suitable for the commentary upon those parts selected.<sup>70</sup> The temporal phrase *אחרית הימים* in 4QFlor. III:2 and in 4QFlor. III:12 is one of the unifying factors between the two units. The main quotation from 2 Sam. 7 is interpreted with supplementary texts from Jer. 23.5 and Amos 9.11. The analogous use of *הקימותי* in all three biblical verses is an example of *gezerah shavah*.<sup>71</sup> There is also possibly an example of paronomasia in the treatment of Amos 9.11. The word *סוכת* could be taken to mean both ‘booth’ and ‘branch’, which helps in identifying the *צמח דוד* in line 11 as parallel to *סוכת דוד*.<sup>72</sup> *הקימותי* relates directly to 2 Sam. 7.12a<sup>b</sup>, Jer. 23.5 and Amos 9.11; the ‘seed of David’, ‘shoot of David’ and the ‘booth of David’. The ‘seed of David’ and the ‘booth of David’ are parallel terms, and it is the booth which requires explanation. This comes in 4QFlor. III:11–13 with a partial re quotation of Amos 9.11. Brooke notes that the *צמח דוד העמוד* of 4QFlor. III:11 is paralleled by the *סוכת דוד הנפלת* of 4Q Flor. III:12, and the ‘fallen booth of David’ of 4QFlor. III:13 is made to ‘stand’ (*יעמוד*) to save Israel. He further states that the

68. Gordon 1986: 239; cf. 1 Kgs. 4.20 with Gen. 22.17. Clements notes that the Davidic king stood at the centre of Israel’s political power as a source through which the Lord’s blessing and life was conferred upon the nation, and upon all nations allied to it. What the Lord had first promised to Abraham, and reaffirmed to succeeding patriarchs, had now been brought to marvellous fruition with the emergence of the Israelite state under David. He concludes by saying that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Yahwist himself saw an important connection between Abraham and David (Clements 1967: 59). The ‘eternal covenant’ of Genesis 17 throws light on why God established a similar covenant with David in relation to ‘his seed after him’ (2 Sam. 7.11–16; Ps. 89.4, 29, 36). The Davidic covenant acts as a divine guarantee that the promise of ‘international blessing’ which God made to Abraham will be fulfilled through a royal descendant of David. This explains the transference of the Abrahamic promises to the future Davidic king in Psalm 72 (Williamson 2000: 264–65).

69. Brooke identifies the deliberate omission through homoioteleuton as the exegetical principle used here (Brooke 1985: 111–12).

70. Brooke 1985: 138.

71. Amos 9.11 has the Hiphil impf. *אקים*.

72. Brooke 1985: 139.

care with which this is done is the best support for taking the two terms as expressing opposites of meaning, noting that עמוד usually means 'take office' in Qumran literature.<sup>73</sup> The 'booth of David' therefore is an eschatological messianic figure. This section describes the royal family aspect of בית as in 2 Sam. 7, and reflects the expectation by the DSS community of a royal Davidic Messiah, together with the eschatological Interpreter of the Law, through whom God's rule would be established and Israel saved.<sup>74</sup>

## II. Temple Imagery

### A. The Eschatological Community as the Sanctuary

The chart on pages 116–117 indicates the dependence of 4QFlor. on various biblical texts (2 Sam. 7.10–11a; Exod. 15.17b–18; Deut. 23.3–4; 2 Sam 7.11b–14; Jer. 23.5 and Amos 9.11). 4QFlor. III:1–2 is a quotation from 2 Sam. 7.10–11a<sup>a</sup>. The house of David is identified by the use of a relative clause הוואה הבית אשר, and a temporal phrase [ב]אחרית הימים (4QFlor. III:2). Exod. 15.17b–18 is then quoted to make a connection between the Davidic house and the sanctuary which the Lord was to establish (מקדש אדני כוננו ידיר) and which would last forever. מקום in 2 Sam. 7.10a is the referent for 'the house' in 4QFlor. III:2. The interpretation of 'house' as both a 'dynasty' and 'sanctuary' is probably taken from 2 Sam. 7.11, where בית refers to a dynasty, and 2 Sam. 7.13, where it refers to a sanctuary. Even though בית refers to the eschatological descendant of David, it is the sanctuary which dominates the discussion. Once the link between the two 'houses' has been made, the interpreter then draws on the entry regulations of Deut. 23.3–4 where the Ammonite, the Moabite and the bastard are prohibited from entering the house of the Lord 'until the tenth generation'. Between the Exodus and the Deuteronomy texts quoted there is a common link, thanks to the identification of the מקדש אדני as the קהל יהודה.

The commentator then resumes the quotation of the 2 Samuel text, drawing extensively from 2 Sam 7.11a<sup>b</sup>–14, and interspersing it with his own interpretation of the texts. וְהַנְחִיחוּתִי לְכָה מְכוּל אוֹיְבֵיכָה is drawn from 2 Sam. 7.11a<sup>b</sup> and is then interpreted as 'rest' from all the sons of Belial (עַל בְּלִיעַל אֲשֶׁר יִנְיַח לָהֶמָּה מִכָּוֶל בְּנֵי בְלִיעַל) (4QFlor. III:7–8). Following this interpretation, 2 Sam. 7.11b is quoted in כִּי יִבְנֶה בֵּית יְהוָה לְכָה, with the root בנה rather than עשה as in 2 Samuel 7. The use of יבנה may have been an intended pun on בני.<sup>75</sup> The words ימין ושכבת

73. Brooke 1985: 139.

74. Brooke 1985: 139.

75. Cf. the creation narrative in Gen. 2.22 where the Lord creates (וַיִּבְרָא) Eve from Adam's rib. Also Isa. 49.17 where 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> reads בְּנֵיךְ 'your builders', for MT בְּנֵיךְ 'your sons'.



את־אבת־ך from 2 Sam. 7.12a<sup>a</sup> are omitted and the quotation then resumes from 2 Sam. 7.12a<sup>b</sup> in *והקימותי את זרעכה אחריכה*, but omitting *אשר יצא ממעיך*, indicating that the interpreter is not particularly concerned with Solomon or any immediate descendant of David, but with some future eschatological descendant whom the Lord would establish. By omitting *והכינתי את־ממלכתו: הוא יבנה־בית לשמי* (2 Sam. 7.12b–13a),<sup>76</sup> the interpreter makes it clear that the descendant of David is not to be responsible for the building of the temple (as Zech. 6.12–13 may imply), but rather that God himself will build the temple. This idea is also expressed in the earlier quotation of Exod. 15.17–18 ('the sanctuary, O Lord which your hands have established. The Lord will reign forever and ever'), thereby asserting the tradition of a temple not made with human hands, a tradition which is also known in the Temple Scroll: 'I will cause my glory to rest on it (the interim sanctuary) until the day of creation on which I shall create my sanctuary, establishing it for myself for all time according to the covenant which I have made with Jacob in Bethel.'<sup>77</sup> The hermeneutical basis for linking 2 Sam. 7.10 with Exod. 15.17 is the occurrence of the verb *נטע* in both verses (2 Sam. 7.10 *וְנִטְעָתִי*; Exod. 15.7 *וְהִטְעַמְנוּ*). In the Exodus and Samuel texts God is the subject, and the pronominal suffixes refer to Israel as the object. In 4QFlor. the pronominal suffix of *וְנִטְעָתִי* is understood to refer to 'the place' (*מקום*), which arises from the author's use of pronominal suffixes in *ישמורו* and *עליו* (4QFlor. III:5) to refer to the temple.

Although *נטע* in Exodus 15 primarily refers to the transplanting of Israel as a garden on the Lord's holy mountain and in 2 Samuel 7 to the 'place' in which the Lord would plant them, there may also be an implication that Israel will 'camp' at God's mountain.<sup>78</sup> There may be an intended pun because of the homophony between *נטע* and *נטה*. In fact, in later biblical Hebrew *נטע* acquires the secondary meaning 'pitch a tent' (Eccl. 12.11, 'drive a nail'; Dan. 11.45). The combination of the concept of being God's plantation with the metaphorical allusion in 'pitch a tent' would have been attractive to the DSS community as they understood themselves to be God's plantation 'pitching a tent' in the wilderness. Apart from this, 'pitching a

76. *לשמי* 'for my name' seems to betray Deuteronomic influence which specifies the purpose of the Lord choosing the place 'to cause his name to dwell there' (Deut. 12.11), or 'to put his name there' (Deut. 12.5, 21). The presence of the divine name at the cult site served to emphasize the legitimacy of the appeal to God as it was carried out in the cult; the way and the manner in which the name of Yahweh is appealed to in the central sanctuary in Jerusalem represents the only legitimate form of cultic service which corresponds to the will of God, because Yahweh had deposited his name there (Rose 1992: *ABD* IV, 1003). *לשמי* is then deliberately omitted, since the DSS community did not accept the cultic service in Jerusalem as that which corresponded to the will of God.

77. 11QT<sup>a</sup> XXIX:9–10; Qimron 1996: 44; translation Vermes 1997: 200.

78. Propp 1999: 541.

tent' would have echoes of the tabernacle. In the Hebrew Bible the tabernacle represented God's dwelling among the Israelites. There seems to be a close connection between the terms used for the dwelling of God and the word used for 'tent' in the Hebrew, and this is picked up by the LXX. The LXX translates both the Hebrew words used for the tabernacle, אהל and משכן, by σκηνή meaning 'tent'. In rabbinic literature the word שכניה 'dwelling' or 'resting' is used in close connection with the tabernacle.<sup>79</sup> The link between σκηνή and the dwelling of God is likewise seen in the NT. The prologue to the Gospel of John (1.14) has the statement και ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο και ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, where the term ἐσκήνωσεν is homophonous with *shekinah* and indicates the dwelling of God.<sup>80</sup> For the DSS community the dwelling of God in their midst, as in the tabernacle during Israel's journey through the wilderness, was part of their self-understanding. This, in turn, led to very strict rules of purity. They saw themselves fulfilling the role of True Israel. The exegetical principles observed by the commentator here have one purpose in mind: to legitimise the claim that the DSS community were now fulfilling the role of the temple where God's presence was ever present.

This is further made clear by the restrictions surrounding entry of the sanctuary. Baumgarten suggests that the restrictions applied to the temple to debar the Ammonite, the Moabite and the bastard now apply to entry into the exclusive קהל (1QSa II:4) rather than to the congregation.<sup>81</sup> The problem with this proposal is that neither קהל nor עדה is specifically used in 4QFlor., and so the exact referent remains obscure. However, the key point made by the commentator is that the DSS community understood itself to be the מקדש אדם. The phrase מקדש אדם itself is much debated and has been translated in a variety of ways.<sup>82</sup> Yadin renders it as 'a sanctuary amongst men', that is, a sanctuary made by God in the midst of his people.<sup>83</sup> However, Brooke objects to this translation because it stretches the force of the construct. He states that this highly descriptive phrase could mean 'sanctuary of Adam' or 'sanctuary of man', which could also be taken collectively as 'sanctuary of men'.<sup>84</sup> Gärtner translates 'a temple of (among) men', and understands the temple to be made up of the members of the community.<sup>85</sup> Allegro proposed that the sanctuary will be 'man-made' and will be in the midst of people.<sup>86</sup> This is not possible, as the thrust of the

79. Horwitz 1972: col. 1351.

80. Vermes, P. 1994: 128.

81. Baumgarten 1977: 82.

82. See Wise (1994: 158) for a detailed analysis.

83. Yadin 1959a: 96.

84. Brooke 1999: 288.

85. Gärtner 1965: 34.

86. DJD: 5, 54.

interpretation derives from the juxtaposition of Exod. 15.17–18 with 2 Sam. 7.10, which indicates that God will build the eschatological sanctuary. Dimant translates ‘Temple of Men’, saying that the eschatological temple was different from the Temple of Men, but she does talk about a temple-like community.<sup>87</sup> Wise has done a detailed study of **מקדש אדם** and has proposed that it should be seen as a clarification of **מקדש אדני** of Exod. 15.17–18, which he takes to refer only to a building. He therefore understands that **מקדש אדם** also refers to a building, namely a temple that will be built until God himself builds the eschatological temple. Wise bases his arguments on the Temple Scroll, column XXIX, which refers to two temples: one which would be built as an interim temple, and which God would find satisfactory, and the final temple which God himself would create on the day of restoration.<sup>88</sup> CD III:19–IV:4 shows that God had already built a sure house for Israel – this is not a future act. Likewise, the Psalms Commentary 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> (4Q171) II:24b–III:2, an interpretation of Ps. 37.17–18, speaks of ‘the penitents of the wilderness’ or ‘the returnees of the wilderness’, which is a depiction of the DSS community’s present circumstances. In a later passage in the same commentary the *pesher* on Ps. 37.22 reads: ‘Interpreted, this concerns the congregation of the Poor, who [shall possess] the whole world as an inheritance. They shall possess the High Mountain of Israel [forever], and shall enjoy [everlasting] delights in His Sanctuary. [But those who] shall be cut off, they are the violent [of the nations and] the wicked of Israel; they shall be cut off and blotted out forever’.<sup>89</sup> Brooke therefore rightly notes that **מקדש אדם** is the interim sanctuary, one made up of men – the DSS community – and one which also anticipates the final sanctuary. It is not an interim building as prescribed in the Temple Scroll, but consists of the community (which is interim) and reflects the eschatological sanctuary which God will make.<sup>90</sup>

Two principal meanings for **מקדש אדם** seem to emerge from the above discussion. First, the ‘sanctuary of man/men’ is a reference to the DSS community, to whom the commentary is addressed as if they were formed to be a sanctuary proleptically.<sup>91</sup> Second, the ‘sanctuary of Adam’ indicates that both the proleptic DSS community-sanctuary and the divinely constructed eschatological temple would be places where God’s purpose of creating Eden would be fulfilled.<sup>92</sup> This temple would be absolutely pure, where angels would be present. It would be a temple which would be protected by the Lord; there would be no devastation as had happened to the

87. Dimant 1986: 179.

88. Wise 1994: 152–85.

89. Vermes 1997: 489.

90. Brooke 1999: 286–91.

91. Brooke 1985: 178–93; Brooke 1999: 288; Dimant 1986: 187–89.

92. Brooke 1999: 288–89.

first temple, nor defilement as had happened to the second temple. Thus the DSS community considered itself to be a temporary functional compensation for the invalid atonement in the desecrated temple at Jerusalem. Its lay members are said to form the בית קודש 'holy house', and its priests the 'holy of holies'.<sup>93</sup>

### B. Miqdash Adam, Rest, Eden and the DSS community

4QFlor. paints a colourful picture using various images to describe the eschatological community. There are the pictures of restored Adam, the sanctuary of men, the Edenic picture of the Sabbath rest and the eschatological temple. Two particular passages in the sectarian scrolls throw further light on this conglomeration of ideas and pictures. In CD III:19–IV:4 we note:

God, in his wondrous mysteries, atoned for their evil and forgave their sin. He built for them 'a sure house in Israel' whose like has never existed from ancient times until now. Those who hold to it will possess long life and all the glory of Adam (כבוד אדם). As God swore to them through the hand of Ezekiel the prophet, saying, 'The priests and the Levites and the sons of Zadok who kept the ministry of my temple when the children of Israel strayed from them shall offer to me the fat and the blood.' *vacat*. The priests are the returnees/penitents of Israel who left the land of Judah; and the Levites are those who joined them; *vacat* and the sons of Zadok are the chosen of Israel, the men of renown who serve in the end of days.

The author of CD draws from the text of 2 Sam 7.16 which refers to the Davidic covenant that was unconditional: <sup>94</sup>וְנֶאֱמַן בֵּיתְךָ וּמַמְלַכְתְּךָ עַד-עוֹלָם לְפָנַי. <sup>95</sup>בְּסֵאֶךָ יְהִי־נֶבֶן עַד-עוֹלָם 'Your house and your kingdom shall be made sure forever before me; your throne shall be established forever.' The promise to the Davidic king was that he might be punished and disciplined but that he would not be set aside. It is the concept of the 'house', which in 2 Samuel 7 is the Davidic dynasty, that is reworked by the author of CD to indicate that the 'sure house' now refers to the 'house' or 'sanctuary' that God has already built in Israel for all those whose sins have been forgiven, that is, the DSS community. The DSS community, which had a priestly basis, anticipated a temple cult before the final end, and saw themselves serving proleptically as a sanctuary and attaining long life and being restored to the likeness of Adam as God intended him to be.<sup>95</sup> In CD it is made clear that it is the DSS community who are enjoying this

93. Maier *EDSS*: 924; cf. 1QS V:6 and VIII:5–6.

94. Reading לְפָנַי rather than לְפָנֶיךָ with some Mss; cf. LXX, S, L<sup>CY</sup>.

95. Brooke 1999: 290.

inheritance. They are currently the 'sure house' or the sanctuary, and if they continue to remain steadfast then they will have life eternal and the 'glory of Adam'. Thus the passage in CD also concurs with a polyvalent reading of **מִקְדָּשׁ אָדָם** in 4QFlor. In these eschatological sanctuaries (one proleptic, and one final), Adam is obedient, and the elect perform the whole law, so fulfilling what was originally intended. **מִקְדָּשׁ אָדָם** serves as a dual referent so that both the *Urzeit und Endzeit* eschatology, and the place of the community in that scheme of things can be allowed to stand in the same phrase.<sup>96</sup>

This draws our attention back to the idea of paradise restored, in which Adam has regained his lost glory.<sup>97</sup> The idea of the glory of Adam is picked up by Ben Sira who declares: **וְעַל כָּל חַי תִּפְאֶרֶת אָדָם**,<sup>98</sup> 'the glory of Adam surpassed all the living.'<sup>99</sup> Within the DSS there is a further reference in 1QS IV:22b–23a: 'For those God has chosen for an everlasting covenant, and to them belong all the glory of Adam (**כְּבוֹד אָדָם**).' So also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV (XVII):14–15 the psalmist gives thanks because God forgives their sins, gives them the blessing of posterity, and the inheritance of the glory of Adam. For the just man, the return to dust is not the end; rather glorification is to follow because he will be restored to the glory of Adam, with an abundance of days in a life of intimacy with God.<sup>100</sup> There is a clear indication of belief in life after death, but whether this is 'resurrection' in the usual sense is not clear.<sup>101</sup> This at any rate reveals the self-understanding of the DSS community as the eschatological community, chosen by God and enjoying the benefits of restored Adam for eternity. The Targums<sup>102</sup> to Gen. 3.21 all explain that the Lord made '*garments of glory* for Adam'.<sup>103</sup> Even though this is only a partial restoration to the original condition,

96. Brooke 1999: 289.

97. Chazon traces the creation and the fall of Adam in 4QDibHam<sup>a-c</sup> (4Q504–506), 4QParaphrase of Gen. and Exod. (4Q422) and 4QInstruction (4Q423), but does not go further to see the themes of the restoration of Adam within the DSS (Chazon 1997: 13–24)

98. Beentjes 1997: MS B 49.16, 88. However, note that the word for 'glory' is different.

99. Vermes 1992b: 223.

100. Puech *EDSS*: 368.

101. Puech commenting on 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV (XVII):12–20 says, 'Le sorte réserve au juste, c'est d'être en présence de Dieu et d'hériter alors de toute la gloire d'Adam, dans l'abondance des jours, autrement dit une sorte de retour au paradis des origines, avec la promesse d'une vie qui ne finit pas, où la mort n'a pas sa place' (Puech 1993: II, 392).

102. *Tg. Onq.* Gen. 3.21 (Grossfeld [1988], p. 46); *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen. 3.21 (Maher 1992: 29); *Tg. Neof.* Gen. 3.21 (McNamara 1992: 62).

103. The tradition of Adam and Eve having been vested with clothes of glory (righteousness) is older and is seen in the Apocalypse of Adam 20, interpreting Gen. 3.7 as Adam's being naked of the righteousness with which he had been clothed (McNamara 1992: 62; Charlesworth 1985]: 281); R. Meir interprets 'Garments of light', reading **אֹר** for **עוֹר** (*Gen. Rab.* XX.12; Neusner 1985: 7).

the idea of the glory of Adam is picked up. In fact *Tg. Ps-J Gen.* 3.24b states that 'He (God) *established the garden of Eden for the righteous, that they might eat and take delight in the fruit of the tree, for having during their lives cherished the instruction of the Law in this world and fulfilled the precepts.*'<sup>104</sup> Thus there is a link between the Adamic and Edenic traditions which echo the final restoration.

The Adamic and Edenic traditions of restoration and rest are further elaborated in the concept of the 'inheritance of Adam'. The Psalms Commentary 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> (4Q171) II:24b–27 also mentions Adam while quoting Ps. 37.17–19a and interpreting it. The interpretation indicates that all the inheritance of Adam (נחלת אדם) will belong to the שבי המדבר, 'the penitents of the wilderness' (or 'the returnees of the wilderness'), and to their seed who will be saved and live forever (4QpPs<sup>a</sup> [4Q171] III:1–2a). The idea in Ps. 37.18 is that the righteous will have an eternal inheritance (ונחלתם לעולם תהיה), which seems to suggest that their share as the people of God will be inherited by their descendants and will last forever. In the *peshet* the inheritance therefore seems to be that of restored righteous Adam. Wise understands that this inheritance will only be realized in the future,<sup>105</sup> but this cannot be maintained in the light of what we have seen in CD III:19–IV:4. As the author elucidates the passage further he states: 'The priests are the returnees/penitents of Israel who left the land of Judah; and the Levites are those who joined them.' The reference is to the members of the DSS community and so confirms that the inheritance has already begun and is not merely an expectation in the future.

A comparison with another section from 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> (4Q171) III:10–11 gives further indication as to what the 'inheritance of Adam' could be. Interpreting Ps. 37.22, lines 10–11 read:

10. פשרו על עדת האביונים אןשר להם נחלת כול הן... ל... אשן<sup>106</sup>  
11. ירשו את הר מרום ישןאל ובהקר קודשו יתענגו ...

Its interpretation concerns the congregation of the poor, [to wh]om belongs the inheritance of all [... for] they shall inherit the high mountain of Isra[el, and] shall delight [in] his holy mountain.

The concept of 'inheritance' connects this text with the previous passage. The mention of the 'high mountain of Israel' and the 'inheritance of Adam' throws more light on what this inheritance could be. The word יתענגו and the phrase הר מרום ישןאל are fairly rare in the Hebrew Bible and their presence affords the possibility of tracing the textual basis and the

104. Maher 1992: 30.

105. Wise 1994: 181

106. Wise reconstructs הגדול[ים אשן] at the end of line 10, following Horgan but this is speculative and is therefore not followed (Wise 1994: 180; Horgan 1979: 197).

exegetical reasoning behind the passage.<sup>107</sup> Wise points out that *הר מרום ישראל* is a distinctive phrase that occurs only three times in the Hebrew Bible, in Ezek. 17.23, 20.40 and 34.14. In all three passages the emphasis is on the restoration of Israel. Ezek. 17.23 is part of an oracle of salvation that counters the judgement announced in 17.1–21. The text associates the Davidic line, referred to here as a ‘tender shoot’, with the mountain. It is the Lord himself who takes this tender shoot from the top of the cedar tree and plants it on the high mountain (*בהר מרום ישראל אשתלנו*). These verses draw a picture of the opposite of humiliation, while using the same vocabulary. This tree which the Lord plants is set in a most prominent and glorious place and bears all honour in itself. Zimmerli<sup>108</sup> comments that the description used for the mountain of God refers to the paradisaical place of God’s presence, together with the ‘world tree’ under which all the creatures of the earth gather. We have already noted that in 1QH<sup>a</sup> the DSS community used the idea of the ‘world tree’ to depict themselves.<sup>109</sup> A more direct connection between the mountain and Eden appears in Ezek. 28.11–19 where Eden is equated directly with the mountain of God. Ezek. 20.40 is likewise an oracle which depicts the gathering of the dispersed into the land at the time when they truly serve the Lord. Ezek. 34.14 is also part of an oracle which describes the dispersed being gathered together on God’s mountain by God himself as the true shepherd. The author of the Psalms Commentary draws various exegetical threads together as he juxtaposes the inheritance of Adam with the high mountain of Jerusalem. His use of (the figure of) ‘Adam’ leads one to think that he understood the mountain of Ezekiel 17, 20 and 34 as the one referred to in Ezek. 28.14: the holy mountain of God which is identified as Eden. This inheritance is then understood by the DSS community as the final period of rest where they will have rest from all their enemies, the sons of Belial. Even though much has yet to be fulfilled, in the DSS community God has inaugurated the final restoration with the reestablishment of Eden, the sanctuary of Adam.<sup>110</sup>

### C. *The Eschatological Shoot of David*

4QFlor. III:10–13 falls as a neat sub-section within 4QFlor. III:1–13 as the *vacats* at the end of line 9 and line 13 indicate. The commentator continues with the quote from 2 Sam. 7:13b–14a: *והכינתני את כסא ממלכתו [לעולם] אני [אדהיה] לוא לאב והוא יהיה לי לבן צמח דויד* whom God will raise at the end of time, who in turn will

107. Wise 1994: 181.

108. Zimmerli 1979: 367.

109. Cf. Chapter 2: section II. D., for the community as the ‘world tree’.

110. Brooke 1999: 291.

take office to restore Israel. This interpretation is followed by an explanation from Amos 9.11 which is partially quoted: **והקימותי את סוכת דויד והנופלת**, and the link is made through **סוכת**, with which the **צמח דויד** is identified. The commentator does not take much interest in the role of the Davidic Messiah in relation to the eschatological temple, as his focus is on the DSS community itself. In the interpretation of Ps. 2.2 which follows (4QFlor. III:18–19), the singular ‘his anointed’, which almost certainly occurred in the damaged opening of 4QFlor. III:19, is interpreted as referring to the elect of Israel (**בחרירי ישראל**) in the plural.<sup>111</sup> This is a deliberate reading of the psalm’s singular, **משירו**, as a defective 3rd masc. pl. sfx., thereby taking the messianic king to refer to the whole community of the elect. We have already noted earlier in Chapter 2 ‘Plant Imagery in the Hodayot’, dealing with the idea of the **נצר**, that similar messianic texts, usually interpreted in reference to a royal Messiah from David’s line (Isa. 11.1), are reworked (Isa. 60.21) and then applied to the whole nation.<sup>112</sup>

However, the traditional meaning of **צמח** has been redefined by Rose in his recent book. He argues that the understanding of **צמח** to mean either ‘sprout/shoot’ or ‘branch’ (a part of a plant) in the Hebrew Bible is flawed. Instead, he claims that an investigation of the syntagmatic (a relationship of combination) and paradigmatic (a relationship of choice) relationships in which **צמח** can be found suggests that the meaning of the word is ‘vegetation, greenery, growth’ (plants as a whole, possibly in a collective sense).<sup>113</sup> Of the twelve occurrences of the noun, four have figurative meanings (Jer. 23.5, 33.15; Zec. 3.8, 6.12). Rose examines **צמח** in Isa. 4.2, which has been interpreted by many scholars as a messianic prophecy. The verse reads: ‘In that day the branch of the Lord (**צמח יהוה**) shall be beautiful and glorious, and the fruit of the land (**פרי הארץ**) shall be the pride and glory of the survivors of Israel.’ He claims that the translation ‘branch’ has been influenced by the translation ‘branch’ for **צמח** in the passages in Jeremiah and Zechariah, and that the parallel ‘fruit of the land’ indicates that the phrase **צמח יהוה** refers to the ‘growth’ which the Lord will bring about. Rose believes that a messianic interpretation of **צמח יהוה** is implausible here and elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, as it is too restricted to be called a title although it is certainly a messianic title in the DSS.<sup>114</sup> Mowinckel also states that **צמח** was linked to the expectation of the restoration of an ideal monarchy which was characteristic of Jewish messianic theology. Only later does this term become a technical messianic

111. Brooke 1999: 287.

112. Cf. Chapter 2: section II. B. The Community – Collective Identity of the **נצר**. Also, ‘the sure mercies of David’ are extended to the community at large.

113. Rose 2000: 91–120.

114. Rose 2000: 107.



term, veiled and allusive, after the fashion of later eschatology and apocalyptic.<sup>115</sup> Rose takes the phrase *צמח יהודה* as parallel to *פרי הארץ*. If the Messiah is the branch, then who is the ‘fruit of the land’? As a consequence he interprets the verse to mean that the Lord promises a renewed fertility to the land, which will spring forth in the new period of Zion’s restoration. However, the parallelism argument is not binding since this is not a poetic section. Traditional interpretation has followed the Targum in interpreting the phrase messianically. The warrant for this interpretation is in the clear messianic reference to the *צמח* in Jer. 23.5, 33.18, and Zech. 3.8, 6.12 (cf. Ps. 132.17). Scholars point out that the ‘branch’ in Isa. 11.1 is related to the scion of David, and not to Yahweh as in Isa. 4.2. Childs rightly points out that the interpretation of *צמח יהודה* depends on the question of proper context. From a strictly philological perspective, the literal rendering of the passage as a promise of renewed fertility and beauty for the land is not wrong. But the exalted style of the entire passage warns against a flat and prosaic interpretation. The promise of a beautiful and glorious increase of vegetation plays on the eschatological theme of a return of paradise. Vineyards will be planted and their fruit eaten (Isa. 65.23). Zion will rejoice from the sheer abundance of food and drink (Isa. 66.11). The wilderness will become a fruitful field (Isa. 32.16). Zion will become a crown of beauty (Isa. 62.3), and those eating its fullness will praise the Lord (Isa. 62.9; cf. Hos. 14.5–8; Amos 9.13–15; Isa. 30.23). The context therefore confirms the messianic interpretation of *צמח יהודה* in Isaiah 4.<sup>116</sup>

The explicit messianic reference of *צמח* in Jer. 23.5 seems to have influenced 4QFlor. III:10–13. Though most scholars note only the influence of Amos 9.11, I would argue that there is enough verbal evidence to show that the commentator was also thinking of Jer. 23.5 as he reworked this tradition.<sup>117</sup> The words *ימים באים* are paralleled in 4QFlor. III:12 by *בהקמתי*; *באחרית הימים* is found in 4QFlor. III:12b and *לדוד צמח* is represented by *צמח דוד* in 4QFlor. III:11. In the Jeremianic context the preceding oracles of the prophet announce the rejection of the kingship of Coniah, the then king (Jer. 22.24–29), and of his offspring, so that ‘none of his offspring shall succeed in sitting on the throne of David and ruling again in Judah’ (Jer. 22.30). The unequivocal rejection of the seed (*זרע*) of Coniah for future kingship raises the question of the future Davidic dynasty. It is in this context that there is a prophecy on the wicked shepherds and a promise that God will raise up good shepherds. After this prophecy the prophet proclaims God’s promise to raise *צמח צדיק* (Jer. 23.5) for David. Amsler<sup>118</sup> contrasts *זרע*, as signifying an uninterrupted line of

115. Mowinckel 1956b: 19–20.

116. Childs 2001: 35–36.

117. See comparative chart.

118. Amsler *THAT*: II, cols. 563–66.

descendants within the Davidic dynasty (2 Sam. 7.12), and **צמח צדיק**, as a phrase which the prophet uses to proclaim a legitimate heir through whom the threatened and imperilled house will be completely renewed and restored to its privileged position. Wanke also comments that the word used to indicate human descendants is usually **זרע**, but the use of **צמח** here suggests that something unusual is going on in this context, pointing to something extraordinary developing from the stump of Jesse (Isa. 11.1).<sup>119</sup> In examining Isa. 11.1, Nielsen observes that the prophet uses the words **הטר** and **נצר** in combination with the name of David's father Jesse, to confront a situation of decline in the Davidic dynasty, and to designate the future king not as one from the Davidic line but as a new David.<sup>120</sup> There is a reversal of expectations. The reversal is a result of the direct intervention of God, in which historical causation is bypassed. McKane comments that the oracle of Jer. 23.5 does not indicate that one Judaeen king would be replaced by another within the framework of the continuing historical institution of monarchy, but rather the downfall of the historical institution of the Davidic monarchy without any connection between the present circumstances and future hope in terms of historical probabilities.<sup>121</sup> This is probably how the DSS community also read this oracle. They did not see a descendant of David who would be raised as the **צמח** in the eschaton, but rather saw themselves as those who had already been raised as the **צמח דוד**.

Rose states that the distancing from the Davidic dynasty in Jer. 23.5 is further clarified by the particular prepositional phrases used. The dynastic oracles in 2 Sam. 7.12 and Jer. 23.5 have in common the verb **והקימתי** but differ in the choice of preposition: **מן** versus **ל**. Following is a comparison of the phrase **לדוד** in Jer. 23.5 with 2 Sam. 7.12:

The days are surely coming, says the Lord, when I will raise up for David a righteous Branch (**והקימתי לדוד צמח צדיק**), and he shall reign as king and deal wisely, and shall execute justice and righteousness in the land. (Jer. 23.5)

When your days are fulfilled and you lie down with your fathers, I will raise up your offspring after you, who shall come forth from your body (**והקימתי את־זרעך אחריך אשר יצא ממעיך**), and I will establish his kingdom. (2 Sam. 7.12)

The use of **ל** in Jer. 23.5 as opposed to **מן** in 2 Sam. 7.12 shows that 'David' is not the origin or source of a new sprout as in Isa. 11.1, but only the recipient of the **צמח**. Moreover, the word-order **לדוד צמח צדיק**,

119. Wanke 1995: 205.

120. Nielsen 1989: 133.

121. McKane 1986: 560–61.

verb–prepositional phrase–object, raises the question whether the position of the prepositional phrase before the object of the verb is deliberate. Rose states that it is deliberate and makes good sense when connected with the *צמח-זרע* contrast.<sup>122</sup> The distancing implicit in the Jeremiah text is probably the reason why the DSS community opts to weave it into their interpretation. In their own context the *צמח דויד* is identified as one who stands with the interpreter of the law. The idea of the DSS community being raised up by the direct intervention of God to fulfil the promises made to the people of Israel through Jeremiah is made explicit by the quotation from Amos 9.11. In the context of Amos the verse declares an unconditional promise: the Lord will restore the fallen booth of David. The unique image of the booth rather than a house is probably used to indicate the united kingdom of Israel. The fallen booth of David refers to the fallen or falling state of the Davidic empire, the result of the split of the united kingdom into Israel and Judah. The division of the kingdom was a momentous and tragic event in the history of Israel and hence the image of a ‘fallen booth’ that is dilapidated, unstable and precarious.<sup>123</sup>

However, in relation to the eschatological shoot of David, the Pentateuch, Prophets and Psalms together offer a striking series of oracles expressing national aspiration in the form of hopes for a coming king. In the Pentateuch these prophecies are uttered by Jacob and by Balaam in the Shiloh and the Star oracles (Gen. 49.10; Num. 24.27), which refer to a specific Israelite ruler relating to the ‘future days’ (*אורית הימים*). The Song of Moses (Exod. 15) and the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 32–33) have prophecies of the kingdom of God and blessings on Israel. The coming king would therefore usher in the kingdom of God. This idea is reflected in the Former Prophets, particularly in 2 Sam. 23.1–7 which speaks of God’s mercy to his anointed David and to his seed forever. In the Latter Prophets, Isaiah 7, 9, and 11 are further developed by Isa. 16.5; Jeremiah includes expectations that ‘they would serve the Lord their God, and David their king’ (Jer. 23.5; 30.9); and Ezekiel expresses this expectation in the setting of restoration and of war, and of a new city and temple (Ezek. 34.34; 37.24). The Twelve Prophets, probably completed by the end of the Persian period, have many such oracles, notably Hos. 3.5, on the return to David again in ‘future days’; Amos 9.11, on the booth of David; and Micah 5.2–4, on the ruler from Bethlehem.<sup>124</sup> As noted earlier, 4QFlor. III:1–13 draws on Exodus 15, Jer. 23.5 and Amos 9.11, and interprets them as references to the restoration of the people of God in the last days, with the Messiah of David inaugurating that kingdom. Messianism therefore can be regarded as having

122. Rose 2000: 118–19.

123. Paul 1991: 290.

124. Horbury 1998: 27.

a deep-rooted and long-standing influence in the Judean community at the beginning of the Second Temple period.<sup>125</sup> It is this idea of a restored community which the DSS community find in the figures of the **צמח דוד** and the **סוכת דוד**.

Within the DSS, the phrase **צמח דוד** occurs in three other texts. In 4Q161 (4QpIsa<sup>a</sup>) Frgs. 8–10 III:17: **פשרו על צמח דוד העומד באחרית** **דימיים**,<sup>126</sup> '[Its interpretation concerns the Shoot of] David who will take office in the end of days.' Though the word **צמח** is reconstructed, it is highly probable, as the passage under consideration is Isa. 11.1–5, which is quoted in the *peshet*. The words **צמח** and **נצר** are used of the Davidic descendant who receives the spirit of discernment, wisdom, courage and knowledge and who will judge the wicked. He is the embodiment of righteousness and faithfulness.<sup>127</sup> God will sustain him with a spirit of strength and he will have a glorious throne, a holy crown and multi-coloured vestments. He will rule over the nations. There is also a group which teaches him and gives him authority (4QpIsa<sup>a</sup> Frgs. 8–10 III:17–25).

A second text where **צמח דוד** occurs is in 4QCommentary on Genesis A (4Q252) V:1–4: *The Sceptre shall [not] depart from the tribe of Judah (Gen. 49.10a). When Israel rules [there will not] be cut off one who occupies the throne for David (Jer. 33.17). For the staff (Gen. 49.10a) is the covenant of the kingship; the [thousa]nds of Israel are the standards (Gen. 49.10a) vacat until the coming of the messiah of righteousness, the shoot of David (צמח דוד). For to him and his seed has been given the covenant of the kingship of his people for everlasting generations...'*<sup>128</sup> Here the 'messiah of righteousness' is in apposition to **צמח דוד** and therefore has a clear messianic interpretation. He is associated with righteous rule and unending kingship over God's people.

A final text where **צמח דוד** occurs is 4QSM (4Q285) Frg. 5: 2–4: 'And there shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse [...] the Branch of David and they will enter into judgement with [...] and the Prince of the Congregation, the Bran[ch of David] will kill him.'<sup>129</sup> In line with common *peshet* practice the passage following the *lemma* is the interpretation of the text cited. The Branch of David is in apposition to the Prince of the Congregation. He is the Messiah, the shoot of Jesse, who is expected to judge, smite the earth and kill the wicked (Isa. 11.4). This also points to the triumphant Messiah, son of David, an idea common in Jewish and Qumran expectation. The **צמח דוד** within DSS therefore has messianic connotations, finds its roots in the Hebrew Bible, and is appropriated by the DSS community.

125. Horbury 1998: 25.

126. DJD: 5, 14.

127. VanderKam 1994a: 216.

128. DJD: 22, 205–6.

129. Vermes 1992a: 88. Also reading **דחמיתו**.

## Chapter 7

### TEMPLE IMAGERY IN THE SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE – SHIROT ‘OLAT HA-SHABBAT

#### *Introduction*

The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice are a liturgical cycle of thirteen related compositions, one for each of the first thirteen Sabbaths of the year. Although the greatest portion of the text is concerned with the angelic priesthood, there is reference made to the human community and its priesthood, thereby indicating that there is an angelic/human community in the heavenly temple. The songs refer to the offering of praises, the *merkavah*, and the sacrifices offered in the heavenly temple.<sup>1</sup> Ten fragmentary copies of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (hereafter ShirShabb) are extant: eight from Cave 4 (4QShirShabb<sup>a-h</sup> [4Q400–407]), one from Cave 11 (11Q17), and one from Masada (Mas 1k).<sup>2</sup> On palaeographical grounds it is likely that ShirShabb was composed not much later than 100 BCE. It is not clear whether the text is a composition of the DSS community itself or a pre-DSS community text adopted and copied by the community. The evidence for the provenance of the composition is ambiguous. However, on the basis of the distribution of the copies, internal evidence, and the relationship between the songs and other clearly sectarian literature from Qumran, a pre-DSS community origin seems likely.<sup>3</sup>

Despite the fragmentary condition of the manuscripts, the content of the songs and the overall structure of the cycle are clear. The songs begin with a standardized heading, identify it as a composition for the *maskil* and give the number and date of the Sabbath. There is then a call to praise, introduced by the imperative *הללו*, followed by a direct object which is an epithet for God, and a vocative, an angelic title. Songs 1–5 describe the establishment of the angelic/human priesthood and its duties, and recount the praise which this angelic/human community offer to God. Eschatological themes, reference to a human priesthood and human worshippers all

1. Newsom 1990b: 179.

2. Newsom *EDSS*: 887.

3. Newsom *EDSS*: 887.

occur in these songs. Since the angelic priesthood, the praises offered by angels, the heavenly temple, the chariot of God and the sacrifices offered in the heavenly temple are key elements in ShirShabb, they would have been directly relevant for the DSS community who, in turn, seem to have appropriated it. ShirShabb provided an element of liturgical co-operation which actually bound heaven and earth together through its use. For the DSS community the recital of the songs would have helped in creating a collective religious experience of being in the heavenly temple exercising a role as faithful and legitimate priests in spite of the present apparent contradiction.<sup>4</sup> It would have provided a means of validating their identity as priests despite their separation from the temple in Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> Although there is no evidence that this document was restricted to members of the priesthood, the text enhances the sense of priestly identity through its vivid description of the Israelite priesthood's angelic counterparts. Temple imagery primarily occurs in 4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:1–21 and is dealt with in detail below.

### I. 4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:1–21; 4Q401 Frg. 15.<sup>6</sup>

#### A. Text – 4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:1–21

1. ]למשכיל שיר עולת השבת הראשונה בארבעה לחודש הראישון הללו
2. ]לאלודי [...]ה אלודי כול קדושי קדושים ובאלוהות {ר}?
3. ]בקדושיעד קדושי קדושים ויהיו לו לכוהני
4. ]קורב קדושי קדושים] משרתי פנים בדביר כבודו בעדה לכול אלי
5. ]אלוהים חרת חוקיו לכול מעשי רוח ומשפטי
6. ]פיהו[.....]דעת עמ' בינות כבודי אלוהים vacat לקרובי דעת
7. ]עולמים וממקור הקודש למקדשי קודש
8. ]קדושים [...]כוהנני] קורב משרתי פני מלך קודש
9. ]קדושים [...] כבודו וחוק בחוק יגברו לשבעה
10. ]סודי קודש כיא יסודם [לן לקדושי קדושים משרתים בקודש קדושים
11. ]קורבו בם לפי סוד[.....] מדעת
12. ]קודש קדושים כונהני[.....]המה שרי
13. ]הנצ[בים בהיכלי מלך [.....] בגבולסובבנחלתם
14. ]תם לוא יכלכלו כול [נעוין דרך ואין] טמא בקודשיהם

4. Frennesson 1999: 96.

5. Newsom *EDSS*: 889.

6. I follow Newsom's reading for this column unless otherwise stated (Newsom *DJD*: 11, 176).

7. Scribal dots for deletion of the suffixed ׀.

8. Medial instead of final ׀.

15. [...] וחוקי קודשים חרת למו בם יתקדשו כול קדושי עד  
ויטהר טהורי
16. [אור לחבל כול נעוי דרך ויכפרו רצונו בעד כול  
שבי פשע vacat]
17. [...] דעת בכוהני קורב ומפיהם הזרות כול קדושים עם משפטי
18. [...] חסדיו לסליחות רחמי עולמים ובנקמת קנאתו
19. [...] ות יסד לו כוהני קורב קדושי קדושים
20. [...] ל[...] אלים כוהני מרומי רום ה[ק]ר[בים]
21. [...] ל[...] ל[...] ל[...] ת[ש]בוחות

### Textual Notes

All lines have their initial words missing, as the right hand side of the column is broken.

4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:3–5

ב[ק]דושיעד: No separation between the two words. Qimron notes that the י of ב[ק]דושי may have been secondarily inserted since it is written slightly below the line.<sup>9</sup>

[קורב קדושי קדושים]: Reconstruction following 4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:19.

[פיהו.....]: Following Newsom,<sup>10</sup> cf. 4QShirShabb<sup>d</sup> (4Q403) Frg. 1 I:39.

4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:6

עם can be taken as the preposition 'with' or as the noun 'people'; here the latter is preferred since the phrase **עם בינות** elsewhere appears in a negative context with **עם** as a noun: **לעם לא בינות** (1QHa X [II]:19) and **לא עם בינות הוא** (CD V:16), both modelled on Isa. 27:11: **כי לא עם בינות הוא**.<sup>11</sup>

**כבודי**: Reading a Qal pass. ptcp. with Qimron. He states that even though there are no passive participles of **כבד** in early Hebrew sources, the use of passive participles in the construct state is common in ShirShabb and in other DSS: **מרוחקי מלך** 'those rejected by the king' and **מאוסי אלוהים** 'those despised by God' (4QLiturgical Work B, 4QLiturgical Work C [4Q476, 4Q476a] Frg. 1:4, 6); **מגלי ארץ** 'with opened ears' (1QM X:11).<sup>12</sup>

9. Qimron 1986b: 358–59.

10. Newsom DJD: 11, 180.

11. DJD: 11, 180.

12. Qimron 1986b: 359.

4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:7

וממקור: A superscribed mark is present between the מ and the ק resembling a ׀ but it appears to be an accidental blot of ink. The parallel text 4Q401 Frg. 15:2 reads וממקור הנקודש. The surface of the leather in 4Q400 is cracked where the ׀ is.<sup>13</sup>

4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:8

קודש [קודשים] כבוד[נ] קורב: The end of line 7 reads למקדשי קודש and so it makes perfect sense to restore למקדשי קודש [קודשים], a frequently used superlative genitive ‘most holy sanctuaries’ in ShirShabb (4Q403 Frg. 1 II:21; 4Q404 Frg. 5:5; 4Q405 Frg. 23 II:11–12). For restoration of קורב [כבוד[נ] קורב] cf. 4Q400 Frg. 1 I:19.<sup>14</sup>

קורב: Reading a noun form literally meaning ‘nearness’ but translated as ‘inner sanctum’. It appears to be a technical term for the ‘inner sanctum’ in ShirShabb. Qimron notes that a striking phenomenon of dissimilarity between the DSS and the Tiberian tradition is in the formation of nouns in the *qitl*, *qatl*, and *quṭl*, patterns. Several nouns in the Tiberian tradition found in the *qitl*, and *qatl* pattern occur in the DSS in the *quṭl* patterns. Here the Tiberian tradition would read קרב<sup>15</sup> where the DSS reads קורב.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, he states that these types of words betray Aramaic phonological, morphological and syntactical features like the preservation of the Proto-semitic long *ā* which is evident here.<sup>17</sup> Davila on the other hand misreads the text as קורב and states that the word is the Qumran equivalent of the BH noun קרב meaning ‘midst’ or ‘inward parts’ and cites other examples which carry a similar meaning but states that it is used here with a technical meaning of the holy of holies in the heavenly temple.<sup>18</sup> Qimron’s reading of a noun form meaning ‘nearness’ makes better sense as we have numerous references of the priests drawing near to God as part of their calling (Exod. 29:4; 40:12, 14; 1 Sam. 14:36 etc.).

4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:9

[..... קודשים]: The end of line 8 reads מלך קודש, and therefore reconstructing with the frequently used [..... קודשים] makes sense.<sup>19</sup>

4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:10

סודי קודש כּיּא יסודם [לן] לקדוּשי קודשים משרתים בקדוּש: Reconstruction of סודי קודש based on 4QShirShabb<sup>d</sup> (4Q403) Frg. 1

13. DJD: 11, 177.

14. DJD: 11, 181.

15. HALOT: 1134; BDB: 898.

16. Qimron 1986a: 65, §330.1a.

17. Qimron 1986a: 116, §600.

18. Davila 2000: 98.

19. DJD: 11, 181.



II:22.<sup>20</sup> Only the ך and the ם are visible and so יס[רם] is partially reconstructed. There is probably space for two letters after יס[רם] and so [ל] has been reconstructed. Since the end of the line בק[ודש קודשים] is preserved, it is possible perhaps to restore קדושים משרתים; cf. line 4.<sup>21</sup>

ב[ק]ודש קודשים: The phrase here clearly refers to the 'inner sanctum' the 'holy of holies'. Bockmuehl, while dealing with this phrase in 1QS VIII:5–6 and IX:6, states that the identification of the phrase קודש קודשים with the temple's inner sanctuary is highly dubious as the biblical references tend to use the definite article when referring to the inner sanctum (קדש הקדשים Exod. 26:34, 1 Kgs. 6:16 etc.), and therefore must be translated as 'most holy'.<sup>22</sup> However, within the DSS corpus the phrase never occurs with the article. The phrase קודש קודשים occurs 49x (including partial reconstructions) out of which there are at least three explicit references, and probably one not so clear referring to the 'inner sanctum' (4Q405 Frgs. 14–15 I:4, 7; 4Q405 Frg. 19:4) apart from 4Q400 Frg. 1 I:10.

4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:11

ב[ק]רבו.....]: Probably a 3rd masc. pl. verb ending rather than a construct plural ending. Either רבו 'they became great (among them)', or קרבו 'they approached (them)' (cf. Ps. 91:10 for similar construction).

...[.....]סוד: Fragment missing after סוד.

4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:12

כ[ו]ן[ה]ני.....ה[מ]ה שרי:<sup>23</sup> Partial reconstruction.

4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:13

ה[נ]צ[ב]ים.....]: Reconstructed as a Niphal ptcpl. masc. pl. cf. 1 Kgs. 9:23.

[.....] מ[ל]ך: Fragment broken at this point.

בגבולמובנהלתם: No space separates the words. Qimron states that the ן may have been inserted later.<sup>24</sup>

4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:14

כול [נעו]ן דרך: Traces of a letter after כול but the fragment is broken. Reconstruction based on 4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:16.<sup>25</sup>

ו[א]י[ן]: Following Newsom.<sup>26</sup>

20. DJD: 11, 181.

21. DJD: 11, 177, 181.

22. Bockmuehl 1998: 555.

23. DJD: 11, 176.

24. Qimron 1986b: 358–59.

25. DJD: 11, 182.

26. DJD: 11, 176.

4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:15

חַרַּת [חֹקֵי קִידָּשִׁים...]: Some form of חוק is to be expected with the verb חרת (cf. line 5 above), and חֹקֵי קִידָּשִׁים is restored.<sup>27</sup>

4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:16

כֹּל [.....]: Newsom suggests reconstructing [אֹר לְתַבֵּן ל] יִטְהַר טְהוּרֵי [אֹר לְתַבֵּן ל] כֹּל נְעוּי דֶרֶךְ, 'And he purified the pure ones [of light in order that they might destr]oy all who pervert the way', which is followed here.<sup>28</sup> *Vacat* at the end of the sentence in line 16 probably indicates a change in topic.

4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:18

חֹסְדִי [ח.....]: Partial reconstruction.

4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:19–21

In lines 19–21 the initial tear becomes bigger so that line 21 contains only part of a word.

### C. Translation

1. [For the Maskil. Song of the whole burnt offering of the] first [Sabbath] on the fourth of the first month. Praise
2. [the God of.....] O god-like ones of all the most holy; and in his divinity
3. [.....] among the eternally holy, the most holy ones, and they will be to him for priests of
4. [the inner sanctum, the most holy] servants of the presence in his glorious inner sanctum in the council of all the god-like ones
5. [.....] God inscribes his statutes concerning all the works of the Spirit and precepts
6. [of his mouth...] knowledge, a people of discernment, honoured by God. *Vacat* For those who draw near to knowledge
7. [.....] of eternity and from the source of holiness for the [most] holy sanctuaries....
8. [.....] [priests] of the inner sanctum who serve before the king, most
9. [holy ones, .....] his glory. And statute by statute they confirm for seven
10. [holy councils. For he established them [for himself] as the most holy ones serving in the holy of holies.
11. [.....] and they [ap]proached them according to the council [.....] ...from knowledge

27. DJD: 11, 182.

28. DJD: 11, 182.

12. [.....] most holy prie[sts. They are] chief officials
13. [.....stand]ing in the temples of the king [.....] in their territory and in their inheritance
14. [.....]. They do not sustain [any who pervert the] way and there is [no]thing unclean in their holy places.
15. [... And statutes of holi]ness he inscribed for them. By these all the eternally holy ones sanctify themselves. And he purified the pure ones
16. [of light in order that they might destr]oy all who pervert the way. And they atone (according to) his good will for all who repent from sin.  
*vacat*
17. [.....] knowledge among the priests of the inner sanctum. And from their mouths (comes) teaching concerning all matters of holiness together with the precepts of
18. [.....] his [stead]fast love for eternal and compassionate forgiveness; but in his jealous vengeance
19. [.....]. he established for himself priests of the inner sanctum, the most holy
20. [.....] gods, priests of the highest heaven, the ones [who draw] near
21. [.....] ..[pr]aises of

#### *D. Commentary*

In what follows I will look briefly, at the content of 4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:1–21, highlighting the main themes with a short comment on them.

##### *1. A call to praise 4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:1–3a*

The song for the first Sabbath sacrifice begins with an introduction indicating that it was assigned for the first Sabbath on the fourth of the first month. This is immediately followed by a call to praise exhorting the angelic/human community to praise God. These members are addressed as אֱלֹהִים, ‘god-like ones’, indicating their privileged position as they share their habitation in the inner sanctum (4Q400 Frg. 1 I:2–4). Although the column is partially broken, it is clear that by line 3 the imperative style has been dropped and the rest of the column is devoted to an account of the establishment of the angelic/human priesthood, its privileges and responsibilities.

##### *2. The angelic/human priesthood: privileges and responsibilities*

*4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:3b–21; 4Q401 Frg. 15.*

Lines 3b–6a relate that the angelic/human community present in the heavenly temple have been set apart to minister in the inner sanctum, being

constantly in the presence of God. There seems to be a special category of angels who serve as priests in the heavenly temple, since a council of all the 'god-like ones' is also present (line 4). There is also a possibility of translating the end of line 3 and the beginning of line 4 as 'priests of [the most holy inner sanctum]' rather than taking it with what follows and translating, 'priests of [the inner sanctum, the most holy] servants of the presence'.<sup>29</sup> 4Q401 Frg. 15 has *מְקוֹר, קוֹרֵב, כְּבוֹדִי* and a few more fragmentary words matching with lines 6–9. God has given this angelic/human community his statutes and precepts to live by, which in turn endows them with knowledge and discernment (line 9). These angelic/human priests who are serving in the inner sanctum are established by God himself to fulfil their specific priestly role (line 10), and to be a source of ceaseless praise to God. The angelic council has its chief officials who hold office in the heavenly temple (line 12). This seems to be a priestly cultic office well defined within a hierarchical structure.

Lines 14–18 describe the purity of this angelic/human priestly community. They maintain purity by keeping the statutes of holiness which God has given to them (line 15). Their priestly role is further elaborated as they make known God's will to those who repent from sin and destroy the wicked (line 16). They are also involved in the priestly function of being teachers of God's precepts (line 17).

Following this, the song begins to describe the praise that the angels offer to God, but the text is highly fragmentary. Newsom notes that the first Sabbath song illustrates something characteristic of the scroll as a whole, that is, although the songs start with an exhortation to praise God, the main focus is the angelic priesthood itself.<sup>30</sup> Direct praise to God is very rare in 4QShirShabb. While terms like 'praise', 'power' and 'glory' abound, the actual content of the praise is never revealed.<sup>31</sup> Allison attributes this silence to the belief that God is so exalted that even heavenly language is sometimes inadequate to express praise; only silence will do.<sup>32</sup> This idea of silence is found in the twelfth Sabbath song: 'The spirits of living [g]od-like beings which move continuously with the glory of [the] wonderful chariots. And there is a still sound of blessing in the tumult of their movement, and they praise the holy one on returning to their paths. When they rise, they rise wonderfully; when they settle they [stand] still. The sound of glad rejoicing becomes silent and there is a calmness of divine blessing in all the camps of

29. C. Hempel, in a private communication prefers, to translate it as 'most holy inner sanctum'.

30. Newsom 1990c: 105.

31. Briggs 1999: 172.

32. Allison 1988: 194–95.

the godlike beings' (4Q405 Frg. 20 II, 21, 22: 11b–13).<sup>33</sup> However, the first Sabbath song does talk about the councils of men (Frg. 2:2) and about the presence of human priests in the midst of the angelic council who are actively involved in praise. Whether or not this section has been reworked by the DSS community to fit in with their self-understanding as priests of God participating in the heavenly cult cannot be said with any certainty, but seems probable.

## *II. Temple Imagery*

We will now look at the key themes in this passage: the establishment of the angelic/human temple community and the practice of the Priesthood in the heavenly temple.

### *A. The Establishment of the Angelic/Human Temple Community*

The idea of humanity having a share in the angelic community is common in the literature of the Second Temple period. It was assumed during this time that human life and religious practice on earth mirror the activity of angels in heaven. Within the DSS corpus the communion between the righteous and the angels is well established.<sup>34</sup> There have been recent studies which claim that the texts from ShirShabb indicate that the members of the DSS community were *angelomorphic* – angelic in status or nature, though without having their identity changed to that of an angel.<sup>35</sup> Fletcher-Louis proposes that an examination of these texts demands a new interpretative paradigm: '*much of the language within the Songs, though not all, refers to the Qumran community members who now have a heavenly, angelic and divine identity.*'<sup>36</sup> Newsom, on the other hand, holds that the function of ShirShabb is best understood not as cultic, but as the means for communion with angels in the act of praise, a form of communal mysticism.<sup>37</sup> For Newsom, humans do not take on a heavenly, angelic and divine identity. ShirShabb provides a means whereby those who read and hear the liturgy,

33. There is a similar description of silence in Aristeas 95: 'And a complete silence reigns, with the result that one might suppose that there was not a single person present in the place, even though there are around 700 ministering priests present and a great number of men bringing up the sacrifices; but everything is discharged with awe and in a manner worthy of the great Godhead'. Hayward observes that Aristeas has derived this notion from the Hebrew Bible from verses like Hab. 2.20 and Zech. 2.17 (Hayward 1996: 29, 33–34).

34. Kuhn 1966: 66–73.

35. Fletcher-Louis 2000: 292.

36. Fletcher-Louis 1998: 369.

37. Newsom *EDSS*: 888.

can not merely commune with angels, but enjoy a virtual experience of presence in the heavenly temple among the angelic priests.<sup>38</sup> Fletcher-Louis claims that being part of the *Engelgemeinschaft* entailed transformation. He cites the example from the Rule of Benedictions (1Q28b) IV:24–26 in the blessing of the high-priest: ‘may you be like an angel of the presence in the dwelling of holiness for the glory of the God of Host[s ... May you] be around serving in the temple of the kingdom, casting lots with the angels of the Presence and the council of the community’. However, he translates כמלאך פנים to read ‘as an angel of the presence’, and thereby supports the idea of transformation into angels. This, however, need not be the case as כ can be simply a preposition meaning ‘like’ without any ontological reference.

A second example which Fletcher-Louis claims is a more explicit statement of transformation into an angelomorphic identity is found in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510–511). Frg. 35: 1–5 contains the idea of the members of the community bearing the epithet ‘angels of his glory’:

1. ....] God against all flesh, and a judgement of vengeance to exterminate wickedness, and to ven[t]
2. God’s wrath. Among those (who have been) purified seven times and among the holy ones,
3. (God) will sancti[fy] for himself for an eternal sanctuary (למקדש עלמים), and there will be purity amongst those purified. And they will be
4. priests, his just people, his army and his servants, the angels of his glory (מלאכי כבודו).
5. They shall praise him with wonderful marvels. *vacat*<sup>39</sup>

The above passage describes the formation of an inner community from among those who are refined seven times. The distinction drawn by the DSS community between Aaron on the one hand, representing those who functioned as the temple and means of atonement, and Israel on the other, as the lay people for whom atonement was made in the temple, is present in this text also (cf. 1QS VIII:5 and 4QMMT<sup>c</sup> IV:8b–11). Those who were purified were meant to be an ‘eternal sanctuary...priests and servants, the angels of his glory’. Fletcher-Louis claims this to be a sign of priestly angelomorphism for at least an inner core of Qumran members.<sup>40</sup> He further states that in late Second Temple angelology the righteous are themselves regarded as angelic in status or nature.<sup>41</sup> However, there seems to be

38. Newsom *EDSS*: 889.

39. Partially following the translation of García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1998: 1033.

40. Fletcher-Louis 1998: 371.

41. Fletcher-Louis 2000: 292.

some confusion over the role, function, identity and nature of the human priesthood in Fletcher-Louis' description. While the members of the human priestly community participate in the heavenly-priestly role, and function in co-operation with the angelic community, an actual transformation of humans into angelic beings is not explicit in the text. The identity and the nature of the human priests do not seem to change in the way that he suggests. The term 'angels of his glory' is only one in a string of epithets: 'priests', 'his righteous people', 'his host and his servants'. Since Songs of the Sage has been reckoned to be the work of the DSS community,<sup>42</sup> the DSS community would have composed the songs for themselves, since they regarded themselves as the sanctuary of God. Other sectarian literature like 4QFlor. makes clear this identity of the community with the temple.

Even though most of the terms mentioned in ShirShabb refer to angels, there are a number of terms which refer to human beings. Words like כוהנים, נשיאים, ראשים are more naturally used of human beings than of suprahuman angels.<sup>43</sup> There are other terms like הולכי יין, תמים דרך, and תוכי לו (4Q400 Frg. 1 I:17, 22–23) which are biblical descriptions of righteous human beings.<sup>44</sup> However, in spite of all the evidence, Newsom, following Strugnell, maintains that ShirShabb is largely concerned with invoking and describing the angelic priests in the heavenly temple.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, Nitzan correctly observes that ShirShabb, in the thought of the DSS community, would have been the appropriate Sabbath sacrifice, an offering of praise to God jointly by those of his servants who are pure from sin, namely the 'priests of the inner sanctum', 'the most holy', that is, the angelic community who serve in the glorious inner sanctum, and those who comprise the holy congregation in the world, namely the human priestly community.<sup>46</sup> 4Q400 Frg.1 I:6 describes the community as עם בינות, 'a people of discernment'. This expression has been taken from Isa. 27:11 – לא עם בינות הוא, 'a people without discernment', an expression which is found in CD V:16 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> X (II):19, where it refers to people who have perverted the truth. Here, in its converse, it refers to the righteous, subsequently understood as the members of the DSS community. It is very unlikely that עם would have been applied to a group of angels. I have argued elsewhere that Dan. 7:22–27, where a similar expression occurs, refers to earthly and heavenly beings.<sup>47</sup> That the congregation is composed

42. Fletcher-Louis 2002: 175; Newsom *EDSS*: 889; Nitzan 1994b: 236–37.

43. Fletcher-Louis 1998: 369.

44. Strugnell 1960: 331.

45. Newsom *EDSS*: 887.

46. Nitzan 1994b: 292.

47. Cf. Chapter 2: section II. C. Community – Judging the Wicked, where I have argued that the reference to קדישי עליונים in Dan. 7.22 is a reference to righteous people. Dan. 7.27 has a similar expression עם קדישי עליונים which is an explicit reference to the righteous.

of both members of the community and angels is made obvious by the second Sabbath song (4QShirShabb [4Q400] Frg. 2:6–8)<sup>48</sup>, which was clearly recited by human beings:

6. How shall we be considered [among] them? And how shall our priesthood (be considered) in their dwellings? And [our] ho[liness]
7. their holiness? [What] is the offering of our tongues of dust (compared) with the knowledge of the g[ods?]
8. ...] our [jub]ilation, let us exalt the God of knowledge

The text represents two groups; the angelic and the human, both present in the heavenly temple, by establishing a parallel between *בכול מחני אלוהים* and *למוסדי אנשים* (4Q400 Frg. 2:2). This is further strengthened by the juxtaposition of ‘gods’ and ‘men’ in 4Q400 Frg. 2:3. The human group is placed together with the angelic group and these form one single worshipping assembly in the heavenly temple.<sup>49</sup> However, the human group feels inadequate in the presence of angels. This tension between being weak creatures on the one hand and enjoying a high status analogous to that of the angelic servants of God on the other, was originally a specifically priestly perspective.<sup>50</sup> However, the texts do show that the human group is involved in service in the heavenly temple together with the angelic group (cf. 1QM XII:1–2, 8; 1QS XI:5b–8). The DSS community would have found these songs apt for their use as they expressed the ideology of their being the human priests of God who were given the privilege of being in liturgical communion with the angels and of participating in the priestly ministry in the heavenly temple.<sup>51</sup>

Similar ideas are expressed in the book of *Jubilees*. It names, as the two orders of angels closest to God, the angels of the Presence and the angels of sanctification. These were the only ones who kept the Sabbath with God in heaven (*Jub.* 2:18). On earth Israel alone is instructed to keep the Sabbath (*Jub.* 2:19, 31). Moreover, the covenant between God and Israel is sealed with the circumcision of all males, and this is binding on them forever (*Jub.* 15:24–26). Israel shares this privilege with the angels of the Presence and the angels of sanctification, who were created circumcised (*Jub.* 15:27–28). Thus there is complete correspondence between Israel on earth and the two highest orders of angels in heaven in both these respects. This principle of ‘as in heaven, so on earth’ is clear in the case of the priesthood.<sup>52</sup> The angel of the Presence who dictates *Jubilees* to Moses states that ‘Levi’s

48. DJD: 11, 188.

49. Lee 2001: 106.

50. Maier *EDSS*: 890.

51. Frennesson 1999: 100.

52. Hayward 1996: 87.



descendants were chosen for the priesthood and as Levites to serve before the Lord as we (angels of the Presence) (do) for all time' (*Jub.* 30:18).<sup>53</sup>

Later in *Jubilees*, Jacob blesses Levi and his descendants:

And may the Lord give you and your descendants greatness and great glory, and set you and your descendants apart from all mankind to minister to him and to serve him in his sanctuary like the angels of the Presence and the holy ones: like them your son's descendants shall be accounted glorious, and great, and holy; may he make them great forever. (*Jub.* 31:14)

This idea of the Levitical priesthood serving in the presence of God along with the angels has been taken up by the DSS community. In the Hebrew Bible, there is a parallel to the elevation of Levi to service in God's sanctuary 'as the angels of the Presence and the holy ones' in Mal. 2:5–7 where the prophet proclaims: 'For the lips of a priest should guard knowledge, and people should seek instruction from his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts.' The phrase יהוה צבאות הוא *כי מלאך* is unique to Mal. 2:7 in the MT and marks the only place where the term *מלאך* is applied to the priestly office.<sup>54</sup> The title 'messenger' is used elsewhere for the prophets of the Lord, and the word is a technical expression for one who has been in God's presence and is thereby commissioned to bring a message from him (cf. Hag. 1:13).<sup>55</sup> The picture may be that of the divine council where the messenger communicates God's judgements to the people once they are made in the council.<sup>56</sup> Malachi's sanctioning of the Levitical priesthood as the mediators of the divine will should not be interpreted as the abrogation of such mediation by angelic or even prophetic messengers.<sup>57</sup> Rather, Malachi affirms the complementary role of human and angelic agents in the mediation of the Lord's word and will. Just as Zechariah's 'interpreting angel' (*הַמְלַאֲךְ הַדֹּבֵר בִּי*, Zech. 1:9) shows a new development in the function of angelic mediators, it is possible that Malachi ascribes a similar duty to the priests as interpreters of the divine will.<sup>58</sup> Henderson, on Zech. 1:9, states that the priests were the ordinary expounders of the law to the people, and that only in special and extraordinary situations did the prophets give their decision. Each of the priests therefore was to be regarded as *מלאך*, a messenger, or interpreter of the divine will.<sup>59</sup> This complementary role of human and divine agents is present in ShirShabb where the

53. VanderKam 1989: 198.

54. Hill 1998: 212.

55. Hill 1998: 212.

56. Meyers and Meyers 1987: 35.

57. Smith 1951: 40; Hill 1998: 212–13.

58. Hill 1998: 213.

59. Henderson 1845: 452.

priestly members of the community are like the angels of the Presence mediating the divine will in the sanctuary.

The idea of the righteous dwelling with the angels and performing priestly duties is also found in *I Enoch*. Not only are they dwelling with angels, but they are also petitioning and interceding on behalf of human beings (*I En.* 39:4–5a).<sup>60</sup> Again, in the *Testament of Levi*, Levi is told by an angel that he will be in the highest heaven, in the presence of God, and will be a priest of the Lord telling the mysteries of God to humanity. The angel informs him that in the uppermost heaven God dwells in the holy of holies, and with him are the archangels who serve and offer propitiatory sacrifices to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance committed by the righteous. The angels present to the Lord ‘a soothing odour, a spiritual and bloodless offering’.<sup>61</sup> They carry out the role of priests in the heavenly temple, and Levi is taken up to be with them to minister there. The earthly house in Jerusalem was intended to be a copy of the cosmic ‘house’ where Yahweh lived.<sup>62</sup> The above references indicate that the idea of an angelic/human temple community was quite common during the Second Temple period, and it is this idea that the DSS community appropriates, understanding themselves to be such a community.

### *B. The Practice of the Priesthood in the Heavenly Temple*

ShirShabb deals extensively with the practice of the angelic/human priesthood in the heavenly temple. They were ‘most holy] servants of the Presence in God’s glorious inner sanctum (רְבִיר) (line 4). Barker suggests that, in the Hebrew Bible, הַיִּבֵּל represents the earth and רְבִיר the heavens; between them was the veil which separated the holy place from the most holy (Exod. 26:33). The veil represented the boundary between the visible world and the invisible, between time and eternity. The actions that were performed within the veil were not of this world but were part of the heavenly liturgy. Those who passed through the veil were the mediators, divine and human, who functioned in both worlds, bringing the prayers and penitence of the people to God and the blessing and presence of God to his people.<sup>63</sup> Though there are no direct references in the Hebrew Bible to substantiate this view of הַיִּבֵּל and רְבִיר, it seems to be prevalent in other Jewish literature of this period.<sup>64</sup> It is this view which seems to have influenced

60. Black 1985: 44.

61. Sparks 1984: 527.

62. Clements 1965: 65.

63. Barker 1991: 105.

64. Barker tries to substantiate her explanation from Josephus, Philo, Gnostic and other early Christian writings (cf. Barker 1991: 108–32).

the composers of ShirShabb. Maintaining purity, atoning for the people, teaching and blessing the people in God's name are seen as the primary responsibilities of the angelic/human priesthood. I will deal with each of these in turn.

### *Purity*

ShirShabb begins with the establishment of the angelic/human priesthood and concludes with the sacrificial service in the heavenly temple. The focus of the songs is therefore not primarily on God, but rather on this angelic/human priesthood and the heavenly temple. The discussion of this angelic/human priesthood is enveloped between the sentence 'they will be most holy to him for priests [of the inner sanctum]' in line 3 and a very similar sentence in line 19: 'he established for himself priests of the inner sanctum, the most holy'. A close relationship is expressed between the functions of the angelic and human priesthoods in ShirShabb. However, there is a distinction in terms of their nature/identity. Maintaining the purity of the heavenly temple by this angelic/human priesthood seems to be paramount. It was to be kept perpetually holy because the presence of God was in their midst. God gives them his statutes and his precepts and by them the angelic/human community sanctify themselves because they are charged with service in the heavenly temple (lines 5, 14–15). This is again a clear indication of the mixed nature of the community (angels and humans) since there are no instances of angels sanctifying themselves. The idea of sanctification assumes a degree of volition and independent action which is inappropriate for angels, though fitting for members of the human community, and later on specifically for the DSS community.<sup>65</sup> This sanctification is achieved in the same manner as in the earthly temple, that is, through the knowledge and obedience of the God-given precepts (line 15). For this reason, the purity issue in the heavenly temple parallels that facing the DSS community as a temple.<sup>66</sup> This connection between the two groups is more developed in the second Sabbath song, as we have noted earlier.

However, regarding purity, it is the Lord who is the source of all holiness (line 7). The same considerations require the preparation of the people of Israel for their encounter with the Lord at Sinai. In Exod. 19:10 the Lord says to Moses, 'Go to the people and consecrate them today and tomorrow, and let them wash their garments, and be ready by the third day'. The demand for the people to be consecrated is clearly related to the Lord's imminent visit to Mount Sinai. The law which is given at Sinai and the narrative interspersed between the sections of laws in Exodus reveal more about the presence of the Lord in the midst of Israel and thus the meaning

65. Fletcher-Louis 1998: 377.

66. Lee 2001: 106.

of holiness.<sup>67</sup> The vast majority of the laws in the priestly material in Exodus (Exod. 25–31; 35–40) are concerned with the tabernacle, the particular place where God is understood to dwell and travel with Israel after they leave the mountain. Because the tabernacle is the holy place where God is present, its furnishings, ministers and offerings must all be protected, restricted and made holy in the same way as was done for God's presence on Mount Sinai. The tabernacle represents a smaller, portable version of Mount Sinai – the archetypal meeting-place with God, the place where the Lord sanctifies his people.<sup>68</sup> By means of the tabernacle, Israel may hope to recall and rehearse the theophanies of Sinai after they have departed.<sup>69</sup> Likewise, for the author of *ShirShabb* the holiness of the angelic/human priestly community comes from the idea of God being present in the tabernacle where they functioned. As far as the DSS community was concerned, they understood themselves to be part of this angelic/human community, a tabernacle where God was present. Therefore, there is a strict law code to maintain the purity of their dwelling place. The members of the DSS community were called to 'keep apart from every uncleanness according to their regulations, without defiling his holy spirit, because God set them apart' (CD VII:3–4). Those who wished to join the DSS community were initially excluded from full participation for reasons of purity. After a period of time, careful examination, repentance and ritual bathing brought the novice to a level of purity that enabled him to partake in some activities of the community (1QS VI:16b–22).<sup>70</sup>

The tabernacle idea seems to suit the DSS community, since the tabernacle was the meeting-place of God where he sanctified the people of Israel. Elements of the tabernacle and the temple are worked together by the author of *ShirShabb* and this is then appropriated by the DSS community for their use. The DSS community react against the cult of the earthly temple but see it being fulfilled in all purity in the heavenly temple. What better means of confirming their true and pure priesthood could they have had, than to claim that they were in the heavenly temple participating with the angels in the priestly office of the heavenly temple? The idea of the temple being paralleled with the tabernacle is also found in 4QMMT<sup>a</sup> (4Q394)<sup>71</sup> Frgs.3–7 II:16–18a: 'And we are of the opinion that the sanctuary [is the "tent of meeting"] and that Jerusalem is the "camp"; and that "outside the camp" [is outside Jerusalem], that is, the encampment of their

67. Wells 2000: 73.

68. Cf. Exod. 19.3, 6 and Exod. 29.43; Wells 2000: 73.

69. Terrien 1978: 14–17.

70. Newton (1985), p. 24.

71. 4QMMT is a sectarian document dating to the earliest days of the DSS community, viz. the first half of the second century BCE (Schiffman, *EDSS*: 558).

settlements.<sup>72</sup> The tabernacle and the temple are the meeting places with God where the priests are sanctified. The keeping of the precepts and the commandments was in order that the priests would not be consumed when in the presence of a holy God.

#### *Atonement and Judging the Wicked*

Apart from maintaining the purity of the temple, the angelic/human priestly community also has to make atonement and judge the wicked. This angelic/human community does not tolerate any who pervert the way that God has set out for them (lines 14–16). They fulfil the priestly role of atonement and make known God's good will for all who repent from sin. We have already noted a similar priestly role of intercession in 4QInstruction.<sup>73</sup> There, the *mēvîn* is understood to have the 'power to turn away anger from the men of (His) good pleasure (להשיב אף מאנשי רצון)' (4Q418 Frg. 81:10). In ShirShabb, the angelic/human priestly community 'atone (according to) his good will for all who repent from sin' (ויכפרו רצונו בעד כול שבי פשע) (4Q400 Frg. 1 I:16). Earlier in the context of the chapter on IQS we noted<sup>74</sup> that the DSS community associated its priesthood with judging the wicked and atoning for errant Israelites; they stood in the line of Phinehas who turned away God's wrath from the Israelites by his zeal, and saved them from being completely destroyed. Similarly, in Exodus we have Moses and the Levites destroying those who were running wild and worshipping the golden calf (Exod. 32:26–30). Likewise in ShirShabb the angelic/human priestly community fulfil the role of destroying 'all who pervert the way' (line 16). For the DSS community members this would have been an agreeable matter because they were not able to participate in the corrupt priesthood of the Jerusalem temple. Since they considered the Jerusalem temple defiled, they had nothing to do with the cult practised there, and here was a viable alternative. So, atoning for the sin of the people and judging the wicked was part of their priestly function, which was being practised in the heavenly temple.

#### *Teaching*

Teaching the rest of the angelic and human community about matters of holiness and the commands of God was also part of their responsibility:

17. [.....] knowledge among the priests of the inner sanctum.  
And from their mouths (comes) teaching concerning all matters  
of holiness together with the precepts of

72. DJD: 10, 49–50.

73. Cf. Chapter 5: section II. B: The Eternal Planting – A Priestly Community.

74. Cf. Chapter 3: section I. D. 2. The community as the eternal planting and the sanctuary (VIII:4b–10a).

18. [.....] his [stead]fast love for eternal (and) compassionate forgiveness. (lines 17–18)

This priestly role seems to be based on Ezek. 44:23–24. The angelic/human priestly community has a major role in teaching and administration. Ezek. 44:23 ('They are to teach my people') is based on Lev. 10:10–11, which associates the teaching function with the ordination of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood.<sup>75</sup> The prophet Malachi records the role of the Levites as God intended it to be (cf. Mal. 2:7). In the Hebrew Bible, priests were to teach the Israelites the fundamental differences between the holy and the common and between the clean and the unclean. This was foundational to Israel's religious worldview. These differences symbolised within the everyday world of the Israelites the holiness of the Lord and all that was associated with him, and the distinction between Israel and the rest of the nations. The practice of these differences was not just the observation of ritual taboos, but was a badge of identity and a mission which called for holiness of life and behaviour as well.<sup>76</sup> In the blessing of Moses in Deut. 33:10, he blesses the tribe of Levi saying: 'they teach Jacob your ordinances, and Israel your law; they place incense before you, and whole burnt offerings on your altar'. The priests were therefore meant to be the main teachers in Israel. When the moral and social state of the people betrayed a lack of knowledge of God, the priests, the leaders, and prophets who prophesied by Baal, were blamed by the prophets of the Lord for the situation (cf. Jer. 2:8; Hos. 4:1–9; Mal. 2:1–9).<sup>77</sup> Alongside this teaching work, the priestly work, of course, included the service of the sanctuary. Through the priests, God came to the people in the teaching of the Torah. Through the priests, the people could come to God in the offering of sacrifices.<sup>78</sup>

In ShirShabb the angelic/human priestly community fulfill a similar teaching role. Their knowledge is a prominent motif in ShirShabb. This is evident from the epithets used for the angelic/human community. They are known as the 'angels of knowledge' מלאכי דעת (11Q17 X:6), 'elim of knowledge' באלי דעת (4Q400 Frg. 2:1; 4Q403 Frg. 1 I:38), as ones 'who draw near to knowledge' לקרובי דעת (4Q400 Frg. 1 I:6), and 'spirits of understanding' רווחי בין (4Q403 Frg. 1 I:37). They exercise the priestly function of teaching God's commandments (4Q400 Frg. 1 I:17).<sup>79</sup>

A further priestly function which the angelic/human community practise is that of blessing. In 4Q403 Frg. 1 I:10–29, each of the chief princes in turn

75. Wright, C.J.H. 2001: 350.

76. Wright, C.J.H. 2001: 350.

77. Wright, C.J.H. 1996: 310–11.

78. Wright, C.J.H. 1996: 311.

79. Davidson 1992: 241.

pronounce a threefold blessing on various recipients. The passage is highly formulaic with each of the blessings arranged in a certain way, with only minor differences. Newsom observes the following elements: a verb of blessing, an invocatory phrase, indication of those blessed and the words of blessing.<sup>80</sup> The priestly act of blessing by the chief princes can be compared to the Aaronic blessing (Num. 6:22–27).<sup>81</sup> The Levitical priests likewise bless in God's name (Deut. 10:8; 21:5).

There is, then, a teaching, serving, judging and blessing role in the heavenly temple. For the DSS community the priesthood in the Jerusalem temple had become corrupt, and there was therefore no way in which the community could participate in the Jerusalem cult. But here, as they appropriated ShirShabb as their own liturgy, they found themselves fulfilling the proper role of the priesthood.

80. Newsom DJD: 11, 261.

81. Davidson 1992: 242.

## Chapter 8

### TEMPLE IMAGERY IN THE TEMPLE SCROLL 11QT<sup>a-b</sup> (11Q19–20)

#### *Introduction*

The Temple Scroll represents a rewriting of the Pentateuch from the end of Exodus to Deuteronomy, but narrating it in the first person. The author/redactor thereby presents it as a direct discourse from God to the people, unlike Deuteronomy's message via Moses to the people. The Temple Scroll systematically incorporates the various laws concerning the temple and its sacrifices as found in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, at times in a literal manner and at other times in modified form, with numerous additions not found in the biblical text, thereby fashioning it as a new version of Deuteronomy 12–23.<sup>1</sup> Yadin<sup>2</sup> observes that the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup> grouped his material into four main sections. The first is the construction of the temple, with the rules pertaining to it: cols. II–XIII deal with the construction of the sanctuary and the altar, and cols. XXX–XLV with the construction of the temple courtyards and the various buildings within. In between these two, cols. XIII–XXIX contain the second section, the yearly cycle of festivals with the sacrifices that correspond to each one. The third section consists of purity rules for the temple and the holy city as well as general rules (cols. XLV–LI). The fourth comprises a rewriting of Deut. 12–23, with the same diversity of contents as is found in the biblical text: rules regarding judges, idolatry, slaughter of animals, slaves, the defamed virgin, etc. The King's Law (Deut. 17.14–20) is given extensive treatment (cols. LVI–LIX).<sup>3</sup>

#### *Origins*

The origins of 11QT<sup>a</sup> have been widely debated, and dates proposed are both early and late in the Second Temple period. Stegemann<sup>4</sup> argues that it is not a composition of the DSS community but rather of priestly circles

1. García Martínez *EDSS*: 929.
2. Yadin 1983: I, 82–88.
3. García Martínez *EDSS*: 929.
4. Stegemann 1988: 253–54.



in the 5th–4th centuries BCE who added material to the Torah to make it relevant to their new post-exilic context. On the other hand, Yadin situates it within the Qumran community itself.<sup>5</sup> García Martínez states that the work is earlier than the community's installation in the desert, but certainly has its origins in the priestly circles from which the DSS community later evolved.<sup>6</sup> This is most plausible, as the interests of the scroll are mainly priestly, with a major part being concerned with the temple, the festivals and other laws. If the DSS community had understood it as Torah for their community, then surely there would have been multiple copies present.<sup>7</sup> The lack of such rather suggests that its standing was not equal to the Torah, and possibly had a pre-DSS origin, just before the formation of the community. The DSS community would have found the contents of 11QT<sup>a</sup> appropriate for them since it was in line with their ideology. They too were looking forward to a new temple, since they understood the Jerusalem temple to have been defiled, and so they would have made use of this scroll.

### *I. 11QT<sup>a</sup> (11Q19) XXIX: 2–10*

Column XXIX is located in a section between the details given for the construction of the sanctuary/altar and that of the temple courtyard. This section (cols. XIII–XXIX) mainly deals with the yearly calendar of festivals and sacrifices attached to them. The final lines of the Festival Calendar (col. XXIX:2–10) incorporate several biblical texts and summarizes the author's intention that the festivals are to be celebrated perpetually, in the temple where God's glory dwells, until God builds his own temple on the 'day of creation'.<sup>8</sup> Since the rest of the scroll talks only about one temple, it is surprising that, in this column, an eschatological element is introduced where God is seen to build another sanctuary at the end of time. Column XXIX is an important column for deciding whether the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup> is talking about two sanctuaries or one. It is also a key passage which would enable us to understand why the DSS community made use of this scroll. Reading this column was an exceptionally difficult task for Yadin because cols. XXIX–XXXI were stuck to one another and were virtually inseparable.<sup>9</sup> The lower part of col. XXIX is fairly well preserved. The upper part of this column, which has not survived, must have completed the details of

5. Yadin 1983: I, 398.

6. García Martínez *EDSS*: 930.

7. Even though the book of *Jubilees* is not a sectarian document, at least fourteen copies of it were found as it was used extensively by the DSS community.

8. Crawford 2000: 57.

9. Yadin 1983: II, 125.

sacrifices for the Feast of Booths and the concluding eighth day of the assembly, as it follows col. XXVIII which gives the details up to the fourth day.<sup>10</sup> Since most of the columns contain about twenty-two lines, Yadin reconstructs the first twelve lines based on Num. 29.26–39. How the DSS community interpreted lines 2–10 is crucial for giving us a better picture of their self-understanding. This section is dealt with below.

A. Text 11QT<sup>a</sup> (11Q19) XXIX: 2–10<sup>11</sup>

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| אלה [תעשו ליהוה במועדיכמה [.....]                       | .2  |
| לעלותיכמה ולנסכיכמה [.....] בבית אשר א[שכין]            | .3  |
| שמי עליו [ויקריבו בן] עולות [יום] ביומו כתורת המשפט הזה | .4  |
| תמיד מאת בני ישראל לבד מנדבותמה לכול אשר יקריבו         | .5  |
| לכול נדריהמה ולכול מתנותמה אשר יביאו לי לרצון לה[מה]    | .6  |
| ורציתים והיו לי לעם ואנוכי אהיה להם לעולם ושכנתי        | .7  |
| אתמה לעולם ועד ואקדשה [את מ]קדשי בכבודי אשר אשכין       | .8  |
| עליו את כבודי עד יום הבריה אשר אברא את מקדשי            | .9  |
| להכיני לי כול הימים כברית אשר כרתי עם יעקוב בבית אל     | .10 |

B. Textual Notes

11QT<sup>a</sup> (11Q19) XXIX:2

[.....] אלה [תעשו ליהוה במועדיכמה [.....]] Reconstructed according to Num. 29.39.<sup>12</sup>

11QT<sup>a</sup> (11Q19) XXIX:3

[.....] לעלותיכמה ולנסכיכמה: This reading is very difficult as only traces are visible, and so it is reconstructed according to Num. 29.39.<sup>13</sup> *לנסכיכמה* seems probable as traces of the ל and the first כ are visible in the Microfiche when viewed with a magnifying glass.<sup>14</sup> Qimron reads לעולות עולה, restoring according to Lev. 23.37. This fits in context, but is unlikely to have been the reading.

[א[שכין]]: Partial reconstruction.<sup>15</sup>

11QT<sup>a</sup> (11Q19) XXIX:4

שמי עליו [ויקריבו בן] עולות [יום] ביומו: Reconstruction following

10. Yadin 1983: II, 125.

11. I follow Yadin's reading for this column unless stated otherwise (Yadin 1983: II, 127–29).

12. Yadin 1983: II, 127.

13. Qimron 1996: 44.

14. Tov 1993: *DSS Microfiche*, 114, 5029. MB-2.

15. Yadin 1983: II, 127.

Lev. 23.37.<sup>16</sup> Yadin reads [עולות דבר].<sup>17</sup> Qimron reads [יום] עולות which is followed.<sup>18</sup>

11QT<sup>a</sup> (11Q19) XXIX:6  
נְסִכִּיהֶמָה: Following Qimron.<sup>19</sup> Yadin reads גְּדִרְהֶמָה  
[לֶה־מָה]: Following Yadin.<sup>21</sup>

11QT<sup>a</sup> (11Q19) XXIX:7  
וְרִצִּיתִים וְהִי: Letters are hardly visible.

11QT<sup>a</sup> (11Q19) XXIX:8  
[אֵת מִן־קִדְשֵׁי]: Following Yadin.<sup>22</sup>

11QT<sup>a</sup> (11Q19) XXIX:9  
עַד יוֹם הַבְּרִיחַ: Following Qimron;<sup>23</sup> the reading is clear on the CD-ROM.<sup>24</sup>  
Yadin reads עַד יוֹם הַבְּרִכָּה.<sup>25</sup>

11QT<sup>a</sup> (11Q19) XXIX:10  
עַם יַעֲקֹב: Only traces of these words are found on pl. 14 of Yadin's volume.<sup>26</sup>  
בְּבֵית אֵל: The reading is clear in Yadin's infra-red photograph plate 14.<sup>27</sup> The Microfiche and the CD-ROM are not clear and seem to read עֵלָה  
אֵל מְעֵלוֹת which is an overlap of col. XXX:10 and is therefore misleading.

### C. Translation

2. These [ you shall offer to the Lord at your appointed feasts.....]
3. for your burnt offerings, and your drink-offerings [.....] In the house where I will cause
4. my name [to dwell] upon it [they will offer in it] burnt offerings [day] by day according to the law of this statute
5. continually from the children of Israel, besides their freewill offerings, for all that they offer,

16. Qimron 1996: 44.  
17. Yadin 1983: II, 127.  
18. Qimron 1996: 44.  
19. Qimron 1996: 44.  
20. Yadin 1983: II, 28.  
21. Yadin 1983: II, 128.  
22. Yadin 1983: II, 128.  
23. Qimron 1996: 44.  
24. Tov 1999: CD-ROM.  
25. Yadin 1983: II, 129.  
26. Yadin 1983: III, plate 14.  
27. Yadin 1983: III, plate 14.

6. all their vows and all their gifts which they will bring to me so that they will be accepted.
7. And I will accept them and they will be to me a people and I will be theirs forever and I will dwell
8. with them forever and ever. And I will consecrate my [sa]nctuary by my glory, for I will make my
9. glory dwell upon it until the day of creation when I will create my sanctuary
10. to establish it for myself for all times, according to the covenant which I made with Jacob in Bethel.

#### *D. Commentary*

##### *1. The acceptance of the people and the presence of God 2–10*

Lines 2–3a conclude the details of sacrifices for the Feast of Booths which began in col. XXVIII. They have largely been reconstructed and are patterned after the description of the feast in Num. 29.39. The reconstruction depends mainly on *אלה* in the beginning of line 2 and also on *לעלותיכמה ולנסכיכמה* in line 3. Since it brings the description to a close it fits the context well. The sacrifices that are offered for the Feast of Booths are now to be brought into the temple where God has caused his name to dwell. Here Lev. 23.37–38 and Num. 29.39 are combined.<sup>28</sup> Num. 29.39 states: ‘These you shall offer to the Lord at your appointed festivals, in addition to your votive offerings and your free-will offerings, as your burnt offerings, your drink-offerings, and your offerings of well-being.’ These were the commands that the Lord gave to Moses to pass on to the people of Israel. But here in 11QT<sup>a</sup> the direction is given in the first person (line 6).<sup>29</sup> The festivals were to be a reminder of what the Lord had done for the people of Israel in the wilderness when they were living in booths. Here there is a difference: the offerings are seen as necessary for acceptance by God.

In the second half of the column, God speaks in covenant language with the members of the community: ‘and they will be to me a people and I will be theirs forever and I will dwell with them forever and ever.’ The covenant relationship is restored with the community as God takes the initiative in restoring this broken covenant. Since he found them pleasing in his sight he re-establishes this unique relationship which he promised to them through the patriarchal promises. More than anything else, there is the promise of his eternal presence with the members of this community. God also promises to consecrate his sanctuary with his glory. This seems to be a reworking of the theology of Ezekiel, for whom the glory of God had departed from the temple, indicating that the presence of God was no longer

28. Common feature of 11QT<sup>a</sup> noted earlier.

29. Common feature of 11QT<sup>a</sup> noted earlier.

with Judah (Ezek. 10.1–19). The writer of 11QT<sup>a</sup> emphasizes that not only is God's presence promised, but God's glory as a visible indicator of his presence will be in the sanctuary. The author then concludes this column by stating that God's glory will dwell in this sanctuary 'until the day of creation' when God will create a sanctuary for all times. The text in this column has allusions to Gen. 28.10–22, Lev. 26.42, and Ezek. 37.27.

## II. Temple Imagery

### A. The Sanctuary: Immediate, Eschatological or Proleptic Community?

The interpretation of col. XXIX is vital to the whole understanding of the Temple Scroll. Here, there is a sudden interjection of eschatological concepts into a document otherwise devoid of such ideas.<sup>30</sup> Elsewhere in the scroll there is no mention of an eschatological temple. Yadin interprets the text in this column by comparing it with the eschatological vision of Ezekiel and states that there are two sanctuaries in view. The first, which the Lord promises to consecrate, is the one that is to be built by the people of Israel (col. XXX:4). This sanctuary will stand 'until the day of creation', when the Lord will create a second, the new eschatological sanctuary.<sup>31</sup> The idea of two sanctuaries is held by other scholars like VanderKam,<sup>32</sup> Delcor<sup>33</sup> Maier<sup>34</sup> and Vermes.<sup>35</sup> Wacholder, on the other hand, maintains that the reference is to only one sanctuary. He translates the word  $\text{וְעַד}$  as 'during' and states that the only sanctuary referred to is an eschatological one. For him it is inconceivable that, after the author's repeated insistence on its eternity, the sanctuary should be merely temporal.<sup>36</sup> He argues that God could not have promised to dwell in the newly designed sanctuary 'forever' and in the very next clause have limited his dwelling 'until' ( $\text{וְעַד}$ ) the day of creation.<sup>37</sup> Callaway<sup>38</sup> follows Yadin in seeing the 'covenant' in col. XXIX:10 as referring to a promise that God made to Jacob to build a new sanctuary.<sup>39</sup> However, he understands that the covenant refers to only one sanctuary

30. Swanson 1994: 275.

31. Yadin 1983: I, 183; II, 125.

32. VanderKam 1989: 232.

33. Delcor 1989: 85.

34. Maier 1985: 86.

35. Vermes 1986: 408.

36. Wacholder 1983: 23.

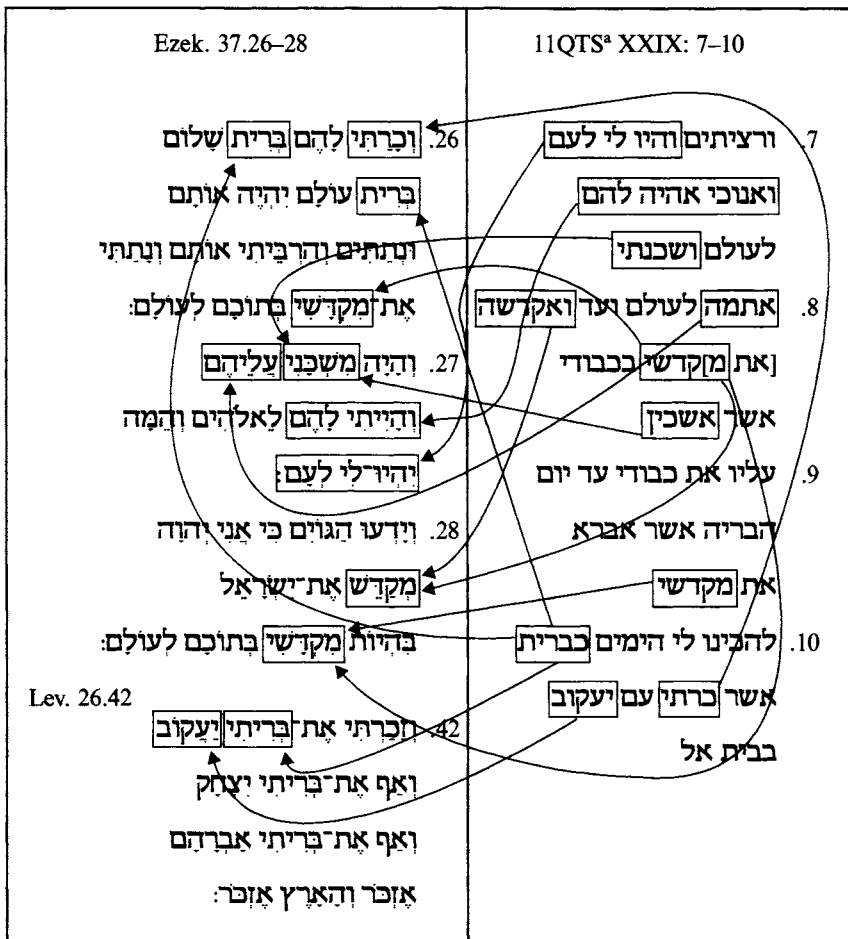
37. Wacholder 1983: 23.

38. Callaway 1985: 95–104.

39. There is no mention of this promise to build a new temple in Gen. 28.22, but Yadin tries to substantiate his argument by citing *Jub.* 1.15–17, 26–29; 27.19–27, and chs. 31–32, and states that the author of 11QT regards the new creation mentioned in *Jub.* 1.26–29 as the fulfilment of the promise made to Jacob according to the covenant at Bethel.

(col. XXIX:9b–10a), which he believes is the one that Israel would build. He also states that עַד does not carry the meaning 'until', but he does not give an alternative.<sup>40</sup> Wise, on the other hand, accepts that there is reference to two sanctuaries but argues that the focus of col. XXIX:3–10 is not on the building of one or two sanctuaries but rather on the covenant which God makes with his people.<sup>41</sup>

In order to obtain a clearer picture of what is happening in this column, it is essential to look at the biblical sources on which the author depends, especially in lines 7–10, and the manner in which they are reworked. The author is making use of Ezek. 37.26–28 and Lev. 26.42.



40. Callaway 1985: 95.

41. Wise 1989: 54.

The covenant relationship between God and Israel as stated in Ezek. 37.27: **והייתי להם לאלהים והמה יהיו לי לעם** is taken up by the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup> and expressed in the reverse order: **והיו לי לעם ואנוכי אהיה להם לעולם** (line 7).<sup>42</sup> Where Ezek. 37.27 concludes the first clause with **להם לעולם**, 11QT<sup>a</sup> concludes with **לעולם**. When it comes to a direct address by God, the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup> claims more than what the Ezekiel text says. Ezek. 37.27 reads **והיה משכני עליהם** indicating that God's dwelling place will be among them, but the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup> reworks this as **ושכנתי ועד אתמה לעולם ועד** (lines 7b–8), stating that it is not just God's dwelling place that will be with them for ever but the actual presence of God. Ezek. 37.28 has **אני יהיה מקדש את־ישראל** which is reworked in 11QT<sup>a</sup> as **ואקדשה [את מן־קדשי בכבודי]**. The key change that the author makes is in replacing **את־ישראל** with **[את מן־קדשי]**, thereby indicating that the object of God's consecration is not the people of Israel but rather the sanctuary of God. Here the change seems to indicate subtly that it is not all Israel who will be sanctified but rather the sanctuary, that is, the priestly community from which the DSS community later evolves. There is clear evidence of redactional activity going on here. In both passages the consecration is scheduled for a time in the future. Further, 11QT<sup>a</sup> XXIX:9b–10a has **אברא את־מקדשי להכיני לי הימים ונתתי את־מקדשי בתוכם לעולם**. The author of 11QT<sup>a</sup> is clearly dependent on Ezekiel for the idea of this sanctuary being built in the future, to last for all time. This reworking shows that there is a priestly cultic interest in 11QT<sup>a</sup>. This priestly interest is further evidenced with reference to the glory of God. Lines 8–9a refer to the glory of God: **ואקדשה [את מן־קדשי בכבודי] אשר אשכין עליו את כבודי**, which again indicates dependence on Ezekiel's priestly theology of 'glory'. For Ezekiel the glory of God was the key indicator of the presence of God. Because of Judah's sin, the glory of God departs from the temple (Ezek. 10.1–19). The glory of God stays away from the temple and outside the city throughout the descriptions of the fall of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the people into exile. When the call for the restoration of Israel goes out in chapter 36, Ezekiel is asked to prophesy to the mountains of Israel and to tell the Israelites that God would put his Spirit within them to enable them to walk according to his statutes (v. 27). In chapter 37 the covenant between God and the restored of Israel is renewed. Chapters. 38–39 describe the victory of God over the forces of evil. The moment of truth for Ezekiel is when Israel is restored, the eschatological temple built, and the glory of God returns to the temple (Ezek. 43.1–5).

In 11QT<sup>a</sup>, the author shows that God will indeed consecrate his sanctuary and make his glory reside in it. The emphasis again is on the presence of

42. It is quite possible that the author of 11QT may have been influenced by Ezek. 37.23 in his arranging the words in this order.

God demonstrated by the presence of the 'glory'. What in Ezekiel had left the temple and would only come back when the eschatological temple was established is now shown returning with the building of this sanctuary. In a final comparison we note that where Ezek. 37.26a has **וכרתי להם ברית** and **שלום ברית עולם יהיה אותם** this is reworked by the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup>: **כברית אשר כרתי עם יעקוב בבית אל**. The covenant with Jacob at Bethel stands in the place of the 'Covenant of Peace' (**ברית שלום**) in Ezek. 37.26. The Covenant of Peace is a technical term given to the eternal covenant of priesthood made with the sons of Levi (cf. Num. 25.10–13; Mal. 2.4–7). The two biblical texts are linked by *gezerah shavah*. The catch-phrase **ברית עולם** is the connecting link between the two covenants, although **עולם** is replaced by **הימים** in 11QT<sup>a</sup>. The author of 11QT<sup>a</sup> is well aware of the tradition of seeing these two covenants side by side. *Jub.* 32.1 brings the two together: 'That night he (Jacob) stayed at Bethel. Levi dreamed that he – he and his sons – had been appointed and made into the priesthood of the most high God forever.'<sup>43</sup> This would have allowed the priestly community to associate the covenant at Bethel with the eternal covenant of priesthood.

As far as the DSS community was concerned, they understood their own historical circumstances to be the fulfilment of the biblical texts. Exiling themselves to the wilderness of Qumran, the DSS community members anticipated their future return in peace, sanctified in order to minister before God in the new sanctuary described in 11QT<sup>a</sup>.<sup>44</sup> The sequence of events which is followed in Ezekiel 36–43 may have been of importance for the DSS community in their self-understanding. The community's understanding of history has been frequently associated with apocalyptic eschatology, since they expect an imminent and cataclysmic end to the wicked as a result of God's direct intervention. 1QM describes the final battle, concluding with the victory of God and his forces over the powers of evil. 1QM I:5–9 states that the victory of God anticipates the end of the dominion of the Sons of Darkness, not the end of history and historical time.<sup>45</sup> The DSS community therefore expected the Sons of Darkness to be defeated, after which the new sanctuary would be built. Though there is a reference to two sanctuaries, the current sanctuary, which the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup> describes, seems to be a proleptic sanctuary which is built in anticipation of the eschatological temple which God himself will create. This is probably why the phrases **עד יום הבריה** and **אברא** are used, which show that the community is awaiting the eschaton when the new creation will take place. This idea would have been very attractive to the DSS community, as they understood their own situation similarly. Although the DSS

43. VanderKam 1989: 208.

44. Wentling 1989: 70.

45. Wentling 1989: 70.



community was in the wilderness at Qumran, exiled from the polluted and defiled temple, its members firmly believed that God's presence was with them. More than that, they expected a new temple in the immediate future, in which God would dwell forever. The descriptions of the temple building and the detail involved in the description of sacrifice in 11QT<sup>a</sup> anticipate the return of proper worship on a grand scale in which the members of the priestly community will fully participate. The overwhelming dependence of 11QT on the Pentateuch suggests that the self-understanding of the priestly community was dependent on scripture for its ultimate fulfilment. As far as the DSS community was concerned, the Temple Scroll was of ideological value enabling themselves to be seen as the proleptic sanctuary awaiting the eschatological sanctuary.<sup>46</sup>

### *B. A Temple According to the Covenant with Jacob?*

The statement *אל בית אל עמ יעקוב כרתי אשר כרתי* is crucial to the understanding of col. XXIX. The building and establishing of the sanctuary that the Lord would create would be according to the covenant that he made with Jacob at Bethel. What exactly was this covenant at Bethel? And how does the covenant of 11QT<sup>a</sup> fulfil or relate to this covenant? The above statement suggests comparison with three biblical passages, Gen. 28.10–22, 35.1–15, and Lev. 26.42. The first two passages record the theophanies that Jacob had at Bethel, but they do not explicitly use the term 'covenant', whereas the third specifically mentions it. However, though the first two passages do not use the technical term for covenant, it is clear from their content that they relate to a covenant with Jacob that is in continuity with the covenant made with Abraham. The elements that comprise this covenant in Gen. 28.13–22 can be analysed as follows:<sup>47</sup>

God's Promises	Jacob's Promises
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Land:</b> I will give this land to you and to your offspring (v. 13).</li> <li>2. <b>Posterity:</b> Your offspring will multiply and spread (14a).</li> <li>3. <b>Blessing to the nations:</b> All the families of the earth will be blessed through you and your offspring (v. 14b).</li> <li>4. <b>Presence:</b> I am with you (v. 15a).</li> <li>5. <b>Protection:</b> I will keep you wherever you go (v. 15b).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Loyalty:</b> The Lord will be my God (v. 21).</li> <li>2. <b>בית אלהים:</b> This stone will be the house of God (v. 22a).</li> <li>3. <b>Tithe:</b> I will surely give one tenth to you (v. 22b).</li> </ol> <p><b>Condition:</b> God must protect and provide for him.</p>

46. Wentling 1989: 67.

47. Wise 1989: 55.

Land, posterity and blessing for the nations are the same elements that were promised to Abraham in the covenant made with him (Gen. 12.1–3; 15.1–22; 17.1–8). In fact, the Lord reminds Jacob that he is the God of Abraham and of Isaac. The double title, ‘God of Abraham’ and ‘God of Isaac’, recalls the promises and blessings given to them and implies their reaffirmation and reapplication to Jacob.<sup>48</sup> Apart from this, there are the elements of presence and protection included in Jacob’s covenant. The covenant made by God expects Jacob to believe what God has promised (Gen. 28.15). Jacob, on the other hand, expects that God should provide and protect him and bring him back to his father’s house in peace (Gen. 28.21). In return, Jacob promises to be loyal to the Lord, to build a ‘house’ for him, and pay him a tithe. V. 22a then states: ‘This stone ... is to be a house of God.’ In other words, a sanctuary is to arise from this stone, or this stone is to be made into a sanctuary or will acquire the status of a sanctuary, at which Yahweh is to be worshipped.

It is important to note the extensive use of the word **הַמְּקוֹם**, ‘the place’, in this short narrative. The threefold mention of **מְקוֹם** in v. 11, and then again in vv. 16, 17 and 19, culminating in the renaming of the place in v. 19, hints at the significance of ‘the place’. The term is used in a cultic sense as a ‘place of worship’ (Deut. 12.5).<sup>49</sup> The use of **מְקוֹם** would have been agreeable to the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup> as it gives him an excellent opportunity to bring together the ideas of the ‘place’ and the ‘house of God’, both of which are synonyms for the temple. He is fully aware of the biblical text narrating the covenant with Jacob where ‘the place’ is eventually named as **בֵּית אֵל**. Within 11QT<sup>a</sup> the term **מְקוֹם** occurs 17x, out of which five occurrences refer to the temple.<sup>50</sup> The ‘place’ was the house of God, the dwelling place of God – the temple. We have noted earlier a similar use in 4QFlor. III: 1–9, where the commentator identifies **מְקוֹם** of 2 Sam. 7.10 as **בֵּית**, referring to an eschatological temple.<sup>51</sup> In the Genesis narrative the narrator wants the people of Israel to understand that Jacob was the founder of the later sanctuary at Bethel,<sup>52</sup> whereas the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup> interprets this sanctuary as the proleptic sanctuary which God will establish when he builds a sanctuary for himself. What would have been of interest to the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup> is the repeated reference to the presence of God in ‘the place’. Gen. 28.13–22 is rendered differently in *Jub.* 27.25–27: ‘Jacob said in (his) sleep: “This place is indeed the *house of the Lord* but I did not know (it)”. He was afraid and

48. Wenham 1994: 222.

49. Wenham 1994: 221.

50. The phrase **בַּמְּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אָבֹד** or one of its variants appears in all five occurrences, thereby confirming the author’s knowledge that **מְקוֹם** is used to refer to the temple; 11QT<sup>a</sup> LII:9, 16; LIII:9; LVI:5 and LX:13.

51. Cf. Chapter 6: section 1. D. 1. The interpretation of 2 Sam. 7.10–14 –4QFlor. (4Q174) III:1–9.

52. Von Rad 1972: 286.

said: "This place which is nothing but the house of the Lord, is awe-inspiring; and this is the gate of heaven" ... "Also this stone which I have set up as a pillar for a marker in this place is to become the house of the Lord." *Tg. Neof. Gen. 28.20–22* also has 'this stone which I set as a pillar will be a sanctuary (יהווי בית מקדשיא) to the name of the Lord, and I will separate a tithe of all which you will give me, for your name.'<sup>53</sup> There is a tradition of Jacob building a sanctuary which is associated with the covenant made by God at Bethel. The author of 11QT<sup>a</sup> takes up this tradition that an eternal temple needed to be built, but reworks it by showing that this eternal temple will be the proleptic temple built in the immediate future and created anew at the eschaton by God himself. Here again, the emphasis is not purely on building a physical temple, but rather on what the eternal temple stood for, that is, the eternal presence of God in the midst of the DSS community.

The second passage, Gen. 35.1–15, records the return of Jacob to Bethel. He is asked by God to go to Bethel, settle, and build an altar there. Jacob instructs his family members to prepare themselves for this journey by putting away all the foreign gods that were among them, to purify themselves and to change their clothes. Nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible does the building of an altar require a preparation of this sort. Verses 2b and 4 describe the summons for cultic involvement, as would have been pronounced by a priest. This presupposes a permanent cult at a holy place.<sup>54</sup> In order for a participant to enter purified and ritually clean before God, he had to wash his clothes and renounce his link with other gods or powers. Jacob and his family sanctify themselves in preparation for meeting with God. For the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup>, God's command to Jacob to build an altar, and this act of sanctification by Jacob and his family, are key links to the covenant with Jacob. Instead of building an altar, God commands the members of the priestly community to build a sanctuary (XXX:4). Ritual purification, which is seen as essential for meeting with the Lord in Gen. 35.2–3, is another important point of contact with the covenant with Jacob.

After the purification Jacob builds an altar and calls the place El-Bethel. The Lord then reaffirms the covenant that he made with Jacob earlier on and also adds that nations and kings will come from his offspring. There is also a new name given to Jacob: he is to be called Israel. However, there is a variation of this story in *Jub. 32.18–23*. After the promise of God to Jacob, Jacob has a vision, with an angel coming down from heaven with seven tablets in his hands. The tablets contain all that will happen to Jacob and his sons in the future. After showing Jacob the tablets the angel says to him, 'Do not build up this place, and do not make it an eternal temple.'<sup>55</sup> For the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup> the key link with *Jubilees* would have been the command not to build

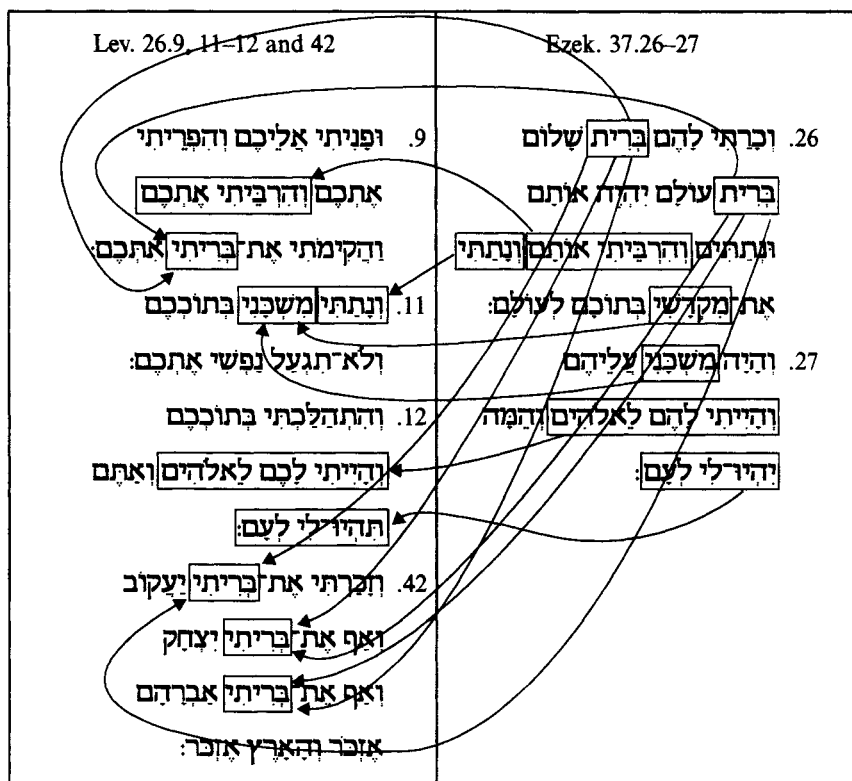
53. McNamara 1992: 142.

54. Westermann 1985: 550.

55. *Jub. 32:22*; VanderKam 1989: 214.

an eternal temple. In the biblical text Jacob experiences the presence of God, to which he responds with a desire to build an altar. However, the *Jubilees* tradition seems to indicate that Jacob had a desire to build an eternal temple. The *Jubilees* tradition seems to have influenced the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup>. For him, the building of the temple, God's dwelling in the midst of the community (twice in lines 7–9), and the establishing of a special relationship with the community as the elect, are all associated with the covenant with Jacob.

Leviticus 26.42 is the third passage where there is a direct reference to the covenant with Jacob. The whole of Leviticus 26 contains the blessings and the curses for keeping the covenant or failing to do so. The covenant is now extended to all Israel and is not restricted only to the patriarchs. Leviticus 26.3–13 states the requirements of this covenantal relationship. In the previous section we have already shown, in the comparative chart, the dependence of 11QT<sup>a</sup> col. XXIX on Ezek. 37.26–28 and Lev. 26.42. However, Milgrom, in his commentary on Leviticus, has shown that Ezek. 37.26–27 is an expansion and reworking of Lev. 26.9, 11a, and 12.<sup>56</sup> But in all probability vs. 42 has also been taken and reworked, as shown below:



56. Milgrom 2000a: 2350.

The author of 11QT<sup>a</sup> seems to be aware of this tradition of Ezekiel borrowing from Leviticus. Both traditions, that is, involving the sanctuary and the covenant with Jacob, are important to the ideology of the community. It is a unique feature that the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup> uses the phrase **כְּבְרִית יַעֲקֹב בְּבֵית אֵל**. Usually within the biblical text, as in Lev. 26.42, the name of the patriarchs provides the only reference to the covenant. The use of **בְּבֵית אֵל** also indicates that the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup> was keen to emphasize something about the place and the events that took place in Bethel. In the sanctuary and covenant traditions taken up by the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup>, the word **לְעוֹלָם** seems to be the key link. The covenant and the sanctuary will continue forever, one promising special relationship, and the other continuous presence.

The covenant with the patriarchs is also found in the preliminary parts of CD, which seems to come from the formative period of the DSS community. CD calls the covenant with the patriarchs **בְּרִית הַרְאִשׁוֹנִים**, ‘the covenant of the forefathers’ (CD I:4, VI:2), and **בְּרִית הָאֲבוֹת** ‘the covenant of the fathers’ (CD VIII:18, XIX:31). Although the covenant with the patriarchs was eternal (CD III: 4), and later on included all Israel in the form of the Sinaitic covenant (CD XV:8–9), Israel sinned, and now the covenant was applicable only to the remnant, which was understood to be the community. This application is clear in CD VIII:17–18, which speaks of the group and says **לְהֵם בְּרִית הָאֲבוֹת**, ‘the covenant with the patriarchs (applies) to them’. It is even more explicit in CD III:12–13: ‘But with those who remained steadfast in God’s precepts, with those who were left from among them, God established his covenant with Israel forever’. For the author of 11QT<sup>a</sup>, the covenant made with the patriarchs is now reaffirmed and reapplied to the community. It is a covenant of special relationship, the eternal presence of God in the midst of the community. In terms of the Temple Scroll, the precise modality of God’s presence will change from his dwelling in a temple made by human hands to one created by God himself, but the essential fact of God’s eternal presence among the community does not change.<sup>57</sup>

57. Wise 1989: 60.

## Chapter 9

### TEMPLE IMAGERY IN THE RULE OF THE COMMUNITY

#### *Introduction*

The Rule of the Community (1QS) is one of the most important of the sectarian texts. Its importance is underlined by the fact that ten copies of the rule were found in Cave 4 (4QS<sup>a-j</sup> [4Q255–264]). Two tiny fragments of the rule were also found in Cave 5 (5Q11).<sup>1</sup> Even though there are some important differences between 1QS and 4Q manuscripts (which will be taken into consideration), 1QS remains the basis of the discussion for the following reasons. 1QS is not only the best preserved copy, it also contains the longest version of this text known to us. All copies of the rule are in Hebrew, the language in which it was composed. Since a fuller introduction has already been given in the section on plant imagery,<sup>2</sup> I will not elaborate on any further details. Temple imagery occurs in 1QS V:4–7, as part of the section on the ‘Common Life’, and also in VIII:4b–10 and IX:3–6, both from the ‘Programme for a New Community’, and is discussed in detail.<sup>3</sup>

#### *I. 1QS V:4–7; 1QS VIII:4b–10; 1QS IX:3–6<sup>4</sup>*

##### *A. Text – 1QS V: 4–7; 1QS IX: 3–6*

1QS V:4–7

- לוא ילך איש בשרירות לבו לתעות אחר לבבו .4b  
ועיניהו ומחשבת יצרו (כיאאם למול ביחד עורלת יצר ועורפ .5  
קשה ליסד מוסד אמת לישראל ליחד ברית  
עולם לכפר לכול המתנדבים לקודש באהרון ולבית האמת .6  
בישראל והגללים עליהם ליחד ולריב ולמשפט  
להרשיע כול עוברי חוק .7a

1. Knibb *EDSS*: 793.

2. Cf. Chapter 3. Plant Imagery in the Rule of the Community.

3. Knibb 1987: 77.

4. I follow Qimron's reading for these columns unless otherwise stated (Qimron 1994: 20, 34, 38).

1QS VIII: 4b–10 (See text, textual notes, and commentary in the section: Plant Imagery in the Rule of the Community)

1QS IX:3–6

3. בהיות אלה בישראל ככול התכונים האלה ליסוד רוח קודש לאמת
4. עולם לכפר על אשמת פשע ומעל חטאת ולרצון לארץ מבשר עולות ומחלבי זבח ותרומת
5. שפתים למשפט בניחוח צדק ותמים דרכ כנדרת מנחת רצון בעת ההיא יבדילו אנשי
6. היחד בית קודש לאהרון להיחד קודש קודשים ובית יחד לישראל ההולכים בתמים

#### Textual Notes

1QS V:4b–5

אודר: א corrected from י.<sup>5</sup>

אחר לבבו ועיניהו ומחשבת יצר: Missing in 4Q256 and 4Q258.

כי אם: כ missing in 1QS but 4Q256 and 4Q258 read אם.

למול ביחד עורלת יצר ועורפ קשה: Missing in 4Q256 and 4Q258. ועורפ has a medial פ instead of final.

בריית: Missing in 4Q256 and 4Q258.

1QS V:6–7a

עולם לכפר: Missing in 4Q256 and 4Q258.

4Q258 I:5 has המתנדבים לקודש באהרון ולבית האמת בישראל המתנדב לקדש באהרון ובית אמת לישראל.

ולריב ולמשפט להרשיע כול עוברי חוק ...: Missing in 4Q256 and 4Q258.

1QS IX:3

בהיות] אלה בישראל ליחד: 4Q258 VII:4 has ככול התכונים כתכונים.

1QS IX:4

לארץ: Medial צ instead of final.

עלות וחלבי זבחים: 4Q258 VII:5 has עלות ומחלבי זבח ותרומת reading the plural forms of זבח and תרומת and adding the word נדרת 'freewill offering'.

5. Qimron 1994: 20.

1QS IX:5–6

אנשי היחד בית קודש לאהרון להיחד קודש קודשים ובית יחד לישראל:  
4Q258 VII:6 has אל[.....ה] לכול ה[.....].

כד: Medial כ instead of final.

### Translation

1QS V:4b–7a.

- 4b. No one will walk in the stubbornness of his heart to wander after his heart,
5. his eyes, and thought(s) of his (evil) inclination, but rather to circumcise in the community the foreskin (of their) inclination, (and their) stiff neck, in order to lay a foundation of truth for Israel, for the community of the eternal
6. covenant; to atone for all those who willingly volunteer, for a sanctuary in Aaron and for a house of truth in Israel, and for those joining them for a community. And concerning a lawsuit and judgement,
- 7a. to condemn as guilty all those who transgress the covenant.

1QS VIII: 4b–10a

- 4b. When these things will be in Israel
5. the council of the community will be established in truth *vacat* for an eternal planting, a house of holiness for Israel and a most holy assembly
6. for Aaron, witnesses of truth for justice and chosen by (God's) pleasure to atone for the land and to repay
7. the wicked their recompense. *vacat* It is a tested wall, a precious cornerstone. *vacat*
8. <sup>Its foundations</sup> shall not shake or move from their place. *vacat* A most holy dwelling
9. for Aaron with eternal knowledge of the covenant of justice and in order to offer a pleasing <sup>fragrance</sup>, and a house of perfection and truth in Israel
- 10a. to establish a covenant according to the eternal sta<sup>tes</sup>. <sup>And these will be pleasing to atone for the land and to decide firmly the judgement of wickedness {.....}.</sup>

1QS IX:3–6

3. When these things will be in Israel according to all these norms as a foundation of the spirit of holiness for eternal
4. truth, to atone for the guilt of iniquity and unfaithfulness of sin, and that the land may be accepted without the flesh of burnt offerings, and without the fat of sacrifice; and the offering



5. of the lips according to the decree will be as a pleasant aroma of righteousness, and a perfect way of life like an acceptable freewill offering. At that time the men of the community
6. will separate themselves as a holy house for Aaron, that they may be a most holy community, and a house of the community for Israel, those who walk in perfection.

#### *D. Commentary*

##### *1. A call to faithfulness: A spiritual temple 1QS V:4b–7a.*

Lines 4b–5a warn the members of the community about straying because of the stubbornness of their heart. Stubbornness of heart is characteristic of the language used in Deuteronomy (Deut. 10.16; 29.18) and Jeremiah (3.17; 4.4; 7.24; 9.13; 11.8; 13.10; 16.12; 18.12 and 23.17). It also occurs once in the book of Psalms (Ps. 81.13). In all these passages except Jer. 3.17 the ‘stubborn heart’ is that of Israel. Since the members of the DSS community see themselves as the True Israel they are also warned about being stubborn. In 1QS I:5–6 the exhortation occurs as part of the aims of the community: ‘they shall practise truth, righteousness, and justice in the land and not continue walking in the stubbornness of a guilty heart and of lustful eyes’. It is also found here in 1QS V:4b–5, as one of the essential conditions laid out for the community to follow.<sup>6</sup> The exhortation to remain faithful is influenced by the instruction regarding tassels set out in Numbers: ‘You will have these tassels to look at and so you will remember all the commands of the Lord, that you may obey them and not prostitute yourselves by going after the lusts of your own hearts and eyes’ (Num. 15.39).

In V:5b the law of circumcision is given a spiritual interpretation in terms of Deut. 10.16: ‘you must circumcise the foreskin of your hearts and not be stubborn any more’. Lines 6–7 show that by doing this they would indeed be a community based on truth and would become partakers of an eternal covenant. They would also function as the spiritual sanctuary making expiation for all those joining the community and would judge those who transgressed the covenant.

##### *2. A spiritual sacrifice 1QS IX:3–6*

1QS IX:3–6 continues the theme of VIII:4b–10a, describing the community as the true temple. Within this temple formed by the community a life of perfect obedience to the law would take the place of sacrifice. Prayer and right behaviour would be efficacious for atonement instead of sacrifice.<sup>7</sup> The

6. A similar exhortation to learn from the past is presented to the community in CD II:17–18. Following one’s own desires and inclinations is also mentioned in Ezek. 6.9.

7. Compare 1QS VIII:3b–4a with Hos. 6.6; Amos 5.21–24; Heb. 13.15–16.

DSS community believed that the temple in Jerusalem and its priesthood were defiled, and this governed their attitude towards sacrifices. 1QM, on the one hand, envisages that sacrifices would be offered once again in the temple in the future (1QM II:5–6a). CD, on the other hand, appears to prohibit visiting the temple in VI:11b–14a, although somewhat in contrast, CD XI:17b–21a envisages both that the members of the movement would send offerings to the temple and that they would themselves offer sacrifices. Knibb suggests that this contradiction is perhaps to be explained by the assumption that VI:11b–14a and the collection of laws (XI:17b–21a) reflect different stages in the evolution of the beliefs and attitudes of the movement.<sup>8</sup> Within the wider Essene movement, the attitude towards sacrifice in the temple is not clear. Philo states that the Essenes were devout in the service of God but had spiritualized the notion of sacrifice.<sup>9</sup> According to Josephus the Essenes sent sacrifices to the temple, but performed their sacrifices using different customary purifications.<sup>10</sup>

Finally, the DSS community see themselves as a ‘holy house for Aaron’ and as the ‘house of the community’, which in the light of the parallels found in VIII:5–9 means the spiritual temple formed by them.

## II. Temple Imagery

### A. The Spiritual Temple – A House of Truth and a Precious Corner Stone

The DSS community were inspired by the ideology of **בית קודש**. A still wider range of terms employed in connection with the temple is extensively used in the above sections: ‘house of truth’ (V:6), ‘house of perfection and truth’ (VIII:9), ‘holy house for Aaron’ (IX:6), ‘house of the community for Israel’ (IX:6); ‘foundation’ (V:5; VIII:8; IX:3); ‘wall, a precious cornerstone’ (VIII:7), and ‘a most holy dwelling’ (VIII:8). All these epithets are references to the community as the spiritual temple. CD III:19–20 also describes the community as a house erected by God within the people of Israel, a ‘sure house’, such as had never been before. The DSS community is also described as **סוד קודש קודשים** ‘a most holy assembly’ (VIII:5), and a **מעון קודש קודשים** ‘a most holy dwelling’. The Hebrew expression **קודש קודשים** is usually used to describe the inner room of the tabernacle (Exod. 26.33–34), and of the temple (1 Kgs. 6.16), into which the high priest alone went, and only on the Day of Atonement.<sup>11</sup> Here in the temple formed

8. Knibb 1987: 53.

9. Philo: *Omn. Prob. Lib.* 75.

10. *Ant.* XVIII.1.5 (19).

11. Cf. Bockmuehl’s argument that the definite article must occur in the expression **קודש קודשים** in order for it to refer to the inner sanctum is contradicted by (e.g.) 4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) Frg. 1 I:10.

by the community the holy of holies is linked specifically with the priests of the community.<sup>12</sup> The act of atonement which is usually performed in the temple is now fulfilled by the members of the community leading a righteous life (V:6; IX:4).

1QS VIII:7–8a describes the DSS community as ‘a tested wall, a precious cornerstone’. Here the prophecy of Isa. 28.16 is reworked, changing אבן to חומת in order to facilitate a reference to the community. In the Isaianic context, the two אבן texts, Isa. 8.14 and 28.16, reflect the troubled period around 735 BCE when Tiglath-Pileser III threatened to invade Israel. Israel and Damascus were trying to force Ahaz, king of Judah, a vassal of Assyria, to join them in the fight against Assyria. The prophet warns Ahaz against panic (ch. 7), and then reassures his own disciples that the Lord will be a ‘sanctuary’ for them. On the other hand, the Lord will be to Israel a rock on which one stumbles (ch. 8). The nation had turned away from God and had become useless for the accomplishment of the divine purpose of redeeming the nations through them. However, a small minority of faithful people will form the basis of a new community and ensure the fulfilment of that purpose.<sup>13</sup> The foundation of the faithful community is announced with this oracle: ‘See, I am laying<sup>14</sup> in Zion a foundation stone, a tested stone, a precious cornerstone, a sure foundation: “One who trusts will not panic.”’<sup>15</sup> Childs<sup>16</sup> notes that the key to the meaning of the verse lies in the larger context, not only of Isa. 28, but of the book as a whole which provides the content of the imagery. Isaiah 1.26b speaks of a restored city and a city of righteousness. So this note of justice and righteousness immediately follows in 28.17 as a continuing commentary on the building metaphors of 28.16. Chapters 7–8 challenge King Ahaz to establish himself in faith on the promise of God to the house of David. Ahaz, however, rejects it. But a sign is given to the remnant who believe and who cling to the promise in the midst of judgement (8.8–10). The same theme of God’s presence, bringing both judgement for unbelief and salvation for faith, is pictured again in 8.14–15, with God as both a sanctuary and a stone of offence to many. This dialectic is also seen earlier on in the same chapter.<sup>17</sup> The remnant theme in 28.5 is linked with the pride and glory of the survivors in 4.2–4.

12. Knibb 1987: 131.

13. Bruce 1973: 231.

14. The MT has יָסַד, a Piel perfect 3rd ms preceded by the particle הִנְנִי. This construction is grammatically possible, but extremely rare. The translation would be ‘Behold I am the one who laid a stone for the foundation.’ Normally the הִנְנִי particle would be followed by a participle. 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> has מְסִיד and 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> יָסַד, both participles. The Targum and the Greek translations α’, σ’, θ’ support the participle (Childs 2001: 209).

15. NRSV.

16. Childs 2001: 209.

17. Cf. Isa. 8.1–4 and Isa. 8.5–6.

The remnant in these chapters are not just a future promise, but a concrete reality that has emerged as a new creation through faith during the period of Israel's judgement.<sup>18</sup>

This same dialectic seems to be operative in the thought of the DSS community. For them, God's presence in the spiritual temple, that is the DSS community, brings judgement upon the unrighteous, but salvation to their own community, and to others who will join them. Childs further states that the effect of this inter-textual interaction in Isaiah is that the initially ambiguous foundation stone of 28.16 serves as a metaphor that encompasses the reality of a new community, a faithful remnant, which is a foretaste of the coming righteous reign of God that is ushered in by the promised messianic rule of Zion.<sup>19</sup> For the DSS community the metaphor of a precious cornerstone would have helped them to see themselves as the new community, faithful remnant and as a proleptic community enjoying a foretaste of the coming righteous reign of God.<sup>20</sup> The self-understanding of the DSS community that they were the true, righteous and pure remnant is further reflected in the Liturgical Prayers: 'You have chosen a people in the period of your favour, because you have remembered the covenant. You established them, separating them for yourself in order to make them holy among all the peoples. And you have renewed your covenant with them' (1Q34+1Q34bis [1QLitPr] Frg. 3 II:5b-6).

Among the versions, the LXX of Isa. 28.16 has Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβαλῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιων λίθον πολυτελεῖ ἑκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνιαίον ἔντιμον εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ κατασχυνοθῆ, thereby indicating that the λίθον reference is to an individual, particularly with the addition of ἐπ' αὐτῷ.<sup>21</sup> In Isa. 8.14 the LXX has καὶ ἐὰν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποιθῶς which is not paralleled in the MT. Betz argues that 8.14 has been influenced by Isa. 28.16.<sup>22</sup> It is the cornerstone in which one has to believe in order not to be put to shame when God judges. The Targum interprets אבן as מלך 'king' and adds that 'the righteous who believe in these things (באליך) will not be shaken when

18. Childs 2001: 209.

19. Childs 2001: 209-10.

20. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI): 25b-27a reads: 'My God I lean on your truth, for you set a foundation (סוד) upon a rock and a rafter in line (ק) (with) justice (משפט), and a measuring level (משקל) of truth, to spread out tested stones (אבני בוז), to build a refuge that will not shake. All those who enter it will not stagger, and no foreigner will enter it.' The influence of Isa. 28.16 can be seen in the amount of borrowed vocabulary. However, here the community sees itself as being built into a 'refuge' or a 'rampart' rather than as a sanctuary which foreigners cannot enter.

21. Hillyer 1971: 61.

22. Betz 1987: 95.

*distress comes.*<sup>23</sup> The ones who are steadfast and firmly grounded in God's promise and stand out as the righteous in the midst of God's judgement are those who believe on the precious cornerstone. Here the precious cornerstone is equated to 'these things'. The Targum also abandons the terms 'stone' and 'foundation' and understands them as a reference to the Messiah: the prophet speaks of a mighty king whom God will strengthen and install on Mount Zion. The LXX and the Targum naturally have an eschatological and individual orientation. As far as the DSS community is concerned, this eschatological orientation is taken up in their interpretation, but there is no reference to a particular individual. Rather, the text is understood collectively as a reference to the community.

Hillyer notes that the qualities symbolized by the metaphor of the rock/stone are those of strength and reliability. Cognate ideas of truth and faithfulness are also assumed when the metaphor is used of the Lord (cf. Isa. 28.16–17).<sup>24</sup> However, the metaphor can also carry the opposite meaning of being a stumbling block. In Isa. 28.16 the oracle of promise follows the oracle of judgement against the rulers of Jerusalem (Isa. 28.14–15). Failure of a response from the religious leaders of Jerusalem brings in the divine decree of destruction (Isa. 28.18–22), and so the stone or rock metaphor works as a *double entendre*. While it stands for strength and reliability for those who trust in the work of God, it also stands for the devastation and destruction of those who do not. It is a stone on which the inhabitants of Jerusalem will stumble and be broken (Isa. 8.13–15; 28.16–17).

The *double entendre* in אבן בחן suits the purposes of the DSS community. They see themselves as the precious cornerstone whom God has chosen and also as the agents of the destruction of the wicked. This particularly applies in the light of the failure of the religious leadership in the Jerusalem temple. The DSS community logically extend the metaphor and rework אבן to חומת to support their belief of the community being the sanctuary. They lay a foundation of truth for Israel (1QS V:5), and 'it is a tested wall, a precious cornerstone ... Its foundations shall not shake nor move from their place. *vacat* A most holy dwelling for Aaron' (1QS VIII:7–9). חומת is a synecdoche for the sanctuary. The 'stone' imagery has now become 'wall' imagery facilitating a collective and corporate idea indicating that together they formed the sanctuary. McKelvey notes that the cornerstone idea is very

23. See discussion of 'these things' Chapter 3: section II. A. The Eternal Planting – Doers of אמת צדקה ומשפט, where it is argued that Tg. Hab. 2.4, Tg. Isa. 28.16 and 1QS VIII:4b all involve a retrospective reference in 'these things', where the righteous believe that what has been foretold about the eschaton will become a reality soon.

24. Hillyer 1971: 58.

likely an 'exegesis on the temple motif', to emphasize the divinely authoritative and eschatological nature of the sect.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, with the supralinear insertion of the plural **יְסוּדוֹתֵיהֶן** and the plural verb **יְחִישֵׁן**, the text of Isa. 28.16 is reworked to make the reference to the community explicit.<sup>26</sup> In the Isaianic context the choice of the foundation stone imagery is influenced by the Zion tradition, with the theological concept of Yahweh as the founder of Jerusalem and its temple (Ps. 78.68–69).<sup>27</sup> The theological belief was that Yahweh lived in the temple on mount Zion, and therefore Jerusalem could not be shaken (Pss. 48.9; 87.1–2, 5). Isaiah contrasted the solid foundation that Yahweh was laying with the government's flimsy foundation, hastily built on inadequate foundations. These foundations would be found failing to match specification and would be cleared away for Yahweh's new structure. The nature of those measurements, however, is the real key to the meaning of his message through his prophet.<sup>28</sup> The identification of the divine builder's line and plummet as justice and righteousness shows that Isaiah was not referring to the foundation of an actual physical temple, whether contemporary or future, but rather to the people of God. Roberts<sup>29</sup> states that just as Near Eastern gods refused to live in temples that were not built according to their specifications, so Yahweh would not live in Jerusalem in violation of his blueprint. His blueprint for Jerusalem was that it would be a city of justice and righteousness. But Judah's trust was in oppression and deceit (Isa. 30.12). Since justice and righteousness was not practised, Yahweh was not present in the Jerusalem temple.

The DSS community make full use of the Zion traditions and rework them to apply to their new situation. The presence of God was no longer in Jerusalem but rather with them, as they were the ones who practised justice and righteousness, God's blueprint for the city and the temple. In the reworking of the Isaianic oracle of Isa. 28.16, 1QS deliberately drops the words **בְּצִיּוֹן** in order to make known that the DSS community is the temple. In 1QS, 'the one who believes' is not mentioned, but the firmness of the building, its foundations, and wall are emphasized. The DSS community are God's living temple worshipping in spirit and truth (IX:3), offering the atoning sacrifices of prayer and praise (IX:4–5).<sup>30</sup> The idea of the community as temple is picked up later on by the NT writers in 1 Peter 2.4–8,

25. McKelvey 1969: 49. He also argues that **אֲבִיָּה** in 1QpHab X:1 refers to the community of the despotic priest. The text is not explicit about the community but seems to be in line with the MT where the stones in the wall cry out because of the oppression of the wicked (McKelvey 1969: 74).

26. McKelvey 1969: 48.

27. Roberts 1987: 39.

28. Roberts 1987: 44.

29. Roberts 1987: 44.

30. Betz 1987: 96.

and in Eph. 2.19–21 where the people of God are reckoned to be built upon the foundation of the apostles and the prophets, with Jesus Christ as the cornerstone (*ἀκρογωνιαίον*), with the whole structure growing into a holy temple in the Lord (Eph. 2.21). It is quite clear from this Qumran text that, before the Christian era, Jewish groups expected that in the last days God would build a spiritual sanctuary not made with hands, and the DSS community sees itself fulfilling that expectation.

### *B. A Spiritual Temple – Polemic against the Jerusalem Cult?*

1QS VIII paints the picture of the DSS community as ‘an eternal planting, a house of holiness for Israel, and a most holy assembly for Aaron, witnesses of truth for justice and chosen by (God’s) pleasure to atone for the land and to repay the wicked their recompense.’<sup>31</sup> The ‘eternal planting’ and the ‘house of holiness’ are juxtaposed to show that the terms refer to the DSS community. Brooke notes that the ‘cultic connection is part of the very woof and warp of the tapestry of images which are held together around the metaphor of planting.’<sup>32</sup> It is not only true when the community is viewed as an ‘eternal planting’ but more so when seen as the ‘temple’. If, then, there is a strong cultic connection, how is the cult viewed? 1QS seems to answer the question as it quotes Mic. 6.8 in VIII:2.<sup>33</sup> The preceding verses in Micah 6 raise questions about the cultic sacrifices in Jerusalem. Would the Lord delight in burnt offerings, thousands of rams, rivers of oil or even the offering of a firstborn son? The prophet concludes with the answer: ‘He has told you, O mortal, what is good: and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?’<sup>34</sup>

Wolff notes the enormous increase in the size of the offering as the prophet talks about thousands of rams and ten thousand rivers of oil and culminates by even showing a willingness to sacrifice his firstborn, which was beyond the legal possibilities provided by the Yahwistic cult.<sup>35</sup> This exaggeration of numbers comes in a conventional poetic parallelism, ‘thousands and ten thousands’, to highlight the issue rather than to be taken literally.<sup>36</sup> ‘Thousands’ and ‘ten thousands’ represent lavish sacrifices, and the first-born represents one’s most valuable possession.<sup>37</sup> The desperate questions are in order to identify the sacrifice which the Lord will accept

31. 1QS VIII:5–6.

32. Brooke 1999: 293.

33. 1QpMic (1Q14) has some text from Mic. 1 as well as Mic. 6.14–15.

34. NRSV.

35. Wolff 1990: 179.

36. Cf. Hos. 8.12 where the Lord had given ‘ten thousands’ of his instructions.

37. Smith 1984: 51.

(רצה).<sup>38</sup> The prophet who formulated the questions in vv. 6–7 has masterfully presented the absurdity of numerous cultic sacrifices and indicates subtly that the Lord does not make these demands upon his people.<sup>39</sup> The prophet drives home the message that enormous amounts of sacrifices cannot make up for God's requirement of ethical living.

Cultic language used often in connection with sacrifices appears here in IQS to describe the role of the community. The words ולרצת (VIII:3) and רצון (VIII:6), from the root רצה, meaning, 'be pleased with, accept favourably', are frequently employed in the Hebrew Bible to express the 'approbatory and, especially, the official acceptance of sacrifices'.<sup>40</sup> So also כפר (VIII:6) is used for atonement.<sup>41</sup> In Leviticus 16 the Lord commands Aaron to make atonement for (כפר) the sanctuary, because of the uncleanness of the people of Israel, their transgressions (ומפשעיהם), and their sins (לכל-הטאתם) (v. 16). No one is to enter the holy of holies until Aaron has made atonement for himself, his household and all the assembly of Israel (v. 17). This was to be an everlasting statute for them, to make atonement for the people of Israel once a year for all their sins (v. 34). The priestly role of Aaron atoning for the sins of the people of Israel through the offering of sacrifices is now taken on by the DSS community. רצה is used in VIII:3 to refer to the reparation for iniquity made by the community by doing justice and by their own suffering, rather than through the offering of sacrifices. They were the sanctuary where atonement was to be offered by means of their doing justice.

IQS IX:3–5, however, explains that when 'these things' will be in Israel then the community will atone for the guilt of transgression. As noted above, the phrase לכפר על אשמת פשע ומעל הטאת ולרצון לארץ (IX:4) is very similar to that used for the role of the high priest on the Day of Atonement in Leviticus 16. כפר, פשע, הטאת are used in Leviticus 16 as well as in IQS IX. The text does not stop with that, but goes on to say that atonement would be made 'without the flesh of burnt offerings and without the fat of sacrifice', and that the 'offering of lips according to justice will be like a pleasant aroma of righteousness, and perfection of way will be accepted as a freewill offering'.<sup>42</sup> Prayer and an ethical life according to the requirements of the Torah functioned as the sacrifices and offerings, and made for a better atonement than did the flesh of animals.

Betz observes that the 'Essenes' had spiritualised the concept of sacrifice, as revealed by the 'non-ritualistic use of the verb *kipper* = to atone', but this

38. Mays 1976: 140.

39. Wolff 1990: 179.

40. Wolff 1977: 263; cf. Lev. 7.18; 19.7; 22.23, 27 as well as Mic. 6.7.

41. Cf. Exod. 29.33.

42. IQS IX:4–5.



did not mean that they rejected the temple worship.<sup>43</sup> We have noted earlier that Philo describes the Essenes as people who were ‘especially devout in the service of God, not by offering sacrifices of animals, but by resolving to sanctify their minds’.<sup>44</sup> Cross observes that Philo’s comment would be appropriate if the Essenes ‘rejected the temple cultus on principle, or insisted only that God’s ethical and ritual laws be observed as a prerequisite of valid sacrifices.’<sup>45</sup> He then goes on to say that the Qumran texts lead us to believe that the objection to the cult fell in the second category. Cross emphasizes the priestly nature of the DSS community, who believed that the sanctuary in Jerusalem was defiled and that the reigning priesthood was defiled; but they expected to perform legitimate sacrifices in the days of the last war.<sup>46</sup> Brooke suggests that **מִקְטִירִים** in 4QFlor. needs to be seen as a continuation of the metaphoric language of the eschatological sanctuary, accepting that the community did not reject sacrifices in themselves, and that they may have also practised them in some way, not waiting for the cult to be restored.<sup>47</sup>

The concern for the purity of the sanctuary is also reflected in the Damascus Document where it indicates that the DSS community entered into a covenant to avoid the sanctuary. CD 6:11–14:

But all those who have been brought into the covenant shall not enter the sanctuary to light up his altar in vain. They shall be those who close the door, as God said, ‘Who amongst you will close my door? *vacat* so that you do not light up my altar in vain.’

Malachi 1.10 is quoted here, referring to the priests who offered blemished sacrifices which were unacceptable to the Lord. *Tg. Mal.* 1.10 interprets the verse: ‘Moreover, who is *here* among you that will close the doors of *my Sanctuary* that you may not offer an abominable offering upon my altar?’<sup>48</sup> There is an addition of ‘my Sanctuary’ as well as a change to ‘offer an abominable offering’ for MT ‘that you may not light my altar in vain’. The Targum rephrases, since according to Lev. 6.9, 12 the fire on the altar of burnt offering was not to go out. Davies suggests that vain lighting of the altar is consistent with a scrupulous adherence to the temple cult, but that ‘shutting the door’ is a Qumran gloss.<sup>49</sup> Hill notes that the **ב** in MT **מִי גַם**

43. Betz 1999: 461.

44. *Prob.* 75.

45. Cross 1995: 85.

46. 1QM II:1–6

47. Brooke 1985: 187.

48. Gordon 1989: 230.

49. Davies 1982: 297; Davies sees CD as a pre-Qumran document and therefore says that the temple cult would not have been ‘shut’ and so argues that it must be a Qumran gloss. However, the text of Malachi does talk about shutting the doors of the temple along with vain lighting of the fire on the altar, and so there is no reason to assume it as a Qumran gloss.

בבב is partitive and is used rhetorically to impugn the entire priestly corps, because none of them had taken the initiative to terminate the abuses occurring in the temple by even stopping the sacrifices temporarily.<sup>50</sup> The prophet condemns the quality of the offering, which indicated the attitude of the Jerusalem priesthood to God. Similarly, the DSS community see themselves as the ones who fulfil this role of closing the doors of the sanctuary so that sacrifices may not be offered in vain. It is not as though the DSS community did not believe in sacrifices or that these had lost their validity, but rather that they were against the corrupt leadership of Jerusalem who continued with the sacrifices without any ethical improvement on their part.<sup>51</sup>

Just as the prophetic protests<sup>52</sup> were against those who would bring sacrifices in order to cover over evil and injustice, so also the DSS community critique the Jerusalem priests and the sacrificial system. Obedience, truth, and doing justice and righteousness were more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifices. This was in line with the character of God and expected of the eternal plant – the community. But this did not mean that they rejected the cult or the sacrificial system, as is seen in the existence of the Temple Scroll which contains laws for the life of the people of Israel centered around the temple and its sacrifices. Even if the Temple Scroll is not sectarian, its preservation may be seen to indicate a high estimation of the cult.

50. Hill 1998: 183.

51. The Jerusalem priesthood was seen by the DSS community as both religiously and morally corrupt. Cf. 1QpHab IX:4; 1QpMic 11:1; 4QpNah Frags. 3–4 I:11, II:9.

52. Cf. 1 Sam. 15:22; Amos 5:21–23; Prov. 21:3.

## Chapter 10

### TEMPLE IMAGERY IN THE *PESHARIM*

#### *Introduction*

Among the scrolls found at Qumran the *pesharim* cover five or possibly six of the twelve prophets (Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah and one unidentified), and parts of Isaiah and Psalms. They get their name from the word *peshar* which is used extensively in these texts. The *peshar* is a type of biblical interpretation employed by the DSS community in which selected biblical texts are applied to contemporary, and sometimes sectarian, settings by means of various literary devices. The word *peshar* may refer either to the employment of such techniques or to a genre comprised of a series of such interpretations.<sup>1</sup> In either case, the presence of the word *peshar* is essential for their designation. It is a loan-word from the Aramaic ܦܫܪܐ (*pěšār*). Within the biblical corpus the word or one of its forms appears mostly in the book of Daniel (34x), mainly in the context of interpreting dreams, and once in Eccl. 8.1 with the meaning 'interpretation'. Among the cognates, Akkadian has *pišru* 'solution', 'meaning' or 'interpretation',<sup>2</sup> and Syriac has *pěšārā* 'solution' or 'explanation'.<sup>3</sup>

The DSS community considered the biblical prophecy as revelation analogous to a dream or mystery, which could only be unravelled by a specially endowed individual. The coded prophetic messages were deciphered by the author of the *peshar*.<sup>4</sup> However, the new interpretation was also rendered in veiled terms. *Peshar* interpretations were meaningful revelations for their intended sectarian audience. The *peshar* contemporizes the biblical texts, identifying their referents in history, and applying them to current situations.<sup>5</sup>

The *peshar* usually operates in a set manner. There is a citation of the biblical text or the *lemma*, followed by an introductory formula using the

1. Berrin *EDSS*: 644.
2. *AHW*: 2, 868.
3. *HALOT*: 982.
4. Berrin *EDSS*: 644.
5. Berrin *EDSS*: 644.

word *pišhro* meaning 'its interpretation' (or some form of the term *peshet*), and then the new application.<sup>6</sup> Some of the *pesharim* tend to leave a space between the citation and the introductory formula to indicate the beginning of the *peshet*.<sup>7</sup> The application relies upon linguistic or literary associations between the *lemma* and the interpretation. A good example of *peshet* can be seen in *peshet* Habakkuk (1QpHab), which cites Hab. 2.2: 'The Lord answered me and said: "Write the vision; make it plain on tablets so that he who reads it may run."' The *peshet* interprets this text to mean that God had told Habakkuk to write down what was going to happen to the last generation, but did not let him know what the final outcome would be. The interpretation lies with the Teacher of Righteousness to whom 'God revealed all the mysteries of the words of his servants, the prophets'.<sup>8</sup> The value of the biblical text lay in its contemporary relevance, which was revealed to the author of the *peshet* but unknown to the original biblical composer.

### I. Peshet Habakkuk

Temple imagery occurs in *peshet* Habakkuk (1QpHab) and in *peshet* Isaiah 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup>, though not explicitly. 1QpHab was one of the seven scrolls discovered in 1947 and published in 1951.<sup>9</sup> The *peshet* was written on thirteen columns of seventeen lines each, ending half-way through the thirteenth column at the conclusion of Habakkuk 2. The first column is badly damaged and the right side of the scroll is missing. The second column has a vertical strip missing through the centre. The bottom of the scroll has also been corroded, and so all the columns appear to lack a line or two of the expected seventeen. The scroll is written in a Herodian script that has been dated to around the second half of the first century BCE. The tetragrammaton has been written with palaeo-Hebrew characters.<sup>10</sup>

In 1QpHab two main themes are covered in the commentary, one relating to the internal religious politics of Jerusalem and the temple priesthood, and the other to the international repercussions of the arrival of the Kittim (Romans).<sup>11</sup> The themes follow the biblical pattern in the book of Habakkuk. Just as the prophet Habakkuk moves back and forth between domestic and foreign affairs, so also does the author of 1QpHab.<sup>12</sup> Thus in

6. Berrin *EDSS*: 644.

7. Berrin *EDSS*: 645.

8. 1QpHab VII:4-5.

9. Bernstein *EDSS*: 647.

10. Bernstein *EDSS*: 647.

11. Bernstein *EDSS*: 648-49.

12. Bernstein *EDSS*: 648-49.

Habakkuk 1, the *peshet* interprets vv. 2–4 as referring to a domestic enemy, and vv. 14–17 to an international enemy.<sup>13</sup> Temple imagery occurs in 1QpHab XII:1–10 and this section will be dealt with in detail.

*A. Text 1QpHab XII: 1–10*<sup>14</sup>

- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| יחתה מדמי אדם וחמס ארץ קריה וכול יושבי בה  | .1  |
| פשר הדבר על הכוהן הרשע לשלם לו את X        | .2  |
| גמולו אשר גמל על אביונים כיא הלבנן הוא     | .3  |
| עצת היחד והבהמות המה פתאי יהודה עושה       | .4  |
| התורה אשר ישופטנו אל לכלה (vacat)          | .5  |
| כאשר זמם לכלות אביונים ואשר אמר מדמי       | .6  |
| קריה וחמס ארץ פשרו הקריה היא ירושלם        | .7  |
| אשר פעל בה הכוהן הרשע מעשי תועבות ויטמא את | .8  |
| מקדש אל וחמס ארץ המה ערי יהודה אשר         | .9  |
| גזל הון אביונים                            | .10 |

*B. Textual Notes*

1QpHab XII:1

**יחתה**: Part of the citation of Hab. 2.17. MT has יחיתן 'he will terrify them', a hiph. impf. 3rd masc. sing. + 3rd fem. pl. sfx. from the root חתת. This suffix may have risen out of a confusion at some point between the final ך and the ך. LXX (S, Tg) has προσήσει σε, confirming that it should read יחתה.<sup>15</sup> Here in 1QpHab XII:1, it may be a case of scribal error with the כ missing.

1QpHab XII:2–6

There is an X mark at the end of line 2 (also in III:12, 14; IV:11, 14; 6:4, 12; VIII:1; IX:1, 13; X:3). Tov notes that these are marks written at the ends of lines as line-fillers.<sup>16</sup>

**עושה**: Qal. masc. sing. ptcp. where a masc. pl. ptcp. עושי is expected, referring to the plural פתאים. Probably a scribal error or an orthographic variant of עושי.<sup>17</sup>

**ישופטנו**: The imperfect form with the long vowel after the first radical is infrequent among the scrolls, but it does occur in some cases even when a suffix is added to a singular verb as in 1QS VI:14 ידורשהו.<sup>18</sup>

13. Bernstein *EDSS*: 648–49.

14. I follow the reading of Brownlee in this column unless otherwise stated (Brownlee 1950: plate 60).

15. Horgan 1979: 51.

16. DJD: 39, 340.

17. Horgan 1979: 53.

18. Horgan 1979: 53; Horgan also cites another example in 1QS VI:17 and reads ידורשהו, but the text actually has ידורשהו.

1QpHab XII:7

מַדְמִי אָדָם וְחַמְסַ אֶרֶץ קָרִידָה: MT has מַדְמִי קָרִידָה וְחַמְסַ אֶרֶץ. The scribe deliberately reworks the citation from the MT in order to make a specific reference to Jerusalem.

1QpHab XII:8

הַרְשַׁע: Supralinear insertion of הַרְשַׁע מַעֲשֵׂי הַכֹּהֲנִים

### C. Translation

1. will terrify you. Because of human bloodshed and the violence (against) the land, the city and all the dwellers in it.
2. The interpretation of the matter concerns the wicked priest, to pay him
3. his due as he dealt with the poor. For Lebanon is
4. the Council of the community and the animals are the simple ones of Judah, who keep
5. the law. (It is he) whom God will judge to destroy completely (vacat)
6. just as he planned to annihilate the poor. And when it says 'because of the bloodshed
7. of the city and the violence (against) the land', its interpretation is that the city is Jerusalem
8. in which the Wicked Priest committed abominable deeds and defiled
9. the sanctuary of God. And 'violence (against) the land', they are the cities of Judah where
10. he took violent possession of the wealth of the poor.

### D. Commentary

#### 1. 1QpHab XII: 1–10

Column XII starts with the citation of the last part of Hab. 2.17 followed by the *peshet*. The 'human bloodshed and the violence (against) the land, the city and all the dwellers in it' is interpreted as the acts of the Wicked Priest against the poor. The poor could be the physically poor, or those 'poor in spirit', or the humble, which, in this case, may be interpreted as the DSS community as shall be argued below. The *peshet* interprets that God will deal with the Wicked Priest in a manner similar to the Wicked Priest's dealing with the poor. The Wicked Priest and everything associated with him will be completely destroyed.

## II. Temple Imagery

### A. Lebanon = The Council of the Community = Temple/Eden?

Temple imagery in 1QpHab can be understood by examining the exegetical traditions that lie behind the symbolic use of 'Lebanon' in the *peshet*. While

Hab. 2.17 has 'For the violence done to Lebanon will overwhelm you; the destruction of the animals will terrify you – because of human bloodshed and violence to the land, to cities and all who live in them',<sup>19</sup> the *peshet* symbolically interprets 'Lebanon' as the council of the community and the 'animals' as the ordinary members of the community. What exegetical tradition lies behind the interpretation of 'Lebanon' known to the author, so that he and his readers would understand the symbolism? Within the Hebrew Bible, the term Lebanon occurs 71x, out of which at least eighteen occurrences are symbolic. In the discussion below I argue that two key exegetical strands of interpretation emerge from the use of the term Lebanon. The first is that Lebanon is equated with the sanctuary, and the second, that Lebanon stands as a symbol for luxuriant vegetation and a land of bounteous natural resources, thereby bringing in echoes of Eden.

An examination of common exegetical traditions used by the Targum to Habakkuk and 1QpHab would enable us to understand whether or not the author of the *peshet* understood Lebanon symbolically as the sanctuary. Brownlee has compared the texts and the interpretations of the Targum and 1QpHab and suggests that the outstanding agreements in interpretation, which are not clearly suggested by the biblical text itself, must be assigned to a common grounding in traditional interpretation.<sup>20</sup> The Targum to Habakkuk 2.17 has: 'for violence done to *the Sanctuary* (חֲטוּף בֵּית מִקְדָּשָׁא) will cover you and the spoiling of *its people will destroy you*, on account of men's blood and the violation of the land of *Israel*, the city of *Jerusalem* and all who dwell in it'. For the MT 'Lebanon' the Targum reads 'Sanctuary'.<sup>21</sup> The equation of Lebanon = sanctuary or temple in the Targum also occurs in Deut. 1.7; 3.25; 11.24; 2 Kgs. 19.23 (// Isa. 37.24); Cant. 4.8, 15; Jer. 22.6, 20, 23; Hos. 14.7 and Zech. 10.10.<sup>22</sup> This idea possibly stems from the fact that cedar-wood from Lebanon was used in the construction of Solomon's Temple (1 Kgs. 5.19–25 [Heb.]).<sup>23</sup> 1QpHab XII:2, on the other hand, interprets Lebanon as the 'Council of the Community'. If the author of 1QpHab was aware of the traditional interpretation found in the Targum, that Lebanon was to be understood as the sanctuary, then he would have equated the sectarian community with the sanctuary. Moreover, Brownlee argues that the Targum stands between the biblical text and the *peshet*, and therefore the author of the *peshet* was following the interpretation found in the Targum.<sup>24</sup> Gordon refutes the idea

19. Following NRSV translation except 'land'.

20. Brownlee 1956: 170.

21. Gordon 1989: 153.

22. For a detailed study of the interpretation of Lebanon = Sanctuary, see Vermes 1973a: 26–39 and Gärtner 1965: 42–44.

23. Gordon 1989: 153.

24. Brownlee 1956: 174.

of targumic priority and argues that the several parallels between the *peshet* and the Targum may be partly coincidence and may partly reflect common exegetical traditions.<sup>25</sup> The idea of the DSS community as the sanctuary has already been seen explicitly in 1QS VIII:5–11; 4Q Flor. 1–13; 4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> Frg. 1 I:1–21 and 11QT<sup>a</sup> XXIX:1–10.

The Targum also interprets the ‘destruction of the animals’ (בהמות שוד) as the ‘spoiling of its people’ (Hab. 2.17). The antecedent to the pronoun ‘its’ is the sanctuary, and therefore the spoiling refers to the people of the sanctuary. According to the Targum (Hab. 2.17a), the punishment that is to be meted out for one who violates the temple and her people is shattering (תתבריין), which represents the verb חרת used by the MT and the author of 1QpHab (1QpHab XII:1).<sup>26</sup> 1QpHab identifies the ‘animals’ as the ‘simple ones of Judah’ and as the ‘poor’ who keep the law (1QpHab XII:3, 5). The *peshet* states that God will judge the Wicked Priest and will ‘destroy (him) completely’ (1QpHab XII:5), because he had plotted to destroy the ‘poor’. The Targum (2:17b) states that the reason for the destruction of those who defiled the sanctuary was their shedding of human blood and the ‘violation of the land of *Israel*, the city of *Jerusalem* and all who dwell in it’.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, 1QpHab reworks the citation with מדמי קרייה (lines 6–7) for MT מדמי אדם, and interprets the ‘city’ as Jerusalem, where the Wicked Priest committed abominable deeds and defiled the sanctuary of God. Further, the ‘violence (against) the land’ is interpreted in relation to the cities of Judah where the Wicked Priest took away the wealth of the poor (1QpHab XII:7–10). The identification of the ‘city’ with Jerusalem and the ‘land’ with cities of Judah (Israel in the Targum) may have been quite natural for any Palestinian Jew, but there is a possibility that this identical interpretation may have derived from a common hermeneutical tradition.<sup>28</sup> It is likely that the author of 1QpHab would have been aware of the interpretation of Lebanon as the sanctuary. At one level the MT would have been a simple reference to Lebanon, but at another, the commentator would have seen a reference to the council of the community as being itself a kind of sanctuary.

25. Brownlee accepts that some of the contents of the Targum are later than the Qumran scrolls. Yet since the Talmud traces the origin of the Targum to Ezra and the last of the prophets, and since the Targum itself seems to allude to events of the last two centuries BCE, he believes that there is a good basis for regarding many of the interpretations embedded within the Targum as deriving from an early oral tradition or a proto-Targum (Brownlee 1956: 169–76). Gordon refutes Brownlee’s theory, stating that the evidence does not add up to dependence by 1QpHab upon an early version of Tg. Hab. (Gordon 1994: 83–95).

26. Tg. uses one of its favourite verbs, תבר, to translate MT חרת ‘terrify’ (Gordon 1989: 153).

27. Gordon 1989: 153.

28. Brownlee 1956: 175.



Similarly, there is a skilful *double entendre* going on in the second half of the column. On the surface it seems as though the author of 1QpHab is talking about Jerusalem and the sanctuary where the Wicked Priest committed abominable acts, violated the precincts of the temple, and afflicted the poor (1QpHab XII:6–10). This is an obvious interpretation and there are historical references to support it.<sup>29</sup> But it is equally probable that the author is actually talking about the Wicked Priest's treatment of his own community. The author refers to the 'poor' (אביונים) three times within the short span of ten lines, each time in the plural. This can be regarded as a general reference to the impoverished people who were rapaciously exploited by the Wicked Priest. However, the use of the term אביונים, which refers to the community elsewhere, seems to point clearly to the DSS community on this occasion as well.<sup>30</sup> Elliger states that the word אביונים does not have a definite article and is not a technical term for the community, but was on the way to becoming one.<sup>31</sup> At the same time, the idea of the DSS community as the 'poor' is explicit in 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> (4Q171). Commenting on Ps. 37.11 'But the meek shall inherit the land' the *peshet* states that its interpretation 'concerns the Congregation of the Poor who accept the season of affliction' (4QpPs<sup>a</sup> II:9–11a). A similar interpretation of the 'poor' as the community occurs in 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> III:10.

In using the terms 'Lebanon' and 'the poor', the author of 1QpHab primarily refers to the DSS community who have been violated, both as the sanctuary and as the 'poor'. The *double entendre* works well here as the specific terms at a cursory glance do not seem to convey any sectarian connotation, but at another level they symbolically refer to the community.

A second strand of the symbolic interpretation of Lebanon is that of natural beauty, bounteous resources and a fertile land.<sup>32</sup> An examination of some of the texts in the Hebrew Bible which use Lebanon symbolically leads us to believe that they have Edenic echoes. In Deut. 3.25 when Moses wants to enter the promised land he says: אעברהנא ואראא את־הארץ הטובה; אשר בעבר הירדן החר הטוב הזה והלבנון. Moses speaks about the promised land using the symbol of Lebanon. Lebanon was famous for its luxuriant vegetation (Hos. 14.6–8; Ps. 72.16, etc.) and natural beauty (Cant. 5.15;

29. The Wicked Priest may represent a multiplicity of Wicked Priests: Judas Maccabeus; Alcimus; Jonathan; Simon; John Hyrcanus; and Alexander Jannaeus (García Martínez and van der Woude. 1990: 521–41). The suppression of Jewish worship and the defiling of the temple reflect the period 168–165 BCE during the reign of Antiochus IV (Grabbe 1994: 265).

30. Keck 1966: 74.

31. Elliger 1953: 86–87, 220–22.

32. Lebanon is used symbolically in the following texts: Deut. 3.25; 2 Kgs. 19.23; Pss. 72.16; 92.12; 104.16; Cant. 4.11, 15(2); Isa. 35.2; 60.13; Ezek. 31.3–9, 16; Hos. 14.5, 6, 7; Hab. 2.17.

7.5), and therefore can symbolize Canaan as a land of beauty and bounteous natural resources.<sup>33</sup>

In Ezek. 31.3–9 Assyria is compared to a cedar of Lebanon with beautiful branches overshadowing the forest, tall and with abundant foliage. There is also mention of the cedars in Eden, the garden of God, which could not rival it (vv. 8–9). So also in Isa. 60.13 the Lord declares that ‘the glory of Lebanon shall come to you, the cypress, the plane, and the pine, to beautify the place of my sanctuary; and I will glorify where my feet rest’. In the Isaianic context the reference to the rich forests of Lebanon providing pine, fir and cypress is part of the imagery of the paradisiacal new order, a restoration of Eden, and not an inventory of lumber for the rebuilding of the temple.<sup>34</sup>

Brown<sup>35</sup> has shown that there is a distinct link between Eden, paradise and the forest of Lebanon. He traces how the term ‘paradise’ enters Greek and Hebrew history from its Persian roots in which it refers to forest enclosures belonging to Persian kings and satraps used as hunting parks and timber preserves. He observes that there is a gradual shift among the versions from the ‘garden of Eden’ to ‘paradise’. In Gen. 2.8 the Lord is described as a planter, ‘who planted a garden in Eden, in the East’ (יִטַע מְקוֹם גֶּן-בְּעוֹרן מִקְדֵם). The LXX however renders this *καὶ ἐφύτευσεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδεμ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς*. It replaces ‘garden’ with ‘paradise’, thereby making a major change. Among the versions *Tg. Onq.* leaves the expression unchanged, but the Syriac is aware of the LXX and uses ‘paradise’. Similarly, the LXX uses *παράδεισον* in Gen. 3.23 where the Hebrew has *מִגְן-עוֹרן*. Likewise, in most of the prophetic passages where there is a reference to Eden the LXX has *παράδεισος*, with variations, for the MT’s *גֶּן* (Isa. 51.3; Ezek. 28.13; 31.8–9; Joel 2.3).<sup>36</sup> Brown further observes that in Ezek. 31.3–9 the cedar of Lebanon is envied by the cedars in the ‘garden of God’ and the ‘trees of Eden’. This, he says, suggests that Eden is on Lebanon.<sup>37</sup> Whether Eden is on Lebanon is not explicit in the text, but there is a clear connection between Lebanon, Eden and Paradise. He also observes that this tradition is followed in *1 Enoch* 32.3 from Qumran (4Q206), where Enoch describes Eden as the ‘Paradise of Righteousness’ (פֶּרְדֵס קִשְׁטָנָא). He concludes by saying that in later Judaism and in the NT the term ‘paradise’ is supernaturalized to denote the restoration of Eden.<sup>38</sup>

33. Weinfeld 1991: 191.

34. Childs 2001: 498.

35. Brown 2001: 119–51.

36. Brown 2001: 138.

37. Brown 2001: 138.

38. Brown 2001: 138.

In the texts that we have discussed above, there is ample evidence to show that Lebanon was also understood symbolically to connote luxuriant vegetation, natural beauty, cedars and flowing streams which were present in the garden of Eden. There is also a connection between the idea of a garden and that of paradise. The image of evergreen trees may have also influenced the writer of 1QpHab to use Lebanon symbolically. Brownlee notes the suggestion of his former student W.R. Murdoch that the use of 'council'  $\text{נצב}$  in the *peshar* may involve a word-play on the Hebrew  $\text{עץ/העץ}$  (tree[s]), since Lebanon was famous for its  $\text{עצי}$ .<sup>39</sup> This idea of an evergreen garden brings in echoes of a restored Eden and can be applied symbolically to the righteous also. It is this kind of idea that would have influenced the author of 1QpHab as he also understood the community both as a 'sanctuary' and as an 'eternal planting' with Edenic and paradisaical echoes, all of which seem to be suggested by the term 'Lebanon'.

### III. Peshar Isaiah

Five fragmentary manuscripts of the *pesharim* on the book of Isaiah were found in Cave 4 (*peshar* Isaiah<sup>a-e</sup> [4Q161–165]), and one in Cave 3 (*peshar* Isaiah [3Q4]), although, strictly, the latter does not survive in sufficient detail for its genre to be determined.<sup>40</sup> The *pesharim* all seem to be independent documents, and in one case the same text is interpreted differently in two of them (*peshar* Isaiah<sup>a</sup> and *peshar* Isaiah<sup>c</sup>).<sup>41</sup> *Peshar* Isaiah<sup>a</sup> (4Q161), of which three columns have been reconstructed, includes the biblical text with *peshar* from Isa. 10.22–11.5. The sections of Isaiah commented on describe the protection of Judah from the invading Assyrian forces and have a messianic prophecy about the inspired 'root of Jesse'.<sup>42</sup> Both these sections have a *peshar*, the former in terms of contemporary military action in Palestine and the latter with reference to the DSS community's eschatological beliefs. *Peshar* Isaiah<sup>b</sup> (4Q162) has material from Isa. 5–6. Much of the surviving material is biblical text, with very little of the *peshar*. *Peshar* Isaiah<sup>c</sup> (4Q163) has about sixty fragments of papyrus, poorly preserved, and is therefore one of the most complex among the *pesharim*. It contains references to other biblical books like Jeremiah, Hosea and Zechariah in the *peshar*.<sup>43</sup> The surviving larger fragments consist mainly of biblical text, covering parts of Isaiah 8–10, 14, 19, and 29–31.<sup>44</sup> It

39. Brownlee 1979: 199.

40. Bernstein *EDSS*: 651.

41. Bernstein *EDSS*: 651.

42. Bernstein *EDSS*: 652.

43. Horgan 1979: 95.

44. Bernstein *EDSS*: 652.

presents no continuous *peshet* as opposed to the *lemma*. It has sparse exegetical comments, disjointed and difficult to link with a preceding biblical *lemma*.<sup>45</sup> *Peshet* Isaiah<sup>d</sup> (4Q164) has one readable fragment commenting on Isa. 54.11b–12b, which describes the rebuilding of Jerusalem following the Babylonian exile. This is then applied by the *peshet* to the sect: that new Jerusalem, the temple-city, represents their community. While there is no explicit reference to the temple, the temple-city stands as a synecdoche for the temple. This *peshet* will be dealt with in detail below. *Peshet* Isaiah<sup>e</sup> (4Q165) contains material from Isa. 11, 14–15, 21, 32, and 40, but the text available is so sparse that it is difficult to get a sense of the direction it takes.

#### A. Text – 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup> Frg. 1:1–8<sup>46</sup>

- |   |    |
|---|----|
| אשׁר יסדו את עצת היחוד בן כוהנים והענם... הוא]      | .1 |
| עדת בחירו כאבן הספיר בתוך האבנים... ושמתו כרכוב     | .2 |
| כול שמשותיך פשרו על שנים עשר איש בעצת היחוד אשר     | .3 |
| מאירים במשפט האורים והתומים [.....]                 | .4 |
| הנעדרות מהמה כשמש {ל} בכל אורו וכול שערך לאבני אקדח | .5 |
| פשרו על ראשי שבטי ישראל לאן חרית הימים              | .6 |
| גורלו מעמדין...                                     | .7 |
|   | .8 |

#### B. Textual Notes

##### 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup> Frg. 1:1

אשׁר [...]: Initial fragment missing. Allegro<sup>47</sup> reads א, but it is part of the citation and the word was probably א[מרבין].<sup>48</sup>

כפוך בעין: Allegro reads this as כפין בעין, '(all Israel) sought thee according to your word'.<sup>49</sup> It seems more appropriate to read כפוך בעין, as the two words occur together in 2 Kgs. 9.30 and in Jer. 4.30.<sup>50</sup>

בספין אשׁר פשר הדבר: Reconstruction following Allegro.<sup>51</sup>

##### 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup> Frg. 1:2–3

אשׁר יסדו: Reconstruction following Allegro.<sup>52</sup>

45. Bernstein *EDSS*: 652.

46. I follow Allegro's reading for this column unless otherwise stated (*Allegro DJD*: 5, 27–28).

47. Allegro *DJD*: 5, 27.

48. Yadin 1959b: 40.

49. Allegro *DJD*: 5, 28.

50. Yadin 1959b: 40.

51. Allegro 1958a: 220.

52. Allegro *DJD*: 5, 27.

[הוא... בהענים והענים] היחוד: Reconstruction partly following Horgan and partly Yadin.<sup>53</sup>

[ושמתי כדכור] האבנים: Reconstruction following Isa. 54.12.

4QpIsa<sup>d</sup> Frg. 1:4–8

[איש בעצת היחוד אשר]: Reconstruction following Horgan.<sup>54</sup>

{ל}כשמש: Erasure of ל.

[וכונל שעריך לאבני אקדח]: Reconstruction following Isa. 54.12.

### C. Translation

1. [...] all Israel like mascara around the eye. *And I will lay your foundation in sapp[h]ires.* Its interpretation is that]
2. they established the Council of the community [among the] priests and the peo[ple.... It]
3. is his chosen congregation, as a stone of sapphire in the midst of stones. [... *And I will make*]
4. *all your pinnacles [of rubies].* Its interpretation concerns the twelve [men in the Council of the community who]
5. give light according to the judgement of the Urim and Thummim [...]
6. lacking from them, like the sun {.} in all its brightness. And al[ your gates as sparkling stones]
7. Its interpretation concerns the heads of the tribes of Israel at the e[nd of days]
8. its lot, the offices of [...]

### D. Commentary

#### 1. 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup> Frg. 1:1–8

The fragment begins with a citation of Isa. 54.11b. The restoration of Zion described in Isaiah is now interpreted to apply to the council of the community. They would be the precious stones in the midst of other stones. Further, where the Lord promises to make the battlements/pinnacles of Zion with rubies, it is applied to the twelve in the council of the community who make decisions in consultation with the Urim and the Thummim. Their decisions will give light to those living in Zion who were believed to be living under the influence of the ‘sons of darkness’. There may be a pun on

53. Horgan 1979: 126; Yadin 1959b: 40.

54. Horgan 1979: 129.

מִהָאֲרִיִּים from the root אָרַר 'light' or 'flame'.<sup>55</sup> The final two lines possibly contain an interpretation of another stich from Isa. 54.12: 'your gates as sparkling stones'. This is interpreted as a reference to the heads of the tribes of Israel and their hierarchical positions within the community.

#### IV. Temple Imagery

##### A. The Restoration of Zion – The Temple City

The restoration of Zion, the temple city, is described in 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup> Frg. 1:1–8. It cites parts of Isa. 54.11–12 and then interprets it with the help of the citation formula פִּשְׁרוֹ. The DSS community believed that they were living in the 'last days' and that the end was imminent. The intention of the *peshet* is to show that the prophesied foundation of a new and glorified Jerusalem had taken place with the foundation of the DSS community.<sup>56</sup>

In the Isaianic text, the Lord comforts Jerusalem/Zion as a mother of a dispersed and depressed family, reassuring her with a covenant of peace.<sup>57</sup> After the awful experience of exile, now there is reconciliation between the Lord and the people of Judah. Jerusalem is comforted by the Lord saying, 'O afflicted one, storm-tossed, and not comforted, I am about to set your stones in antimony, and your foundation walls<sup>58</sup> with sapphires; I will make your pinnacles of rubies, your gates of jewels, and all your wall of precious stones'. God himself was going to be the builder of the new Jerusalem and she would have a unique relationship again with the Lord. Since chapter 54 has to do with the new beginning of Zion/Jerusalem, it seems appropriate that the text describes the rebuilding of the city walls. The text contains a series of building terms: stones, foundation stones (or foundation walls), pinnacles, gates and enclosure.<sup>59</sup> Walls make the boundaries of the city and ensure its safety, protection and independence.<sup>60</sup> The rebuilding of the walls was a sign of restoration from the Lord. The sapphires, rubies and other precious stones are all symbolic of how the nation was precious to the Lord. There is a restoration and rebuilding of the nation, and the faithful servants of the Lord will be the inheritors of Jerusalem.

55. Milgrom cites a rabbinic interpretation of Lev. 8.8 which explains the meaning of the words Urim and Thummim: 'Urim, because it illuminates (אָרַר) their (inquirers') words; Thummim, because it completes (מִלֵּא) (i.e., fulfils) their words' (*b. Yoma* 73b) (Milgrom 1991: 511).

56. Draper 1988: 54.

57. Baltzer 2001: 451.

58. Incorporating 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> reading.

59. Baltzer 2001: 451.

60. Baltzer 2001: 451.

A comparison between the MT of Isa. 54.11–12 and the text cited by the *peshar* shows how the author skilfully chooses words which could refer to the community and reworks others to suit their new context.

Isa. 54.11–12	4QpIsa <sup>d</sup> Frg. 1:1–8
11 עֵינֶיהָ סִעָרָה לֹא נִחְמָה הִנֵּה	1. יָץ... כּוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּפֹךְ בְּעֵין
אֲנֹכִי מִרְבֵּץ בְּפֹךְ אֲבִיךָ	וְיִסְדוֹתֶיךָ בְּסִפִּינֵי פֶשֶׁר הַדְּבָרִין
וְיִסְדוֹתֶיךָ <sup>6</sup> בְּסִפִּירִים:	2. אֲשֶׁר יִסְדוּ אֶת עֵצַת הַיְחָד
12 וְשִׁמְתִי כִכְרֹד שְׁמִשְׁתִּיךָ	[ בְּכֹחֵהֶנִּים הַעֵנָם... הוּא ]
וְשַׁעֲרֶיךָ לְאֲבֵנֵי אֲקֵדָח	3. עֵדֶת בְּדִירוֹ כְּאֲבֹן הַסִּפִּיר בְּתוֹךְ
וְכָל גְּבוּלְךָ לְאֲבֵנֵי חֲפֵץ:	הָאֲבֵנִים... וְשִׁמְתִי כִכְרֹד
	4. כּוֹל שְׁמִשְׁוֹתֶיךָ פֶּשְׁרוֹ עַל שָׁגִים
	עֶשֶׂר וְאִישׁ בְּעֵצַת הַיְחָד אֲשֶׁר
	5. מֵאִירִים בְּמִשְׁפֵּט הָאוּרִים
	הַתּוֹמִים [.....]
	6. הַנְּעֻדְרוֹת מִהֵמָּה כְּשֶׁמֶשׁ {ל}
	בְּכוֹל אוֹרוֹ וּכְתֹל שַׁעֲרֶיךָ
	[לְאֲבֵנֵי אֲקֵדָח]
	7. פֶּשְׁרוֹ עַל רֵאשֵׁי שְׁבֵטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
	לְאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים
	8. גּוֹרְלוֹ מִעַמְדִּיךָ...

The יץ at the beginning of line 1 is probably to be read as the end of *פּוֹךְ* [מִרְבֵּץ], a reconstruction from Isa. 54.11.<sup>62</sup> The *peshar* cites *פּוֹךְ* from the text but replaces the כ with a פ. This is then followed by *בְּעֵין*, as the author of the *peshar* understands the meaning as ‘eye make-up’ rather than ‘hard mortar’ as probably intended in Isaiah.<sup>63</sup> The author of the *peshar* seems to have been familiar with the meaning of ‘eye make-up’, which occurs in two other texts in the MT with the same meaning (2 Kgs 9.30 and Jer. 4.30), on both occasions followed by *עֵץ*. The *peshar* begins by stating that ‘all Israel’

61. Following 1QIsa<sup>d</sup> and reading וְיִסְדוֹתֶיךָ ‘and your foundation walls’.

62. Yadin 1959b: 40.

63. HALOT: 918.

will be like mascara (כפוך) around the eye. The idea of 'all Israel' is not common in the scrolls and seems to refer to the community as the righteous remnant rather than to the entire nation (cf. 1QS II:22; 1QS<sup>a</sup> I:1; 4QpNah III:3).<sup>64</sup> This interpretation probably follows because of the mention of אבני and ויסדתיך in the *lemma* which is cited in reference to the DSS community on other occasions.<sup>65</sup> The *peshet* states that the DSS community established the council of the community consisting of the priests and the laity. While the same term 'council' is used to refer to the sect as a whole,<sup>66</sup> it may also refer to the nascent community.<sup>67</sup> בספינירים in line 1 and הספיר in line 3 represent בִּסְפִינִיִּים in verse 11. The council are seen as precious stones in the midst of other stones, and chosen by God. שמשותיך in line 4 represents שמשותיך in verse 12. The *peshet* further interprets 'all your pinnacles ...' as the twelve in the council of the community who guide people. The same imagery is picked up in Rev. 20.14 in its description of New Jerusalem: 'and the wall of the city has twelve foundations, and on them are the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb'. Also, in v. 19: 'The foundations of the wall of the city are adorned with every jewel; the first was jasper, the second sapphire, the third agate, the fourth emerald'. In the *peshet*, the council of the community are seen as the foundation of the new Jerusalem who will give judgements according to the Urim and the Thummim (line 5). This tradition of the faithful as the foundation of the city who carry out judgement, as in Rev. 20.4 probably derives from the same thought world as that of the DSS community.<sup>68</sup> The vision of the community as the True Israel, embattled and persecuted, dominated the thinking of both communities.<sup>69</sup> The DSS community believed that the new creation promised by God had already begun with God laying the members of the community as the foundation of Zion, the Temple City.

The combination of Zion and temple motifs is also seen in Isa. 2.3: 'Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths. For from Zion proceeds the Law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.' However, in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> the scribe omits the words אל־הר־יהוה 'to the mountain of the Lord', which is probably due to haplography, the scribe skipping from one אל to the other.<sup>70</sup> But the scribe also reads the plural וירנו 'they will teach us' for MT וירנו 'he will teach us', which indicates that the DSS community saw themselves as the instructors of the law in the

64. Draper 1988: 55.

65. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV (VI):25b–27a; 1QS VIII:7.

66. 1QS III:2; V:7; VI:13–14; VIII:11.

67. 1QS VIII:1–4a; 4Q265 Frg. 7 II:7–8; cf. Hempel 1999b: 78.

68. Draper 1988: 58.

69. Draper 1988: 58.

70. Brownlee 1964: 157.



temple city. Paulson Pulikottil, in dealing with this text translates, ‘the Law has *departed/proceeded* from Zion’, and interprets the text to mean that Jerusalem was deprived of its privilege as a centre of religious instruction in the end of days, hence the Law had departed from it. The centre for religious instruction was now located elsewhere in ‘the house of the God of Jacob’. He claims that the scribe considered that the Torah was no more resident in Zion and had therefore been relocated, and that the relocation of the Torah and the instruction in another place has sectarian overtones as it was in tandem with the sectarian community’s own relocation to Qumran.<sup>71</sup>

The above interpretation cannot be sustained, since the translation ‘departed’ does not make sense in the context. Even if we take the omission of *אל־הר־יְהוָה* as deliberate, the term ‘house of the God of Jacob’ still remains. This refers to the temple in Jerusalem. The names Jacob and Israel are frequently interchanged to refer to the nation in the light of Jacob’s own change of name to Israel. So, interpreting the ‘house of the God of Jacob’ as ‘another place’ is unwarranted. Within the scrolls themselves, we have further evidence in 4Q174, a sectarian composition, that the sectarians understood Zion as the place where the temple would be located and where the law would be taught. 4Q174 I:10 first notes that the Lord will build them a house.<sup>72</sup> Then, in the same text, the Lord also promises: ‘I will raise up your seed after you and establish the throne of his kingdom [for ev]er. I will be a father to him and he will be a son to me. This (refers to) the branch of David who will rise with the Interpreter of the law who [will rise up] in Zi[on in] the [l]ast days...’<sup>73</sup> But if the law had departed from Zion, it makes no sense for the interpreter of the law to rise in Zion. In Isa. 54.13, immediately after the promise of the rebuilding of Zion, the Lord himself is shown as the one who teaches the children of Zion. God’s presence and his teaching are present in Zion. Unfortunately, Isa. 54.13 is missing in the *peshet*, as the column is fragmentary.

For the sectarian community, new Jerusalem/Zion is envisaged as the eschatological restored Israel. This is understood in a symbolic way in 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup> where the stones and the walls refer to the DSS community. The DSS community think of New Jerusalem primarily as the temple city of which they form a key part and in which they function as a spiritual temple, teaching the law and giving instruction to the people.

71. Pulikottil 2001: 144, 146, 173–77.

72. 4Q174 I:10.

73. 4Q174 I:10–12; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997: 353.

## Chapter 11

### CONCLUSION

In this study, I have traced two key biblical traditions which the DSS community used extensively for their self-understanding: ‘an eternal planting’ and ‘a house of holiness’. We have seen that the DSS community considered themselves inheritors of the traditions found in the Hebrew Bible, which they were able to adapt, rework and make appropriate for their own setting. They stood in the long chain of recipients of biblical traditions handed down from one generation to the next. Planting imagery catered for all the roles that the DSS community sought to fulfil in being the people of God, and temple imagery empowered them to live as the priesthood of God. Israel’s role in history was clearly understood as that of a ‘priestly kingdom’ and a ‘holy nation’ (Exod. 19.5–6), if they obeyed God’s voice and kept his covenant. This is a foundational text for Israel and they kept drawing on this text for their self-understanding and their identity in their journey through history. It is here we see the DSS community appropriating this text for their own ideology. In CD I:5b–8a we noted that they talk about God raising the root of the planting from Israel and from Aaron. This refers to the laity and the priests of which the DSS community was comprised. The DSS community was claiming to be the ‘True Israel’, as the priesthood and the people in Judah had failed to be what God had called them to be. The twofold identity of Israel as a ‘holy nation’ and as a ‘priestly kingdom’ can be covered by these two metaphors of ‘eternal planting’ and ‘house of holiness’. The planting imagery stands for the people of God – the righteous or the holy nation, and the temple imagery stands for the priesthood of God. It is for this reason that these two metaphors are crucial for their self-understanding. The variety of theological themes that these two metaphors embrace enables the DSS community to understand ideologically their function as the true people and priesthood of God.

#### *1. The Eternal Plant as the True Israel – The People of God – A Holy Nation*

The metaphor of the ‘plant/planting’ covers a wide spectrum of meanings within the biblical tradition. I have shown that the self-understanding of the

DSS community as the 'eternal plant' enabled them to see themselves as the True Israel and the righteous remnant. The idea of the remnant was complicated during the exile because of the tension that existed between the historical reality of Israel in exile and the theological belief that they were God's elect. It is in this context that we see the idea of the returning of the remnant become a central theme in Jewish eschatological hope. Even after Israel had returned from exile physically, the promises of restoration seemed to have been only partially fulfilled. And although the remnant had returned, many had forgotten what the Lord had done and were pursuing their own interests.<sup>1</sup> This was particularly so with the high priest and the temple personnel, who were more interested in power and politics than turning the hearts of the people towards the Lord.<sup>2</sup> Since the high priesthood was corrupt and the temple defiled, there needed to be an alternative for those who pursued righteousness. The origins of the DSS community are rooted in this milieu where there was a perceived need for a faithful remnant. In CD, the DSS community trace their ideological roots to the Babylonian exile but indicate that, since the exile and the return to the land, the rest of Israel still persisted in disobedience. It is in this context that the metaphor of the 'plant/planting' is applied to the DSS community. The community was raised as the 'root of the planting', the remnant, who would bring in the fulfilment of the promises made by the prophets concerning the eschaton. The period of God's wrath was coming to an end and God had raised them up to be the remnant to inherit the land and enjoy its goodness. The remnant idea endorses their identity as the ones who were chosen by God, to be the people of God.

I have also shown that the metaphor of the planting is a biblical figure used to designate the righteous throughout history, and as such is now applied to the DSS community. The idea of the righteous as plants was common in Hebrew thought. Within the biblical tradition, one who keeps the Torah is compared to a perennial tree which bears fruit in its due season. Likewise, the DSS community saw themselves as the eternal plant because they kept the Torah and were righteous. They were the ones whom God had planted in his garden. It is a place where they were in close communion with God. This idea is expressed in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, where the community is referred to as a fertile plantation. The very existence of the plantation is the doing of God. The trees of life appear to represent the genuine members of the community, and it is through them that the eternal plant will come into existence. Moreover, the psalmist expresses the idea that *the eschatological righteous Israel* would come into being through him and his community.

1. Cf. Neh. 9.35.

2. Cf. 1QpHab VIII:8-IX-12.

The eschatological picture of the true Israel which he portrays is that of a tree which grows from a small shoot.

As much as the metaphor of the 'plant/planting' enabled the DSS community to understand themselves to be the True Israel, it also helped them to identify themselves as standing in a line of strong continuity with the Abrahamic covenant. Just as Abraham was called to be a blessing to the nations, they saw themselves as called to be a blessing to others. Doing justice and righteousness, which was part of the conditions laid down for Abraham, was now taken up by the DSS community. They were to practise justice and righteousness as a community in order to lead a life which was perfect and blameless. We have observed similar imagery in *Jubilees* concerning the 'plant of righteousness'. According to the promise found in *Jubilees*, God would raise a 'righteous plant' from the descendants of Abraham and Isaac. The DSS community saw themselves standing in the line of Abraham's descendants and so identified their community as the inheritors of the promises made to him. They were indeed the 'holy nation' that God had called them out to be. In these several instances the traditions of the Hebrew Bible were reworked, adapted and made relevant for their new context.

Another theme that the metaphor of the 'plant/planting' embraces is that of the 'world tree'. In the first psalm discussed in the chapter on the Hodayot (1QH<sup>a</sup>XIII [V]:20–XV [VII]:5), the eternal plant portrays the faithful remnant as those who would grow, be fruitful, and extend their influence to all creation. Though the 'world tree' is usually symbolic of kings and kingdoms in a negative sense within the biblical tradition, in the self-understanding of the DSS community the 'world tree' image has a positive role. Its beginnings may have been small, but its influence extended far and wide and would last forever. It did not exist as a tree to be felled, but rather as a tree which was to be a blessing to all who came under its shade. There is a universalistic dimension here. Election was not for the sake of being exclusive, but for the sake of benefiting others. Whether the everlasting nature of the 'world tree' led the DSS community to think of an unending physical life in the present or to include an eschatological dimension is not clear from the passage. Towards the end of the psalm, the psalmist introduces the theme of the judgement of God. The righteous remnant would have a part in the judgement, and the wicked would be destroyed completely without leaving any remnant. The purpose for which Israel was initially chosen was to be a light to the nations around so that they would know the Lord through them, but now this role is taken on by the DSS community.

## 2. *A House of Holiness – True Israel – The Priesthood of God – A Kingdom of Priests*

The metaphor of the 'eternal planting' in 4QInstruction carries with it the idea of the community being God's holy people and fulfilling the role of priests. This piece of Wisdom literature was taken up by the DSS community, as it was very much in line with their self-understanding and their ideology. They were asked to sanctify themselves, just as God had consecrated Aaron and his sons for the priesthood. They were the 'holy ones' who were called by his name and who had been fashioned according to the image and character of God. They saw themselves as a separated people chosen by God to be holy and to serve as his priests. The ministry of the priesthood in turning away the wrath of God in the example of Phinehas acted as a paradigm for their own ministry. They fulfilled the role of the priests by interceding for the people, making atonement, judging the wicked, and blessing the people in the name of the Lord. The teaching of the Torah, which was also one of the duties of the priests, was fulfilled by the members of the DSS community, as was the maintaining of the purity of the sanctuary. Since the Jerusalem temple was defiled, they understood their own community as a proleptic sanctuary, and therefore maintaining purity within the community was one of their chief concerns. The theme of priesthood is also found in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. Here there is liturgical communion with the angelic/human priesthood in the heavenly temple. The members of the DSS community appropriated this liturgy as they saw themselves con-celebrating with the angelic community in this heavenly temple. This was particularly important for the priestly community because they could not have had a better means of confirming their true and pure priesthood than to show themselves ministering in the heavenly temple.

While the community saw themselves serving as ministers in the heavenly temple, their conception of themselves as a spiritual temple/sanctuary, as noted above, is also seen in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510–511) Frg. 35: 1–5 where the members of the community were purified seven times in order to become holy: 'and from among them God will sanctify for himself an eternal sanctuary, and they will be priests, his just people, his army and his servants, the angels of his glory'.

## 3. *Eden and the Sanctuary*

The metaphors of the plant/planting and the temple/sanctuary bring together the ideas of Eden and the sanctuary. The metaphor of the eternal plant has Edenic echoes, and therefore was of importance for the self-understanding of the community inasmuch as they saw themselves as a restored eschatological community. We noted that, in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, Eden is linked

with the idea of paradise where the psalmist and the remnant would be in the presence of God. The eternal plant is portrayed as having roots going down to Sheol that are watered by the streams of Eden. We have noted that the picture of the righteous as plants in a garden has strong biblical roots. Isaianic traditions of God comforting Zion and transforming her into a well-watered planting, and the biblical tradition of the righteous compared to a palm tree and to the cedars of Lebanon, are now applied to the community. Furthermore, God's promise of a restored Israel and a restored land that will be like the garden of Eden is now used metaphorically by the community. They are the garden, the eternal plant whom God has restored. They are also the eternal spring whose waters never end. Eden is a place set aside for the faithful and the righteous. We also noted that the motif of Eden included the unmediated presence of the deity, which the community saw as part of their inheritance.<sup>3</sup>

We have further observed that similar ideas of the righteous being plants in paradise are expressed in other Jewish literature of the intertestamental period. Rather than referring to Israel as a whole, such 'plants of the Lord' are righteous Jews who live according to the law and are morally pure. They are the ones who receive paradise, which corresponds to the garden of Eden in primeval times. The *Endzeit* is a return to *Urzeit*, in which they enjoy eternal life as trees which flourish forever.<sup>4</sup>

The concept of Eden, referred to as paradise, being a place of rest for the righteous was common during this period. Fishbane<sup>5</sup> notes that, among the archetypal expressions of sacred geography in the Hebrew Bible, the imagery of Eden is dominant. Eden is located in the primordial past and is set on a mountain from which four streams flow to the quadrants of the earth. It is seen as the source of sustenance and blessing for all creation, and contains jewels and riches together with the repositories of the secret powers of life and knowledge in the respective trees of life and of knowledge. The garden of Eden therefore symbolizes the primordial harmony which existed before the transgression of Adam. It was as a consequence of Adam's disobedience that humankind forfeited existence in Eden and were cast out and condemned to the dislocations of historical existence. Fishbane further suggests that Eden is a literary residue of an archetypal memory of spatial harmony and divine bounty. This is the basis for an inner-biblical nostalgia for a return to this original condition. Eliade<sup>6</sup> states that most ancient societies betray a *nostalgia for Paradise*, the desire to recover the state of freedom and goodness that existed before the expulsion from Eden. The

3. Wallace 1992a: 282.

4. Fujita 1978: 31.

5. Fishbane 1985: 369.

6. Eliade 1960: 64-65.

desire is for a healing of relationships between human beings and other living creatures, and for a healing of the relationship with God in which the restored Adam meets with God and speaks directly with him face to face as he did *in illo tempore*. It is not only a nostalgia on the part of ancient societies, but also of Israel, particularly with the dislocation of the exile and the destruction of the land and the temple. It is in this context that the symbolism of Eden becomes more poignant.

The post-exilic prophets use the Edenic imagery as a symbol of restoration of both the people and the land (Isa. 51.3; Ezek. 36.35). The longing for restoration and return to the land from which the people were evicted is all seen as part of this Edenic hope. In Ezekiel's oracle about the dry bones coming to life the re-creation of the corporate body of Israel is seen as a new Adam emerging with new flesh and a new spirit (Ezek. 37.4–9). The blending of Adamic and Edenic imagery enables national nostalgia and primordial fantasies to come together.<sup>7</sup> For the DSS community the fusing of these two images contributed to their expression of their own hopes and aspirations of being in Eden – these that were proleptically realised with the coming of their community into existence.

The reworking of the Edenic traditions in post-exilic prophecy occurs explicitly in connection with the new temple. Ezekiel presents the picture of the future temple in Zion from which streams flow, providing healing and sustenance for the nations. The temple again is seen as the place where God will dwell in the midst of human beings just as he did before. Ezekiel brings together temple and Edenic imagery and expresses the same nostalgia for spatial harmony and blessing and their realization in the future. This reveals the depth of the Israelite yearning for restoration and for the presence of God in their midst in the temple. Similarly, the prophet Joel compares the promised land to the garden of Eden (בגן־עדן; Joel 2.3) and sees its restoration in terms of a fountain which flows from the temple of the Lord and sustains the people (Joel 4.18–21 Heb.). Zechariah also speaks of a day when living waters will flow out from Jerusalem and sustain the earth (Zech. 14.8–11).

The **מקדש אדם** or the 'sanctuary of men/Adam', is a motif that the community also adapt in description of themselves. Though other scholars have suggested that this term is a reference to a physical building, the meaning that emerges in the context of the commentary is that of the DSS community as a proleptic sanctuary. They anticipate a temple cult before the final end, and they see themselves being restored to the likeness of Adam as God intended him to be. The 'sanctuary of Adam' also indicates that the community/sanctuary are part of God's ultimate purpose, that is, the restoration of Eden.

7. Fishbane 1985: 370.

'Paradise' was the garden of Eden where the righteous would be in the presence of God. It would be a place of rest for God as well as for the righteous. The community has a similar understanding. They would be in paradise with God because they were his inheritance and they would be sustained by a continuous supply of water from the rivers of Eden. In other words, paradise is seen as life within the community in the presence of God, a place of plenty, a place of *shalom*.

#### 4. Use of Traditions – *Traditum and Traditio*

Within the Hebrew Bible, earlier traditions have been taken and reworked and applied to new situations. Following Fishbane's distinction between *traditum* and *traditio*, this study has examined the process by which the DSS community adapted, transformed, reinterpreted and applied to a new context the traditions that they received from the Hebrew Bible.<sup>8</sup> 'Inner-biblical' exegesis started with the received scripture and moved forward to interpretations based on it, with a concern not merely to reproduce the *traditum*, but to reapply it in a new setting and in a new way. This *traditum-traditio* phenomenon can be seen quite clearly in the way the DSS community dealt with the idea of **נצח**. Within the biblical traditions there is a reworking of this *traditum* from Isa. 11.1. In Isaiah 11 the **נצח** reference is to a king from the Davidic line, an individual. However, in Isa. 60.21 the reference is to the people of Israel: 'All your people are righteous'. Similarly in the Hodayot the community appropriate this collective identity, and the **נצח** motif has taken on a corporate dimension. However, in the wider framework of the Qumran corpus the notion of the **נצח** oscillates between the dual Messiahs and the community. In the NT this imagery is understood messianically and used thus in Rom. 15.12 and Rev. 5.5.<sup>9</sup> So, while the community looks at the 'shoot' from the perspective of a remnant, i.e. their own community leading to eschatological Israel, the NT sees in it a reference to the Messiah. Within the Hebrew tradition, therefore, there is a development in the *traditio* from the idea of an individual Davidic king, to the collective nation of Israel, to the DSS community, and finally to eschatological Israel. We have also noted that there is a similar understanding of the **צמח דוד** in 4QFlor. III:1-13 which draws on Exod. 15.17, Jer. 23.5 and Amos 9.11, which are then interpreted as references to the restoration of the people of God in the last days, with the messiah of David inaugurating the kingdom. It is the idea of the restored community which the DSS community appropriate.

8. Fishbane 1985: 6.

9. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 126.



Within the scrolls, the use made of the Hebrew Bible in applying the metaphor of the plant to the community is not one of proof-texting and actual quotation, but the approach can qualify as something akin to inner-biblical exegesis. Words and phrases from different parts of the Hebrew Bible have been brought together in service of this unifying theme.<sup>10</sup> Plant imagery within the sectarian literature and in biblical and para-biblical literature accessible to the community is used to express the idea of a remnant, or True Israel, which God himself would raise up.

The exodus traditions also fall into the *traditum*–*traditio* paradigm. The Song of Moses found in Exodus 15 is one of the key traditions within the Hebrew Bible. The Israelites recounted the Lord's mighty acts of deliverance and sang about how God brought them out of bondage and planted them on his mountain as his very own inheritance. The DSS community used the exodus paradigm as a sign of the events that would happen at the eschaton. They saw themselves both as the elect and as the spiritual temple.

Although the DSS community lived in the wilderness at Qumran, away from the polluted and defiled temple, its members firmly believed that God's presence was with them. More than that, they expected a new temple in the immediate future, in which God would dwell forever. Until that time they saw themselves as a proleptic sanctuary awaiting the eschatological sanctuary which God himself would build. The descriptions of the temple building and the detail involved in the description of sacrifice in 11QT<sup>a</sup> anticipated the return of proper worship on a grand scale, in which the members of their priestly community would fully participate.

We have also observed that the community were inspired by the ideology of *בית קודש*. Out of a wide range of terms employed in connection with the temple, the 'wall' and the 'precious cornerstone' (IQS VIII:7) were extensively interpreted as references to the community as the spiritual temple. CD III:19–20 also describes the community as a house erected by God within the people of Israel, a 'sure house', such as had never been before. The idea of a 'precious corner stone' (IQS VIII:7) falls into the *traditum* and the *traditio* paradigm. In this the prophecy of Isa. 28.16 is reworked, changing *אבן* to *חומת* in order to facilitate a reference to the community. *חומת* stands by synecdoche for the sanctuary. The stone imagery which became the wall imagery enabled the community to understand themselves collectively as the sanctuary. Moreover, by making use of the plural *יסודותיהו* and the plural verb *יהישו*, the text of Isa. 28.16 is reworked to make the reference to the community explicit. There is a similar identification in 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup> Frg. 1:1–8 where the stones and the walls refer to the community.

10. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 304.

In both Isa. 8.14 and 28.16 the reference is to a small minority of faithful people who will form the basis of a new community and ensure the fulfilment of God's purpose to redeem the nations despite Israel's failure. The foundation of the faithful community is announced with the promise of God laying in Zion a foundation stone, a tested stone, a precious cornerstone, a sure foundation. God is seen as both a sanctuary and a stone of offence: a sanctuary for those who believe and a stone of offence bringing judgement for unbelief. The same theme of the remnant in Isaiah, not simply as a future promise, but as a concrete reality that emerged as a new creation through faith during the period of Israel's judgement, has been transferred to the context of the DSS community. The community understood themselves to be God's living proleptic temple worshipping in spirit and truth (1QS IX:3), offering the atoning sacrifices of prayer and praise (1QS IX:4–5) until the time that God would build the eschatological temple. They were also the stone of offence inasmuch as they would judge the wicked.

In the *pesharim* texts that we have discussed in earlier chapters, the reworking of received traditions to suit later circumstances is a basic characteristic. The term 'Lebanon' stands as part of a tradition understood symbolically to refer to the sanctuary and to luxuriant vegetation, natural beauty, cedars and flowing streams which were present in the garden of Eden. This idea of an evergreen garden echoes a restored Eden and can be applied symbolically to the righteous also. These traditions would have influenced the author of 1QpHab who also understood the community as both a 'sanctuary' and an 'eternal planting' with Edenic echoes, both of which seem to be suggested by the term 'Lebanon'.

The community also understood the new Jerusalem/Zion as the eschatological restored Israel. They thought of the new Jerusalem primarily as the temple city of which they formed a key part, and in which they would function as a spiritual temple, teaching the law and giving instruction to the people.

The metaphors of the 'plant/planting' and the 'temple/sanctuary' used by the DSS community were therefore vital for their understanding of themselves as a group set apart from the rest of Israel. It was these two metaphors that gave them a pragmatic ideology which they translated into practice as a community. They perceived a need for a righteous remnant in the midst of a corrupt nation. They saw themselves as the righteous ones who would be called to judge the others. They believed that they were indeed the 'True Israel' who actually fulfilled the terms of the covenant made to Abraham, by doing justice and righteousness. In this manner they understood themselves to be the 'elect' who were chosen for the sake of the nations. Planting imagery and temple imagery enable the DSS community to describe their all-encompassing role as 'a kingdom of priests and a holy nation'. They were the ones who kept the covenant in the tradition of

Phinehas, and therefore God had honoured them. Since there was a tremendous disenchantment with the existing temple, they look forward to a future temple that God himself would build. But, until such time, they saw themselves fulfilling the role of the temple by being the proleptic sanctuary. As a priesthood they saw themselves in liturgical communion with the angels. This gave them a means to endorse the validity of their own priesthood. They saw themselves as the **מִקְדָּשׁ אֱלֹהִים**, the people of God who made up the sanctuary. They also look forward and yearn for a return to Edenic/Paradise conditions. They long for the day where they would again be in close communion with God. The two metaphors may look different at first, but on closer inspection they represent theological ideas which complement each other, particularly that of 'a royal priesthood and a holy nation'. The community appropriated these two traditions and adapted them to suit their new context, and this gave the community the dynamism and the vitality to fulfil their self-appointed role as – an eternal planting, a house of holiness.

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