

Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls

*Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran
Network 2003-2006*

Edited by

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Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

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PREFACE

Northern lights are a special weather phenomenon characterised by a luminous display of different forms, colours and shades found on the night sky of the Northern Hemisphere. For those who have had the opportunity to observe it, it is impressive to see how red, yellow, green and blue hues penetrate and illuminate the night sky in a multiplicity of different shapes: from rays and arcs on the sky to patches of light—like medieval draperies hanging from the sky and reaching down to earth.

This book is not about Northern lights, but originates from a Nordic Qumran Network, which was established in 2003 by a generous grant from the NordForsk, i.e., the Nordic research board operating under the auspices of the Nordic Council of Ministers and promoting and stimulating scholarship and networking across the boundaries of the individual Nordic countries. During the period 2003 to 2007, we have been able to host a number of symposia under the auspices of the Nordic Qumran Network. This volume includes some of the best contributions presented at the first four symposia held in Helsinki 2003, Oslo 2004, Jerusalem 2005, and Copenhagen 2006.

Although the Nordic Qumran Network has had a special interest in developing close cooperation between the various Qumran scholarly milieus found in each of the Nordic countries, it has not been limited to scholars from the Nordic countries only. During the past years we have succeeded not only in stimulating Qumran scholarship in four Nordic countries, but also in creating personal and scholarly contacts between younger and senior scholars from all over Europe, Israel and the United States. Senior scholars have been invited to our symposia to share their research and to give feedback to presentations from members of the network. The 2005 symposium held at the *École Biblique* in Jerusalem enabled contact with a large number of Israeli scholars together with younger and senior colleagues from Europe and the United States. This collection of papers, therefore, reflects scholarly endeavours encompassing different nationalities and brought together under the umbrella of the Nordic Qumran Network. Although the book is not on Northern lights, the title nevertheless suggests that also from the far north can light be shed on writings that even though they

originate in the ancient Levant are significant for the understanding of some of the foundational trajectories of the Western tradition.

The first part of the book consists mainly of essays that in one way or the other deal with various aspects of textual interpretation of particular Qumran writings. Common to the contributions by Daniel Falk, Esther Eshel, Juhana Saukkonen, and Jesper Høgenhaven is their focus on interpretative techniques embodied by different Qumran compositions. It is, however, obvious to begin this section of the book with the essay by George Brooke, since it is more general by nature.

Brooke presents a systematic overview of the understandings of biblical interpretations offered since the discovery of the first Qumran writings in 1947. Simultaneously, he explores the impacts of this systematisation of modern interpretative approaches on the understanding of exegetical practices, hermeneutics, and the interpretation of authoritative texts. He delineates four general approaches that during the past 60 years of research have exerted a strong influence on the manner in which scholars have interpreted the writings. Although his categories are not entirely exclusive to each other, they point to main tendencies in the history of research.

In recent years—not least promoted by the general release of the unpublished Cave 4 material in 1991—there has been a growing awareness how difficult it is to make watertight distinctions between text and interpretation. Nevertheless, Brooke persuasively points to an influential scholarly trajectory by which Qumran texts have been interpretatively filtered through the lens of textual antecedents as a form of ‘inner-biblical’ interpretation. Another tendency has been to analyse the writings prospectively with a view to later traditions, especially rabbinic writings, to find a suitable language for describing the interpretative practices and genres embodied by the scrolls. A third approach is characterised by those scholars who have benefited from analysing the Qumran texts in lieu of other Jewish writings contemporary with them. Finally, we see a growing body of scholars, who attempt to interpret the scrolls from the perspective of modern social and cultural theory or contemporary literary theory. The subsequent contributions vividly illustrate the usefulness of Brooke’s schematisation, since they all fit in one way or another into the categories defined in his essay.

Although the articles by Daniel Falk and Esther Eshel empirically as well as thematically relate to each other, they mirror two different approaches. Falk interprets the description of Noah’s covenant in the Genesis Apocryphon by looking backwards to Genesis and sideways to Jubilees. In a thorough exegetical study, he shows how the Genesis

Apocryphon by various techniques of rewriting (textual harmonisation, omission, rearrangement, expansion, and paraphrase) represents a close reading of Gen 9:1–3, which portrays Noah as a new Adam and a proto-Abraham.

Esther Eshel, on the other hand, not only looks sideways to the Book of Giants and Jubilees but also forward to the Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam and the Manichean Book of Giants in order to shed light on the enigmatic dream visions of Noah as recounted by the Genesis Apocryphon. In her article, we find a telling example of how a particular tradition found in a Qumran text may be used to trace the thread of tradition of subsequent non-Jewish sources, which apparently adapt the tree image of the Genesis Apocryphon into their own works.

Juhana Saukkonen's article relates to the same area as the previous two essays, since he offers an extensive discussion of 'biblical' interpretation in 4Q252. He contends that whereas the individual sections of the document appear to embody a predominantly simple-sense exegesis, the composition—when read as a whole—display a more actualising form of exegesis. Based on a number of recurring and interrelated themes like the land, chronological questions, and blessings and curses, Saukkonen argues that the overall purpose of the text is most suitably understood when read as a backtracking of the genealogical line of Israel and as a progressive retelling of a series of elections and rejections in the patriarchal history. The compiler of the composition presumably attempted to emphasise his community as the elect of God and, thereby, to reinforce his addressees' sense of being God's elects.

One of the most peculiar Qumran writings is the Copper Scroll found in Cave 3 in 1952. Jesper Høgenhaven provides a detailed study of the geography and biblical ideology of the text in order to address the questions of genre and historical context of the writing. Once again, we see an approach that looks backwards to the 'biblical' writings in order to shed light on a specific Qumran text. Høgenhaven proposes that the unique artefactual form of the text—being written on copper sheets—could possibly be explained against a biblical background. Although he emphasises the distinctive character of the composition, he also acknowledges how various themes in 3Q15 have a close affinity with other Qumran writings. Despite its non-sectarian nature, Høgenhaven contends that the scroll should not be viewed as distinctively different from the rest of the Qumran material.

The next section of essays represents a slightly different analytical aspect in textual interpretation. The articles by Hanan Eshel and Magnar Kartveit do not so much focus on textual interpretation as

they attempt to use the purported referentiality of particular Qumran writings in order to reconstruct an underlying historical reality. The texts are—so to say—used as a mirror that purportedly reflects a social historical reality, which the interpreter based on the textual information can reconstruct. Hanan Eshel offers a novel historical reconstruction of one of the most famous, but also with regard to the question of historical background notoriously difficult Qumran writings, the Peshar Habbakuk. Eshel argues that 1QpHab reflects two different historical layers that originate in two distinctively different situations. The original layer—dating to the second half of the second century BCE—mirrors events that took place during the lifetime of the Teacher of Righteousness. During the mid-first century BCE, however, this text was updated in lieu of the Roman conquering of Palestine in 63 BCE.

Magnar Kartveit discusses the notion of ‘fools’ in 4QNarrative and Poetic Composition^{a-c} and focuses on the question of what historical group of people is referred to by fools. In compliance with the understanding of the official editor Eileen Schuller, who identified the fools with Samaritans and understood the work to be of an anti-Samaritan nature, Kartveit develops this interpretation. He situates the work in the further literary context of Second Temple polemics against the Samaritans and contends that the use of ‘fools’ to designate the Samaritans at this time had become standard parlance in the polemics levelled by Jerusalem against them.

Although his contribution is not strictly an attempt to reconstruct an underlying historical reality based on particular Qumran writings, Jonathan Norton’s contribution on scribal exegesis at Qumran also fits into this section of papers. He discusses the commonplace in scholarship to think of exegesis in the Dead Sea sectarian literature as generically ‘scribal’, which, of course, is linked to the cognate idea of a scribal community at Qumran responsible for the production of the Qumran texts. Norton emphasises how the use of the notion of scribes in the history of scholarship has suffered from a failure to appreciate the analytical difference between the social historical level and the level pertaining to *realia*, i.e., the mode of analysis associated with a particular mode of production. He documents the need for such a distinction by a comparison with Paul and Josephus to the Qumran scribal practitioners.

With the next section of essays we move into other aspects of interpretation. The articles by Mladen Popović, Jutta Jokiranta and Cecilia Wassen, and Ian Werrett pertain to different dimensions that concern the

methodology of interpretation. What should one do in the case of an exegetical conundrum like 4QZodiacal Physiognomy? The manuscript is the remains of an elaborate and—to us—enigmatic physiognomic-astrological and physiognomic list, the intellectual world of which we hardly have access to. Popović, nevertheless, attempts to clarify some of the obscure phrases and notions by situating the composition in the context of other astrological, physiognomic, and magical texts from the ancient world. He vividly documents how Greco-Roman astrological writings can be used to clarify enigmatic elements in one particular Qumran text.

In an extensive essay Jokiranta and Wassen attempt from the perspective of contemporary metaphor theory to shed light on familial language in the Qumran writings. They focus on the Community Rule, the Damascus Document, the Rule of the Congregation, and the *Hodayot*. Although it has been a commonplace in scholarship to speak of the Qumranites in terms of a group organised as a brotherhood, the two authors contend that no brotherhood existed at Qumran. Based on their survey of familial language in the four writings examined, they observe that there is only little evidence of familial metaphors in egalitarian use. The overall image is that family language evokes ideas that look more like a patriarchal household than a brotherly guild. Their contribution documents the fruitfulness of applying contemporary theoretical perspectives to shed light on the ancient writings.

Another important aspect of methodology in the interpretation of Qumran texts has to do with the degree to which it is legitimate to include other Qumran writings in order to interpret individual texts. Two approaches stand against each other. In the history of scholarship, the most prevalent approach has been to interpret the texts in terms of each other on the underlying assumption that the ‘sectarian’ writings had been composed by the same community and, therefore, could be used mutually to shed light on each other. Contrary to this approach, we see a growing tendency to interpret the individual compositions atomically, that is, on their own terms and by intentionally leaving out potential parallel texts. Behind this debate lurks a more foundational discussion in terms of philosophy of science.

Ian Werrett’s article is an important contribution to this debate. In a detailed discussion of some of the reconstructions proposed by Elisha Qimron in his and Strugnell’s reconstruction of 4QMMT, Werrett shows how they rest on preconceived notions of the composition and upon a systemic, although selective, reading of legal material in the Qumran

writings. Werrett cautions against such an approach, since it may potentially distort the unique witness of the text and result in reconstructions that vouch for more than there is textual guarantee for.

Werret's essay is an obvious transition to the next two essays that develop the discussion from matters pertaining to textual interpretation, historical reconstruction, and methodology with regard to interpretation, to textual reconstruction. The transition is obvious, since the first contribution in this section deals with the same empiric topic as Werrett's essay. In a brief, but yet important article, Hanne von Weissenberg offers a number of revisions to the papyrus manuscript 4Q398, which, of course, is part of 4QMMT. Her reconstructions have a significant bearing for the understanding of the composite text of the third section of 4QMMT, since it renders it impossible to create a composite text of the two parallel manuscripts 4Q397 and 4Q398 in a single passage.

In retrospect of his reconstruction of 4Q422 (4QParaphrase of Genesis and Exodus) in the early 1990's, Torleif Elgvin describes in his article how he successfully used the 'Stegemann'-method in his reconstruction. Younger scholars are here given a unique opportunity to see *in concreto* how the technique endorsed by the 'Stegemann'-method can be used with great success in the reconstruction of a particular scroll. Elgvin also proposes a number of improvements to the DJD edition and offers some reflections on the exegetical technique embodied by this particular composition. In this manner, we are taken back to the topic of the first section of essays, which dealt with various forms of textual interpretation embodied by particular writings.

In the last section of the book, the perspective is widened to other texts outside the more specific Qumran context. Gunnar Haaland discusses the narrative function of Josephus' account of the Essenes in *Bellum* 2.119–161 and compares it with the parallel passage in *Antiquities* 18. He argues among other things that the emphasis on Judas' groups as a *haireisis* prompts Josephus' inclusion of the excursus on the three acknowledged schools—with the Essenes featuring most prominently—as representatives of Jewish culture at its best.

The last essay by Håkan Ulfgard discusses a number of similarities between the heavenly scenery and the liturgy of the Book of Revelation and Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. Contrary to most of the other contributions in this book, which have interpreted different Qumran texts in lieu of other writings, Ulfgard's interpretational move is of a different nature. He interprets a New Testament text against the background of an important Qumran writing and documents how

the Qumran writings continue to be significant source material for the understanding of different early Christian compositions.

It may well be that no Northern lights can be found in this book, but we hope to have shown how the Nordic Qumran Network during its years of existence has stimulated novel and thought-provoking scholarship on the Dead Sea Scrolls as exemplified by the various contributions contained in this volume. It is definitely an exaggeration to maintain that this book penetrates the Qumran sky with new epoch-marking scholarship. We hope, however, to be able to offer readings from the Northern night sky that will cast new colours and shed new light on the ongoing development of Qumran research.

Ph.D. Martin Ehrensverd, University of Aarhus, has served as assistant editor in the preparation of this book and has in particular been responsible for preparing the joint bibliography and the indices. David Smith has done a fine job in the linguistic editing of those articles that have been written by non-native writers of the English language. We are deeply indebted to both. We also want to thank Mattie Kuiper and—in the final phase of preparation—Machiel Kleemans of the Brill Publishing House for their generous and ongoing support in the publication of this book. Finally, we want to thank Florentino Garzía Martínez, Peter Flint, and Eibert Tigchelaar for their acceptance of this volume into the STDJ series.

FROM BIBLE TO MIDRASH: APPROACHES TO BIBLICAL
INTERPRETATION IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS BY
MODERN INTERPRETERS

George J. Brooke

The purpose of this essay is to offer a systematic, though partial, overview of the understandings of biblical interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls that have been offered since their first discovery in 1947. It will not be possible to cover all aspects of the topic in a study of this kind; indeed, the manuscript discoveries from the eleven caves at and near Qumran have stimulated so much interpretative activity that several valuable surveys of the various kinds of biblical interpretation in the ancient sources now exist (see, e.g., Vermes 1976, 438–41; Bernstein 2004) and some of those touch on the approaches of modern interpreters. What is important in this contribution is the structure of my overall schematisation of the approaches of modern interpreters, and what that might mean for how the exegetical practices, the hermeneutics, and the interpretation of authoritative texts can best be understood.

It has become increasingly obvious over the years that there have been several different approaches to the topic of biblical interpretation in the scrolls. Some particular issues come immediately to mind and can be noted by way of setting the scene for the principal points that I wish to make.

PRELIMINARY ISSUES

The Inappropriate Preeminence of Peshet

To begin with, it is often assumed or even stated explicitly that the biblical interpretation to be found in the scrolls can be summed up in the one word, *peshet* (or *pesharim*) (e.g., Chilton 1988, 122–27). “All research on Qumran exegesis focussed for a long time on Peshet interpretation” (Maier 1996, 126), notes Johann Maier correctly.¹ There are

¹ Maier cites as examples of such focus, M.P. Horgan (1979); B. Nitzan (1986); H.-J. Fabry (1993).

several assumptions behind such a restricted viewpoint. Amongst these are that the biblical interpretation to be found in the Dead Sea (Qumran) Scrolls can be found exclusively in the so-called sectarian scrolls and that the overwhelmingly dominant view of authoritative scripture is that it is unfulfilled prophecy of some kind. One immediately suspects that this is predominantly a Christian reading of the evidence, since for some Christians the Old Testament from start to finish is just that: prophecy to be fulfilled—indeed the structure of the Christian canon, from Genesis to Malachi, generally reflects such a view. As a result, often for unstated reasons, the *pesharim* have become an assumed control over how Qumran sectarian exegesis, indeed the exegesis of the whole Qumran literary corpus should be understood. Everything is *raz*, “mystery,” awaiting divinely inspired insight.

Perhaps because the *pesharim* seem to give access to the history of the Qumran community and the wider movement of which it was a part, the predisposition of giving priority to the *pesharim* in interpretative matters has not entirely disappeared, as can be seen, for example, in the relatively recent work on such texts by James Charlesworth (2002). However, most scholars have recognised that there are many more types of interpretation to be found amongst the scrolls than the prophetic alone. In several studies I myself have tried to present a fivefold classification of scriptural interpretation in the compositions found at and near Qumran, each class having its own distinctive character (e.g., Brooke 2000a, 2006). Alongside (1) the prophetic interpretation most readily discernible in the *pesharim* with its characteristic atomistic tendency of identifying items in the authoritative text with matters in the commentator’s present or immediate future, the following should also be noticed. (2) There is legal interpretation of which the major characteristic that is shared with much other Jewish (and even non-Jewish) legal interpretation is the neat juxtaposition of two or more earlier authoritative traditions to form the basis of new rulings and fresh insights to the ongoing significance of old ones. (3) There is narrative interpretation of which the most significant characteristic is the explanatory expansion of an earlier narrative sequence. (4) There is exhortatory or homiletic interpretation (what some might call parenetic interpretation) in which the hallmark is the use of authoritative texts as a source of examples of negative and positive behaviour in order to elicit a particular response in the audience. (5) There is poetic or hymnic interpretation of which the key characteristic is allusory

anthologisation;² poems and prayers, even large parts of wisdom writings, do not quote chunks of scripture explicitly identifying them with introductory formulae, but they weave scriptural phraseology often plundered from a wide range of sources into new spiritual works. It is also the case that these types of interpretation are not restricted to any one genre. For example, within wisdom compositions from the late Second Temple period can be found examples of all five classes (Brooke 2002a, 201–20).

The Anachronistic Attitude to Authoritative Texts

A second common assumption concerns the character of what is being interpreted. It was often assumed amongst the first generation of modern commentators that at the time both the sectarian and non-sectarian commentators were active there was an agreed form of most authoritative texts to which commentary could be attached. In other words, it was taken for granted that the authority awaiting comment was stable and that the commentary was entirely secondary and derivative. We are now aware of a much more complex situation. Since the 1980s and especially since the general release of all the unpublished Cave 4 materials in 1991, it has become far more widely acknowledged that the term “biblical” is an anachronism read back into the late Second Temple period from the early centuries CE when both the list of what was authoritative and the textual form in which it was transmitted were indeed predominantly stable. As Philip Davies (2003, 144) notes in his opening remarks on “Biblical Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls” “[t]he adjective ‘biblical’ with reference to Qumran is not strictly correct. Not only were there no Bibles during the period of Qumran literary activity (ca. third century BCE—first century CE), but there also was no single canon of Scripture that such a Bible might have included.”

However, it is Johann Maier (1996, 108–29) who has approached the subject most significantly and radically. He has underlined not only that it is likely that in the late Second Temple period most Jews ascribed differing levels of authority to different parts of what eventually became

² A. Chester (1988, 146–47) comments: “The ‘anthological’ style is above all characteristic of 1QH, which draws on Scripture even more extensively than any other of the Qumran texts considered here, but also does so even more allusively.”

established as authoritative, but that also the term Torah had a wider reference than the five books of Moses in the form which we now know them. For Maier, it is not just the term Bible which is problematic, but all labels such as excerpted text, parabiblical writings, rewritten Torah, and so on, are anachronistic and probably distort the evidence. To Maier's pleas can be added the oft-repeated statements by Eugene Ulrich (see, e.g., 1999, *passim*), that in considering the development of authoritative scriptural works it is more important to work book by book and to be prepared to acknowledge the existence of multiple editions than it is appropriate to assume that there is an automatic movement towards a clear uniformity of text.

A New Interpretative Framework

My interpretative framework for this short study has four overarching categories, through which I believe biblical interpretation in the Scrolls from the eleven caves at and near Qumran has come to be assessed and analysed. As with any systematisation the categories are not watertight.³ In fact the most helpful comments often derive from those scholars who wander across the boundaries I am about to erect and to impose on the evidence. My four categories are “backwards and forwards”, those scholars who describe what is happening in the scrolls by taking their cues from earlier material, the authoritative texts included; “forwards and backwards”, those scholars who look to subsequent interpretative traditions, especially amongst the rabbinic materials, to discover a suitable language for describing the interpretative practices and genres found in the scrolls; “looking all around”, those who discern insights from other Jewish texts contemporary with the compositions found at Qumran; and lastly those who work from the “present to the past”, who apply insights from modern hermeneutical positions to illuminate what might be taking place two thousand years ago and a continent away. This study will make a few initial comments on each of these four approaches, though the weight of what I have to say will be with the first two categories.

³ In conversation about this point Al Wolters indicated to me that a fifth approach might also be considered, the approach taken by those scholars who are concerned to let the Scrolls speak for themselves; perhaps the work of Gabrion (1979) discussed below fits best in such a fifth category.

BACKWARDS AND FORWARDS

Inner-biblical interpretation

Perhaps more than anything else, the work of Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (1985), opened up many opportunities for considering afresh how interpretation was already taking place within those texts whose authority was developing from the start of the Second Temple period. Fishbane's analysis was actually done under four headings (scribal comments, legal exegesis, aggadic exegesis, mantological exegesis) that I consider to belong to a reading of the evidence from a rabbinic perspective, what I call looking "forwards and backwards," but many of his insights do not depend on such a perspective.

For my immediate purposes it is important solely to recognise that the very process of the transmission of the authoritative texts is a process of interpretation, in which it becomes increasingly problematic to distinguish rigidly between text and interpretation. Two points need to be made briefly: on the one hand modern readers should not be surprised to find interpretative intervention within the scriptural texts themselves, and on the other, because this is part of a widespread phenomenon, one should not assume that any of those interventions necessarily reflect sectarian concerns. Alongside other scholars, such as Eugene Ulrich (2002, 179–95), I have commented in a number of studies that I am yet to find a clear sectarian intervention in those manuscripts which some dare to call "biblical" which have been found at Qumran (Brooke 2000b, 107–19). It is just possible that a series of readings might be deemed particularly welcome to a sectarian perspective (Brooke 2003a, 57–70), but sectarian intervention of the exclusive sort found a very few times within the Samaritan Pentateuch is not apparent.

This first item of looking backwards and then forwards, inner-biblical interpretation, allows us to see that text and interpretation are intertwined; it is not so obvious that they should be distinguished from each other; all texts, once they have left an author's hand (if even that moment is ever discernible), enter an interpretative process. It is important to keep this in mind throughout the rest of this study, though there is not room to return to the matter at every turn.

Models of interpretation within scripture itself

In addition to the items of inner-biblical interpretation, there are larger models of interpretation presented by the authoritative scriptures. It

seems to be safe to admit that the five Books of the Law were accepted as authoritative by all Jews in the late Second Temple period, but it should also be clearly stated that it is likely that other legal materials were also given authority by some groups and only by the end of the Second Temple period was the collection of the five books claiming some kind of exclusive, universal authority amongst Jews. Also, even though the broad parameters of the authority of the five books was established, their precise forms remained somewhat adaptable. It is noteworthy that the five books themselves seem to contain reworkings of authoritative material. Most obviously large parts of Deuteronomy rehearse and rework large sections of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers.

The recognition of the reworking of scripture within scripture has enabled scholars to begin to make sense of the wide range of “parabiblical” literature that has come to light in the Qumran corpus. Though it might be argued that nearly all the religious literature in the Qumran library depends in one way or another upon textual antecedents (Brooke 2002b, 250–69), it is noteworthy that apparently the majority of parabiblical compositions in the Qumran library represent parts or all of the Torah in some way. Davies (2003, 144–66) thus concludes that the best way of understanding the implicit interpretations contained within the parabiblical literature is to assess it through rabbinic lenses as either halakhic or haggadic. However, it is preferable in my opinion to recognise that in the pre-canonical period, implicit exegesis of the parabiblical sort, suggested by earlier authoritative compositions themselves, is the dominant mode of interpretation and that within Jewish tradition this is gradually supplanted by explicit interpretation that clearly deserves comparison with rabbinic texts. At the same time as there is a four-century move from text to canon, so there is a four-century move from implicit to explicit exegesis. The two cannot be directly mapped onto one another, and the transition is not smooth, nor ever complete. Nevertheless the dominant features of this transition can be discerned in the Qumran library and 4Q252, Commentary on Genesis A, is a classic example of the shift, containing as it does both parabiblical and explicit interpretation (Brooke 1996a, 385–401). But it is also important to remember that to identify a text as modelled on another has little to do with a clear assertion of whether or not it was deemed to be authoritative; it could well be that authority should be presupposed, perhaps obviously and widely for Deuteronomy or

Chronicles,⁴ but also, probably in a more limited way for the Temple Scroll or Reworked Pentateuch or Jubilees.

Partially from this perspective an alternative way of using scriptural traditions to classify the kinds of interpretative exercises that are taking place in the late Second Temple period is suggested by Johann Maier (1996). He proposes a threefold division, the first of which is the establishment of legal traditions. But he is adamant that for the time being it is important to recognise that the Torah itself, or large parts of it, is part of the interpretative process of establishing legal insight. He underlines that we really know little as yet about the relative chronological relationships of competing legal interpretations and automatically to prioritise the Torah as we now know it is probably to distort much of the evidence. The example he cites is the calendrical understanding of the flood story in Genesis 6–9. In this case it seems that a solar calendar makes better sense of the story at the base of Genesis, and that therefore it is not a case of the author of the Book of Jubilees offering an interpretation of Genesis, but almost the reverse: the redactors of the pre-MT text have tried to usurp the older solar tradition with a lunar one. Maier's second category of interpretation is mentioned only very briefly and includes typological materials as are found in the Damascus Document and parenetic or liturgical re-application of texts, such as the Aaronic blessing of Numbers 6:24–26 in several texts, including 1QS II 2–10.

Hervé Gabrion's (1979, 779–848) extensive earlier contribution to the better understanding of Qumran exegesis also lies clearly on the side of those who see suitable trajectories from within scriptural texts themselves becoming part of the traditions of the Qumran community. Gabrion noted with some subtlety how authoritative scriptural texts are variously appropriated in the sectarian compositions from Qumran, both explicitly and implicitly. We can also note that Gabrion studiously avoids using descriptive terminology from later rabbinic texts. His descriptions are common sense and do not attempt a systematisation of exegetical techniques or hermeneutical principles.

⁴ Chronicles is an intriguing case; one wonders whether or in what way it was authoritative for those responsible for collecting together the Qumran library (see Brooke 2007).

This second sub-point encourages us to recognise that a broader set of compositions should be considered within the single category of text-and-interpretation than might otherwise be supposed.

Prophecy, dreams and visions

Some few but particular comments should be made about prophecy and prophetic interpretation. It is clear that prophecy in itself is an interpretative activity, the interpretation of events and actions, of circumstances and behaviour. The issues of discerning whether or not prophetic utterances are true, and whether or not they have been fulfilled, is read back into the time of Moses by the redactors of the pentateuchal traditions. What Fishbane calls mantological exegesis is a category that became especially important for the modern interpreters of Qumran exegesis, because of the discovery of the *pesharim*, and because Peshar Habakkuk was amongst the first and most complete scrolls to be found.

In a summary form F.F. Bruce (1959) long ago commented upon an emerging consensus with regard to the *pesharim*, namely that their clearest counterparts were to be found in the interpretations of visionary material in the Book of Daniel (see also Bruce 1971, 331–33). A notable key in this viewpoint was the overlap in terminology: the interpretation, *pešar*, sought by Nebuchadnezzar is of a mystery, *raz*. In Peshar Habakkuk it is the Teacher or Righteousness to whom are made known all the mysteries of God's servants, the prophets (1QpHab VII 5–8). The similarities between the interpretations of Daniel and the kinds of interpretation found in the *pesharim* have even suggested to some scholars (e.g., Trever 1987, 101–21) that the author of Daniel may have been none other than the Teacher of Righteousness.

To pay attention to prophecy, dreams and visions is to acknowledge that within the developing traditions of interpretation there are starting points beyond the merely textual or scriptural that must be taken into account.

FORWARDS AND BACKWARDS

Bible

The most obvious label taken from a vantage point which comes from a time after the principal activity of the Qumran commentators is the term Bible itself. To assume that what is happening in many scrolls is

“biblical interpretation” already skews the pitch, as I have mentioned above in my introductory comments. It has recently become clearer that there is no neat dividing line between text and interpretation. To begin with the transmission process of all authoritative texts is an interpretative act, not just in the sense that it is that particular text which has been selected for transmission but also in terms of the practicalities of the transmission process itself. With Michael Fishbane, these matters might be labelled as scribal exegesis, but I have in mind not just what was written, but also how and why the particular manuscript was chosen, how it was prepared for writing, and so on—the kinds of issue which Emanuel Tov has addressed in several studies and altogether in his book on the subject (2004).

Peshat

In my initial publications on 4Q252, Commentary on Genesis A, I was struck by the diversity of types of interpretation within the document, but I became convinced that there was a process of selection at work. Because there was no running commentary on all the passages of Genesis as there is, for example, for Habakkuk 1–2 in Peshet Habakkuk, it seemed clear to me that the compiler of Commentary on Genesis A had deliberately chosen certain passages for comment and not others, and that in so doing he must be implicitly displaying the ideological grounds for his selection. I concluded tentatively that what marked the selection was the discussion of underlying passages of incomplete fulfilment, often involving characters who were concerned with sexual misdemeanours, and that when discussing the land the comments often had an halakhic character. Others discovered notions that complemented my proposals. Notably Ida Fröhlich (1996) suggested that the concern of most of the pericopae with incidents involving characters who were known for some kind of inappropriate sexual behaviour strongly suggested that the Commentary on Genesis A was capable of being juxtaposed with known sectarian concerns about the nets of Belial, one of which concerns matters deemed to be *zenut*. Most recently Juhana Saukkonen (2005, 187) has argued for a diversity of theme while noting that “genealogy, and especially the aspect of the election of certain ancestral lines and rejection of others, seems to offer one of the more helpful sets of signposts through 4Q252.”

Against such views, that there might be thematic ways of appreciating the selection of exegetical units in Commentary on Genesis A, there was a strong voice of criticism. Moshe Bernstein suggested that the

search for a thematic coherence betrayed an attitude towards Jewish Bible interpretation that was too systematic and overly ideological. His alternative was to insist that before all things, it was the plain meaning of scripture that concerned the Jewish interpreter of antiquity. He thus proposed a reading of the Commentary on Genesis A which demonstrated this. He attempted to find a series of problems evident in the plain reading of the text of Genesis which it seemed as if the various types of exegesis were severally answering (Bernstein 1994–1995). For several pericopae it is easy enough to suggest that there was a real problem with calendars and chronology because the scriptural authorities either seemed contradictory or did not say enough, but Bernstein has to admit that for several units of interpretation in the Commentary on Genesis A there does not seem to be a concern for plain meaning interpretation.

To demonstrate that I am not inimical to discerning the exposition of peshat in the exegetical works of the Qumran corpus, I have devoted a study to some of the various ways in which Qumran interpretations have taken the plain meaning of scripture into account (Brooke 2000c). From his own perspective Bernstein (2000a, 377) has described some of the need to acknowledge the place of “straightforward literal exegesis demanded by a text (along the lines of that which is described as peshat in later Jewish literature).” Bernstein’s perspective in this respect is a fine example of reading biblical interpretation in the texts from Qumran in the light of some later rabbinic approaches. At its best, of course, attention to issues of plain meaning constantly reminds the reader that the meaning of what is written is seldom entirely obvious or clear.

Derash

The most significant item of descriptive vocabulary from rabbinic materials which has been applied to Qumran biblical interpretation is the label “midrash”. This has been used most particularly because the root *drš* is present in the Qumran corpus. Most have assumed that the later rabbinic understanding can be found in the Qumran context, and so Elisha Qimron (1986, 92), for one, defines it as “exposition,” and the *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Clines 2001, 150) is clear that midrash is “study, inquiry, interpretation, midrash.” Working forwards from the scriptural evidence, Maier (1996, 115) has noted that the meaning is basically “to keep step by step close by,” “to follow close behind,” “to seek (and find).” Since the Greek translators did not employ verbs for

interpretative procedures for Hebrew *drš* and the targumim consistently translate *drš* with forms of *tbʿ*, “to demand” or “to summon”, Maier has argued that the well-known passage in 1QS VI should be translated as: “And there shall not be missing from a place where ten men are found a person who with reference to the Law gives direction day and night, permanently, with reference to the good (relations) of each to his neighbour”. Whether Maier, and the insights of those he builds upon, is correct or whether the term already has some extended meaning such as found in later rabbinic texts, this is a classic case where it is clear that there is still an ongoing debate about how the Qumran exegetical practices should be suitably talked about, whether forwards from scriptural evidence, or backwards from early rabbinic materials. To my mind, it actually makes little difference, in the end which position one adopts, providing it is done with open eyes and scholarly self-awareness. Qumran is clearly at an intersection; in order to understand it appropriately we must know where we are coming from and where we are going and why.

The presence of the term “midrash” in 1QS VIII has often been the starting point for the discussion of exegetical activity at Qumran: they “shall go into the wilderness to prepare the way of Him; as it is written, *Prepare in the wilderness the way of . . . , make straight in the desert a path for our God* (Isa 60, 3). This (path) is the study (midrash) of the Law which he commanded by the hand of Moses, that they may do according to all that has been revealed from age to age, and as the Prophets have revealed by His Holy Spirit” (Vermes 1998, 109). Again Johann Maier attacks earlier assumptions and has commented that although it would appear that *midraš ha-Torah* would seem to have been understood to have included only defined and enacted Torah, there are two difficulties: firstly, the term Torah should not be straightforwardly equated with the Pentateuch, as most scholars so do; secondly, the term *midraš* is also used in 4Q256 and 4Q258 of second order regulations (*serakhim*), and so may be of little use in helping to define legal interpretation.

The presence of the term *midraš* in 4Q174 has also been particularly influential. Its precise significance has been debated. In its context it opens a section of text which begins with the highly distinctive phrase *midraš min*, cites the opening verse of Psalm 1 and then contains explicit commentary introduced by a formula including the term *pešer*; the exegetical unit continues without a further general introductory formula by citing another psalm verse and interpretation introduced by a formula including the term *pešer*. On the one hand it seems as if

the term *midraš* is used in a technical way for describing a systematic exegetical construction that contains explicit citations of authoritative texts and their formulaically introduced interpretations. On the other hand there are those, Johann Maier and Timothy Lim (1997) included, who variously argue that in 4Q174 there is not a pre-rabbinic occurrence of a rabbinic idea, but probably a use something like that in 2 Chronicles 13:22, *ktwbym bmdrš hnby' ddu*, “written in the record of the prophet Iddo,” perhaps suggesting a rendering in 4Q174 of “a copy/extract from” a certain record or book. Here the debate between those who look backwards and then forwards over against those who look forwards and then backwards can be seen very starkly.

Michael Fishbane, not surprisingly, begins the section on interpretation of his important article on Mikra at Qumran (1988, 366–67) with some comments on how the ideology of interpretation is reflected in certain key terms: *drš*, *prwš*, *tlmw*, *dwqdq*. He goes on to suggest that there are four kinds of interpretation in the scrolls that can be categorised as such in light of early rabbinic interpretation. To begin with there is scribal exegesis, the application of specialist scribal conventions in the presentation of authoritative texts, whether through euphemistic renderings of the Tetragrammaton as four dots or as an adapted form of the pronoun (cf. m. Sukkah 4:5).⁵ Paragraphing and adjusted phrasing are also scribal interpretative devices with parallels in tannaitic sources.⁶ Fishbane’s second category is legal exegesis for which he notes various techniques, such as linguistic precision, analogical extension, and topical specification or restriction, and unequivocally comments: “Admittedly these techniques are incorporated within the regulations without conceptual elaboration or terminology. It will nevertheless be of some historical interest to categorize them along the lines and terms found in the more developed Tannaic and Amoraic traditions. For by doing so, the place of Qumran interpretation within the context of ancient Jewish exegetical techniques can be more formally and comparatively observed” (Fishbane 1988, 368). A third category is that which Fishbane

⁵ Fishbane (1988, 367) discusses the prohibition against making substitutions for the divine name in oaths (CD XI 1) by comparing it with m. Sebu 4:13; on the general tendency to avoid anthropomorphisms alongside the Qumran data he considers that of the targums.

⁶ Fishbane (1988, 368) calls attention to the problem of syntactic determination known as *hekhre'a ha-katuw* in which the resolution of syntactic ambiguities is often different from the masoretic procedure; he cites Mekhilta, Beshallah 1, as the *locus classicus*.

labels homiletical exegesis but which in a footnote (1988, 371 n. 77) he admits is aggadic interpretation. Fourthly, Fishbane (1988, 373) comments on prophetic exegesis and opens his comments by repeating the mantra that the “reinterpretation of prophecy is a major exegetical feature of the Qumran scrolls, and is represented in a wide variety of genres: the War Scroll; the Damascus Document; the (11Q) Melchizedek and (4Q174) Florilegium anthologies; and, of course, in the *peshet*-literature.” One wonders whether his view that this area is the major exegetical feature of Qumran does not depend on the fact that he offers no subsequent rabbinic parallels to it.

Halakhah

The use of the term midrash of Qumran biblical interpretation takes some scholars towards the need to clarify whether what is taking place in the scrolls is midrash halakhah or midrash haggadah, the two broad categories into which rabbinic interpretation is traditionally divided. Assuming that midrash at Qumran is “an exegesis in which a corroborative passage in Scripture plays a part,” L.H. Schiffman’s landmark work *The Halakhah at Qumran* (1975) used the term unashamedly, and ever since Schiffman has been concerned in one way or another to see whether or not continuities can be discerned between rabbinic interpretations and those of Qumran. Schiffman is perhaps the halakhic expert who can be most clearly identified with the way in which some modern scholars have looked forward from Qumran to early rabbinic interpretation to try to map the continuities and discontinuities. But Schiffman is not alone. With the complete publication of the compositions found in the Qumran caves that contain legal interpretation, there has grown up a lively group of scholars interested in discerning early forms of legal interpretation and their continuities and discontinuities with subsequent rabbinic concerns. It remains to be seen to what extent the possible use of rabbinic halakhic categories will inform or distort the understanding of legal interpretation in the Qumran corpus.

Haggadah

Alongside the use of the term halakhah comes the use of the label haggadah. “The most useful way of reviewing this very wide range of interpretative modes is one that is readily drawn from rabbinic literature: the distinction between halakhic and haggadic interpretation,” states Philip Davies (2003, 149), adopting and adapting some on

the earlier work of Michael Fishbane. But Davies is the first to admit that not everything seems to fit neatly within these two categories; he suggests that the interpretative element of liturgical compositions and of wisdom texts form two further categories. The point of mentioning this need for elasticity is well illustrated by the debates of the past about whether *pesher* was a form of haggadic midrash or something *sui generis*, what William H. Brownlee (1979) eventually came to label midrash pesher.

Rabbinic Middot

Though the suitability of the term midrash has been widely questioned, it is still the case that scholars are accustomed to identifying the methods of the Qumran eisegetes and exegetes in terms deriving from the various lists of rabbinic middot. Although this was an approach started by William Brownlee (1951) in an article on hermeneutical principles, the influential voice in this matter has been that of Eliezer Slomovic whose study on exegesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls has been widely used (Slomovic 1969–1971, 3–15). I myself used Slomovic’s work extensively in my own analysis of 4Q174 (Brooke 1985) and many others have followed his lead (e.g., Chester 1988, 142–43). What is important in this is that whether or not the technical terms from the middot are suitable for applying to what is taking place in the scrolls, they offer us a glimpse of a how some Jewish interpreters provided themselves with controls on exegetical activity. I believe that such controls are also to be found in the *pesharim*, the very texts that modern interpreters might claim belong in the category of “uncontrolled” divinely inspired exegesis. But, all exegesis, if it is to be heard and appropriated by its hearers, must fall within recognised parameters, not just in terms of generic patterns, but also in terms of procedures and practices.

Dream interpretation

Apart from the categories of halakhic and haggadic midrash, several scholars have continued to look to rabbinic interpretation of dreams to discern parallels with the phenomena of scriptural interpretation at Qumran. Once again the concern has been principally with the suitable understanding of the *pesharim*. Asher Finkel’s important 1964 study has set the tone and content of much subsequent discussion. Finkel argued that the similarities between what was taking place in some Qumran texts and in some rabbinic compositions enabled the better

understanding of both. “The central feature is the understanding of the inspired words of the past in the context of a present or future situation, or in relating them to a given case” (Finkel 1963–64, 370). To achieve such contextualization, various methods which Finkel labelled principally “allegorical” were used.

Overall the rabbinic texts have provided many helpful insights into the better understanding of biblical interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls. They have helped by providing a systematisation that has enabled the place of the Torah to be fully recognised and they have given a sense of the multi-layered character of Qumran exegesis; it is not all allegorical, there is a place for the plain meaning, etc. But has rabbinic interpretation been adequate for describing what motivated the Qumran exegetes? I suspect not, because there is no overall structure of systematisation in rabbinic exegesis; we need to look elsewhere.

LOOKING ALL AROUND

One of the clearest examples of a third approach to the biblical interpretation of the scrolls was put forward by Johan van der Ploeg in a small pamphlet published in 1960, *Bijbelverklaring te Qumran*. He wrote: “The fashion in which the Old Testament is interpreted in the writings of Qumran recalls Alexandrian allegorisation, and even more, the exegesis conveyed in the texts of the New Testament.” Nevertheless, he also added some comments on how *peshet* has both antecedents in some Old Testament texts and might deserve the label *midrash*, though it also has some parallels in the early Christian commentary tradition. Van der Ploeg, like many others, has argued that rather than looking backwards or forwards for the interpretative comparators, it is important to look all around as well at Jewish exegetical practices contemporary with those reflected in the scrolls.

Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

There is neither room nor need to outline how study of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha can inform the analysis of the exegetical interests observable in the sectarian and non-sectarian scrolls found in the caves at Qumran. Mention need be made of just two examples. As a book which seems to have had authoritative status at least for the community responsible for the production of the Damascus Document (but cf. Dimant 2006), the Book of Jubilees provides an example more

or less contemporary with several early sectarian compositions which illuminates multiple facets of the exegetical strategies of the Qumran interpreters. However, what seems perhaps more important is the way that it seems to have an overall exegetical strategy based in its concern with halakhic chronology. An overall ideological perspective also seems to drive the way in which narrative tradition is handled in parts of the Book of Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36); indeed the concern with the right reading of narrative material in the Qumran corpus has much to learn from the right reading of some of the Enoch traditions as those might be aligned with Rewritten Bible (Dimant 2002).

Philo

In my attempt to appreciate the exegetical character of 4Q174, I looked principally to more or less contemporary Jewish models of scriptural interpretation for assistance. Amongst the significant allies was Philo. What appealed most to me three decades ago was the way in which some of his exegetical techniques seemed to echo what could be found in the sectarian scrolls, not least his fondness for wordplay. Since the publication of the whole corpus of material from the eleven caves at and near Qumran, it has become clearer that there is far more to be learnt from a reconsideration of the exegesis found in both the sectarian and non-sectarian scrolls and in Philo. Although the milieux of both are somewhat different, it is no longer necessary to posit that Qumran was such a closed arena as earlier thought. Indeed there is some evidence that Greek was a significant if minority vehicle there for the conveying of exegetical traditions (cf. 4Q122). More significantly, it has become apparent that rather than the books of the Prophets with their *pesharim*, it is the books of the Pentateuch which dominate at Qumran as objects of interpretation. The same is true of Philo. In addition, just as it is now possible to discern a very wide range of types of interpretation in the full corpus of literature at Qumran, so for Philo it is increasingly understood that he could recognise the need for the plain meaning to be expounded as much as he might attempt allegorical, typological or moral interpretations of Pentateuchal texts. However as for Jubilees and Enoch what emerges from Philo is a discernible grand scheme, the need to expound the scriptures in a coherent philosophical fashion.

Josephus

The major value in juxtaposing the scriptural interpretation of the Qumran scrolls with Josephus concerns their common interest in what

has become known since Geza Vermes' landmark work (Vermes 1961, 67–126) as *Rewritten Bible*. There is no need to describe this in detail, though it is surprising how little work on Qumran exegesis has yet made detailed comparisons with the writings of Josephus. For our purposes in this section I think it more appropriate simply to note that not unlike Philo, Josephus seems to have had an overall plan that motivated his exegesis. In the *Antiquities* his concern is to construct a grand narrative from creation to the present, a grand narrative that could rival anything offered by any other group in the ancient world. The mood and tone of Josephus' grand narrative can be debated, but its existence is taken for granted.

New Testament

The typological use of scriptural texts in the New Testament is presented more or less coherently around a variegated Christological premise. As with Philo and Josephus, it is possible to spend time and achieve many notable worthwhile results in considering exegetical details, but what emerges as prominent at the end of the day is the overall hermeneutical coherence of the exegetical strategies of the various New Testament authors. The need to discern the Christological trajectory in all authoritative texts reveals a core principal.

Can such a principle be discerned when one juxtaposes these various contemporary sources with the exegetical practices evident in the sectarian compositions at Qumran? The common answer has been that the Qumran exegetes make authoritative scriptures resonate for the contemporary moment; they see the events of the present and immediate future as predicted in earlier tradition and that many other earlier texts make sense in providing for a suitable way of life in such circumstances. We might agree, in light of comparisons with the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, the writings of Philo, Josephus and the New Testament authors that such a view may be appropriate, at least for the exegesis in the sectarian compositions.

WITH MODERN METHODS IN MIND

Intertextuality

The most prominent modern approach that may offer some insight to the better understanding of what is taking place in Qumran exegesis lies in intertextuality. The work of several scholars in the second half of

the twentieth century has expounded how all texts are formed through interactions with “intertexts.” Those interested in genre analysis had long recognised this, since the definition of literary genres depends upon suitable comparisons being made between texts in order for the similarities to become the basis for group classification. But commentators like Julia Kristeva (1969) and Genette (1982) have insisted that there was a much more subtle process at work in the composition of all kinds of texts.

I myself sought to apply some of the insights of intertextual studies to a comparison of the exegesis of some Qumran texts and some New Testament ones (1998b). I focussed on those compositions which contained similar combinations of scriptural texts, believing at the outset that it would be in such instances that there might be some literary affinity and even some literary dependence, of New Testament interpretations on Essene patterns. My conclusion was quite the reverse. After investigating combinations like 2 Samuel 7 and Psalm 2 in 4Q174 and Hebrews 1, it became increasingly clear to me that the exegetical presentations in each instance contained more differences than similarities. What was striking then was that to the ancient commentator whether Jew or Jewish Christian, certain scriptural texts seemed to demand interpretation through cognate texts. There was no need to posit some form of written literary dependence, because exegetical combinations were obvious to the ancients, just as they might be to us with our electronic concordances. In other words scriptural exegesis can work autonomously, but characteristically. It has an independent integrity.

Other modern methods

Together with intertextuality, the literary insights derived from those who work with allusions and quotations is also beginning to release fresh understanding (see, e.g., Hughes 2006, 41–62; Wold 2005, 43–80). Evident for the New Testament in works such as Richard Hays’s *Echoes of Scripture in Paul* (1989), the identification of how authoritative texts might work as structural allusions or in gnomic fashion offers ways of improving in particular our understanding of poetic and liturgical compositions.

But the literary theorists also continue to offer us reading strategies that can be useful, most particularly in helping us identify the reasons behind the processes of selection that all interpreters indulge in. Why

this text for comment and not another? We are just beginning to enter on an era of Qumran studies in which such reading strategies as post-colonialism, spatial approaches, reader-response analysis, etc., come to play a major part in understanding what is on offer (cf. Campbell, Lyons, and Pietersen 2005).

CONCLUSIONS

I have argued that four matters need to be taken into account in an adequate description of the modern handling of the interpretation of authoritative texts in both the sectarian and non-sectarian scrolls found in the eleven caves at and near Qumran. Some modern commentators have discerned the way into the scrolls by looking backwards to scriptural models and tracing those forwards, finding continuities and discontinuities with what was present in earlier materials: the key contribution here is *the undermining of the differentiation between text and interpretation*. Others have preferred to look forwards to rabbinic models of biblical interpretation and with careful or clumsy nuance they have discovered continuities and discontinuities with rabbinic approaches both in content and method: the key contribution here is *the recognition of the diversity of exegetical interests and approaches*, together with some boundaries in what forms legitimate exegetical activity. Yet others have looked at interpretation more or less contemporary with the Qumran compositions to discover suitable parallels; together with many detailed insights, the key in these approaches has been *the discernment of larger hermeneutical principles* that motivate exegesis at all levels. Lastly there are those who have focussed more on key interpretative issues, some of which derive from modern literary studies applied to ancient texts; the key advantage here may well be that such methods will allow us *to see all the more clearly why some texts were selected* for interpretation and not others.

ANATOMY OF A SCENE:
NOAH'S COVENANT IN GENESIS APOCRYPHON XI

Daniel K. Falk

In contrast to Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon (GA) does not readily reveal distinctive exegetical tendencies.¹ This is partly due to its fragmentary nature, but also to its complicated relationships with Jubilees and 1 Enoch. The Genesis Apocryphon shares a number of motifs that are clearly major exegetical features in the context of 1 Enoch and Jubilees—for example the birth of Noah associated with the sin of the Watchers, a detailed chronology that associates the patriarchs with the festivals, geographical details of the promised land—but it is not clear whether their appearance in GA is due to particular exegetical interest or merely the incorporation of prior tradition. Most of the prominent features that are distinctive to GA belong to the realm of literary rather than exegetical concern. That is, characteristics such as the first-person perspective and the highlighting of emotions related to women have to do with the art of story-telling (see Nickelsburg 2003, 177–99). Consequently, although scholars recognize GA as a treasure trove of early aggadic traditions, there has been a tendency to underestimate the creativity and independence of the author as an exegete.²

The aim of this article is to demonstrate that the author of GA was a careful reader and original exegete of Genesis, producing some significant and unique interpretations. We are interested, then, in material that is both original and of special interest to the author of GA. As a criterion for determining material original to GA, Vermes (1973, 122) looked for motifs without parallels in other known ancient sources. This is useful as far as it goes, but it does not help in gauging

¹ I would like to thank Dr. Torleif Elgvin and Hanne von Weissenberg for inviting me to participate in the Jerusalem meeting in 2005. The argument here has since appeared in my book *The Parabiblical Texts* (Falk 2007, 54–68).

² Geza Vermes, for example, comments that '[o]n the few occasions when GA offers an interpretation of biblical passages unmentioned in other exegetical works, the matter is mostly of secondary importance... Genesis Apocryphon is certainly an original work, but its originality lies not so much in its matter, as in its manner of interpreting the Bible' (Vermes 1973, 122).

whether there is original exegetical reflection in the case of traditions found in other sources. For identifying material of special interest to the author of GA, Nickelsburg (2003, 191–95) searched for patterns of motifs and especially correspondence between the Noah and Abraham sections. I suggest a further criterion: where micro details of a pericope and the macro structuring of the larger narrative conspire together, we can be confident that we are dealing with an item of special exegetical interest to the author. These latter two criteria also give some help in adjudicating originality in cases where a tradition is found in more than one source: the more deeply integrated into the work, the more likely a motif is the product of original exegetical reflection on the part of the author. On this basis, numerous motifs in GA appear secondary to the narratives in 1 Enoch and Jubilees, or a common source.³ In the case to be illustrated here, GA shows unique interpretations of the covenant with Noah.

Throughout GA, the relationship to Genesis varies considerably. In what is preserved, the closest correspondences are in the Abraham cycle, whereas in the Noah story GA rarely follows the narrative of Genesis closely. One of the few extant places where GA does closely follow the Genesis narrative of Noah is in the story of Noah's exit from the ark, sacrifice, and covenant with God in columns X–XI. Examining this narrative will help illustrate the relationship of GA to the biblical tradition, to Jubilees, and other traditions. It also provides valuable insight to its distinctive interpretative concerns, since the two major interpretive motifs evident in the minutiae of the pericope about the covenant correspond to unique and deliberate reworkings of the larger context.

NOAH'S COVENANT IN THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON

We will start with a close examination of the covenant pericope (1Qap-Gen XI 15–17), and then relate our findings to features in the larger

³ The question of the relationship between Jubilees and Genesis Apocryphon is difficult. For arguments that Genesis Apocryphon seems to be secondary to Jubilees or dependent on a common source, see Falk 2007, 97–100. E. Eshel, however, makes strong arguments that Genesis Apocryphon was a source for Jubilees on the basis that its assumed world map is closer to the Ionic map from which it is drawn, with less adaptation to a Jewish perspective (Eshel 2007, 130–31).

context. I restore line 16 somewhat differently than other editions (see Falk 2007, 55).

16 [ואמר לי פושן] וּסְגוּא וּמְלוּ אַרְעָא וּשְׁלַט בְּכוּלְהוֹן
בְּ[ב]רִיָּהּ אַּבְמִדְבְּרִיָּהּ אַּבְטוּרִיָּהּ אַּבְכוּל דִּי בְּהוֹן

16. [And he said to me, ‘Increase] and multiply and fill the earth and rule over them all: its f[ie]lds, its wildernesses, its mountains, and all that is in them.

The restoration of the beginning of the line is based on Tg. Ps.-J. Gen 9:1, which fits well the space and the surviving letter traces: **ואמר להום פושן וסגו ומלו ית ארעא**. It seems clear that the text at this point contains a parallel to Gen 9:1: the wording ‘the earth and rule over it’ reflects Gen 9:1 harmonized with Gen 1:28.

In the following chart, a translation of 1QapGen is placed alongside the narrative of Genesis, as well as Jubilees and other scriptural passages. The text is broken into numbered sections (§) to facilitate comparison.⁴

At first glance, the version of this story in GA might appear to be but a loose paraphrase of Genesis, with some free expansions and omissions. But on closer inspection, it appears that the author has followed the text of Genesis very closely, and his version is a relatively sophisticated interpretation of the Noah story reflecting distinctive theological ideas. Of the differences from Genesis, we can distinguish four types of material: (1) adaptations for the sake of the narrative, (2) readings reflecting a variant text of Genesis, (3) readings related to another retelling of Genesis, and (4) readings that represent deliberate exegetical activity. We will concentrate here only on this last category since it most usefully reflects distinctive concerns on the part of GA. With regard to the pericope under discussion, the most significant differences from Genesis are due to deliberate and unique exegesis of the author of GA relating to two main motifs in its reworking of the Noah narrative: harmonizing Genesis 9 with the creation mandate of Gen 1:28–30, and harmonizing the account with the covenant with Abraham in Genesis 15. Each of these motifs is also the object of dramatic reworkings of the larger narrative by the author. In relation to both motifs, we find examples of pure exegesis—solving problems

⁴ Translations from Genesis are adapted from NRSV to facilitate comparison; translations from Jubilees are adapted from VanderKam 1989; henceforth VBJ.

Table 1. God's blessing on Noah

1QapGen XI	Genesis 9	Jubilees 6	Other
<p>¹⁵ [And then the Lord] of the heavens [appeared] to me, and spoke with me and said to me</p> <p>‘Do not fear, O Noah. I am with you and with your sons—to them as with you forever’.</p>	<p>¹ God blessed Noah and his sons, and said to them,</p>		<p>Gen 1:28 God blessed them, and said to them, Gen 15:1 the word of the LORD came to Abram in a vision, saying</p> <p>Gen 15:1 ‘Do not fear, Abram, I am your shield; your reward shall be very great’.</p> <p>Gen 26:24 ‘... do not fear, for I am with you and will bless you and make your offspring numerous for my servant Abraham’s sake’.</p>
<p>¹⁶ [And he said to me, ‘Increase] and multiply and fill the earth</p>	<p>‘Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth.</p>	<p>⁵ ‘Now you increase and multiply yourselves on the earth and become numerous upon it. Become a blessing within it.</p>	<p>Gen 1:28 ‘Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it;</p>
<p><u>and rule over</u></p>	<p>(LXX: and rule it.) ² Fear and dread of you will be upon</p>	<p>I will put fear of you and dread of you on</p>	<p><u>and rule over</u></p>

Table 1 (*cont.*)

1QapGen XI	Genesis 9	Jubilees 6	Other
them all: its <i>f[ze]lds</i> , its wildernesses, its mountains and all that is in them.	every animal of the earth, and on every bird of the air, on every creeping thing on the ground, and on all the fish of the sea;	everything that is on the earth and in the sea.	the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth’.
Behold, I ¹⁷ give to you and to your children everything for food of the greenery and the herbs of the land.	³ into your hands they are delivered (SP, LXX: I have given it). Every moving thing that is alive, for you it will be for food; like the green herbs, I give you everything.	⁶ I have now given you all the animals, all the cattle, everything that flies, everything that moves about on the earth, the fish in the waters, and everything for food. Like the green herbs I have given you everything to eat.	Gen 1:29 God said, ‘Behold, I have given you every herb yielding seed that is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree with seed in its fruit; you shall have them for food’.
But, you shall not eat any blood.	⁴ But, you shall not eat flesh with its life, that is, its blood. ⁵ For your own lifeblood I will surely require a reckoning: from every animal I will require it and from human beings, each one for the blood of another,	⁷ But, you are not to eat animate beings with their spirit— with the blood— (because the vital force of all animate beings is in the blood) so that your blood with your vital forces may not be required	

Table 1 (*cont.*)

1QapGen XI	Genesis 9	Jubilees 6	Other
	I will require a reckoning for human life. ⁶ Whoever sheds the blood of a human, by a human shall that person's blood be shed; for in his own image God made humankind. ⁷ And you, be fruitful and multiply, abound on the earth and multiply in it'. (originally probably 'and rule over it')	from the hand of any man. From the hand of each one I will require the blood of man. ⁸ The person who sheds the blood of man will have his blood shed by man because he made mankind in the image of the Lord. ⁹ As for you— increase and become numerous on the earth'.	
<p>The fear of you and dread of you ¹⁸... forever... ¹⁹] I to you... your children...'</p>			

in the text—and seemingly also applied exegesis—interpreting the text in consideration of a practical concern external to the scriptural text (Vermes 1975, 62). We will consider the two in turn.

NOAH'S COVENANT AND GENESIS 1:28–30

In the retelling of Noah's covenant (Gen 9) in Jubilees, the major focus is the prohibition of eating blood from Gen 9:4–7 (Jub. 6:7–8), which it significantly expands (Jub. 6:10–14). The Genesis Apocryphon reflects wording from this expansion, but it otherwise omits any reference to

the law of bloodshed.⁵ This is not, however, a concern in GA. In fact, GA diverges from Jubilees rather dramatically. Although both Genesis 9 and Jubilees 6 explicitly allow the eating of meat—with the proper restrictions regarding blood—GA reworks the account by means of harmonizing with Gen 1:28–29 apparently to nullify the concession to eating meat.

Gen 1:28–29: ‘Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and rule over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth’. God said, ‘See, I have given you every herb yielding seed that is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree with seed in its fruit; you shall have them for food’. (NRSV adapted)

Gen 9:1–3: ‘Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth. Fear and dread of you will be upon every animal of the earth, and upon every bird of the sky, on every creeping thing on the ground, and on all the fish of the sea; into your hand they are delivered. Every creeping thing that is alive, for you it will be for food; like the green plants, I give you everything’. (NRSV adapted)

Jub. 6:5–6: ‘Now you increase and multiply yourselves on the earth and become numerous upon it. Become a blessing within it. I will put fear of you and dread of you on everything that is on the earth and in the sea. I have now given you all the animals, all the cattle, everything that flies, everything that moves about on the earth, the fish in the waters, and everything for food. Like the green herbs I have given you everything to eat’. (VBJ)

1QapGen XI 16–17: [...‘Increase] and multiply and fill the earth and rule over them all: its *f[ie]lds* (?), its wildernesses, its mountains and all that is in them. Behold, I give to you and to your children everything for food of the greenery and the herbs of the land.

Gen 9:1–3 consciously recalls Gen 1:28–30, repeating the mandate to be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth, and giving instructions regarding food. The deliberate echo makes the distinct differences all the more pointed, and potentially ominous. Whereas Gen 1:28 enjoins humans to ‘subdue (the earth) and rule over’ the animals, Gen 9:2 reads ‘fear of you and dread of you shall rest on’ the animals. And whereas Gen 1:30 grants vegetation alone as food for all creatures, Gen 9:2–3 allows the consumption of meat—reworking the language of

⁵ In GA, the laws of bloodshed are part of a revealed “Book of Noah” as in ALD 10:10; see Greenfield, Stone and Eshel 2004, 91, 180. On the book of Noah, cf. Stone 2006 and Falk 2007, 100–01.

Gen 1:30—with the restriction that the blood must not be eaten. The two changes are easily seen as related: ‘fear and dread’ could allude to a new adversarial relationship between humans and animals; thus ‘dominion’ could be understood to refer to a harmonious relationship now lost. These difficult passages inspired diverse interpretations (see below), but this reading of the text is one that is attested in ancient sources, and GA adds a unique twist by means of several deliberate modifications. (1) By adding the phrase ‘and rule over them all’, it claims that the dominion was regained or renewed with Noah. (2) It omits the permission to eat meat. Instead of ‘every moving thing that lives for you shall be for food like the green herbs’, GA reads ‘everything for food of the greenery and the herbs’. For the phrase ‘everything for food’ GA follows the wording of the paraphrase in Jub. 6:6, but by omitting mention of animals it conveys a different meaning than Jubilees and all known biblical versions. (3) This point is reinforced by a related modification. Instead of ‘like’ (preposition כּ) GA reads ‘among’ (preposition בּ), limiting the ‘everything for food’ to vegetation, as in Gen 1:29. Also possibly related might be the reading of two separate categories of plants—‘the greenery and the herbs’ instead of ‘green herbs’—perhaps to reflect the two types of plants mentioned in Gen 1:29, ‘herbage’ and ‘trees’, or better to relate to ‘everything’.

The narrative according to GA asserts that with Noah there is a return to paradise conditions of Gen 1:28–30: harmonious relations between humans and animals, and vegetation only for food. There is no evidence that GA depended here on a different Hebrew text. Neither can one explain his departure from Genesis on the basis that the author was merely following Jubilees (or a related source) as he seems to do numerous times. For although GA here reflects phrasing in common with Jubilees, his interpretation is radically different. Moreover, these changes at the micro level of details in the narrative correspond to arrangements of the narrative structure at the macro level that are unique to GA (see further discussion below). This indicates that we are dealing with deliberate and distinctive interpretation on the part of the author.

It is impossible to prove what was in the mind of the author, but it seems likely that he read the syntax of Genesis 9 differently than the MT, with the effect that it represents a restatement of Genesis 1.

The author of GA may have read ‘every creeping thing that is alive’ not as the subject of ‘will be food for you’ as in all known versions of Genesis 9 (esp. MT, SP, LXX), but as the object of the preceding

Table 2. Genesis 9:1–3 in the Genesis Apocryphon

Gen 9:1–3 (MT)	Gen 9:1–3 as read by 1QapGen	
Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth.	Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth.	= Gen 1:28a
Fear and dread of you will be upon every animal of the earth, and upon every bird of the sky, on every creeping thing on the ground, and on all the fish of the sea; into your hand they are delivered.	[Fear and dread of you] will be upon every animal of the earth, and upon every bird of the sky, on every creeping thing on the ground, and on all the fish of the sea.	
Every creeping thing that is alive for you it will be for food; like the green plants I give you everything.	Into your hand I have delivered every creeping thing that is alive.	// Gen 1:28b: dominion
	For you will be for food among the greenery and herbs: I give you all (of them, i.e., plants).	// Gen 1:29: vegetation alone for food.

phrase ‘into your hand I have given’. Thus, he seems to have regarded this clause as a paraphrase of dominion over the animals in Gen 1:28b. Moreover, by dislocating the passage about ‘fear and dread’ so that it follows the ban on eating blood (see Table 1 §9), he emphasized his view that ‘fear and dread’ are about adversarial relations between humans and animals, but not related to permission to eat animals. In this way, the author separates dominion over—as fulfillment of a divine mandate—from a negative consequence of the fall, namely animosity between humans and animals.

That ‘dominion’ was an especially distinctive concern for GA is evident from the manner in which the author introduced the motif into one or two other places in the narrative of the flood.

(1) Before the flood, God informs Noah of his plan to destroy the world and to save him, and probably alludes to the blessing of Gen 9:1–2: ‘[*you shall rule*] over them, the earth and all that is upon it, the seas and the mountains...’ (1QapGen VII 1).⁶ Perhaps it is the restoration of dominion that is the reward God says he is restoring to Noah in 1QapGen VII 5:

⁶ See the reconstruction adopted by Fitzmyer 2004, 78, 150.

‘glory, and my reward I am restoring to you’ (לְקָרְוֹ וְאֶגְרִי אֲנִי מְשַׁלֵּם לְךָ).⁷ Noah rejoices at God’s words (1QapGen VII 7).

(2) After Noah has entered the ark (1QapGen VIII 1), and probably before the start of the flood (1QapGen IX 10), God again addresses Noah and alludes to the blessing of dominion: ‘...to you I give the dominion...’ (לְךָ יֵהֵב אֲנִי שְׁלֵטָנָא).⁸ The Targums use the same root (שָׁלַט) to refer to the dominion granted to Adam in Gen 1:28.⁹

These promises of dominion, alluding to Gen 9:1–3 but uttered to Noah *before the flood* are, to my knowledge, without precedent in any version of Genesis or any other early Jewish or Christian traditions.

What is the point of these unique additions for GA? The broader concerns underlying these additions can be traced in numerous texts, although more often implicitly than explicitly (see Jobling 1972a, 164–99): (1) what is the dominion granted humans in Gen 1:26–28? (2) Was that dominion somehow lost, and if so is it regained? Different views are expressed by ancient interpreters who noticed that Gen 9:1–3 consciously repeats to Noah God’s commission to the first humans in Gen 1:26–28, but with the difference that instead of ‘dominion’ over the animals as in 1:28, God now states that ‘fear and dread’ (military terms) will be upon the animals. Some strands of tradition emphasize a negative contrast between Adam in paradise and Noah: this alludes in some way to the loss of a golden age, and with Noah a concession to a diminished era. An anonymous tradition cited in Gen. Rab. 34:12 asserts this uniquely: to Noah ‘fear and dread’ returned, but dominion did not return. When did it return? In the days of Solomon, as it is written, For he had dominion over all the region (1 Kings 5:4)’ (Freedman 1983, 1:278). More commonly the lost dominion is understood as having to do with harmonious relationships between humans and animals—animals as tame and obedient to humans, and/or even a universal vegetarianism—lost because of human sin,¹⁰ experienced by

⁷ This is the reading of Morgenstern et al. 1995, 42.

⁸ This is a new reading proposed by me on the basis of fresh examination of photographs; see further discussion in Falk 2007, 38.

⁹ Elgvin (1994b, 187) discusses the importance of the motif of Adam’s dominion in Qumran and other early Jewish texts (4Q422 1 4; 1QS III 17–18; 4Q381 1 7; Jub. 2:14; Sir. 17:2). In most of these passages, the language suggests an abiding dominion granted to humans, and supports the contention in this article that GA intends to assert that Adamic dominion is renewed with Noah.

¹⁰ Philo, Op. Mund. 148, Quaest. in Gen 1:18; Life of Adam and Eve 37–39; Apoc. Mos. 24:4; 4 Ezra 6:54 cp. 7:10–12.

the righteous,¹¹ but not restored generally until the messianic age.¹² Such views are probably related on the one hand to Greek philosophical views of loss of a golden age, and on the other hand to negative evaluations of Noah such as are common in later rabbinic texts.

Other strands of tradition emphasize Noah's similarity to Adam, reading Gen 9:1–3 as a restatement of the promise to Adam (e.g., LXX Gen 9:1), or a restoration of a lost dominion to Noah. Noah serves typologically as a second Adam, representing a new start and renewing the order of creation. For example, the rabbinic midrash *Genesis Rabbah* has the following tradition.

The truth is that when the Holy One, blessed be He, created Adam, He gave him dominion over all things: the cow obeyed the ploughman, the furrow obeyed the ploughman. But when he sinned, He made them rebel against him: the cow did not obey the ploughman, nor did the furrow obey the ploughman. But when Noah arose, they submitted: ease is mentioned here... (Gen. Rab. 25:2; attributed to R. Johanan, 3rd c. CE Palestine).

Dominion here has to do with animals submitting to humans. The best expression of this view is Philo, who is especially valuable for our purposes because he dates to the first century CE. For Philo, Noah demonstrates dominion by the feat of gathering the animals into the ark, analogous to Adam naming the animals.¹³ Noah is 'the beginning of a second genesis of man, of equal honor with him who was first made in (His) image. And so he granted rule over earthly creatures in equal measure to the former and the latter' (Philo, *Quaest. in Gen* 2:56, Loeb).

Our sources show great diversity, and it is notable that competing views are expressed within the same sources, especially Philo and *Genesis Rabbah*. But what is important for our purposes is the recognition that there was lively speculation that related human dominion to tameness of the beasts, that debated whether dominion was lost, and discussed

¹¹ Tg. Ps.-J., Tg. Neof. on Gen 3:15; cf. Num. Rab. 11:3 [saying attributed to Simeon b. Yohai, 2nd c. CE]; PRK 5:3; PR 15:3; Sifre Deut. 50 [saying attributed to R. Eleazar b. Azariah, 2nd c. CE]; b. Ber. 33a; see Ginzberg 1937–67, 5.119 n. 113 and 5.188 n. 53.

¹² Philo, *Proem. Poen.* 85–91; Sib. Or. 3:788–95; 2 Bar. 73:6; Gen. Rab. 8:12.

¹³ Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* 2:56; Op. Mund. 83–88; Vit. Mos. 2:61. See Jobling 1972b, 69, 81.

the problems of wild beasts getting on the ark and cooperating with humans.

Against this background, by reading ‘dominion’ into Gen 9:1–3—using the same root (שלט) as the Targums use at Gen 1:28—GA is asserting that dominion over the animals *was* restored to Noah. Moreover, the author’s unique rewriting of the scene reveals his intention. By having God grant dominion to Noah before the flood, it is evident that dominion is related to harmonious relations between humans and animals, epitomized for Noah by gathering the animals on the ark. In this, GA is very similar to the view expressed in Gen. Rab. 25:2 and in certain places in Philo.

We are dealing here with concerns of pure exegesis. The Genesis Apocryphon may here be wrestling with a question that receives much speculation in Jewish tradition: how did Noah get the animals on the ark? How did the animals coexist peaceably on the ark without the carnivores devouring the other animals? Would this not require a return to Edenic tranquility when there was peace among animals and animals willingly submitted to humans? It remains unclear whether this would be viewed as a permanent return of dominion—that is, taking the opposite view to that represented in Gen. Rab. 34:12 where dominion did not return in Noah’s day—or whether this would be only a temporary dispensation of paradise conditions for the duration of the flood alone. Since both GA and Jubilees attest the tradition of the flood as an analogue for eschatological judgment, and Noah for eschatological salvation and restoration, the interpretation here may also be related to the restoration of peace in visions of eschatological restoration (e.g., Isa 11:6–9; 65:25).

It is also possible that there are concerns of applied exegesis involved. By removing the concession to eat meat, GA seems to go further than any other known tradition in stressing Noah as a second Adam, restoring the vegetarian ideal of paradise. Is the author advocating vegetarianism? This is an intriguing possibility to ponder, but the texts are too fragmentary to be certain. In any case, it is likely that the dramatic innovations with regard to dominion and food are related, and are unique to this author.

One other aspect of this paraphrase in Genesis Apocryphon is important to the motif of Noah as a new Adam (§4b): the realms of air, ground, and sea with their animals over which humans are to exercise dominion in Gen 1:28 (cf. Gen 9:2) become in GA fields, wildernesses and mountains.

Gen 1:28: Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it, and rule over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth.

Gen 9:2: Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth.

1QapGen XI 16: [And he said to me, 'Increase] and multiply and fill the earth, and rule over them all: its *f[ie]lds*, its wildernesses, its mountains and all that is in them.

This modification seems to be involved with two concerns of GA. (1) The author again avoids mention of animals and shifts the focus to physical features of the land. (2) The motif of land introduces the other major concern for GA in this narrative: Noah as parallel to Abram. We consider this next, but there is one more passage to mention first that also may have to do with the motif of Noah as a new Adam.

According to my reading of 1QapGen XII 8–9, after God makes a covenant with Noah, Noah and his sons descend the mountain curiously carrying a particular branch: '...in the mountains of Hurrat, and afterwards I descended to the base of this mountain, I and my children, and with the branch (ובנופא) ... for the desolation was great in the land'.¹⁴ A possibility close at hand is that this might be the olive twig returned by the dove (Gen 8:11), although how this would factor into the story is unclear and I am not aware of other traditions emphasizing retention of this twig.¹⁵ Much more likely is that this is a vine shoot for Noah to plant. This finds support in the immediately following comment about the devastation in the land, and the next thing Noah does is plant the vineyard (l. 13). Moreover, there are prominent traditions speculating from where Noah obtained a vine to plant. Answers include that he brought it with him (e.g., Gen. Rab. 36:3; Tanh. [Buber] Gen 2:20 [on Gen 9:20, Townsend 1989, 52]) or that he found a vine shoot (e.g., Philo, Quaest. in Gen 2:67) that had come from the Garden of Eden (Tg. Ps.-J. Gen 9:20; 3 Bar. 4:8–15; PRE 23).¹⁶ In GA, the latter tradition seems more likely for two reasons: (1) the definite 'the branch'

¹⁴ On this reading, see further in Falk 2007, 38.

¹⁵ There are traditions, however, speculating about where the olive leaf came from, whether Israel, the Mount of Olives, or the Garden of Eden, e.g., Tg. Ps.-J. Gen. 8:11 and Gen. Rab. 33:6; see Lewis 1978, 146; Ginzberg 1937–67, 5:185–86 n. 47; Bowker 1969, 170.

¹⁶ Ginzberg (1937–67, 5:190–91 nn. 57 and 59) comments that Tg. Ps.-J. Gen. 9:20 and PRE 23 seem to reflect a view attested by Origen (on Gen 9:20) that 'Noah's vine was the offshoot of the tree of knowledge'; and one should add 3 Bar. 4:8–15. Friedlander 1981, 170 n. 3 states concerning Tg. Ps.-J., '[a]pparently our Midrash wishes

suggests a particular and special item (cf. 3 Bar. 4:8–15). (2) The same term ‘branch’ figures prominently in Noah’s vision in 1QapGen XIV 16–17, where Noah is a great tree that divides into three branches of descendants. I suggest, then, that GA here draws a parallel between Noah’s family (and hence, as a new Adam, humanity) planted anew in the land and the tree/vine planted as a paradise image.

NOAH’S COVENANT AND ABRAHAM’S COVENANT

With regard to Noah compared to Abraham, once again the significance of GA’s retelling of the passage is revealed by the distinctive reworking of the larger narrative. Immediately before the pericope about God’s covenant with Noah (1QapGen XI 15–17), GA adds three episodes that have no precedent in Genesis or Jubilees, or—to my knowledge—any other tradition. (1) Before Noah exits the ark, GA has Noah survey the land (1QapGen XI 1–10):

1. ...I, Noah was in the door of the ark... 2–8. ... 9. ...to the mountains and the wildernesses, to the thickets and... 10. ...vacat.¹⁷

(2) Immediately upon exiting the ark, and before God’s covenant with Noah, Noah tours the land (1QapGen XI 11–12):

[Then] I Noah went out and I walked in the land to its length and breadth... []...luxuriance upon it in their leaves and in their fruit. And all the land was filled with grass, herbs, and grain.

(3) Noah then praises God (1QapGen XI 12–14):

Then I blessed the Lord of [heaven] who performed wonders.¹⁸ He is eternal, and to him belongs the praise. And again I praised (him) that he had mercy on the earth, and that he removed and destroyed from it all

to connect the folly of Noah with the sin of Adam’, as explicitly in 3 Bar. 4:8–15 and Sifre Deut. §323.

¹⁷ L. 9 reads א לטוריא ודמדבריא לעובריא ודא (cf. Morgenstern et al. 1995, 46; Fitzmyer 2004, 84). The second complete word is probably a mistake for ומדבריא. Fitzmyer accidentally omits the anomalous *dalet* from this word, but correctly reads the following as לעובריא (a test of overlaying letters from nearby words fits the spacing and ink traces very well).

¹⁸ I follow here the reading of Morgenstern et al. 1995, 46, although it is grammatically awkward. The suggestion by Fitzmyer 2004, 84 to read עבר in line 13 is incorrect; the reading עבד is certain.

doers of violence and wickedness and deception, and (that) he delivered a righteous man...for his sake. *vacat*

When God instructs Noah to ‘fill the earth’ (1QapGen XI 16), GA specifies ‘fields...wildernesses...mountains’ which directly recalls the language of Noah’s survey and tour through the land (esp. XI 9). That is, it seems that GA interprets ‘fill the earth’ as taking possession of the boundaries of a specific promised land. It is possible that the author found clues to this interpretation in the Genesis narrative itself, reading it along the following lines:

Command/promise to fill/possess the earth/land (Gen 9:1–17)
 Story of sons = land dispute (Gen 9:18–27)
 Fulfillment of possessing the land: nations dispersed (Gen 10:1–32)

That is, Genesis 9:1 and 10:32 form an *inclusio* with regard to filling the earth, and this is interpreted in the light of the intervening story about the sons understood as a dispute over land boundaries. At any rate, this is the manner in which Jubilees understands Genesis 9–10. Jub. 8:8–30 explicitly reads Gen 9:26–27 as a dispute over territories after the flood. Noah settles the matter by revealing from a book the divinely appointed boundaries for the three sons (Jub. 8:11). Shem’s portion includes the mountains of Ararat, as well as Eden, Mt. Sinai and Mt. Zion, and is said to be a beautiful land (Jub. 8:21).

Although it is fragmentary, GA contains material that is very closely related to Jubilees at these points, especially with regard to descriptions of the territories of Noah’s sons (1QapGen XVI–XVII, cf. Jub. 8:10–9:13). Presumably, the land surveyed and toured by Noah in GA is the allotment of Shem. It is again said to be ‘pleasant’ (רע, 1QapGen XI 12), as Jubilees refers to both Shem’s territory (Jub. 8:21) and the land surveyed by Abram (Jub. 13:2). Moreover, there are broader similarities to the description of Abram’s view of the land from Bethel in Jub. 13:6–7: Abram notes the fruitfulness of the trees and water on the mountains, and then blesses God (cf. 1QapGen XI 9–14). Possibly, the idea of God showing Noah the land in GA was in part inspired by the motif in Jubilees of land allotments revealed in a book of Noah (Jub. 8:11).

But GA goes its own way with the story, most obviously by having Noah tour the land. It reflects an original and close reading of Genesis that closely follows its structure.

The three episodes which appear on first glance to be simple additions to the narrative are rather interpretative retellings of the narrative

Table 3. Noah tours the land

Genesis	1QapGen
Noah to go out ... to fill the earth (8:15–17)	Noah surveys land (XI 1–10)
Noah goes out (8:18–19)	Noah tours land (XI 11–12)
Noah sacrifices (8:20)	Noah praises God (XI 12–14)
God's promises to Noah (8:21–9:17)	Noah promised land (XI 15ff)

following the structure of Genesis but bringing out the meaning that the author finds inherent in Genesis. When in Genesis 8:16–17 God instructs Noah to ‘go out of the ark’ with the animals ‘so that they may abound on the earth’, GA understands that God showed Noah the land. When Noah is said to go out of the ark (Gen 8:18–19), GA understands that Noah walked through the boundaries of a specific territory. The episode of Noah’s sacrifice (Gen 8:20) is especially interesting. Although GA transplants the actual sacrifice to before Noah has left the ark (1QapGen X 12–17), this episode is also retained after the exit from the ark as praise to God (1QapGen XI 12–14). When God then blesses Noah in Gen 9:1 with fruitfulness so that they will ‘fill the earth’, GA understands this as a covenant promise of land.

The author’s model is Abraham. As the covenant with Abraham included a promise to possess a particular land, and Abraham was instructed to survey it and symbolically take possession by touring the boundaries, so also with Noah. Moreover, the description of Noah surveying and touring the land is specifically parallel to unique additions to the narrative in GA about Abram that describe Abram carrying out God’s instructions to survey and tour the promised land.

Thereby, for GA, God’s covenant with Noah is parallel to God’s covenant with Abram: it includes promise of a specific land.

At several points, the author of GA has harmonized his account of Genesis 9 to narratives about the covenant with Abram. The language in §1 and §2 (see Table 1) about the Lord of the heavens appearing to Noah and instructing him not to fear is extraneous to Genesis 9, but recalls the introduction to the covenant with Abram in Genesis 15.

The Genesis Apocryphon uses the same paraphrase in both instances: ‘do not fear ... I am with you’ (1QapGen XI 15; XXII 30). Incidentally, this paraphrase itself is tailored to anticipate God’s reassurance to Isaac in Gen 26:24: ‘do not fear, for I am with you and will bless you and make your offspring numerous for my servant Abraham’s sake’. It seems, then, that GA read ‘God blessed Noah and his sons’ (Gen 9:1)

Table 4. Noah and Abram tour the land

	Genesis	Jubilees	1QapGen
Noah surveys land	—	—	XI 1–10
Noah tours land	—	—	XI 11
Noah promised land	—	—	XI 16
Abram promised land	13:17b	13:20b	XXI 10
Abram instructed to survey land	13:14–15	13:19–20a	XXI 10
Abram surveys land	—	—	XXI 10–12
Abram instructed to tour land	13:17a	13:21	XXI 13–14
Abram tours land	—	—	XXI 15–19

Table 5. ‘Do not fear’

1QapGen XI 15	1QapGen XXII 30	Gen 15:1	Gen 26:24
(to Noah) [And then the Lord] of the heavens [appeared] to me, and spoke with me and said to me, Do not fear, O Noah, I am with you,	(to Abram) After these things, God appeared to Abram in a vision and said to him, ... do not fear; I am with you, and I will be your ³¹ support and strength. I am a shield over you and a buckler for you against one stronger than you. Your wealth and your flocks ³² will increase greatly’.	(to Abram) After these things the word of the LORD came to Abram in a vision, ‘Do not fear, Abram,	(to Isaac) And that very night the LORD appeared to him and said, ... do not fear, for I am with you and will bless you and make your offspring numerous for my servant Abraham’s sake’.

as including Abraham and his descendants, and anticipating God's covenant with Israel. This point also probably lies behind another feature of the narrative: instead of addressing Noah and his three sons as in Genesis 9, in GA God speaks only to Noah but announces that the message applies to sons as well (1QapGen XI 15 cf. Gen 9:1; 1QapGen XI 17 [singular 'you and your children'] cf. Gen 9:3 [plural 'you']). This allows 'sons' to have a wider connotation of 'descendants' than Noah's immediate children. It is likely that this is related to the motif to portray Noah as patriarch of Israel: in GA, the promise to Noah's 'sons' has in mind his descendants through Abraham.

CONCLUSION

Throughout this narrative about Noah in GA, we see techniques of harmonization, omission, rearrangement, expansion, and paraphrase, but all of the distinctive features of the rewriting can be explained as a close reading of Gen 9:1–3 which finds in the story of Noah (1) restoration of paradise, and (2) a mediating link between paradise and Abraham, focused on possession of the promised land. Put another way, GA portrays Noah as a new Adam and a proto-Abraham. This stands in marked contrast to a prominent view attested in rabbinic interpretation according to which the story of Noah is bittersweet: there is deliverance, but considerable loss. The rabbis tended to compare Noah unfavorably with Abraham: he was a profane man, only the best of a degenerate lot, and the dominion was not restored under him.¹⁹ The Genesis Apocryphon, on the other hand, highlights Noah's righteousness, and emphasizes that with Noah is a full restoration. Emphasis on Noah's exceptional piety is characteristic of Jewish interpretation in the Greco-Roman period when there is a general tendency to renovate scriptural characters. Writers in this period tend to stress Noah's righteousness, and to infer that Noah must have preached to his generation, prayed fervently to God to save them from the impending flood, and been a prophet anticipating Moses (e.g., Wis. 10:4; Sir. 44:17; 1 En. 67:1; Jub. 5:19; 10:17; Sib. Or. 1:125; A.J. 1.75). This is also the dominant view in Christian interpretation (e.g., Heb 11:7; 2 Pet 2:5), but is less common in rabbinic interpretation (e.g., Gen. Rab. 30:1; b. Sanh. 108a–b).

¹⁹ Jobling 1972b, 69, 81.

More common among the rabbis is to compare Noah negatively with the models of righteousness such as Abraham and Moses: Noah was the best only of a sinful generation, failed to pray, and profaned himself in the planting of the vineyard.²⁰

Since most of the features just described are unique to GA—and even contrary to the message of Jubilees which GA otherwise appears to follow—and they are expressed by interventions in both details and large-scale structure, it is likely that we are dealing with distinctive concerns of the author. These observations thus provide some implications for the purpose of GA: to portray Noah and Abraham (1) as prophets, recipients of revelation concerning the future of Israel, and transmitters of sacred tradition, and (2) as patriarchs who receive the promise of land and observe divine law. In both cases, GA strives to connect Noah and Abraham to the promised land and sacrificial laws according to Torah.

²⁰ See VanderKam 1980; Kugel 1998, 185–87; 219–20; Falk 2007, 54.

THE DREAM VISIONS IN THE NOAH STORY OF THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON AND RELATED TEXTS

Esther Eshel

Long before Freud attributed dreams to the human subconscious, dreams were seen as a vehicle of divine-human communication. If the interpretation of Pharaoh's dream by Joseph seems relatively straightforward—we ask ourselves, how is it that Pharaoh and his advisors could not figure it out. The dreams I will discuss here bear greater similarity to the fragmented nature of real dreams. That is due less to their original structure and more to the fragmentary preservation of the texts in which they are found. But, like Freud's dreamers, the ancient dreamers needed interpreters. My attempt to understand their symbolism and meaning is aided by the fact that many of these dreams are accompanied by a heavenly interpretation.

Dreams and dream visions as a form of heavenly-human communication play a significant role in more than one Second Temple work.¹ Among the types well attested in ancient Near Eastern, Egyptian, and biblical sources are symbolic dreams, which comprise the focus of this article (Bergman 1980, 4:421–32). Most symbolic biblical dreams are found in Genesis and Daniel (Collins 1974). These dreams, sent by the God of Israel mainly to non-Israelites, often predict future events to the players, of which the audience is already aware, or constitute a warning. Interpretation is an integral part of these dream episodes.

In this paper I look at one motif in various symbolic dreams, that of tree and plant imagery, tracing its appearance and transformations in a variety of Jewish and non-Jewish texts. In my attempt to understand this motif the Genesis Apocryphon is of particular significance. The tree imagery found in its well-developed dream visions sheds light on

¹ Thanks are due to Professor M.E. Stone for his helpful remarks. For a detailed survey of dreams in the Ancient Near East, Greece and Rome, see Gnuse 1996, 34–128. For a study of the biblical symbolic dream, see Niditch 1983. In her study, Niditch looked at twelve Biblical visions, suggesting three stages of diachronic development. Nevertheless, her brief study of the apocryphal sources focused only on two post-biblical compositions, 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra.

the employment of this motif in other works and on their possible interrelationship.

This article is divided into two parts: Taking the dream sequence in the Genesis Apocryphon as my starting point, I first examine how tree imagery is used to symbolize the righteous, Noah in particular but also Shem and Abraham. The second half of this article is devoted mainly to the tree motif in dreams in the Book of Giants, where this motif's predictive function symbolizes the coming of a catastrophe but where images of new growth symbolize the survivors.

The tree imagery is used in a variety of ancient Jewish texts. Biblical references comparing the righteous to trees appear in Psalms 1:1–3 and 92:13–16, Jer 17:7–8 and Prov 11:30. Destruction of trees or plants in predictions of an adverse fate is found in Isa 5:1–7 (song of the vineyard); Jer 2:21 (alien vine); Ezek 19:10–14 (vine), and Dan 4:7–14.16–19 (great tree vision). Among the non-biblical texts using tree imagery, I note the tree parable in 4Q302, a non-sectarian text whose image of a fine fruit tree is based on Ps 80:9–20 (vine imagery; Nitzan 1996). A more developed postbiblical parable comes from 1QH XVI 4–11, which portrays the sect as “trees of life” watered by God that will flourish in the future, whereas the “trees by the water” will dry up (Parry and Tov 2004–2005, V:40–43). This parable is grounded in the biblical metaphor of the righteous person from Psalms 1 and 92, as well as in Ezekiel 17's allegory of the eagles, the vine, and the cedar, Ezekiel 31's parable of Assyria as a beautiful cedar, and Daniel 4's great tree vision.

2 Baruch, like Ezekiel 19 and Daniel 4, uses a tree image in a dream to describe the enemy. In this dream (35:1–36:1) Baruch sees a forest with trees and vines. Under the forest is a fountain, which inundates the forest until only one cedar is left standing. That cedar, too, is then uprooted. Finally, the cedar burns up, and the vine, and all around the vine, becomes “a valley full of unfading flowers”. As interpreted in the text, the forest of wickedness stands for the fourth power, namely, Rome; and the fountain and the vine symbolize the messianic kingdom. The cedar left standing, is the last hostile ruler of the fourth power. He will be taken to Mount Zion, judged, and executed by the Messiah (39:2–40:2).²

² Bogaert 1969, 1:84–86; 2:70–75. Hobbins argues that “the details provided in the explanation seems to constitute a deliberate reversal of what happened after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE”; see Hobbins 1998, 61, note 38.

The last example of the general use of tree imagery comes from a text entitled “Jannes and Jambres”. Various references to “Jannes and Jambres,” the two Egyptian magicians who plied the art of magic in opposition to Moses, are known from Jewish, Christian, and pagan writings. The earliest known reference to these magicians comes from the Damascus Document (VI 18–19; Broshi 1992, 18–19). A Greek fragment relating their story, dated to the fourth century CE or somewhat earlier, is found in the Chester Beatty Library.³ In this fragment we hear of a flourishing, shade-providing plant with branches, which will be visited by disaster in the form of an earthquake. It reads as follows:

[...]all [...]having summoned [...]his servants], both [the] wise man an[d the magicians, and after] seven [day]s when he was w[alking] about [i]n [his] ho[use] and saw [...] the plant flourish [and] that the bra[n]ches were already providing shade [...]. And when he had become [...] he ordered [...] to sit (?) under a certain apple tree (*mēlea*). And [when he was seated] there, a great earthquake occurred. And from heaven (came) [the sound] of thunder and [lightening], so that some branches of the shelter [broke off]. When he saw what had happened Jannes ran into the library where [his] magical tools were (pap. Chester Beatty XVI, Frame 2a->, Pietersma 1994, 137).

THE FIRST AND SECOND TREE IMAGES IN THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON

Like the other Aramaic texts found at Qumran, the Genesis Apocryphon is considered nonsectarian. It relates, with additions, omissions, and expansions, to stories from the early chapters of Genesis (5–15).⁴ Generally attributed to the second or first century BCE, its use by texts such as Jubilees and the Temple Scroll may suggest an earlier date. Thus, in my study of the world map preserved in both the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees, I argue that Jubilees based its description of the division of the world among Noah’s sons on the Genesis Apocryphon (Eshel 2007).

The lives of Noah and Abraham are the subject of the bulk of the surviving columns of the Genesis Apocryphon. The fifteen columns devoted to the story of Noah start with his birth, as recounted by his

³ For an introduction and translation of this text, see Pietersma 1994.

⁴ These columns were first deciphered and published by Morgenstern, Qimron, and Sivan 1995. For the latest edition of this scroll, see Fitzmyer 2004, 13–46. The reading and translation of the Genesis Apocryphon is based on this edition, with some emendations.

father Lamech, and continue with a first-person biographical account by Noah. The section ends with a description of the division of the earth among Noah's grandsons (Bernstein 1999).

In contrast to its biblical source, one outstanding feature of Noah's biography in the Genesis Apocryphon is the large number of divine communications to Noah, including dreams. Some of these are non-symbolic dreams. These dreams contain immediately comprehensible divine instructions. In Genesis Apocryphon VI–VII, this dream-type is associated with the antediluvian period, mainly the fall of the Watchers. Our second type, the symbolic dream visions, which I will now discuss in detail, belongs to the postdiluvian period, covered in columns XIII–XV (Fitzmyer 2004, 88–93).

Literary markers, familiar from other biblical and extrabiblical dream visions, clearly set off the passage containing Noah's symbolic dream visions. They begin with Noah's statement: "and I was lying on my [...]" (XII 19),⁵ perhaps his side or his bed. This formula can be compared to God's command to Ezek IV 4 "Lie on your left side", as well as to Dan 7:1, which states: "Daniel saw a dream and a vision of his mind in bed." Even more closely related is Levi's statement in the Aramaic Levi Document—"... I lay down and I remained o[n...]"—, which is immediately followed by a vision (4:3; Greenfield, Stone and Eshel 2004, 66–67; 138–39).

Closing Noah's set of dream visions in the Genesis Apocryphon is Noah's statement: "[Then I,] Noah, [awoke] from my sleep, and the sun [...]" (XI 21; Fitzmyer 2004, 92–93). Another dream vision in the Genesis Apocryphon, Abraham's dream before going down to Egypt (XII 17), has a similar ending.⁶ Accordingly, this framing of the dream vision passage places Noah in the same category as other biblical seers, like Abraham, Levi, and Ezekiel.⁷

⁵ I read *על ושכבת על*, while Fitzmyer 2004, 86–87, reads: *על ושפכת על* [...] "I poured out upon."

⁶ Reading: *ואתעירת בליליא מן שנת'* "That night I awoke from my sleep"; Fitzmyer 2004, 98–99.

⁷ To be compared with the Biblical account, which starts with the words: "When Noah woke up from his wine" (Gen 9:24). If I am correct, the way the story is told in 1QapGen, it might have no reference to Noah being drunk and embarrassed, against Bernstein, who hypothesize that Noah's drunkenness and its ensuing embarrassment is to be reconstructed in the missing parts of 1QapGen, see Bernstein 1996a, 43. It is interesting to see Noah's description according to Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer Chapter 22, where Noah, like a prophet, reproaches the sinners of his generation, warning them

Although poorly preserved, Noah's set of dream visions in the Genesis Apocryphon Columns XIII–XIV includes at least three separate dreams. In composing this dream sequence the author of the Genesis Apocryphon did not follow one specific biblical source; he rather drew the various images found in these visions from different biblical visions belonging to this genre.

The first dream refers both to an object made of gold, silver, stone, and pottery as well as iron, from which everyone is breaking off pieces, and to trees: "chopping every tree trees and taking it for themselves." It reads as follows (Fitzmyer 2004, 88–89):

⁸[...] the wild beasts [...] and the creeping creatures of the dry land were passing [...] [⁹gold and silver,] stone and pottery were chopping and taking of it for themselves. I watched those of gold and silver [¹⁰...] iron, and were chopping every tree and taking it for themselves. I watched the sun and the moon, ¹¹and the stars, chopping and taking of it for themselves. I watched until the earth and the water habitant ¹²terminated it. (1QapGen XIII 8–12).

This dream bears striking parallels to Nebuchadnezzar's dreams of the statue made of iron and clay in Daniel 2, and of the great tree in Daniel 4. Despite these similarities, I am unable to provide a full explanation of the tree imagery found in this vision.

The second dream vision reads as follows (ibid.):

¹³I turn to observe the olive tree; and behold the olive tree grew in height and for many hours [...] great foliage¹⁴[...] appeared among them. I contemplated the olive tree, and behold the abundance of its leaves[...] ¹⁵[...]they tied on it. And I wondered tremendously at this olive tree and its leaves. I wondered [...] ¹⁶[the four] winds of the heaven blowing strongly, and they mutilated this olive tree, removing its branches, then breaking it. First [came] ¹⁷western [wind], and struck it and cast off its leaves and fruit, and scattered it in (all) directions. After it (came) [...] (1QapGen XIII 13–17).

This dream concerns a large olive tree that is being destroyed by the "[four] winds of heaven" (XIII 16). This reference to the "[four] winds of heaven" is related to Balshazzar's dream of the four beasts in Daniel 7. The large badly preserved part in the Genesis Apocryphon (XIII 18–XIV 8) probably contained the interpretation of the olive-tree

from the coming Flood; and see his prayer during the Flood, in Chapter 23; see further Midrash Genesis Rabba 30:7.

dream, and perhaps some additional dreams. Again, although the dream of the olive tree clearly relies on various biblical prophecies, including the image of the olive tree used to represent Israel in Jer 11:16, without its interpretation I can provide no further detail as to its meaning.

THE THIRD TREE IMAGE IN THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON

The third, and most significant dream for this discussion—the cedar-tree dream of col. XIV, combines both the element of symbolic use of the cedar for persons, and prediction of future events. The details of the dream itself have not been preserved; it can, however, be reconstructed from its partially preserved interpretation. It reads as follows (*ibid.*, 90–91):

[...] ⁹[and now] pay atten[tion] and listen! You are the gre[at] cedar, [and] the [cedar] standing before you in a dream on the top of mountains ¹⁰[...] truth. A branch which sprouted from it and grew to a height. Three s[on]s [...] ¹¹[...And as for the fact that] you saw the first scion reaching to the stump of the cedar [...] and the tree from it [...] ¹²[...] all his days he will not part from you, and your n[am]e will be called in his seed [...] ¹³[...] will grow into a plant of truth for all [times (?)]... ¹⁴[...] standing forever. And as you, seeing the scion reaching the st[um]p [...] ¹⁵[...] and that which you saw [...] the last scion [...] ¹⁶ *vacat* [...] from the edge of their foliage it enters the foliage of the first. Two sons [...] ¹⁷[...] from the [ea]rth [...] on the north [...] And what you saw part of their foliage entering into the foliage of the first [...] ¹⁸[...] they were placing in his land [...] and not [...] ¹⁹and I told the secret until [...] (1QapGen XIV 9–19).

In this dream Noah sees a large cedar tree with three branches. The interpretation of the dream identifies the different parts of the tree. Thus Noah is the cedar, and the three shoots are Noah's three sons. Shem can be identified as the first scion, described as coming forth from the cedar and growing to a height (XIV 10). This image of the shoot echoes Ezek 17:22–24, in which Israel is symbolized by a tall cedar. In this prophecy, God says: "Then I in turn will take out and set [in the ground a slip] from the lofty top of the cedar... I will plant it in Israel's lofty highlands, and it shall bring forth boughs and produce branches and grow into a noble cedar." The further characterization of Shem as "the first scion reaching to the stump of the cedar" (1QapGen XIV 11), which is interpreted in this son's name-midrash, introduces the metaphor of an upright planting. Regarding Shem, the Genesis

Apocryphon states: “(he will not part from you), and your n[am]e will be called in his seed [...] (בזרעה יתקרה ש[מ])” (XIV 12). The following line denotes Shem and his descendants, “a plant of truth” (XIV 13; *ibid.*, 90–91).

This image, known to designate the messiah in biblical sources, did not originate with the Genesis Apocryphon. It is found earlier in the Book of Watchers in 1 Enoch, where it is also applied to Noah’s descendants. 1 Enoch 10:3 relates the sending of the angel Sariel to Noah for the following purpose: “Teach the righteous one what he should do, the son of Lamech how he may preserve himself alive and escape forever, *from him a plant will be planted*, and his seed will endure for all the generations of eternity” (based on Syncellus’ Greek text).⁸ The same imagery appears later in the chapter, where Michael is told: “Destroy all perversity from the face of the earth, and let every wicked deed be gone, *and let the plant of righteousness (and truth) appear*, and it will become a blessing...planted forever with joy” (10:16). The theme of the ‘plant of truth’ continues in Jubilees, when Noah instructs his children, saying: “Do what is just and right so that you may be *rightly planted* on the surface of the entire earth” (Jub 7:34).⁹ This in turn foreshadows the law attached to Noah’s leaving the ark: the law of eating the fruits of a newly planted tree in its fourth year (Jub 7:35–36; VanderKam 1989, 49).

The cedar dream vision of the Genesis Apocryphon also contains predictive elements. It foretells the future of Ham and Japheth, according to which they will depart from their father, moving ‘left’, that is north, and ‘right’, to the south. This probably refers to Japheth going to Europe, and Ham to Africa, as implemented in the division of the world described in cols. XVI–XVII (Fitzmyer 2004, 94–97; Eshel, 2007).

After a blank space in the text we find yet another development involving prediction in the cedar image. Using the image of “some of their boughs entering into the midst of the first one” (XIV 17), the Genesis Apocryphon foresees acts of aggression to be conducted by the descendants of Ham and Japheth against Shem. This part of the vision probably refers to the period when Canaan inhabited the southern part of Syria. Jub. 10:28–34 describes how Canaan violently seized “the

⁸ See Black 2001, 215; Reeves 1992, 100, and compare it with 1 Enoch 10:16–17, 84:6.

⁹ The translation of Jubilees is based on the edition of VanderKam 1989, 48.

land of Lebanon as far as the stream of Egypt". Originally assigned to Shem, because Ham takes this land, he is cursed by his father and brothers. Furthermore, according to Jubilees, Madai, one of Japheth's sons, negotiated with Shem's sons Elam, Asshur, and Arpachshad to be allowed to settle within the patrimony of Shem (10:35; VanderKam 1989, 63–64). No reference to the conflict or negotiations between the brothers has been preserved in the columns of the Genesis Apocryphon treating the division of the world among Noah's descendants.

If the Genesis Apocryphon relates to the conflict between the brothers in general, symbolic fashion, this is not the case for Jubilees. As noted earlier, Jubilees describes the division of the world among Noah's sons in detail. A possible allusion to Noah's dream may appear in Jubilees' instruction (7:34) by Noah to his children, discussed above: "Do what is just and right so that you may be *rightly planted* on the surface of the entire earth" (ibid., 48).

Finally, col. XV of the Genesis Apocryphon reflects another development in the brothers' conflict. Only the interpretation of this part of the vision has survived (lines 9ff). From the remains we learn of a man "coming from the south of the land, the sickle in his hand, and the fire with him" (XI 10). This dream vision merits separate study. Briefly, it seems to refer to a non-Semitic king coming from the south, who will presumably engage in violence against the Shemites.¹⁰

Another Jewish Second Temple source that relates to Noah as a righteous or upright person is ben Sira. I would like to note an interesting thematic and perhaps linguistic connection between the Genesis Apocryphon's cedar vision and this work. Ben Sira 44:17 reads as follows: נח צדיק נמצא תמים לעת כלה היה תחליף (Beentjes 1997, 78). One possible translation of the word תחליף, as George Box and William Oesterly suggest, is "one who puts forth fresh branches", or "scions again" (Box and Oesterley 1913, 483), to be compared with Job 14:17 "There is hope for a tree. If it is cut down it will renew itself (יחליף) its shoots will not cease". Thus, ben Sira portrays Noah as the righteous, who was found blameless; putting forth branches in the season of destruction. I propose that ben Sira's תחליף is a cognate of the Aramaic

¹⁰ Fitzmyer 2004, 92–93. I speculate that it refers to Antiochus the IV's return from Egypt in 168 BCE and his aggression against Judaea, to be compared with Dan 11:28–32's description of Antiochus' violent acts, which are also mentioned in some other scrolls; see Broshi and Eshel 1997.

root חלף used in 1QapGen XIV to refer to the branches of the tree: אמת חלפא די נפקא ממנא [ר], “A branch which sprouted from it and grew to a height” (line 10); חלפתא קדמיתא “the first scion” (line 11), and חלפתא אחריתא “the last scion” (line 15).

THE TREE IMAGE OF NOAH IN OTHER RELATED SOURCES

The Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam

Some non-Jewish sources exhibit familiarity with the image of Noah as a tree. One of these sources, as John Reeves notes, is the Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam. This text of the second century CE or later, found at Nag Hammadi, is the testament of Adam to his son Seth about the fate of his true descendants, up to the End of Days (Perkins 1977). Probably coming from a Sethian Gnostic sect, this composition includes a relatively short biographical section (64:5–68:14), followed by an extensive apocalypse (68:14–85:18), in which Adam receives a dream revelation from three heavenly beings. In this revelation history is divided into periods by catastrophes: the Flood, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the end of the world. Each catastrophe reflects an attempt to destroy the seed of Seth, which will be prevented by heavenly intervention.¹¹ For the third period, the time of Noah, the Apocalypse states (76:11–15): “Once again, for the third time the illuminator of knowledge will pass through in great glory *in order to leave behind for himself fruitbearing trees*”.¹² As other scholars have already noted, this tree imagery for Noah can be traced back to Jewish sources.¹³

¹¹ In this apocalypse, “the sons of Ham and Japheth who converted seem to be the ‘type’ of the Gnostic believer. They are the ones redeemed by the third and final coming of the revealer”; see Perkins 1977, 395.

¹² For an edition of this text, see Morard 1985, 42–43; 95–98. The English translation is based on Hedrick 1980, 261.

¹³ For the interpretation of this passage, see Hedrick 1980, 125.

In his study of the Apocalypse of Adam, Nickelsburg came to the conclusion that “Both Adam and Eve 29:2–10; 49–50 and the apocalypse in ApocAd stem from a common tradition, an apocalyptic testament of Adam which was influenced by the Apocalypse of Weeks and perhaps other Enochic traditions” see Nickelsburg 1981, 537 and Reeves 1992, 252–53, note 255.

The Manichean Book of Giants

Striking use of tree imagery is also found in the Manichean Book of Giants. One of the Middle Persian treatises of this composition contains parables referring to the Hearers (Henning 1943–46, 57). Their identity has yet to be established. The passage in question reads as follows (*ibid.*, 64):

²¹⁴[...] The Hearer [...] is like unto the branch (?) of a fruitless [tree...] fruitless [...] and the Hearers [...] fruit that [...] ²²⁰pious deeds. [The Elect], the Hearer, and Vahman are like unto three brothers to whom some [possessions] were left by their father: a piece of land, [...] seed. They became partners [...] they reap and [...] The Hearer [...] like [...] (“...On the Hearers”, Fig. a).

This fragmentary Manichean text makes a distinction between ‘branches of fruitless trees’, and one with fruit, interpreted as related to someone who performs “pious deeds”. The text then continues by noting that three characters, named “[The Elect], the Hearer, and Vahman, are like unto three brothers to whom some [possessions] were left by their father”. What is striking is the connection between the images of branches of fruitless and fruitful trees, immediately followed by a reference to the three brothers who inherited some possessions from their father, the first of which is designated “a piece of land”. This thematic link does not seem coincidental, but suggests familiarity not only with the broad image of the ‘upright plant’ known from Jewish sources, but with Noah’s vision of the cedar and the three scions in the Genesis Apocryphon, in particular. I would like to suggest that the Manichean text was using this vision and, in distinguishing between the non-fruit-bearing and fruit-bearing branches, adapted it to its own needs. If this surmise is correct, the gnostic Apocalypse of Adam, which refers to Noah as “leaving behind him fruitbearing trees” (76: 11–15) might have been the source for this distinction in the Manichean text.

Midrash Genesis Rabbah

But a more direct thematic link to the Genesis Apocryphon is evidenced by a later Midrash, which continues the thread of tree imagery to portray righteous figures. Indeed, the vision from the Genesis Apocryphon not only improves our understanding of Midrash Genesis Rabbah, but may also have influenced it. The biblical metaphor of a cedar for the righteous appears in Ps 92:13, which reads as follows: “The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree; He shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon.

Planted in the house of the Lord, they shall flourish in the courts of our Lord.” This image is used twice in both the Genesis Apocryphon and in Genesis Rabbah, with reference to Noah and to Abraham.

I begin with Abraham because the link between the cedar imagery found in the Genesis Apocryphon and the Midrash is more obvious, and was already noted by scholars. The Genesis Apocryphon XIX 14–21 relates that just before he and Sarai descended to Egypt due to the famine in the Land of Canaan, Abraham had a dream. Pertinent to our investigation, this dream not only compares righteous figures to trees, it also contains elements of prediction and warning. In his dream Abraham saw a cedar that people were trying to cut down and a palm tree that was left alone. But the palm tree cried out, saying: “Do not cut down the cedar, for we are both sprung from one stock’. So the cedar was spared by the protection of the palm tree” (XIX 16; Fitzmyer 2004, 98–99). This dream reflects Abraham’s awareness that his life was in danger. His response was to ask Sarai to protect him by claiming that they are brother and sister. Obviously, Abraham is the cedar, and Sarai the palm. Plant imagery for Abraham also appears in 1 Enoch 93:5, in the Apocalypse of the Weeks, which reads: “After this <there will arise a third week. At its conclusion> a man will be chosen as the *plant of righteous judgment*”—which clearly refers to Abraham being chosen as a patriarch.¹⁴

In its midrashic treatment of Abraham’s stay in Egypt, Genesis Rabbah 41:1 states:¹⁵ “And the Lord afflicted Pharaoh and his household with great plagues” (Gen 12:17). It is written: “the righteous shall flourish like the palm tree, he shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon” (Ps 92:13).

But what is the connection between the plagues afflicting Pharaoh and Ps 92:13’s image of the righteous as a cedar and as a palm tree? It is at this juncture that Abraham’s dream of the cedar and the palm tree in the Genesis Apocryphon provides the missing link.¹⁶ The

¹⁴ See Black 1985, 86; see also Jubilees 16:26 (VanderKam 1989, 100), where it says, concerning Noah “He blessed his creator . . . for he knew and ascertained that from him there would come a *righteous plant* for the history of eternity . . .”.

¹⁵ Theodor and Albeck 1965, 1:386–88. The translation is based on Freedman and Simon 1951, 1:332.

¹⁶ Already Avigad and Yadin 1956, 23–24, noted briefly the connection to Midrash Genesis Rabbah; see also Lehman 1958, 257–59, who added more Midrashic parallels; and Sarfatti 1959. Lehman finds the Zohar on Genesis 12 the closest to the content of 1QapGen. The Zohar reads: “Why is a righteous man compared to a palm tree? . . . Further, just as a palm tree does not grow unless the male be accompanied by the female,

righteous persons are Abraham, symbolized by a cedar, and Sarai, symbolized by a palm tree. Both are affected by Pharaoh's attempt to take Sarai and the plagues inflicted on him as a result. In the Genesis Apocryphon God sends the dream of the cedar and the palm tree as a warning and as a means of prompting Abraham to seek a solution. Without the imagery from the Genesis Apocryphon we would wonder what prompted the Midrash to link the citation from Ps 92:13 with the plagues inflicted on Pharaoh.¹⁷

The metaphor of the cedar for Noah's righteousness also provides evidence of a link between the Genesis Apocryphon and Midrash Genesis Rabbah. Once again, we find the Midrash of Genesis Rabbah echoing the Genesis Apocryphon. As we have seen, the dream vision portrays Noah as a cedar, based on Genesis' description of him as "a righteous man" (I 9), and on Psalm 92. Genesis Rabbah uses tree imagery in its exposition of Gen 5:32: "And Noah was five hundred years old and Noah begot Shem, Ham and Japheth." The Midrash goes on to interpret Ps 1:3 (Theodor and Albeck 1965, 243–44): "And he shall be like a tree planted by streams of water", as alluding to Noah as a tree planted [namely, saved] in the ark, where "streams of water" probably refers to the Flood. The midrash then identifies allusions to each of Noah's sons in Psalm 1. Finally, by quoting Ps 92:14: "Planted in the house of the Lord, they flourish in the courts of our Lord," the midrash connects Noah with the image of the cedar tree that appears in the preceding verse, as it does later for Abraham. It seems likely that the author of Genesis Rabbah was familiar with the tradition found in the Genesis Apocryphon, and that this formed the basis for the midrashic comparisons of Abraham and Noah to a cedar.¹⁸

so the righteous cannot flourish save when they are male and female together, like Abram and Sarai", see Lech Lecha, 82a in Sperling Simon 1984, 1:273–74.

¹⁷ Lignée 1963, 2:229, note 10, suggested that Midrash Genesis Rabbah already existed in the period when the Genesis Apocryphon was composed, an explanation accepted by Dehandschutter 1974. Gevirtz 1992, 239 argued, that this parallel is "purely coincidental." Taking into consideration the late date of Midrash Genesis Rabbah, together with other elements found both in Genesis Apocryphon and Midrash Genesis Rabbah, I find it more plausible, that the Midrash has some kind of familiarity with the traditions found in the Genesis Apocryphon and not *vice versa*.

¹⁸ Another such connection between Noah as righteous and the cedar tree can be found in Midrash Genesis Rabba 30:7: *Man* (Gen 6:9). Wherever scripture speaks of 'man', it refers to a righteous man who reprov[ed] [his generation]. For during the 120 years Noah planted cedars and cut them down. They asked him, "why [are you doing] this?" and he told them "the Lord of the universe told me that He will bring a Flood on the world". They said to him, "if a flood comes, it will come only on the house

In the second part of this paper we will look at the symbolic dream visions found in the Book of Giants. Once again, the Genesis Apocryphon passages discussed earlier provide tools for a better understanding and interpretation of these dreams.

THE DREAM-VISIONS OF THE TREES IN THE BOOK OF GIANTS

The Book of Giants has a complex textual history (Reeves 2000, 1:309–11). Closely related to the Enochic literature, especially to the Book of Watchers, Enoch plays a major role in both. It was Józef Milik who first identified the close resemblance between some Aramaic fragments from Qumran Cave 4 and the Middle Persian fragments of the Manichean Book of Giants, a writing allegedly authored by Mani, the third century CE founder of the Mesopotamian Gnostic religious community (Milik 1976, 298–310). Accepted as canonical by that community, the Manichean Book of Giants was translated into many languages, from Greek to Chinese. A comparison between the Cave 4 Aramaic fragments of the Book of Giants and the fragments of the Manichean book shows the Cave 4 material, which probably dates to the late third or early second century BCE, to be the literary ancestor of the latter (Stuckenbruck 1997, 1–40).

One of the nine fragmentary Cave 4 Aramaic manuscripts of the Book of Giants also includes parts of the Book of the Watchers (Enoch 1–13), the Book of the Dream Visions (1 Enoch 83–90) and the Epistle of Enoch (92–105). Milik attributed these four compositions, along with the Astronomical Book of Enoch (72–82), to an ancient “Pentateuch” of Enoch, in use during the first half of the first century BCE. He assumed that the Book of Giants was replaced by Book of the Parables (1 Enoch 37–71) at a later date.¹⁹ This is a brilliant hypothesis that cannot be proven.

of that man” [i.e. on your house alone]. On this it is written *A contemptible brand in the thought of him that is at ease, a thing ready for them whose foot slips* (Job 12:5). For another example of an early tradition found in the Qumran scrolls and later in the Midrash, see Stone and Eshel 1992; Eshel and Stone 1993.

¹⁹ Milik 1976, 70–78. Against this assumption, Jonas Greenfield and Michael Stone argue that various collections of Enochic literature were in use by different Jewish circles during the first century BCE. Some included the Book of Giants; others the Book of the Parables; see Greenfield and Stone 1977.

The Book of Giants is based on the biblical story of the birth of the Giants (Gen 6:1–4). It is also related to the Enochic Book of Watchers (1 Enoch 6–16), but provides greater detail for various elements concerning the offspring of the Watchers and the daughters of men. These elements include not only dialogues between the main characters, but also some symbolic dreams.

The Qumran Book of Giants (4QGiants^b) tells the story of the two hundred Watchers who descended from heaven under the leadership of Semihazah, their union with mortal women, and the Giants that were born to them. It goes on to tell of the misdeeds of the Giants that brought moral corruption and violence to the world. Next we hear of Enoch's request to God to punish the Watchers and the Giants. But, before carrying out his decision to bring the Flood on earth, God allows the Giants a chance to repent by sending them a warning in the form of symbolic dreams. Two of these dreams are seen by two of Shemihaza's sons, the Giants Ohyah and Hahyah. Told to the assembly of Giants, the true interpretation of these dreams is later provided by Enoch, who records it on two tablets sent by the giant Mahaway. Although some of the Giants repent, the majority "react with open defiance and arrogantly challenge God to act against them" (Reeves 2000, 310). The Qumran fragment breaks off at this point. It probably continued with a description of the Flood, whereas the Manichean book tells of the "fierce battles break[ing] out between the archangelic hosts of God and the arrogant Giants, who were with difficulty finally subdued" (ibid.).

Like the Genesis Apocryphon, the various dream segments found in the Aramaic fragments of the Qumran Book of Giants are unattested in the Bible. But biblical influence, of Daniel in particular, is clearly evident. Also, as in the Genesis Apocryphon, there are literary markers for the beginning and end of the dreams. Thus, 4QGiants^b introduces the dreams of Shemihaza's two sons, Ohyah and Hahyah. In relating their dreams each begins with the words: **אנה ב[חלמי הות חזא בליליא** אן, "[...I, in] my dream, I was looking in this night" (col. II, line 7; see line 16). Finally, the end of each dream is clearly marked by: **עד כה סוף חלמא**, "This is the end of the dream" (line 12; see line 20), followed by an empty space. Although the dreams found in the Genesis Apocryphon and the Aramaic Book of Giants share some terminology and ideas, nevertheless, the two compositions differ from each other in numerous details. One difference relates to the type of dream: in the Genesis Apocryphon nonsymbolic dreams are associated with the antediluvian period, mainly the Fall of the Watchers, and the symbolic

dream visions belong to the postdiluvian period. In the Book of Giants theological and symbolic dreams appear in both the antediluvian and postdiluvian periods.

The first set of symbolic dreams was only partly preserved in 4QGiants^b. Its first dream, that of the Giant Hahyah, speaks of watering gardeners, the production of “great branches”, and a catastrophic destruction by fire and water. The second dream, that of Ohyah (4Q530 Frags. 7–8), contains a heavenly judgment scene (which is not discussed in this paper). As we shall see, the first dream has a parallel in the Manichean Book of Giants.

The second set of dreams is found in fragmentary texts from Qumran Caves 2 (2Q26) and 6 (6Q8 frag 2). The first dream mentions someone, probably a divine entity, giving an order to erase a tablet with water and waters rising over the tablet. The second text, identified by some scholars as part of the Giants’ dream, refers to a garden being cut down, leaving one tree with three shoots. These texts have partial parallels in the late Midrash of Shemhazai and Aza’el.

THE FIRST SET OF DREAMS IN THE BOOK OF GIANTS

The first dream of the watering gardeners, according to 4QEnoch-Giants^b (= 4Q530) 2 II 7–12 reads as follows:²⁰

7 [...]ל[ה] הוא גננין והוא משקינ
 8 [...]ענ[...פין רברבין נפקו מן עקרהן
 9 [...]חזא[...הוית עד די לשנין נור מן
 10 [...]שמיא[...רא בכל מיא ונורא דלק בבל
 11 [...]ארעא כד]י
 12 [...]א עד כא סוף חלמא *vacat*

[...⁷]and it had gardeners and they were watering [⁸...]large [bran]ches came out of their stock [⁹...I watch]ed until tongues of fire from [¹⁰heaven (?)...]r’ with all the water, and the fire burnt all [¹¹...] the earth [¹²...] This is the end of the dream.

This reading accepts Milik’s understanding of עקרהן as a plural feminine form (1976, 304). The word עקר probably refers to the ‘stock’

²⁰ This column is a collation of Frags. 2 II+6+7 I+ 8–11+12(?), see Puech 2001, 28. For my observation on his reconstruction, see below. For an updated discussion of the various copies of the Book of Giants found in Qumran, see Stuckenbruck, forthcoming.

of the tree and not to its 'root'. For the first word in line 8, because the outgrowth from the stock symbolizes the offspring, I prefer one of Puech's suggested reconstructions: [ענ]פין רברבין "large branches," rather than the one he finally chose [שור]שין רברבין, "large roots" (Puech 2001, 28). The gardeners in this dream stand for the Watchers, and the trees they were watering must refer to the women, either to the union between the Watchers and the women, or to the teaching of the women by the Watchers. The branches symbolize their offspring.

The beginning of the interpretation of this dream, has survived in fig. 7 II 11 of the same manuscript. It reads: [גנ]נין די מן שמיין נ[חתו] "gar]deners that [came do]wn from heaven: [*these are the Watchers who have come down* (?)...].²¹ The interpretation of the dream is clear. The watering gardeners' dream refers to a union between the Watchers and the women, whose progeny will be destroyed by water and fire. The motif of double destruction by fire and water in Hahya's dream of the watering gardeners has parallels in various sources (Perkins 1977, 387–89; Nickelsburg 1981), among them Josephus, A.J. 1.70–71, who relates Adam's foretelling of a fire and a flood.²²

As Milik (1976, 303) noted, this scene has a partly preserved parallel in what appears to be a dream-related passage in the Manichean Book of Giants. The Middle Persian text (Frag. j page 2) reads as follows:²³ "Narīmān saw a garden [full of] trees in rows. Two hundred [...] came out; the trees [...]". The Manichean Narīmān is Hahya, and the two hundred clearly refers to the Fallen Watchers. The interpretation of this dream survived in another Middle Persian text of the Book of Giants, which reads (Henning 1943–46, 66): "[...] outside [...] and [...] left [...] read the dream we have seen. Thereupon Enoch thus[...] and the trees that came out, those are the Egrēgoroi (γρ), and the Giants that came out of the women...".

Since the Manichean texts were only partly preserved, we cannot establish whether all the symbolic elements found in the Qumran dream of the watering gardeners were used there. No reference to either the gardeners or branches has survived, but the latter text supports the suggested interpretation of the dream.

²¹ Puech 2001, 38. Here I accept Puech's proposed reconstruction of the end of this line. See yet another reference to גננין in Frag. 13 of the same manuscript, *ibid.*, 43, which lacks context, but probably was part of the same story.

²² Feldman 2000, 24–25; which discusses other parallels.

²³ Henning 1943–46, 57, 60; Reeves 1992, 94; Skjærvø 1995, 201.

The Qumran dream of the watering gardeners sheds light on the interpretation of the Manichean version. As explained by Enoch in the Qumran text, the gardeners are the Watchers who came down from heaven. In the Manichean text Enoch explains the trees in the vision as the Giants that came out of the women.

THE SECOND SET OF DREAMS IN THE BOOK OF GIANTS

I now turn to the second set of dreams, found in other Qumran texts. The first dream, from the fragmentary 2Q26 mentions someone, probably a divine entity, giving an order:²⁴

1 [הדיחו לוחא לממ]חק
 2 [וסלקו מיא עלא מן [לו]חא]
 3 [ונטלו לוחא מן מיא לוחא די]°°
 4 [להן בול]°הר°]

¹[...] ‘Wash the tablet in order to eff[ace (it)]’ [...]and the waters rose up over the [tab]let[...] and they lifted the tablet from the waters, the tablet which [...]for them all [...].

It was again Milik who identified parallels to this dream in a Middle Persian text that is similar in content but not identical to 2Q26.²⁵ This Persian text speaks of two brothers, one called Sâam, to be identified as Ohyah. A second passage relates Sâam’s dream. In his dream we hear of a tablet probably being obliterated by the angels and thrown into the water, and of yet another tablet containing three signs. Scholars debate the exact interpretation of this broken Manichean text, but its connection with 2Q26 is clear.

The second dream, which Milik (1976, 309) identifies as belonging to the Giants’ dreams, is found in 6Q8 frag. 2. Its text reads as follows (Stuckenbruck 2000, 80):

²⁴ Baillet 1962; Stuckenbruck 2000, 73–75, and the bibliography cited there.

²⁵ Milik 1976, 334–35. Comparing these sources, Stuckenbruck came to the conclusion that “if 2Q26 has been correctly assigned to the dream vision of one of the Giants (on the basis of the Middle Persian Kawân text and the Midrash of Semhazai and ‘Aza’el), then it is a vision with both positive and negative dimensions. From the perspective of humanity, the dream reflects God’s protection of the faithful (Noah and his sons) despite the destruction wrought throughout the flood”, Stuckenbruck 1997, 66.

1 תלתת שרשוהי [...]חזא
 2 הוית עד די אתו
 3 פרדסא דן כלה מ]

¹its three shoots [...]I was [looking] until they came [...]this garden, all of it, [...]²⁶

Milik's pairing of 2Q26 and 6Q8 is grounded in a parallel set of dreams found in the late Midrash of Shemhazai and Aza'el, which was preserved, with minor variants, in four midrashic sources.²⁷ It reads as follows (Milik 1976, 321–27):

One night the sons of Shemihazai, Heyya and 'Aheyya, saw (visions) in dream, and both of them saw dreams. One saw a great stone spread over the earth like a table, the whole of which was written over with lines (of writing). And an angel (was seen by him) descending from the firmament with a knife in his hand and he was erasing and obliterating all the lines, save one line with four words upon it.

The other (son) saw a garden, planted whole with (many) kinds of trees and beautiful things. And an angel (was seen by him) descending from the firmament with an axe in his hand, and he was cutting down all the trees, so that there remained only one tree containing three branches.

When they awoke from their sleep they arose in confusion, going to their father, they related to him the dreams. He said to them: "The Holy One is about to bring a flood upon the world, and to destroy it, so that there will remain but one man and his three sons."

According to these sources, the two Giants Heyya and Aheyya had two dreams. In the first dream one of the Giants saw a great stone with written lines, and an angel erasing all the lines, save one line with four words upon it. The parallel to the Qumran dream of effacing the tablet is clear, though here a knife, and not water destroys the written lines.

²⁶ כל גננין are mentioned in a broken context of 6Q8 frag 5, reading: גננין "all gardeners".

²⁷ Bodlian Ms of the 14th century, Midrash Yalqut Shimoni, and Midrash Bereshit Rabbati. Another witness of this Midrash can be found in Sefer Pitron Torah, a midrash dated to the 8th century, where in Parshat Ahari Mot of Leviticus (dealing with the Azazel Goat) it includes the dreams of Heyya and Aheyya (with some variants); see Urbach 1978.

The second dream in the midrash, seen by the other giant, brings us back to our theme of trees. In it, there was a planted garden, this time an angel cuts down all the trees, leaving one tree with three branches.

Based on the Genesis Apocryphon dream sequence, it requires no great powers of dream interpretation to deduce that the tree with three branches that is saved stands for Noah and his sons. Not all scholars agree with Milik's conclusion linking the story of the watering gardeners from 4QGiants^b with 6Q8 fragment 2. It did, however, serve as the basis for the reconstruction found in the official edition of 4QGiants^b (Puech 2001, 28). One scholar who objects to this conflation is Loren Stuckenbruck. He argues that the 6Q fragment with the garden "neither fits into the context of 4Q530 II 7–12 nor shares the same emphasis as the latter on divine retribution against the Watchers and Giants. It is likely that it represents a dream vision, which occurs at another point in the Book of Giants narrative. Whereas 4Q530 II 7–20 preserves one set of dream visions given to Hahyah and 'Ohyah respectively 6Q8 2, together with 2Q26, may have formed one of another such pair of visions, a pair which is found in adapted form in the Midrash of Semhazai and 'Aza'el 9–10" (Stuckenbruck 2000, 81).

In summation, I would like to try to make sense of the complex relationships between the dream visions preserved in the various Qumran texts of the Book of Giants and their parallels. First of all, I accept Stuckenbruck's conclusions. 4QGiants^b II 7–20 preserves one pair of dream visions given to Hahyah and 'Ohyah respectively. The first dream uses the image of the watering gardeners, which symbolizes the Fallen Watchers and their union with the "daughters of men". The great shoots that emerge stand for the Giants who were the result of this union. This dream predicts their fate to be destroyed by water and fire. A second, connected dream—of heavenly judgment, whose details I did not discuss because it contains no plant imagery—resembles Daniel 7's throne theophany. Moreover, a parallel to the Qumran dream of the watering gardeners was identified in the Manichean Book of Giants. As we saw, the Qumran dream sheds light on the interpretation of the Manichean version.

The two additional dreams preserved in Qumran copies of the Book of Giants differ from the above-mentioned ones. One dream, preserved in 2Q26, refers to washing a tablet with water. The other, preserved in 6Q8 2, refers to a garden containing a tree with three scions. The dream of the tree with three scions has a recognizable parallel in Noah's much more developed dream in the Genesis Apocryphon. This perhaps

suggests that the Book of Giants preserves the shorter and possibly the older form of this dream, where Noah is symbolized as a tree growing in a garden, which undergoes a catastrophic destruction, survived only by Noah and his three sons, symbolized by the three scions growing from that tree.

We also saw that a combination of fairly close parallels to these two dreams was preserved in the Midrash of Shemhazai and Aza'el. I accordingly accept Stuckenbruck's interpretation: at some point in the transmission of the Midrash the dream of the tablet and the one of the tree with scions were grouped together. This pair is found in adapted form, in the Midrash of Semhazai and 'Aza'el, and in a fragmentary Manichean texts. We cannot rule out the possibility, however, that these are two alternative versions of one dream. I propose that the original dream was of a garden with trees cut down by heavenly powers, of which only one tree with three shoots survived. We have already seen how this theme is reflected in a number of variations.

Thus we have various dreams connected to the Flood and the survival of Noah and his sons. Some of these dreams predict destruction by water and fire, or have the image of the erasure of a tablet, leaving only four words. In the latter case, the earlier version of washing with water, associated with the flood, was transformed into erasure with a knife. It is not essential to group these visions into pairs: they may well be different versions, adaptations, or copies of the same vision. As we have seen in the Genesis Apocryphon and in the Book of Giants, symbolic dreams were sometimes grouped together; in other cases a dream was immediately followed by its interpretation. Unfortunately, as many of the texts in question are extremely fragmentary, this hampers our investigation.

CONCLUSIONS

As we have seen, the Genesis Apocryphon's dream vision of a cedar with three branches that belongs to a broader genre of tree parables, functions to prevision the division of the world among Noah's sons. With regard to the Genesis Apocryphon's use of tree imagery, I identified both earlier and later parallels. I tried to show how an understanding of the cedar dream vision sheds light on the traditions reflected in Genesis Rabbah, which apply Psalm 92's image of the righteous person as a cedar to the upright figures of Noah and Abraham. Notwithstanding the

fragmentary nature of the dream visions in the Genesis Apocryphon, they clearly belong to a way of viewing and symbolizing righteous biblical figures.

Thus I tried to show that Noah's image as an 'upright plant' from which fruitful trees will grow until the messianic End of Days was widespread in Jewish and non-Jewish texts. The earliest documentation for this image comes from the Book of Watchers and the Book of Giants, the Genesis Apocryphon, and Jubilees. This image was also used by non-Jewish texts—among them the Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam and the Manichean Book of Giants.

Furthermore, I suggested a possible familiarity of the Genesis Apocryphon by the Manichean Book of Giants. In the Genesis Apocryphon the tree image is integral to the story of Noah and has parallels in the story of Abraham. It describes the future relationship between Noah's sons using the image of tree branches—predicting the division of the world and the wars between Shem's descendants and the descendants of Ham and Japheth. This element appears in the Manichean Book of Giants for its own purposes, as the fruitful and fruitless branches of this story. This motif might have originated in the gnostic Apocalypse of Adam.

Two symbolic dreams using tree imagery are also found in the Aramaic Book of Giants (4QGiant^b). In this composition it is related to the antediluvian period. It tells of the watering gardeners, and its interpretation relates to the Watchers and their union with the women. The vision also predicts their destruction by water and fire. A second symbolic dream relates to the Flood and to the survival of Noah and his sons. This dream is found in 6Q8, and later in the Midrash of Shem-hazai and 'Aza'el. In this dream, a Giant saw a garden of trees being cut down by angels, who left a tree with three shoots. The same image of Noah as a tree from which three scions grew, receives a developed description in the Genesis Apocryphon where Noah is portrayed as a cedar with three scions. I tried to trace the thread of traditions developed in later non-Jewish sources that seem to adapt the tree image of the Genesis Apocryphon to their own works.

SELECTION, ELECTION, AND REJECTION: INTERPRETATION OF GENESIS IN 4Q252

Juhana Markus Saukkonen

THE PROBLEM OF 4Q252

Manuscript 4Q252, or Commentary on Genesis A, is small in terms of physical appearance. There are six fragments assigned to the manuscript and the manuscript originally consisted of six columns on a single piece of leather. Remains of all six columns are preserved. The column width ranges from 6.5 cm to 9.25 cm and the height of the manuscript was originally ca. 15 cm. On the basis of paleography the manuscript is generally dated to the second half of the first century BCE (Brooke 1996c, 186–92). The *editio princeps* of 4Q252 was published in the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series by George J. Brooke (1996c, 185–207).

A lively discussion concerning the form and content of 4Q252 had started before the *editio princeps* was published. In terms of content 4Q252 clearly merits attention quite out of proportion to its humble size. It is an interesting selection of passages from Genesis and their interpretations. When read as a whole the manuscript is somewhat confusing. It is difficult to see the links that keep the textual sections together and there is no obvious overarching theme in the manuscript. The techniques and methods employed in the interpretation of scriptural passages vary greatly. Moreover, the manuscript is difficult to classify with regard to its literary genre and different sections of the text clearly represent different literary forms.

The author—or the compiler—of 4Q252 has obviously used earlier sources in the composition. This does not, however, answer the questions about the motivation and rationale behind the composition.

The nature and purpose of the composition have been described in rather different terms by different scholars. The main debate has been between Brooke and Moshe J. Bernstein. To roughly simplify the discussion, Bernstein (1994a; 1994b; 1994–1995) sees 4Q252 as a representative of “simple-sense exegesis,” or a selection of exegetical cruces from Genesis with no need to expect any thematic unity—let

alone a specific, “sectarian” theology or ideology—behind the text (see also Niccum 2006). Brooke (1994a; 1994b; 1994c; 1996a; 1996b; 1998c; 1999), conversely, assumes that there is a theological, Qumranic agenda behind the composition (see also Fröhlich 1994).

NOTES ON FORM, FOCUS, AND TECHNIQUE OF INTERPRETATION

In order to assess the question of the genre of 4Q252, it is necessary to discuss different elements that contribute to our perception of the genre of an exegetical text. Due to the ongoing debate and confusion as to what constitutes a genre, there is no single, accepted list of such elements; scholars use varying criteria and definitions. This could be seen as somewhat symptomatic of the whole idea of assigning genre classifications to ancient Hebrew texts. They very rarely contain any explicit metatextual references to genres, and therefore modern scholars are left to their own devices. We must define genres on the basis of features observed in the ancient texts. This is not to say that genres did not exist in the minds of the authors of these ancient texts, but we have no way of knowing whether their genres coincided with our genres at all.

Brooke (1981, 483–94) discusses the dilemma of genres, particularly from the point of view of the Qumran *pesharim*, and suggests a division into primary (form, content, setting, etc.) and secondary (mainly stylistic) factors. With this division in mind Shani L. Berrin (2004, 9–12) defines Qumran *peshar* based on “features pertaining to form, content, motive and methods.” I will examine 4Q252 with the aid of a slightly modified list consisting of form, focus, and technique of interpretation. One reason that 4Q252 is such an intriguing manuscript is its pluriformity in all these aspects; its textual sections reflect not only different exegetical techniques but also different literary forms and focal points. I will return to the question of the genre of 4Q252 at the end of this essay.

Literary Forms

There is no generally accepted, standard system for classifying exegetical literary forms in the Qumran texts or Second Temple literature—usually, however, different scholars’ systems of classification are variations of each other. I propose a simple and rough, but nevertheless comprehensive classification that comprises four main categories: rewritten scriptural text, exegetical paraphrase, commentary, and anthological exegesis.

Of these categories the first three will be discussed here as they are represented in 4Q252. Anthological exegesis does not feature in 4Q252. It is found in many Qumran manuscripts that are not exegetical as such: rules, wisdom literature, hymns, etc. Gabriel Barzilai (2007, 1–2) uses the term incidental exegesis.

These different literary forms result from a complex historical and literary development and are often seen as vestiges of different attitudes towards sacred texts. In general, rewritten and paraphrastic forms are in direct continuation with the fluctuating development of the scriptural text itself. The demarcating line between a sacred text in all its variants, on one hand, and its paraphrastic interpretations, on the other hand, is often difficult and often unnecessary to draw. Emergence of rewritten and paraphrastic forms therefore antedates the commentary and anthological styles (Kister 1998, 106–07). Nevertheless, rewritten scriptural text and paraphrastic interpretation continue to flourish as accepted forms of scriptural interpretation alongside exegetical forms that keep the text and its interpretation separate. Josephus' writings offer a good example of relatively late exegesis in this form. It goes without saying that especially towards and beyond the end of the Second Temple period, rewritten scriptural texts did not purport to substitute but rather to complement the source and basis of the rewriting, i.e., the sacred text.

For the first of the four categories of literary forms presented above, I suggest the following definition: A rewritten scriptural text 1) closely follows or paraphrases a base text that has a religiously authoritative status, 2) includes additional editorial or redactional, interpretative material interwoven with the base text, and 3) stands on its own (cf. Bernstein 2005, 169–96; Campbell 2005, 48–50; Brooke 2000d, 780).

There is only one extant textual section in 4Q252 that fulfills these criteria. The first section of 4Q252, concerning the 120 years before the flood, is a quotation from an earlier source. This is obvious on the basis of a suffixed noun with no suitable antecedent (םקצ, “their time” or “their end”) in line I, 1. The source of the quotation is most likely a longer work belonging to the category of rewritten scriptural text. In the text the period of 120 years is explained as the time from God's decision to the flood, instead of interpreting it as the limit for the lifetime of humans.

Two other sections in 4Q252, the flood story (4Q252 I 3–II 5) and chronology of Abram's life (4Q252 II 8–13), show some characteristics of the rewritten scriptural style and are often labeled as belonging to this literary form. The scriptural quotations are woven into the author's

own text. On the other hand these passages in 4Q252 do not even attempt to give an independent version of the source stories and thus fail the third criterion. The essential elements of these stories are used so selectively that the reader has to be familiar with the Genesis text to understand 4Q252, and these sections of 4Q252 do not really offer a story at all. The sole purpose of the flood account in 4Q252 is to place the major events of the story into the framework of the 364-day calendar. The section on Abram's life attempts to present a logical picture of the chronology in terms of years. Very little of the source story beyond the chronological aspects is retained in these paraphrastic interpretations.

I prefer to call these two passages in 4Q252 exegetical paraphrases. As a category, exegetical paraphrase differs from rewritten scriptural text in the way that it does not have to stand on its own; it does not attempt to present an "alternative or supplementary version" of the scriptural text. It focuses on an exegetical problem or some other interesting element in the text. This is not to say that rewritten scriptural text is not exegetical in nature as well. In exegetical paraphrase, however, this aspect is more accentuated and takes precedence over, e.g., the plot or the overall structure of the story told in the scriptural text.

Commentary as an exegetical literary form can be defined by its quotation—interpretation form. Sometimes the quotation may be lacking and implicit due to the fact that the reader was expected to know the authoritative text by heart. However, in most cases, at least some part—usually the beginning—of the passage to be interpreted is quoted. On many occasions the form of a commentary is further highlighted by formulae to indicate quotations and/or their interpretations. Rabbinical midrash collections are typical examples of this form. From earlier times, i.e., the Second Temple period, we do not seem to have many texts of this literary genre with the exception of Qumran texts.

The first passage of 4Q252 possibly to be put in this category is the interpretation of the curse of Canaan (4Q252 II 5–7; Gen 9:24–25). A verbatim quotation is followed by an interpretation. The interpretation incorporates two further verses from Gen 9. A rather similar structure is found in 4Q252 II 1–3 with an interpretation of the Amalek story from Gen 36:12.

The commentary style is much more obvious in 4Q252 II 3–7 because of the *peshet* formula, פשרו אשר, "its interpretation is." The formula appears after the quotation of the blessing of Reuben (Gen 49:3–4a). It seems plausible to suggest that lines II 3–7 derive from a source

that employed the *pesher* formula and form more or less consistently, perhaps much like the continuous *pesharim*. While this cannot be stated with certainty, the existence of an underlying source best explains the solitary occurrence of the *pesher* formula in the manuscript. The use of the *pesher* formula in connection with the Torah is somewhat surprising although not unique (see, e.g., 4Q180). It is usually assumed that *pesher*, as a literary genre, typically involves interpretation of the prophetic books, including the Psalms. However, outside the continuous *pesharim*, the use of the formula is not as consistent as that. Furthermore, one cannot rule out the possibility that there were also continuous *pesharim* on non-prophetic books, although none has survived.

In 4Q252 I 1–4, the interpretation of the blessing of Judah, the structure and form is also quite clear: a verbatim quotation followed by an interpretation. In this case, however, no formula is used to mark the beginning of the interpretation.

Focus of Interpretation

Classifying on the basis of the focus of interpretation, I suggest two main categories of exegetical texts: simple-sense exegesis and actualizing exegesis. Similar two-fold categorization has been used by, e.g. Geza Vermes (1989, 184*–91*), although with different terminology (for the term simple-sense exegesis, see Bernstein 1994b, 1–27).

Simple-sense exegesis seeks to clarify difficult or obscure passages in a text or to solve a contradiction. The contradiction could be internal (i.e., apparent within the text itself), intertextual (where two or more authoritative texts contradict each other), or external (where the text does not fit the evident facts as they are seen in the world outside the text). In cases where an external contradiction becomes an ideological or theological problem, simple-sense exegesis approaches or overlaps with actualizing exegesis. Actualizing exegesis justifies and adapts the message of a text so as to be understood in a new historical situation. By definition there is always an element of ideology, as well as inspiration in one form or another, in actualizing exegesis. A special case of actualizing exegesis, one that is prominently present in many of the Qumran texts, is eschatological interpretation.

Both of these interpretational approaches can be found in texts representing different genres and literary forms. Qumran *pesharim* are typically actualizing commentaries, while rabbinic midrash contains more simple-sense exegesis. Similarly the aim of a rewritten scriptural

text could be, e.g., clarification of contradictions or vague details in a story (the interpretation of 120 years in 4Q252) or adaptation of religious law into a new historical situation (Temple Scroll).

Although the categories are not necessarily always mutually exclusive, usually one would expect a single exegetical composition to be built on one of these two methodological viewpoints. In 4Q252, however, both simple-sense and actualizing exegesis are represented extensively. Interestingly enough, if one looks at the individual sections, the emphasis seems to be on the simple-sense side. The actualizing side of scriptural interpretation in 4Q252 emerges more strongly only when the composition is read as a whole (inasmuch as this is possible to state on the basis of a fragmentary manuscript). As I intend to demonstrate in the analysis of recurring themes in 4Q252 and the inner coherence of the text, the individual sections, be they simple-sense interpretations or otherwise, add up to form a composition that reflects the compiler's present-day ideological deliberation.

Interpretational Techniques

To arrive at a desired interpretation of a scriptural text, the ancient exegetes had an array of exegetical techniques at their disposal. Like in the case of different literary forms, a rich and complex trajectory of historical development is visible in early Jewish exegetical literature.

Due to lack of space, I will not discuss exegetical techniques here in more detail, let alone even try to obtain a full picture of early Jewish exegetical techniques. Suffice it to say that the exegetical techniques employed in 4Q252 include identification, chronological calculations, and the use of supporting quotations or allusions. None of these techniques is unique to the literary corpus of Qumran.

Recurring Themes in 4Q252

The text of 4Q252 incorporates various themes and topics from Genesis while ignoring others. It seems that 4Q252 is, in fact, a compilation of exegetical cruces. Many of the textual sections in this compilation apparently come from earlier sources.

Behind this diversity, there are also certain unifying features in the text. The selected Genesis passages and their themes are not unrelated, even if there is no single theme that could be seen in all the sections of 4Q252. Not all the thematic links between the sections are obvious on

the surface, but analysis of the Genesis passages and their interpretation in 4Q252 reveals how several themes recur in the text of 4Q252.

The thematic recurrences could naturally be explained on the basis of Genesis itself: The themes of 4Q252 are central for Genesis as well; therefore any collection of passages from Genesis is likely to include them. Nevertheless, not all the themes of Genesis are equally represented. Certain lengthy sections of Genesis and their predominant themes are ignored in 4Q252, while others are clearly given more precedence compared with Genesis. Even if these themes are directly inherited from the base text of 4Q252, Genesis, they do reflect a certain selective understanding of the scriptural text.

The analysis of the individual textual sections yields a number of themes that recur in the sections. Several themes have been suggested as keys to understanding 4Q252 as a whole: blessings and curses (Davies 2003, 151–52; Brooke 1994a, 133–34), sexual sins (Fröhlich 1994, 89–90; Brooke 1994c, 55–56), the land (Brooke 1994c, 55–56; for all three aforementioned themes, see also Brooke 2005, 154), and chronology (Oegema 1998, 167–68; Brooke 1994b, 175–76). It is true that these themes are all featured in the text extensively, but do they really allow us to grasp the compiler's ultimate goal or agenda?

In the case of sexual sins, the thematic recurrence seems to be more accidental than essential for the compiler's purposes. Although reference to the violation of sexual taboos can be found in several of the Genesis passages included in 4Q252, it is noteworthy that in some cases this association with sexual sins is ignored or even played down in the interpretation. The very first passage of 4Q252 (I 1–3) is based on a few lines from the story of Watchers in Gen 6:1–4. The sexual sins committed in this story receive no mention in 4Q252. God's decision is cited as the cause of the flood but the motivation behind this decision is ignored. Even if a reader who is well familiar with the Genesis text cannot avoid the connotation with the sins of the Watchers, there is no attempt to highlight this theme in the text of 4Q252. Another case of an ignored Genesis reference to sexual sins is the passage on the curse of Canaan (4Q252 II 5–6). Moreover, it is obvious that many of the sections of 4Q252 do not touch this theme in any way.

A similar case can be argued for the relative unimportance of the theme of blessings and curses in 4Q252. While it is present in several textual sections, in others it is completely absent. In Genesis the flood story ends with God's blessing of Noah and his covenant with Noah

but this part of the story does not appear in 4Q252. Therefore it was clearly not the motivation for including this major section in the composition.

The intertwined themes of the land and chronology on the other hand seem to be more important for the overall outline of 4Q252. In the following subchapter I will follow these thematic threads. Nonetheless, it becomes clear that chronological and land-related issues also fail to show up in all the sections of 4Q252. Instead they seem to render themes secondary, subordinating them to another aspect of the composition, namely successive patriarchal genealogy. Reading 4Q252 with patriarchal genealogy as the governing viewpoint, rather than looking for an overarching theme, shows the composition in a more coherent light.

FROM NOAH TO THE MESSIAH: THE INNER COHERENCE OF 4Q252

Despite its composite nature, 4Q252 can be read as a logical whole, a work of a compiler consciously selecting the passages that fit the intended theological and ideological agenda. My purpose in the following paragraphs is to trace the gist of the composition and see how these recurrent themes are interwoven to form a coherent entity. On the basis of the analysis of the manuscript, I am convinced that, while being a compilation, 4Q252 is not a random compilation of Genesis passages and their interpretations, but rather a conscious selection.

In view of the lack of a palpable single key theme in 4Q252, patriarchal genealogy seems to offer one of the more helpful sets of signposts through 4Q252. In particular, the aspect of the election of certain ancestral lines and rejection of others is present throughout the composition. The passages presenting successive stages of election and rejection in the patriarchal history, as they are selected and treated in 4Q252, can be read as an ongoing story leading to the “coming of the messiah of righteousness” (4Q252 I 3). Since the messiah seems to arise from among the community behind 4Q252, the text also illustrates the supreme status of the “men of the community” over its enemies (4Q252 I 5–6).

Genesis itself is essentially a patriarchal history that follows the genealogical progression from Adam to the sons of Jacob. Genesis is also selective in its account of history, in the sense that certain characters and events are described at length, while most generations are passed over with a mere mention in the genealogical lists.

It is clear that 4Q252 inherited some of this genealogical character from Genesis. Since the composition follows the order of Genesis, it retains its basic structure. 4Q252, however, goes one step further in being selective; it is a kind of a selection from a selection, leaving aside many stories and characters that play an important role in Genesis.

4Q252 also retains and strengthens the interplay between election and rejection found in Genesis. 4Q252 could be seen as a kind of progression through generations, wherein selected, crucial moments in the ancestral lineage of Israel are depicted.

4Q252 does not begin with the creation or the Adam and Eve stories. The composition starts off with Noah and the flood, and then moves on to Noah's offspring. The story in 4Q252 begins with God's decision to destroy humankind after another 120 years (4Q252 I 1–3). What follows is a stripped-down version of the flood story, heavily concentrated on the chronological details (4Q252 I 3–II 5). The author of this section adds exact dates for certain events of the Genesis story but disregards virtually all other features.

The compiler's interest in the genealogical line of the patriarchs does not stretch to the very beginning, i.e., Adam. Why not start with the creation and the fall, why skip them and jump directly to Noah and the flood? This might be due to the fact that in Noah we have a new Adam, a fresh starting point. The flood can be seen as a new beginning, in a way disregarding the events preceding it. At this point, all the other paternal genealogical lines cease and only Noah's line survives. Thus, the flood functions as a crucial moment in the history of all humankind and, subsequently, Israel. A similar approach is found in manuscript 4Q180, *Ages of Creation*, which explicitly deals with the ten generations from Shem to Abraham.¹

When we read Genesis as a story of election and rejection of descendants, the first five chapters of the book are of only little interest. Admittedly, the story of Cain and Abel could have been read from this point of view, Cain being rejected and Seth elected to carry on the genealogical line, replacing Abel who was killed. But instead of including Adam and Seth, the compiler of 4Q252 chooses to start with the second beginning, Noah and the flood.

¹ Cf. these selections from Genesis with, e.g., 4Q422, which starts with the creation, continues to the sin of humankind and the flood, and, finally to the exodus. See Torleif Elgvin's article in this volume (pp. 223–36).

The flood is a new beginning for humankind, but also for the earth. Later in 4Q252, the reader's attention is repeatedly drawn to issues concerning the land. Here, in the first sections of 4Q252, the land is not yet present. The more general notion of the earth dealt with here could serve as an introduction to the theme of the land.

What is the significance of the chronological data, so strikingly central to the flood story of 4Q252? Regardless of the fact that this passage apparently comes from an earlier source, in its present context in 4Q252 the account emphasizes the events of the flood as following a strict chronological scheme, one that fits neatly with the 364-day solar calendar. This, together with the previous reference to 120 years, indicates God's well-laid plan.

Moving on from the flood, in the following lines of 4Q252 (II 5–13) the interpretation of the curse of Canaan (Gen 9:24–27) is seemingly a very simple explanation of an apparent contradiction in the text. Why was Canaan cursed although it was Ham who sinned? Because God had blessed Noah's sons, including Ham, and they could not be cursed. Nevertheless, the text has a deeper level on which the question of the land is brought to the foreground while, at the same time, further tracing the genealogical lineage. When Noah curses Canaan the reader easily associates this with the land of Canaan. Shem's precedence over Noah's other sons is explicitly stated and this is further linked with God's promise to give the land—the land of Canaan—to Abraham, a descendant of Shem.

The relationships between Noah's descendants appear in a somewhat different light in 4Q252 compared with the original Genesis story. First of all, Japhet is left out altogether. Most readers would infer that in Gen 9:27, Japhet is the one who will live in the tents of Shem. In 4Q252, it is God himself. Consequently, and even more importantly, Shem's superior position is further enhanced. As for Japhet's exclusion, it might be of interest to note that the Kittim were descendants of Japhet, according to Gen 10:2–4. The War Scroll (1QM I 6 and XVIII 2) twice mentions the destruction of Japhet, along with Ashur/Assyria and the Kittim. The Kittim are identified either as the Hellenistic kingdoms (e.g., 1QM I 1–7; 1Q161 III 6–12) or as the Romans (e.g., 1QpHab VI 1–12; 4Q169 3–4 I 1–4) in particular Qumran texts (see Brooke 1991; Eshel 2001).

Shem's election is not explicitly justified in 4Q252, nor is Japhet's implicit rejection. The justification for Canaan's rejection is his father's moral deficiency (Cohn 2003, 150). While a Jew of the late Second

Temple period could hardly read the text without associating it with Israel's possession of the land, one should not forget another aspect of the story. Although Canaan is the "lowest of slaves," he is nevertheless a member of the family, a descendant of Noah (see also Crüsemann 1996, 66).

From the sons (and grandson) of Noah, 4Q252 moves almost seamlessly to Abraham. Shem and Abraham are closely linked together by a bridging element in the text, an allusion to 2 Chron 20:7 (4Q252 II 8). In the context of 4Q252, this verse states that God, who lives in the tents of Shem, gave the land to Abraham. This subtle transition from Shem to Abraham is clearly intentional, and speaks against 4Q252 being a random collection of exegetical cruces.

Abraham is Shem's descendant, according to the genealogy in Genesis 11:10–26. The generations leading from Shem to Terah, Abraham's father, are only enumerated in the genealogical lists in Genesis 10–11. The reasons for God's election of this particular ancestral lineage are not reflected upon in Genesis, nor in 4Q252. For the reader of 4Q252 Abraham's election was certainly a given and required no justification.

Terah's other sons are not mentioned in 4Q252, but there certainly was at least an indirect reference to Lot, Abraham's nephew. The story of Sodom and Gomorrah is quoted in 4Q252 III 2–6.

The main aspects of Abraham's election are the possession of the land and the multitude of descendants. Of these two, only the former is explicitly mentioned in the extant lines of 4Q252. On the other hand, after the Terah passage (4Q252 II 8–10), the composition quotes the story of the Covenant of the Pieces (Gen 15, in 4Q252 II 11–13). This covenant is strongly associated with the promise of the land, but with an additional qualification: the land is given to Abraham's offspring but they will have to live as aliens in a foreign land. God's promise of descendants to Abraham is found in Genesis immediately preceding the account of the covenant. In 4Q252, this section is unfortunately very poorly preserved and we have no way of knowing whether it originally included an explicit reference to Abraham's descendants. In general the topics of the land and descendants are closely connected, both in Genesis and in 4Q252.

It is possible that the "twelve men" in 4Q252 III 1–2 should be seen as a reference to the twelve princes descending from Ishmael (Gen 17:20). Taking the speculation somewhat further, the text might have commented on the preference for Isaac over Ishmael.

The next extant, although poorly preserved, passage deals with the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (4Q252 III 2–6, alluding to Gen 18:31–32). Its place and purpose in its context in 4Q252 is not clear. The way in which Deuteronomic laws of warfare and booty (Deut 13:16, 17; 20:11, 14; see Brooke 1994a, 123–25; 1994b, 170; 1994c, 46–47; Kister 1993, 288) are alluded to in this passage suggests that the author of the passage saw Sodom and Gomorrah as lying within the borders of the land. Hence the text seems to say that God, already at this stage, adheres to the laws later applied when the Israelites settled in the land of Canaan.

Isaac's crucial position in the scriptural genealogy is brought to the fore in 4Q252 III 7–10 by quoting the binding story. The extant lines only preserve (parts of) the Genesis quotation and no interpretation at all. Nonetheless, the threat to Isaac—and to the whole continuation of the patriarchal lineage—is obviously central, judging merely from the form of the quotation. Without any introduction 4Q252 jumps directly to the most dramatic moment of the story where Isaac is about to be sacrificed. Abraham's "only son" is rescued of course and the patriarchal lineage goes on.

The importance of the generations from Abraham to Jacob's sons is obvious already from the bounty of descriptions they are given in Genesis. It is also worth noting that among Abraham's, Isaac's, and Jacob's sons it is not the firstborn who are given precedence. Here 4Q252 can be read as commenting on the election and rejection of these sons.

Abraham's actual firstborn, Ishmael, is not mentioned in the extant lines of 4Q252 (although there might be traces of a reference to him in lines III 1–2). But when the binding of Isaac and his narrow escape from being sacrificed is cited, the election of Isaac and, at the same time, the rejection of Ishmael, is highlighted.

Of the Jacob stories in Genesis, 4Q252 preserves only one, in contrast to at least four textual sections somehow related to Abraham. It is also unlikely that there originally was much more material on Jacob. The blessing of Jacob (4Q252 frg. 4, quoting Gen 28:3–4) is explicitly linked to the blessing of Abraham. In this case the great number of Jacob's descendants is mentioned in the extant lines whereas the promise of the land (Gen 28:4b) is either not preserved or was not quoted here. Once again the interpretation of the passage is completely lost.

In Genesis the context of the blessing of Jacob is a discussion about Esau's and Jacob's wives. Their mother, Rebekah, is "weary of her

life” because of Esau’s Hittite wives. Isaac tells Jacob not to marry a Canaanite woman, but instead one from Rebekah’s family. As Rebekah is a descendant of Terah, the line of ancestry is thus kept pure from any Canaanite defilement. According to Gen 10:15, Heth is Canaan’s son, and the Hittites are thus descendants of Canaan.

The actual firstborn of Isaac, Esau, is mentioned later in the next extant textual section (4Q252 II 1–3). The inclusion of this verse of Genesis (Gen 36:12) in 4Q252 is perhaps somewhat surprising: it is but a minor detail in the list of Esau’s descendants, a side remark mentioning Eliphaz’s concubine and their son. The primary topic of the interpretation in 4Q252 is Amalek and the destruction of the Amalekites, but this negative attention is also reflected on Amalek’s father Eliphaz and his father Esau. One has to keep in mind that Amalek is a Canaanite, since his father Eliphaz is a son of Esau’s Hittite wife, Adah. Contrary to Jacob, Esau is clearly to be rejected as a patriarch. Not only does he take Hittite wives, but he also marries Ishmael’s daughter (Gen 28:9; 36:3)—and she is to be rejected along with her father. Consequently, all Esau’s descendants are to be denied a position in Israel’s ancestry.

This passage also returns to the subject of the land. In 4Q252, the Amalekites most likely represent contemporary enemies of the compiler’s community. The addition of the words באחרית הימים emphasizes that the enemies still exist in the land and that the decree (or promise, perhaps?) concerning their destruction still applied in the time of the compiler of the manuscript. Amalekites were the first enemies that Israel encountered when entering the land and they will not cease to be a threat until the eschatological “latter days.”

After Amalek, Esau’s descendant, 4Q252 moves on to Jacob’s sons. The whole cycle of Joseph stories (Genesis 37–48) is left out and ignored. There are at least two possible reasons for this. First, some Qumran texts show a theological or ideological aversion towards Joseph and particularly his descendants, Ephraim and Manasseh (Berrin 2004, 110–15; see also Magnar Kartveit’s essay in this volume, pp. 119–33). Their names are used as symbolic names for the enemies of the Community in several Qumran texts. Secondly, the main setting of the Joseph stories is in Egypt, and 4Q252 seems to have a primary interest in the land of Canaan and events taking place within its borders.

The blessings of Jacob’s sons from Genesis 49—probably not all of them, however—are quoted and interpreted in what was probably the last section of 4Q252. It is true that this passage in Genesis is part of

the cycle of Joseph stories, otherwise omitted from 4Q252, and the act of blessing takes place in Egypt. This context, however, can be easily ignored and the blessings can be read independently from their context, as seems to happen in 4Q252. The scriptural blessings themselves are in no way closely connected to the Joseph stories, nor do their interpretations refer to this context.

In the generation of Jacob's sons, the supremacy of the firstborn is once again denied. The negative view of Reuben in 4Q252 (II 3–7) is drawn directly from Genesis 49. The blessing of Reuben is not really a blessing at all, but rather a curse: Reuben's position as the firstborn is denied due to his sexual misconduct. What is left of its interpretation in 4Q252 seems like a very straightforward explanation of why Reuben is reproved and what is meant by him going "up to his father's bed." On the other hand, there is more to this passage in 4Q252. The following sentences are already badly damaged in the manuscript, but they mention Reuben's status as the firstborn twice. It could be that his rejection among Jacob's sons was further strengthened in these lines, based on his moral deficiency. The interpretation possibly originally pointed out that the position of the firstborn could be lost due to sin and misconduct.

The next extant lines of 4Q252 (I 1–7) quote and interpret the blessing of Judah and offer a messianic interpretation. The primacy of Judah among Jacob's sons is stressed through describing "the messiah of righteousness, the branch of David." The focus of the interpretation is clearly eschatological and messianic. It emphasizes Judah's superior rank among his brethren, based on the Judahite ancestry of King David. Furthermore, the importance of the Davidic lineage is extended to the present time of the author of this interpretation and to the eschatological infinity.

In the same context, Nathan is possibly mentioned as well; in line I 7, the word נָתַן is preserved. Unfortunately, the immediate context is destroyed, and the interpretation of the word is speculative at best. If נָתַן is interpreted as a proper name rather than a verbal form, there are two equally probable possibilities. The Nathan referred to might be the prophet through whom the Lord promised to establish the kingdom for David's offspring in 2 Sam 7:1–17. This Samuel passage is a *locus classicus* of messianic expectations and interpretations. Another possibility is that Nathan refers to David's son instead of the prophet with the same name. While the latter suggestion concerning נָתַן is far from being certain, this could be one more case of rejection of the

firstborn and election of another son. As an analogy, it is of interest to take note of the Lukan genealogy. Instead of deriving the messianic lineage from the “main line,” that is King Solomon, the firstborn, and his descendants, Jesus’ genealogy in Luke follows the line of Nathan (Luke 3:23–38; see Bauckham 1990, 326–27 and 340–54).

Unfortunately, in addition to the partially preserved blessings of Reuben and Judah, only a few words from the blessing of Asher are extant (4Q252 VI 1–3). Hence only tentative conclusions on the last section of 4Q252 are warranted. It is possible that the whole section had an eschatological focus. As for Reuben’s blessing, the only preserved indication of eschatological interpretation is the *peshet* formula at the beginning of the interpretation. Even if the first part of the interpretation is simple-sense exegesis *par excellence*, the missing lines might have contained something to better justify the *peshet* designation. In fact, the eschatological point of view is visible in the preceding section on the Amalekites. In their original form, the last three columns of 4Q252 might have formed an eschatological section concerning the future of the community and its messianic leaders on the one hand, and its adversaries, both Jewish and non-Jewish, on the other.

The blessings of Jacob’s sons in Genesis 49 might well have been used in 4Q252 to illuminate the internal differences among Jews. Not all the sons of Jacob are to be regarded similarly, and the differences between them are perhaps not any smaller than those between the other descendants of Noah (Crüsemann 1996, 67).

To summarize, in 4Q252, certain lines of ancestry (Canaan, Ishmael?, Esau?, Amalek, Reuben) are explicitly reproved and rejected due to moral failures or obscure origins. Other genealogical lines are ignored or treated in a rather neutral manner (Japhet, Abraham’s brothers, possibly also Reuben’s and Judah’s brothers), thus saving them from explicit rejection but excluding them from the elect. The elect, those that carry on the chosen lineage, are presented in a very positive light.

The relationship between firstborn sons and their younger brothers is an interesting issue, both in Genesis and in 4Q252. In many cases the firstborn is deprived of his special position, and “excellence in rank” is given to a younger brother.

When 4Q252 is read as a progressive narration of competing lines of ancestry, the fact that it begins with Noah and not Adam becomes more understandable. Noah is a new start, a patriarch from whom all humankind is derived, Israel and its enemies alike. Genesis can be read as a story of the election of some descendants and rejection of others,

resulting in a glorification of one, pure genealogical line. Note also that in Tob. 4:12, Noah is mentioned as the first one of the patriarchs who “took wives from their own kindred.” Thus, Noah, along with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, is presented as a positive example in a warning against taking a foreign wife (Hultgård 1980, 16–17).

I hesitate, however, to call genealogy, or election and rejection, a theme that covers the whole composition of 4Q252. It makes more sense to describe genealogical considerations as an aspect from which the compiler looked at the passages selected in the composition.

Probably the best way to view 4Q252 in this light is to read backwards, in a manner of speaking. The manuscript was compiled with the compiler’s community and its present time as the starting point. Following faithfully the course of Genesis, the composition justifies the community’s supremacy among its neighbors, Jews and non-Jews alike. This supremacy is even further highlighted by describing the worst of enemies as members of the same family.

The structure of 4Q252 as a whole seems somewhat unbalanced at first sight. Most of the textual sections are very short and stripped down, whereas the flood story gets an astonishing number of lines—more than one whole column out of six columns in the manuscript. In terms of contents, the flood story also seems slightly disconnected from the rest of the composition.

If we look at the last columns as one unit, an interpretation of the blessings of Jacob’s sons, this furnishes a counterpart for the flood story, one that occupies even more lines. The beginning and closing sections of 4Q252 are not only emphasized but also interconnected. God’s righteous plan is already visible in the new beginning, the flood. The final fulfillment of the plan will come about in the messianic era—a period that the community of the compiler of 4Q252 anticipated in the near future. Noah was elected as the forefather of all humankind, and from him onwards, one descendant from each generation is elected while others are rejected—this is another feature of God’s plan. Not all the generations are mentioned in 4Q252, only those that are either prominent in Genesis or are particularly interesting from the compiler’s point of view.

The rejected descendants are nevertheless descendants—the shared ancestry between the elected genealogical line and the rejected one keeps them close together, more and more as we move on in the genealogy. This could be read as referring to the fact that the enemy does not always come from the outside. Jacob’s sons can also be repudiated if they go astray.

Who is entitled to possess the land and on what terms? Although this question is never explicitly formulated in 4Q252, the composition can be read as commenting upon it frequently on the way from the flood to the messianic era. Abraham's central role in Genesis is echoed in 4Q252 and his role as the first patriarch entering the land is particularly emphasized. Naturally another pivotal characteristic of Abraham is the promise of descendants he was given, also present in 4Q252.

Between the key figures of Noah, Abraham and the messiah (represented by Judah and David), other characters from Genesis are mentioned in shorter passages. They were supposedly selected on the basis of how they illuminate the sequence and fulfillment of God's plan.

If one reads the individual sections of 4Q252 independently of each other, their theological and ideological substance seems to be rather thin. Nevertheless, as a composition, 4Q252 carries stronger ideological messages that become visible through the analysis of the relationships among the textual sections. In this sense Brooke's overall view of the manuscript seems to be well grounded. On the other hand, Bernstein's analyses of the textual sections are particularly valuable for our understanding of the composition, given his extensive expertise on rabbinic literature.

THE GENRE AND PURPOSE OF 4Q252

The confusion and dispute concerning the overall genre of 4Q252 is one of the main reasons for the continuous keen interest in this small manuscript. There is no single genre readily established in modern scholarly literature to fit the whole composition of 4Q252. The sources of 4Q252 and, therefore, the different textual sections, represent different literary forms, ranging from rewritten scripture and exegetical paraphrase to commentary of the quotation-interpretation type. There is no other text that would share these characteristics and this variation of forms, techniques, and focal points of interpretation.

The end product is a composition that is best described as a selective thematic commentary. One should not take this description as a name for a genre in the strict sense; at the most, it is a subgenre of commentary. The fact that 4Q252 is, quite rightly, often cited as something of an anomaly is a clear signal that its status falls outside the generally acknowledged genres (Bernstein 2004, 233–34). A new genre should not be established on the basis of this one composition only and the apparent similarities between 4Q252 and certain other Qumran texts

(e.g., 4QTestimonia, 11QMelchizedek, and 4QAgnes of Creation) are not sufficient for placing these texts in a single, strictly defined genre.

It seems obvious that the composition in its final form, as a whole, has its origins in the same or adjacent community as the well-known Qumran *pesharim* (pace Niccum 2006, 259). This is evident, in particular, on the basis of the last passage(s) of the manuscript, the interpretation(s) of the blessings of Jacob's sons. The occurrence of the *peshar* formula and the term **אנשי היחד** strongly indicate this. The *peshar* formula is found exclusively in the Qumran manuscripts, mostly in the *pesharim* but also in some other texts that are generally branded as sectarian. The composite term **אנשי היחד** is not very common as such in the manuscripts but it does appear, e.g., in the Community Rule (1QS I 15–16). In addition, the use of the word **יחד** as a noun, referring to the community of the author, is very common in the Qumranic texts but not elsewhere. At least this section of 4Q252 was either quoted from another text somehow related with *pesharim* and the Community Rule, or authored by the compiler of 4Q252 who must have been familiar with the same traditions.

There is not sufficient evidence for tracing down the origins of all the source texts behind 4Q252. Some of the sources, e.g., the calendrical calculations concerning the flood, show a close ideological affiliation with other Qumran literature. Others, e.g., the passage on Amalek, could easily have been written by almost any Jew—even if these passages also have ideological overtones, at least in their present form and context in 4Q252. In any case the composition of 4Q252 shares many characteristics with Qumran manuscripts that are often called sectarian or Qumranic. I am not particularly comfortable with this terminology. At the very most I would use the term Qumranic in a very loose sense, denoting a text that was authored or compiled by members of the community or one of the communities that once owned the manuscripts found in the Qumran caves. This is not to say that these manuscripts were necessarily produced at the site of Qumran or by a single religious group. The use of the term sectarian seems to entail even more problems and is probably best avoided (see, e.g., Jokiranta 2001, 223–39).

The way in which 4Q252 is built on a certain selection of passages from Genesis is intriguing. Although Genesis self-evidently belongs to the sacred Scriptures of the community/communities behind the Qumran texts, its status does not seem to be as central as that of, e.g., Deuteronomy, Isaiah, or the Psalms. Interpretations of (or references

to) these scriptural books are much more common in the Qumran literature than those of Genesis. Thus the compiler of 4Q252 perhaps consciously offers a different perspective to the history and status of the community. It is not difficult to see why members of a religious Jewish group would attempt to trace the history of their own community as far back as possible, and therefore use the patriarchal history, found in Genesis, as the main source. Furthermore, the compiler had at least some earlier texts readily available that interpreted Genesis and suited the ideological goals of 4Q252.

Why then was this manuscript written? This is an equally difficult question. The lack of clear-cut thematic unity in the composition seriously hinders us from following the trail that the compiler was supposedly pursuing, in its entirety. The text does not offer unmistakable signposts for finding our way around in the ideological milieu behind it. Many of the passages seem to have been quoted from different sources as such, with no modifications. In their new setting in 4Q252, their original contexts and many of their purposes—those of their sources—are lost or transformed.

Various themes that recur in the textual sections of 4Q252—particularly the land, chronological questions, and also blessings and curses—are mutually interconnected. The ideological overtones of this spectrum of themes may lead the reader to see the motivation behind the composing of 4Q252. The purpose of 4Q252 is best understood when it is read as backtracking the genealogical line of Israel and as a progressive retelling of a series of elections and rejections in this patriarchal history. One can even see a polemical strand in it. To follow James C. VanderKam's list, we can find all the functions of exegesis in the Qumran scrolls present in 4Q252 (VanderKam 2006, 311). The manuscript informs and instructs (e.g., the chronology of the flood); it encourages through predictions (e.g., the blessing of Judah); and it warns of judgment on opponents (e.g., the curse of Canaan, where not only Canaan, but also Japhet is judged, through implicit exclusion from the land).

The compiler of 4Q252 most likely aims to demonstrate that the community behind the text is the only legitimate heir of the blessings and promises given to the ancestors of Israel. The ultimate focus of 4Q252 was possibly to justify the position of the compiler's community as the elect of God and to strengthen the members' confidence in this.

GEOGRAPHY AND IDEOLOGY IN THE COPPER SCROLL (3Q15) FROM QUMRAN¹

Jesper Hogenhaven

The Copper Scroll (3Q15) from Khirbet Qumran was discovered in 1952 by a team of archaeologists lead by Roland de Vaux. Due to the unusual material of the document and its state of preservation, the opening and reading of the scroll had to wait until 1955–1956 when the scroll was opened at the Manchester College of Science and Technology. The official edition was published by J.T. Milik (Milik 1962). An earlier and generally less trustworthy edition had been published by John Allegro (Allegro 1960). In the 1990's extensive restoration work on the Copper Scroll was carried out and new photographs were taken. On this basis Émile Puech prepared a new edition (Brizemeure, Lacoudre, and Puech 2006), providing the most authoritative text available.²

The Copper Scroll is written in a “Herodian vulgar semiformal” script which has close parallels in inscriptions from the first century CE. It is not possible on palaeographical grounds to determine whether 3Q15 is from before or after the First Revolt.³

¹ This article is a revised and shortened version of a paper read at the symposium of Nordic Network in Qumran Studies in Copenhagen, August 2006. My thanks are due to the organizers, and to my Copenhagen colleagues Bodil Ejrnæs, Søren Holst, and Mogens Müller for entrusting me with the task of translating 3Q15 into Danish. This task proved a stimulating occasion to look a bit further into some problems and questions connected to this particular text. Thanks to a generous support from the funds of the Nordic Network I was able to spend some time in Jerusalem at the École Biblique last spring working on this project, and later, due to a grant from the Carlsberg Foundation, I had the opportunity to study the original manuscript at the Jordan Archaeological Museum in Amman. I am grateful to the Department of Antiquities of Jordan for granting me access to the scroll and to the director and staff of the museum for all their support and help.

² A number of important readings had already been presented in Puech 1997 and 2002. On the restoration work see Bertholon, Lacoudre, and Vasquez 2002, and Brizemeure, Lacoudre, and Puech 2006, I, xvii–xxii and 1–161.

³ Milik points to a date between 30 CE and 130 CE with a preference for the second half of the period. Frank M. Cross, in an excursus on the palaeographical dating of 3Q15, arrives at a slightly earlier date, 25–75 CE (Milik 1962, 216–19).

Many scholars hold that 3Q15 is not a part of the Qumran library. They believe the manuscript was deposited in Cave 3 independently from the rest of the material. However the archaeological evidence makes it somewhat difficult to separate the Copper Scroll from the remains of Qumran-type pottery, manuscripts, and other goods also found in the cave (Puech 2002, 85–86, note 71).

The purpose of this paper is to approach the questions of literary genre and historical setting, taking as a point of departure the geographical perspective exhibited in the text.

The geographical outlook of the Copper Scroll seems to focus primarily on the area in and near Jerusalem on locations close to Wadi Qumran and the Dead Sea and in the vicinity of Jericho. Another noteworthy aspect of the geography of the Copper Scroll is the significant number of place-names which are either biblical names proper or in some way connected with Old Testament texts or traditions.⁴ The latter aspect is important inasmuch as it may point to a closer connection between the world-view and ideology of the Copper Scroll and other parts of Jewish literature from late Antiquity. Relations between the document and apocalyptic texts have been suggested in scholarly literature. If it can be shown that the geographical perspective of the Copper Scroll to some extent reflects biblical traditions, this would indirectly support the suggestion that the text might have an eschatological “restoration” of biblical “Israel” in mind.

The geography of the Copper Scroll and the biblical ideology behind it may offer a fruitful perspective from which to address the questions of both the genre and the historical context of the document. The importance of “symbolic geography” in this sense for understanding the structure and content of the Copper Scroll has recently been emphasised by Ruth Fidler in an important article (Fidler 2002), in which she focuses on the biblical connotations of geographical names found at the beginning and at the end of the text. The present study, while agreeing fully with Fidler’s approach, attempts to take this perspective a bit further.

⁴ The recent comprehensive monograph on the Copper Scroll by Judah K. Lefkovits emphasizes the biblical background of the scroll’s scenery (Lefkovits 2000).

THE "HISTORICITY" OF THE COPPER SCROLL TREASURE

The debate concerning the historical setting and context of the Copper Scroll dates back to the time before the text was published. J.T. Milik held that the text reflects a literary fiction drawing on folklore traditions and cognate to later legendary material concerned with the lost treasures of the Jerusalem temple. According to Milik, 3Q15 was composed after the destruction of the Second Temple and, in the manner of apocalyptic writings, borrows traditions originally connected with the First Temple to depict the loss (Milik 1962, 275–84). Frank M. Cross suggested that the Copper Scroll referred to the legendary treasure of Solomon's temple (Cross 1956, 17–18, note 29). Likewise, Sigmund Mowinckel, in an early essay on the Copper Scroll (Mowinckel 1957), suggested that the text was akin to apocryphal and pseudepigraphic narratives on the hiding of the temple treasures, which are to rest until the time of restoration (2 Macc. 2:1–8; 2 Bar. 6:5–9). J.M. Allegro, on the other hand, believed that the treasures listed in the text were historical and had actually been stored away at some point in the past. The debate has continued among scholars ever since. Some attempts at locating and recovering the treasures have actually been made but with disappointing results.

The most compelling reasons for viewing the text as literary fiction have to do with the form and contents of the document itself. As a literary genre treasure-lists are self-contradictory unless they are understood as literary fiction. Their function is to reveal and divulge what they claim are well-kept secrets.⁵ In fact the text of 3Q15 seems to deconstruct itself by pointing at the very end of the text to a second document with explanation, measurements, and details for each item (XII 11–13). This reference to a second text gives every impression of being a literary device meant to maintain an air of factual reliability and accuracy while at the same time undermining attempts to pin the contents of the document down to external facts or findings. A noteworthy characteristic of the document, pointing in exactly the same direction, is the apparent

⁵ As Ibn Khaldoun dryly states when dealing with the extensive traditions of hidden treasures in Egypt, if people had taken the trouble to hide their precious belongings under the ground and to protect them by spells or magic devices, they would hardly have written accurate directions as to how to recover these possessions and passed these directions on to the whole world (Quoted by Kamal 1907:V).

accuracy associated with the sums and figures given, which at closer inspection, are inaccurate. This point is made by L. Morawiecki in an important article from 1994. He focuses on the first three items listed in the Copper Scroll (I 4–8). Within this brief section a value of seventeen talents of silver (I 4) stands alongside a reference to “100 gold bars” without any indication of their weight or actual value, and a reference to 900 talents (I 8) without specifying whether gold or silver is meant. It might be assumed that weight measures given in talents with no specification should be taken as referring to silver. Indeed the formulation “60 talents, two talents of gold” (VII 16) could be said to suggest this interpretation. But the text also contains many entries where silver is specified and no other metal is mentioned (I 14–15). In light of this evidence, the assumption that silver is meant where no metal is specified seems arbitrary. Furthermore, the Copper Scroll lists numerous immeasurable quantities, gold and silver vessels, boxes filled with silver, etc. Morawiecki also points to the formulation “17 talents of gold and silver” as evidence that the author did in fact not intend to give the exact value of the treasure. (Morawiecki 1994, 172). Indefinite amounts are referred to in one entry in five, suggesting that the writer was not interested in stating the real value of the treasure at all. All this, according to Morawiecki, clearly indicates, “that the author’s intention was to rouse the reader’s imagination rather than to make an inventory of the value of the treasure” (Morawiecki 1994, 173).

In an article from 1990 Al Wolters states the case for the historical authenticity of the treasure account in 3Q15 and sets out to counter the arguments supporting the interpretation of the text as fiction. Wolters outlines a sharp contrast between “folklore” and “apocalyptic” on the one hand and the text of the Copper Scroll on the other. Both “folklore” and “apocalyptic,” according to Wolters, consist largely of colourful narrative, whereas the Copper Scroll is a dry, unimaginative, and extremely concise list with no imagery, no descriptive adjectives, and virtually no verbs. This representation is aimed at countering Milik’s claim that 3Q15 is thematically cognate to motifs from folklore as well as to motifs found in apocalyptic texts. Wolter’s argument however does not seem to be pertinent to Milik’s use of “folklore” as a broad description of the general *background* of the literary work of 3Q15. Furthermore, Wolters notes, if the Copper Scroll is “apocalyptic” and has to do with a future age of Messianic restoration, it is noteworthy that no eschatological references are actually made in the text (Wolters 1990, 151).

Wolters also objects to the interpretation of 3Q15 as “legendary” that the apocryphal legends all deal with the vessels of the First Temple—the ark of the covenant, the tablets of the law, and the altar of incense. This is the case even with texts composed after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE (2 Baruch, Paralipomena of Jeremiah).

Since the Copper Scroll, by common consent, was written either immediately before or not long after 70 CE, it strains credibility to assume that the treasure which it describes, if they are indeed temple treasures, have no reference at all to the imminent or recent catastrophe of the Second Temple (Wolters 1990, 153).

This argument, however, does not really seem consistent. If the apocryphal writings written in the period around 70 CE concern themselves with the First Temple, then it is difficult to see why this could not also be the case with 3Q15. According to Wolters, Milik was “forced to conclude” that for the author of 3Q15 the second destruction “took on the colours” of the first; Wolters concludes that the Copper Scroll “simply does not fit the legendary mold,” since there are no legends of a second hiding of vessels at the time of the destruction of the Second Temple (Wolters 1990, 153–54).⁶ There is however a broad and well-established tradition including apocryphal and rabbinic sources which typologically connects the two destructions of the Jewish temples.⁷ This perspective again would seem to strengthen the case for a “legendary” interpretation of 3Q15 rather than weaken it.

At the core of the discussion, at any rate, is the interpretation of the Copper Scroll as a literary or a non-literary document. Appeals have been made to the form and presentation of the text and to the highly unusual employment of copper as writing material. The use of such a costly and durable material, according to Wolters, militates against an understanding of the text as literary fiction (Wolters 1990, 151).

⁶ Wolters refers to Milik’s words in DJD 3 (Milik 1962, 380): “C’est donc dans les croyances concernant la destruction du Temple—celle de 70 après J.-C. prenant les couleurs de celle de 587 avant J.-C.—et sa restauration lors de l’avènement du Messie avidement attendu, qu’on cherchera la raison d’être de notre catalogue.” In the context there is no indication that Milik “was forced to conclude” that the description in ancient Jewish texts of the destruction of the Second Temple borrowed its colours from the destruction of the First Temple. Milik in fact demonstrates the existence of a broader and widely spread interest in the texts in the temple treasures and their hiding, which are associated with expectations of a future Messianic restoration.

⁷ The destruction of the Second Temple, according to rabbinic tradition, took place on the same day as the destruction of the First Temple, the 9th of Ab.

However, expensive material (leather, parchment) is normally reserved for literary texts, as opposed to less costly material (ostraca) used for non-literary purposes. From this perspective the employment of an unusually expensive material could be said to strengthen the argument for viewing 3Q15 as a literary document rather than weakening it.⁸

The Copper Scroll—a literary document?

The literary genre of the Copper Scroll has been a much-debated issue. Several scholars have pointed to the similarities between the Copper Scroll text and a list or a catalogue, and to the lack of any narrative framework in the document.⁹ Indeed, at the Manchester International Symposium on the Copper Scroll held in 1996, “it was agreed that the text of the Copper Scroll should be understood generically as a list” (Brooke 2002c, 8).

Several scholars have argued or presupposed that this characterization of 3Q15 entails that the text should be placed among non-literary rather than literary works. When addressing the question whether the Copper Scroll may be appropriately described as a “literary” document or not, some definitions are obviously required as to the general meaning and implications of this term. Michael O. Wise states in his contribution to the Manchester congress volume:

written materials that have been retrieved from antiquity may be divided into two basic and distinct categories: literary and non-literary texts. Literary texts are the products of human imagination; they are a mimesis of human reality, assuming their own genres and fictional forms: epic poetry, tragedy and comedy, philosophic dialogues, and so on...

Non-literary texts, on the other hand, are characterized by Wise as

the products of daily activities and human affairs. They originate not in the creative impulse of human imagination, but in the need to record daily work, business records and contracts. Documents include receipts

⁸ The use of an unusual durable writing-material for the Copper Scroll may have its background in biblical texts referring to written “tablets”, cf. Isa 8:1; 30:8, Hab 2:2, and, of course, the tradition concerning the tablets of the Law.

⁹ In terms of genre, the Copper Scroll is most commonly described as a “list”, “catalogue”, or “inventory”. J.T. Milik, in his preliminary presentation of the text, uses the designation “bronze catalogue” (Milik 1960). J.M. Allegro, in the title of his edition of 3Q15, calls the document an “inventory of buried treasure” (Allegro 1960). Several scholars maintain that the most precise description of the genre of 3Q15 is that the document is a “list.”

of payment, ledgers of various kinds, bills of sale and leases. For the historian they are the primary evidence of historical fact and event... (Wise 2002, 298).

According to this attempt at a definition some genres are literary genres while others are non-literary. The majority of scholars would probably agree that when addressing questions of "genre," they have in mind both the form and the function of a given text. There is a literary as well as a social or, in the case of ancient texts, "historical" dimension to genre. In order to assign a text to a specific genre, the interpreter will look at formal elements as well as social context. When asserting that a text belongs to the genre "liturgy," the interpreter makes a statement that concerns formal aspects of the text in question, as well as its intended function. Concerning ancient texts direct knowledge of their original purpose in terms of social functions is often not accessible. This aspect then will have to be deduced, if possible, from the form and contents of the text itself and from the analogy of comparable texts.

No exact definition of the term "genre" is generally agreed upon in contemporary literary theory. In his instructive book on literary genres from 1982 Alastair Fowler makes the observation that

in literary communication, genres are functional: they actively form the experience of each work of literature... It follows that genre theory, too, is properly concerned, in the main, with interpretation. It deals with principles of reconstruction and interpretation and (to some extent) evaluation of meaning. It does not deal much with classification (Fowler 1982, 38).

Genres then are not so much classes or groups of literary works, but the genre of a literary work is a vehicle for conveying meanings of that work to the reader by means of hints and allusions to familiar ideas and concepts. The function of genre in the interpretation process is to guide the expectations of the reader in a certain direction. This is achieved by means of what Fowler describes as the "generic repertoire," which is linked to a particular genre. The "generic repertoire," according to Fowler, consists of "the whole range of potential points of resemblance that a genre may exhibit." It is obvious, however, that these features need not all be present simultaneously in any given literary work. In fact they seldom are. The distinguishing features belonging to the generic repertoire which are used selectively in each work may be either formal or substantive (Fowler 1982, 55). In practice they function as "generic signals" and are of particular importance at the beginning of a

literary work such as titles, opening formulae, allusions, and topics. These “generic markers” help establish at an early stage in the reading process an appropriate mental “set” that allows the work’s generic codes to be read. (Fowler 1982, 88)

To be distinguished from the genre as an important device of communication are the “constructional types.” These are formal devices such as theme and variation, catalogue, inset, and frame, each of which is compatible with many different genres (Fowler 1982, 128). The latter observation is of significant importance for the discussion concerning the genre of the Copper Scroll. To describe the text as a “list” or “catalogue” does not in itself constitute a description of the genre of this particular text in terms of generic repertoire or generic codes guiding the interpretation process. “List” is not a genre but a “constructional type,” a form that a certain piece of text may exhibit, but which may belong to a great variety of literary genres. Lists occur in the Pentateuch (Num 1:20–46; 7:12–88; 26:5–51), in the narrative literature of the Old Testament (1 Chr 1:1–8:40; Ezra 2:1–67; 10:18–44; Neh 11:3–36), or in the War Scroll from Qumran (1QM III 2–11; III 13–IV 17) in various contexts. We have not grasped the genre of the document by simply asserting that it has the form of a list or catalogue, nor can this observation alone help us to ascertain whether or not it may be properly described as a literary work or not.

The strict and consistent employment of the “list” or “catalogue” form throughout the entire document and the absence of a narrative framework of any kind does however give us some information on the style or literary strategy of its author who was obviously an observer of strict stylistic economy. The “dry and unimaginative” character of 3Q15 has often been emphasized. On the other hand the text does contain hints that literary strategies and devices were not totally alien to its author. Formally, the text is addressed to a “you”-addressee in the second person singular as is evident from the repeated imperatives instructing the “you”-addressee to measure out a certain distance between named localities, dig a certain amount of cubits at a specific place, etc. The text would seem to envisage a situation in which the hidden treasures are to be reclaimed and recovered by this “you”-figure. The addressee however remains anonymous, as does the “voice” behind the instructions.

At one point in the text, the addressee is instructed not to “damage” the scrolls found in a particular hiding-place:

בא[מא שבדרך מזרח בית
 ○○○○ה]אוצר שמזרח
 כלי דמע וספרין אל תדקם

[In the aque]duct which is at the road east of the
 storehouse, which is east of...
 are dedicated vessels and books—do not damage them!
 (VIII 1–3)¹⁰

This command (“Do not damage them,” formulated as a jussive with **אל**) stands out against the background of the dry list format. This marked contrast gives additional weight to the reference to “books.” At the end of the text, mention is made of “a second copy of this document with explanation, measurements and details of each item” (XII 10). Such references to other works would seem typical for a literary work.

In his 1992 article on literary analysis and the Copper Scroll Al Wolters argues that the Copper Scroll, while not constituting a “literary” work “in the modern sense of belonging to a category of *belles lettres* or high art,” does qualify as a literary document “in the most basic form-critical sense of belonging to a specific genre and of displaying recognizable patterns of structure and arrangement” (Wolters 1991, 239).

According to Wolters the Copper Scroll is a catalogue or inventory of hidden treasures composed in accordance with a definite plan. It consists of 64 sections, each of which exhibits the same basic structure, consisting of 7 elements.¹¹ These elements are:

- 1) a designation of a hiding place
- 2) a further specification of the hiding place
- 3) a command to dig or measure
- 4) a distance, expressed in a specific number of cubits (or, in two cases, **גמות**)
- 5) a treasure description
- 6) additional comments on the hiding place or treasure
- 7) a pair or trio of cryptic Greek letters

¹⁰ In VIII 3 Milik reads **אל תבס**, and translates: “Ne les appropie pas!” (Milik 1962, 292–93). Puech has shown, however, that a *qof* rather than a *samek* should be read, as evidenced by the photo on DJD 3 (plate XLIII.1). I prefer Puech’s first proposal **אל תדקם** (from the verb **דקק**, Puech 2002, 65) to his reading in the new edition **אל תדקם** (**אל תדקם**, Brizemeure, Lacoudre, and Puech 2006, I, 192). At any rate, the verb, as noted by Puech, must have the meaning “destroy” or “disperse” (Brizemeure, Lacoudre, and Puech 2006, I, 193).

¹¹ There is no universal agreement as to the exact number of “entries” or “items” in the Copper Scroll. Milik counts 64 items (Milik 1962). Allegro divides the text into 61 items (Allegro 1960), while Lefkovits counts only 60 items (Lefkovits 2000). In most cases the isolation of each item is obvious, but there are a few places in the text where ambiguity exists. I follow here the numbering of items used in Lefkovits 2000.

Now, as Wolters remarks, none of the 64 sections contain all seven elements together, but every element of text can be analyzed as belonging to one of the seven categories. The components are recognizable by the presence of characteristic catchwords or stereotypical phraseology. As Wolters notes, “it is as though the author of the Copper Scroll had only seven slots at his disposal, and had very limited freedom in choosing and filling those slots.” The same element never occurs twice within a given section and they appear invariably in the same order (Wolters 1991, 244).

While Wolters should certainly receive credit for his attempt at analyzing more precise formal terms and establishing a structure governing the arrangement of the text of the Copper Scroll, the analysis he offers, attractive as it is on a number of points, still leaves room for refinement. The text of 3Q15 is naturally divided into sections (“items” or “entries”), each of which describes the location and contents of a specific *caché* or hiding-place. Scholars disagree however about the exact number of sections in the text. Milik regards II 7–8 and II 9 as two separate sections while Allegro and Lefkovits interpret II 7–9 as one section. Likewise, XI 16–XII 3 is regarded by Allegro and Lefkovits as one section, while Milik divides the same lines into three different sections. Wolters’ focus is, as he very clearly states, on formal aspects of the text, but our understanding of the structure of the text does not depend on formal analysis alone. The various opinions of scholars reflect the actual variation within the sections of the text which hardly permits us to regard 3Q15 as a text composed according to a rigorously applied formal scheme. To appreciate the structure of the description attention must be given to the role of toponyms or geographical names as an organizing and structuring element.

In the very first entry (item 1, I 1–4) of 3Q15 the phrase “in the Valley of Achor” clearly exercises a defining function which controls the entire contents of this entry:

בחרִיבָה שבעמק עכור תחת
 המעלות הבואת למזרח אמות
 ארִיח ארבעין שדת כסף וכליה
 משקל ככין שבעשרה KEN

In the ruin in the Valley of Achor under
 the steps which go eastward, forty
 cubits: a box of silver, in total
 a weight of seventeen talents KEN
 (I 1–4)

Furthermore we may plausibly assume that this geographical reference also exercises control over the following entry (item 2, I 5–6):

בנפש¹² בנדבך השלשי עשתות
זהב <100>

In the tomb in the third course of stones,
100 gold bars
(I 5–6)

This entry contains no geographical reference in itself but merely refers to a certain “tomb” which the reader will naturally understand as situated within the perimeters of the geographical location that was defined in the preceding entry, “the Valley of Achor.”

I am not arguing that the geographical names constitute one single element that exercises total control over the text in the sense that we must necessarily assume that every entry of description which does not contain a geographical name is still governed by the nearest preceding toponyms. This may not always be the case and there may be structuring and organizing elements other than geographical names in 3Q15.

This point may be illustrated by item 3 (I 6–8):

בבור הגדול שבחצר
הפרסטלין בירך קרקעו סתום בחליא
נגד הפתח העליון בבריץ תשע מאת

In the great cistern in the courtyard
of the small peristyle at its very bottom, closed with a sediment
towards the upper opening, 900 talents.
(I 6–8)

Once again, no geographical specification is given. Instead we have a reference to the “great cistern in the courtyard of the small peristyle.” Like the preceding entry this site could also be understood as associated with the “Valley of Achor.” However it is also possible that in this case the references given in item 3 can in themselves be understood as referring to a specific geographical place other than the Valley of Achor even if no toponyms are mentioned. This assumption is particularly reasonable if the temple area is intended here, as has been suggested (Milik 1962, 273). Nevertheless, given the importance and weight that

¹² Milik reads **בן רבה**, a proper name (“Ben Rabbah”, Milik 1962, 284–85). The reading **בנדבך** is preferable (Allegro 1960, 33; Brizemeure, Lacoudre, and Puech 2006, I, 179–180), and was confirmed by inspecting the original scroll.

the first geographical designation of the text can be shown to carry, it seems most plausible to include the third entry as still governed by the initial reference to the Valley of Achor.

The next entry (item 4, I 9–12) is defined by the geographical name “Kohlit,” a designation that occurs five times in 3Q15 (one instance partly restored). This makes it the most frequently used geographical name, followed by סבכא (4 instances). It is associated here with a “mound” (תל) and water installations.

The subsequent entry (item 5, I 13–15) five is marked by a new toponym, the staircase of מנס. Since the place-name is not identified we cannot know for certain whether it would in the conception of the author and his implied readers have any connection with the previously mentioned “Kohlit,” or whether it should be understood as indicating a geographical change of scene. The following entry however (II 1–2), which has no geographical name, appears certainly to be governed by the preceding reference to the “staircase of Manos.”

The place-name at the beginning of item 7 (II 3 בית המרה הישן 3) may have the function of a proper geographical name or it may refer to a locality which would have been naturally associated with the “staircase of Manos.” The same must be said about the “courtyard of Matthiah” (entry 8, II 5). It is clear however that the following localities “eastern gate” and “eastern wall” must be defined by some presupposed notion as to which places or structures are meant.

It should be noted that the toponyms do not always occur in the same of the categories or columns posed by Wolters. In the majority of cases a geographical name occurs in Wolters’ second column (“specification”). Sometimes however the toponym constitutes the opening of an entry thus filling out Wolters’ first column.

This variability in itself simply represents stylistic variation. It does however to some extent contradict Wolters’ assumption that the author of 3Q15 had a very limited freedom with regard to following a rigid scheme in his description of hiding-places.

A GEOGRAPHICAL STRUCTURE IN THE COPPER SCROLL?

Several scholars have proposed that the geographical names in 3Q15 reflect some kind of systematic order, and have attempted on the basis of these names and their distribution to determine the structure of the document.

These attempts to uncover a systematic structure governing the employment of place-names in 3Q15 all depart from the assumption that the structure involved must be based on the actual geography of the Holy Land (and possibly its neighbouring countries) in antiquity. In this sense it becomes crucial to be able to identify the toponyms of the text with known localities that can be unambiguously placed on a geographical map. In fact, Milik gave his first preliminary presentation of the text of 3Q15 the form of an overview accompanied by a topographical commentary. According to Milik once the place-names found in the text had been properly isolated and identified the next step was "to try to pin them down to the map of Roman Palestine and Jerusalem" (Milik 1960, 143). In this manner the toponyms of 3Q15 would yield new information about geography of the period and Milik sees this as a contribution of the highest importance.

In DJD III Milik suggested a geographical structure consisting of six main groups of toponyms. The first 5 items (I 1–15) according to Milik form a group apart. The author begins with an item found in his own region (I 1–4) and then adds four disparate locations (I 5–15). Then follow items connected with Jerusalem and the temple (II 1–3.13), the region of Jericho (IV 6–VII 16), the region to the south-east of Jerusalem (VIII 1–X 14), the eastern quarter of Jerusalem (X 15–XII 3), and finally a group of various locations (XII 4–13) (Milik 1962, 278–79).

In an article from 1983 J.B. Pixner proposes a different geographical scheme. Pixner assigns considerable importance to geography as a structuring element in 3Q15. The treasure catalogue, according to Pixner, "was composed on a definite geographical plan" (Pixner 1983, 341). Pixner divides the text into five sections, dealing with the region at the "Essene gate" of Jerusalem (I 1–IV 5), the region of Jericho (IV 6–VII 16), the region of the Yarmuk river south of Damascus (VIII 1–X 4), the area around Jerusalem (X 5–XII 3), and divers locations in northern Palestine (XII 4–13). Pixner holds the opinion that the geographical scheme of the Copper Scroll reflects the distribution of Essene settlements concentrated in three major areas, Jerusalem, Jericho, and the Yarmuk region, which Pixner equates with the "land of Damascus" known from the Damascus Document (Pixner 1983, 350, 359–60).

A third proposal has recently been made by Émile Puech. Puech recognizes two major groups of items. The first section (I 1–IV 2) is the only part of 3Q15 where Greek abbreviated names occur, and should be treated as a group apart. The items described here belong

to the Valley of Achor, to Kohlit, and to the temple area in Jerusalem. The following section (IV 3–XII 13) resumes the same geographical sequence beginning with Kohlit and moving again to the Valley of Achor. The toponyms of 3Q15 according to Puech cover areas around Sokokah-Jericho and Tekoa-Bethlehem-Jerusalem. Both areas are connected through the Kidron Valley. Puech holds that the geographical system reflects the existence of Essene settlements (Puech 2002, 82–88; Brizemeure, Lacoudre, and Puech 2006, I, 175–78).

The suggestions made by Milik, Pixner, and Puech as far as the geographical structure of 3Q15 is concerned illustrate some of the difficulties associated with this procedure. Depending on the interpretation of those toponyms which are not easily and unambiguously identified, very different results may be reached. In fact the most commonly used place-name in the Copper Scroll turns out to be “Kohlit,” a location for which no universally recognized identification has been achieved.

In view of these difficulties it seems fruitful to focus not only on the historical geography and on possible identifications of toponyms on the map, but also on the symbolic significance of the geography reflected in 3Q15.

BIBLICAL PLACE-NAMES IN 3Q15

The Copper Scroll contains a significant number of place-names known from biblical texts. Twelve of the toponyms found in the text have a biblical background.¹³ This is to be compared with five unambiguous examples of non-biblical toponyms.¹⁴ Furthermore we have a number

¹³ These include עמק עכו/עמק עכור (two occurrences, I 1; IV 6), הסכנא (four occurrences, IV 13; V 2, 5, 13), ירחו (two occurrences, V 13; XI 9), הכוזבא VII 14–15, cp. כזבא 1 Chr 4:22, and possibly כזיב Gen 38:5 (with the parallel form אכזיב Josh 15:44; Mi. 1:14), הקדרון (VIII 8), בית תמר (IX 14–15), בית הכרם (X 5), שלוח (X 15), הר גריזין (XII 4). To these nine biblical toponyms we may add דוק VII 11, cp. 1 Macc. 16:15), and השוא (two occurrences VIII 10, 14, cp. עמק שוה Gen 14:17), and הנטף (IX 1, cp. biblical נטפה Ezra 2:22; Neh 7:26).

¹⁴ Clear examples of non-biblical toponyms are the most frequently used place-name in the Copper Scroll, the enigmatic כחלת (five occurrences, I 9; II 13; IV 1 (partly restored); IV 11–12; XII 10), מנס (I 13), עצלא (IV 9–10), מצדנא (IX 17). To this category we should probably also assign the name הברך (XII 8, a connection with biblical בזק does not seem warranted), taking us to a total of five non-biblical place-names. בית שם (XII 6) may be understood as a variant form of biblical בית שאן (Milik 1962, 229, 261–62, Brizemeure, Lacoudre, and Puech 2006, I, 205). There are some further cases where it is not clear whether we have to do with geographical names in the proper

of references to places and monuments connected with biblical personal names.¹⁵ In the following, we shall carry out a closer examination of some of the prominent biblical place-names found in the Copper Scroll.

I. *The Valley of Achor* (עמק עכור/עכור)

בחרובה שבעמק עכור תחת
 המעלות הבואת למזרח אמות
 אריח ארבעין שדת כסף וכליה
 משקל ככרין שבעשרה KEN

In the ruin in the Valley of Achor under
 the steps which go eastward, forty
 cubits: a box of silver, in total
 a weight of seventeen talents KEN
 (I 1–4)

sense or designations referring to buildings or similar localities. בית האשר(ו)חין (XI 12) probably means “the building of the two reservoirs” (Brizemeure, Lacoudre, and Puech 2006, I, 203), although Milik reads בית האשוחין, and identifies it with biblical Bethesda (Milik 1962, 271–72). נחל הכפא (V 12) could be a toponym or a reference to a locality marked by a “rock” or possibly an “arch” or a “vaulted chamber” (cf. Brizemeure, Lacoudre, and Puech 2006, I, 189). In the opening section of the Copper Scroll, חריבה (I 1) is hardly a place-name, but more likely means a “ruin”, since it is qualified by the biblically connected toponym עמק אכור.

In certain cases a biblical reference may be assumed with some degree of probability. Thus, צריחי החורין (IX 7) would seem to be connected to the *nomen gentilicium* known from Gen 14:6. Another debatable case is the designation בית הקץ (VII 9), which may be seen as related to the biblical name קוץ, occurring in Neh 3:2–4.21–22 (in the construction בן הקוץ). There are three occurrences of the name מלה (II 1; III 8, 11). According to Milik’s interpretation this is the biblical מלוא and designates the terraces on which Herod’s temple was constructed (Milik 1962, 272–73). It should be noted, however, that the reading of this word in the Copper Scroll is disputed in both cases. Many scholars read a final *het* rather than a *he*. In view of the unusual degree of fluctuation within the handwriting of 3Q15, I find it impossible to determine the reading on material grounds. Puech reads a ה in II 1 and a ה in III 8, 11 (Brizemeure, Lacoudre, and Puech 2006, I, 183, 185).

There are some instances of disputed readings in 3Q15, where possible candidates for place-names with a biblical background would seem to be involved. In IX 11 Milik reads the place-name כפר נבו (Milik 1962, 265–66, 294). However, the reading כפת ביב (“the arch of the canal”?) seems preferable (Cf. Puech 2002, 74; Brizemeure, Lacoudre, and Puech 2006, I, 197). In X 8 the reading is גיא איך, and Milik has suggested that the reading be corrected to גיא איב (“Valley of Job”, Milik 1962, 300–01, cf. Brizemeure, Lacoudre, and Puech 2006, I, 199). No evidence, however, supports this correction, and the phrase is hardly a toponym at all.

¹⁵ אשיח שלומו (V 6), החריץ של שלומו (V 8–9), יד אבשלום (X 12), גנת צדוק (X 17; XI 6), קבר צדוק (XI 3).

This place is associated with the burial of sacred objects in the narrative of Josh 7. The connotations are negative; we are reminded of the חרם objects which Achan stole and hid and of the account of the stoning and burial of the transgressor. It is hardly a coincidence that this is the first toponym mentioned in the text of 3Q15. As Fidler points out, this initial reference to the “valley of Achor” seems to form a deliberate contrast to the reference to Mount Gerizim at the end of the text since this locality indicates a context of “national blessing” (Fidler 2002, 221–23). Furthermore we may note that the account of the blessing given to the Israelites from Mount Gerizim appears in the biblical narrative adjacent to the Achan story.

Josh 7 has an account of stolen treasures which are buried in the ground. This theme in itself constitutes a point of contact with the context in the Copper Scroll. As noted by Fidler there are further points of contact when the two texts are considered in detail (Fidler 2002, 220–21). When Achan is interrogated by Joshua concerning his theft (Josh 7:21), he gives a description of the stolen and hidden treasures which in a certain sense resembles the descriptions in 3Q15.

When I saw among the spoil a beautiful mantle from Shinar, and two hundred shekels of silver, and a bar of gold weighing fifty shekels (חמשים משקלים שקלו), then I coveted them, and took them; and behold they are hidden in the earth inside my tent, with the silver underneath (והכסף תחתיה).

We find here an enumeration of the items which make up the treasure. Their value is expressed in numbers, items of silver and gold are distinguished, and the weight of the gold bar is stated in an expression quite similar to the language used in 3Q15 (Cf. 3Q15 I 3–4 וכליה משקל 3–4; בכרין שבעשרה; 3Q15 XII 9 <70> הכל משקל). The position of the silver “underneath” the other items is specified by means of the preposition תחת, also frequently used in the Copper Scroll.

The Achan story ends with the account of Achan’s punishment. Achan, his household including his animals, his tent, and all his belongings are brought up before Israel; it is explicitly said that they stoned them with stones and burned them with fire. The execution is followed by the construction of a memorial in the form of a great heap of stones which is said to remain “until this day” (ויקימו עליו גל אבנים גדול עד) (Josh 7:26).

The Achan narrative has to do with the illicit and disastrous hiding of treasures that constitute parts of the חרם. The burial of the precious objects in the ground is described. According to the biblical text, it

would seem that these objects were eventually buried with Achan and his family below the heap of stone. At any rate, the account includes the irregular burial of the offender and the establishment of a monument lasting “until this day.”

Milik notes that the stolen treasure of the Achan story was further elaborated on both by Josephus, who describes the “mantle” as a royal mantle woven of gold, and by the rabbis, who associate the mantle with an idol (Cp. Milik 1962, 263).

As for the connotations of the biblical tradition, we may note that the narrative is concerned with a crisis in the relationship between God and his people. The Israelites have broken the covenant and the offense threatens the entire conquest project that is central to the Book of Joshua. The crisis is overcome through the elimination of the הרם from the midst of Israel. The incident is said to have left a lasting memory associated with a place given the symbolic designation “Valley of Achor.”

It should also be noted that this place-name occurs twice in the prophetic literature. In Isa 65:10 (“Sharon shall become a pasture for flocks, and the Valley of Achor a place for herds to lie down”) the main significance of עמק עכור may be to denote the extension of the land to the east while השרון marks its extension to the west. In Hos 2:17, however, we find a direct reference to the symbolism inherent in the name: The “Valley of Achor” shall be made into a “door of hope.”

II. *The Hand of Absalom*

תחת יד אבשלום מן הצד
המערבי חפור רג(א)מות שתין עסרה
כב 80

Under Absalom's Hand on the western
Side, dig twelve cubits:
80 talents.
(X 12–14)

The “hand” or monument of Absalom (יד אבשלום) reflects the biblical account found in 2 Sam 18:18 of the monument in the King's Valley that Absalom erected for himself during his lifetime and which is known as יד אבשלום “to this day.” This note follows immediately upon the passage dealing with Absalom's death and burial. The soldiers of Joab take the body of Absalom and throw it away “in the forest” into a deep pit (אל הפחת הגדול), and pile a very large heap of stones on top of it (ויצבו עליו גל אבנים גדול מאד). Interestingly in Josephus' account of

Absalom's burial we are informed that the armour-bearers of Joab, after throwing Absalom's body in the pit, threw stones into the pit until it was filled up and assumed the form and size of a tomb (A.J. 7.242). This further detail would seem to emphasize the extraordinary and irregular form of the burial and moreover constitute an ironic contrast to the following account of the monument Absalom had set up for himself while he was still alive. This monument, according to Josephus, was a marble column situated two stades away from Jerusalem. Absalom called it "his own hand" (A.J. 7.243). This detail may be compared to the LXX which also has Absalom himself naming the monument the "hand of Absalom" (καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὴν στήλην χεῖρ Ἀβεσσαλων ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης 2 Sam 18:18 LXX).

This narrative and the Achan story of Josh 7 have several motifs in common. Both texts refer to a monument lasting "until this day" (דע היום הזה). In both narratives a prominent character is punished for his offences through death, followed by an irregular burial: Achan is stoned to death and burned; Absalom is killed by Joab and his men while hanging in the branches of a tree. In both accounts the bodies are covered by a heap of stones. In the Absalom narrative there is an ironic element in the fact that the heap covering Absalom's body is said to remain "until this day," thus proving as lasting as the monument Absalom erected for himself.

As is the case with the narrative of Josh 7, the Absalom episode clearly represents a point of crisis within the larger framework of the David tradition.

III. *The Ford of the High Priest*

ביגר שבמגות הכוהן
הגדול חפור [אמו]ת
תשע כבן]

In the heap of stones at the ford of the High
Priest, dig nine
[cubi]ts: . . . talents.
(VI 14–VII 1)

It is tempting to connect this otherwise unknown location with its treasure located at a "pile of stones" (יגר), with the account in Josh 3–4 of the crossing of the Jordan. No "high priest" is mentioned either in the biblical narrative or in Josephus' rendering of the tradition (A.J. 5.16–19), although it is clear from other passages in Josephus that in his view Eleazar, son of Aaron, was "high priest" at the time of the

conquest. Thus, Eleazar's death is related with his title, and with a note that he left the priesthood to his son Pinehas (A.J. 5.119).¹⁶ The priests as a group certainly play a very conspicuous part in the biblical narrative, carrying the ark in front of the people and standing on dry ground in the middle of the river while the water is miraculously halted and the Israelites cross the river safely. After the crossing of the people Joshua commands twelve chosen men to take a stone each from the middle of the Jordan to create a monument at the place where the Israelites camp at night. This place is identified by the narrator as Gilgal (Josh 3:20). Further on the text states that Joshua erected a monument of twelve stones in the river itself at the place where the priests were standing and carrying the ark of the covenant during the crossing. Of this monument we are told that it remains until this day (Josh 4:9).

It is difficult to know in which exact form this tradition was known to the author of 3Q15. In Josephus' account of the crossing of the river the supernatural element is played down. The stream is rendered passable. God reduces its volume (A.J. 5.17). Later rabbinic traditions, on the contrary, emphasize the miraculous aspects of the story: When the Israelites had crossed the river, the ark moved by itself, dragging the priests after it (Shemot Rabba 36:4; cf. Bamidbar Rabba 4:20). The erecting of a monument (or monuments) of stones and the assertion that the monument has remained "until this day" is a motif common to this narrative, the Achan episode, and the Absalom story. The monument for the crossing of the Jordan however does not share the negative connotations of the other traditions. The account marks an important point along the road that leads to the conquest of the Promised Land.

IV. *The Kidron Valley*

ביגר של פי צוק הקדרון
 <4> חפור אמות שלוש ככ

In the heap of stones at the mouth of the Kidron,¹⁷
 Dig three cubits: 4 talents.
 (VIII 8)

¹⁶ Cf. Josephus' account of the succession of high priests (A.J. 5.361–62).

¹⁷ Milik reads the variant form הקדררה (Milik 1962, 293–94), which he views as a reflection of loss of dental-nasals at the end of a word (Milik 1962, 230). However, the correct reading is the expected הקדרון. As Puech points out (Puech 2002, 65, cf. Brizemeure, Lacoudre, and Puech 2006, I, 194) this is evidenced by the photo reproduced in Milik's edition (Planche XLIII), where the original edge of the sheet is preserved.

The Kidron Valley is explicitly mentioned in the Bible in connection with the Absalom story. When leaving Jerusalem David crosses נחל קדרון (2 Sam 15:23). Kidron is also mentioned as the boundary that Shime'i is not allowed to cross; passing Kidron means death (1 Kgs 2:37). Most prominently however in the narrative material of Kings, Kidron figures as the place where illegal sacred objects are destroyed by burning. Here king Asa burns the Ashera pole of his mother (1 Kgs 15:13; 2 Chr 15:16). This motif recurs with even stronger emphasis in the account of Josiah's reform in 2 Kings 23: The king has all the objects dedicated to Ba'al, Ashera and the Host of Heaven removed from the temple. These objects are then burned outside Jerusalem on the terraces of Kidron (2 Kgs 23:4), and the ashes carried away to Bethel. The name נחל קדרון is mentioned twice in 2 Kgs 23:6 which states that Josiah removes the Ashera pole from the temple, takes it outside Jerusalem to the Kidron Valley (מחוץ ירושלים אל נחל קדרון), and burns it there (וישרף אתה בנחל קדרון). The pole is then ground to dust and the dust is deposited in the public cemetery (על קבר בני העם). In 2 Kgs 23:12 we are again told of the altars built "on the roof" by the kings of Judah and the altars built by Manasseh. These illicit altars are removed and smashed and their dust consigned to the Kidron Valley.

Interestingly, in 2 Chronicles 29 the motif is transferred to the reign of Hezekiah. The priests purge the temple of all unclean objects and the Levites take it all out to the Kidron Valley outside (ויקבלו הלואים 2 Chr 29:16). According to 2 Chr 30:14 the people remove all the altars and incense altars from Jerusalem and throw them into the Kidron Valley (וישליכו לנחל קדרון).

In the narrative material there is an unmistakable duplicity of meaning connected to with the Kidron Valley. The immediate connotations of the name are negative in the sense that Kidron is the recurrent scene where illicit sacred objects are destroyed or deposited. At the same time however the very act of eliminating these objects is in every case presented as an act of cleansing and purifying the people of God.

In Jeremiah 31 Kidron appears in a different theological context. The literary framework here is the "Book of Consolation," the prevalent themes of which are the future restoration of Israel, the return of the scattered people to the land, and the renewal of Yahweh's covenant with Israel. Within this thematic context, Jer 31:38–40 predicts the rebuilding of Jerusalem which will never again be captured or destroyed. The area of the renewed city shall then be measured out from the tower of

Hanan'el to the corner gate and the text specifies that in it is included the whole valley with the dead, the ash dump, and all the "fields" (or "terraces") (כל העמק הפגרים והדשן וכל השרמות) all the way to the נחל קדרון as far as the "horse gate" (שער סוסים). This whole area is now declared "holy to Yahweh." The passage clearly draws its rhetorical power from the contrast between the notion of impurity associated with the Kidron Valley in a well-established tradition (and explicitly brought to light through some of the terms used here: הפגרים, הדשן), and the notion of future holiness said explicitly to encompass this area which is known to connote death, destruction, and uncleanness.

PURITY AND IMPURITY AND THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE COPPER SCROLL

A noticeable feature of the Copper Scroll is the frequency of references to hiding places which are in one way or the other associated with notions of impurity. In this context we may consider impurity in its legal and cultic aspects as well as in a broader metaphorical sense.

There are nine instances in 3Q15 where burial places or cemeteries are explicitly mentioned as hiding places, ten if the reference to the "hand" of Absalom (X 12) is included.¹⁸

As we have seen the notion of impurity is also associated with some of the localities mentioned in the text which have a background in biblical traditions. The most prominent example is the Kidron Valley. In biblical prophetic texts this toponym connotes death and uncleanness, notions drawn both from its function as a graveyard and from its role as a dumping place for idols and similar illegitimate religious objects, a role repeatedly emphasized in the narrative traditions. At the same time a future cleansing and redeeming of this realm of impurity is envisaged and expected in connection with the restoration of Israel.

Similar connotations characterize the Valley of Achor, a toponym figuring prominently at the beginning of the text of the Copper Scroll. In the Joshua narrative this place is associated with Achan's offence and the disaster that follows. The subsequent expiatory act of punishment and cleansing, which includes the stoning and burning of Achan and his belongings, and the highly irregular inhumation of the offender beneath a pile of stones, is related to the impurity theme. Here again

¹⁸ I 5; III 11; V 12; IX 7; XI 3 (בקבר צדוק); XI 9, 16; XII 11.

in the prophetic tradition we find a hint that the ominous location with its symbolism of affliction and punishment will at the time of the future restoration be transformed into a place of hope.

Against this background it does not seem far-fetched to assign a parallel significance to the reference in the Copper Scroll to the monument of Absalom. Here again there would seem to be an association with the irregular burial of a prominent figure from biblical tradition connoting disturbance and offence. The impurity motif is clearly present in the presentation of what ultimately happens to Absalom. Within the framework of 3Q15, then, we may assume that this location, too, with its inherent symbolism of crisis and punishment, may in the future be transformed into a place of promise and hope.¹⁹

The ford of the High Priest differs from the localities just mentioned in having no negative connotations. Here there are no immediate links to the impurity theme common to a number of localities mentioned in the Copper Scroll. Rather, this location—if it is correct to associate the reference with the conquest narrative of Joshua—would point to an important turning-point in the covenantal history of Israel. This reference then could be interpreted as recalling an ideal point of the past—the beginning of the conquest of the Promised Land. Within the context of a restoration ideology this reference could be seen as expressing the hope for a future second conquest of the entire land once given to the Israelites or for a symbolic restoration of the land to its former purity and glory.

PLACE-NAMES NOT IN THE COPPER SCROLL

Toponyms play an important part in the literary structure of the Copper Scroll. A significant part of its organizing framework depends on the use of place-names. It is all the more remarkable that the text does not even once use the place-name “Jerusalem.” Neither are any of the well-known synonyms for the holy city (e.g. *עיר הקדש*, *ציון*) found in the text.

The conspicuous silence of the Copper Scroll extends further. The text of 3Q15 does not have a single expression for the Temple. There are no instances of either *היכל*, *מקדש*, or *בית קדש*.

¹⁹ The moral aspects of impurity and the connection between impurity and sin in Qumran texts have often been emphasized by scholars. For a balanced statement, see Harrington 2000.

The peculiar silence of our text on this point should be viewed against the fact that considerable sections of the text seem quite unambiguously to describe places and structures located within the city of Jerusalem or in its immediate vicinity.

Given the frequency of place-names in the Copper Scroll and their obvious function within the organizing framework of the document, it would hardly be satisfactory to explain this silence concerning the most central “places” and structures in the symbolic geography of Palestinian Judaism as a result of mere coincidence. Rather we may detect in the text a rhetorical strategy of silence when it comes to central places and structures which the reader would naturally expect to find mentioned.

This conscious strategy may explain some noteworthy features of the catalogue in 3Q15. Scholars have noticed that apocalyptic legends of hidden temple treasures are particularly concerned with the most important sacred objects of the First Temple—the ark of the covenant, the tablets of the law, and the altar of incense—and that these objects are not mentioned in 3Q15 (Wolters 1990, 153). The silence concerning these objects should probably be understood in accordance with an overall literary strategy employed in the text which does not directly mention either Jerusalem or the temple even once. Whatever the exact intentions of the author may have been, this element of silence strongly contributes to the mysterious air conveyed by the descriptions of the Copper Scroll. The text is clearly intended not to be fully transparent on a factual level.²⁰ The references to literary works outside the document itself (and beyond the control of its reader) and the combination of seemingly exact figures with immeasurable quantities found throughout the text serve to underline this character of 3Q15.

THE COPPER SCROLL AS A LITERARY TEXT: CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Copper Scroll is an unusual literary text. It makes its departure from a ruin in the Valley of Trouble. It ends with a reference to a second even more reliable text with all items included. It envisages an Israel in ruins and never explicitly mentions the Temple. It seems to take a particular interest in describing the land in its present condition

²⁰ It is highly probable that the enigmatic use of Greek letters in the first columns of 3Q15 should be viewed in this perspective.

as a place characterized by impurity. And it points indirectly to a future when Israel and all its treasures which now lay hidden shall be restored to light and glory.

As we have seen, 3Q15 does in some important respects qualify as a literary text, employing stylistic devices and rhetorical strategies to create a particular "world." A recurring element is the linking of themes and places to biblical traditions.

The literary form of 3Q15 is unique among the Qumran texts. The manuscript itself is unique in being written on copper sheets. The significance of this material is not easy to interpret but in view of the frequent biblical references we have found in the text with regard to the geographical framework, we may ask whether the use of copper should also be understood against a biblical background.

The themes of the Copper Scroll have a number of points of contact with other Qumran texts. In so far as the document reflects a vision of a renewed Israel and a renewed temple, there is an affinity with the architectural vision for a new Jerusalem found in the Temple Scroll. Similar restoration motifs are found in various forms in a great number of Qumran texts. In other words the Copper Scroll, though not "sectarian" in the stricter sense, should not be viewed as totally different from the rest of the material from Qumran.

THE TWO HISTORICAL LAYERS OF PESHER HABAKKUK

Hanan Eshel

In memory of Professor Hartmut Stegemann

Peshar Habakkuk (1QpHab) is the longest and most complete of the so-called Continuous Pesharim (commentaries) recovered from Qumran.¹ The 13 columns of this scroll contain a commentary on Habakkuk 1–2,² but not on Habakkuk 3.³ Upon an examination of its pesharim, I would like to propose that two historical layers are apparent in the scroll. The first layer includes commentaries from the lifetime of the Teacher of Righteousness, who joined the sect in the middle of the second century BCE,⁴ and apparently died before the end of that century.⁵

¹ The “Continuous Pesharim” are commentaries in which a whole biblical text is interpreted as a unit, as opposed to the “Thematic Pesharim”, where individual verses were gathered to shed light on a particular point. The eighteen Continuous Pesharim that were revealed at Qumran were reedited in M.P. Horgan’s important study (1979).

² 1QpHab is one of the three scrolls that Mohammed edh-Dhib claimed were contained within the cylindrical jar in Cave 1 at Qumran in 1947. For its *editio princeps*, see Brownlee in Burrows et al. 1950. It was reedited by Horgan (1979, 10–55; see also *The Texts*, pp. 1–9).

³ Since its last column includes only three and half written lines, which offer an interpretation of the final words of Hab 2, it is obvious that 1QpHab did not contain commentaries on Habakkuk 3; see Horgan 2002, 157. Most of the scholarly works on 1QpHab are listed in Horgan’s study (pp. 157–59). Many of these works record historical aspects of the manuscript. As far as I know, the proposal brought here that 1QpHab reflects two historical layers has never been put forward; see, however, the important observation made by Flusser (1954, 92, n. 12; 2007, 5, n. 13).

⁴ For evidence showing that the Teacher of Righteousness joined and began leading the *Yahad* circa 150 BCE, see Collins 1989; Eshel 2008, 29–61.

⁵ H. Stegemann concluded that the Teacher of Righteousness died circa 110 BCE (1998, 123). He based this on the notion that the author of the Damascus Document placed the end of days—according to Dan 9:24–27—at 490 years after the destruction of the First Temple. That author divided this 490-year period into four sub-phases: 390 years until the sect was established (CD I 5–8); 20 years in which members of the sect were without purpose and direction, until the Teacher of Righteousness began leading them (CD I 9–11); the period in which the Teacher of Righteousness led the sect; and 40 years from the death of the Teacher of Righteousness until the messiahs from Aaron and Israel were to come (CD XIX 33–XX 1, XX 13–15). On the manner in which the author of the Damascus Document asserted, by way of interpretation, that redemption would come 40 years after the death of the Teacher of Righteousness, see Eshel 1999. The Damascus Document does not note the length of the third of the

The second involves the Kittim,⁶ identifiable in 1QpHab as the Romans, who took over Judaea in 63 BCE.⁷ This leaves a gap of some 50 years between this event and the death of the Teacher of Righteousness.⁸ With this in mind, I present here a proposal having to do with the literary evolution of 1QpHab, premised on the notion that the core of the work was composed in the second half of the second century BCE, but that it was modified and new segments were added to it in the middle of the first century BCE.

A. 1QP_{HAB} IS A COPY OF AN EARLIER SCROLL

Hartmut Stegemann made note of the somewhat slipshod scribal copying of cols. I–XXI of 1QpHab.⁹ He drew attention to the fact that most of the columns of 1QpHab end in two x-shaped marks. These characters were apparently extant on an older manuscript copied by the scribe,

above mentioned periods. If we assume that its author reasoned that the end of days would begin 490 years after the destruction of the First Temple, then it must follow that the Teacher of Righteousness led the *Yahad* for 40 years, i.e., in order to arrive at a sum total of 490 years. There are evidences that the Teacher of Righteousness joined the sect circa 150 BCE, and if we accept the above chronological framework, he must have died circa 110 BCE. One should not take the 390 year figure as historical truth, as it is based on Ezek 4:5, and Judeans of the Second Temple period were not aware that the Persian period had lasted over 200 years; see Collins 1989, 169–70.

⁶ The term Kittim, recorded in the scrolls, is based on appellations from Gen 10:4, Num 24:24, Jer 2:10, and Dan 11:30.

⁷ On the term Kittim in the Qumran scrolls, and on the identification of Kittim as Romans in 1QpHab and 4QpNah, see Stegemann 1998, 131; Eshel 2001. On allusions within the Qumran scrolls to events that occurred in Judaea during the period of the Roman conquest, see Eshel 2008, 133–50.

⁸ The chief argument of scholars who identify Alexander Jannaeus as the Wicked Priest, implying that the Teacher of Righteousness must have been active in the first century BCE, is based on the fact that 1QpHab includes *pesharim* related to the Teacher of Righteousness alongside those portraying the Roman takeover of Judaea. For arguments of this sort, see van der Ploeg 1958, 59–62; Yadin 1971, 12; Flusser 1981; 2007, 214–257; Wise 2003. Yet no particular significance should be attributed to this fact if my estimation is correct that the *pesharim* brought in 1QpHab indeed record two historical periods.

⁹ I am grateful to the late Prof. Stegemann for sharing this observation with me. In his popular volume, he notes that Peshar Habakkuk is “at least a third-hand copy” but does not bring the supporting evidence for this claim (1998, 131). For other observations suggesting that 1QpHab was shoddily copied, see Horgan 1979, 3. The last nine lines of 1QpHab were written by another scribe (referred to as “the second scribe”), who began writing from col. XII 13, and concluded the manuscript on col. XIII 4. This section brings two *pesharim* (see n. 34 below). Given this, it is appropriate to see the first scribe as he who copied 1QpHab. Both scribes had a Herodian hand, typical of the end of the first century BCE; see Horgan 2002, 157.

having been placed to mark the vertical edges of the columns of the text. The scribe of 1QpHab, however, initially marked them as *alephs*, which thus explains the lone *aleph* at the end of line 5 on the second page of 1QpHab.¹⁰ At some point this scribe must have realized the mistake, but never went back to erase the two *alephs* on col. II. The scribe appears to have been sufficiently alert in some cases to realize that they were mere technical marks and need not be copied, while in most of the columns they were copied anyway.¹¹ If we accept this explanation, it follows that the two scribes who copied 1QpHab did so somewhat perfunctorily. They also maintained the same division into lines¹² that appeared on the scroll they copied.¹³

B. THE LITERARY UNITS OF 1QpHab

1QpHab was indeed copied from an earlier manuscript. Furthermore, the literary evolution of the work seems to be reflected in the content of its pesharim. As stated, 1QpHab was composed in the second half of

¹⁰ On this lone *aleph*, see Horgan 1979, 25; 2002, 162, n. 30. The second *aleph* was mistakenly appended to the end of the word אַמִּינֹה, yielding אַמִּינֹהַ (col. II 6), thus explaining any misgivings one might have had over that word. It is worth noting that this is not a case of the addition of a final *aleph*, seen occasionally in the scrolls, usually for lengthening particularly short words, as כִּי־א. The word אַמִּינֹהַ stands in contrast to the form אַמִּינֹה that appears in the same column (II 14). For an unconvincing attempt to explain this unusual form, see Nitzan 1986, 109; and Horgan 2002, 162, n. 31. Stegemann's understanding is thus grounds for rejecting Nitzan's suggestion, which holds that the letters נֹהַ were added to the word אַמִּינֹהַ during the proofreading.

¹¹ These marks appear at the end of the lines in cols. III, IV, VI, VIII, IX, X, and XII. It can be assumed that when the first scribe copied cols. I, V, VII, and XI, he was sufficiently alert to take notice that the marks were technical in nature and need not be copied. In col. XIII, which was copied by the second scribe, the marks do not appear. Photographs of all the columns on 1QpHab have been published in a number of books; see, e.g., the *editio princeps*, Brownlee 1950, Pls. lv–lxi; Nitzan 1986, Pls. 4–16. Both black-and-white and color photographs of 1QpHab appear in Trever 1972, 75–82, 149–63.

¹² This suggests that when the scribes continued writing beyond the lines marking the end of the columns (e.g., cols. II 6; III 10; VII 2; VIII 4; XII 1; 13–15; and XIII 3) it was in cases where they were incorporating additional text that had been written between the lines of the scroll they copied.

¹³ Consequently, there is reason to reject the previously widespread notion that the Continuous Pesharim are autographs, an explanation as to why the Qumran caves yielded only one copy each of all of them (see, e.g., Milik 1959, 41; and Cross 1961, 114–15). The marks on 1QpHab, according to Stegemann, indicate that it is a copy of an earlier scroll. Horgan also arrived at the conclusion that the Continuous Pesharim are not autographs (1979, 3; 2002, 1), a subject to be revisited at the end of this paper.

the second century BCE, and modified in the mid-first century BCE. An examination of its content shows that the first six columns of 1QpHab can be divided to four units of pesharim that deal with Habakkuk 1, each relating to a particular subject. They are the following:¹⁴

1. Cols. I 1–II 10—pesharim pertaining to the lifetime of the Teacher of Righteousness.
2. Cols. II 10–IV 13—pesharim on the Kittim.
3. Cols. IV 16–V 12—pesharim related to the Teacher of Righteousness and to the judgment of the Gentiles.
4. Cols V 12–VI 12—pesharim on the Kittim.

The seven other columns of 1QpHab include pesharim on Habakkuk 2 (cols. VI 12–XIII 4). They deal with the Teacher of Righteousness and the punishment of the Gentiles on the Day of Judgment.

We shall briefly discuss these four units of commentary on Hab 1, while focusing on the historical data that can be learnt from them.¹⁵ Column I of 1QpHab largely did not survive; only the very ends of the lines are visible. Yet what remains of it attests that the beginning of the scroll commented on Hab 1:1–4. At the end of col I 13, the words “he is the Teacher of Righteousness” appear.¹⁶ Brought at the top of col. II is a peshar on Hab 1:5 mentioning three groups of traitors who left the sect during the lifetime of the Teacher of Righteousness. The first group, the “traitors together with the Man of the Lie” left the sect after its members refused to hear the preaching of the Teacher of

¹⁴ For a discussion on why the Continuous Pesharim, particularly 4QpNah, should be divided into units in order to be properly understood, see Berrin 2004, 19–20, 75–285.

¹⁵ One can find in Nitzan 1986 very instructive discussions on the relationship between the pesharim in 1QpHab and the biblical lemma they interpret.

¹⁶ Horgan’s reconstruction of this line: “[The interpretation of it: the wicked one is the Wicked Priest, and the righteous one] is the Teacher of Righteousness” (1979, 12; 2002, 160, n. 17), which was also adopted by Flusser and Nitzan (Nitzan 1986, 150; Flusser 2007, 41), is completely trivial. If we are to attempt to reconstruct this line, one should consider the following option: “[The interpretation of it: the wicked one is the Man of the Lie and the righteous one] is the Teacher of Righteousness.” For similar suggestions, see Bernstein 2000b:650; Lim 2002, 35. This reconstruction is slightly more creative than Horgan’s reconstruction, and it suits better both the interpreted verse “For the wicked surround the righteous” (Hab 1:4) and the evidences from the other sectarian scrolls from Qumran that shows that the seminal point in the life of the Teacher of Righteousness was his conflict with the Man of the Lie; see Murphy-O’Connor 1977, 120–21; and Eshel 2008, 34–38.

Righteousness, which apparently was related to the manner in which he understood the laws written in the Pentateuch.¹⁷ It is not clear why the second group, referred to as “traitors to the new covenant,” left the *Yahad*. The third group, the “traitors at the end of days,” abandoned the sect because its members did not believe that the Teacher of Righteousness was the only man whom God gave the ability to decipher the words of his prophetic servants.¹⁸ The Kittim are never mentioned in what remains of the first unit.

Nine pesharim on six verses (Hab 1:6–11) appear in cols. II 10–IV 13.¹⁹ All reflect the idea that the Chaldeans (i.e., the Babylonians, who conquered Jerusalem and destroyed the First Temple), mentioned in the Book of Habakkuk are the Kittim, which should be identified with the Romans.²⁰ The Teacher of Righteousness does not appear in this unit. These pesharim refer to the rulers of the Kittim (col. IV 10)—not the Kittim kings, which are mentioned in other Qumran scrolls in which the Kittim should be identified with the Seleucids.²¹ None of the pesharim in this unit claim that the Kittim will eventually fall into the hands of

¹⁷ This suggestion is based on the description of the sect members in the Damascus Document as being without direction and purpose before the Teacher of Righteousness joined the sect, as it reads: “they knew that they were guilty people and they were aware as blind as those who grope for a way” (Broshi 1992, 11; Baumgarten and Schwartz 1995, 13). It follows that the Teacher of Righteousness taught the members of the sect a new way of understanding the laws of the Pentateuch.

¹⁸ On the importance of the assertion, appearing twice in 1QpHab, that the Teacher of Righteousness taught the members of the Qumran sect how to interpret all the words of the prophets, see Eshel 2008, 175–79.

¹⁹ The inner organization of 1QpHab does not reflect that of the biblical text. Habakkuk chapter 1 and the beginning of chapter 2 include two pronouncements made by the prophet to God, as well as both of God’s responses. The first pronouncement appears in Hab 1:1–4; God replies in 1:5–11. The second is in 1:12–2:1; God answers in 2:2–4. The remainder of Habakkuk 2 consists of five curses including the word אַח (“Ah”), the last four opening with that word. On the structure of Habakkuk 1–2, see Anderson 2001, 25–97. The divisions within 1QpHab, however, pay no heed to the structure of the prophetic work.

²⁰ On the identification of the Romans with the Chaldeans in Peshar Habakkuk, see Eshel 2001, 41–43 and the important discussion in Flusser 1983, 149–76; 2007, 175–206.

²¹ Stegemann 1989, 131; In this context it should be noted that one of the scrolls mentions the “king of the Kittim,” while others, including the War Scroll, speak of the impending defeat of the Kittim; see the discussion in Eshel 2001. An important study by Flusser (1980; 2007, 140–158) shows that the Kittim of the War Scroll should be identified as the Seleucids.

Israel. On the contrary, they report that the Kittim trample the Land and devour all the peoples (col. III 6–14).

On col. V 1–8 are two pesharim on Hab 1:12–13. The first discusses the judgment of the Gentiles; the second, the end of the evil. The Teacher of Righteousness is not mentioned in these two pesharim.²² It seems that they reflect an earlier conception of the Qumran sect, when they still believed that the Gentiles were losing power and would soon face judgment by the *Yahad*.²³ Column V 8–12 brings the well-known pesher that blames the House of Absalom for being silent during the rebuke of the Teacher of Righteousness, namely, that they did not interfere when the Man of the Lie entered into conflict with the Teacher of Righteousness.²⁴

The fourth unit, cols. V 12–VI 12, includes four pesharim that offer comments on Hab 1:14–17 and deal with the Kittim. Not only is the imminent fall of the Kittim not mentioned in these pesharim, but they even make note of the fact that the Kittim's spoils are growing, numerous like fish in the sea (cols. V 12–VI 2); that they impose taxes on the entire world to facilitate the destruction of many nations (col. VI 2–8); and that they kill by sword the elderly, women, and children (col. VI 8–12). The unit also includes the pesher noting that the Kittim “sacrifice to their standards” and to “their weapons of war,” which is to say that they worship the legionary standards of the Roman army (col. VI 2–5).²⁵ The Teacher of Righteousness is not mentioned in

²² The term *בחירי* should be read in the plural, “his chosen ones”; if it was in the singular, one might have assumed it refers to the Teacher of Righteousness. The understanding that this word is in plural is based on the remainder of the pesher, which relates that the members of the sect will convict the wicked; see Nitzan's astute remarks on the subject (1986, 164–65).

²³ On the notion that the pesharim composed prior to the Roman takeover of Judaea reflect a worldview that sees the Gentiles as destined to fall into the hands of Israel, while those from after Pompey's arrival abandon such an approach, see Stegemann 1998, 127–29.

²⁴ On the importance of this pesher, see Murphy-O'Connor 1977, 120–21. On the idea that the Man of the Lie was the leader of the “Seekers After Smooth Things,” i.e., the Pharisees, see Collins 1989, 172–77. For an attempt at identifying the historical Man of the Lie, see Regev 2000.

²⁵ On the standards mentioned in 1QpHab and their identification as Roman military standards, see Horgan 1979, 35; and Goossens 1952. Some scholars have used 1QpHab and 4QpNah, where the Kittim are identified as Romans, as basis for identifying the Kittim as Romans in scrolls where they are meant to be identified as the Seleucids; see, e.g., Brooke 1991; and Alexander 2003a. For more on this matter, see Stegemann 1998, 131; Eshel 2001; and 2008, 163–179.

these pesharim, nor is the idea that the Gentiles will soon be handed over to Israel.

The second part of 1QpHab, from col. VI 12 to the end of the scroll (col. XIII 4), contains 21 pesharim on Habakkuk Chapter 2. They deal with events from the lifetime of the Teacher of Righteousness and with the punishment of the Gentiles on the Day of Judgment. They mention the Kittim only once, in a peshar on Hab 2:8 stating that the possessions of the last priests of Jerusalem will fall into the hands of the army of the Kittim (col. IX 3–7). The interpretation of this verse reflected in the peshar is particularly problematic. The original verse reads, “Since you have plundered many nations, all the rest of the peoples will plunder you.” In other words, many nations will take spoils from the one that had previously taken from many nations. The peshar on the verse reads, “. . .but at the end of days their wealth together with their booty will be given into the hand of the army of the Kittim. *vacat*. For they are the rest of the peoples.” It is quite unlikely that the original author of 1QpHab understood “the rest of the peoples” of Hab 2:8 as a lone enemy who will plunder the last priests of Jerusalem. Rather, a more reasonable assumption is that the peshar initially referred to a number of nations who will plunder the Hasmonean fortunes, but was updated to refer only to the Romans after Pompey’s conquest.²⁶

Most of the pesharim in the second part of 1QpHab involve the Teacher of Righteousness, the Man of the Lie, and the Wicked Priest. They are the source of nearly all of the information we have on the Wicked Priest. Particularly important are the four pesharim telling that the Wicked Priest will be handed over to his enemies, who will torture him and defile his corpse. The details provided in 1QpHab suggest that he is to be identified with Jonathan son of Mattathias, the high priest from 152–143 BCE.²⁷ It follows that the Teacher of Righteousness and the Man of the Lie lived in the mid-second century BCE. A peshar on

²⁶ As noted by Nitzan, the *vacat* that remains at this point in the manuscript, between the words “the army of the Kittim,” and “for they are the rest of the peoples” is problematic. Nitzan reasons that it was left erroneously by the scribe (1986, 180). However, the gap can be seen as evidence that, while the original peshar spoke of a number of nations that will plunder the Hasmoneans, the extant manuscript was updated after the Roman takeover of Judaea, at which point “the rest of the peoples” referred to them. The gap was probably left so as not to disrupt the original division of lines. For more on this particular peshar, see Brownlee 1979, 152.

²⁷ For evidence that the Wicked Priest should be identified with Jonathan son of Mattathias, see Vermes 1956, 89–97; Milik 1959, 74–78; Murphy-O’Connor 1977, 111–18; Stegemann 1998, 104–06; and Eshel 2008, 29–61.

col. VII 3–5 relates that God taught the Teacher of Righteousness how to interpret the words of all his prophets.²⁸ Another on col. X 5–13 speaks of the Spouts of the Lie, who leads many astray by bearing witness to false religious teaching.²⁹ A peshar on col. VIII 3–13 makes mention of two stages in the life of the Wicked Priest; at first he had followed the Truth, but once he ruled over Israel “he became arrogant, abandoned God, and betrayed the law.”³⁰ A peshar on col. XI 2–8 tells of when the Wicked Priest pursued the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers on the Day of Atonement.³¹ As stated, four pesharim of this section of 1QpHab describe the death of the Wicked Priest, having been given over by God to be tortured and defiled by his enemies.³² Four other pesharim in this section of the work depict the Day of Judgment. Column VIII 1–3 mention that the House of Judah—namely, the members of the *Yahad*³³—will be acquitted on the Day of Judgment because they believed in the Teacher of Righteousness. Column X 2–5 relate that God will judge the Gentiles and punish them with fire and brimstone. The scroll ends with a paragraph (most of which was copied by the second scribe) including two pesharim telling that evildoers will be condemned on the Day of Judgment because they have worshipped idols.³⁴

²⁸ On the importance of this peshar, see n. 18 above.

²⁹ It can be assumed that the intention is to the Pharisees, which were led by the Man of the Lie; see Collins 1989, 172–77; and Charlesworth 2002, 94–97.

³⁰ It seems that the author of 1QpHab understood “betrays,” in Hab 2:5 as alluding to a change in the vocation of the Wicked Priest. On the importance of this peshar and on its use as supporting the evidence for the identification of the Wicked Priest as Jonathan son of Mattathias, see Eshel 1996.

³¹ On the significance of this event as one of the main reasons for the Teacher of Righteousness and his disciples to leave Jerusalem and to move to the desert, see Talmon 1951.

³² These four pesharim appear in cols. VIII 13–IX 2, IX 8–12, XI 8–16, and XI 17–XII 6. The fifth, which also relates that the Wicked Priest will be given into the hands of the Gentiles, is incorporated into the well-known peshar in col. IV 7–10 of 4QpPs^a. In that peshar, it is said that since the Wicked Priest sought to kill the Teacher of Righteousness, who sent him the Law and the Torah, “God will] pay [him] his due, giving him into the hand of the ruthless ones of the Gentiles to wreak [vengeance] on him” (Horgan 1979, 198). On the importance of these five pesharim for identifying the Wicked Priest as Jonathan son of Mattathias, see Eshel 2008, 29–61.

³³ On the use of Judah as one of the names for the *Yahad* in the sectarian scrolls, see Amoussine 1963; Yadin 1971; Flusser 1981; 2007, 214–257; and Schwartz 1981.

³⁴ The first peshar is recorded in col. XII 10–14, the second in cols. XII 14–XIII 4. It should not be supposed that the first peshar, on Hab 2:18, was particularly brief, including only: “The interpretation of the passage concerns all the idols of the nations.” (col. XII 13). One might make this supposition because the text that follows,

C. THE NATURE OF THE MODIFICATION PROCESS DOCUMENTED IN 1QpHab

It can therefore be supposed that the first peshar, an interpretation of Hab 1–2, was written not long after the time in which the Teacher of Righteousness, the Man of the Lie, and the Wicked Priest lived, placing it in the second half of the second century BCE. It seems that most of the other pesharim recorded in 1QpHab were also composed during this time. Subsequent to the Roman takeover of Judaea, however, it was decided to update the manuscript.³⁵ New pesharim on Hab 1:6–11. 14–17 were added, replacing older pesharim on these verses.³⁶ The additions reflect the reality in Judaea after the Roman takeover. The first paragraph added to the work appears on cols. II 10–IV 13, and includes nine pesharim on Hab 1:6–11. The second is on cols. V 12–VI 12, with four pesharim on Hab 1:14–17. All of the pesharim deal with the Kittim, i.e., the Romans. No new pesharim were added to those commenting on Hab 2, although one was altered, as mentioned above regarding the Romans' plundering of the last priests of Jerusalem. This alteration created a somewhat forced peshar, which identified "the rest of the peoples" as the Romans. It can be assumed, as stated, that the original peshar referred to more than one enemy that was to take spoils from the Hasmonean rulers.

In 1QpHab, the Kittim are never mentioned together with either the Teacher of Righteousness, the Man of the Lie, or the Wicked Priest. Furthermore, none of the pesharim claim that the Kittim invaded Judaea because of the Man of the Lie or the Wicked Priest, or because

"...which they have made so that they may serve them and bow down before them, but they will not save them on the day of judgment" (col. XII 13–14), were written by the second scribe, who copied the last nine lines of the scroll. It seems, however, that the second scribe copied from the same scroll from which the first worked. The last two pesharim of 1QpHab should thus be viewed as an inseparable part of the original text. This conclusion finds support in two pieces of evidence. One, the guiding lines on col. XIII are identical to those of the other 12 columns, disproving any notion that col. XIII was added in a later phase. Two, the last two pesharim speak of Gentiles being convicted on the Day of Judgment, a point of view reflected only in pesharim predating the Roman occupation of Judaea.

³⁵ Stegemann claimed that 1QpHab was composed in 54 BCE (1998, 131–32). He did not take notice of the fact that all of the pesharim involving the Kittim are part of two units, perhaps added to the scroll after 63 BCE. He therefore dated the entire work to the mid-first century BCE.

³⁶ On the manner by which the scrolls were updated, see Tov 2005.

of their relationship with the Teacher of Righteousness.³⁷ It thus seems that two separate historical periods are reflected in 1QpHab. The original work appears to have been composed in the second half of the second century BCE; it was then modified in the middle of the first century BCE. The modifications included the insertion of two literary units written in the first century BCE and the alteration of the pesher on Hab 2:8 to declare that it was the Romans who plundered the Hasmonean spoils.

SUMMARY

It has been claimed here that 1QpHab consists of a work originally composed in the second century BCE, but later updated in the mid-first century BCE. In the first phase, the pesharim offered an interpretation of Hab 1–2, in light of events that took place during the lifetime of the Teacher of Righteousness. They provide glimpses into the reality of life in Judaea at the beginning of Hasmonean rule. The Seleucids lost power in this period, while the Hasmoneans became stronger. The pesharim reflect the notion that the Gentiles will very soon fall into the hands of Israel. The manuscript was updated, however, subsequent to the events that took place in the region in the 60s BCE. New interpretations on Hab 1 were added, reflecting the view that the Chaldeans (i.e., the Babylonians, who laid waste to the First Temple) mentioned among Habakkuk's prophecies should be identified with the Romans,

³⁷ Reflected in the two pesharim documented in 4QpPs^a is the idea that the people of Judah are to be put to the sword and starved by the Gentiles because of the Man of the Lie and the wicked ones of Ephraim and Manasseh, and their relationship with the Teacher of Righteousness. The pesher on v. 7, brought at the end of col. I 26–27 of 4QpPs^a, reads: “[The interpretation] of it concerns the Man of the Lie, who led many astray with deceitful words, for they chose empty words and did not lis[ten] to the Interpreter of Knowledge, so that they will perish by the sword, by famine, and by plague” (Horgan 1979, 52, 195). While col. II 18–20 reads: “The interpretation of it concerns the wicked ones of Ephraim and Manasseh, who will seek to lay their hands on the priest and on his partisans in the time of testing that is coming upon them. But God will ransom them from their hand, and afterwards they will be given into the hand of the ruthless ones of the Gentiles for judgment” (Horgan 1979, 53, 196). If we accept Stegemann's dating of 4QpPs^a to the 70s BCE (1998, 127–28), then it cannot be said that these pesharim see the treatment of the Teacher of Righteousness as the reason behind Pompey's conquest of Judaea. Rather, it would appear that the two pesharim reflect general expectations of the *Yahad*, and not a specific historical event. Yet the possibility that 4QpPs^a also underwent some kind of historical modification should not be ruled out.

who assumed power over Judaea and Jerusalem in 63 BCE. These pesharim make no mention of the Teacher of Righteousness, the Man of the Lie, or the Wicked Priest; nor do they express the hope that the Kittim will soon be stripped of their power.

Qumran has yielded 18 Continuous Pesharim, but only three of these commentaries survive in a complete enough form to assess whether they underwent historical modifications. These are Peshar Habakkuk (1QpHab), Peshar Nahum (4QpNah), and 4QpPs^a. Shani L. Berrin has noted that 4QpNah contains a historical modification similar to those made in 1QpHab that I have put forward.³⁸ If these proposals are true, then two of the three relatively complete peshar scrolls were subject to a literary evolution that included an updating of their historical commentaries.³⁹ According to Berrin, there is only one copy of each of the 18 Continuous Pesharim, because the sectarians only kept the most updated copy of each work.⁴⁰ Similar modifications are identifiable in the thematic commentaries incorporated into the Damascus Document.⁴¹ Most scholars agree that the later parts of the Book of Daniel (chapters 7–12) came into being in a similar fashion.⁴² The recurrence of this tendency in these works only strengthens the supposition that two historical layers are reflected in 1QpHab. The earlier represent realities of the second century BCE; the later, apparently added to 1QpHab in the mid-first century BCE, of life after the Roman occupation of Judaea.

³⁸ See Berrin 2004, 214–15.

³⁹ It is worth examination whether a similar modification process occurred in 4QpPs^a; see n. 37 above.

⁴⁰ See Berrin 2004, 215–16 and Tov 2005.

⁴¹ See, e.g., the discussion in Eshel 1999.

⁴² See, e.g., Collins 2001; Kratz 2001; Albertz 2001; and references to the extensive scholarly literature brought in these three studies. If we adopt the conclusions brought in this paper, it follows that the inhabitants of Qumran were careful to destroy previous versions of modified pesharim. This stands in contrast with the redactor of the Book of Daniel, who included in chapters 11 and 12 prophecies that never happened.

WHO ARE THE “FOOLS” IN 4QNARRATIVE AND POETIC COMPOSITION^{A-C}?

Magnar Kartveit

The fragmentary 4QNarrative and Poetic Composition^{a-c} (in particular 4Q371 and 4Q372) is critical of a group labelled “fools”, נבליים, who are accused of various sins. The official editor, Eileen Schuller (Schuller 1989–1990), identified this group as the Samaritans and characterized the text as an anti-Samaritan work. My study will develop her proposal by considering the text within the larger context of the Jewish literature from the Second Temple Period and by further investigating underlying biblical exegesis. I will pay particular attention to the use of the terms “Joseph” and “Israel” as self-identifications that appear to have caused hostility between the inhabitants of Judah, or Jerusalem, and the Samaritans.¹

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The texts under discussion are three fragments from two different manuscripts, 4Q371 and 4Q372. 4Q371 is made up of ten fragments and is dated to 100–75 BCE. 4Q372 consists of 26 fragments and is dated from the late Hasmonean to the early Herodian period. These two manuscripts belong together with two more manuscripts, 4Q373, represented by two fragments dated to middle or late Hasmonean time, and 2Q22, which is Herodian. The dating by John Strugnell was mainly done on paleographic grounds (DJD 28, 151, note 1). Parts of the text in each manuscript overlap with text in at least one other manuscript, which suggests that the four manuscripts are related to each other. Hence, the manuscripts may be four copies of the same composition, or different manuscripts based on a common parent text; they could also be compilations based on a parent text or excerpts from it. Although the manuscripts are from 100–50 BCE, the original document may be

¹ Torleif Elgvin and Cecilia Wassen have made valuable suggestions for improving the paper, which is highly appreciated.

older, stemming from the second century BCE. Since the text is very positive towards the temple in Jerusalem, it is tempting to use this as a means for dating it to a time prior to a possible exodus of the Teacher and his followers from Jerusalem (different theories described by Hempel 2000). This, however, is a fragile basis for the dating. Another point of departure for dating the document is John Hyrcan's destruction of Shechem and Gerizim, which took place in the latter third of the second century BCE. As the text does not seem to take this destruction into consideration, it might be older. However, such a procedure is an *argumentum e silentio*, and cannot provide a secure basis for dating.

The character of the underlying parent text is difficult to determine as the four manuscripts offer a mix of narrative parts, parts with hymnic or psalmic character, parts with sapiential character, hortatory texts, and a prayer. The manuscripts display military and priestly terminology, combined with halakhic and maybe even calendrical interests. Hence, the fragments do not seem to be unified in terms of content (DJD 28, 151–54). Despite these differences, the four manuscripts seem to have an interrelationship due to the overlapping text.

Most fragments are small, but 4Q371 and 4Q372 include some larger fragments that are of particular interest to us. 4Q371 1a and 1b overlap with lines 5–14 of 4Q372 1 (DJD 28, 151). Similarly, some letters in 4Q371 2, overlap with text in line 24. The overlapping text has allowed the editors to reconstruct a few words of text on different lines with some probability.

There are, however, differences between 4Q371 1 and 4Q372 1, particularly with regards to the tense of four verbs. In 4Q371 the verb form is *yiqtol*. Two of the verbs have correspondences in 4Q372, but here they are in the *wayyiqtol*-form. At first glance, this might indicate a different meaning of the text—a future perspective in 4Q371 and a past perspective in 4Q372—but *yiqtol* can also have a past meaning, especially where repetition or continuation is intended. If this explanation may not be satisfying, one could side with the editors in DJD 28 and downplay the difference. They indicate that there may be circumstantial clauses in 4Q371, or that the forms may be poetic in their use. Accordingly, I conclude that 4Q371 and 4Q372 present the same basic meaning, and that 4Q371 refers to the past, as also 4Q372 1, 1–15 does.

After the initial publication of the text by Eileen Schuller, Elisha Qimron suggested improvements on the reading (Schuller 1989–1990; Qimron 1992). The editors, Schuller and Bernstein, have taken some,

but not all, of his recommendations into account in DJD 28. The DJD-text is presupposed here. The first question I am asking, then, is what kind of text do we have in these manuscripts.

THE CHARACTER OF THE TEXT

Lines 1–3 in 4Q372 1 are fragmentary, but seem to describe the sins of the people in the form of idolatry. Lines 4–6 concern *Elyon* who is forcing the people into exile. Lines 7–8 refer to the predicament of Jerusalem in a terminology echoing Isa 22:1.5 (“valley of vision”), Ps 79:1 (“Jerusalem into ruins”), and Mic 3:12 (“the temple mount into wooded heights”). These lines pertain to the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 BCE. Lines 1–8 reflect on the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile as divine punishments for the sins of the people. Lines 10–15 seem to describe the present situation in the land of Joseph. According to lines 10 and 14f., “Joseph” is in exile. Lines 16–32 is a prayer of Joseph for deliverance, with a short introduction in lines 15–16. The text is thus made up of a historical review of the sins of the people leading up to the exile and the destruction of Jerusalem, a second historical section about the exile of Joseph and the resulting situation in his land, which is followed by a prayer for divine deliverance and destruction of the enemy. The title “A text about Joseph” (Schuller 1989–1990) thus fits best in the case of lines 9–32, while the title “Prayer of Joseph” (Eshel 1991) is appropriate for the lines 16–32.

Line 9 mentions someone who stood at the crossroads and who was together with Judah. Line 10 says that someone was with his two brothers. Three brothers are named in line 14: Levi, Judah, and Benjamin, and it is reasonable to conclude that the same three tribes are alluded to in line 10. Schuller and Bernstein assume that the same three persons must be found also in line 9 (Schuller 1989–1990, 359; Schuller and Bernstein 2001, 174). The text here, however, is in the singular and allows for only one companion of Judah, namely the unidentified companion who is standing at the crossroads. The three tribes identified in line 14, and possibly alluded to in line 10, refer to the southern part of the sons of Jacob, which at the time of the composition of the text must have meant the community centred on Jerusalem. A fourth tribe is identified in line 10, Joseph, who is in exile according to lines 10 and 15. This is an exile in “all the world,” (line 11), and among a “foreign nation,” or “foreigners” (lines 11 and 15). The expression in

line 15, **בני נאכר**,² is found both in the singular and the plural in the Bible, but **גוי נאכר** of line 11 is not known. **גוי נאכר** is, however, found in CD XIV 15 and 11QT LVII 11, LXIV 7. **נאכר** carries a strong negative connotation in the Hebrew Bible where it is associated with idols. Thus, “Joseph” is in exile among “foreigners,” who probably worship idols.

The most important part of the text for my discussion is found in lines 10–15. Underlined text is also found in 4Q371 1:

10. And in all this, Joseph was cast into lands he did not k[now..]
11. among a foreign nation and dispersed in all the world. All their mountains were desolate of them.. [*w and fools were dwelling in their land*]
12. and making for themselves a high place upon a high mountain to provoke Israel to jealousy; and they spoke with wor[ds of]
13. the sons of Jacob and they acted terribly with the words of their mouth to revile against the tent of Zion; and they spoke.. [*words of falsehood, and all*]
14. words of deceit they spoke to provoke Levi and Judah and Benjamin with their words. And in all this Joseph [was given]
15. into the hands of foreigners, who were devouring his strength and breaking all his bones until the time of the end for him. And he cried out...

While Joseph is in “all the world” and among a “foreign people,” his mountains are completely “desolate” of him (line 11). His area is occupied by “fools,” **נבלים** (line 11, as reconstructed on the basis of 4Q371). These occupants are described as “enemies,” **עם אויב**, in line 20. These “fools” or “enemies” have made a **במה** for themselves on a high mountain, (line 12). This act is done in order to provoke Israel to jealousy—“the sons of Jacob” in line 13 is most likely a parallel to “Israel” in the previous line. These “fools” also act terribly by speaking against the temple in Jerusalem, “the tent of Zion” (line 13), which appears to exist in some form after the destruction described in line 8. The criticism of Jerusalem is described as falsity and lies, and is said to provoke the three tribes Levi, Judah, and Benjamin to anger in line 14.

The exile of Joseph has the effect that his enemies devour his strength and break his bones (line 14), which is, again, biblical language, known

² This is the way **נאכר** is written here, but in the HB and in other Qumran-texts it is found without the ‘alef. Still, it appears to be the same word.

from Hosea, Lamentations, and Isaiah. This will last until the time of his redemption, **עַד עַת קֶץ לֹ**, (line 15). The meaning of **עַת קֶץ** is “time of redemption” as in Dan 8:17; 11:35,40; 12:4,9, and not “end time” or “time of judgement,” as in earlier literature. It is for this redemption from the **בְּנֵי נְאֻכָר** that Joseph prays in the following lines. Following the opening prayer for deliverance is an extended description of God’s justice, his strength, non-violence, and mercy. This is followed by a repetition of the claim that the enemy people took the land of Joseph and his brothers and are now dwelling upon it (lines 19–20). This enemy speaks against Jacob’s sons, God’s beloved, and enrages someone (line 21). Lines 19b–22 read:

19. [They took]my land from me and from all my brothers who
20. are joined with me. A hostile people is dwelling upon it and
k.[]*p* and they [the people] opened their mouth against
21. all the sons of your friend Jacob with vexations to l[]
22. the time (when) you will destroy them from the entire world, and
they will give [].

The base translated as “vexations” in line 21 is found also in line 14, **כְּעַם**, followed by **לְ** (possibly the preposition **לְ** and the first letter of “Levi”). One may therefore assume that the subsequent text of line 21 would have referred to “Levi, Judah, and Benjamin”, as in line 14. Line 22 looks forward to the time when God will destroy the enemy from all the earth. This corresponds to the “time of redemption” of line 15, and thus represents the explanation of the kind of redemption for which the prayer asks. The rest of the prayer, or psalm, contains promises to do justice and praise God, to sacrifice and to teach the sinners God’s laws. A new doxology rounds off the prayer and may be a declaration of personal insight, presumably into God’s ways. The concluding promises contain elements known from the psalms of lament in the Hebrew Bible.

Schuller notes concerning the provenance of this text “nothing in the theology or vocabulary of the manuscript as a whole links it specifically to the Qumran community and writings such as IQS, IQM or the Pesharim” (Schuller 1989–1990, 350). The text portrays the exiled tribes in the north as “Joseph” and the Samaritans as “fools” and an enemy people. Florentino García Martínez proposes that the author superimposed Joseph’s experience in Egypt onto the northern tribes’ dispersion experience (García Martínez 1991). In agreement with Schuller and Bernstein, Michael Knibb argues that “Joseph” here

does not correspond to traditions based upon the Joseph of Genesis, suggesting instead that the text has created “the representation of the tribes by their eponymous ancestor” (Knibb 1992, 164–77).

James Kugel claims, however, that “this broad consensus regarding the original aim of 4Q372 frg. 1 [referring to Schuller and Bernstein, DJD 28], though not without merit, ignores the receptive context in which we find the fragment.” Instead, he perceives the character of Joseph “as an ideal figure at Qumran.” Supporting his thesis with a wide range of references to the Scrolls and other texts, he claims that Joseph was primarily seen as a true mediator of God’s truth and will, loyal to and beloved by the ancestors (Kugel 2006, 272, 276f.). Nevertheless, this interpretation fails to account for the exile of Joseph and his suffering under foreign rulers, as well as for his prayer for restoration of himself and the destruction of the enemies who are occupying his land. These elements in the text point towards a concrete understanding of Joseph rather than that of an idealized figure.

LITERARY CONTEXT

Based on Samaritan literature and writings from Josephus, Schuller and Bernstein argue that there was a discussion about who represented “Joseph” at the time of the writing of 4Q371–373. Since “Joseph” is a term of self-identification in Samaritan literature, a usage that is corroborated by two passages from Josephus (A.J. 9.291 and 11.341), the question was: Who is the real Joseph, the northern tribes now exiled or the present population of the North? The relevance of the Samaritan literature is dubious because of the late date (Byzantine or Mediaeval), but the two passages from Josephus are early enough to produce comparable material.

Our text is concerned with the fate of the northern tribes. If one compares the perspective of 4Q372 with some biblical texts, which address the fate of the exiled northern tribes, the following picture emerges: Jer 31:8f. looks forward to a return of “Ephraim, my first-born;” Ezek 37:15–23 prophecies that all Israelites will return to their own land from all the nations and be unified under one king (37:21f.); it is worth noting that verses 16f. promise the unification of Joseph and Judah; according to Zech 10:6–10 the houses of Judah and Joseph will return and settle in the land of Gilead and Lebanon. Likewise, Zech

8:13 looks forward to the restoration of the house of Judah and the house of Israel when they will be turning from being a curse among the nations to becoming a blessing. The text of Isa 11:13 expects a time when Judah and Ephraim, no longer a threat to each other, together will take spoils from Edom, Moab, Ammon, and the Philistines. The rest of God's people will return from Assur (11:16).

These texts are not concerned with the removal of contemporary dwellers in the land of Samaria or the Northern kingdom, only with the return of Joseph or Ephraim, and Judah. The same is the case in the prayer in Sir 36:1–19. The enemies, whom the petitioner asks to be destroyed, seem to be located in foreign lands, as are the tribes of Jacob (God is asked to "gather all the tribes of Jacob that they may inherit the land" in 36:11).

More than two hundred years later, the Testament of Moses (first century CE), 2 Baruch (early second century CE), and 2 Esdras (late first century CE), realizing that the Northern tribes are still in foreign lands, express a hope for their salvation. There is no mention of the contemporary dwellers to be removed from the North of the land.

2 Esd 13:39–50 presupposes that ten tribes were exiled beyond the Euphrates by Salmanassar at the time of Josiah, from where they went even further to escape the pagan peoples. They are termed the "peaceful lot," who will be called by the Son of the Most High to return to him and to Zion, and be saved together with the people remaining in the holy land.

2 Bar 78–86 contains a letter to the nine and a half tribes across the Euphrates. In this letter they are considered brothers of the tribes who were exiled from Jerusalem, as the writer asks, "are we not all, the twelve tribes, bound by one captivity as we also descend from one father?" (78:4). Whereas "the inhabitants of Zion were a comfort to you" (80:7), now most of them are in exile with no hope for a return to the land. God will punish the nations on behalf of his people, and the present era will come to an end. The writer admonishes the addressees: "remember Zion and the Law and the holy land and your brothers and the covenant and your fathers, and do not forget the festivals and the Sabbaths" (84:8). At the same time, there will be no return to the land as the text states, "We have left our land, and Zion has been taken away from us, and we have nothing now apart from the Mighty One and his Law" (85:3).

The perspective of the Testament of Moses 3:4–4:9 is that the twelve tribes are in exile and “tribulation has come upon the whole house of Israel” (3:7). 4:5–9 clearly expects the return of the two tribes to Jerusalem, but its view on the fate of the ten tribes, who are to “grow and spread out among the nations during the time of their captivity,” is less clear.

Like 4Q372, these texts consider the northern and southern tribes as brothers. This is important given the background of Ps 78:67f: “He rejected the tent (אֹהֶל) of Joseph, he did not choose the tribe of Ephraim; but he chose the tribe of Judah, Mount Zion, which he loves.” In this case, there is an explicit rejection of Joseph. This rejection (מאס) is not reflected in the later texts, which instead express solidarity with the northern tribes.

Against this background, the focus on the contemporary dwellers in the land of Joseph in our text (lines 11–14) deserves special attention. The psalm or prayer envisages a destruction of the enemies dwelling in the land of Joseph (line 22), but the extant text includes no hint of a return to the land, which would have been the logical consequence. It may have existed in text now lost. In contrast, the texts quoted from the Hebrew Bible, Sirach (from the same century as the parent text of 4Q372), and texts two hundred years after 4Q372 do not even mention the existence of such dwellers in the land of Joseph. Even 2 Esdras, from the time of Josephus (who has a lot to say about these dwellers), does not address the issue. Perhaps 2 Esdras expects a return to Zion, which would not affect the territory in the north.

Sirach, from the same century as the parent text of 4Q372 1, knows of such dwellers in chapter 50. But the enemies, who are mentioned in chapter 36, are outside the land, and their destruction is prayed for, in order that all the tribes of Jacob will return to the land.

THE DWELLERS IN JOSEPH’S LAND ACCORDING TO 4Q372

What is the picture painted of the people dwelling in the land of Joseph? The sympathy of 4Q372 is clear from the preserved fragments: the author looks favourably upon Jerusalem and its temple, and upon Joseph, and envisages that his predicament will come to an end. On the other hand, the texts express negative sentiments towards the “fools,” i.e., the enemy people who are dwelling on his territory in the north. The description of them is therefore strongly polemical.

Through the polemical portrayal of them we are able to discern some of the underlying assumptions.

The enemies are said to have made a *במה* on a high mountain. The expression *ועשים להם במה* may build on 2 Kgs 17:9, but the expression is closer to the wording of 2 Kgs 17:32 than to the text in v. 9. 2 Kings 17 is derogatory towards the Assyrian settlers in Samaria, so either allusion to 2 Kings 17 conveys negative overtones. The word *במה* denotes a sanctuary or an altar and may be a reference to the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim. If the point is to use the critique against the settlers in 2 Kings 17 and apply it to a new situation, then the negative connotations are important. If the text employs language from 2 Kings 17, this is an indication that this chapter was interpreted as anti-Samaritan in the second century BCE, two hundred years before Josephus used the chapter in his explanation of the origin of the Samaritans (A.J. 9.288ff.).

There are other indications of such an understanding of 2 Kings 17 in the same period. Written at the transition from the second to the first century BCE, 2 Macc 6:2 may presuppose an anti-Samaritan reading of 2 Kings 17: "The king sent an Athenian senator to compel the Jews to forsake the laws of their ancestors and no longer to live by the laws of God; also to pollute the temple in Jerusalem and to call it the temple of Olympian Zeus, and to call the one in Gerizim the temple of Zeus the Hospitable/Zeus-the-Friend-of-Strangers, as did the people who lived in that place," 2 Macc 6:1–2. The meaning of *καθὼς ἐτύγγανον*, here translated "as did," may either be "as [the people] asked for" or "as it befitted [the people]" (Hanhart 1982, 108*f.). The author of 2 Maccabees either says that the inhabitants of the place themselves decided which new name their temple should have, or that it was renamed by the Seleucids according to the character of the Samaritans as foreigners. In either case, 2 Macc 6:2 alleges that the temple on Mount Gerizim was renamed after Zeus the Hospitable, *Zeὺς Ἐένιος*, whether the author of 2 Macc 6:2 thought that this renaming was the result of a Samaritan initiative or of Seleucid policies. In either case, if he considered the Samaritans as foreigners, he perhaps with a bit of sarcasm states that they needed a god who protected foreigners. If this reading of 2 Macc 6:2 and 4Q372 is correct, it is possible that 2 Kings 17 influenced the author of 2 Macc 6:2 to think of the Samaritans as foreigners, and this is then to be understood as an anti-Samaritan tendency two hundred years before Josephus did this explicitly.

In the case of 4Q372, however, there is no allegation of foreign origin of the Samaritans, only possible allusions to 2 Kings 17. 2 Macc 6:2 is a better case of such possible use of 2 Kings 17 in the second century BCE.

The use of the *gal* participle in the case of the building, עשים, does not necessarily mean “they are building right now,” but could be more timeless, parallel to the meaning of the other participles in lines 11–12. The temple existed at the time of composition of the text.

The construction of the במה is made “in order to provoke Israel,” להקניא את ישראל, according to line 12. The verb קנא is adopted from Deut 32:21, “They made me jealous (קנא) with what is no god, provoked (בעס) me with their idols. So I will make them jealous (קנא) with what is no people, provoke (בעס) them with a foolish nation.” The people provoke God and he will provoke them.

The reference to “Israel” in 4Q372 is significant. The term does not appear in MT of Deut 32:21, as this verse comes inside the divine speech in Deut 32:20–35. Since this speech is addressed to Israel, the addition of “Israel” in 4Q371 and 4Q372 is not surprising. As an expression for the opponents of the “fools” of the north “Israel” it is, however, significant. It may be parallel to the expression in line 14: “Levi, Judah, and Benjamin,” or to all the descendants of God’s beloved, Jacob, in line 21. In both cases it is a term denoting the opponents of the Samaritans. The Samaritans from the early second century BCE and onward called themselves “Israel,” as the Delos-inscriptions from the first half of the second century BCE show. These inscriptions from the second century BCE were found on the Aegean island Delos and were made by “the Israelites” dwelling on the island, who were sending their offerings to “Argarizein,” that is, Mount Gerizim. The statement in 4Q371 that “they made for themselves a במה on a high mountain in order to provoke Israel” must then have sounded insulting in the ears of the Samaritans. Like the inhabitants of Jerusalem or all the descendants of Jacob, these inhabitants of the north considered themselves Israelites. The construction of the temple on Mount Gerizim was not intended to be a provocation to “Israel” but to be their pride. They termed the temple on the mountain, or even the mountain itself “holy,” and “holy and sanctified” according to the Delos-inscriptions (cf. the expression in Pseudo-Eupolemos, ἱερὸν ἀργαρίζιον). Hence, there was a discussion not only concerning who were the true “Joseph”-ites, but also concerning who were the real “Israel.”

4Q372 accuses the Samaritans of criticising Jerusalem and her temple. The people residing in the north mock Jerusalem: they revile against the tent of Zion (line 13), producing lies and every kind of deceit in order to provoke Levi, Judah, and Benjamin (line 13f.). The background to this may be actual abuse against Jerusalem and the tribes around the city, but more likely the text expresses conventional, polemical language as all the expressions are adopted from the Hebrew Bible. The uttering from the north is deemed a “terrible act.” Most of all, it is characterized as “blasphemy,” **לְגֹדֵף** (Piʿel, line 13; cf. Sir 3:16; 48:18). The blasphemy is uttered in order to enrage “Levi, Judah, and Benjamin” (line 14). Nothing is preserved of such Samaritan polemics.

The strength of the allegation that the “fools” provoke Israel becomes evident in light of the background in Deut 32:21. There, Israel provokes God with their non-gods and idols; here, the “fools” provoke Israel with their “high place” on the high mountain. To the degree that the “fools” call themselves “Israel,” this claim is rejected by reserving this name for the opponents in the South. The construction of the **בַּמָּה** in the North functions like the non-gods and idols of Deut 32:21.

The negative attitude toward the Samaritans in the text is strong enough for us to assume that the prayer in line 22 calls upon God to exterminate the Samaritans from all the earth. 4Q372 calls the Samaritans “fools,” **נְבִלִים** (line 11) as reconstructed on the basis of 4Q371. Our text shares the expression “fools” with Sir. 50:26: “With two nations my soul is vexed, and the third is no nation (**לֹא עַם**): Those who live on Mount Seir, and the Philistines, and the foolish people (**גֹּי נְבֵל**) that dwell in Shechem” (Manuscript B, col. XX r; Beentjes 1997, 90; NRSV).

Ben Sira’s expression “foolish people,” **גֹּי נְבֵל**, is often traced to Deut 32:6, (e.g. Hanhart 1982, 107*), but there we read **עַם נְבֵל** and not **גֹּי נְבֵל**. The latter expression is found in Deut 32:21, where it stands as parallel to **עַם**. Sir 50:26 uses the parallel **גֹּי נְבֵל**—**לֹא עַם** from Deut 32:21, but the expressions are distributed on two lines. Following the wisdom pattern ‘X plus one,’ the text focuses on the last case, “the third is no nation.” This non-nation are “those who dwell in Shechem,” according to the next line. The first two peoples are old enemies of Israel, the Edomites in Seir and the Philistines, but the target is the third people, the dwellers in Shechem.

The LXX of Sir 50:26 has changed “Seir” into “Samaria,” and arrives at the following text: “those who dwell in the mountains of

Samaria, the Philistines and the foolish people who lives in Shechem.” The translation thereby highlights the Samaritans even stronger than the MT. It is tempting to see in this change a deliberate targeting and not the result of accidents in textual transmission. It is not probable that the LXX distinguished between “those who dwell in the mountains of Samaria,” viz. the Samaritans, and “the foolish people who lives in Shechem” as a *pars pro toto* expression for the Samaritans (Hanhart 1982, 107*). The LXX targeted the Samaritans, just as the Hebrew text of Sirach did, only stronger.

Schuller interprets the expression, נבליִם, in 4Q372 on the basis of Deut 32:6, 21 (Schuller and Bernstein 2001, 174). The expression “fools” would then be parallel to Deut 32:21 just like 4Q372 uses other expressions from the same chapter. But the reference must be to Deut 32:21 alone, since Deut 32:6 uses the expression עֵם נָבַל; furthermore, here it appears as a self-designation for Israel who is considered a rebellious and apostate people. This is not the model for 4Q372 or for Sirach, as they use נבליִם and גוי נבל as designations for the Samaritans, who are the target of their critique.

In Sir. 49:5 there is another case of the “foolish people.” The Hebrew text reads “the foolish, foreign people,” גוי נבל נכרי, but the Greek has only “a foreign people” (ἔθνει ἀλλοτριῶ). The expression in 49:5 refers to the Babylonians, and it may be correct that 50:26 compares the Shechemites to this people (Hanhart 1982, 107*). If so, then Sir 50:26 is the earliest text with the allegation that the Samaritans were immigrants into the region from the east. This association to Babylonians was in line with Josephus’ story of Samaritan origins, A.J. 9.288ff. The addition of נכרי in 49:5 against the simpler expression גוי נבל in 50:26 might indicate that the author saw a difference between Babylonians, the people that burned the Holy city and made her streets desolate (49:6), and the contemporary inhabitants of Shechem. Whereas the former were נכרי, “foreigners,” a word often associated with foreign worship, the Shechemites were simply characterized by the expression “fools” from Deut 32:21. Still, Sir 50:26 may be alluding to the people who destroyed Jerusalem.

THE CITY OF FOOLS

A further question is how the authors of 4Q372 and Sirach came to associate these “fools” of Deut 32:21 with the land of Joseph in 4Q372,

on the one hand, and with the inhabitants of Shechem in Sir 50:26, on the other. The answer to this question may lie in the third text with roots in the second century BCE that also employs the expression “fools,” namely the Testament of Levi 7.

According to the Testament of Levi, the reason for calling Shechem a city of fools, is the rape of Dinah as told in Genesis 34. The Testament recounts how Levi killed Shechem and Simeon killed Hamor, 6:4, and after them “my brothers came and destroyed that city by the sword,” 6:5. The text continues, “from this day forward,” i.e., after the killing, “Shechem shall be called ‘City of the Senseless’ (πόλις ἀσυνέτων), because as one might scoff at a fool (μωρὸν), so we scoffed at them, because by defiling (μιάνω) my sister they committed folly (ἄφροσύνην) in Israel,” 7:2–4. Even if the original inhabitants were killed, the name “fools” rests on the city of Shechem.

The Testament of Levi condones the continuing scoffing, scorning, and ridiculing of the Shechemites because of the detestable act, the “folly” committed according to Genesis 34. The word ἀσύνετος in the expression “a city of fools,” creates an association to Deut 32:21. The LXX uses ἀσύνετος as a translation for נבל in Deut 32:21. The Testament of Levi combines Genesis 34 and Deut 32:21 by using an expression from Deuteronomy 32 LXX for the name of the city because of the act told in Genesis 34.

The Aramaic Levi Document—now published by Esther Eshel and others—proves the existence of a Jewish substratum of the Testament of Levi, and that substratum was concerned with the story derived from Genesis 34 (Greenfield, Stone and Eshel 2004, 57; cf. Ulrichsen 1991). Genesis 34 is the obvious background to the expression “city of fools” with regards to Shechem, since the text describes the נבלה of Shechem. A central element in Genesis 34 is that by the rape of Dinah Shechem “committed an outrage in Israel,” נבלה עשה בישראל, v. 7 (LXX: ἄσχημον ἐποίησεν ἐν ἰσραηλ). The combination of Deut 32:6 and Genesis 34, then, provided the basis for the expression “a city of fools,” as well as the background for describing the present inhabitants of the region as “fools.” Gen 48:21f. connects Joseph to Shechem. In the allotment of land to the tribes, Josh 13; 16–17, the two Joseph-tribes are allotted land on the East and West of the Jordan. But in Gen 48:21f. Joseph is connected to Shechem alone, with an allusion to Genesis 34 through the word “sword,” which occurs in connection with the killing of the Shechemites in Genesis 34. In Gen 48:21f. there is a possible connection between “Joseph” and the rape of Dinah.

As James Kugel has pointed out, Deut 32:21 was given an anti-Samaritan understanding very early on the basis of the expression “a non-people.” 2 Kings 17 reports that a mix of peoples was brought into the region. Since the Samaritans were associated with this conglomeration of different peoples, they accordingly were a “non-people” (Kugel 1998, 423). Against this ancient understanding of Deut 32:21, it suffices to observe that the expression “a non-people” is a parallel term to “a foolish people” in Deut 32:21 to explain the background to Ben Sira’s use of it. But, if Sirach associated the reference to the Babylonians in 49:5 with the “foolish people” in 50:26, this author presupposed an anti-Samaritan reading of 2 Kings 17.

The expression “folly” is a heavily laden term. **נבלה** is used for specific types of sins in the Hebrew Bible. The whole expression “to commit an outrage in Israel” in Gen 34:7 also appears in Deut 22:21; Josh 7:15; Judg 20:6; 2 Sam 13:12; and Jer 29:23 and is a technical term for particularly severe sins: e.g., non-virginity of a bride, Achan’s embezzling of the **חרם**, the fatal rape of the concubine by the Benjaminites of Gibeon, Amnon’s rape of Tamar, and prophesying lies in the name of Yahweh. The expression comes close to describing violation of divine justice. **נבלה** means “foolishness,” with the associated meaning of transgression against God. It is not a wisdom term. The use of this expression has made the story in Genesis 34 into an example of an especially serious violation of law and order. The name “city of fools” in the Testament of Levi is attached to Shechem, an association that will last throughout the generations.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, 4Q372 can best be described as a polemical text about the Samaritans who are dwelling in Joseph’s land in the second century BCE. They are considered descendants of the Shechemites and are associated with the sacrilege described in Genesis 34. Their criticism of the temple in Jerusalem amounts to blasphemy, in analogy with acts described in Deut 32:21.

The text is one in a series of anti-Samaritan polemics from the same century. These texts cannot be fully presented here, but they include Ben Sira, the poem by Theodotus,³ Jubilees, and the source of the Testament of Levi. These documents particularly employ Genesis 34 in their critique, sometimes in combination with other passages from the Hebrew Bible.

The expression “fools” with reference to the Samaritans is found in three different texts from this period, and it amounts to standard parlance in the polemics levelled by Jerusalem against them. This is strong language against the Samaritans, some of whom may have come from Jerusalem, according to Josephus.

The controversy in the text is mainly over the temple site. The **במה** on Mount Gerizim was—so it seems—considered a foolish act, a sin. To speak against the temple in Jerusalem was blasphemy.

³ The work of Theodotus is extant in eight epic poetic fragments with 47 lines in hexameter verse. It was introduced and commented upon by Alexander Polyhistor, and the poem with introduction and commentary is quoted by Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9,22,1; cf. the edition of it by C.R. Holladay 1989, 68–70.

THE QUESTION OF SCRIBAL EXEGESIS AT QUMRAN

Jonathan Norton

There is an idea abroad in Qumran scholarship that exegesis in Dead Sea sectarian literature is generically ‘scribal’. It is commonly supposed that scribes are responsible for the literary content of Dead Sea sectarian literature. Hence, this literature emerges as a kind of internal scribal dialogue in which sectarian exegesis is produced by scribes for scribes and is thereby distinct from that produced by ‘non-scribal’ Jewish exegetes of late antiquity.

This idea has its roots in the classical image of the ‘scribal community’ at Qumran whose members composed exegetical literature and copied it alongside biblical works in their ‘scriptorium’ (De Vaux 1961; 1973; Reich 1995; cf. Stegemann 1998, 51–55 on the entirely local production of manuscripts). Over recent decades a sharpening awareness of the extent of the textual and literary variety within the biblical and non-biblical corpora from Qumran has led to a widespread acceptance that not all of the late Second Temple scrolls found in Dead Sea coastal caves originated at the Qumran site. Thus, scholars now approach the ‘classical’ image of ‘scribal community’ at Qumran with more caution. The identification of a distinct group of sectarian scribes, who produced a number of manuscript copies and some of the literary compositions contained within them,¹ has helped to relieve our discussions of early assumptions that all literature found at Qumran is uniformly ‘sectarian’ and has removed some urgency from the question of how much of the corpus was produced at Qumran itself. Yet despite this awareness of the variegated nature of the corpus as a whole, when we think of the authors, copyists, and users of the scrolls and when we talk of Dead Sea sectarian ‘exegetes’, the notion of the ‘scribal community’ at Qumran lurks in our minds. The pervasiveness of this notion often leads to an implicit idea that any exegesis in any sectarian composition from Qumran is generically ‘scribal’.

¹ See discussion of M. Martin and E. Tov, below.

I hasten to add that I do not consider this notion to be wrong but rather to be more problematic than is often assumed. And like most problems it also provides an opportunity to reconsider the way we talk about, and conceptualize the groups envisaged in the sectarian literature. Here I offer some thoughts on the question of the scribal nature of Dead Sea sectarian exegesis.

The prevalence of the notion of a generically scribal exegesis in Qumran scholarship dawned on me within a particular context. My doctoral research has focussed on the question of the textual variety exhibited by the passages of Greek Jewish scripture that Paul cites in his letters.² An influential strand of Pauline scholars hold that Paul was unaware of the different text-forms whose wording his citations variously presuppose. They express the question (and their answer to it) in terms of Paul's access to *scrolls*. They reason that Paul, tramping around Asia Minor, could not have accessed and compared multiple copies of the same biblical work in order to cite a preferred text-form of a given passage.³ Significantly, D.-A. Koch and M. Hengel's disagreement on this point revolves around the question of whether Paul was a scribe.⁴ Both implicitly agree that only a scribe could have been aware of multiple text-forms of a given biblical work.

The general attitude to Dead Sea sectarian exegetes is distinct. Many Qumran scholars have observed that the sectarian exegetes who composed the *Pesharim* and other exegetical literature made use of multiple 'versions' of the same biblical passage. The 'scribes' of Qumran are deemed naturally to have been able to compare multiple copies of a work in their library or their scriptorium. The same reasoning presumably underlies K. Stendahl's (1967) proposition of the scribal

² Paul's citations often presuppose the Old Greek (exemplified by the Göttingen LXX) but in other cases they presuppose some other text-form, notably *καίγε*-Theodotian in particular cases (cf. Koch 1986, 71–77).

³ Vollmer (1895, 33), Koch (1986, 80) and Stanley (1992, 71) all explicitly state their doubt that Paul could compare multiple copies of the same work. Deissmann (1925, 80–81) implies this. Those who believe that Paul frequently preferred a given text-form conversely assume, on the basis of Acts, that he accessed and compared multiple scrolls exhibiting various text-forms of the same work whilst preaching in synagogues in Asia Minor (Michel 1929, 112–13; Ellis 1957, 19[5]; Hengel 1991, 22, 34; Lim 1997, 154, 161f.).

⁴ For Koch (1986, 92–93), since Paul was a not scribe (*γραμματεὺς* is lacking in Phil 3:5), he was unaware of multiple text-forms of Isaiah. Hengel (1991, 235, cf. 213, 232) retorts that Paul was indeed a *γραμματεὺς* and was therefore aware of multiple text-forms of Isaiah. The debate may go back to Jeremias' (1923–37 2b.101–03) claim that Paul was a 'scribe' (*Schriftgelehrte*).

‘schools’ of St. Matthew and St. John. That is, Stendahl explains these authors’ use of various forms of the same biblical passage in terms of their access to, and comparison of multiple scrolls of the same work. While Josephus is not generally thought to have been a scribe,⁵ most agree that Josephus used multiple copies of the Pentateuch (Bloch 1897, 18; Schalit 1967; Schalit 1982, 258; Thackeray 1967, 75–99; Attridge 1984, 211; Schürer, Vermes et al. 1973–1989 vol. 1, 48–49; Sterling 1992, 256[132]; Feldman 1988, 132). These copies were apparently in Greek and Hebrew (cf. Feldman 1988, 158f.). His access to multiple copies can be accounted for by Titus’ gift of Temple scrolls (Vita 418), by Josephus’ access to materials in Rome (C. Ap. 1.50), which presumably included libraries (cf. A.J. 20.263 on Josephus study of the classics), and perhaps also by his access to libraries in Alexandria in 67 CE.⁶ Those that argue that he saw *only* Greek or *only* Hebrew copies of the Pentateuch do so on linguistic grounds, not on grounds of historical plausibility (for example, Nodet 1997, Nodet 2000–2001). The same is true for Philo.⁷ The issue is perceived as a question of access to copies containing the variant text-forms used by ancient exegetes.

It is within this context that the notion of a ‘scribal exegesis’ is thrown into stark relief. Dead Sea sectarian exegetes employed a number of exegetical strategies, of which use of variant versions of a passage is only one. W.H. Brownlee lists thirteen ‘hermeneutical principles’ used by the Habakkuk peshierist.⁸ Principle Four states that: ‘[a] *textual variant*, i.e. a different reading from the one cited, may also assist interpretation’

⁵ Jeremias’ designation of Josephus and Paul as *Schriftgelehrten* (1923–37 2b.101–03) must be founded both on their exegetical abilities and the closeness of scribes and Pharisees in the Gospels since, while both of them could write (Josephus, throughout; Paul, Gal 6:11), each of them required literary assistance (C. Ap. 1.50 cf. A.J. 20.263; Rom 16:22). See Schams 1998 on Jeremias’ almost total disregard of the practice of writing in his definition of *Schriftgelehrten* (below).

⁶ While in captivity, Josephus was treated with respect, was allowed to marry (Vita 414) and received gifts (B.J. 3.407–8). He was subsequently ‘released’ and accompanied Vespasian and Titus to Alexandria where he had the leisure to remarry (Vita 415–16) and the means to ‘record’ (*anegraphon*) events in the Roman camp as he proceed thence with Titus to Jerusalem (C. Ap. 1.48–49). He may have visited libraries in Alexandria.

⁷ Discussions of which Greek form of Jewish scripture Philo used and whether he used the LXX, a Hebraizing revision (such as *καίτη*-Theodotian), or both simultaneously, focus on linguistic and text-critical arguments, not on the question of how the Alexandrian philosopher might have accessed multiple forms of Greek scripture (cf. Colson 1940; Knox 1940; Katz 1964; Howard 1973).

⁸ Brownlee (1951, 60–62). His definition of thirteen principles seems artificial (Elliger 1953, 157ff.; Horgan 1979, 250). Brooke (1985, 283ff.) notes Brownlee’s failure to distinguish between the peshierist’s hermeneutic and his exegetical techniques.

(his italics). Brownlee envisages the pesherist employing a form of the passage found in another copy, referring to Rabbis who ‘compared’ readings in several ‘Torah scrolls’.⁹ He continues: “most likely the peculiar readings of [1QpHab] were discovered in some manuscript (or manuscripts) and were treated as authoritative. Perhaps they were found in the scroll of the Teacher of Righteousness himself.”

Principle Four is the only exegetical technique which raises the question of *how* the individual exegete might be aware of multiple text-forms of a given biblical passage. It seems to me that the other twelve techniques might be performed by any literate individual who had access to one copy of each biblical work at a time. Where the question of access to multiple scrolls is acute in Pauline studies, it raises no eyebrows in the context of the ‘scribal community at Qumran’. The assumption is that trained scribes—who had access to a library, engaged in the expert copying of literary works, and were professionally involved in the collection and preservation of the scrolls on which these works were copied—would be in a position to consult multiple copies of a given work.

Plenty of scholars have accepted the use of multiple text-forms by Dead Sea sectarians. Their language shows that they envisage, for example, the Habakkuk pesherist consulting manuscript copies: he made use of ‘variant readings’ from distinct ‘textual traditions’; he was ‘acquainted’ with variants from textual ‘witnesses’ and could ‘choose’ his preference; there is a clear distinction between his ‘use of textual variants’ and his own exegetical alteration of the text of a biblical work.¹⁰ Indeed it is natural for scholars to view the ‘scribes’ of Qumran consulting multiple copies of a biblical work, since each accepts (or accepted

⁹ Brownlee 1951, 73–76. Rabbis compared their own Torah scrolls with that of Rabbi Meir. Siegel (1975, esp. 8–17) concludes that Rabbi Meir’s Torah was a late Hellenistic copy since its orthography is close to that of 1QJsa.

¹⁰ Rabin 1955, 158–59 (‘simultaneous interpretation of two variant readings’ of the ‘versions’ (MT, Targum, Vulgate, LXX); Brownlee 1959, e.g. 7, 45–49, 76–78; Bruce 1959, 12–13; 1961, 61–69; 1983, 81f. (use of ‘textual variants’ or ‘variant readings’); Vermes 1976, 441 (exegete’s ‘acquaintance’ with, and ‘mingling’ of ‘variants’ from ‘every witness’); Horgan 1979, 245; Dimant 1984, 505 [103] (‘[u]se of a different textual tradition’); Brooke 1985, 288; 1987, 86 (distinguishes between ‘deliberate alterations of a received textual tradition’ and ‘textual variants’ from various ‘different recensions or traditions’); 2000b, 112–13 (the pesherist used these variants ‘explicitly’ in his interpretation); Lim 1997 50, 191–92.

at the time) that the scrolls were produced at Qumran by members of the community in the scriptorium.¹¹

In Qumran studies ‘exegete’ and ‘scribe’ are commonly placed on either side of a simple equation. There is a striking synonymy in the multiple terms used by Brownlee in a single article to denote those who produced Dead Sea sectarian compositions. The following terms are related to their exegetical activity: ‘the study groups of Qumran’, ‘[t]he scribes of Qumrân [*sic*]’, ‘[t]he people of Qumran’; ‘Qumran’s folk’.¹² G. Vermes describes the ‘*scribal* creative freedom’ at Qumran in biblical and non-biblical manuscripts: ‘the *redactor-copyists* felt free to improve the composition which they were reproducing’ (Vermes 1997, 24–25, my italics). G. Brooke speaks of the ‘Qumran scribes’ performing exegesis.¹³ However, his study shows that the exegetical techniques employed by Dead Sea sectarians belonged to a common exegetical heritage shared by Philo, Targumists and other Jews of late antiquity, which suggests that these techniques were not confined to ‘scribes’ (Brooke 1985; cf. Kister 1998). Paul also made use of a number of these techniques (Ellis 1957; Doeve 1964; Davies 1970; Koch 1986).

The notion that Qumran exegetes were ‘scribes’ persists, even when the term is not used. For instance, J.C. VanderKam describes the procedure of a ‘Qumran expositor’ producing a *Pesher*. He would ‘cite’ the words of a biblical passage, and ‘attach his understanding to them. He would then turn to the next verse or verses, quote it (them), and offer an explanation’. Proceeding in this way through the entire biblical work on which he was commenting, he “separated his interpretation from the scriptural text with a word or phrase such as ‘its interpretation concerns’” (VanderKam 1994, 44). VanderKam’s account highlights the assumption that the act of *writing* the *Pesher* is integral to the practice of exegesis. VanderKam does not mention a ‘scribe’ here, but the ‘expositor’ is a scribe nonetheless. Indeed, the frequently voiced suggestion

¹¹ Brownlee 1950; 1951; 1978, 188; Bruce 1961, 50 (referring to Metzger 1958–89, 509ff.); Vermes 1975, 16–17; 1997, 11, 20 (referring to Reich 1995 and Tov 1988). Others speak of scribes without mentioning the scriptorium: Brooke 1985, 5 (speaks of ‘the Qumran scribes’ performing exegesis); Dimant 1995, 35[31], 36; Lim 2002, 9.

¹² Brownlee 1978, 188, 188, 191–93, respectively. A similar range of terms can be found in Brownlee 1964: ‘scribes gathered about a table [...] in the Qumrân scriptorium’ (158); ‘the Qumrân community’ (188); ‘some scribe of the Qumrân community’ (198); ‘the Essenes’ (199); ‘the society at Qumrân’ (203).

¹³ Brooke 1985, 5. Later he states that the exegesis in 1QpHab ‘may appear “difficult” to obtain, [and] in fact it was only done by experts’ (*ibid.*, 284).

that the *Pesharim* are autographs,¹⁴ implies that scribe that produced each extant copy was responsible for the exegeses therein.

An attempt more closely to define a ‘generically’ scribal kind of exegesis brings several issues to light. The task of producing a working definition of a Second Temple Jewish scribe is complicated, firstly, by the existence of two distinct approaches to constructing ancient Jewish scribes, and secondly, by a general lack of distinction between scribes and copyists, that is, exegetes and ‘mere’ technicians. A reasonable case can be made for the existence of a generically scribal exegesis in *biblical* manuscripts. However, the difficulty arises when we try to observe this phenomenon in non-biblical sectarian literature. Yet it is in the latter literature that scribal exegesis is often implicitly perceived.

SOCIAL HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTION OF SCRIBES

C. Schams’ 1998 study exemplifies what I would call the social historical approach to constructing scribes. She points out the general failure in influential nineteenth and twentieth century studies to consider ‘professional writing expertise’ as a quality of Jewish scribes of late antiquity. She notes that E. Schürer, J. Jeremias and M. Hengel each make only one reference to scribes as persons concerned with writing and observes D. Orton’s disregard of ‘the function of professional writing’ in his discussion of Jewish scribes.¹⁵ Schams limits the evidence for ancient Jewish scribes to “evidence which uses *an* ancient designation for a professional writer or which exhibits a function exclusively required for professional writing” (Schams 1998, 12). She argues that the terms סופר, ספר, לבלר, γραμματεύς and λιβράριος must each be considered within the context of the source in which it appears (*ibid.*, 25), weighing all evidence in relation to its various linguistic and cultural milieu. Her study leaves room for the authorial agendas and biases and for the apparent fuzziness in the ancient usage of terms and possible ambiguity of the ancient offices they denote. She accommodates both the variety of the ancient evidence for Jewish scribes itself and the variety of ancient

¹⁴ Milik 1957, 37; Cross 1958, 84f.; VanderKam 1994, 96; cf. Tov 2004, 28. This view is doubted by: Hammershaimb 1959, 417 (on account of ‘such errors as point to a written original’); Elliger 1953, 70; Brooke 2000b, 115; Lim 2002, 27.

¹⁵ Schams (1998, 17) on: Schürer 1886–1911; Schürer, Vermes et al. 1979, 324[2]; Jeremias 1923–37 2b.111–12; Hengel 1969, 34. Schams (1998, 24) on: Orton 1989.

scribal roles, offices and functions, indicated in the sources. Schams finds that by the early Roman period scribal skills were broadly distributed beyond priestly circles, partly because the use of scribal titles was apparently extended to designate a wide variety of professionals engaged in activities beyond the composition and transmission of literary works. She writes: “scribes will have functioned as officials and professional writers during the entire period under consideration, but some scribes will also have been known as scholars, intellectuals, sages, and expert interpreters of the Scriptures and the law” (ibid., 327; cf. 287–96).

Realia construction of scribes

The influential studies of M. Martin and E. Tov focus on surviving ancient scribal *realia*, that is, material manuscript copies preserving the vestiges of ancient writers’ work. Martin observes the close collaboration of a small group of scribes who copied biblical works and sectarian compositions. The manuscripts testify to their mutual editorial interventions into each others’ copies and the division of labour in the copying of a given literary work.¹⁶ Tov identifies what he calls the Qumran Scribal Practice—a system of orthography exhibited by most copies of sectarian compositions from Qumran. This practice is closely related to the marginal and interlinear scribal markings on copies of biblical works and sectarian compositions made in the Cryptic A script and paleo-Hebrew scripts. Virtually only those scrolls written in the Qumran Scribal Practice have these scribal markings, which Tov takes to indicate matters of special sectarian interest. He writes: “[t]he name *Qumran practice* merely indicates that as a scribal system it is known mainly from a number of Qumran scrolls, without implying that this orthography was not used elsewhere in Palestine” (Tov 1992a, 108). For the Qumran Scribal Practice see: Tov 1986; 1988; 1995; 1996a; 1996b; 1997; 1998b; 2000; 2004, 203–09, 261–73, 277–89). He argues

¹⁶ For the interventions of the 1QS, 1QH, 1QM, 1QIsa^a, 1QpHab scribes into each others’ copies: Martin 1958, 81–96. For examples of various kinds of scribal collaboration: ibid., 65f., 495–659, 687. For insertions of 1QS scribe A in 1QIsa^a: Trever 1949, 15 (1QS Scribe A inserted omission in col 33, line 7); Allegro 1956b, 182; Cross 1972, 4[8] (1QS Scribe A inserted corrections at: col 28, line 25(?); col 33, line 7; col 44, line 15, 16—*taw*); Ulrich 1979, 2; Tigchelaar 2003; Tov 1997, 150–51; 2004, 23. The scribe who made the correction at 1QIsa^a col 33, line 7 is identical with ‘1QIsa^a Scribe C’ of Martin 1958. Scribe C made numerous interventions into the text of 1QIsa^a (Martin 1958, 72–73). Cf. ibid., 495–585 for a full list of all scribal interventions in 1QIsa^a.

that, in contrast to the biblical manuscripts found in the wider Judean Desert (Masada, Murabba'at and Nahal Hever), which reflect Palestinian practice, those manuscripts displaying the characteristic Qumran orthography and language were written at Qumran, while others were copied elsewhere.¹⁷ According to Tov, the 'scribal school' reflected by the Qumran Scribal Practice was probably distinct because scrolls exhibiting this practice occur within the palaeographical period 150 BCE–68 CE whereas all other Qumran scrolls date from 250 to 100 BCE (Tov 1988, 15[39]). Whether or not any of the scrolls were copied in the Qumran building has no bearing on the present discussion. The Qumran Scribal Practice reveals a small group that can properly be designated a 'scribal group' because its members (hereafter: Qumran Scribal Practitioners) were contemporaries collaboratively producing written texts in close temporal and spatial proximity.

The two approaches outlined have distinct goals. Schams' is a historical study of social groups. She shows that the interpretation of data for social historical constructions of scribes is a complex matter: firstly, because sources are potentially coloured by persuasive agendas of ancient authors who may idealize their vision of scribes or otherwise adapt it for their specific purposes; and secondly, because of the variety of class and professional standing *across* a range of Greek, Roman and Semitic contexts as well as *within* those respective contexts. Tov's is a

¹⁷ Tov 1988, 7. See also: 2004, 5 (wider Palestinian provenance of most scrolls); 1988, 9–10 (the *scriptorium*); *ibid.*, 14 (Qumran Scribal Practice not only practised in Qumran); *ibid.*, 19 Greek and Aramaic scrolls (and most probably paleo-Hebrew ones, none of which exhibit Qumran scribal practice) imported to Qumran; *ibid.*, 11 for importation of Aramaic scrolls. Noting that some manuscripts copied in the Qumran Scribal Practice predate the assumed occupation period 1 at Qumran (Magness 2002, 65) and that the *Yahad* cannot be identified only with the Qumran settlement, T. Elgvin has suggested that the term '*yahad* scribal school would be more fitting' (Elgvin 2005, 273–75, 278). This has the advantage of avoiding the specific geographical connotation implied by Tov's term. However, the possible implication that texts copied in this scribal practice are necessarily *Yahad*-sectarian may constitute a weakness of Elgvin's term. G. Brooke's (2000b, 109) resistance to Tov's 'Qumran Scribal Practice' (on the basis that, according to Brooke's reckoning 'there is no narrowly sectarian Bible manuscript in the Qumran collection') may apply also to Elgvin's suggestion. Tov's own lists of manuscripts in the Qumran Scribal Practice include *biblical* manuscripts (e.g. Tov 1988, 15[39], 16; 1995, 331), non-biblical manuscripts (e.g. 1996a, 45–47, 53–54) and 'sectarian' (e.g. 1995, 331; 1996a, 57). There are also non-biblical manuscripts not copied in the Qumran scribal practice (e.g. 1988, 16). Lists of manuscripts copied by the same scribe include *Yahad*, non-*Yahad* and biblical texts (e.g. 1988, 23; 1997, 150–51). Elgvin's suggestion is therefore useful if we avoid imagining that any manuscript copied in this practice necessarily contains a *Yahad* composition.

textual study of scribal practice from scribal *realia*. While no evidence ‘speaks for itself’ without the application of methodological criteria, scribal *realia* are not mediated by an intermediate layer of authorial communicative agenda as data from historical sources can be. Since the 1950s the notion of the scribal community at Qumran has been founded on the *realia* approach to constructing scribes. The notion derives from physical chirographic products of people who *wrote*.¹⁸

Scribes and scribblers

Here I take ‘scribe’ to indicate the social historical construction of scribes. ‘Scribe’ can express a complex range of skills and social status. I will not pursue this approach to constructing ancient Jewish scribes here.

A ‘scribbler’ is someone who writes. Scribblers, such as the intimate group of *Yahad* practitioners discussed above, are engaged in the production and reproduction of Jewish sacred literature as well as other compositions. They are concerned with the wording of the text of biblical works and exegetical compositions as it appears on a particular copy and are engaged in the transmission of the text from one copy into another copy. As such, scribblers are arbiters of the extent, availability and literary form of sacred literature. I will adopt this limited definition here because I am interested in the scribal nature of the exegesis exhibited in copies produced by Qumran Scribal Practitioners.

The common notion of the scribal community at Qumran is founded on the *realia* approach, that is, on the fact that some sectarians were scribblers. Beyond this, however, this notion is beset by two conflicting assumptions. A distinction is often drawn between ‘mere’ copyist and ‘scribe’. The copyist diligently but mechanically reproduces the text of his source into his target copy, whereas the ‘scribe’ is an exegete expertly engaged in shaping and reshaping the text of the sacred ancestral Jewish literature that he transmits through copying and adapting it for community needs. There seems to be an implicit scale of scribal

¹⁸ The classical ‘Schürer-Jeremias’ notion of late Second Temple *Schriftgelehrten* (or: ‘Torah scholars’—Schürer, Vermes et al. 1973–1987) seems to play no significant role in the studies by Martin (1958), Kutscher (1974), and Tov (2004). This may be because the Sectarians appear to have auto-marginalized from the Temple cult. Their practices should, therefore, be incorporated into models of Second Temple Jewish scribal practices only with caution.

expertise, at the lower end of which the lowly copyist is located and at the upper end of which the expert scribe is to be found, making exegetical interventions into the ‘text’ of biblical works in the copies he produces. Yet there is an equally common (but conflicting) idea that a ‘scribe’ who makes changes to the text of the biblical work which he copies is ‘free’ or ‘careless’ with sacred scripture.¹⁹ Conversely a copyist who transmits a work in a form which, text-critically speaking, is seen as pure or original is praised as ‘careful’ or ‘conservative’. The 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b scrolls provide a good example. The 1QIsa^a scribe is often criticised for his sloppiness. Brownlee thinks the scroll reflects a proto-MT *Vorlage* but that its readings are often ‘inferior’ on account of its ‘large numbers of scribal mistakes’ and ‘interpretative variations’. H. Orlinsky deems the scribe of this ‘worthless’ and ‘vulgar’ example of ‘the Masoretic text of Isaiah’ to have been ‘not a particularly careful one’. J. Trever says: ‘One cannot praise the scribe’s accuracy’ (Brownlee 1964, 216; Trever 1950, xv; Orlinsky 1950, 165, 338).

A different attitude is generally held toward 1QIsa^b. A. van der Kooij (1981) views it as a reliable copy, its text representing an older form and its orthography an earlier stage of the text than 1QIsa^a on account of its closeness to the Medieval Masoretic codices. He characterizes 1QIsa^b as ‘conservative’ (1992). Tov describes 1QIsa^b as a ‘carefully copied text’ (van der Kooij 1981, 124; Tov 2004, 224).²⁰

By contrast, Martin represents a positive opinion of the 1QIsa^a scribe. He concludes that the 1QIsa^a scribe was very accurate, observing that the scribe corrected most of his own mistakes and that his deviations

¹⁹ Tov refers to the ‘sloppiness’ and ‘freedom’ of the Qumran Scribal Practitioners with biblical ‘text’ (1988, 15). The scribes’ were not engaged in ‘a tradition of precise and conservative copying, rather a popular or vulgar one’ (1992a, 107f., cf. 193–95). ‘The scrolls written in Qumran orthography and language display [...] a free approach to the biblical text’ (1988, 15).

²⁰ Tov acknowledges that the expectation that ‘the essence of scribal activity is to transmit as precisely as possible the content of the copyist’s text’ may be an anachronism based on medieval *realia* and that it is ‘uncertain whether scribes of this type existed in antiquity’ (Tov 2004, 7, cf. 273). However, he proposes that the ancient ‘luxury editions’ of biblical works from the Judaean Desert may reflect such practice. These are characterized by careful copying, fewer mistakes, fewer scribal interventions and a tendency to belong to the proto-Masoretic family corresponding closely in content with the Medieval MT. He suggests that these may be the ‘corrected copies’ [ספר מוגהר] mentioned in rabbinic literature (p. Pes. 112a). Where 1QIsa^a has an average of one correction every four lines, the following proto-Masoretic scrolls have far fewer than one correction every twenty lines: 4QGgen^b, 4QpaleoGen-Exod¹, 4QpaleoExod^m, XHev/SeNum^b, 4QDeut^s, 4QJer^c, 4QEzck^a, MurXII, MasPs^a (2004, 128). See further Table 28 (ibid., 129).

from the MT and LXX are due not to errors but to the form of the *Vorlage*. The scribe ‘practised no adaptation. He merely copied’ (Martin 1958, 687, cf. 688, 703–04). Despite his confidence in the scribe’s accuracy, Martin’s view of *copying* agrees with that of those cited above; that accuracy amounts to ‘mere’, mechanical copying.

Yet other scholars see the work of the 1QIsa^a scribe not as sloppy but as exegetically innovative. Van der Kooij states ‘dass der Verfasser nicht nur ein Kopist, sondern vor allem auch ein Schriftgelehrte war’.²¹ P. Pulikottil argues that the notion of scribes as ‘mere copyists’ betrays the influence of F. Delitzsch (1920). He maintains that variants should only be regarded as errors if they break the logical or syntactical coherence of the text, or if it can be proved that the scribe intended to reproduce an exact copy of a *Vorlage* (Pulikottil 2001, 22–23). Concluding that the 1QIsa^a scribe pursued sectarian exegetical concerns throughout the scroll (*ibid.*, 205–15), Pulikottil joins several scholars who argue that the 1QIsa^a scribe made exegetical alterations to the text of Isaiah which are related to his sectarian ideology.²²

Herein lies a problem. The prevalent notion of the ‘scribal community at Qumran’ and the implicit notion of generically scribal exegesis in the literature copied by sectarian scribes is founded on the observation that they were scribblers: they wrote. It is not significantly founded on the social historical construction of ancient Jewish scribes. Yet when scholars argue that a scribe has performed exegesis in the biblical copies he produces, the act of scribbling is relegated to a matter of insignificance. The copyist merely copies. As one who only scribbles, he is simultaneously praised and demeaned as a faithful, accurate, conservative and mechanical mediocrity. The ‘scribe’, on the other hand, is an exegete, a *Schriftgelehrte*, a tradent of the material he copies who is engaged in a creative act of transmission and redaction of Israel’s sacred ancestral literature. At the moment the scribbler comes to be perceived as a

²¹ Van der Kooij 1981, 95. He argues that all High Priests were *Schriftgelehrten* (*ibid.*, 330–31) and that the Teacher of Righteousness, whom he identifies as the 1QIsa^a ‘scribe’ (*Verfasser*), was an ‘important’ Jerusalem priest himself (*ibid.*, 96–97). Van der Kooij’s term *Verfasser* always translates Kutscher’s (1974) term ‘scribe’.

²² Chamberlain claims on the basis of divergences from MT in 1QIsa^a 1:24 that the scribe reinterpreted the text messianically (1955, 367). Brownlee interprets variants of the scroll as indicating the Sectarian creation of a new Suffering Servant Song and a messianic exegesis (1964, 155–215). Van der Kooij argues on the basis of 1QpHab II 8f. that the 1QIsa^a scribe was none other than the Teacher of Righteousness who related the terms in 1QIsa^a 1:24–25 to himself by means of exegetical changes (1981, 90–97).

‘scribe’, however, he becomes for the purposes of this study indistinguishable from the literate, non-scribal exegete, such as Paul, Josephus or Philo. None of these can justifiably be designated ‘scribe’ according to any ancient social nomenclature (*grammateus*, *librarius*, *amanuensis*, *sofer*, *liblar*), yet each is celebrated in his own way as Torah scholar, scripture expert, exegete. Writing, the very criterion by which the Dead Sea sectarian community is considered scribal, is the activity which is so closely linked with the mediocrity of the copyist. Writing is the least of the skills of the scribal exegete, a technical prerequisite which his exegetical prowess transcends. So in what sense can we maintain the notion of sectarian scribal exegesis where the scribe is deemed the creator of the exegetical content of a composition? In what sense are the ‘scribes’ distinguishable from any ancient exegetes?

A possible approach to the problem might be to distinguish between the transmission of biblical works and non-biblical compositions. If it can be shown that a scribbler has made an exegetical change to the text of a biblical work he is copying, one might designate this act as scribal in the limited sense that it is intimately connected with the practice of writing. We have already noted that some scholars, such as C. Chamberlain, Brownlee, van der Kooij and Pulikkotil, have argued that scribblers made exegetical changes to the text of Isaiah. H. Stegemann and S. Talmon claim that there are ‘dual readings’ in some biblical copies, which display an exegetical approach to variant readings in different copies of the same work.²³ One might extend the notion of scribal exegesis to literary products that are most easily explained as the work of a scribbler. 4QTestimonia, 4QTanhumim, and 4QList of False Prophets appear to be exegetical exercises, each compiled and inscribed by an individual who was capable of searching through a number of biblical works with an exegetical theme in mind. The 1QS scribe, who made corrective interventions into the text of 1QIsa^a, copied 4QTestimonia. Stegemann suggests that this scribe also added the Blessing of *Nasi ha-Edah* in 1QSB V (Stegemann 1996; see Tov 2004, 4–5 for 4QTestimonia, 4QTanhumim, and 4QList of False Prophets). If 4QTestimonia or the Blessing of *Nasi ha-Edah* could be taken not only as autographs but also as the intellectual work of

²³ Stegemann (1969, 94[512]) believes that cancellation dots to the right and left of the superlinear word in 1QIsa^a 49:14 mark this word as a variant. Talmon (1964, 107) finds ‘parallel readings by conscious conflation’ from two *Vorlagen*. However, Tov is doubtful (2004, 234).

the scribbler himself, then we could speak of scribal exegesis. The difficulty is that ‘autograph’ need only indicate the *first ever*, or *only* copy of a written text. It need not indicate that the scribbler is responsible for the intellectual work within it.

Such cases might be defined as ‘scribal’ because the exegesis appears to occur at the chirographic level, that is, the exegesis occurs at the moment of writing and is intimately bound with the work of the exegete as a scribbler. In this sense we might talk of scribal exegesis. However, I am not sure that this really helps us to understand the exegetical practices that occurred within the sectarian community (or communities) to understand the place of chirography and written text within exegetical structures.

This becomes evident when we look at continuous *Pesharim*. In one sense, the *Pesher* is a scribal product in a formal sense because written *Pesharim* require a scribbler to reproduce the running text of an ancestral Jewish literary work (Habakkuk, for example) by inscribing it on a target copy. This belongs to the definition of scribbler outlined above. However, unlike biblical copies, the traditional text of Habakkuk is interspersed an exegetical commentary which is guided by sectarian ideological concerns. It is less clear to me how we can establish that any of these interspersed *pesher* exegeses is generically scribal. One kind of case seems superficially to qualify. If it could be argued that a particular semantic aspect of the *pesher* on a biblical *lemma* has lead the scribbler to make a syntactical change to that *lemma*, then one might argue that this change itself qualifies as a scribal exegesis. For example, 1QpHab XI 3 reads “or even making him drunk to look at their *festivals* (מעודיהם)”, whereas MT Hab 2:15 מעוריהם ‘their nakedness’. The change may be intentional, since the interpretation reads “the Wicked Priest who pursued the Teacher of Righteousness—to swallow him up with his poisonous vexation—to his place of exile. And at the end of the *feast* (וקץ מעוד), during the repose of the Day of Atonement, he appeared to swallow them up and to make them stumble on the fast day...”²⁴ In this case the sense of the *pesher* appears to have motivated the alteration of the text of Habakkuk. In his 1987 study, Brooke examined cases of this kind, which he called ‘exegetical variants’, where the variant in

²⁴ Note the allusion to Hab 2:15 in 1QH IV 11–12 which has מעוריהם of MT. Cf. Horgan 1979, 48; Brownlee 1959, 76; 1979, 180.

the biblical *lemma* does not correspond with any known ancient biblical 'version' (proto-MT, LXX, Targum, Vulgate, etc.).

However, in such cases of 'exegetical variants' within a biblical *lemma* one can only designate the exegetical *change to the text of Habakkuk* as 'scribal'. One cannot claim that the *peshet* exegesis itself is generically scribal, even though that exegesis motivated the change to the text of Habakkuk at the chirographic level. That exegesis was certainly created by someone who knew the biblical text. It is easiest to assume that he was able to read, whether or not he could write, but I can see no formal criterion by which to designate the *exegesis* generically scribal.

This point can be illustrated. The scholars mentioned above seek to demonstrate the existence of scribal exegetical interventions into the biblical text (in manuscripts exhibiting the Qumran Scribal Practice) by arguing that the interventions are motivated by sectarian hermeneutical concerns (Brownlee 1978; 1979; 1964; van der Kooij 1981; Pulikottil 2001). They may well be correct to do this. However, it appears that these concerns are not inherently scribal concerns, but far more the ideological concerns of a community possessing a strong idea of its own identity, its history and its particular stance on matters of Second Temple religious life and practice. The groups depicted in 1QS and in CD are composed of priests and laity. The groups of CD and 1QSa include women and children (e.g. CD VII 7, 1QSa I 4–5). The corpus includes manuscripts which were intended for use in public settings.²⁵

By contrast, the notion of a scribal community at Qumran producing scribal exegetical literature frames this exegetical work as an internal scribal dialogue. Hence the Dead Sea sect emerges as an exclusive literary circle conducting its discourse within a closed literary paradigm, its scribes engaging in the creative editorial process both of transmitting and transforming sacred scriptures for their own consumption, and of adapting and developing their own sectarian literature in series of virtually private copies.²⁶ But this makes little sense of the evidence. According to the sectarian literature itself, the very function of written texts within the community indicates an interactive process in which

²⁵ For example, there are excerpted biblical texts from Qumran for liturgical purposes, such as 4QDeut^a, 4QDeutⁿ cols 2–5, 4QDeut^l (Brooke 2000b, 109–10 esp., 110 [14]; Tov 2004, 96). For Qumran liturgy see also Chazon (ed.) 2003.

²⁶ The copies of 1Q and 4Q S, M, H, 4QD, and 4QMMT, for example, show that these compositions underwent successive redactions which existed side by side in the corpus.

members engage with sacred literature within a clear authoritative hierarchy. In 1QS written texts appear as a conduit of various forms of oral performance presided over by priestly tradents. Thus the Torah is to be ‘read out’ to all the men, women and children of the community (1QSa I 4–5), young men are to be instructed in the book of Hagu (1QSa I 6–7), the priests are to teach the laity that which is revealed to them of the Torah (1QS I 8–9; V 2, 7–10, 20ff.; IX 13, 16–19), and the laity is itself to read and interpret the Torah (1QS VI 6f.) under the supervision of priests.²⁷ The continuous *Pesharim* exhibit a particular interest in the history and identity of the sect expressed in terms of their relations with other Jewish and non-Jewish groups. MMT expresses a sense of the sect’s identity in terms of its stance on cultic matters which diverges from that of other groups. All of these interests are those of a community that expresses its own perceptions of itself and its experience of the world in relation to Israel’s sacred ancestral literature. A priesthood presides over a laity, and the small group of Qumran Scribal Practitioners presumably works among them, weaving the community’s perceptions into an ongoing exegetical literary narrative. This exegetical narrative is better described as communal than scribal.

Tov identifies passages indicating the importance of writing within the Yahad.²⁸ However, analysis of such passages reveals predominantly oral structures within which chirographic practices play a role. For example, when a man is inscribed in his rank relative to his brothers (1QS VI 22), his position is determined on the basis of his ‘understanding’ of Torah and ‘judgement’. Once he has a rank, he can be asked for his ‘counsel’ (עצה) on these matters. This ‘counsel’ appears to include his exposition of Torah (VI 6f.) because members should withhold the ‘counsel of Torah’ (עצת תורה) from the ‘men of the Pit’ (IX 17). When a man commits a misdemeanour, he may not know his fellows’ ‘counsels’ (VIII 17, cf. VIII 25). Writing is subordinate to an

²⁷ 1QS V 2 outlines the duty of laymen to submit to the authority (על פי) of the priestly sons of Zadok ‘in Torah’ (בתורה). The laity is to ‘submit response’ with regard to the Torah (as is seen in the parallel use of *Hiphil* of שוב in V 15—cf. Wernberg-Møller 1957, 27[11]). The laity is consulted for its insights on Torah. However, the priests vet these insights (V 3; IX 7). That is, priests possess ultimate authority in matters of Torah and the ‘counsel’ (עצה) of non-priestly members is consulted in order of members’ rank (VI 4).

²⁸ Tov (2004, 10) notes references to administrative recording, sometimes by the *me-baqer* (1QS V 23, VI 22, 4QSD 3 ii 3; CD XI 18, XIII 12; 4Q477). 11QPs^a 27:2 mentions a *sofer*. Writing is mentioned in 4QMMT^c 14–17 ii 2. 1QM mentions various military inscriptions.

individual's *perception* of Torah, a perception tested by *direct questioning*. The person's rank inscribed in the *mebaqqer's* ledger determines that individual's authority to *express* his opinions on Torah and his right to know that of his fellows. Writing plays a role in an encompassing oral structure.

Written texts are tools that facilitate larger oral practices. For example, although the ruling against the uttering of the Divine Name whilst 'reciting from the scroll or saying blessings' (1QS VII 1) relates to a chirographic practice (that is, reading written text), it is not a chirographic concern as such. It is not the *writing* of the Name that offends, but its *utterance* that leads to punishment. In literature written in the Qumran Scribal Practice the *tetragrammaton* is written in paleo-Hebrew script in order to remind one who reads aloud not to utter the Name. The written copy functions as a tool for oral performance, the chirographic operating within a wider encompassing oral structure. The forms of this performance within the community were liturgy, teaching, legislating, and the business of the community's self-definition and legitimation within its world. Writing played a part in these processes, but by no means defined the parameters of community discourse.

The skill of writing was undoubtedly important in the community. The scribblers of the Qumran Scribal Practice expressed the community's ideas in writing, a role which surely afforded them authority. And their chirographic skills must often have been accompanied by Torah expertise. Sectarian exegetes may have been priests or lay members (1QS VI 6f.). However, a sectarian exegesis is ultimately a communal product, the exegeses generated from an oral-performative discourse rather than an intrinsically literary one. As Jaffee states, "[t]he interpretive study of texts was not confined to priestly leaders or scribal professionals. Rather, it extended beyond them to become part of the ethos of the collective" (Jaffee 2001, 36).

The scribblers *qua* scribblers cannot be deemed to characterize sectarian exegesis because that exegesis points to a community function whose purpose and poignancy is ultimately extra-literary. None would attribute Paul's exegeses to Tertius or Josephus' exegeses to his literary assistants (Rom 16:22; C. Ap. 1.50).²⁹ The transmission of biblical

²⁹ Thackeray (1967, 100–24) once attributed much of the style and content of Josephus A.J. to his assistants. However, scholars now generally credit Josephus with the ability to produce good style and to make creative use of his sources (Atridge 1976; Rajak 1983; Mason 1991, 49–50; Sterling 1992, 240–45). E. Randolph Richards (2004)

literature is a ‘discourse’ or discussion that is scribal in the sense that it is a specialized literary practice, yet it is extra-scribal in the sense that scribblers’ literary products function in a wider oral-performative, community environment. The transmission of exegetical literature is also a discussion. It is scribal in that it is closely linked to the biblical discussion at the chirographic level, yet once again, these scribal elements are subsumed in a wider community discussion. Moreover, it would be wrong to assume that the scribal encounter with sacred literature was an intrinsically visual encounter with written texts (chirographic), in contrast to the aural (oral-performative) encounter of the laity with sacred literature. Jaffee argues that the image of Jewish scribes routinely copying sacred literature by dictation is a ‘ubiquitous’ trope in Second Temple Jewish literature.³⁰ While this trope could be an idealising presentation of scribes, the Judaean manuscripts provide evidence supporting his claim that scribes copied by dictation.³¹ That

discusses the contribution of named persons, such as, Timothy, Titus, Sosthenes and Tertius, to the literary content of Paul’s letters; cf. Murphy-O’Connor 2005.

³⁰ Jaffee 2001, 23–28: “The image of scribal transmission of the book from original dictation is ubiquitous” (ibid., 24). The scribes Ezra and Baruch anticipate divine revelations by preparing to write. Philo presents Moses as a scribe, receiving and writing down revelation; so too the LXX translators of the Pentateuch (Mos. 2.37) (ibid., 24, 26). “The original scribe who ‘received’ the book from its transmundane author, was the prophet, and the scribes who transmitted his work continued the chain of representing his persona as their texts were passed on and read as pregnant messages” (ibid., 25–26).

³¹ Evidence of a mixture of copying visually, aurally and from memory can appear within the same manuscript (1QIsa^a—Martin 1958, 6–7, 688). This need not mean that the manuscript itself was copied aurally, but that some of its prototypes were. For visual copying errors in 1QIsa^a (Burrows 1948, 18; 1949a, 25–26). For aural copying errors: 1QIsa^a (Burrows 1948, 20, 22; 1949a 25–26; 1949b, 203); 1QIsa^b (Bruce 1961, 63). Examples of aural errors: the omission of ה through the reader’s weak pronunciation; confusion of ב-מ and כ-ת; confusion of ד and ת; substitution of נ for ה. Kutscher finds aural errors occurring because the 1QIsa^a scribe uttered what he read in his own dialect: noun patterns (Kutscher 1974, 375, 474–76); and verb patterns (1974, 477). Other errors resulting from the scribe’s pronunciation (1974, 498–99). The scribe’s dialect was influenced by Western Aramaic (1974, 23ff., 54–55, 61–62, 68f., 483). Tov (2004 p. 11) denies that scribes copied by dictation in this period, appealing to a Talmudic insistence that scribes copy from a written source (b. Meg. 18b), rather than from memory. However, this evidence reflects much later rabbinic efforts to standardize the proto-Masoretic Text that should not be projected back to the late Hellenistic/early Roman periods. Tov also cites Hammershaimb 1959, who denies that the practice of several scribes copying simultaneously from dictation (as is known from classical depictions of Greco-Roman copyists) was followed at Qumran. His evidence is the lack of multiple copies presupposing the same *Vorlage* among the Judaean manuscripts. However, Tov’s own arguments that most of the scrolls corpus was brought from outside Qumran accounts for Hammershaimb’s observation.

scribes often copied by dictation, and generally recited aloud what they read with their eyes,³² shows that their encounter with sacred texts was closer to the oral-performative encounter of non-scribes than we might suppose.

*Some implications for the study of Jewish practice in the late
Second Temple period*

I have suggested that a distinction must be drawn between two modes of analysis, the social historical and the *realia*. When one enquires into the class or profession of Paul or Josephus, a range of answers is forthcoming: Josephus was a priest, an aristocrat, a general, a prophet, and later a writer on the private commission of patrons; Paul was Roman official, Pharisee, leather worker, and later in the service of an auspiciously divine patron. However, neither can reasonably be classed as a professional scribe (indeed both employed professional writers) (Tertius—Rom 16:22; the Greek assistants—C. Ap. 1.50).

However, Josephus and Paul are ‘scribblers’. Following manuscript evidence from the Judaean desert, we might construct the category of Jewish scribbler as a spectrum that ranges from the transmitter of a formal and precise text-form (see footnote 20, above), to the producer of an annotated manuscript containing a ‘mixed’ text-form (such as 1QIsa^a), to the writer of biblical *excerpta* (e.g. 4QTestimonia, 4QTahumim, 4QList of False Prophets), to the producer of biblical paraphrases and exegetical compositions. When transmitting entire biblical works from a source-copy to a new copy, *Yahad* scribblers are at the formal end of this spectrum. Josephus may also be granted a place in this spectrum: he claims to convey the entirety of Jewish scripture to his audience (A.J. 1.5–17; 10.218) and indeed he does so. Despite his claim to alter no detail (A.J. 1.17, 10.218; cf. C. Ap. 1.42; Deut 4:2, 12:32; Aristeas 311—but contrast Josephus’ version of the latter passage, A.J. 12.109!), his interpretations are heavily paraphrastic, abridged, supplemented, reorganized, recombined, interpreted, explicated and expounded upon. He does nevertheless substantially present Jewish scripture in writing. Interestingly he models himself on the ‘elders’ of the Letter of Aristeas and claims to complete their task (A.J. 1.11–3.17). In Aristeas, and Josephus’ own paraphrase of it (A.J. 12.11–118), these ‘elders’ are

³² Hammershaimb 1959, 418; Kutscher (see previous note); cf. Delitzsch (1920 p. 123[1]) for Masoretic manuscripts.

literate Torah experts brought from the Jerusalem Temple and employed in Alexandria—in their professional capacity as connoisseurs of ‘good copies’ (Aristeas 3, 30–32)—to inscribe copies of the Pentateuch with their own hands. Not only are their literary and chirographic credentials extolled, but also their learning, wisdom and (mysteriously prophetic) sensitivity to God’s will. In each account they are consistently called ‘elders’, not ‘scribes’. However, their activities in these narratives make them prime candidates to be categorized as ‘scribblers’.

Paul can also be granted a place on this spectrum. He wrote with his own hand (1 Cor 16:21; Gal 6:11; 2 Thess 3:17?) in compositions in which he reproduced biblical excerpts and offered exegeses on them, often woven directly into the excerpts themselves. Indeed, the ‘large letters’ that he uses in Gal 6 are presumably the ‘large, comprehensible letters’ that non-professional writers employed in writing private letters, of which many are known from the papyri (Cribiore 2001, 89). Cribiore finds that a literate person might dictate the body of a letter, personally penning only the final salutation, or might write the whole letter themselves depending simply on whether a professional scribe was available on any given occasion. (Note that nothing in Gal 6:11 indicates that Paul did not write the whole letter.) According to Cribiore’s papyrological work, these ‘large letters’ are precisely that which distinguishes non-professional from professional writers. Thus Gal 6:11 demonstrates that Paul can be called ‘scribbler,’ but not ‘scribe’.

Observations based on the *realia* approach give rise to further parallels. Paul’s employment of an *amanuensis* in Romans and 1 Corinthians (16:21) shows that, like the private letter writers of Cribiore’s study, he was grateful for chirographic assistance. As mutual stylistic and grammatical corrections of *Yahad* scribblers suggest, they also appreciated each other’s help. Comparison of exegetical praxis gains significance within the context of chirographic praxis. Paul did not write down the exegeses that he dictated to Tertius; similarly *Yahad* scribblers operating at the less formal end of the spectrum when copying *Pesharim* or other exegetical works may not have been writing down their own exegeses. As I have argued, it is less obvious whether the exegeses within these compositions represent the intellectual work of the scribbler of the copy or the communal exegetical efforts arising out of oral discourse (see Randolph Richards 2004 and Murphy O’Connor 2005 for collaborative composition in Paul’s letters).

Scribblers have been defined on the basis of the *realia* they left behind. The autographs of Paul (or Tertius) and Josephus (or his assistants?)

have not been found in caves, but transmission bequeaths them to us in forms that are presumably attributable to these authors. These manuscript traditions constitute at least second-hand *realia* of these scribbler-exegetes, Paul and Josephus (as well as, in a quite unrelated sense, manuscript *realia* of Christian copyists, with which we are not concerned here).

CONCLUSION

Talk about 'scribes' habitually conflates two distinct modes of analysis: the social historical and the *realia* (which identifies a particular mode of production). The comparison of Paul and Josephus to the Qumran scribal practitioners makes the problem of this conflation plain. If compared socio-historically, Paul and Josephus cannot be classed as 'scribes'. If taken to be scribblers, however, then comparison becomes possible. Therefore, analysis of scribes cannot be a generic one. Rather, the mode of approach must be distinguished and signalled.

READING THE HUMAN BODY AND DISCERNING
ZODIACAL SPIRITS: A PROPOSAL FOR THE USE OF
PHYSIOGNOMICS IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS¹

Mladen Popović

A number of texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls share an interest in the physical features of the human body. Two texts can be singled out: the Hebrew manuscript 4Q186 (4QZodiacal Physiognomy) and the Aramaic manuscript 4Q561 (4QPhysiognomy ar). These manuscripts are the remains of elaborate physiognomic-astrological and physiognomic lists. Physiognomics is the art of discerning people's characters, dispositions or destinies from their physical characteristics. In Greco-Roman tradition the physiognomic gaze was mainly focused on determining a person's character, while Babylonian physiognomics was primarily directed at revealing the fate of an individual (Popović 2007, 68–103). In addition to character and destiny, it was also believed possible to discern people's zodiacal signs through physiognomic inquiry (see below). The combination of physiognomic and astrological learning is of great importance for understanding 4QZodiacal Physiognomy.

The literary style of 4QZodiacal Physiognomy and 4QPhysiognomy ar is terse and succinct. Contrary to other texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls that show an interest in descriptions of the human body, these two lists can be characterized as physiognomic writings on a formal and technical level.² They show similarities with learned Babylonian and Greco-Roman physiognomic and astrological catalogue texts. In this

¹ I am most grateful to the board of the Nordic Network in Qumran Studies for inviting me to attend the Jerusalem conference in 2005 and to publish my paper in this volume. The meeting was a great opportunity to present my ongoing dissertation research in the wonderful atmosphere of the École Biblique and I thank all the participants for the stimulating discussions. I wish to thank Jan Bremmer and Wytse Keulen for commenting upon an earlier draft of the article and the Ancient World Seminar at the University of Groningen and the Groninger Oudtestamentische Kring for their discussions. I thank Ian Werrett for checking my English.

² Other texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls that demonstrate a more general “physiognomic consciousness” include 1QapGen ar XX 2–8, 4Q534, and perhaps 4Q184, 4Q434, 4Q436, and 11QP^sa 28:3–12. For a discussion of these and other Second Temple period texts, see Popović 2007, Introduction and Appendix II.

paper I will limit myself to the remains of the physiognomic-astrological list in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy. Its remaining fragments contain enigmatic phrases and concepts such as the “second column,” a spirit divided between the “house of light” and the “house of darkness,” and the astrological terminology “in the foot of *Taurus*.”

Philip Alexander characterizes 4QZodiacal Physiognomy as “one of the most intriguing texts from Qumran” (Alexander 1996, 385), and rightly so (see also Collins 1997a, 47). The text immediately catches the reader’s attention because of its unusual writing. Contrary to the regular direction of writing in Hebrew, the text is written from left to right. Also, characters from different scripts have been used. In addition to the square script, the writer or copyist used ancient Hebrew, Greek, and cryptic letters.

Even more puzzling than the writing of 4QZodiacal Physiognomy is its content. John Allegro vividly expressed this in a letter to his wife Joan, written several days after deciphering the writing:

I worked this morning on my piece of the cryptic script, and after puzzling all morning decided that the script was the least cryptic thing about it. It doesn’t make sense, and I think some bored Essene was amusing himself making life difficult for a later generation. (Brown 2005, 30)

Allegro did not comment extensively on 4QZodiacal Physiognomy (Allegro 1956a; 1964a; 1964b, 127; 1968, 88–91). He regarded it as an astrological text that deals with the influence of the stars on the human body and spirit, the latter in terms of a division between light and darkness. In addition, Allegro suggested that 4QZodiacal Physiognomy must be read along with the Two Spirits Treatise in the Rule of the Community (1QS III 13–IV 26). Many scholars accept this understanding of the text (cf. Popović 2007, 175 n. 10) and assume that 4QZodiacal Physiognomy determines the division of parts of light and darkness within the spirit of each human being. It is believed that this partition in a person’s spirit is expressed mathematically on a nine-point scale. Scholars refer to the Two Spirits Treatise to demonstrate the idea that people are torn between two principles. 4QZodiacal Physiognomy is then seen as an expression of the dualistic worldview of the Qumran Community. However, it is questionable whether this understanding sufficiently explains the different elements of this puzzling text.

First of all, although there are undoubtedly astrological notions in the text, it is not altogether clear that it is primarily an astrological text. How does such a classification account for the fact that the astrological data

is listed subsequently to the physiognomic descriptions? Second, if the numbers allotted to the “house of light” and the “house of darkness,” as well as what is denoted by this enigmatic terminology, are just a simple arithmetic scale and an expression of sectarian dualistic terminology, it remains unclear how the specific combination of numbers is established and what the meaning of the “dualistic” terminology is. Rather, this data should be understood within an astrological framework that coherently explains the realization of these numbers and the terminology used, in relation to astrological information concerning people’s horoscopes. Third, while 4QZodiacal Physiognomy explicitly connects the numbers in the “house of light” and the “house of darkness” with the phrase רווח לו (cf. 4Q186 1 ii 7–8; 1 iii 8–9), it is questionable whether רווח, upon closer scrutiny of the physiognomic and astrological elements in the text, concerns the human spirit. In light of these considerations, I propose a new interpretation for the sense of רווח in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy. I shall argue that רווח is used to refer to spirits that are related to the zodiacal signs, each of which has a spirit. These twelve zodiacal spirits have a close relationship with human beings from the moment of their birth. Accordingly, the nature of these spirits and their relation to human beings can be learned through physiognomic inquiry. It is the latter issue that this paper addresses first and foremost, but before we turn our attention to this subject I will deal with the two former subject matters.

THE PHYSIOGNOMIC GAZE AND ASTROLOGY

The way that physiognomic and astrological learning are combined in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy is unparalleled in contemporary Jewish writings.³ According to many Qumran scholars 4QZodiacal Physiognomy

³ The Aramaic text 4QBirth of Noah ar gives physiognomic data (4Q534 1 i 1–3) and refers to people’s horoscopes (מולדה, “his horoscope,” 4Q534 1 i 10; 1 ii + 2 1–2, 6; 4Q535 2 1), but apart from this general term no specific astrological data or reference to the zodiac are given. 4QPhysiognomy ar does not mention any astrological concepts. Many scholars assume a reference to light and darkness on the basis of reconstructing רווח לו in 4Q561 3 2, but this is unlikely (Popović 2007, 63–67). The only other astrological writing from Qumran, 4QZodiacology and Brontology ar (4Q318), does not contain any physiognomic elements.

Only much later, in medieval manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah, one can find Jewish texts that combine astrological and physiognomic learning. See Gruenwald 1970–1971; Schäfer 1984, 135–39; 1988.

is an astrological divinatory text in which the different entries are structured according to astrological criteria (see e.g. Albani 1999; VanderKam and Flint 2005, 234). This understanding, however, is inaccurate. It does not sufficiently take into account the importance of the physiognomic descriptions in the entries (see also Alexander 1996). To illustrate this we have to look more carefully at the structure of one of the best preserved entries of 4QZodiacal Physiognomy, namely in 4Q186 I ii:

1. [] ...unclean
2. [] a granite stone
3. [] a bli[nd (?)] man
4. (and) lo]ng, ... [...] ...sec[re]t parts (?)
5. and his thighs are long and slender, and his toes are
6. slender and long. And he is from the second column.
7. There is a spirit for him in the house of light (of) six (parts), and three (parts) in the house of
8. darkness. And this is the horoscope under which he was born:
9. in the foot of *Taurus*. He will be humble, and this is his animal: *Taurus*.

The astrological information concerning the horoscope under which this type of person was born is listed subsequently to the physiognomic description of the person's body. The descriptions of the human body are of prime importance in this text. Although none of the remaining entries is preserved from beginning to end, it is probable that the original manuscript began with the descriptions of the human body (Popović 2007, 34–38). This means that 4QZodiacal Physiognomy would have been structured according to physiognomic criteria. The text is, therefore, rather an example of physiognomic divination according to which certain astrological data concerning types of people, such as their horoscope, could be retrieved through physiognomic analysis.

From a comparison with Babylonian and Greco-Roman texts that combine astrology and physiognomics we can learn two things. First, 4QZodiacal Physiognomy reflects a familiarity with the notion that the zodiacal signs influence the shape and appearance of the human body. Second, this relation is expressed differently in this text, giving priority to physiognomics (Popović 2007, 112–18).

4QZodiacal Physiognomy is not structured according to astrological criteria such as, for example, the Late Babylonian text *LBAT* 1593 (Reiner 2000) or Greek *zodiologia*, the latter being arranged according to the order of the signs of the zodiac (see e.g. Gundel 1927, 157–76). On the contrary, the reasoning is different: if the signs of the zodiac

influence the shape and appearance of the body, then it should be possible to determine the zodiacal sign under which a person was born on the basis of his (or her) appearance. That the birth of the described individual in 4Q186 1 ii occurred “in the foot of *Taurus*” (ברגל השור) can be learned from the appearance of his body which is a consequence of the astral influence at the time of his birth. This line of reasoning is the guiding principle behind the textual ordering of physiognomic descriptions and astrological data in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy. The physiognomic details precede the astrological particularities; by paying attention to the appearance of the body, an ancient reader could look up the astrological data associated with such a type of physique in a list like 4QZodiacal Physiognomy.

The physiognomic gaze was not only believed capable of revealing people’s characters, fates or dispositions, but also astrological details concerning their moment of birth. Thus Hephaestion of Thebes, an astrologer from the late fourth century CE, instructs his readers that:

If, at some time, from a triplicity there are two zodiacal signs above the earth to which we assume the horoscope (= the ascendant) applies, then we also give attention to the shape of the man, which one of the zodiacal signs he resembles more, and accordingly we give our decision. (Apotelesmatica 2.2.27)

This is important evidence for the belief that astrological information could be learned through physiognomic inquiry. If one cannot establish through other means which of two zodiacal signs above the horizon represents the ascendant⁴ for a certain individual, it is possible, says Hephaestion, to discern this by looking at the shape of his body.

This observation sheds new light on our understanding of the relationship between physiognomics and astrology in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy. This text from Qumran is structured according to physiognomic criteria. The descriptions of the human body in this list facilitate a physiognomic inquiry through which one was able to discern certain astrological information.

⁴ The ascendant is that part of the zodiacal sign that rises at the moment of birth.

ASTROLOGICAL CONCEPTS IN 4QZODIACAL PHYSIOGNOMY

The astrological information listed in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy concerns the division of people's ascendant signs between the area above the horizon ("house of light") and the area below the horizon ("house of light"). The numbers listed in the entries result from the division of the parts of the zodiacal signs at the moment of birth. These divisions were presented according to the imaginary bodies of the twelve signs. Thereby the text combines the two astrological notions of *melothesia* and *dodecatemoria*, as we will see below.

"In the Foot of Taurus" and the Ascendant Interpretation

Following Roland Bergmeier and Matthias Albani (Bergmeier 1980, 78–81; Albani 1999), I think that the key to unlocking the astrological framework lies in the words "in the foot of *Taurus*" (ברגל השור) in 4Q186 1 ii 9.⁵ These words refer to a specific part of the zodiacal sign *Taurus* (namely, the ascendant) and reflect the division of the signs into different parts. The zodiacal signs are schematic 30° sections of the ecliptic, the path that the sun follows through the sky.⁶ From a geocentric point of view they rise above the eastern horizon, taking approximately two hours to do so entirely.⁷

There are various astrological lists from antiquity that provide subdivisions of the zodiacal signs. One such tradition can be found in the so-called Rhetorius-Teucer text (Boll 1908), referred to by Bergmeier and Albani. Here the signs are divided according to their imagined bodies, which is most evident in the case of *Libra*.⁸ Let us consider the division of the sign *Taurus* that is given in the Rhetorius-Teucer list:

From 1° to 3° the head rises, from 4° to 7° the horns, from 8° to 10° the neck, from 11° to 13° the breast, from 14° to 18° the loins, from 19° to 21° the hip joints, from 22° to 24° the feet, from 25° to 27° the tail, from 28° to 30° the hoofs. (CCAG 7.197.24–27)

⁵ For a discussion of Schmidt 1997, see Popović 2007, 142–55.

⁶ It is important to realize that zodiacal *signs* are symbolic constructions and are not the same as zodiacal *constellations* which consist of real stars. In antiquity, people were well aware of the difference between the signs and the actual constellations in the sky. See e.g. Geminus, *Phaenomena* 1.3–5. Cf. also van der Waerden 1952–1953, 216.

⁷ The exact rising times are dependent on the latitudinal position of the observer.

⁸ The scales are imagined as a body from head to toe, see CCAG 7.205.3–7.

In this list the enumeration of the nine parts of the zodiacal sign *Taurus* indicates the successive rising, expressed by the use of the verb ἀνατέλλω, of its ecliptical parts.

This astrological background explains several elements in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy. The realization of the numbers allotted to the “house of light” and the “house of darkness” is a result of the ascendant being in a part of the zodiacal sign, dividing it into parts above and below the horizon. 4Q186 1 ii 8–9 states that the horoscope under which someone was born was “in the foot of *Taurus*.” These words should be understood as a reference to the ascendant, i.e. that part of the sign *Taurus* rising above the horizon at the moment of birth. Assuming that the “foot of *Taurus*” in 4Q186 1 ii 9 is equivalent to the “feet” of *Taurus* in CCAG 7.197.26, which are listed as the seventh part of the body (22°–24°), Albani suggests that this part is in the ascendancy from below the horizon. It being the seventh part means that six parts or limbs of the sign *Taurus* have risen above the horizon while three parts are still below the horizon (Albani 1999, 306–07). Thus the division of numbers in 4Q186 ii is coherently explained in relation to the astrological data provided in that entry.

Consequently, instead of understanding the phrases “house of light” and “house of darkness” in a dualistic sense, it is more likely that these refer, as Albani suggests, to the areas above and below the horizon. Greek astrological texts provide evidence for the association of the area above the horizon with light and the area below the horizon with darkness. Babylonian sources show that the word *bītu* (“house”) had a spatial sense as a reference to an area in the sky or a part of the ecliptic, so that a similar semantic field can be assumed for בית (“house”) here (Popović 2007, 157–59).

Melothesia and Dodecatemoria

As the Rhetorius-Teucer text lists the “feet” of *Taurus* as the seventh part, Albani explains the “foot of *Taurus*” in 4Q186 1 ii 9 as in the act of leaving the “house of darkness,” reckoning it as still belonging to the “house of darkness” below the earth (Albani 1999, 307). Thus the division of 6:3 in 4Q186 1 ii exactly matches the data in the Rhetorius-Teucer list. Such an explanation, however, does not make sense from an astrological perspective as the ascendant is by definition that part of the sign above the horizon. It should, therefore, not be counted as belonging to the “house of darkness.” The explanatory force of the Rhetorius-Teucer text, however, is not diminished.

By understanding the nature and background of the division of the zodiacal signs according to their imagined bodies, a different solution emerges. Perhaps 4QZodiacal Physiognomy had another such division of the sign *Taurus* in mind, one in which “the foot of *Taurus*” (רגל השור) was the sixth section ascending above the horizon into the “house of light.”

In the case of *Taurus*, the Rhetorius-Teucer list divides the sign into nine parts, but this is not so for all zodiacal signs, indicating that nine is not a fixed number. There are other such lists that give different divisions. The astrologer Firmicus Maternus (fourth century CE) gives a division of *Taurus* into thirteen parts (Mathesis 8.4.2). Otto Neugebauer has given further examples from two Vatican codices (Neugebauer 1959). These texts demonstrate that in ancient astrology there was not one fixed set of divisions for the signs according to their imagined bodies.

Neugebauer (1959) has shown that the divisions in these lists are the result of mixing the concept of *dodecatemoria* with another astrological notion, that of *melothesia*,⁹ and of misunderstanding both notions. Thus these texts rounded off the dodecatemorial division and altered the meaning of the described body parts; instead of referring to the human body they now referred to parts of the signs. The lists were understood to enumerate the consecutively rising limbs of the signs, which were purely imaginative, as, for example, in the case of *Libra* (see above).¹⁰

In conclusion, it is possible that 4QZodiacal Physiognomy belongs to a similar astrological tradition in which the concepts of *dodecatemoria* and *melothesia* were merged together. According to the division of *Taurus* in this text, “the foot of *Taurus*” in 4Q186 1 ii was the sixth section of nine that ascended above the horizon, into the “house of light,” while three parts still remained below the horizon. The words “foot of *Taurus*” seemingly refer to one of the limbs of the zodiacal sign. Whereas the dodecatemorial part behind it originally controlled both or one of the feet of the human body, it is now understood as that body part of the zodiacal sign that influences the appearance of

⁹ *Dodecatemoria* is the division of the signs into twelve parts of 2;30° each. *Melothesia* is the idea that astrological entities (planets, zodiacal signs, or their parts) control a specific part of the human body.

¹⁰ This also explains why *Taurus* is imagined as a whole animal, rising head first, whereas in ancient astrology it is normally presented as a halved animal, rising backwards.

the entire human body. 4QZodiacal Physiognomy was originally an elaborate physiognomic catalogue, listing entries for every division of the twelve zodiacal signs, not all of which were necessarily on a nine-point scale, in order to determine people's ascendant signs and their divisions between the "house of light" and the "house of darkness" (Popović 2007, 164–71).

ZODIACAL SPIRITS

Thus far, an important aspect has been left out of consideration. 4QZodiacal Physiognomy associates the numbers in the "house of light" and the "house of darkness" with the word רוּחַ. If the distribution of numbers between the "house of light" and the "house of darkness" is astrologically the result of the ascendant zodiacal sign that is divided between the areas above and below the horizon, what then is the meaning of רוּחַ? Scholars are divided over the reading and meaning of this word. Most read it as רִיחַ and assume that רוּחַ לוֹ ("his spirit") refers to the human spirit.

רוּחַ as a Reference to the Space Occupied by the Zodiacal Sign

Contrary to the general understanding, Robert Gordis (1966, 38) has proposed to read רוּחַ לוֹ ("it has a space..."). Bergmeier and Albani accepted this reading and understand the zodiacal sign as the object of reference.

However, taking רוּחַ as a reference to the space occupied by the different parts of the zodiacal sign in the areas above and below the earth (Albani 1999), overlooks the identity of the subject of לוֹ. It is unlikely that this is the zodiacal sign. In the physiognomic descriptions, the suffixes refer to the types of people whose bodies are described. Thus a new subject has not been introduced in the text. The subject, therefore, of רוּחַ לוֹ is the individual type of human being with which the entries of the list are concerned, not the zodiacal sign.¹¹ The most plausible reading remains רִיחַ (Popović 2007, 174–75).

¹¹ A change of subject occurs in 4Q186 1 ii 8 (זוּה הוּאָה), but its object of reference is immediately explicated by the word מוּלָד ("horoscope"). This is not the case with רוּחַ לוֹ. There is, therefore, no reason to assume a change of subject.

רוח as a Reference to the Human Spirit

If רוח is the correct reading and if it concerns the human spirit, the question is how this relates to other elements in the text: the physiognomic descriptions and the astrological information concerning the zodiacal sign. Can this traditional interpretation account for the realization of the numbers divided between the “house of light” and the “house of darkness?”

Scholars that adhere to the traditional interpretation maintain the idea that according to 4QZodiacal Physiognomy the human spirit consists of nine parts divided between two entities, the “house of light” and the “house of darkness,” allegedly demonstrating that body and spirit are astrologically determined. However, no clarification is provided for the realization of the numbers between these two entities. No satisfactory explanation is given for the phrases “house of light” and “house of darkness,” except that they have sectarian meaning and show the text’s dualistic nature. No attempt is made to relate the former two elements (numbers and terminology) to the astrological data mentioned in 4Q186 1 ii 9 (“in the foot of *Taurus*”), whereas the division of numbers is assumed to be astrologically determined. Finally, there is a contradiction when linking the notion that the human spirit consists of nine parts to the idea that the zodiacal signs determine each division of the spirit. A statement by Alexander helps to illustrate this contradiction:

The clear link between physiognomy and astrology in the text makes it very likely that the complete text of 4Q186 differentiated only twelve human types—one for each sign of the zodiac. (Alexander 1996, 389)

The implication is that the physiognomic, spiritual, and astrological elements are closely linked in a distinguishing manner; every possible division of the spirit relates to a different zodiacal sign, which registers on a different type of physique. However, if one reasons along this line it is impossible that each of the zodiacal signs relates to one type of person in terms of spirit and body, so that there are twelve types.

Considering how many different combinations between parts of light and darkness can be made for a human spirit that is thought of as having nine parts, there are only eight such arrangements possible.¹²

¹² Assuming like Alexander (1996, 387) that “the scale did not include zero, and that, consequently, no-one could be totally good or totally bad” is irrelevant here: even with the inclusion of zero the possible combinations still amount to just ten.

“house of light” (בית האור)	“house of darkness” (בית החושך)
8	1
7	2
6	3
5	4
4	5
3	6
2	7
1	8

These eight divisions of the human spirit between the “house of light” and the “house of darkness” are obviously not enough in relation to the number of twelve signs of the zodiac; it is, therefore, not possible for each of the signs to be linked to a different type of human spirit.¹³ This discrepancy between the numbers used in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy and the twelve signs has not been noted before, but it reveals a significant difficulty for the interpretation that this text addresses the division of the human spirit.¹⁴ Thus far, the traditional understanding is unable to explain in a satisfactory manner the connection between the zodiacal data and the alleged division of the human spirit between the “house of light” and the “house of darkness.”

In addition, the occurrence of the construction **רוח לו** seems strange if what is meant is “his spirit,” namely the human spirit of the described type of person. In the physiognomic descriptions in the rest of the text such a possessive relationship is expressed by the use of attached suffixes. The reader would anticipate **רוחו** if “his spirit” were intended, which is

¹³ Relating 4QZodiacal Physiognomy to the Two Spirits Treatise, Hartmut Stegemann (1988, 118) reasons that the number nine in the former text is at least high enough to allow for the classification of various types of people alluded to in 1QS III 13–14, but whether the latter text had only eight types of people in mind, many more, or not a specific number at all cannot be verified as no numbers are given.

¹⁴ To assume a variable set of numbers for the different types of people, in order to save the traditional interpretation that **רוח** refers to the human spirit, makes no sense, because then the different human spirits could not be compared to each other. A recurrence of the same division of light and darkness in terms of the human spirit related to different signs does not make much sense either, because the astrological influence of the zodiacal signs must be distinguishing in order to tell one type of person from another. In theory a different zodiacal sign implies a different physiognomy as well as a different configuration of the spirit in terms of light and darkness.

also the regular way of referring to people's innate spirits.¹⁵ Although the words *רוח לו* have in general been translated as "his spirit," it is important to point out that they do not say that exactly.¹⁶ Strictly speaking, *רוח לו* occurs in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy as a nominal construct meaning "he has a spirit," or "there is a spirit for him." This suggests the possibility that another, external spirit is meant.

רוח as a Reference to the Zodiacal Spirit

Whatever one assumes to be the exact meaning of *רוח*, every interpretation needs to take into consideration the fact that 4QZodiacal Physiognomy relates the "spirit" to certain numbers in the "house of light" and the "house of darkness." Any explanation of this term should account for the sense of the light and darkness terminology and the realization of the numbers. The traditional interpretation is in want of answering how the numerical combinations are established. The numerical discrepancy, however, evaporates once the division of numbers is understood as the result of the specific zodiacal position at a person's births.¹⁷

If my interpretation for the astrological framework is correct, then the numbers cannot stand by themselves but must be seen in relation to a specific sign of the zodiac. Accordingly, the complete list of 4QZodiacal Physiognomy had many similar divisions of *רוח* ("spirit") between the "house of light" and the "house of darkness." What enabled an ancient reader to distinguish between them were their identifications with particular zodiacal signs; a division 6:3 for *Taurus* differs from a 6:3 division for *Capricorn*. Similar combinations may thus repeat themselves with different zodiacal signs,¹⁸ but, being at the same time particular to each sign, the zodiacal identification is crucial for distinguishing between them.

¹⁵ See CD III 3; XX 24; 1QS II 14; IV 26; VI 17; VII 18.23; IX 15.18; 4Q279 5 5; 4Q416 7 3 (= 4Q418 77 4); 4Q417 1 i 18 (= 4Q418 43-45 i 14); 2 i 1.3; 4Q426 11 3; 11Q29 1.

¹⁶ Allegro (1968, 89-91) was aware of the difficulty. He translated "he has (of) spirit," but he did understand it as a reference to the human spirit. As does also Michael Wise (2005, 277-78) who translates "he possesses a spirit."

¹⁷ Moreover, the scale need not be limited to nine, but could range from between seven to fourteen, and perhaps even more. Cf. the lists in Rhetorius-Teucer and Firmicus Maternus.

¹⁸ This repetition cannot work if the numerical combinations are supposed to relate in a distinguishing manner to the human spirit (see above).

Since 4QZodiacal Physiognomy relates the numbers to a “spirit” (רוח), this particular reference should also be considered within the astrological framework of the text. If, therefore, the numbers listed are a result of the ascendant zodiacal sign, then the “spirit” should be understood in connection to the zodiacal sign. For that reason, I suggest that the word רוח (“spirit”) is used in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy to refer to spirits that are related to the signs. In other words, one should allow for the possibility that the spirits mentioned in the text are zodiacal spirits: one for each of the twelve zodiacal signs.

Spirits, Angels, Stars, and Zodiacal Signs

During the Second Temple period, the sense of the word רוח (“spirit”) developed and expanded to include different concepts of reference. *Inter alia*, it was used in the Dead Sea Scrolls for spirits, angels, and demons (Sekki 1989, 145–71; Davidson 1992, 155–56; Mach 2000, 1:24–27). One can observe a similar semantic field for the Greek word πνεῦμα (“spirit”) which takes on the sense of a supernatural spirit or intermediary (Kleinknecht 1959, 6:333–57; Sjöberg 1959, 6:373–87).

Various Jewish texts show that angels and spirits have a cosmological function bearing responsibility for the course of the sun, the moon, the planets, and the stars (Bietenhard 1951, 25, 101–03; Newsom 1992, 1:248–53; Davidson 1992, 314–15; Mach 1992, 262–65).¹⁹ These texts do not always distinguish sharply between angels and spirits controlling the celestial elements and being equal to them. Moreover these documents not only demonstrate the connection between angels and stars, they also express the concept of an animated, spirited universe (Scott 1991, 52–62, 91–93; Mach 1992, 173–84). The notion of animated stars is also suggested by some Second Temple texts that seem to have been familiar with the idea that people after their death were to join the angels and be like stars, as in Dan 12:3 (Mach 1992, 159–73; Collins 1993, 393–94; Sullivan 2004, 30–31, 131–39).

Against the background of these notions of angels performing cosmological functions and stars as animated beings, I suggest that 4QZodiacal Physiognomy is familiar with the idea that angels or spirits accompany the zodiacal signs so that these were believed to be animated beings, having a spirited nature. The zodiacal spirits are referred to by the

¹⁹ See 1 En. 21:1–5; 43:2; 60:14–22; 72:1; 74:2; 75:3; 79:6; 80:1; 82:10; Jub. 2:2; 1QH^a IX 9–13; 2 En. 4–6; 11; 19.

general term $\pi\eta\rho$ (“spirit”). This understanding is supported by the Testament of Solomon, which provides important evidence for the idea that the zodiacal signs and decans²⁰ have spirits and demons that represented them, to which we will turn below.

*Zodiacal Spirits in the Testament of Solomon*²¹

The Testament of Solomon expresses most clearly the concept of zodiacal spirits.²² It shows that spirits ($\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$) and demons ($\delta\acute{\alpha}\iota\mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$) were identified with the zodiacal signs. This is elaborately demonstrated in T. Sol. 18. In this chapter, which is a demonological catalogue, Solomon is confronted with thirty-six heavenly elements ($\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}$). These are spirits calling themselves the world rulers of the darkness of this age. Like the other spirits whom Solomon questioned before them, they appear before Solomon because he has authority over all the spirits of the air, the earth and the regions beneath the earth. T. Sol. 18 lists the names of the spirits of the zodiacal circle, the harm they cause to human beings, and the means for expelling them and curing people. The thirty-six spirits represent the thirty-six decans, one of the subdivisions of the zodiac in Greek astrology.²³ Like the other spirits and demons before them, the thirty-six decanal spirits must tell Solomon who they are, what they do, and how their harm can be stopped. Thus, the first decanal spirit ($\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$) comes before Solomon:

²⁰ See n. 23 below.

²¹ The composition of the Testament of Solomon dates between the fourth to sixth century CE, but it contains older traditions that possibly go back to the beginning of the Common Era, especially T. Sol. 18 on the zodiacal and decanal demons. See the literature cited in Popović 2007, 199 n. 93.

²² Similar ideas appear, for example, in some Greek magical papyri and the Manichean Kephalaia of the Teacher (see Popović 2007, 201–12).

²³ Each zodiacal sign is divided into three decans, three equal parts of 10°, resulting in thirty-six decans for the entire zodiac. This system was developed in Ptolemaic Egypt, but originally goes back to the Egyptian calendar of three hundred and sixty days with ten-day weeks (not counting the five epagomenal days). Decans were originally stars connected with these ten-day week periods. In time they came to represent divinities ruling these periods. As lords of the ten-day week period they were called $\delta\epsilon\kappa\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\iota$ or *decani*, thought to rule ten days or ten degrees of the ecliptic. During the Hellenistic period this latter aspect comes to the fore in astrology. Decans initially represented individually acting divinities known by names, images and specific effects due to their character, but they gradually lost any such traits of personality and were simply seen as a specific 10° part of the ecliptic emanating celestial energy. See Bouché-Leclercq 1899, 215–40; Gundel 1936, 1–36; Neugebauer and van Hoesen 1959, 5–6; Popović 2007, 142–43.

Then I, Solomon, summoned the first spirit, saying to him: ‘Who are you?’ And he replied: ‘I am the first decan of the zodiacal circle (and) I am called Ruax. I make heads of men suffer pain and temples to throb. When I hear only: “Michael imprison Ruax,” I withdraw immediately.’ (T. Sol. 18:4–5)

It is clear that the spirits that Solomon summons are demons that harm human beings. Most of them control a certain part of the human body and inflict various illnesses and injuries. The astrological background of the demonology in T. Sol. 18 is that of decanal *melothesia*, according to which the human body was divided between the thirty-six decans. At the end of the interrogation Solomon refers to all the spirits as the thirty-six demons (δαίμονες) that plague humanity.

One of the manuscripts of the Testament of Solomon clarifies that the other spirits who were questioned by Solomon prior to the thirty-six decanal demons were “spirits from *Aries* and *Taurus*, *Gemini* and *Cancer*, *Leo* and *Virgo*, *Libra* and *Scorpio*, *Sagittarius*, *Capricorn*, *Aquarius* and *Pisces*” (T. Sol. 18:3, Ms P, see McCown 1922). Other passages from the Testament of Solomon corroborate the idea that spirits (πνεύματα) and demons (δαίμονες) are identified with zodiacal signs (T. Sol. 2:2; 4:6; 5:4; 6:7; 7:6; 10:3; 15:4–6). The Testament of Solomon demonstrates that in antiquity there were people who considered the signs of the zodiac and its subdivisions, the decans, to have or to be spirits. It is, therefore, possible to speak of zodiacal spirits.

In addition to the notion in Second Temple Jewish texts that angels controlled the movements of sun, moon, planets, and stars as well as the physical processes of nature, such as thunder, lightning, rain, and winds, there is thus evidence that the zodiacal signs and decans were imagined to be supernatural, spiritual beings or demons. As such they could, for example, be summoned. Just as in the Testament of Solomon where the general word πνεῦμα (“spirit”) is used with reference to the spirits of zodiacal signs and decans, so, I suggest, 4QZodiacal Physiognomy uses the general word רוּחַ (“spirit”) to refer to the zodiacal spirits. Such an understanding is compatible with the development of the word’s meaning in Second Temple texts and the different concepts it conveys, similar to its Greek equivalent.²⁴

²⁴ It is possible that the two areas of astrological interest, personal and general, are also reflected in the occurrence of individual and general spirits in an astrological sense. The zodiacal spirits in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy that concern individuals seem to have

*“There is a Spirit for him”:
People and their Zodiacal Spirits in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy*

In Greek astrology the ascendant determined people’s nativities and was considered the single most important element in horoscopes. This astrological notion was matched by the prime importance for people’s fates and lives with which the zodiacal birth sign was accredited. It was believed that people were closely linked to their birth signs. According to the astrological framework of 4QZodiacal Physiognomy, argued above, this text shares the concern of Hellenistic astrology for the ascendant as the determining factor in people’s nativities. 4Q186 1 ii 8–9 expresses this by saying that the horoscope in which a certain type of person was born was “in the foot of *Taurus*.”

In addition to the importance of the zodiacal sign for people’s fates, 4QZodiacal Physiognomy adds the notion of the zodiacal spirit. Like the zodiacal signs, these spirits have a close relationship with human beings. The text refers to them with the words לו רוח (“he has a spirit” or “there is a spirit for him”). These zodiacal spirits are related to the types of people described in the entries of the list as a consequence of their moment of birth under one of the twelve signs of the zodiac. This relationship between the zodiacal spirits as supernatural beings and individuals becomes understandable against the background of texts in which angels not only function on a macrocosmic level, but in which they are also imagined as having a close relationship with certain special individuals. In addition to angels set over nations, there are examples of angels guarding individual human beings.²⁵

In the context of the decanal spirits in T. Sol. 18, Alexander speaks of these demons as being *synastroi* with people on the basis of their ascendant sign in their nativity:

If a client comes to a magus complaining of illness or ill luck the magus can take cognizance of which star or which decan is in the ascendant at this point in time, and thus identify from the numerous demons the probable demonic culprit and apply the appropriate angelic restraint. Alternatively he could discover through the client’s nativity which star or decan was in the ascendant at the time of his birth, which demon

their counterparts in planetary spirits or demons who are set over entire regions and people. See Toepel 2005; Popović 2007, 203.

²⁵ E.g. Tob. 5:21; 6:2–9; T. Sim. 2:8; T. Levi 5:6–7; T. Jud. 3:10; T. Dan 5:4; 6:2.5; T. Jos. 6:7; Acts 12:15. See Popović 2007, 205.

is *synastros* with him and therefore likely to be causing him problems. (Alexander 2003b, 633)

Following this notion one should understand the zodiacal spirits in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy as *synastroi* with people from their moment of birth onwards.

CONCLUSION: DISCERNING THE NATURE OF ZODIACAL SPIRITS

Recalling Allegro's bewilderment at the beginning of this paper, the content of 4QZodiacal Physiognomy is certainly enigmatic at first sight, but it is possible to make sense of the text when carefully compared with other physiognomic, astrological, and magical texts from antiquity.

The division between the "house of light" and the "house of darkness" is astrologically the result of the ascendant's position vis-à-vis the eastern horizon, but in the list of 4QZodiacal Physiognomy this was understood in terms of the zodiacal spirit being divided between light and darkness. Understanding the phrase רוּחַ לוֹ ("there is a spirit for him") in this way aligns it with the ascendant interpretation which explains the realization of the numbers in the "house of light" and the "house of darkness." Dependent on the moment of birth, the ascendant divided the sign's parts above and below the horizon; the zodiacal spirit was divided likewise.

People could share the same zodiacal sign, but still belong to different physiognomic types because of the division of the zodiacal sign and spirit. The list identified people's zodiacal birth sign (4Q186 1 ii 9: "And this is his animal: *Taurus*") and provided information with regard to the division of the zodiacal spirit at the time of birth, thus differentiating between the two. Accordingly the physiognomic descriptions of the human body led the intended readers of 4QZodiacal Physiognomy to the various subdivisions of people's zodiacal signs and spirits between the "house of light" and the "house of darkness." The point of the distinction between the zodiacal sign and the division of the zodiacal spirit is that the latter made it possible to distinguish between different types of people that shared the same sign.

Thus, the text acknowledged the different influences that zodiacal signs exert during their ascendancy. First, 4QZodiacal Physiognomy suggests a semiotic relationship between, on the one hand, the physiognomies of the human bodies and, on the other hand, the division of numbers between light and darkness. More parts in the "house of

light” than in the “house of darkness” seems to imply a more attractive appearance of the body, while, conversely, more parts in the “house of darkness” seems to entail a less attractive appearance (Popović 2007, 106). Second, in his book on astrology Ptolemy of Alexandria (second century CE) argues that those parts of the zodiacal sign beneath the earth were to be ignored in the determination of horoscopes (*Tetrabiblos* 3.11.4). It seems that those parts below the earth, in the “house of darkness,” were not deemed influential for the power of one’s ascendant sign (horoscope). If 4QZodiacal Physiognomy relates the division of the zodiacal signs and spirits between the “house of light” and the “house of darkness” to the appearance of the human body, the assumption is that the more parts of a zodiacal sign that have ascended, the more powerful the radiating influence of the sign and spirit on the people who were born at that moment. Such a semiotic connection made it possible to identify people’s zodiacal signs and spirits by reading their bodies.

The division of light and darkness served as an indication for the nature of the zodiacal spirits; it was a means for measuring this nature. The number of parts in the “house of light” and the “house of darkness” indicated the power and influence of the zodiacal spirits. Their nature and their relationship to individual types of people were modified according to the circumstances at birth, depending on the division of the zodiacal sign. The zodiacal spirit’s nature could differ in just as many ways as the zodiacal sign could be divided, each configuration corresponding to a different physiognomic type.

4QZodiacal Physiognomy drew connections between different types of people and zodiacal spirits. It structured and classified these relationships in a physiognomic-astrological list that connected the shape and appearance of the human body with the subdivisions of the signs and their spirits in the “house of light” and the “house of darkness.” Discerning the nature of people’s zodiacal spirits meant having knowledge of the power and influence of the signs and spirits upon human beings.

A BROTHERHOOD AT QUMRAN?
METAPHORICAL FAMILIAL LANGUAGE IN THE
DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Jutta Jokiranta and Cecilia Wassen

The Essene communities were characterized by a strong bond of unity among their members, according to Philo and Josephus. Philo explains that the Essenes formed “communities” (ὀμίλοι), or “guilds” (θίασοι), in which they shared resources and had common meals (Hypothetica 11.1–5; Prob. 85–6). Josephus similarly highlights the practice of sharing property amongst the members (B.J. 2 122) and claims that the members showed greater attachment to one another than did members of other sects (B.J. 2 119). Given the strong bonds among the Essenes, it comes natural for both Josephus and Philo to describe the relationship between members in family terms. Hence, Josephus compares the shared property of members to that of *brothers* (B.J. 2 122). Philo likens the relationship between older and younger members with that of *fathers and sons* (Hypothetica 11.13) as well as *parents and children* (Prob. 87). In addition, Philo argues that the Essenes rejected slavery since they considered all humans equal and essentially viewed them as *brothers* (Prob. 79).¹

Turning to the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) which we associate with the Essenes, one of the key terms for self-identification in some of the sectarian documents is *yahad*, suggesting again a strong unity among the members.² Consequently, modern commentators have not hesitated

¹ The traditional view of the Essenes as brotherhood has influenced earlier translations of the Greek authors: Thackeray translates “brothers” when the Greek reads “one of their own” (B.J. 2 127) and adds a clarifying “fraternity,” which does not appear in the Greek (B.J. 2 137; Josephus Flavius 1956). Dupont-Summer (1973, Eng. trans. Vermes) prefers “brotherhoods” over other possible translations of θίασοι (religious guilds, companies, clubs, or fraternities).

² Weinfeld (1986, 13–15) suggests that the use of the term יהד was influenced by the common use of the Greek term κοινωνία. This term is also found in Philo’s and Josephus’s descriptions of the Essenes. For other organizational terms, e.g., רבים and סדר, and their Hellenistic equivalents, see Weinfeld 1986, 10–16.

to describe the sectarian community as a brotherhood.³ “Brother(s)” is, however, rarely the term of choice to describe fellow members in the sectarian writings of the DSS. The question thus arises, why not? And what are other, if any, preferable familial metaphors used to express the self-identity and the relationships in the Qumran sect,⁴ and why are these chosen?

This study locates familial terminology in the Scrolls, explores where it is used metaphorically and how it then expresses various relationships, particularly between members, but also between members and outsiders and between humans and God.⁵ We will analyze the use of household and parent-child metaphors as well as brother metaphors. Household terminology often says something about hierarchy. A key question we will address is whether different family metaphors express egalitarian or hierarchical social structures. For example, although the same sense of unity and affection may be evoked by father-and-son-metaphors as that of brothers, the implied hierarchical relationships are different. We will also inquire as to whether there is evidence of a negative stance toward the biological family. The focus of this study is on the sectarian literature, particularly the Community Rule (S), the Damascus Document (D), the Rule of the Congregation (1QS_a), and the Hodayot (1QH^a).

Before we begin our investigation into specific familial terms in the Scrolls, we need to consider the way in which metaphors function within language.⁶ We will highlight aspects from metaphor theory, which illuminate the built-in character of metaphors in language and

³ For example, Frank Moore Cross (1995, 74) identifies “brotherhood” as one of several characteristics that the sectarians and the early Christians share: “[a] unity (through the Spirit), brotherhood, love of one’s fellow, the breakdown of the disparity between the (wicked) rich and the (oppressed) poor.” Whereas the Danish translation of the Scrolls (Ejrnæs 2003) translates *yahad* as “broderskab” (“brotherhood”) in the Community Rule, the Norwegian one (Elgvin 2004) prefers “Samfunnet” (“the Fellowship”).

⁴ By “Qumran sect” we refer to the sect that produced or preserved the Dead Sea Scrolls. We presume that this sect was divided into different branches, as evidenced by the Damascus Document (D), and included settlements at different locations, with Qumran possibly being the headquarters. We acknowledge that the term *yahad* refers to a broad part of the sect and should not be identified exclusively with the particular settlement at Qumran (Elgvin 2005, 273–79).

⁵ For a study on divine sonship (with reference to angels, Israel, the king, and the Messiah), see García Martínez 2006. Our study complements his in that we concentrate on familial metaphors concerning members.

⁶ Aasgaard (1998, 119, n. 1) points out that cultural anthropology uses the concept “fictive kinship” for metaphorical, non-literal use of family terms. This terminology is

in human thinking. In addition, insights from social identity theory will shed light upon the meanings of these metaphors within the Qumran sect, particularly within the context of how people perceive themselves and others as group members.

METAPHOR THEORY AND SOCIAL IDENTITY APPROACH

Metaphors can be defined as structures that provide *an understanding of one thing in terms of another thing*. In their classic study on metaphors, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980) view most of our conceptual system as metaphorically structured.⁷ One example is the concept “love.” This concept can be structured, for example, according to the metaphor “love is a journey.” The metaphor is then reflected in expressions such as “Look how far we’ve come”; “We’re at a crossroads”; “We’ve gotten off the track” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 44–45). The *source domain* (e.g., journey) serves as the area which is used to understand the *target domain* (e.g., love). Often concepts are not noticed as being metaphorical; only a closer look at our everyday experiences may reveal their metaphorical structuring.⁸ If Lakoff and Johnson are correct, metaphors are not about language only, but about structuring our conceptual system and everyday activities; metaphors make sense of our perceptions and experiences, guide our categorization, and direct our actions. They are “principle vehicles for understanding” (1980, 159).

One essential function of metaphors, as Lakoff and Johnson observe, is to highlight some aspects of the target domain and to hide or downplay others. For example, the expression “She’s driving me wild” highlights the lack of control associated with love, while hiding other dimensions, such as “love is cooperation” and “love is war.” Moreover, the source domain is used selectively in metaphors: the metaphor “love

also common in NT studies. In this paper, we prefer “metaphors” and “metaphorical familial terminology/language,” following the terminology of metaphor theory.

⁷ We will primarily draw on Lakoff and Johnson’s study, which provides the tools necessary for our limited inquiry. In recent years, biblical scholars studying ancient metaphors have successfully utilized the work by Lakoff and Johnson (e.g., Dille 2004; Aasgaard 2004). Its validity and further developments are shown, e.g., by Kövecses 2002. See also their later work, Lakoff and Johnson 1999.

⁸ The expression “you are wasting my time” reflects the metaphor “time is money.” The perception of someone “breaking down” or feeling “rusty” is based on the metaphor “mind is a machine” (*mind operates*). Humans tend to conceptualize the non-physical in terms of physical (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 118).

is a journey” utilizes some aspects of journeys (e.g., progressing on the way from one place to another) but ignores others (e.g., vehicles used in journeys). Therefore the meaning and function of metaphors have to be studied case by case. Familial metaphors are no exception: for example, the use of “father” in addressing a Roman Catholic priest highlights certain aspects of the relationship between the priest and the parishioners and gives us a clue of the conceptual structure behind it. Paternity, in this case, represents honor, position, responsibilities, and care; it does not include ideas of being similar in appearance or other aspects of biological paternity. Hence it is important to investigate which parts of the source domain are used in familial metaphors (which family relations and which aspects of them), and what is highlighted and what is hidden by using these metaphors.

If metaphors structured thinking and perception in the Qumran sect, can we capture the conceptual world of the sect by studying (random) linguistic expressions in (randomly) survived texts? The study of familial terminology in the Scrolls is only one—sometimes blurry—window into this world. Nevertheless it is, in our view, a highly informative approach. Yet it is obvious that family is only one among many metaphors by which the Qumran sect structured its conceptual world. For example the metaphor “members are the temple” (e.g., 1QS VIII 5–10) is a different kind of metaphor. In comparison to familial language where both the source and the target domain deal with human relations, the temple imagery instead understands human relations in terms of buildings, rituals, and holy things.

Central to Lakoff and Johnson’s theory (1980, 54–55) is the distinction between systematically used metaphors and metaphors that are “dead” (or isolated/unsystematic). One example of a “dead” case is the expression “*leg* of a table”: this conventionally fixed expression can be seen as an isolated case of the metaphor “table is a person.” In contrast, the metaphors “time is money” and “love is a journey” employ various aspects of the source domain and are parts of whole metaphorical systems. Metaphors that are close to “dead” or very conventional may yet have significance; they can be extended by using their unused parts and employed, for example, to make jokes or novel metaphors.⁹

⁹ To take an example of our own, the (dead) metaphor of a table as a living thing might be used in a children’s riddle like this: “It has four legs, and it never eats but only carries food. What is it?”

Categorizing familial metaphors as nearly “dead,” conventional, and novel cases is useful: some expressions may not have a very visible role in the conceptual system whereas others, although conventional, may turn out to be important.¹⁰ It is necessary to examine whether familial metaphors are consistent, creating a system of interrelated metaphors in the Scrolls, or whether these metaphors serve as more random, single forms of understanding. We will attempt to rank the existing familial metaphors with regards to their possible systematic/unsystematic character in this text material. In addition, we need to be sensitive to the strength of the rhetorical force of a given metaphor as this varies depending on the context; the word “brother” in Hebrew, for example, ranges from an expression of intimacy to simply denoting “the other.”

Metaphor theory shares fundamental aspects with another theoretical framework, the social identity approach. This is a social-psychological theory, based on cognitive studies of human perception. Both the metaphor theory and the social identity approach deal with questions of categorization: human beings understand the world through categories, as *kinds* of things (such as chair, tree, nation). Human categorization is not based on a fixed set of inherent properties of an object but is context-dependent and based on prototypes, “best” representatives of a category (e.g., a prototypical *chair*; Lakoff 1987, 9; Hogg and McGarty 1990). Social identity is one’s perception of him/herself as a group member and functions similarly: it is the result of comparison in a given context. An individual perceives him/herself as similar to a certain group of people and dissimilar to some other group(s) of people by highlighting similarities and hiding differences; group prototype crystallizes these features (Tajfel 1978; Hogg and Abrams 1988). An individual may hold several social identities simultaneously but often these vary according to the level of abstraction. For example, a person is a European, a Scandinavian, a Southern-Swede, a village-dweller. In a social context where others are urban, a person’s identity as rural may become important, whereas at a European congress, his/her nationality comes to the fore (Turner 1999).

¹⁰ Cf. Aasgaard 2004, who employs Lakoff and Johnson’s theory about metaphors in his analysis of Christian siblingship in Paul. He (2004, 23–31) remarks that Paul’s family metaphors may seem very traditional but can yet turn out to be the “metaphors we live by,” structuring the thinking and behavior of Paul and his fellow Christians.

The categories of identity in the discourses among the various DSS function similarly. They stress similarities to in-group members and differences to out-group members. In addition, categories reflect different levels of abstraction. In the Pesharim, for example, very large categories are present and the language is stereotypical. Insiders are compared to outsiders; they are told who they are by being told who they are not. The collective language creates an image of homogeneous groups. This should not be misunderstood to mean that everyone in the “congregation of the poor” (a concept found in 4QPsalms Peshera^a) is truly alike or that their identities are all alike. Similarly, large collectives are being compared at a cosmic or ethical level in texts like the discourse on two spirits in S, the description of the eschatological war in the War Scroll (1QM), and the segments in 1QH^a that emphasize universal dimensions; the “sons/children of light/darkness” or “sons/children of truth/deceit” are high level descriptions. At a lower level of abstraction, when the insiders themselves are in focus, narrower categories (e.g., priests, Levites, Israelites; sons of Zadok; *rabbim*) and various functionaries (Examiner, Wisdom teacher, judges) emerge revealing the hierarchical structure of the movement.

Familial language is used at both high and low levels in the Scrolls (e.g., “sons of darkness;” “sons of Zadok”). In light of the social identity perspective, it is necessary to acknowledge that “sons of darkness” cannot be compared to “sons of Zadok;” different levels of abstraction are in use, and the expressions arise from different contexts (e.g., cosmic qualities/origins; assumed genealogy/ancestry). Although both employ the language of son-ship, the underlying metaphors are not the same. Furthermore identity is fluid and context-dependent; familial terminology may seem static and fixed, but in real life familial metaphors could probably serve to comprehend membership in various situations.

These theoretical perspectives serve to structure the data in our discussion below. The Hebrew Bible is clearly one of the most important sources for familial language and metaphors in the sectarian literature, and we will discuss the biblical background as necessary. Furthermore, the Greco-Roman world in antiquity as one definer of the aspects of the source domain (of family and its various members) functioned as a model for the ways in which the target domain (e.g., membership in sect) was being highlighted by familial metaphors. In order to pay due attention to the meaning of familial metaphors in antiquity we will include some comparative material. We will begin with an examina-

tion of “family,” followed by that of “fathers and mothers,” “children,” and “brothers.”

EXTENDED FAMILY

The biblical usage of the concept *mispahah* has clearly inspired its use in the DSS. In the Hebrew Bible kinship operates on three levels: the tribe (שבט/מטה); the extended family/clan (משפחה); and the *bet-av* (בית אב), the family as the household, headed by the oldest male in a single lineage (Gottwald 1999, 285; Wright 1992, 761–62; Perdue 1997, 174–75). The *mispahah* was a sub-unit of the tribe but larger than the single household.¹¹ Most of all, it provided protection and subsistence.¹²

In the DSS, the concept *mispahah* is only found in few places, most notably in the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa) and in D. Its meaning in 1QSa is in line with the common practice in the document to apply biblical organizational terms to the community. The list of graduated duties in 1QSa informs us that at the age of twenty a member was to take his/her place among his/her משפחה, “family,”¹³ joining the holy congregation (1QSa I 9). The second occurrence is in the same context but in the plural: at the age of thirty, one is to take one’s place among the chiefs, “in all their *mispahot*” (I 15). The third occurrence deals with an incompetent who is not to judge or have responsibility in the

¹¹ The *mispahah* is a “protective association of extended families.” In the biblical legislation, the *mispahah* defined the extent to which a man could be required to act as a “kinsman-redeemer” (Gottwald 1999, 257–67; Wright 1992, 761–62). After the collapse of the tribal organization in 587 BCE, the *mispahah* was replaced by a new structure, the *bet-avot*, as the basic unit of society. The *bet-avot* united a number of families that were related, either fictionally or genuinely (Weinberg 1992, 49–61; Collins 1997b, 105; Jenni 1997a, 6).

¹² Peskowitz (1993, 28–34) emphasizes the *economic* nature of Jewish families in Roman Galilee. Families can partly be characterized as working groups; for example, husbands and wives often had a common family trade. Moreover, families living in proximity to each other may have had a common Sabbath meal. See also Blenkinsopp 1997 (53–57). For the Greco-Roman *oikos/familia*, see Pomeroy 1993; the terminology could be used not only of persons but also of the estate, the property.

¹³ For a gender-inclusive reading, see Schuller 1994, 123. Schiffman (1989, 16–18) translates “along with his fam[il]ly” and sees two possible meanings: either the initiate remained part of his family until he married, or the (already married or soon-to-be married) initiate brought his wife and children into the community. Schiffman thus holds that women did not become full members in their own right. For an alternative view, see Wassen 2005, 131–56.

congregation; however, his *mispahah* shall be inscribed in the register of the army (I 21). There seems to be an attempt to elevate the ideological significance of the *mispahah* along biblical lines; the *mispahah* and tribal structure have lost their earlier role, but the community in 1QSa is modeled after the biblical congregation (עדה), tribe (שבט), families/clans (משפחות), and various commanders and officers of the Hebrew Bible (Metso 2002). The *mispahah* was traditionally the association of families that supported each other; ideals of mutual support and liability may also lie behind the usage in 1QSa. Perhaps the *mispahah* had some financial significance in the movement.¹⁴

The *mispahah* does not, however, play a significant role in other rule documents. Thus the *mispahah* is not mentioned at all in S, which accords with the common view that the S community was made up of celibate members. In contrast, the term appears four times in D, which, like 1QSa, reflects a married community. The Admonition of D refers to a group of apostates who is excluded together with their *mispahot* (CD XX 13; see also III 1). In the community organization layer,¹⁵ the Examiner, *mevaqer*, is said to master every language of the *mispahot* (CD XIV 9–10; however, the reading is not certain); 4QD^a 11 10, finally, states that God has founded “the nations according to their *mispahot*, according to their languages, and according to their tribes.” It is possible that a *mispahah* structure existed in the movement, but it is not very clear.¹⁶ There is little evidence of the *mispahah* functioning systematically in a metaphorical sense for the movement as a new family. Yet in 1QSa and in D, the term evoked biblical ideas about the wilderness community, and thus structured the sect’s understanding of itself in terms of the ancient, extended family that provided sustenance and protection.¹⁷

¹⁴ An incompetent person is excluded from the military census but the reason that his family is included may have had economic significance. Gottwald (1999, 315–16) explains the function of the ancient *mispahah*: “...members had mutual obligations to extend the assistance of their own *bet-avot* to any needy *bet-ab* within the *mispahah*, and to arrange among themselves how they would muster and field a quota of fighting men as required for the tribal and national levy.”

¹⁵ For the literary stratification of D, see Hempel (1998).

¹⁶ See Sivertsev 2005, 94–142 who argues that the Dead Sea sect was, at least in its early stages, made up of families and families were its main structural component.

¹⁷ This similar function can be seen in the leadership title ראשי אבות העדה, see below.

FATHER/S AND MOTHER/S

In the Greco-Roman household, *paterfamilias* was the oldest male that headed the *familia*.¹⁸ From very early times of Roman society the authority of the *paterfamilias* was extensive and included the right over life and death of his family members. In comparison, the status of the male head of the Israelite household was similar, although traditionally he would not have power of life and death over his family members (Deut 21:18–21; 22:13–19; see also Wright 1992, 767). In addition, the mother had some authority in a household (Exod 20:12; 21:15, 17).¹⁹

Parallel to its biblical use, the term אב/אבות carries a wide range of meanings in the DSS. In addition to the meaning of a father in the plain biological sense, the term is used with reference to ancestors,²⁰ to a household, *bet-av* (בית אב),²¹ to God as father, to different leadership titles, and figuratively with respect to a community leader as a father. “Mother,” predictably, occurs much less frequently, appearing approximately one fourth as often as “father/s.”²²

God’s parenthood

Biological parents are the subject in a *hodayah* (1QH^a XVII 29–31), commonly identified as a hymn of a leader.²³ Although the text is fragmentary, the section clearly includes praise to God who has been with the speaker from conception.

¹⁸ For the extensive authority of the *paterfamilias* in Roman law, see Gardner 1991, 6–11. The position of slaves in respect to their master resembled the relationship between the *filius* of the family and the *paterfamilias* (Lassen 1997, 109).

¹⁹ Deuteronomic legislation seems to restrict the jurisdiction of the father in favor of local judges and elders (Blenkinsopp 1997, 89).

²⁰ The sins of “the fathers” are highlighted in a few instances (e.g., CD XX 29; 1QS I 25, 26; II 4–11; 4Q434 [4QBarkhi Nafshi^a] XII 3), but overwhelmingly אבות carries a positive connotation (e.g., CD VIII 14–18; 1QM XIII 7; XIV 8).

²¹ E.g., CD VII 11 (quotation of Isa 7:17); 4QD^f 3 13; 11Q19 (11QTemple Scroll^a) LVII 16, 19. The plural, “house of their fathers” or “households” (בית אבותם) occurs in 4Q368 (4QapocrPent A) 5 3.

²² “Mother” is used in the biological sense in many halakhic contexts (e.g., CD V 9; 4Q251 11 2; 12; 17 4, 5; 4Q396 [4QMMT] 1–2 I 2; 11QT LXIII 13; LXIV 2, 3). In addition, in several instances, “mother” refers to a female animal (e.g., 11QT LII 6; LXV 3, 4).

²³ Several hymns in the Hodayot are written in the first person singular and reflect upon the experiences of a leader (1QH^a X 3–19; XII 5–XIII 4; XIII 5–19; XIII 20–XV 5; XV 6–25; XVI 4–XVII 37).

For You from my father have known me, from the womb [You have set me apart, and from the belly of] my mother You have rendered good to me. From the breasts of she who conceived me, your compassion has been mine.²⁴

At the same time, the biological father and mother are depicted in negative terms later in the same hymn in an allusion to Ps 27:10 (1QH^a XVII 35):²⁵

For my father did not know me, and my mother abandoned me to you.

Has the individual experienced lack of protection from the parents? Or have the parents given up their child? Regardless of any possible historical background, the point of the biblical psalm and the *hodayah* is that the speaker belongs to God; indeed the parenthood of God is the only protection the individual needs, as the hymn continues (1QH^a XVII 35b–36):

For you are a father to all the [son]s of your truth. You rejoice in them, like her who loves her child, and like a wet-nurse you take care of all your creatures on (your) lap.

In this case, God is portrayed as a father²⁶ as well as a mother. Newsom (2004, 345–46) shows that those hymns that represent the character of a community leader articulate a leadership myth of the community and are written to provide a model for community leaders first, but also for the sectarians in general. She states, “Finally, the leader offers himself as a model for the formation of a sectarian character. His presentation of himself—his experiences, actions, and sentiments—models the character implied by the teachings of the sect.” If this is the case, then the attitude to one’s family that emerges in 1QH^a XVII for the sectarians to emulate is to give up attachments to one’s biological parents in favor of relying completely on God as well as to submit oneself fully to God’s will. In no uncertain terms the speaker makes clear, even with

²⁴ The translation follows that of Abegg et al. (Parry and Tov 2005, vol. 5).

²⁵ All the translations from this point onwards follow García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1997–1998) with minor alterations unless otherwise stated.

²⁶ Similarly, 4Q382 (4Qpap Paraphrase of Kings) 104 3: “You will rule over them and be for them a father.” Cf. 4Q372 (4QNarrative and Poetic Composition^b) 1 16: “And he said: ‘My father and my God, do not abandon me...’”

Ps 27:10 as authority, that no parent is needed except for God.²⁷ The metaphor of God as parent is very biblical but set in a new context; as such, it highlights God's care and love.

In contrast to this sentiment, the wisdom tradition in 4Q416 (4QInstruction^b) refers to both parents several times in the tradition of the commandment to honor one's father and mother (Exod 20:12). The author admonishes the reader to honor and serve both parents submissively, reaffirming the social hierarchy of the day, namely that of parents over children and husbands over wives. Still the authority of both parents is noteworthy:

Honor your father in your poverty, and your mother in your low estate. For as God is to a human so is his own father; and as the Lord is to a person so is his mother. For they are the womb that was pregnant with you. And just as He set them in authority over you and fashioned (you) according to the spirit, so serve you them (4Q416 2 III 15–16).²⁸

Again, the relationship between parents and child is compared to that of God and humans, but the metaphor aims at strengthening the reader's willingness to submit him/herself to the authority, not only of God, but also of his/her biological parents—unlike in the *hodayah* we studied above. Parental metaphors also mark leadership status and honor, as we will explore below.

Leadership as Parenthood

The community leader takes on the role of a nurturing parent in 1QH^a XV 6–25 in that God has made him a father and a nurse (nursing mother?):

You have made me a father for the sons of kindness, like a wet-nurse to the men of portent; they open their mouth like a chi[l]d on the breast of its mother;] like a suckling child in the lap of its wet-nurse (1QH^a XV 20–22).

As a whole, this *hodayah* encourages the sectarians to submit themselves to their leader as children to their parents and rely on their leader for protection and instruction. In light of 1QH^a XVII 29–36, which puts

²⁷ A similar negative attitude toward biological parents is found in 4Q175 (4QTestimonia) 15–16 in a quotation from Deuteronomy 33:8–11 in which Levi rejects his father and mother and children in favor of God.

²⁸ The translation is based on that by Strugnell and Harrington (in Parry and Tov 2004, vol. 4).

forth detachment from one's biological parents as ideal, the presentation of the leader as a parent in 1QH^a XV becomes particularly poignant: he can help fill the void left from the absence of biological parents. It is also worth reflecting on the mirror images of the leader and God in their nurturing capacities, which Newsom (2004, 298) highlights. Since the community leader is portrayed as having the caring and protecting characters of God, this evidently further strengthens the parental role of the leader as one to whom affection and submission is the only natural attitude of the sectarians, his children.

Parental terms are also used for officials to indicate status and position within the group.²⁹ In 1QS^a and in 1QM, ראשי אבות appears several times as part of the title ראשי אבות העדה, "heads of the fathers (or households/clans) of the congregation."³⁰ The use of the title is part of the general preference for employing biblical wilderness terminology.³¹ No form of the title appears in the two main rules, S and D, unless "the Fathers" is a short form of the title (see below). Perhaps the function of the ראשי אבות to preserve order in the biblical tradition gives a hint of the responsibilities of these leaders.³² Yet, we know little of their specific activities.³³ The use of the title can be seen as metaphorical

²⁹ In the Hebrew Bible, metaphorical parent language is found in honorary titles: *father* is the title for a king/master (2 Kgs 5:13), an officeholder (Isa 22:20–21), a prophet/teacher (2 Kgs 13:14; 2:12), a priest (Judg 17:10), a benefactor (Job 29:16), and possibly the founder of a professional guild (1 Chr 4:14).

³⁰ See 1QS^a I 16, 23–25, II 16; 1QM II 1, 3, 7; III 3–4. ראשי אבות in these cases probably carries the meaning of "clans" or "households:" ראשי אבות is used of leaders of clans or households in the Israelite community in Exod 6:25; Num 31:26, Josh 14:1; 19:51 (they are in charge of dividing the booty justly, and parceling out the land to the tribes). There are two references to ראשי אבות העדה in 1QM II 1, 3, but also in these cases the full title ראשי אבות העדה may be assumed (Yadin 1962, 263). The title occurs also in 4Q365 (4QReworked Pentateuch^a) 26a–b 8, in 4Q299 (4QMysteries^a) 76 3, and in the fragmentary 4Q423 (4QInstruction^a) 5 2 (כל ר[וש] אבות) in a section recalling God's work in the past.

³¹ The key name for the community in 1QS^a is עדה, which is the common term for the entire Israelite congregation in the wilderness, the camp in P. The division into 1000's, 100's, 50's and 10's parallels that of Israel's army (Deut 1:15, cf. 1QS II 21–22; CD XIII 1–2).

³² In 1QS^a, ראשי אבות העדה have a leadership role alongside the priests. In 1QM, their number is 52 (1QM II 1, par. 4Q494), and apparently they rank just after the chief priests, chiefs of the Levites, chiefs of their divisions, and chiefs of their tribes (II 1–3). Their military role in the final war is indicated by 1QM III 3–4, which defines the order of the trumpets in war.

³³ Both 1QS^a and 1QM have an eschatological orientation, 1QM more so than 1QS^a. It is reasonable to assume that there is some degree of correspondence between the officials listed in the texts and the leadership roles in the actual communities. Nevertheless, some elements appear to reflect expectations for the future, most obvi-

familial language; at the same time the expression is clearly adopted from biblical terminology in these documents and conveys the idea of orderly care in the community.

In D, “the Fathers” and “the Mothers” appear as titles of honor in the context of the penal code:

[One who murmur]s against the Fathers [shall be expelled] from the congregation and not return; [if] it is against the Mothers he shall be penalized for te[n] days, for the M[o]thers do not have *rwqmh* in the midst of [the congregation] (4QD^c 7 I 13b–15).³⁴

The reference in D to the groups of Fathers and Mothers is somewhat of an enigma. Neither the Fathers nor the Mothers appear as titles elsewhere, although it is possible that “the Fathers” is a short form of “the fathers of the congregation.” This is also the only instance where women (whether in the singular or the plural) are mentioned in a possible position of leadership in any of the rules.³⁵ Finally it is unclear to what *rwqmh* refers.³⁶ Regardless of these anomalies, it is significant that there were groups of women and men, who were called Mothers and Fathers and who deserved respect in the community.³⁷ Although the Fathers evidently ranked higher than the Mothers, as the great disparity in penalties indicates, the authority of neither group was to be questioned.

The portrayal of the key leader in D, the *mevaqquer*, is cloaked in parental terms (CD XIII 7–16). The *mevaqquer* is an eminent teacher of wisdom who instructs the Many about God’s deeds in the world throughout history (CD XIII 7–8). CD XIII 9–10 refers to the *mevaqquer* as a father and ascribes characteristics to him recalling those of a divine protector:

Let him love them as a father does his children (כאב לבניו) and watch over them in their distress as a shepherd for his flock. Let him loosen

ously the banquet in which the Messiah participates (1QSa II 11–22). Hempel’s (1996) distinction between an early rule intended for an actual community and later additions of messianic elements remains plausible.

³⁴ Translation based on Baumgarten (in Parry and Tov 2004, vol. 1).

³⁵ For references to female elders, זקנות, see 4Q502 (4QpapRitual of Marriage) 24 4; 19 2, and Crawford 2003.

³⁶ See Elwolde 2000; Brooke 2003b; Wassen 2005 (189–97).

³⁷ Since Mothers and Fathers are in the plural, it is unlikely that biological parents are meant. Collins (1997b, 134–35) notes that the Therapeutae, in Philo’s account, included celibate women who took part in their ceremonies and that the young men who served the meal behaved like “sons to their real fathers and mothers.”

all the chains that bind them so that there shall be none deprived and crushed in his congregation.³⁸

The language of a loving father, a shepherd, and of loosening of chains belongs to the traditional imagery associated with God. In this case, parallel to 1QH^a XV (see above), it is the nurturing features of God as a parent that are underlined. Also like 1QH^a XV the sectarianians are encouraged to view their leader in extraordinary terms, as a mirror image of God. In light of the extensive rights of the leader that follows in CD XIII, the evocative language is probably intended to legitimize this power; by hiding the image of a dominating, powerful father figure and instead highlighting the nurturing aspects of the father, the texts aims at building trust in the leader. The discourse thus prepares the reader to be accepting of the extensive power of the *mevaqger* which is outlined in the subsequent lines; the *mevaqger* is in charge of the examination of potential new members (XIII 12–13), of supervising the business transactions of members (CD XIII 15–16/4QD^a 9 III 1–4) as well as of marriage and divorce (4QD^a 9 III 4–6).³⁹ In D, the *mevaqger* has evidently taken over many of the responsibilities and rights that traditionally belonged to the biological father (Wassen 2005, 160–64, 202–5). CD XIII 13 further emphasizes the hierarchical power relation between the regular members and the *mevaqger* by stating that the “sons/residents of the camp” may not bring anyone into the congregation “except by the word of the *mevaqger* of the camp.”

It is worth noting that the *mevaqger* is never represented in fatherly terms or with characteristics reminiscent of God in S. Consistent with this circumstance are the different levels of authority of the *mevaqger* in the two documents in relation to accepting new members. In S the *mevaqger* is subordinate to the Many (1QS VI 11–23) while the reverse is the case in D (CD XV 7–15) (Metso 2002, 441). Instead, it is the *maskil* in S who, although not called a father, comes close to a father figure. The description of the *maskil* is reminiscent of that of the *mevaqger*: he knows the correct interpretation of Torah and has gained astonishing insights from God into eternal things, “mysteries of wonder and truth”

³⁸ Translation based on Baumgarten and Schwartz 1995.

³⁹ Murphy (2002) suggests that “loosening of chains” had financial meaning; perhaps slaves and persons in debt were redeemed by the sect. The *mevaqger* is also responsible for some kind of instruction to the children within the community: “He shall instruct their sons [and daughters] and their children [in a spir]it of hu[mil]ity and lov[ing] kindness” (4QD^a 9 III 6–7).

(1QS IX 18; cf. CD XIII 8), in order to instruct the community in the will of God. Both characters also share an elevated position in which they resemble God.⁴⁰ According to the discourse on the two spirits (1QS III 13–IV 26), the *maskil* is to teach all the children, “the sons of light” (III 13). The text places him in a unique, elevated position as a teacher, clearly above the “sons.” Similarly, in the extensive section devoted to the statutes concerning the *maskil* at the end of the document (1QS IX 12–X 5), his role is outlined in relation to the “children:” the *maskil* “shall separate and weigh the children of righteousness⁴¹ according to their spirits” (IX 14). Yet, the community members are only once called “children” in the section amongst other names that express the identity of the group,⁴² and the expression emphasizes the righteous quality of the members more than their identity as children (see below). Hence, the metaphor of the *maskil* as a father is not nearly as pronounced as in the case of the *mevaqer* in D.

CHILDREN

The term **בנים/בן** appears frequently in the Scrolls and most often it expresses biological kinship, both distant (as descendants e.g., CD II 19; III 1, 4, 5, 9) and near relations (e.g., “son of X” in CD IV 14–15; VII 10; VIII 20). Duties of the *mevaqer* include instructing “their children” and dealing with modesty and love with “their small children” (CD XIII 17–18 // 4QD^a 9 III 6–7)—biological children of the camp-members are probably meant here, too. However, this is also one example of the biological parent-child relationship being supplemented or replaced by the leader-member relationship.

The term **בנים** is also used in its extended meaning of followers or disciples.⁴³ Although this usage can be classified as metaphorical it is still rather conventional: the metaphor is found mostly in forms of address

⁴⁰ Not only does the *maskil* know the spirits of the humans (IX 14) and portions out his love and hate accordingly (IX 14, 21), he is also capable of having “eternal hatred” for the “men of the pit” (IX 22). God’s will and that of the *maskil* are inseparable (IX 23–26). S also highlights a non-familial metaphor of God as a judge.

⁴¹ Since the definite article is used, **הצדוק**, the text does not refer to the Sons of Zadok, i.e., the priests.

⁴² E.g., “chosen ones of the end time” (IX 14), “the chosen of the way,” (IX 17–18), and “the men of the community,” or simply “they/them” (e.g., IX 18).

⁴³ In the Hebrew Bible, disciples of prophets and wisdom teachers are addressed as *sons* (1 Sam 3:6; Prov 1:8; see Keener 2000, 356–57; Jenni 1997a, 4–6).

and is not employed in other areas of language. The beginning of the Admonition of D is a sermon in which the speaker exhorts the listeners to pay attention to his message (4Q266 1a–b 1–21; 2 i 1–6; CD I 1–II 17). By calling on the listeners—“listen, all who know righteousness” (CD I 1), “listen, all who enter the covenant” (II 2), and “listen, children” (II 14)—the speaker takes on an explicitly fatherly role. Most translators translate “sons,” but “children” is perhaps preferable if we think that this kind of teaching would take place in the covenant renewal ceremony where families were present (Knibb 1987, 14; Falk 1998, 236ff., Wassen 2005, 26–27). The way of addressing listeners as sons/children is typical to wisdom traditions. For example, 4Q185 (4QSaipential Work) exhorts: “Listen to me, children . . .” (1–2 II 3; cf. 1–2 I 9 “human children”), and 4Q298 (4QCryptic A) I 1 includes words of the *maskil* “to all sons/children of dawn.” In 4Q417 (4QInstruction^c), the addressee is called **בן מבין**, “understanding son” (2 I 18), and **בן משכיל**, “wise son” (2 I 25).⁴⁴

The analysis of “sons” is complicated by the fact that, in Hebrew syntax, **בן** is one of those nouns that often expresses the *possessor of a quality* in a genitive construct (instead of an adjectival expression) or an individual that *belongs to a class of beings*.⁴⁵ Thus **בן/בנים** may denote a quality or a class rather than biological or familial relationship. This usage indicates that “son/s” often can be considered a “dead” metaphor, where the source domain is no longer recognized or plays no part in the expression. Examples in the DSS are **בני ישראל** as “Israelites” (CD IV 1), **בן הנכר** as “a foreigner” (CD XI 2), **בני כנף** as “birds” (1QM X 14), **בני האדם** as “humans” (CD XII 4; 1QS XI 20; 1QH^a IX 27; and 1QS XI 6, 15 without the article), and **בני איש** as “humans” (1QS IV 15, 20, 26; 1QM XI 14). Members of the same camp are **בני המחנה** (CD XIII 13). People who live on earth (i.e., any people) are **בני תבל** (CD XX 34), and conversely, **בני שמים** (1QS IV 22; XI 8; 1QH^a XI 22) are heavenly beings.

Commonly, genitives with a proper noun do not convey real genealogical origins; rather they describe ideological/spiritual origins. For

⁴⁴ But here **בן** + genitive may also be an adjectival expression, see below. Kühlewein (1997, 242) translates **בן משכיל** in Prov 10:5 as “clever.”

⁴⁵ For example, **איש מות** or **בן־מות** means “man worthy of death.” **בן־אדם** denotes “an individual of the human species, a human,” and **בני אלים** denotes “divine beings.” Age is typically expressed in this way: **בן־מאת שנה** means “a hundred years old” (cf. CD X 6–7). However, **בני הנביאים** are “disciples of prophets, not prophets properly speaking” (Jouön and Muraoka 2000, 468–69).

example, **בני צדוק** (CD III 21–IV 1; IV 3) denotes “Zadokites,” members of the Zadok-group, rather than descendants of the high priest Zadok. In Ezekiel 44, which is the source for the expression in CD IV, the designation **בני צדוק** probably refers to the Jerusalem priesthood.⁴⁶ In the same quotation (Ezek 44:15 in CD IV 1) **בני ישראל** denotes “Israelites” that went astray.⁴⁷ Later on, in a different context (CD VII 21) and based on different scriptural allusions (Num 24:17) **בני שת**, “children of Seth” or “Sethians,” is the expression for a group that is viewed negatively. The metaphoric nature of these expressions is the result of using scriptural labels (the proper nouns) to make certain points, rather than an intent of expressing familial relationships of son-ship.⁴⁸

The phrase **בני השחת** in CD VI 15 (possibly CD XIII 14) is yet another example of a genitive construction in which the noun **בנים** conveys the quality of the group; the covenant members are to separate themselves from these “children of the pit.” The expression mediates the nature of this group: they deserve the pit, the destruction, or they bring along the destruction. Similarly the famous designations **בני אור**, “sons/children of light,” and **בני חושך**, “sons/children of darkness,”⁴⁹ express the nature of these groups: they reflect or follow light/darkness, or they belong to the cosmic sphere of light/darkness.⁵⁰ Likewise, the

⁴⁶ Baumgarten (1979) argues that **בני צדוק** was not a genealogical category; Zadokite ancestry was not the main issue. In Ezek 44, **בני צדוק** belong to the class of Levite-priests. In CD, however, there are three separate groups: “priests,” “Levites,” and “Zadokites” do not stand in apposition to each other, but are distinguished by *w*-conjunctions and receive their own characterizations, as if they were qualitatively (or chronologically) distinct. On the other hand, S, Sa, and Sb define the “sons of Zadok/Zadokites” as “priests” (1QS V 2, 9; 1QSa I 2, 24; II 3; 1Qsb III 22). Other designations for priests in these documents are **בני אהרן**, “sons of Aaron/Aaronites” (1QS V 21; IX 7; 1QSa I 15, 23), and **בני לוי**, “sons of Levi/Levites” in 1QSa I 22. Note that biological sons of Aaron are mentioned in 1QM XVII 2.

⁴⁷ “Israelites” can also be covenanters: CD XIV 4, 5; 1QS I 23. Similarly, **בני עמך** in CD IX 2 denotes members of the same people, here in a neutral sense, quoting Lev 19:18.

⁴⁸ The War Scroll uses scriptural tribal names for both the Army of Light (e.g., I 2, “children of Levi, children of Judah, and children of Benjamin”), and the Army of Darkness (e.g. I 1, “band of Edom and of Moab, and children of Ammon”).

⁴⁹ E.g., 1QS I 9, 10; II 16; III 13, 24, 25; 4QD^a 1a–b 1; 1QM I 1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16; III 6, 9; XIII 16; XIV 17; XVI 11; 4Q177 II 7; IV 16; 4Q510 I [7].

⁵⁰ The treatise on the two spirits is explicit about the cosmic dimension. 1QS III 20 explains: “In the hand of the Prince of Light is dominion over all the **בני צדק**; they walk on paths of light.” Respectively, “in the hand of the Angel of Darkness is dominion over **בני עול**; they walk on paths of darkness” (1QS III 21). It is noteworthy that the treatise does not use exclusively the designations “children of light/darkness” but emphasizes the role of deception (“children of deceit,” “spirit of deceit”) in the

expression **בני אמת**, “sons/children of truth,” (1QS IV 5, 6) communicates the idea of truthful ones (cf. **בני אמתו** in 4QD^a 11 7; 1QM XVII 8; 1QH^a [XIV 29]),⁵¹ and **בני סוד עולמים**, “members/children of the everlasting counsel,” (1QS II 25) are individuals who have access to counsel/who belong to a circle of confidants. The use of **בנים/בן** in these cases serves to highlight one quality over another more than expressing a metaphorical son-ship. This is shown by the use of similar expressions with the alternative noun **איש** or **אנשי**.⁵²

Membership as Child Relationship

In light of the semantic range of son-ship terminology, the question is whether the language of “sons/children” ever refers to a metaphoric child-parent relationship indicating that membership was structured in terms of such relationship, and if yes, in which cases? In general, the terminology of sons/children has not been purposely chosen to emphasize the *insiders’* tight association as children in one family since it is used for both insiders *and* outsiders as in the case of “sons of light” versus the “sons of darkness.” In comparison to the brotherhood language in the DSS, the son-ship language is much more frequent. Even though the son-ship metaphor is sometimes almost “dead” or very conventional, as we have explored above, in our opinion some metaphoric cases in the DSS show that it still had significance in the conceptual world of the members.

cosmic history. A similar expression, **בני עולה**, “children of injustice,” is used in 1QH^a XIII 8, and in 4Q418 (4QInstruction^d) 69 II 8 and 4Q511 (4QSongs of the Sage^b) I 8 of people who do not last (cf. 2 Sam 7:10).

⁵¹ It is not clear if the phrase **בן אמתכה** in 1QS XI 16 and in 1QH^a VIII 26 should be interpreted as “son of your truth,” or “son of your maidservant.” Parallelism to a “servant” in a nearby context speaks for the latter, cf. Ps 86:16. However, **בני אמתכה**, **אנשי אמת**, “men of the pit,” in 1QS IX 16 (cf. **בני השחת** in CD VI 15), **אנשי אמת**, “men of truth,” in 1QH^a VI 2 (cf. **בני אמת** in 1QS IV 5), **אנשי אשמה**, “men of guilt,” in 1QH^a XIV 18 (cf. **בני אשמה** in 1QH^a XIII 7), and **אנשי בריתם**, “men of their covenant,” in 1QS V 9 (cf. **בני בריתו** in 1QM XVII 8). Sometimes the different context in different documents may explain the variation. For example, concerning the “children of his covenant” in 1QM, the context is that of a speech by the high priest to the army, and the listeners are addressed as “you, sons of his covenant.”

⁵² E.g., **אנשי העול**, “men of deceit,” in 1QS V 2 (cf. **בני עול** in 1QS III 21), **אנשי אשמה**, “men of the pit,” in 1QS IX 16 (cf. **בני השחת** in CD VI 15), **אנשי אמת**, “men of truth,” in 1QH^a VI 2 (cf. **בני אמת** in 1QS IV 5), **אנשי אשמה**, “men of guilt,” in 1QH^a XIV 18 (cf. **בני אשמה** in 1QH^a XIII 7), and **אנשי בריתם**, “men of their covenant,” in 1QS V 9 (cf. **בני בריתו** in 1QM XVII 8). Sometimes the different context in different documents may explain the variation. For example, concerning the “children of his covenant” in 1QM, the context is that of a speech by the high priest to the army, and the listeners are addressed as “you, sons of his covenant.”

One such case is found in the discourse on two spirits (1QS III 13–IV 26): it uses almost exclusively son-ship language for the members which may indicate that the metaphor of son-ship is “alive.” No brotherhood language is used. Moreover the expressions “sons/children of light” and “sons/children of darkness” are fixed formulations: there are no occurrences of alternative terms such as “men of light/darkness” (the same applies to “sons/children of righteousness”) in any of the DSS. Hence here the language of sons/children is likely to evoke the idea of God as the Father of the household; although the expression denotes the quality of the sons as belonging to the light, it also expresses the metaphorical sense of divine son-ship. Nevertheless this is an all-inclusive image of God’s household: the adversaries (“sons/children of darkness”) have their role in it for the time being (1QS IV 15ff., cf. I 9–11).⁵³

Metaphorical son-ship language occurs in D as well. The first preserved fragment of D addresses the “sons/children of light” (4QD^a 1a–b 1). Later we learn that those who despise the regulations shall not be considered among the “sons/children of his truth” (4QD^a 11 7)—this recalls the cosmic language of the discourse of the two spirits in 1QS and of the eschatological war in 1QM and 1QH^a. Previously we noted that parent metaphors were used of leader figures in D. Apparently then there is a dual kind of son-ship in D: by being children of their superiors in the community, members are children of God. This imagery thereby stresses the parental role of the leaders alongside (or representing) God. It should be noted however that familial language of son-ship is not used frequently throughout the whole document and in that sense is not a strong image.

In the *Hodayot*, as we have seen, there are passages where familial metaphors play an important role, for example in the “Teacher hymn” in column XV, “You have made me a *father* for the *sons of kindness*” (1QH^a XV 20). This *hodayah* articulates the experiences of a sometimes fatherly leader figure who is sustained by God and who then can sustain and

⁵³ In spite of the language of “sons/children” in 1QS III 13–IV 26, there is no explicit father; the supernatural leaders, the Prince of Light and the Angel of Darkness, are not presented using parental imagery. Nevertheless, implicitly God is the father figure in the passage as he has created the spirits and, with the Angel of Truth, he helps the children of light. Furthermore, it should be noted that the teaching on the two spirits is presented as the actual teaching of the *maskil*. Hence, the discourse aims at strengthening the position of the leader/*maskil* in the community and the submissiveness of the children towards him as he takes on the role of God’s intermediary (only he knows their true nature; 1QS III 13–14).

guide others. As he is dependent on God, the “children” are dependent on him and can rely on him. But as we saw there is also a more direct relationship between “children” and God which creates a dual kind of son-ship also in 1QH^a: “You (i.e., God) are father to all the [son]/s of your truth” (1QH^a XVII 35).⁵⁴ God’s active role and humans’ total dependence on him and his mercy are repeatedly stressed in 1QH^a also with the language of son-ship (e.g., 1QH^a XII 31–33).

In these and other cases where the metaphoric familial connotation is likely we can think of three primary aspects utilized of the source domain, son-ship. First the metaphor can communicate the idea of *quality or origin*, the stemming from something, as children stem from earlier generations. Son-ship can also express *submission* with respect to one’s superiors or to God as we saw in the context of parental metaphors. In addition sometimes son-ship may convey the idea of *honor*: being a child of one high in status is honorable. Thus, *son-ship terminology can stress the unity of members through common, fictional origins, through common obligations, or common honorable status*. At a high level of abstraction son-ship metaphors, such as “sons of truth,” include all members and highlight their common features as truthful ones while the differences between members are minimal.

However, although son-ship stresses unity among the members, it is yet obvious from many passages that this is not a family of equals; at a lower level of abstraction their differences are apparent: even the “sons of light” have different portions of light (1QS I 9–10) and son-ship is hierarchical in this respect. Similarly, 1QS II 23–25 speaks of the “sons/children” of the community and also spells out the hierarchical nature of the group:

...so that each Israelite may know his standing in God’s *yahad* in conformity with an eternal plan. No-one shall move down from his rank nor move up from the place of his lot. For all shall be in the *yahad* of truth, of proper meekness, of compassionate love and upright purpose, towards each other, in a holy council, *children of the eternal counsel* (בני סוד) (עולמים) (1QS II 22–25).⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Also 1QH^a XV 29–31. Another text, 4Q504 (4QWords of Luminaries), stresses the relationship between God and Israel as one between a parent and children: “You have established us your sons/children in the sight of all the peoples. For you called [I]srael ‘my son, my first-born’ and have corrected us as one corrects his son” (4Q504 1–2 III 5–7).

⁵⁵ García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1997–1998) translate “*associates of the everlasting society*.”

Here “sons/children” are bound together in emotional, spiritual and ethical bonds, but this fellowship is manifested in the system where each member knows his place and is dependent on superiors. Although the language does not draw heavily from family imagery (בני סוד עולמים), it nevertheless carries the potential for listeners to identify with *God’s household* where righteousness prevails and everything is in order.

Another kind of child-metaphor is found in another *hodayah*, 1QH^a XI 1–18. Here the metaphor of giving birth is used:

As children come to the womb opening of death, so she who is pregnant with a manchild suffers in her pain pangs.⁵⁶

Unlike in 1QH^a XV 6–25 where the speaker has a nurturing role, here the emphasis is on the pain and threat of death in delivering a child. It has been suggested that this *hodayah* describes the birthing of the community by its leader (see Newsom 2004, 242). If so the hymn puts further stress on the leader-member relationship as a parent-child relationship. On the other hand, the *hodayah* also describes another woman who is pregnant with nothingness (XI 12). The birth pains are similar for both women but the outcome is different (Newsom 2004, 251–52). Hughes proposes that the key contrast is that between fruitful and unfruitful suffering that belongs to the end-time scenario. The speaker understands his own distress in light of the suffering preceding God’s final intervention (Hughes 2006, 191–92). From this perspective the child-parent relationship is not essential here; instead what is highlighted in the metaphor is the present suffering of an individual and the hope for subsequent deliverance and joy which is placed within an eschatological framework.

Expressions such as “sons/children of Adam” and other categories with “sons/children” are one way of creating a universal, high-level dimension in the *Hodayot*. The document is unique in having the speaker identify with fragile and sinful humankind; yet he is set apart from the rest of the “sons/children of Adam” as God does wonders to him and reveals his secrets to him (1QH^a XIII 15–16; XIX 3–10). Not all the “sons/children of Adam,” God’s creation, have a future. Various descriptions are used for those who will face destruction in the end: they are “sons/children of guilt” (XIII 7; XIV 30; XV 11, cf. “men

⁵⁶ Translation by Newsom 2004, 243.

of guilt” in XIV 18–19), “sons/children of injustice” (XIII 8; XIV [18]), and “sons/children of destruction” (XIII 25). Newsom (2004, 232, 240) has shown that the painful contradiction between human nothingness and the possession of divine knowledge remains partly unsolved. The speaker is between conflicting powerful forces, God and the wicked, or even more, he feels this contradiction *within* himself; what distinguishes himself from the wicked is not always obvious in his deeds and his being.⁵⁷

The universalism of 1QH^a then is one reason that the son-ship language is not being used for insiders exclusively, but also for outsiders. 1QH^a also uses servant terminology (e.g., 1QH^a IV 11, 23, 25, 26; V 24; VI 8), language of poverty (e.g., VI 3–4; XI 25; XIII 13), and the imagery of clay vessels (e.g., XII 29; XXII 11) to emphasize the low position of humanity under God. It is the loneliness that seems to characterize the hymnist rather than a safe and secure place in God’s household. The singers/listeners of 1QH^a learn to identify themselves with this humble and lowly figure of the hymns and see their place in the world not subordinate to their family nor even the community but to God and his guidance channeled through the community superiors.

BROTHERS

In comparison to father-son terminology brother metaphors carry the potential to convey more egalitarian notions. Before we turn to the DSS we will briefly examine ideas both concerning the source domain of the brotherhood metaphor; that is (biological) brotherhood in antiquity as well as metaphorical language of brothers that can provide some insights into what the term meant in antiquity. The most important Greek source for considering brotherhood is Plutarch’s work “On brotherly love.”⁵⁸ Plutarch uses the metaphor of the human body to argue that, although brothers have different roles, they should work together in harmony. The harmony of brothers is the basis of a healthy family life

⁵⁷ In comparison to biblical psalms, human conflict (speaker versus enemies) is transferred into a cosmic conflict (God versus enemies), where God acts and the speaker is passive (Newsom 2004, 236–37). Only God’s election and divine knowledge of human beings distinguish the author and his group from those under judgment.

⁵⁸ Plutarch (c. 45–120 CE) was a Platonist philosopher and biographer who studied in Athens, taught in Rome and spent most of his life in Chaironeia, Greece. See Burke 2003.

(Frat. Amor. 2/479A). However, because of age, nature, or social status, hierarchies also exist among brothers: "...it is impossible for them to be on an equal footing in all respects" (Frat. Amor. 12/484C).⁵⁹ Envy particularly was a threat to the unity of brothers; if it could not be avoided, hostility was to be channeled outside the family (Frat. Amor. 14/485E). Aasgaard (1998, 103) explains that although siblings were on more or less same level in the hierarchy of the ancient family, it is anachronistic and misleading to speak of sibling-ship as an egalitarian relationship: "It is more appropriate to view it from the perspective of unity and harmony, and within a strongly hierarchical system" (see also Aasgaard 2005).

The early church extensively incorporated household terminology in the construction of its identity and organization. Though employing a range of familial metaphors, Paul is particularly fond of the term "brothers." Paul consistently addresses his readers as "brothers"⁶⁰ and he affectionately encourages them to show "brotherly love," *φιλαδελφία*, for one another (Rom 12:10). Still he asserts his authority over the congregation by employing other kinship terms such as a father addressing his children (e.g., 1 Thess 2:7–12).⁶¹ Although we cannot assume full equality between brothers, their relationship in the ancient household was fairly equal in comparison to that between the householder and other family members. Given the complexity of the brother terminology, it is important that family terms in the DSS are carefully investigated in each instance and within the context of the whole discourse in order to determine their proper connotations.

⁵⁹ For a comparison between Paul and Plutarch, see Aasgaard 1997 and Burke 2003. Both Paul and Plutarch acknowledge differences among brothers, and, consequently, a superior/inferior arrangement between brothers. Both also view brother relations as distinct from all other relationships. Aasgaard notes that Paul rarely employs friendship language concerning church members.

⁶⁰ E.g., 1 Cor 2:1; 3:1; 14:6, 20, 15:1; Rom 16:17. Altogether words related to brother (*adelph-*) appear over 100 times in Paul's letters. He calls Phoebe a sister (Rom 16:1) and other members of the church "relatives" (16:7, 11; although *συγγενής* in this instance can simply mean a fellow Jew).

⁶¹ Aasgaard (1997, 176) observes that Paul refers to his co-Christians as his brothers and thus seems to figure himself as a brother, but he never calls himself that. "Rather, when he describes his role in terms of kinship, he is a "father" (1 Cor 4:15), an "old man" (Phlm 9), even a "mother/nurse" (1 Thess 2:7). When he wants to imply distinctions, he does not do it within the brother concept, but by abandoning it, e.g. by using other kinship structures."

Membership as Brotherhood?

The Hebrew אָח has a range of meanings, from the narrow “biological brother,” “half-brother,” or “kinsman,” to “fellow countryman,” or “companion,” or simply “the other” (Jenni 1997b, 73–77).⁶² Consequently brotherhood language is used in the Hebrew Bible straightforwardly for (Levite/priestly) colleagues, for fellow soldiers, and for stressing the (real or imagined) tribal bond (see Jenni 1997b, 74–76).⁶³ Frequently it occurs in courtly address in speech/correspondence and in diplomacy.⁶⁴ Sibling terminology may also express solidarity (Job 17:14; 30:29) and similarity (Prov 18:9). In Deuteronomy, אָחִיךָ, “your brother,” becomes the main expression for one’s fellow whom one is obliged to love (e.g., Deut 15:9, 11; 22:1); it also distinguishes the Israelites from foreigners (Deut 17:15; 23:20–21).

In the majority of the occurrences in the DSS⁶⁵ אָח has a biological meaning (“brother, kin”): this appears in biblical quotations and in rewritten scriptural genres (e.g., Jubilees, Temple Scroll) especially.⁶⁶ Its usage as a rhetorical address is found at least in one parabiblical text, 4Q378 (4QApocryphon of Joshua^a) 6 I 5, 7.⁶⁷

With its wide range of meanings and the background in the Hebrew Bible the use of “brother” in a metaphorical sense seems to be mostly conventional, not conveying strong metaphorical structuring of membership in terms of brotherhood.⁶⁸ In D and S, the term אָח often has the broad sense “the other.” Most often the term occurs in the idiom

⁶² The narrow meaning is often made clear by further specifications like “our flesh,” “the son of your mother/father” (e.g., Gen 37:27, 42:13; Ps 50:20).

⁶³ Num 8:26; Deut 18:7; 2 Kgs 9:2; Neh 5:1, 5, 8.

⁶⁴ Gen 19:7, 29:4; Judg 19:23; 1 Sam 30:23; 2 Sam 20:9; 1 Chr 28:2; 1 Kgs 9:13; 20:32ff.

⁶⁵ According to the Abegg (2003, 22), אָח “brother” occurs 77 times in the non-biblical manuscripts.

⁶⁶ Similarly, in D, the term has a concrete, biological meaning in a halakhic context (“daughter of a brother” CD V 8, 10), and in a narrative of past history (“Jannes and his brother” CD V 19). The term אָחֵיךָ “sister” is found 14 times in the DSS, predominantly in halakhic passages. In two cases (4QD^a 14d 1 and 4Q502 95 1) the context has been not been preserved to determine its usage.

⁶⁷ See Newsom 1996, 247–8. The speech is probably to be understood as Joshua’s exhortation to the people who are about to enter the land. The address “woe to you, my brothers” recalls the laments in 1 Kgs 13:30 and Jer 22:18.

⁶⁸ In comparison, “brothers” occurs twice in the Hebrew letters from the Bar Kokhba documents with reference to fellow soldiers (P. Yadin 49 I 4; II 9; see also 44 25 where אָח has the meaning “another”). In the few Greek letters extant, “brother” in the singular and the plural appears three times in the same letter (P. Yadin 59; see Yadin 2002).

אִישׁ-אֶחָיו, “one-another,” “one-the other,” indicating reciprocity, and is thus synonymous with the pronominal usage of רַע (אִישׁ-רַעוּהוּ). אַח occurs only once in D’s community organization layer where it is used in this idiom: in the assembly of all the camps, the members shall be mustered in four groups, the priests, the Levites, the Israelites, and the proselytes—these will be inscribed by their names, “*each one after his brother* (אִישׁ אַחֵר אַחִיהוּ)” (CD XIV 5–6 // 4QD^b 9 V 8–10). This order will then govern their seating order and order of inquiry. The phrase does not need to imply anything other than “one after the other,” as indeed Baumgarten and Schwartz (1995, 57) translate it. Furthermore, in D’s Admonition section, we find the exhortation: “Then each will speak to his fellow (רַעוּהוּ), each helping the other (אַחִיו) to be righteous, firmly placing their steps in the Way of God” (CD XX 17–18). Similarly in S, where אַח is used only twice (VI 10, 22), the first occurrence falls into the same category: “No one (אִישׁ) should speak during the speech of his fellow (רַעוּהוּ), before the other (אַחִיהוּ) has finished speaking.”⁶⁹

Since the brotherhood terminology is rare in the *serakhim* one section stands out: “brother” is used three times in the section CD VI 11–VII 4 (VI 20; VII 1, 2). Here again, it is the idiomatic usage that mostly defines its usage, but the passage deserves a closer look. As a whole, it sets the “program” for the group; we quote it in part:

They should take care to act in accordance with the exact interpretation of the law for the age of the wickedness (VI 14)...*for each to love his brother like himself*; to strengthen the hand of the poor, the needy, and the foreigner; *for each to seek the peace of his brother*; not to be unfaithful against his blood relative (בְּשֵׁרוֹ); to refrain from fornication in accordance with the regulation; *for each to reprove his brother in accordance with the precept*, and not to bear resentment from one day to the next... (CD VI 20–VII 3)

The “program” has often been considered as one of the earliest traditions of D⁷⁰ and it has clear affinities with the Holiness Code in

⁶⁹ אַח is also corrected by editors in IQS V 25: “No one should speak to his brother in anger...” For IQS VI 22, see below.

⁷⁰ Murphy-O’Connor (1971) calls the section CD VI 11b–VIII 3 “Memorandum” and regards it one of the earliest traditions of CD; it is written to remind the members of the initial demands. The passage in VI 11b–VII 4a preserves a summary of the laws of the document. Similarly, Davies (1983, 125, 198) argues that this passage contains the “main points of the community’s halachah” and is a part of the original Admonition. Stegemann (1992, 146) suggests that this section reflects the legal activity of Judeans who fled to Damascus and its surroundings during the crisis under Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

Lev 19–26.⁷¹ Leviticus uses the terms עמית (19:11, 15, 17), רע (e.g., 19:13, 18), and אה (e.g., 19:17) of a fellow citizen. For our analysis, it is noteworthy that the command to love one’s neighbor has the term רע (Lev 19:18), but CD uses אה instead (CD VI 20); in fact אה is the only term for a fellow member in this section. In comparison S uses the term רע in speaking about reciprocal love and kindness (1QS II 24–25; VIII 2) and in speaking about reproof of a fellow member (1QS V 24–25). This may well indicate a preference for brother terminology in this early section of D.

Philip Davies (1983, 161–4) has shown that this summary of the laws in CD VI 11b–VII 4a is in many aspects a mirror image of the criticism of the “princes of Judah” presented in CD VIII 3ff. (par. CD XIX 15ff.). In contrast to love, these enemies take revenge and bear grudge “each man against his brother (אהיו)” and “each one hating his fellow (רעהו)” (VIII 5–6). Davies argues that the “princes of Judah” are not treacherous community members but rather outsiders. When comparing the summary of the laws to the criticism of the princes, he writes (1983, 162):

“Loving one’s brother”...may denote in one case specific obligations towards a fellow-member (such as reproving him) and in the other regards for one’s fellow Jews, ... [T]he identity of one’s fellow will depend on whether one is inside or outside the community, so that criticism may apply equally in either case. The distinction between אה and רע may be significant in this respect.

The term רע functions in a similar way in the DSS as it does in the Hebrew Bible.⁷² Thus the variation between אה and רע in general is not necessarily of major importance. However considering the total absence of רע in CD VI 11b–VII 4a and the fact that these principles present the ideals for the *insiders*, it appears that the author is here specifically emphasizing the unity of the members and their behavior towards each other in the language of brotherhood.

Turning to S, the plural of אה is found in 1QS VI 22:

⁷¹ Cf. care for the poor and the foreigner in Lev 19:10, 15, 33–34; the need to reprove a fellow member in Lev 19:17; the demand not to bear a grudge but to love one’s neighbor as oneself in Lev 19:18, 33–34.

⁷² Both in D and in S, רע serves as the main term for designating the “other” in the regulations, penal codes, and in halakhic ordinances. It is clear from many passages that these “fellow members” have a hierarchical order: 1QS V 23; VI 26; 1QSa I 18; 1QH XVIII 27–28.

He must not touch the drink of the *rabbim* until he completes a second year among the men of the *yahad*... If the lot results in him joining the *yahad*, they shall enter him in the order of his rank among his brothers (בתוך אחיו) for the law, for the judgment, for purity, and for the placing of his possessions. And his advice will be for the *yahad*, as will be his judgment (1QS VI 20b–22).

The passage shows that “brothers” stand in a hierarchical order in relation to each other; there is no equality in this sense. The expression that is perhaps closest to simply “members” in S is אנשי היחד, “the men of the *yahad*,” (1QS V 1; VI 21; VIII 16; IX 19). This is used in the immediate context of VI 22: “He must not touch the drink of the *rabbim* until he completes a second year among the men of the *yahad*” (VI 21). Therefore, “among his brothers” and “among the men of the *yahad*” seem to indicate a similar idea: an individual has his place among the community members—only that in the latter case, he will be a full member and “brothers” might stress this full unity. However, there is no language of brotherhood elsewhere in the document. This is especially noteworthy in the penal code where behavior and attitudes towards other members are the main issues. Without exception the penal code uses רע to denote reciprocity between members (altogether nine times in 1QS VI 24–VII 27; also three times in 1QS VI 1–8, and once in 1QS VIII 20; three times in 4QD^a 10 II 2, 9, 15).⁷³

The same phrase “among his brothers” is found in 1QSa in the section that introduces graduated duties depending on one’s age and then describes the general principles for all those fulfilling their service:⁷⁴

⁷³ The penal codes in S and D similarly refer to members with ואשר (whoever). One passage in S that stresses fellowship reads: “Whoever retorts to his fellow (רעהו) with stubbornness, (and) speaks with brusqueness, ruining the *foundation of fellowship* (יסוד עמיתו) he has with him, defying the authority of his fellow (רעהו) who is enrolled ahead of him, [he h]as taken the law into his own hands” (1QS VI 25–27). The hierarchical order is considered as a natural part of the society of members; respect for that order is a requirement for the “fellowship.” The term עמית, “fellow, friend; association of people,” is also used in the quotation of Lev 25:14 in 4QD^f 3 4–5: one is not to harm his fellow in business.

⁷⁴ Nevertheless, it is not clear where the sentences break. Some see the “chiefs of the households of the congregation” (I 16) as the beginning of a new sentence; accordingly, this group is the subject until at least the end of I 18 (Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck 1994, 113; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997–1998, 1:101). Others take the “chiefs of the households of the congregation” (I 16) together with the “sons of Aaron” of I 15 (e.g., Schiffman 1989, 21) as the authorities of the community (as in I 23–25). Consequently, lines 17–19 speak of members in general, which seems plausible. For the titles, see below.

...in accordance with his intelligence, with perfection of his behavior, (he) shall gird his loins to remain steadfast[st, d]oing his allotted duty *among his brothers*. [Depen]ding on whether (he has) much or little, [one] will be more or less honoured [than] his fellow (מרעהו). When the years of a man increase, they shall assign him a task in the ser[vi]ce of the congregation according to his strength (1QS*a* I 17b–19).

The order of rank among the members is again explicitly stressed here. The terminology of brothers indicates a group that has *similar duties*. This is supported by another passage where the sons of Aaron, the priests, are called brothers of the chief priest (1QS*a* II 12–13, though partly reconstructed; similarly, 1QM XIII 1; XV 4, 7; 4QD^a 5 II 4). Brother terminology thus represents *colleagues*, i.e., similar members of a smaller group (such as priests). This usage accords well with that in late biblical books where (Levitical) priests are referred to as brothers (e.g., Ezra 3:8; 1 Chr 14:12; 23:32; 24:31; 2 Chr 29:15; Num 8:26). Likewise “brothers” stand for priestly circles in the War Scroll (1QM XIII 1; XV 4, 7).⁷⁵ All in all, brother metaphors are conventional; they highlight similar duties and reciprocal relationships, sometimes also unity, but no attempt is seen to hide the hierarchical relationships between the “brothers.”

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS ON HIERARCHY AND EQUALITY

The organizational structure of the sectarian communities is a difficult and highly contested subject, including the question whether the organization/s should be characterized as egalitarian or hierarchical or something in between.⁷⁶ The choice of family metaphors can be informative for the debate. Some initial findings deserve attention.

Overall, parent-child metaphors represent the most explicit and clear cases of metaphorical structuring in the DSS. On the other hand sibling and son-ship expressions are very conventional; their metaphorical

⁷⁵ Other occurrences of “brothers” in sectarian texts include 4Q177 (4QCatena^a) col. IV, where it is found together with “sons/children of the light.” The lines are fragmentary, and it is not clear to whom “their brothers” in IV 11 refers: “. . . and their brothers through the <scheming> of Belial, and he will triumph th[em. . .].”

⁷⁶ As Regev 2003, 2004, proposes—he describes the *yahad* as “semi-egalitarian.” Jastram (1997, 375) suggested that the Qumran movement “greatly valued hierarchy but at the same time it strove to prevent abuse of authority and to promote unity among members.” “Egalitarianism” in the modern sense is a somewhat problematic concept in the discussion, see Elliott 2003.

nature is not always emphasized. Yet, son-ship language, unlike brotherhood language, was found to be frequent and probably significant in the sect's conceptual world. At the same time, familial metaphors do not form a consistent system that can be found throughout the texts; for example, leader figures play the role of the father in addition to God.

Of the familial terms surveyed in the Scrolls, "brother" carries the greatest potential for invoking the sense of equality among the members. In light of this, it is significant that the term rarely occurs in the Rules. The few times "brother" appears, it is as an equivalent term to "fellow" where it does not express familial intimacy. Significantly, the term appears in several cases within a context that outlines hierarchical structures. This circumstance allows for the possibility that the term was generally avoided specifically because of its inappropriateness for the character of the sect. At the same time, in contexts in which hierarchy is enforced, it may have been "safe" to use the term to advance feelings of unity and mutual love between members. In response to those scholars who claim that the *yahad* in the Community Rule was more democratic than the Damascus Covenant in D (e.g., Regev 2003, 2004), it is significant that none of the communities behind S or D appear fond of the term.

The passage in D in which the term "brother" occurs frequently, CD VI 17–VII 4, stands out as unique among the Rules. This passage probably is one of the earliest segments of the document. One possibility is that this sectarian community did not use the *yahad* language because it had the brother language to express and promote togetherness and to evoke an ideal picture from the biblical era when the people of Israel were considered one big family of tribal brothers. The new covenant formed the new people. The language expresses unity but not democracy. Perhaps this language was needed at the stage in which the movement created a distinct identity of its own against the outsiders. Or perhaps the early Damascus sect did value egalitarian aspects in its structure more than the later authoritarian setting (evident in the extensive power of the *mevaqquer*) would have us believe.

In S the language of son-ship is the preferred terminology. As this rhetoric primarily directs the individuals into identifying themselves as being part of the group in that they share a common origin and quality, it also promotes reliance on and submission to God and the leaders alike; the language fosters submissiveness on different levels and encourages the members to define themselves as honorable but

dependent family members. Such submissiveness can be used (or exploited) by leaders to instill obedience—a highly valued quality in S. Although all members are children together (e.g., “sons of light”) at a high level of abstraction, this does not imply equality at lower levels of categorization. Like “*yahad*” these expressions promote unity of the group *against outsiders*. The common bonds are particularly marked in the dualistic metaphor of light versus darkness, but this is not a community of equals. Among themselves the members are related to each other in a more complicated manner.

The language of son-ship appears in D as well where it expresses the relationship between members and leaders on the one hand and between members and God on the other. As this rhetoric directs individuals to identify themselves as being part of the group, it also, together with the stressed parental metaphors, serves to encourage them as sons/children to be obedient towards the fatherly (and motherly) leaders who, at least in the case of the *mevaqer*, act on behalf of God. D describes the *mevaqer* as acting as a father towards his children/members. His lofty position resembles that of the *maskil* in S which uses less prominent fatherly characteristics than D does but places him equally high above the members, close to God. This raises the question as to why only D presents the main leader in pronounced fatherly terms and also entitles other community officials Fathers and Mothers. Is there a connection between the difference in rhetoric and the nature of the communities? If we assume that the D community consisted of families whereas the one reflected in S apparently lacked married couples, there may well be a connection. The forming of families in any sectarian setting tends to create a delicate power-dynamic between the family units and the sect. There may well have been a tension between biological parents, the fathers in particular, and the sectarian leadership when the latter aspired to take over some of the fathers’ traditional power and in some respect to replace them. It is therefore reasonable to view the fatherly and motherly metaphors applied to leaders in D as one strategy to persuade members to view the the leaders as parents, rather than their biological ones. Nevertheless the social identity perspective reminds us that the metaphorical usage of familial terms does not require that members stop categorizing themselves as part of biological families. Their identity as family members and their identity as sect members could be prominent in distinct situations.

The leader figure in the *Hodayot* takes on an explicitly fatherly role; motherly images are also used to describe his relationship to his follow-

ers. This presentation, combined with the occasional negative stance towards the biological family unit, further enhances the parental role of the leader. Thus, the tendency to evoke parental images with respect to a leader may have been widespread in the sect, although we do not know the relationship between 1QH^a and the communities behind S or D.

In sum, there was no brotherhood at Qumran—not at least in their perception and in their way of speaking about themselves. In our survey of familial language, we found very little evidence of familial metaphors in egalitarian use. Overall the family language evokes images that look more like a patriarchal household than a brotherly guild. Familial metaphors highlight hierarchical relationships—God as Father, leaders as fathers/mothers, members as children, members as brothers holding different responsibilities and ranks—rather than notions of relationships of equals.

Finally we should briefly consider our exploration of fictive familial language in the Scrolls from a broader socio-cultural perspective. The use of familial metaphors is a common trait among voluntary associations in antiquity. The early Jesus followers utilized metaphorical familial language to a greater extent than apparent in the sectarian literature of the DSS. Other types of voluntary associations in Greco-Roman antiquity, such as philosophical schools, professional guilds, and cult associations in many ways functioned as an extended family and commonly expressed intimacy and affection between members through familial metaphors (Kloppenborg 1996, Duling 1995). The tendency to use family metaphors existed in early synagogues as well (Brooten 1982). Recent years have seen an increasing scholarly interest in the use of familial language among voluntary associations in general (Harland 2005, 2007) and in the early Jesus movement in particular (Moxnes 1997, Aasgaard 2004). Nevertheless the DSS have not been the subject of a similar inquiry. It is thus our hope that our examination of the DSS may provide a contribution for future comparative studies on the usage of familial metaphors in the various voluntary associations of Antiquity that will further advance our understanding of the Essene sect within its Jewish and Hellenistic milieu during the Second Temple Period.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF 4QMMT: A METHODOLOGICAL CRITIQUE¹

Ian Werrett

In 1996 one of the official editors of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Elisha Qimron, published a brief article entitled “The Nature of the Reconstructed Composite Text of 4QMMT.” In this article, which appeared in the SBL Symposium Series volume entitled *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History*, Qimron offered a brief overview of some of the issues that he and John Strugnell had to address in their attempt to reconstruct 4QMMT. “From the outset,” Qimron notes, “it was clear to us that a conscientious edition of these manuscripts would necessitate a thorough study of both the content and language, as well as require extensive comparison with all the relevant parallels in the literature of early Judaism” (Qimron 1996, 9). Although one could certainly challenge the notion of what it is that constitutes a “relevant” parallel (Sandmel 1962), Qimron goes on to make two rather important statements. First, he rightly admits that “reconstruction is no more than an educated guess on the basis of the scholar’s knowledge and intuition” (Qimron 1996, 9). Second, he challenges his readers to “decide if the proposed reconstruction . . . is viable” (Qimron 1996, 9). Taking up Qimron’s challenge, the following paper will examine several of 4QMMT’s proposed reconstructions in an effort to scrutinize both the feasibility of the editors’ proposals and their methodological approach.

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CLEAN AND UNCLEAN ANIMALS

According to Qimron, there are upwards of six rulings on clean/unclean animals in 4QMMT. However, given the highly fragmentary nature of some of this material, it is incredibly difficult to determine the legal opinions of the author/redactor. Consider, for example, the following reconstruction:

[על עו]רֹות הבִּקָּר והצאן שהם מ...ים מן]	²
[אי]ן	עוֹרוֹת]יהם כליִם ³
[	להביא]ם למקדָּשׁ ⁴

² [concerning the hi]des of catt[le and sheep that they...from]
³ their [hide]s vessel[s... not]
⁴ [to bring]them to the temp[le...]

(4Q394 3-7 ii 2-4; par. 4Q395 1 12)²

Based on the assumption that this passage once contained the word **עוֹרוֹת**, Qimron has reconstructed this ruling based on the Temple Scroll's position on the purity of animal carcasses (11Q19 LI 1-6) and on the Temple Scroll's prohibition against bringing into Jerusalem the skins of animals that have been slaughtered outside of the Sanctuary (11Q19 XLVII 7-15). Aside from the inherent difficulty involved in reconstructing one text in light of another, it is debatable as to whether or not the word **עוֹרוֹת** has been accurately restored by Qimron. In line 2 only the extreme left of what could be the *serif* of a *res*, a *vav*, and a *tav* can be seen. This difficulty is compounded by the witness of 4Q395 1 12, which retains only the top third of the letters that Qimron reads as **עוֹרוֹת**. But, as Strugnell has observed, the word in question in 4Q395 could also be restored to read **אוֹרוֹת** or "lights" (Qimron 1996, 11). To make matters even more complicated, not only are the words **עוֹר** and **עוֹרוֹת** not clearly preserved in any of the manuscripts of 4QMMT, but the key word that Qimron has used in order to argue that 4Q394 3-7 ii and 4Q395 1 are overlapping fragments is spelled differently in each of the manuscripts. Specifically, in 4Q394 3-7 ii 1 the word **ראוּאי** has been identified by Qimron as being a variant or phonetic spelling of the heavily damaged word **ראוּ** or **ראוּי** in 4Q395 1 11.

In response to the concerns cited above, Qimron notes "the text is so fragmentary that we can do little more than guess what it may

² All transcriptions of 4QMMT are from Qimron and Strugnell (1994) unless otherwise noted. Italicized words represent reconstructed material.

have said” (Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 154). After this appropriately cautious disclaimer Qimron suggests that the ruling in 4Q394 3–7 ii 2–4 might parallel a similar prohibition concerning the hides of clean animals in the Temple Scroll (Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 154). Working under this assumption, Qimron describes how he reconstructed the prohibition: “The placement, then, of these tiny fragments in the composite text and the restoration of the missing portions was based on the controversial laws found in the Temple Scroll concerning the hides of ritually pure animals” (Qimron 1996, 11).

Given the highly fragmentary nature of this material and Qimron’s cautionary statements about its reconstruction, it is surprising to note the certainty with which Lawrence Schiffman claims that 4QMMT and the Temple Scroll are in agreement on the issue of hides. According to Schiffman: “11QT XLVII 7–15 prohibits bringing hides of animals slaughtered outside the Temple precincts into the Temple . . . This law is paralleled by MMT B 18–23 which prohibits bringing into the Temple containers made of hides of animals slaughtered outside” (Schiffman 1996, 87–88). Hannah Harrington also echoes this confidence, when she notes: “According to both the Temple Scroll and MMT, these animals had first to be slaughtered as sacrifices within the city before they could be used (11Q19 LI 1–6; 4QMMT B 21–26)” (Harrington 2004, 84).³ Taking into consideration both the fragmentary nature of 4Q394 3–7 ii 2–4 and the fact that this material has been reconstructed on the basis of the Temple Scroll, it is highly tenuous to say that the Temple Scroll and 4QMMT parallel one another on this issue of hides. As Qimron himself has noted: “Since this reconstruction is based on the Temple Scroll, it contributes very little which is new to our understanding of this actual law from Qumran” (Qimron 1996, 12).

Not unlike the passage discussed above, 4Q397 1–2 1–3 has been reconstructed based on the Temple Scroll and its *halakha* on the purity of hides:

[]¹ והוא⁴ על עור² וועצמות הבהמה הטמאה אין לעשות
 [מן עצמותמה] ומן עור³ ו[ות]מה ידות כ[לים] ואף על עור נבלת
 [הבהמה] הטהורה [הנוש]א א[ו]ת(ה) נבלתה [לוא יגש לטהרת הקודש]

³ Contrary to Harrington’s understanding of this passage, 11Q19 LI 1–6 does not deal with slaughtering animals in Jerusalem or using ritually clean hides to make vessels. Rather, 11Q19 LI 1–6 concerns itself with those who have touched or carried any part of an unclean animal carcass.

⁴ Read והוא.

¹[...] And also concerning hid[es and bones of unclean animals: (One is) not to make] ²[from their bones] or from their h[i]d[es] handles of ve[ssels]. And also concerning the hide of a carcass] ³of a clean [animal]: [The one who carries that carcass shall not approach the sacred food] (4Q397 1-2 1-3; par. 4Q398 1-3 1-2)

Directly dependent upon his reconstruction of 4Q394 3-7 ii 2-4, Qimron has restored this passage in exactly the same manner as described above. Unlike his prudent approach to 4Q394 3-7 ii 2-4, however, Qimron appears to have made a slight overstatement regarding what we can and cannot know about 4Q397 1-2 1-3: “Because the text is so badly preserved we can only say *with certainty* [my emphasis] that the controversy here was about the purity of some kind of hides and bones” (Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 155). It is difficult to see how Qimron can make such a strong claim when the reconstruction of 4Q397 1-2 1-3 is so heavily dependent upon his restoration of 4Q394 3-7 ii 2-4, which he has described as being “so fragmentary we can do no more than guess what it may have said” (Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 154). Moreover, one wonders how certain we can be that this prohibition is concerned with the purity of bones and hides (עצמות and עורות) when neither of these words are extant in the fragments that were used in the reconstruction of this ruling.

In spite of the difficulties described above, Schiffman rather boldly suggests that: “MMT B 21-23 (according to an almost certain restoration)...prohibits bringing bone vessels into the sanctuary” (Schiffman 1996, 88). Unfortunately, we are not told why it is that this is “an almost certain restoration.” Perhaps Schiffman was confident that the reconstruction was certain given that 4Q397 1-2 2-3 retains both the word for “handles” (ידות) and the word for “carcass” (גבלתה).⁵ Or perhaps his confidence was inspired by Qimron’s comments in DJD X: “*The fact* [my emphasis] that in the following passage [4Q397 1-2 2b-3] the purity of the hides of bones of a clean animal is discussed...leads us to assume that there was a polemic here [4Q397 1-2 1-2a] concerning the purity of some other kind of hides and bones, no doubt those of unclean animals.” The problem with this statement, however, is that it is not “a fact” that 4Q397 1-2 2b-3 discusses the purity of animal

⁵ According to Qimron, the presence of the reconstructed phrase “handles of ve[ssels]” (ידות ב[לי]ם) suggests that the handles might have been made out of bone, thus the restoration of the עצמותהם in 4Q397 1-2 2. See Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 155n.104; cf. m Mikv. 10:1.

hides and bones. Rather, it is a hypothesis based on the reconstruction of 4Q394 3-7 ii 2-4 and on a heavily damaged group of fragments that, by Qimron's own admission, "contains [no] more than two whole words" (Qimron 1996, 11). While it is certainly possible that both 4Q397 1-2 1-3 and 4Q394 3-7 ii 2-4 once contained information on the purity of animal hides and bones, there is simply not enough evidence to reconstruct the legal position of the author/redactor, let alone to say that 4QMMT is in agreement with the Temple Scroll on the issue of animal hides.

Similar difficulties arise when we consider 4Q394 3-7 ii 14b-19, which appears to take up the issue of the proper location for secular animal slaughter. In the reconstruction of this material Qimron once again adopts a cautious posture:

Unfortunately, the text of these lines is damaged in all of the manuscripts, and it is only by combining a number of tiny fragments from three different manuscripts that we have been able to produce a partial reconstruction. (Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 156)

The difficulties alluded to by Qimron can be appreciated by considering the first line and a half of 4Q394 3-7 ii 14b-19:

[וע]ֹשֶׁ֑ שֶׁ אִישׁ כִּי יִשְׁחַט בְּמַחֲנֶה אֹוֹ
 [יִשְׁחַט]ֹוֹ מִחוּץ לַמַּחֲנֶה־ שׁוֹרֹ וְכֶשֶׁב וְעִזֹוֹ^{15a}

^{14b}[And conce]rning that, it is written: [*if a man slaughters in the camp, or*]

¹⁵[*if he slaughters*] outside of the camp, cattle, sheep, or goat

(4Q394 3-7 ii 14b-15a)

Although it seems fairly clear that this passage is based on a paraphrase of Lev 17:3 (Bernstein 1996b, 39), Qimron immediately draws a comparison between 4Q394 3-7 ii 14b-15a and the Temple Scroll (11Q19 LII 13-16), which rules that a clean ox, sheep, or goat that is without a blemish may be slaughtered in cities that are greater than "three days walk" (דֶּרֶךְ שְׁלוֹשֶׁת יָמִים) from the Temple (Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 156). Based upon this comparison and a partially damaged phrase from 4Q396 1-2 i 1, which reads: "they are [no]t slaughtering in the sanctuary" (אִי־נֹם שׁוֹחֲטִים בְּמִקְדָּשׁ), Qimron suggests that 4Q394 3-7 ii 14b-19 and 4Q396 1-2 i 1 "may also refer to the practice of the [author/redactor's] opponents regarding secular slaughter" (Qimron

⁶ Read מִחוּץ לַמַּחֲנֶה[.

and Strugnell 1994, 156). Given that 4Q394 3-7 ii 14b-15a appears to paraphrase Lev 17:3, which goes on to rule that any man who does not slaughter an ox, sheep, or goat in front of the tent of meeting (i.e., inside the camp) shall be “cut off” (כרת) from his people, it seems highly likely that the author/redactor of 4QMMT had the issue of secular slaughter in mind. Beyond that, however, the fragmentary nature of the text does not allow us to determine the exact legal position being espoused. With that in mind, Qimron rightly concludes that “our fragmentary text does not contribute anything new to the subject of slaughtering” and he directs his readers to “Yadin’s edition of the Temple Scroll... where references are given to a variety of sources [on secular sacrifice]” (Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 156-57).

Other than a well preserved rule prohibiting dogs from entering Jerusalem in order to keep the city and the sacred food from becoming contaminated through their scavenging activities (4Q394 8 iv 8b-12; par. 4Q396 1-2 ii 9b-11, 1-2 iii 1-2), a prohibition that is unattested in the rest of the Qumran corpus, 4QMMT contains one additional ruling on clean/unclean animals:

ועל העברות אנחנו חושבים שאין לזבוח א[ת] האם ואת הולד ביום אחד²
ועל האוכל אנח[נו] חושבים שאיכל את הולד³
שבמעו אמו לאחר שחיתתו ואתם יודעים שהו[ן] א[ת] כן זָהָדָבֵר כְּתוּב עֲבָרָה⁴ 2

[*And concerning pregnant (animals), we are of the opinion that*] the mother and its child [*are not to be sacrificed*] on the same day ³[...*And concerning eating, we are of the opinion that the fetus* ⁴[*which is in its mother's belly*] may (only) be eaten [*after it has been slaughtered. And you know that this is*] so, and (is in accordance with) the word that has been written (concerning) pregnant (animals).

(4Q396 1-2 i 2-4; par. 4Q394 8 iii 6-8; 4Q397 4 1-2)⁷

Similar to the material discussed above, Qimron has reconstructed this passage based on fragments from several different manuscripts. In particular, Qimron gives special attention to 4Q397 4 1-2, which “enables us to reconstruct most of the text” (Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 157). The interesting thing about this comment, however, is that 4Q397 4 1-2 contains a total of three damaged words, none of which parallel the extant material in 4Q396 1-2 i 2-4. This observation becomes even more important when one considers that Qimron has reconstructed this passage as containing two different rulings: (1) a

⁷ The reconstruction of line 4 appears only in the composite text of 4QMMT (Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 50).

prohibition against sacrificing a pregnant animal; and (2) a regulation concerning the non-sacral slaughter of a live fetus. In defense of this proposal Qimron not only relies on his placement of 4Q397 4 1–2, which supports the non-sacral portion of the passage by retaining the word **האוכל**, but he also draws attention to the close proximity between his reconstructed ban on sacrificing pregnant animals and 4Q396 1–2 i 1, which reads: “they do [not] slaughter in the sanctuary.” Additionally, Qimron points to the Temple Scroll and its prohibition against sacrificing a pregnant animal (11Q19 LII 5–7) as further proof that 4Q396 1–2 2 bans individuals from the same practice.

There are, however, several problems with Qimron’s hypothesis. First, as noted above, it is problematic to base a reconstruction of MMT on the evidence of the Temple Scroll, or any other scroll from Qumran for that matter. According to Moshe Bernstein, “it is particularly premature... to engage in comparative analysis before we have studied carefully the employment of scripture within a legal text like 4QMMT” (Bernstein 1996b, 29–30). Unless we allow each text to speak for itself, free from the influence of other scrolls, we run the risk of distorting the unique witness of the scrolls and homogenizing their contents. Second, the argument that the material in 4Q396 1–2 i 2 prohibits pregnant animals from being sacrificed, based on its juxtaposition with the phrase “they do [not] slaughter in the sanctuary” (4Q396 1–2 i 1), is significantly weakened when one considers that 4Q396 1–2 i 2 is immediately followed by material that appears to be concerned with non-sacral slaughter (4Q396 1–2 i 3–4). And third, given the lack of any overlapping or parallel material between 4Q397 4 1–2 and 4Q396 1–2 i 2–4, it is not entirely clear that 4Q397 4 1–2 was originally a part of this section or whether it belongs somewhere else.

Given these concerns, what can we actually say about this material? Well, to begin with, the phrase “the mother and the child on the same day” (**האם ואת הולד ביום אחד**) in 4Q396 1–2 i 2 appears to be based upon the biblical prohibition against slaughtering a mother and its child on the same day (Lev 22:28). Additionally, the presence of the citation formula **כתוב** in 4Q396 1–2 i 4 suggests that the author/redactor believed that his interpretations, whatever they might have been, were founded upon scripture. But as Bernstein has noted, “there is certainly no obvious way of reading the biblical text [Lev 22:28] which would imply that slaughtering pregnant animals is prohibited” (Bernstein 1996b, 41). To complicate matters even further, Bernstein adds: “it is even more difficult to infer from the text that a fetus found in a slaughtered animal must be slaughtered separately” (Bernstein

1996b, 41). Given these difficulties, and those described above, it is not easy to determine the exact nature of these rulings. In particular, it is difficult to tell whether or not the entire passage deals with non-sacral slaughter or if, as Qimron would have us believe, the passage is divided between sacral and non-sacral concerns.

In each of the four passages above, where the Temple Scroll and 4QMMT are described as paralleling one another, the reconstruction of 4QMMT has been directly dependent upon the witness of the Temple Scroll: 4Q394 3-7 ii 2-4 par. // 11Q19 XLVII 7-15; 4Q394 3-7 ii 14b-15 // 11Q19 LII 13-16; 4Q396 1-2 i 1-4 par. // 11Q19 LII 5; and 4Q397 1-2 1-3 par. // 11Q19 LI 1-6. While some of these reconstructions would appear to be more plausible than others, it is generally the case that 4QMMT is simply too fragmentary to successfully construct its legal positions on the subject of clean and unclean animals, let alone to conclude that the restorations forwarded by Qimron are in agreement with the text upon which those reconstructions have been based. By way of comparison, let us briefly consider the reconstruction of 4Q265 7 5b-6a, which has also been restored based on the witness of the Temple Scroll.

THE CONSUMPTION OF MEAT IN 4Q265 AND 11Q19

According to its editor, Joseph Baumgarten, 4Q265 7 5b-6a prohibits individuals from eating the meat of an ox or a lamb anywhere near the Temple complex: “[no man shall eat the flesh of an ox or a lamb near the Te]mple (within a distance of) thirty stadia” (לא יואכל איש) (בשר שור ושה קרוב למ)קדש שלושים רס (Baumgarten 1996, 69-70). Not unlike Qimron’s approach to 4QMMT, Baumgarten has based his reconstruction of 4Q265 7 5b-6a on the witness of the Temple Scroll, which reads: “and all clean animals in which there is a blemish you shall eat in your gates far from my Temple at a radius of thirty stadia” (וכל) הבהמה הטהורה אשר יש בה מום בשעריה תואכלנה רחוק ממקדשי (סביב שלושים רס—11Q19 LII 16b-18a). Although it is difficult to deny the similarities between the phrase קדש שלושים רס [in 4Q265 and ממקדשי סביב שלושים רס in the Temple Scroll, there are a number of significant differences between these two passages. To begin with, 4Q265 7 5b-6a is located within a list of Sabbath regulations, while the parallel text in 11Q19 LII 16b-18a is situated in a section dealing with the permanent removal of all abominations from the city of the Temple. Second, unlike the Sabbath material in 4Q265, 11Q19 LII

16b–18a is located within a complex system dealing with the sacrifice and slaughter of animals and it is not meant to be read in isolation from that system. Finally, where the Temple Scroll specifies that it is a blemished animal that is prohibited from being consumed within thirty stadia of the Temple (וכול הבהמה הטהורה אשר יש בה מום—11Q19 LII 16b–17a), the reconstruction of 4Q265 proposed by Baumgarten fails to specify whether the meat of the ox or lamb is blemished. This final observation raises an important question: why would the author/redactor of 4Q265 prohibit individuals from eating the meat of an ox or a lamb within thirty stadia of the Temple if these animals did not have a blemish? In short, the lack of agreement described above suggests at least three possible interpretations: (1) 11Q19 LII 16b–18a and 4Q265 5b–6a are significantly different rulings; (2) the reconstruction of 4Q265 7 5b–6a is erroneous; or (3) the Temple Scroll should not have been used to reconstruct 4Q265 7 5b–6a: a passage whose context appears to be significantly different from the witness of the text on which it has been restored.⁸

CORPSE IMPURITY AND BONES

Returning to 4QMMT, we are confronted with yet another passage that appears to parallel a ruling in the Temple Scroll. However, rather than following the witness of the Temple Scroll, Qimron formulates his restoration of 4Q396 1–2 iv 1b–3 in opposition to the Temple Scroll:

ויעל^{1b} [טמאת נפש]
האדם אנחנו אומרים שכול עצם ש[היא חסרה]²
[vacat] ושלמה כמשפט המת או החלל הוא³

^{1b} And concerning [*the impurity of the dead*]² person we are of the opinion that every bone, whether [*it is lacking*]³ or whole, should be (dealt with) in accordance with the rule of the dead or the slain.
(4Q396 1–2 iv 1b–3; par. 4Q397 6–13 10b–12a)

⁸ If eating a clean unblemished animal within a radius of thirty stadia of the Temple was prohibited only on the Sabbath (4Q265 7 5b–6a), logic dictates that it would have been acceptable to do so on any day but the Sabbath. This is at odds with the Temple Scroll, which rules that clean unblemished animals must always be slaughtered and eaten at a distance of thirty stadia from the Temple (11Q19 LII 16b–19a) and that clean animals without a blemish must always be slaughtered and eaten in cities that are greater than three days walk from the Temple (11Q19 LII 13b–16).

According to Qimron's reconstruction, this passage rules that the bones of a dead body, no matter their size, transmit impurity in the same manner and for the same duration as a corpse. Although this interpretation expands on the witness of Num 19:16,⁹ in that it specifies the amount of bone necessary in order to transmit corpse impurity, the way in which Qimron arrives at this restoration is problematic.

As we have noted several times above, Qimron frequently relies upon the Temple Scroll in order to reconstruct the legal positions of 4QMMT. On this occasion, however, Qimron purposefully avoids using the Temple Scroll. This is a particularly significant observation when one considers that the Temple Scroll contains a periphrastic interpretation of Num 19:16:

וכול^{4b}
 איש אשר יגע על פני השדה בעצם אדם מת ובחלל חרב⁵
 או במת או בדם אדם מת או בקבר וטהר כחוק המשפט⁶
 הזה ואם לוא יטהר כמשפט התורה הזאת טמא הוא עוד⁷
 טמאתו בו וכול האדם אשר יגע בו יכבס בגדו ורחץ וטהר⁸
 לערב⁹
vacat

^{4b}And every ⁵man who, in an open field, touches the bone of a dead man, or one killed by a sword, ⁶or a corpse, or the blood of a dead man, or a grave, shall purify himself according to the statutes of ⁷this regulation. And if he is not cleansed in accordance with the regulation of this law he will be impure; ⁸his impurity is yet within him and every man who touches him will wash his clothing, bathe, and will be clean ⁹by evening. (11Q19 L 4b-9)

The Temple Scroll deviates from Num 19:16 by ruling that it is the “bone of a dead man” (עצם אדם מת—11Q19 L 5) rather than the “bone of a man” (עחם אדם—Num 19:16) that transmits corpse contamination. According to Yadin, the addition of the word מת in 11Q19 L 5 is directed against the rabbis, who believed that the phrase עצם אדם in Num 19:16 included the bones of both the living and the dead (Yadin 1983, 1:335; Baumgarten 1980, 161).¹⁰ The upshot of this

⁹ “Whoever in an open field touches one who has been killed by a sword, or who has died naturally, or a human bone, or a grave, shall be unclean seven days” (Num 19:16).

¹⁰ In comparing 11Q19 L 5 with the relevant rabbinic material on bones and corpse contamination, Yadin has argued that the author/redactor's decision to include the word מת in line 5 betrays “distinctly polemical overtones.” Furthermore, argues Yadin: “It attests the existence of laws or opinions that interpreted our verses variantly and applies these to matters hardly implicit in the simple meaning of the biblical text.” While the addition of the word מת may well have been polemical, the argument that

interpretation is that the Temple Scroll's position on the issue of bones and corpse contamination is more lenient than the rabbinic position (Elman 1996, 102–3). Based on this observation, Qimron chooses not to reconstruct 4QMMT on the witness of the Temple Scroll in that it would “depart from that of the rabbis in the direction of leniency, which would be exceptional in MMT” (Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 157).

Qimron's reluctance to rely upon the witness of the Temple Scroll in order to reconstruct 4Q396 1–2 iv 1b–3 raises an important methodological question: is the *halakha* of 4QMMT “stringent, systematic, and fully consistent,” as Qimron would have us believe (Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 190), or have these preconceived notions about 4QMMT affected the way in which this text has been reconstructed? In response to this question, one might ask how it is possible to affirm that 4QMMT is “stringent, systematic, and fully consistent” when the text upon which many of its reconstructions have been based (i.e., the Temple Scroll) contains at least one ruling that is more lenient than the rabbis. If the Temple Scroll is not fully consistent in its stringency we must allow for the possibility that 4QMMT is similarly inconsistent.¹¹

its inclusion could not have been implicitly derived from the “simple meaning of the biblical text” is less than convincing. On a related note, it is somewhat misleading and potentially anachronistic to suggest that there was a conscious decision on the part of the author/redactor of the Temple Scroll to formulate a ruling in direct opposition to an established rabbinic position. See Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1:335; cf. Sifre, Num 127; ‘Eduyoth 6:3; Kelim 1:5; Tos. ‘Eduyoth 2:10.

¹¹ What we have failed to mention thus far is the question of genre, which has the potential to make an already difficult situation even more complex. If the Temple Scroll is a utopian document that describes a state of affairs and a Temple that never existed (Collins 2000), then the attempt to reconstruct 4QMMT on the witness of the Temple Scroll may well be far more problematic than anyone could have imagined. In particular, if 4QMMT was written as a letter of protest against the actual practices that were occurring in the Temple, one wonders whether or not the utopian worldview of the Temple Scroll would have been in agreement with the “real world” grievances of 4QMMT. In response to this suggestion, Baumgarten argues: “The conceivable objection that the rules of the Temple Scroll apply only to the ideal sanctuary built according to the Scroll's plan, not to the existing Temple in Jerusalem, is not substantiated by the evidence of CDC” (Baumgarten 1978, 588). Noting several polemic and *halakhic* similarities between the Temple Scroll and the Damascus Document, Baumgarten cites a handful of rulings in the Temple Scroll that were “presumably applied” to Jerusalem “despite the belief that its Temple and priesthood were tainted.” However, in addition to the problematic issue of interpreting one Qumran document in light of another, Baumgarten has failed to appreciate the difference between a tainted Temple, which can be cleansed, and Temple Scroll's utopian polemic against a Temple that has been inadequately constructed. Unlike the Damascus Document and 4QMMT, the evidence in the Temple Scroll suggests that even if the current Temple were cleansed it would still be an inadequate abode for God.

CONCLUSION

The reconstruction of 4QMMT is complicated by many factors. Not only are large portions of the text extremely fragmentary but the reconstructions forwarded by Qimron are dependent upon certain preconceived notions about the character of 4QMMT and upon a systemic, yet selective, reading of the *halakhic* material in the Dead Sea Scrolls. This sort of approach, while not without merit, has the potential to distort the unique witness of 4QMMT and frequently results in reconstructions that are far more confident than the extant text will allow. Moreover, the results of this approach can be used to make rather bold statements about the relationships between the texts from Qumran. If we are to use such reconstructions we must do so with extreme caution. As Qimron himself has noted: "Reconstruction is no more than an educated guess on the basis of the scholar's knowledge and intuition. The composite text of our edition therefore should not be used independently, but rather must always be consulted together with the individual manuscripts and commentary presented in its publication" (Qimron 1996, 9). In light of the methodological concerns cited above, Qimron's words of caution must be taken very seriously indeed.

4QMMT—SOME NEW READINGS

Hanne von Weissenberg

The purpose of this article is to offer some revisions to the readings of one of the manuscripts of 4QMMT, namely the papyrus manuscript 4Q398. The manuscript was first published in the official edition of 4QMMT, volume X in the Discoveries of the Judaean Desert series, by Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell (Qimron and Strugnell 1994). The changes proposed in this article bear significance for the composite text of the third section of 4QMMT, namely the epilogue. As a result of these new readings it becomes impossible to create a composite text of the two parallel manuscripts 4Q397 and 4Q398 in a single passage. The problems in the transcription of 4Q398 in the edition and in the composite text were first pointed out by Eugene Ulrich in his article “The Non-attestation of a Tripartite Canon in 4QMMT” (Ulrich 2003, 202–14).

The new readings I suggest concern the opening lines of 4Q398 fragments 14–17, col I. Unfortunately manuscript 4Q398 has deteriorated considerably since the publication of the DJD X edition. Many fragments have been damaged and some are missing. According to the photograph in DJD X, plate 157c should include fragments 4Q398 14–17. In this photograph fragment 14 seems to be rather large and well preserved, containing two columns (the first one only partially preserved) with eight lines of writing. My examinations of the original manuscript in July 1999 and September 2005 revealed a rather different situation.¹ There were twenty-seven pieces of papyrus (or papyrus fibers) of different sizes and shapes on the plate, some of them upside down, some displaying the reverse side. Some pieces had been rubbed into an unrecognizable form. Some accident must have occurred with the plate, probably after the publication of the official edition, since Qimron and Strugnell do not mention the current state of the manuscript.

¹ I am indebted to Professors Eugene Ulrich, Sarianna Metso, the staff of the Rockefeller Museum, Torleif Elgvin, the Nordic Network in Qumran Studies, and the staff of the Israel Antiquities Authority for making it possible to examine the original manuscripts of 4QMMT in Jerusalem in July 1999 and September 2005.

Fragment 14 was scattered in several pieces; especially the first column has suffered severely. A piece about 2 cm wide was broken off from the upper part of the right edge of column II. Some of the small pieces on the plate can be identified with the help of the photographs, but I was never able to find or identify every missing part. Fragment 16, which in the photographs seems to be one piece, was broken into two. Fragment 17 was placed upside down. In their current state, some of the pieces are either so small, or have no visible traces of writing on them, that their identification and reconstruction have become impossible. Fragment 15, located in the first column of fragments 14–17, is missing or has become unrecognizable.

Since the first column of fragments 4Q398 14–17 has suffered severely, the photographs need to be consulted for textual criticism. My proposal for a new reading of 4Q398 14–17 is based on a close study of the best photographs available of MS 4Q398, namely PAM 42.368 and 42.838, as well as photographs from the CD-rom edition and the microfiche edition (Reynolds et al. 1999; Tov and Pfann 1993). In addition, I examined the actual fragments in Jerusalem.

My reading of column I of fragments 4Q398 14–17 is as follows:

4Q398 14–17 I

		נות[נים את
]°°[		] 1
	°[]°° מ°[] °נום[	] 2
		° [] ° וכוּד [] ° צו כתוב
	[	] 3
		וק[ד]מני[ן]ת ז°° א
ל[ד		] 4
	כי [הרע]ה וכתוב [ו]היא	] 5 כתו[ב]ש[ת]
	בא[חרי]ת[ה]ימים הברכה	] 6 [א]עכיד[]
	אל ל[בב]ד וש[בת]ה אלו בכל לבבך	] 7 [וה]קללא []
	[] וח[]° [פר מ[ ]	] 8 [ובכ]ל נפש[ך] באחרי[ת] []

There are some changes in comparison with the transcriptions presented by the editors in the DJD X edition. Most important are the different readings on lines 2–4.

Line 1:]°°[Traces of ink are visible, lower parts of letters no longer legible. The editors do not mark these traces in their transcription of MS 4Q398.

Line 2:] נגום°[The editors do not read the first trace, but it has been transcribed by Ulrich (2003, 202–14). The parallel passage in ms 4Q397 reads] נו אליכה [.

°[]°° מ°[The editors read:] ב[פר מושה. Ulrich's transcription is °°° מ°[. The first recognizable letter, the *waw*, is slightly blurred, and Ulrich has rightly pointed out that the horizontal stroke of this letter seems to be too short for a *reš*, but it is another possible reading. In some words in this hand the upper stroke of the *reš* is rather short; see for instance the last word of the ms:] ול ישראל [.

As pointed out by Ulrich, the first letter, the one before the *reš*, could be a *bet* rather than a *pe*; indeed, the *pe* (suggested by the editors) is problematic—the head should be pointed if the letter is a *pe*; as Ulrich says: “*Pe* should have a pointed head and a baseline that descends below the following letter” (Ulrich 2003, 210, n. 28). Another possible reading is a *kaf*.

The trace identified as *mem* (in the word °[]°° מ°) looks more like a *pe* on PAM 42.838, however, *mem* is not an impossible reading. There are traces of three or four letters after the *pe/mem*, the first legible one is possibly a *qof*, and after it, there is the upper curve of a *reš*. The last trace is a thick base line of a letter, and apparently belongs to a *bet*. Also here the papyrus of the original fragment has been destroyed and only the photographs can be used for textual criticism. Nevertheless, the reading of the edition appears to be wrong. In a consultation with Torleif Elgvin, he proposed the reading] ב[מקר°[(a hif. ptc. from] ב[קר “to approach, to sacrifice”). On PAM 42.838, the first letter looks more like a *pe*, but that would require another letter between the *pe* and the following *qof*. Accordingly,] ב[מקר°[is a tempting reading, with no need to reconstruct one more letter between] מ and] ק. However, this would be the only participle in the singular in the whole document, and therefore an unlikely reading, since otherwise the participle is always used in plural in 4QMMT.

Line 3:] צו°[Again, it is difficult to determine whether the third letter is a *res* or a *waw*. The second letter is only partly preserved, and the “hook” could belong to *mem*, *ayin*, *sade* or *šin*—the curve next to the leg of *waw/reš* could belong to *sade*, but definitely the letter is not a *pe* as suggested by the editors, who read] וב[ספר (Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 37). The first letter could be either a *mem* or a *samek*. Ulrich reads] ר°°. According to Ulrich the first letter could be a *pe*, and the second an *ayin* (Ulrich 2003, 210, see also n. 28). A possible reading suggested by Elgvin could be] א[מצו “his strength”.

Line 4: ^{oo}ז: Qimron and Strugnell interpret the traces at the end of the line as ^oמ^o (Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 37). From the photograph, however, it is impossible to recognize a *mem*.

The first stroke identified either as a *zayin* or a *het* was possibly identified as the left leg of the *taw* by the editors. Nevertheless, the lacuna in the papyrus is so long that it cannot possibly be a part of the previous stroke, the last letter of the word וק[ד]מני[ו]ת. Besides, the stroke lacks the circle typical of the left leg of a *taw* in this hand. Accordingly, there are traces of at least four letters after the word וק[ד]מני[ו]ת. After the ז/ח, there is a *waw/yod*, then a *bet* or a *kaf*, possibly a very uncertain *lamed* after that—a spot of ink above the imaginary top line is barely visible—and finally an *alef* or a final *pe*. The papyrus of the original fragment is destroyed (July 1999, September 2005), and even in the earlier photographs the manuscript has a hole at this spot. In any case, apparently the reading in ms 4Q398 is different from that of ms 4Q397. Ms 4Q397 contains at least a different word order here:

[וקדמניות ל]כה ואפ כתוב.

After ^{oo}ז a cursive *or*, according to Emanuel Tov, a palaeo-Hebrew *alef* can be discerned in the photograph. This is the only occurrence of this form of *alef* in this manuscript and probably is a scribal mark instead of being part of the text (Tov 2002, 339).

In conclusion, the careful reading of the manuscripts, resulting in some corrections in the editors' transcriptions, combined with a synoptic comparison of the parallel manuscripts has shown that there are some serious difficulties in the composite text of the epilogue in the DJD X edition. On lines C 10–12 of the composite text, the editors, by combining mss 4Q397 and 4Q398 create a reading that is not materially possible in either of the individual manuscripts. It seems that one should refrain from creating a composite text from the two manuscripts here. Instead, one should present both manuscripts in parallel columns as follows:

4Q397 frgs. 14–21, lines 10–12a	4Q398 frgs. 14–17, col i, lines 2–4
10] כתב]נו אליכה שתבין בספר מוש]ה ו[בספר]י הנ]ביאים ובדון] [] דור ודור ובספר כתוב 11] ים ל° לוא] ים ל° לוא] כה] 12	] °[ מ°°[] °] 2] נום[°] °[דור] °[צו כתוב] 3] °[ד]מני[ו]ת ז°° א] 4]

With respect to the alleged reference to a tripartite canon “... the Book of Moses, and the Books of the prophets, and David...” on line 10 in ms 4Q397 (Qimron and Strugnell 1994, 112) I agree with Ulrich that the placement of the fragment 4Q397 17, not containing much more than the word ו[בספר]י (“and] the Book[s of]”), is relatively uncertain (Ulrich 2003, 209–210). The passage is also discussed by Timothy Lim, who does not question the editors’ reconstruction of ms 4Q397, but finds other reasons for questioning the meaning of the phrase preserved in 4QMMT as a reference to a tripartite canon (Lim 2001, 23–37). The placement of fragment 4Q397 17 is materially not impossible, but no material arguments require this location either. Given that the location of this fragment here is possible, one should keep in mind that it is based on an assumption of a tripartite canon, but does not prove the existence of such a concept at the time 4QMMT was authored. In addition, the reading [] ובדון] is uncertain and awkward syntactically. Furthermore, as the synoptic comparison of the manuscripts demonstrates, the parallel manuscript 4Q398 does not contain such a reference.

HOW TO RECONSTRUCT A FRAGMENTED SCROLL: THE PUZZLE OF 4Q422

Torleif Elgvin

Hartmut Stegemann has pioneered the art of reconstructing a scroll from scattered fragments (Stegemann 1990).¹ In this paper I will present how I reconstructed a small scroll in 1992–93. 4Q422 (4QParaphrase of Genesis and Exodus) is one of the most illuminating examples of the ‘Stegemann method,’ and may be used in teaching this technique to new scholars. Further, I will share some improvements of the DJD edition as well as some reflections on the nature and progression of thought in this composition.

THE PROCESS OF RECONSTRUCTION

The plate of 4Q422 included ten medium-sized fragments and eighteen minor ones, all easily included on an A 4-sized photograph. John Strugnell had collected these in the 1950s. The final photograph 42.820 shows ten fragments sorted in three horizontal rows (see plate 1). This probably reflects three wads (stacks of fragments on top of each other).² Either these fragments arrived at the Rockefeller Museum in wads, or Strugnell sorted them like this based on similarity in their physical form. When I started to study these fragments early in 1992 (shortly after the access to the scrolls was opened to new researchers), I did not

¹ I am indebted to Stephen J. Pfann for giving me insights into the art of reconstructing scrolls in the early 1990s. I am also grateful to Lena Liebman and her colleagues at the IAA scrollerly, who through the years have shown infinite patience and willingness to help me in my study of the fragments. An earlier version of this paper has been published in Norwegian (Elgvin 1997).

² When a scroll decomposed on the floor of the cave, sections that were above each other in the scroll could end in such a stack, almost ‘glued together.’ The contours of the fragments in a specific wad would to a large extent be similar to each other. Cracks or tears in one fragment would often be visible in the layers below, the same would be true of the imprint of the thong around a scroll. On the cave floor a wad could either have the blank side or the text side upwards—in the latter case the top fragment would be darker on the text side than its covered neighbour(s) due to more exposure to light.

know that this photograph betrayed three wads. At that stage 4Q422 was supposed to be a sapiential writing (Tov 1992c, 124). I soon communicated to my tutor Emanuel Tov that these fragments rather were of parabiblical nature: half of them paraphrased the opening chapters of Genesis, while the others dealt with the plagues of Egypt in Exodus. Tov then suggested we make a joint edition where he would take care of the Exodus section while his student would do Genesis.³ I commented with a smile that the Exodus fragments perhaps belonged to an early Passover Haggada from the 2nd century BCE. Tov got help from Elisha Qimron to sort the five Exodus fragments (later designated frg 10a–e) into a suggested sequence that on some points provided a running text, and this text was indeed read at the Tov family's Passover Seder in 1992, revived after almost a two millennia sleep.

Late in 1992 I started pondering on the placement of the remaining fragments. Qimron had placed the five Exodus fragments so that we could perceive the top of a column with parts of the top, right and left margin preserved. This column was *c.* 15 cm wide; the column height was unknown. The parchment was remarkably thin and virtually transparent. Letters imprinted on the rear side of a fragment from the layer below could be seen through the parchment and even be visible on the photographs. This feature would later confirm some elements in the reconstruction.

A transparent photocopy is an important tool in the process of reconstruction. I soon noted the similarity in the shape of the fragments later denoted frgs 1, 2, and 3. (The final numbering of frgs 1–10 was done when the puzzle was ready, at this stage they carried other numbers according to the *Preliminary Concordance*.) When a transparency of frg 2 was put on top of fragment 1, the similarity was remarkable. The same could be observed with a transparent copy of frg 3 on top of frg 2. Frg 1 was better preserved than its neighbours and had been lying at the bottom. Frg 3 that had been on top of the wad was worn more than the others. (This wad had been lying with the text side upwards. See below.)

What about the letters imprinted on the rear side of some fragments? Frg 1 opened “all[their hosts he did by [His] word[”—a paraphrase of

³ Through this joint edition he could teach a new member of the enlarged DJD-producing team how to make a text edition. I am greatly indebted to Emanuel Tov for the confidence he showed a young scholar at this stage.

Gen 2:1. In the word **אֵלֶף בֵּת** the two letters in the middle (bet and ‘alef) were almost erased from the text side of the parchment. But these two letters were ‘stamped’ into the rear side of frg 2. This fact was slightly visible even on the photograph, and could be clearly observed when I checked the original fragments in the Rockefeller Museum (with mirrored letters on the rear side). This proved that frg 2 had been located on top of frg 1 with its blank side tightly pressed into (the inscribed side of) its neighbour in this wad, and that both fragments preserved the same lines (5–13) of their respective columns. Since frg 2 preserved the beginning of a column, frgs 1–2 represented two consecutive columns. Frg 3 (the upper and more worn part of this wad) could come from the same column as that of frg 2, or from the following one.

If the scroll had been rolled the usual way with the beginning of the composition on the outside, frg 1 should be located one turn before frg 2 and two turns before frg 3. Since frg 1 referred to the creation story of Genesis 1–3 while frgs 2–3 dealt with the flood (Genesis 6–9), this sequence made sense. Frg 10a–e on the plagues of the Exodus story would likely belong to a column further inward.

At this stage I neither knew the length of the turns of the scroll when it was deposited in the cave nor the size of the scroll. Did I have the remnants of the beginning (the exterior), the middle or the (interior) end of the scroll, or a selection from different parts of the composition? I now started to play with the puzzle to the right of frgs 10a–e, which Qimron and Tov had pieced together. Studying the original photo of frgs 1–10, I noted the similarity of the contours of frgs 5, 10b, and 10d. A test with a transparent photocopy demonstrated that these three fragments to a large extent had the same physical shape. What about the upper row, frgs 4, 10a, 10c, and 10e? The upper parts of frgs 4 and 10a covered each other exactly, and frg 10c also fitted into this picture. Two more wads were identified! I checked Qimron’s placement of 10e to the far left of this column. In a few cases the offprint of letters from 10c could be seen on 10e (more clearly on the rear side), which obviously belonged to the same wad as frgs 4, 10a, and 10c.

Qimron had placed the smaller 10b and 10d between the larger 10a, 10c, and 10e (as we later annotated them) to get a logical, running text. These two smaller fragments belonged to the same wad as frg 5. Frg 5 should then be located either to the left of 10d–e or to the right of 10b, at approximately the same distance as that between 10b and 10d. Frg 5 possibly preserved a left margin, so I tried it to the right as the end of the column preceding 10a–e. Further, frg 4 that preserved the

top margin was put a little further to the right, with the same distance to its ‘neighbour’ 10a as that between 10a and 10c, since these three (with 10e) belonged to the same wad. This placement made sense, frags 4 and 5 were successfully located at the left side of the column that preceded the Exodus section.

I still did not know whether frags 4 and 5 belonged to the same column as that of frags 2 and/or 3. But wait a moment. Frg 2 preserved a right margin, and my placement of frg 5 showed that it must preserve the left margin of the column preceding that about the plagues. Could we be so lucky that words at the end of a line in frg 5 could continue with the opening words of a line in frg 2 so that we got a running meaningful text? Some minutes of intense study caused a ‘Hurra’ (or was it a ‘Hallelujah’?) when a line in frg 5 ending [יום וארבעים] [“] days and forty” could be combined with לילה היה “nights there was” from the beginning of a line in frg 2. The reference to the biblical text was clear, “Forty days and forty nights it was raining on the earth” (Gen 7:12).

Frgs 2 and 5 thus preserved the right and left margin of the same column. I knew that frg 5 preserved lines 6–10 of this column due to its coordination with its neighbour in the next column, frg 10b. Frg 2 could now be placed at the correct height, it preserved lines 5–13. As frags 1 and 3 belonged in a wad with frg 2, these two fragments could now be placed in the correct distance from the top of the columns, i.e. lines 6–13 (frg 2 lines 5–13). Frg 3 that had been worn more than its neighbours (lying at the top of the wad) belonged somewhere to the left of frg 2, preserving parts of the same column as that of frags 2, 4, and 5. Frg 1 needed to be located further to the right as the only survivor of its column.

At this stage I started to use a millimeter ruler. I would try to ascertain if the scroll had been rolled the usual way with the beginning of the composition outside. If so, the length of the turns (the circumvention of the scroll) would increase from left (inside) to right (outside). If Qimron had placed frags 10a–e correctly, the distance between corresponding physical points on 10d and 10b was 59 mm. Between 10c and 10a it was 61 mm. As I had put frg 6 alongside 10a (end of one column and beginning of the next), the distance between frags 10b and 6 could not be less than 63–64 mm. It became clear that the length of the turn increased with 5–6 mm for each turn towards the right. The right end of the puzzle (i.e. frg 1) had thus been on the outside of the scroll.

The column Qimron had put together had a writing block with a width of 15 cm. I asserted that the preceding column had the same width, and here frg 2 provided the right margin. Frgs 3 and 1 could now be placed precisely on each side of frg 2 with the correct distance in between.

A study of the preserved text in these three columns confirmed the sequence suggested by the puzzle. The first preserved column (col I, represented only by frg 1) referred to creation and man's fall (Genesis 1–3). In principle this column could have been preceded by another one, but I guessed that this column represented the beginning of the composition, where we lacked only five lines. The next column, now designated col II, paraphrased the flood story and God's postdeluvian promise (Genesis 6–9). Then the book jumped directly (col III) to the plagues of Egypt (Exodus 7–12).

At the end of the process two minor fragments could be inserted into col II due to their contents. The bottom line of frg 6 read ארובות השמיים, which was combined with נפתחו of frg 3: “the sluices of heave[n] were ope[n]ed.” These two fragments virtually touched each other. Frg 7 recorded אל התבנה [“into the ar[k],” a phrase recurring five times in Genesis 7. After the DJD edition was made, this fragment was located more precisely at the right side of frg 6.

What had followed col III? How far into the biblical story did our early theologian continue his paraphrase? Frg 10e that preserved the left margin of col III showed traces of sowing that had connected this sheet of parchment with another. How wide could this second sheet have been? The length of the turn between frg 10c and frg 10e was 55 mm. At the time of deposition in the cave the scroll was so loosely rolled that the circumference decreased with 6 mm per turn as one continued inwards. Five more turns would mean another 17 cm of parchment. At that point the circumvention would be 22 mm. Even with such remarkably thin parchment one could not continue rolling further than that. According to my calculations, the second sheet measured maximum 17 cm,⁴ which gave room for just one more column. The text of this col IV was not preserved (although some of the tiny fragments could derive from this lost column).

⁴ On the dimensions of sheets, see Tov 2004, 79–84: “length of most sheets of leather varied between 21 and 90 cm” (p. 79). Tov lists only five scrolls that included sheets of just one column (*ibid.*, 80–81).

If col. I had the same width as that of cols II and III (15 cm), the length of the first sheet would be *c.* 52 cm, and of the full scroll only *c.* 70 cm. Such a tiny scroll could not have high columns. Col II preserved remnants of 13 lines, and col III 12 lines. With line 13 col II on the flood story had reached its conclusion with the bow in the skies and a renewed promise to mankind. And there was not space for another episode before col III started with Exodus 1. I tend to conclude that these 13 lines preserved the full height of the column, i.e. a writing block 9 cm high.⁵ Including top and bottom margins the scroll would be 11–11.5 cm high. The puzzle was done, the fragments located, and interpretation could start (see plate 2).⁶

TRANSLATION AND NOTES

The reconstructed text reads as following in English translation (italic font indicates tentative translation or sense of meaning).⁷

Col I

6. [Heaven and earth and all] their hosts He made by [His] word.[
7. [*And He rested on the seventh day from all His work* whic]h He had been doing. And His holy spirit[
8. [*He gave man dominion* over every]living cr[eature] which moves[on the earth.
9. *He set man* on the ear]th, He set him in charge to eat the fruit[s] of the soil,
10.]that he should not eat from the tree that gives know[ledge of good and evil.]
11. But]he rose against Him and they forgot [His laws
12. walking]in evil inclination and deed[s] of injustice

⁵ Tov (1998, 79–80) notes that columns with a small-sized writing block would normally not contain more than 13 lines.

⁶ Emanuel Tov and I started to work on the fragments of 4Q422 early in 1992. Only two years passed before publication of the composition in *DSD* 2/1994 and three years before publication in *DJD* XIII (417–41 with plates XLII–XLIII), at that time the shortest processing time for Qumran material. This speed was later surpassed by Esther and Hanan Eshel in their publication of 4Q448 (4QApocryphal Psalm and Prayer), the so-called ‘King Jonathan-text.’

⁷ For the Hebrew text, see *DJD* XIII or preferably *DSSR* 3.570–76. The version in *DSSR* includes my corrections to col II without any textual notes.

Col II⁸

1. *And God saw that*] great and[*infuriating was the evil of man on the earth*]
2.]the [
- 2a. *he was righteous* in] his generation o[n *the earth*]... *God, alive*⁹ [
3.] they were saved on [the earth *from the flood that came* o]n the earth because[
4. [*for God wanted* to save]the [animals and Noah]and his sons, [his wi]fe[and his sons' wives from]the waters of the flood and from[
5. ..[they entere]d the ar[k and] God [s]hut behind them. []He put upon it[
6. G[od] elected her[]the sluices of heave[n] were ope[n]ed [and they pou]red out [rain] on the earth
7. under all the heave[ns. to] let water rise upon the ear[th Forty] days and for[ty]
8. nights there was r[ain]o[n the earth. The water]s were mig[h]ty on[the earth].. *as a cord*, and in order to
9. know the glory of the High[est.]the[The bow] He set before him,
10. and it shone on [the] heave[ns, and it became a sign between God and the ea]rth and man[ki]nd [*on the earth, and it became*] a futu[re] sign for generation[s]
11. of eternity. Greatly[and never more] will a flood[destroy the earth. *He established*]
12. [the s]et times of day and night [and the lights to shine o]n heaven and ear[th
13. [*the earth and]its ful[lness, everythi]ng He gave [to man*

Col III

1.]and not [
2. the t[wo] mid[wives and they threw]
3. their so[ns] to the Nile []them,

⁸ Frg. 7 should be inserted between frgs 2 and 6, covering lines supra 4, 4 and 5. In comparison with DJD more complete restorations are offered of ll. 4–6 and 9–11.

⁹ אֵל חַיָּה. The first word is either ‘God’ or the preposition ‘to.’ The second word can mean Eve, ‘alive,’ or ‘living thing.’ The suggestion of *DSSR* 3.571 “to the living God” should probably read only “the living God,” but does not account for the feminine form חַיָּה, correctly rendered in DJD, but not in *DSSR*.

4. [and] He sent them Mo[ses...and He appeared] in the vision of [*the burning bush*]
5. with signs and wonders[
6. [and] He sent them to Pharaoh[] plagues [] wo[n]ders for the Egyptians[]and they reported His word
7. to Pharaoh to let [their people] go. [And] he hardened [his] heart [so that he would] sin, so that they would know the G[od of Isra]el¹⁰ for eternal [gene]rations. He turned their [water] to blood.
8. The frogs <were> in all [their] land and lice throughout [their] territory, *gnats* [in] their [hou]ses and [they afflic]ted all their...and He inflicted with pestilen[ce all]
9. their livestock and their animals He delivered to d[eat]h. He plac[ed dark]ness in their land and gloom in their [houses] so that no one would be able to se[e] the other.[And He struck]
10. their land with hail and [their] land [with] frost to des[troy all] the fruit which they ea[t]. And He brought locusts to cover the face of the ear[th], heavy locust in all their territory,
11. to eat every plant in [their] la[nd,] and God har[dened] the heart of [Phara]oh so as not to let [them] go and in order to multiply wonders.
12. [And He afflicted their firstborn,]the prime of al[l] their strength

Notes to col II.

Ll. 4–5. The text of frg 7 is here included in these two lines: להקיל
אתה[חיה את נוח / באו] אל התב[ה]

L. 6. וגשם הריקו על הארצ. וגשם הריקו is restored (thanks to M. Bernstein for this suggestion). The subject of the verb ריק is probably ארובות השמים. For this use of the verb ריק, cf. Qoh 11:3 ואם ימלאו העבים וארבות השמים 4Q370 (4QAdmonFlood) I 5 גשם על הארץ יריקו ה[רי]קו מטר.

L. 8 חוט/חייט. The lexicon does not offer other solutions than חט ‘cord/thread,’ the precise meaning remains enigmatic. Rabbinic Aramaic can use חטא with the more precise meaning (geographic) ‘border-line’

¹⁰ Restore אלהי ישראל and not אנשי ישראל after למען דעת. DJD’s “so that the pe[ople of Isra]el might know <it> throughout their gener[at]ions” should be discarded. Such a meaning would require a direct object after the reconstructed ‘people of Israel.’ The Egyptians, not the Israelites, are the subject of this sentence.

(Jastrow, 431). Could the meaning here be that man should understand God's ethical border-lines?

L. 11. One should read the targumic word לַחַדָּא, which translates מֵאֵד, and not לַחַרָּא.¹¹

AN EARLY BIBLICAL INTERPRETER

It seems that cols I, II, and III each contained one episode of the biblical drama: col I creation and the beginning of man's disobedience, col II the flood story from sin to God's promise, and col III the Exodus story. A common theme could be sin, redemption and God's renewed commitment to mankind and (from col III) to his people Israel. It stands to reason that the lacking col IV paraphrased a later episode from the pentateuchal story that would continue the same thematic line, perhaps the Sinai episode. In the selection and reworking of the biblical material we sense a conscious preacher and theologian. The scribal hand is early Hasmonean, so we deal with exegesis and reuse of Scripture in the 2nd century BCE.

4Q422 belongs to Tov's category of scrolls with a small writing block (Tov 2004, 83–85). Milik (1992, 363–4) suggested that such small-dimensioned scrolls were made for liturgical use. Tov (1998a, 84–85; 2004, 90) notes that Milik's link between small scrolls and liturgical use only explains parts of the data now available. Tov's list of small-sized scrolls¹² contain a number of non-liturgical, but community-related works (4QS^{b,d,f,j}, 4QHalakha B, 4QList of False Prophets, 4QWords of the Maskil, 4QMMT^{c,f}, 4QCal Doc/Mish A). Also other parabiblical works were written on scrolls of small dimensions (4QprEsther^{a,b,d} ar, 4QDanSuz? Ar, 4QapocrLam B, 4QapocrMos^a, 4QapocrDan ar, 4QApocr Psalm and Prayer, Mas apocrJos), as were some excerpted biblical books (4QDeut^{n,q}; 4QExod^c; 4QPs^g). I would like to suggest that small-sized scrolls also were made for itinerant use by wandering

¹¹ Qimron (1986, 116) lists among the Aramaisms in the scrolls לַאחַת 'very' (= לַחַדָּא).

¹² Tov's list (2004, 84–86) can be supplemented with 4Q422 as well as XJudges (DJD 28, 231–33) from The Schoyen Collection. XJudges reflects a column width of 7 cm with 26–32 ls per line (a renewed examination of this fragment shows that the width suggested by DJD is incorrect). The height of the column is not known, but such a narrow column was obviously small-sized.

teachers, *Yahad* officials, or travellers. 4Q422 would fit nicely into such a category.

I conclude with some reflections on the biblical interpretation in 4Q422 (see also Elgvin 1994a, 195–96). The two first preserved lines attribute essential roles to God’s *word* and *spirit* in the act of creation. For l. 6 “Heaven and earth and all] their hosts He made by [His] word,” cf. Gen 1:1–3; 2:1; Ps 33:6. For the role of the spirit in l. 7, cf. Job 34:14 and Ps 104:30 as biblical references to God’s creation by the breath (רוח) of his mouth. The tradition of Wisdom as God’s instrument in the act of creation (Jer 51:15; Prov 8:22–31, Sirach 24:3–5, Wis 7:22, 8:1) might provide part of the background for 4Q422’s thinking on the Word and the Spirit as God’s agents. In Judit 16:14 the personified spirit is the agent by which God formed all things. Sirach refers to God’s word as the instrument of creation, 42:15, 43:5–10, but for Ben Sira the word is no separate agency. This is different in the Book of Wisdom: For Pseudo-Solomon both Wisdom and the Word are divine instruments in creation, Wis 9:2. The Word is God’s powerful agent which heals, supports the people, and slays the first-born of Egypt, Wis 16:12, 26; 18:15–16. Pseudo-Solomon equates Wisdom with the Spirit; both Wisdom and Spirit sustain creation. The Spirit of the Lord fills the world and holds all things together. This Wisdom-Spirit which is all-penetrating, is “the breath of the power of God,” 1:6, 7:24–25. Apoc. Abr. 9:10 “... the things which were made by the ages and by my word” presents a close parallel to the statement of 4Q422 l. 7. 4Q215a (4QTime of Righteousness) 2 l. 1 should be restored ברוח קודשו יסדם ל[האיר על הארץ] “by] His holy [spirit] He established them to[shine on the earth,” cf. Gen 1:17. The following lines deal with creation, the order of the heavenly lights and the set times on earth. Thus, also this composition of the early 2nd century attributes to God’s spirit a central role in creation.¹³ The early ‘logos-theology’ of 4Q422 would later find a successor in John 1:1–3.

Col II is a short homiletic paraphrase of the flood story. Interpretative additions compared with the biblical text are found in l. 5 (God put something on top of the ark), l. 6 (God elected her [the ark?]), l. 8–9 (the purpose of the flood story, to let man know the glory of the

¹³ 4Q215a may be dated to the early Maccabean or pre-Maccabean period (the script is late Hasmonean or early Herodian): Elgvin 2003a, 96.

Highest), ll. 10–11 (for eternal generations), l. 12 (on the heavenly lights, cf. Gen 1:14). Ll. 12–13 uses phrases and themes from Gen 1:28–9 to describe the new beginning after the flood of Genesis 9.

Col III seems to be more poetically structured than cols I–II. This fact may be explained by the dependence of this section on Psalms 78 and 105. III 7 repeats the term “for eternal generations” from II 10–11. In cols II and III our interpreter twice mentions God’s purpose in teaching first Israel and then the Egyptians new and lasting knowledge:

וּלְמַעַן דַּעַת כְּבוֹד אֱלֹהִים (II 8–9)

לְמַעַן דַּעַת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד דּוֹנָרוֹת [עוֹלָם (III 7).

I have previously pointed to a similar progression of thought in 4Q422 cols I–II and 4QDibHam (4Q504 frg. 8 recto): both compositions portray Adam in an elevated position, continue with mankind’s injustice alluding to Genesis 4 and 6, and then with the flood. The parallel is even stronger than I asserted in DJD XIII: according to the reconstruction by Chazon (1992, 129), frg 8 belongs to the prayer for the first day. And the reference to the flood is followed by a hymnic description of the Exodus (4Q504 frg 6). In 4Q422 the description of the flood (col. II) is followed by a poetic description of Exodus and the plagues. Since Words of the Luminaries can be dated to the first half of the 2nd century BCE, these two writings testify to an early Judean tradition of interpreting Genesis.

Another interesting parallel to the progression of thought in cols I and II of 4Q422 is found in next-century Egypt in Wisdom 10: Verses 1–2 deal with the creation of Adam, the father of all who has Wisdom as his guardian. For Pseudo-Solomon’s statement “she gave him strength to rule over all things,” cf. 4Q422 I 9 **הַמְשִׁילוּ לְאַכּוֹל פְּרִי 9** “He set him in charge to eat the frut[s of the soil.” Verses 3–4 describe the injustice of Cain and his descendants (cf. 4Q422 I 10–11: “he rose against Him and they forgot [His laws...in evil inclination and for deed[s of injustice]”), followed by the story of flood and salvation. In 4Q422 the flood is followed by the Exodus, while Wisdom 10 includes the stories of Abraham (vv. 5–8), Jacob (vv. 9–12), and Joseph (vv. 13–14), before it comes to the Exodus (vv. 15–21).

In my first publication on 4Q422 I was open for the option of authorship in the *Yahad* or its close predecessors (Elgvin 1994a, 196). Today I would rather stress the universalist features of cols I and II that may contrast a sectarian way of thinking, although our manuscript

was probably copied by a scribe of the *Yahad* (cf. DJD XIII, 420–21). Parallels with Sirach, Jubilees,¹⁴ Words of the Luminaries and 4QTime of Righteousness could point to a time of origin in the first half of the 2nd century BCE.

¹⁴ See Elgvin 1994a, 195–96.



Plate 1

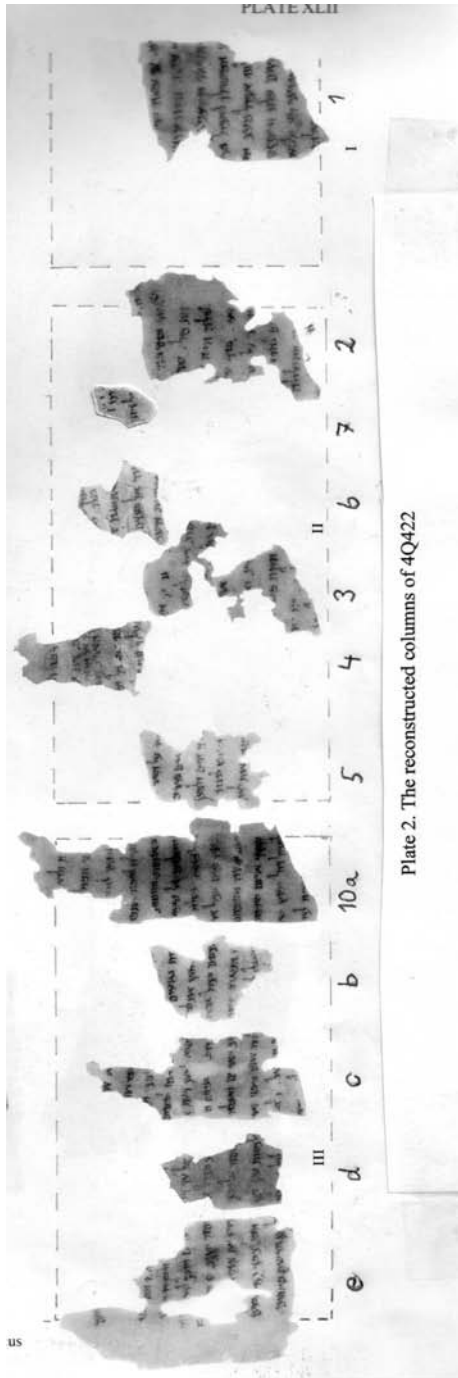


Plate 2

A VILLAIN AND THE VIPS: JOSEPHUS ON JUDAS THE GALILEAN AND THE ESSENES

Gunnar Haaland

Josephus' account of the Essenes in *Bellum* 2.119–61 is peculiar and conspicuous in several ways. First, it is disproportionately extensive compared to the corresponding accounts of the Pharisees and the Sadducees (*B.J.* 2.162–66). Furthermore, the insertion of the entire excursus into the record of Judas the Galilean's call for insurgency seems at first sight totally misplaced.

In the present paper I will examine the narrative function of this famous account of the Essenes within its immediate literary context and discuss what authorial concerns and strategies it betrays. Moreover, I will address the corresponding account in *Antiquities* 18 in a similar but more cursory manner. Finally, I will discuss a few pertinent matters of historical reconstruction that emerges from Josephus' excursuses on the three—or four—schools of Jewish philosophy.¹

NARRATIVE CONTEXT

Bellum 2 covers the period from the death of Herod the Great to the early stage of the Jewish revolt. After recording the disturbances that broke out following Herod's death, the division of the country between his sons, and the Roman takeover of Judea from Archelaus, Josephus introduces Judas the Galilean:²

(Judas) incited his countrymen to revolt, upbraiding them as cowards for consenting to pay tribute to the Romans and tolerating mortal masters, after having God for their lord. This man was a sophist who founded a

¹ I have previously discussed Josephus' presentation of Judas and the Essenes within a study of his excursuses on the Jewish schools of philosophy (Haaland 2006). In the present article, my previous discussion is adapted, reworked, partly abbreviated and partly elaborated upon, but the basic approach remains the same and a number of passages are mostly identical.

² The writings of Josephus are quoted from the translations of the Loeb Classical Library, unless otherwise indicated.

school of his own (ἦν δ' οὐτός σοφιστῆς ιδίᾳς αἰρέσεως),³ having nothing in common with the others. Jewish philosophy, in fact, takes three forms. The followers of the first school are called Pharisees, of the second Sadducees, of the third Essenes. (B.J. 2.118–19)

The extensive account of the Essenes comes next, followed by the much shorter presentations of the Pharisees and Sadducees.⁴ At the end of the excursus, one would expect a return to Judas the Galilean and his call for revolt. This does not happen. Instead the narrative moves on to Philip and Antipas, their building projects, the accession of Tiberius and his commission of Pilate. Both Judas and the schools of philosophy are left behind.

NARRATIVE FUNCTION (I): EXPLANATION

Of course, one would expect from an excursus like that presently under consideration that it provides necessary, or at least relevant, background information that serves to explain and elucidate the story line.⁵ At first look, however, both the extensive presentation of the Essenes and the brief accounts of the Pharisees and the Sadducees appear quite unnecessary when it comes to understanding what is going on in the narrative. The excursus disturbs rather than supports the record of political leaders and popular insurrectionists. Most strikingly, we look in vain for the kind of information that would clearly have been most

³ Thackeray translates “sect” for αἵρεσις, whereas “school” or “school of thought” have become common in recent scholarship. Thackeray’s description of Judas the Galilean as the *founder* of this αἵρεσις is an idiomatic translation which is justified by the context, and supported by the parallel in A.J. 18.9 (cf. entry to σοφιστῆς in Rengstorf 1968–1983; McLaren 2004, 98–99). Mason in one place translates “a sophist of his own private school” (Mason 1995, 162).

⁴ Several scholars have claimed that the account of the Essenes appears to be borrowed (e.g. Hölscher 1916, 1949; Moore 1929, 374; Bergmeier 1993). Smith points to Gerasa, Philadelphia or another Hellenistic city in Transjordan as likely places of origin (Smith 1958, 293). However, Rajak insists that “the Jerusalem priestly establishment could hardly have afforded to be wholly ignorant of what radical Jewish sectarians a stone’s throw from Jerusalem were thinking and doing,” and reads the account mainly as reflecting Josephus’ personal knowledge (Rajak 1994, 144, 155; cf. e.g. Mason 2006).

⁵ See e.g. the numerous geographical excursuses by Josephus (B.J. 2.188–91; 3.35–58; 3.158–60, 3.506–21; 4.452–85, 5.184–247, etc.), his excursus on the Roman army (B.J. 3.70–109), and the brief digressions added both to the first account of the Pharisees in *Bellum* (B.J. 1.110–13), and to the record of King Herod’s admiration for the Essenes (A.J. 15.371–79). For the interpretation of Josephus’ excursuses, see e.g. McLaren 2000, 32–34; Haaland 2006, 263–64.

relevant, namely the position of the respective schools on the issue of Roman rule (McLaren 2004, 99–100).⁶

Upon closer examination, however, a certain amount of relevance can be detected. In connection with the removal of Archelaus by the Romans, Josephus narrates how Archelaus sent for “the soothsayers and some Chaldaeans” to have them interpret a dream and how this task was accomplished by “a certain Simon, of the sect (γένος) of the Essenes” (B.J. 2.112–13).⁷ One may argue that a further presentation of the Essenes would be proper in this context. In fact, the following excursus includes information on Essene soothsaying:

There are some among them who profess to foretell the future, being versed from their early years in holy books, various forms of purification and apophthegms of prophets; and seldom, if ever, do they err in their predictions. (B.J. 2.159)

Nonetheless, for a number of reasons, the account of the Essenes (B.J. 2.119–61) cannot be interpreted as an explanatory footnote to the record of Simon’s interpretation of Archelaus’ dream (B.J. 2.112–13). First of all, the two texts belong to different narrative sequences; the record of Simon’s soothsaying belongs to the wrapping up of the account of Archelaus’ reign, which is concluded by an appendix on the fate of his wife (B.J. 2.114–16), whereas the excursus on the philosophies is introduced into the record of the subsequent period of direct Roman rule (B.J. 2.117–18). Second, such an interpretation would make the following presentation of the Pharisees and Sadducees (B.J. 2.162–66) mostly irrelevant. Third, an explanatory footnote on the Essenes—shorter or longer, or even an excursus on the three schools together—should most properly have been inserted in connection with the first mentioning of the group (cf. McLaren 2000, 32). Already in *Bellum* 1.78–80 another Essene soothsayer—named Judas—appears, but at this point there is

⁶ Whereas Mason has previously argued that such information appears in the description of the loyalty of the Essenes toward authorities (B.J. 2.140), he now takes this to be a reference to local Jewish government, possibly sectarian leaders (Mason 1991, 123; Mason 2006, 238; cf. e.g. Beall 1988, 80–81).

⁷ Note that in Josephus’ references to the Essenes apart from the excursuses, soothsaying is their primary domain: B.J. 1.78–80 and A.J. 13.311–13 on Judas the Essene; A.J. 15.371–79 on Menahem the Essene; B.J. 2.112–13 and A.J. 17.346–48 on Simon the Essene. The warlord John the Essene (B.J. 2.567; 3.11) represents the only departure from this pattern.

no further information.⁸ Moreover, an extensive excursus on the three schools of philosophy would also have been appropriate when the Pharisees are collectively introduced into the narrative as they rise to power during the reign of Queen Alexandra Salome (B.J. 1.110–13). As already observed, this account contains a brief explanatory comment about the Pharisees, but nothing more than that.⁹

It is probably of significance that the accounts of the three schools are put together, rather than being distributed to their proper places in the narrative according to the appearance of each school. And instead of introducing the excursus at the first possible juncture, Josephus apparently saves it for a particular occasion. The conclusion must be that the account of the Essenes and the subsequent accounts of the Pharisees and the Sadducees (B.J. 2.119–66) make little sense if we approach them as extensive, explanatory footnotes. They are not introduced to help us understand the storyline, but the inclusion of the excursus is nonetheless a deliberate authorial choice. The mentioning of Simon the Essene (B.J. 2.113) and particularly of Judas the Galilean and his *ἀίρεσις* (B.J. 2.118) may have triggered the introduction of the excursus,¹⁰ but its main purpose must be a different one.

We may even adopt the opposite approach and ask: Why does Josephus lend a certain prestige to Judas by referring to him as a *σοφιστής* and the leader of a *ἀίρεσις*?¹¹ Why not simply call him a *στασιωστής*

⁸ The same applies to the parallel accounts in *Antiquitates* on Judas the Essene (A.J. 13.311–13) and Simon the Essene (A.J. 17.346–48).

⁹ Since the Pharisees are the “bad guys” in B.J. 1.110–13, the introduction of a laudatory excursus would arguably not fit at this point (Mason 1991, 110–15). However, Josephus could have created a beautiful juxtaposition of the seemingly pious Pharisees and the truly pious Essenes.

¹⁰ This is the first time Josephus uses the word *ἀίρεσις* with specific reference to a “faction” or “school” (Mason 1991, 125–28).

¹¹ It is not clear to what extent the word *σοφιστής* is negatively loaded in this particular passage and from Josephus’ pen in general. The word is always applied to troublemakers of some sort, but the preceding presentation of the two *σοφισταί* (B.J. 1.648–56, also referred to in B.J. 2.10) is full of positive characteristics: They had “a reputation as profound experts in the laws of their country, who consequently enjoyed the highest esteem of the whole nation” (B.J. 1.648). Thackeray translates “doctors” in this account, while Feldman prefers “scholars” in his translation of the parallel account (A.J. 17.152, 155). Our passage, with its juxtaposition of the novel school of a single sophist and three established schools of philosophy, obviously points to the inferiority of the former. Note, however, Mason’s neutral translation: “This man represented a peculiar school of thought” (Mason 1991, 121). As for the remaining occurrences, they are all parts of derogatory statements. This applies to the second reference to Judas the Galilean (B.J. 2.433), the reference to his son Menahem (B.J. 2.445), as well as the one occurrence in *Contra Apionem*. In the former case the ambiguous superlative

“rebel”) or something similar? Since Judas’ school immediately disappears from the narrative never to return, and for other reasons to which we will return below, I would suggest that the narrative is deliberately designed to accommodate the introduction of the excursus on the three recognized and distinguished schools. In other words: Could it be that the cause and effect pattern is the opposite from what is usually assumed? Could it be that the description of Judas is a product of the excursus, rather than a more or less coincidental trigger?

NARRATIVE FUNCTION (II): ENHANCEMENT

Whereas *Bellum* 1 covers the Hasmonean period and the reign of Herod the Great in some detail, the record in book two of the period from the death of Herod to the emergence of Agrippa I is very cursory (*B.J.* 2.1–118, 167–77). Hence one may wonder if the excursus on the three schools of philosophy is introduced to provide an amount of balance (Mason 1991, 120). Since the inclusion of the excursus arguably introduces further imbalance, we should rather pursue its literary function on a more sophisticated level—in terms of enhancement and rhetorical amplification. As observed by James McLaren, Josephus’ geographical excursuses “display a concern to provide the reader with information that will encourage a sense of wonder at the feats performed and the splendour of the country” (McLaren 2000, 32). Quite clearly, the excursuses on the Jewish philosophies have a similar function, particularly the *Bellum* 2 account of the Essenes (Haaland 2006).

First of all, we may observe how the account of the Essenes provides a counterpoint to the surrounding narrative. The tyranny of Archelaus (*B.J.* 2.1–113), Pilate (*B.J.* 2.169–77) and Petronius (*B.J.* 2.184–203) is thrown into relief by the picture of the ideal brotherhood of the Essenes. And the complex and often tragic family-business of the Herodian house (*B.J.* 1.431–2.100) is juxtaposed with the abstinence from family life (*B.J.* 2.120–21), the strict discipline (*B.J.* 2.134–53), and the elected leadership (*B.J.* 2.123) of the Essenes (Mason 2006, 238–39). In effect, the virtues of the Essenes provide a certain compensation for the vices of the main characters of the narrative.

δεινότατος (“most redoubtable”) is attached, while the final occurrence is accompanied by heavy, negative qualifiers: “the Lysimachus and Molons and other writers of that class, reprobate sophists and deceivers of youth” (*C. Ap.* 2.236).

This brings us to a second point: “Josephus wished to depict the Essenes to Romans as the quintessential Jews,” as Tessa Rajak puts it (Rajak 1994, 146).¹² In other words, Josephus’ presentation of the three schools is a piece of idealized, stereotyped ethnography. Rajak notes that “Philo had acclimatized the subject to Greek literature and Pliny the Elder had alerted a Roman readership” (Rajak 1994, 146). Typically enough, this presentation contains universal values as well as particular, ethnographic traits. The Essenes exhibit standard virtues such as temperance, rejection of pleasures, control over passions (B.J. 2.12), endurance (B.J. 2.138), and contempt of torture and death (B.J. 2.151–53).¹³ Such virtues were in antiquity attributed to all great men—philosophers, politicians or warlords, Romans, Greeks or Barbarians regardless. More specifically, Steve Mason has recently pointed out that the account of the Essenes recalls the image of the Spartan heroes (Mason 2006). At the same time, they appear as “sages of a type the East was expected to produce” (Momigliano 1975, 86). Of the numerous examples of this tendency in the presentation of the Essenes, I will mention only two: the morning prayers to the sun (B.J. 2.128; see e.g. Beall 1988, 132; Förster 2005) and the skills in foretelling the future, which we have already touched upon (B.J. 2.159).¹⁴ We also recognize the traits of the Essenes in Josephus’ idealized account of the Jewish way of life in *Contra Apionem* 2.145–296 (Haaland 2006, 279–81; Mason 2006, 235–37).¹⁵ In short, Josephus depicts the Essenes as exponents of standard manly virtues, dressed as Barbarian ascetic sages.

Of course, all attempts to reconstruct history must take into consideration that Josephus’ descriptions of the Essenes are modeled according to ethnographical ideals and stereotypes. However, this does not exclude the use of his accounts for the purpose of historical reconstruction.

We are not dealing with an *either/or* as tends to be supposed (*either* ethnographic fiction *or* a realistic account), but with a *both/and*. Josephus’

¹² Rajak refers for this view to Paul 1992, 32.

¹³ For an extensive presentation of these features, see Mason 2006. Note that the account of the Essenes focuses mainly upon their lifestyle, while the brief records of the Pharisees and Sadducees address behaviour, doctrine and comparative stance quite evenly (McLaren 2000, 36).

¹⁴ Note that Simon the Essene is mentioned together with “some Chaldaecans” in B.J. 2.112–13.

¹⁵ Note that Porphyry (Abst. 4.11–13) includes C. Ap. 2.151–96 along with the *Bellum* 2 and *Antiquitates* 18 accounts among his sources for the Essenes. See e.g. Mason 2006, 237.

digression on the Essenes are texts which *both* conform to historiographical canons *and* draw upon the author's experience. . . . The difficulty lies in understanding how the two elements interact. (Rajak 1994, 145)

We will turn to issues of historical reconstruction below, but presently we turn to the question of Josephus' concerns and rhetorical strategies.

AUTHORIAL CONCERNS AND STRATEGIES: WHY AND HOW?

Mason suggests reading the entire *Bellum* as Josephus' attempt to rehabilitate the character and virtue of the Judeans in the aftermath of the great revolt (Mason 2006). Of course, this stirring approach highlights the account of the Essenes as a piece of literary ornamentation and rhetorical amplification.

Secondly, the inclusion of the excursus on the three philosophies is completely in line with a related and more obvious concern in *Bellum*: to acquit the Jewish nation from being collectively responsible for the revolt by instead insisting that only a limited group of rebels were to be blamed from among the Jews.¹⁶ The call for a revolt against the Romans by Judas the Galilean represents a critical development within the narrative, and therefore a proper occasion for the introduction of a laudatory account as some sort of counterpoint. As Judas is introduced as "a sophist who founded a school of his own," the presentation of three recognized and distinguished schools of philosophy fits neatly, even if it is mostly irrelevant to the unfolding narrative, and even if the school of Judas has "nothing in common with the others" (B.J. 2.118).

Thirdly, my suggestion that this particular presentation of Judas the Galilean may be triggered by a desire to include the excursus makes it necessary to move our attention for a moment from the function of the account of the Essenes and the excursus to which it belongs, in order to examine the function of the account of Judas. As we are not told anything about the fate of Judas, the nature of the revolt or the Roman response, the brief account of Judas represents a digression and not an integral part of the storyline. Morton Smith accordingly considers the excursus to be "a digression from a digression from a digression," and elaborates as follows:

¹⁶ See e.g. B.J. 1.10–11, 27, along with Rajak 1983, 78–103; Bilde 1988, 77; Mason 1991, 121–22; McLaren 2000, 44–45.

It was under Coponius—by the way—that Judas the Galilean started the revolt. This Judas—by the way—was a sophist who founded a sect of his own. For—by the way—there are three schools of philosophy among the Jews. (Smith 1958, 276)

Smith does not discuss the implications of this structure but according to McLaren this is one of the reasons for viewing the account of Judas the Galilean as “a crafted and manipulated construction by Josephus” (McLaren 2004, 90, cf. 93–94). My reading could be used as a further argument along this line.

Be this as it may, it remains obvious that Josephus could clearly have depicted Judas more harshly than he does. The effect of his description, however, is that he creates a suitable opportunity to introduce the Essenes as representatives of Jewish culture at its best.

ANTIQUITATES 18.4–25

The excursus on the Jewish schools of philosophy in Antiquitates 18 conforms to that in *Bellum* 2 by being linked to the call for revolt by Judas the Galilean,¹⁷ but there are a number of striking differences. Judas is first of all introduced with a Pharisee named Saddok as his companion. Josephus’ presentation of their message (A.J. 18.4–5) is more expansive than in the first account (B.J. 2.218) without being much more informative. He briefly notes that their call was positively received among the populace and adds an expansive lamentation (A.J. 18.6–10) of which I quote only parts:

Here is a lesson that an innovation and reform in ancestral traditions weighs heavily in the scale in leading to the destruction of the congregation of the people. In this case certainly, Judas and Saddok started among us an intrusive fourth school of philosophy;¹⁸ . . . planting the seeds of those troubles which subsequently overtook it, all because of the novelty of this hitherto unknown philosophy that I shall now describe. (A.J. 18.9)

Subsequently, Josephus introduces the excursus on the Jewish philosophies—the three recognized ones (A.J. 18.11–22) as well as the novel fourth one (A.J. 18.23–25). He claims that the teaching of the fourth

¹⁷ In A.J. 18.4 he is called “a Gaulanite from the city of Gamala,” while he reappears as “Judas the Galilean” in A.J. 18.23.

¹⁸ In the Antiquitates 18 excursus, Josephus speaks of φιλοσοφίαι (“philosophies”) rather than αἱρέσεις (“schools”).

philosophy is identical to that of the Pharisees, “except that they have a passion for liberty that is almost unconquerable, since they are convinced that God alone is their leader and master” (A.J. 18.23). Quite clearly, this excursus is introduced more carefully and elegantly. And in this case the presentation of the different teachings on destiny, after-life and so on, really serves as relevant background information.

Moreover, whereas the *Bellum* 2 account of the Essenes is disproportionately long, the present excursus is well-balanced. Quite strikingly, several important elements from the *Bellum* 2 account of the Essenes are transferred to the *Antiquitates* 18 account of the Pharisees. The most prominent example is the doctrine of the afterlife. This motif is presented elaborately and constitutes the climax of the first account of the Essenes (B.J. 2.154–58), while it is only briefly mentioned in the accompanying account of the Pharisees (B.J. 2.163). In *Antiquitates* 18 the description of the Pharisaic doctrine of the afterlife has become the extensive one (A.J. 18.14–15) and its function, structure and vocabulary are also similar to that of the Essenes in *Bellum* 2.¹⁹ All this implies that the Essenes no longer play the role of “quintessential Jews” alone, even if the presentation of them is still highly favorable: “such qualities as theirs were never found among any Greek or barbarian people” (A.J. 18.20).

These differences between *Bellum* 2 and *Antiquitates* 18 have triggered ample scholarly discussion. Much of it concerns the Pharisees and their involvement in the revolt, and is hence beyond the scope of the present paper.²⁰ I will only stress that the admission of a link between the fourth philosophy and the Pharisees does not fundamentally alter the portrait of either group. Even if *Antiquitates* 18 gives Judas and his group more space and arguably some prestige by explicitly linking them to the Pharisees, he denounces them all the more thoroughly

¹⁹ See also the transfer of the term *δίαιτα* (“manner of living”), which is used five times with reference to the Essenes in the *Bellum* 2 excursus and twice with reference to the Pharisees in *Antiquitates* 18 excursus, and the introduction of Pharisaic abstinence from luxury (A.J. 18.12) along with the community of goods among the Essenes (B.J. 2.122, A.J. 18.20).

²⁰ For example, Schwartz suggests that by the time Josephus wrote *Antiquitates* “the question of Jewish rebellion against Rome was much more remote than it was when Josephus wrote B.J. in the seventies.” Josephus was therefore less cautious in his editing of problematic source material (Schwartz 1983, 169).

(Mason 1991, 283–84). Similarly the enhancement of the account of the Pharisees compensates for the mentioning of a Pharisaic rebel.²¹

As for the differences between the two accounts of the Essenes, Rajak suggests that the latter—being less authentic and more dependent on Philo—indicates that his interest in the affairs of Judea had declined since the composition of *Bellum*. She concludes that “the Josephus of the *Antiquities* lacked the communicative passion of the aspiring younger man” (Rajak 1994, 160). McLaren argues for the opposite case—that the revised line of argument in *Antiquitates* 18 demonstrates Josephus’ sustained apologetic concern and his unrelenting pursuit of a convincing argument. His strategy in *Bellum* 2 is to pass over Judas the Galilean as quickly as possible and instead focus the attention of his readers toward the noble Essenes. In *Antiquitates* 18 he makes a more direct attack on Judas and admits the links between Judas and the Pharisees because the former approach has proved unsuccessful (McLaren 2000, 43–44; McLaren 2004, 106–07).

As a general observation, I will suggest that as long as Judas is made the leader of a philosophical school, and as the description of three ancient schools is appended immediately afterwards, one would expect exactly what Josephus provides in *Antiquitates* 18, namely a further description of Judas’ school in relation to the others. The tailoring of the *Bellum* 2 account—next to nothing about Judas’ school and disproportionately much about the Essenes—therefore remains a more conspicuous one.

Arguably the most striking thing about the *Antiquitates* 18 excursus is that it is included at all. The cross-reference in *Antiquitates* 18.11 would clearly have been sufficient. Of course by bringing a more extensive account yet again, Josephus is making the same point as he did in *Bellum* 2: The three philosophical schools represents Jewish culture at its best, whereas Judas represents the start of a destructive trend of insurrection and separatist ideas. This point is made even more strongly in *Antiquitates* 18 than in *Bellum* 2.²² At the same time, this fourth philosophy once again plays no part in the continuation of the

²¹ Cf. McLaren 2004, 107: “If intended as criticism of the Pharisees it is, at best, indirect.”

²² See A.J. 18.9 (quoted above).

narrative. Hence it remains conspicuous that Josephus pictures Judas as the founder of a philosophical school.²³

HOW MANY PHILOSOPHICAL SCHOOLS?

Josephus obviously did not have the modern scholar in mind when he produced his excursuses on the Jewish schools of philosophy. However, scholars tend to assume that these texts provide a fairly comprehensive picture of Judaism at the end of the Second Temple period. Rather unconsciously, the following equation is often presupposed: Pharisees + Sadducees + Essenes = Judaism. Thackeray's translation of Vita 10 is but one example: "the several sects into which our nation is divided" for τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν αἰρέσεων.²⁴ Similar biases appear frequently in the scholarly literature.²⁵

Against this approach, Goodman argues: "It seems certain that Josephus did not intend to encompass all varieties of contemporary Judaism in his set-piece description of the three *hairesis*'s" (Goodman 1995, 164). As Josephus elsewhere refers to several other types of religious teachings within Judaism,²⁶ his excursuses could easily have included more than three factions.

...his insistence on this three-fold division is bizarre when the whole point of describing the three philosophies in that context was to introduce to readers a novel Fourth Philosophy, on which he laid the blame for the outbreak of the war against Rome in 6 CE (Goodman 2000, 203; cf. Goodman 1995, 163)

²³ Subsequent to the excursus on the philosophies, we return to the census of Quirinius that occasioned the call for revolt by Judas and Saddok (A.J. 18.26 cf. 1–3), but once again we look in vain for further information about the outcome of the revolt and the fate of its leaders.

²⁴ Thackeray's translation of B.J. 2.119 has a similar bias.

²⁵ McLaren, for example, commends the approach of Goodman's to which we will turn in a moment, but later drops his guard and claims that in B.J. 2.119 "philosophy" is used...to describe Jewish religion as a whole" (McLaren 2000, 31, 39). Mason's description of the three schools as "mainstream Judaism" is similarly sloppy, while the label "recognized Judaism" fits Josephus' concern much better (Mason 1991, 121–23). As for the identity of the Qumran group, scholars similarly tend to assume that the group must have belonged to one of Josephus' three schools; if they are not Pharisees or Sadducees, then they must be Essenes, etc.

²⁶ Goodman mentions Bannus, Philo, John the Baptist and Jesus among numerous other proponents of distinct types of Judaism in the writings of Josephus.

When Josephus returns to the schools in *Vita*, the fourth school is, of course, absent: “Thus he managed to combine his own assertion that there were four Jewish *haireseis* with the continuing assumption that there were really only three” (Goodman 1995, 164).

Goodman’s approach conforms well to my reading of the excursuses as deliberately designed, rhetorical products. However, I have suggested a different cause and effect pattern, namely that the whole point of presenting Judas as the head of a fourth school of philosophy might have been to introduce to his readers an excursus on the three established and recognized schools of philosophy.

I would also suggest pushing Goodman’s perspective even further and insisting on a clear distinction between Josephus’ αἱρέσεις or φιλοσοφίαι on the one hand, and ‘Jewish religious groups’ on the other. I suspect that the association of these two categories rests on one of the two following, questionable assumptions—one older and one more recent. The former is to perceive Josephus’ language as an artificial “hellenization.” That is to say there were different religious groups among the Jews, and Josephus calls them αἱρέσεις or φιλοσοφίαι to make them comprehensible to a non-Jewish audience (e.g. Bousset 1926, 187). The latter approach is the totally opposite, namely to perceive First Century Judaism in all its variations as philosophy (e.g. Smith 1956, 79–81; Mason 1991, 186; Mason 1993, 12–18; Mason 1996, 41–46). In both cases, the three-fold pattern of Josephus appears to be the result of deliberate selection.

However, if we for the sake of the argument take Josephus’ presentation in the beginning of his *Vita* at face value, it must have been possible to be a member of the priestly upper class as well as an acknowledged expert in the Jewish laws without really being familiar with the three αἱρέσεις. What Josephus claims to have done at the age of sixteen was to sign up for a quite particular type of Jewish education—separate from any “mainstream Judaism.”²⁷ This corresponds well to the figures given by Josephus,²⁸ to the limited importance of these factions within his

²⁷ Cf. Skarsaune 2002, 107: “He meant no more than he said: like other cultured peoples, the Jews had their intellectuals (philosopher), and like other philosophers, they belonged to different ‘schools’ of opinion.”

²⁸ These figures are: “over six thousand” Pharisees (A.J. 17.42), “but few” Sadducees—“men of the highest standing” (A.J. 18.17), and “more than four thousand” Essenes (A.J. 18.20).

narrative, and to his restricted use of *αἵρεσις*, *φιλοσοφία* and cognates of the latter in other contexts within *Bellum* and *Antiquitates-Vita*.²⁹

This approach allows for a somewhat different historical reconstruction than that of Goodman. Despite the broad spectrum of different Jewish religious groups toward the end of the Second Temple period, Josephus' claim that there were basically three *philosophical schools* among the Jews may have been far from arbitrary. It may even reflect common opinion. If that is the case, it is indeed remarkable that Josephus dresses Judas the Galilean as the leader of an additional school of philosophy.

²⁹ Apart from references to the three schools and that of Judas the Galilean, *αἵρεσις* only occurs twice with the specific meaning of “party” or “faction” (A.J. 7.347; 15.6; cf. Mason 1991, 125–28). Similarly, *φιλοσοφία* and its cognates only reappear in B.J. 3.361, A.J. 1.25; 8.44; 12.37, 99, 101; 16.398; 18.259.

THE SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE AND THE HEAVENLY SCENE OF THE BOOK OF REVELATION¹

Håkan Ulfgard

An especially noteworthy feature of the Book of Revelation is its consistent liturgical character within a visionary setting. In its epistolary framework (ch. 1 and 22:6–21) as well as in its series of visions (4:1–22:5), liturgical terminology figures frequently. This fact, together with the central role of the Lamb for unfolding the scenic heavenly and earthly drama, contributes to the particular theological and christological message of this Christian apocalypse.² Alternating with events on earth, scenes in heaven where God and the Lamb are praised are recurring elements. Starting with the vision of the worshipping celestial community in front of the heavenly throne in chs. 4–5, these scenes of heavenly worship are found in 7:9–17, 11:15–19, 12:10–12, 14:1–5 (though located on Mount Zion), 15:2–8 and 19:1–8.

It is a well-known fact that many features of the heavenly scenery and liturgy in Revelation, particularly in ch. 4, seem to have been inspired by the visionary descriptions of God's throne and his temple in Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 1.³ But some highly interesting similarities with the heavenly scenery and liturgy of Revelation are also found in the so-called 'Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice' (henceforth *Shirot*) from Qumran and Masada. Like Revelation, these texts seem to have been inspired by cultic and prophetic scriptural concepts, especially from Isaiah and Ezekiel.⁴ If the *Shirot* could provide relevant comparisons with features

¹ This is a slightly elaborated version of a paper given at the NNQS conference in Helsinki, May 2003; a shorter version has previously been published under the same title in *Mishkan* 44, 2005, 26–36. Many thanks to Dr. Torleif Elgvin, Oslo, for valuable comments and suggestions!

² No such liturgical focustion is found in the more earthly-oriented, and much less dramatic, scenery and narration in the roughly contemporary Jewish apocalypses 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch.

³ Among many other earlier studies, cf. Vanhoye 1962 and Fekkes 1994.

⁴ See e.g. the discussion about liturgical elements in the Qumran texts in Maier 1990. The utilization of Ezekiel in the Qumran texts may also shed some light on the way in which this book is used in Revelation. Without going into this particular question, F. García Martínez (1988) demonstrates several interesting aspects of how the temple vision of Ezek 40–48 is reflected and interpreted, not least in the 'Songs of

found also in Revelation, this might illuminate not only its liturgical language and conceptual universe, but also contribute to its interpretation at large and to the understanding of the relationship between this singular NT text and the Jewish world of thought to which it obviously is very closely related.⁵

RESEARCH ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN REVELATION AND THE DEAD
SEA SCROLLS—SOME BRIEF REMARKS

In view of the great interest in Qumranite-Christian relations ever since the first publication of the scrolls, the shortage of studies focussing especially on the relation between Revelation and the Dead Sea Scrolls is all the more surprising. After 40 years the section on Revelation in Herbert Braun's *Qumran und das Neue Testament* still provides the perhaps most exhaustive survey of passages with possible Qumranite points of contact.⁶ Obviously, however, there can be no deeper penetration into single texts in a study covering the whole New Testament.⁷ But specialized study on the relations between Revelation and the Dead Sea Scrolls will certainly prove to be a fruitful task in coming years (judging from the Cave 4 texts that finally have been brought to light and com-

the Sabbath Sacrifice.' Ideas about human participation in the heavenly worship are emphasized at the same time as the text from Ezekiel has provided material for the Qumranite concepts about the New Jerusalem.

⁵ After my Helsinki paper, the important studies of Elijor (2004; Hebrew original 2002) and Alexander (2006) have confirmed my observations on the similarities between the liturgical language and imagery of Revelation and corresponding features in the 'Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,' as well as the importance of understanding Revelation against the background of the conceptual world of Jewish mysticism. Of the two, Elijor is more speculative, being mainly concerned with locating the mystical-liturgical writings from Qumran, especially the *Shirot*, within a priestly *merkabah* tradition which goes back to Ezekiel and continues into the *hekalot* literature. In Alexander's sober and detailed study of the mystical writings from Qumran, with the *Shirot* as the key documents, special attention is paid to the heavenly liturgy in Revelation 4–5 as one of the New Testament passages that show clear signs of belonging to the same mystical tradition as the *Shirot* (2006, 140f.). See also Davila 2000, 91.

⁶ Braun 1966, 307–25; altogether he lists 49 passages out of which 43 are considered as not particularly related to the Qumran writings and one as indicating a possible contact (11:19); only five remain as suggesting certain shared ideas (10:7; 11:7–10; 16:16; 21:22; 21:27).

⁷ Cf. the general survey by LaSor 1972 and the bibliographical section in Fitzmyer 1990.

mon discussion), just as a survey of scholarly research on single issues involving Revelation and the scrolls is vitally needed.⁸

One such survey has been done by Otto Böcher (1988). It presents some Qumranite parallels to passages in Revelation, from which it is possible to draw conclusions about the ecclesiology, messianology and eschatology of Jewish and Jewish-Christian 'separatist communities'. Six texts are discussed (Rev 10:7—1QS II 3; 1QpHab II 9; Rev 11:3–14—1QS II 10f.; CD VII 18f.; 4QTest 21–30; Rev 14:12f.—1QpHab VIII 1–3; Rev 19:11–21—1QM *passim*; 1QS III 24f.; 1QSa I 21, 26; CD IV 13; Rev 21:9–27—1QM II 3; VII 1–8; XVIII 11; 1QH VI 27; VII 8f.; 1QS VIII 7f., 9f.; 4QFlor I 7–9, 18f.; Rev 22:1f.—1QH VIII 4–14); however, two out of these were already analyzed by Braun, with another three briefly discussed or considered as having too general traits to be of specific significance for comparison with the Qumran scrolls. Thus, in reality, Böcher's study does not bring many new insights. Moreover, it was published in 1988 before the release of the remaining Cave 4 fragments which were available just two years later. With this new material, a general picture of the Qumran writings has emerged which suggests several points of contact with John's prophetic text: content, liturgical focus, literary style etc.

THE SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE

The *Shirot* comprise a series of liturgical texts from caves 4 (4Q400–407) and 11 (11Q17), also including a text discovered in Yigael Yadin's excavations on Masada (MasShirShabb or Mas1k).⁹ From formulations in the texts themselves, the intended use of the *Shirot* on successive Sabbaths, numbered from one to thirteen, emerges clearly. Furthermore,

⁸ Among earlier studies on single issues, see e.g. Draper 1988 and Bauckham 1988.

⁹ First edition and commentary by Carol Newsom in 1985, who also has edited and commented the text in DJD 11 (Eshel et al. 1998, 173–401). The fragments from Cave 11 were published by Florentino García Martínez (García Martínez et al. 1998, 259–304). Though the documents are highly fragmentary, the existence of several overlapping fragments have enabled the reconstruction of a text which is more complete than the individual manuscripts would allow (the fragments from 4Q are dated by Newsom to between c. 75 BCE and the turn of the century; the 11Q texts to 20–50 CE; and the Masada fragment to c. 50 CE, with 73 as *terminus ad quem*). The designation 'Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice' (*Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat*) was first used by Strugnell (1960); as remarked by Newsom (1985, 5) the title is adapted from a recurring formulation in the text: למסביל שיר עלת השבת. Translations in this article are from Newsom's second edition.

they are assigned precise dates, matching one quarter of the perfect 364-day calendar known from other documents more or less closely affiliated with Qumran (e.g. 1 Enoch, Jubilees, the Temple Scroll, 4QMMT etc.). No traces of further *Shirot* for the rest of the year have been found, but nothing in the existing fragments suggests that the same songs were to be repeated four times a year.¹⁰

The importance of this liturgical material is indicated by its presence in several copies found both in Caves 4 and 11 as well as at Masada. But the presence of a certain text among the Dead Sea scrolls does not automatically mean that its content should be regarded as 'sectarian,' i.e. authored within the Qumran community.¹¹ As for the *Shirot*, the question is if their calendar and liturgical language, focused on the heavenly worship, should be regarded as indicating a sectarian attitude.¹² Of particular interest is the Masada fragment since it may indicate that these liturgical texts were known and used in wider circles than just among the Qumranites¹³ although nothing certain can be known about the reason for its appearance at this place. Was the text brought to Masada by Qumranites in connection with the military campaign of the Romans in the years of the great Jewish revolt, 66–73 CE? Or did it find its way there without involving any Qumranites? Interpreters such as Hartmut Stegemann and Torleif Elgvin have even suggested that the *Shirot* are older than the Qumran community and that they may preserve liturgies from the pre-Maccabean temple.¹⁴ A non-Qumranite, and also pre-Qumranite origin of the *Shirot* is certainly a possibility. (cf. n. 12).

¹⁰ Cf. Newsom 1985, 5 and 19. Cf. the comment by Davila 2003, 90, that the 13 *Shirot* for the first quarter of the year may have had a special relation to the Festival of Weeks, which was the annual covenantal renewal ceremony of the Qumran community, and that this connection becomes especially prominent in songs 11 and 12. In the 364 day calendar these are the sabbaths coming immediately before and after the Festival of Weeks. Note that 11Q5 col. XXVII (11QP^a DavComp) refers to King David as the author of 364 psalms for each day of the year and of 52 psalms for each of its sabbath sacrifices.

¹¹ Also the wide time span of successive phases of habitation in Qumran and of the paleographically determined periods of scribal production cautions against naively assuming that there is no ideological development within the scrolls or no interaction with the surrounding society and its developing and changing beliefs.

¹² Newsom's first inclination towards a Qumranite origin for the *Shirot* (1985, 2–4) has changed into acknowledging the possibility that they may have originated elsewhere but that they, after having been introduced into the community, would have functioned well within the particular Qumranite ideology (Newsom 1990b).

¹³ Thus Stegemann 1994, 141f, and Schiffman 1994, 355.

¹⁴ Stegemann 1994, 142; Elgvin 2003b, 78 n. 40. In particular, Elgvin has pointed to similarities between the *Shirot* and other pre-Qumran texts such as 11Q5 (11QHymn

What is described in the texts is some kind of a Sabbath service in the heavenly sanctuary in which all categories of angels are invited to participate.¹⁵ Not only the heavenly beings are addressed; even the foundations, cornerstones and columns of the heavenly temple are called upon to join in the praise of God. As to their formal structure, the *Shirot* share similar basic elements¹⁶ with the main part of each song describing the angelic praise both in strictly formulaic sections and in more loosely composed passages. There is also an overarching structure in their composition: Out of the thirteen songs, the sixth, seventh, and eighth seem to have been the longest ones, thereby suggesting that they constituted the centre of the whole series with the seventh song at the climax.¹⁷ The style of these central songs is particularly solemn with much repetition, an abundant use of the number ‘seven,’ and lengthy enumerations of all who are exhorted to praise God (seven priesthoods, seven councils, seven precincts, seven *debirim* [= inner sanctuaries], seven chief princes, seven deputy princes, seven psalms, etc.).¹⁸

Longest and most elaborated of them all is the seventh song (the centre of the series from 1 to 13). One finds here the most all-embracing call to join the praise of God, and also the introduction of new motifs that recur in the following songs. Thus one may note a shift in focus from the human congregation of worshippers and ideas on eschatology and predestination in the first five songs to a concentration on the worshipping angels and the heavenly sanctuary in the last five.¹⁹

As to the function of the *Shirot*, they may have been intended to convey to the earthly worshippers the experience of being present at the

to the Creator) and 1Q27 (1QMysteries). Taking the same position, Alexander (2006, 129) considers the *Shirot* “a Qumran reworking of an originally non-Qumran text.”

¹⁵ For a study of the angelology of the Qumran texts, see Davidson 1992 (cf. especially pp. 235–54 on the *Shirot*), but see also Alexander 2006, 55–59.

¹⁶ Their formal structure (cf. Newsom 1985, 6f), contains:

1/ authorial information (למסביל)

2/ designation of the text (שיר עלת השבת)

3/ a date assigned to each text (e.g. הרשבת הראשונה בארבעה לחודש הראשון 4Q400 fig. 1 col. 1 l. 1)

4/ an exhortation to praise God (...הללו).

¹⁷ Thus Newsom 1985, 6f.; for her general survey of the content of the songs, see pp. 6–19. See, however, Alexander 2006, 49f., for the idea that the climax comes towards the end of the series, with the twelfth and thirteenth songs focusing on respectively the *merkabah* and the garments of the celestial high priests.

¹⁸ Especially focusing on the frequent use of the number ‘seven’ in the *Shirot*, cf. Elijor (2004, 77–80) on this numerical fascination in the priestly mystical tradition.

¹⁹ Newsom 1985, 14f. However, she also notes that the angelic priesthood is a special theme in both the first and the last song (p. 17).

continuous heavenly liturgy before the throne of God, which means an attitude found also e.g. in the Thanksgiving Hymns and the Rule of the Community (cf. 1QH III 21–23; XI 13,25; 1QS XI 7–8):²⁰

During the course of this thirteen week cycle, the community which recites the compositions is led through a lengthy preparation. The mysteries of the angelic priesthood are recounted, a hypnotic celebration of the sabbatical number seven produces an anticipatory climax at the center of the work, and the community is then gradually led through the spiritually animate heavenly temple until the worshippers experience the holiness of the merkabah and of the Sabbath sacrifice as it is conducted by the high priests of the angels (Newsom 1985, 19).

It should be noted, however, that the *Shirot* do not explicitly state that human beings are actually transferred into the cultic community of the heavenly realms. Still, the hypnotic quality of the language used to describe the heavenly temple and its worship, with even ‘dead objects’ such as foundation stones and columns participating, may have conveyed to the reader the feeling of being close to the heavenly liturgy—if not actually participating in it, then confidently knowing that earthly Sabbath service has a heavenly parallel counterpart. Though it is the angels who are exhorted to join in praising God, it is precisely this exhortative and repetitive language which may have conveyed to the earthly worshippers (who week by week read these evocative texts) the impression of being present in the heavenly temple. By means of texts like these the Qumran community, separated from participation in the official temple worship in Jerusalem, may have sought to attain some kind of experiential validation for its claim to represent the true earthly priesthood which also included participation with the angelic priests.²¹

²⁰ A good survey of Qumran texts expressing ideas of a liturgical fellowship between the heavenly and earthly worshipping communities is provided by Frennesson 1999. See especially pp. 93–100 on the *Shirot*, but cf. also his comprehensive introductory section where the notion of “liturgical communion with angels” is seen within the larger framework of the theology and angelology of the scrolls, as well as from a historical and sociological perspective (pp. 18–41).

²¹ Cf. Newsom 1985, 65, referring to 4Q400, fig. 2, l. 6, in which human celebrants are juxtaposed with heavenly beings: “How shall we be considered [among] them? And how shall our priesthood (be considered) in their dwellings?” Earlier, Maier (1964, 133) remarked that the Qumran covenanters’ priestly self-understanding may not only have been limited to considering themselves as the ‘pure priesthood,’ in contrast to the defiled priests in Jerusalem, but that they regarded themselves as actually performing priestly service among the angels before God’s throne. Thus the *Shirot* may not only be a description of an ideal worship, but also a means of acting it out, as suggested by Frennesson 1999, 98.

The conscious interest in accentuating priestly quality and legitimacy is also evident from the fact that the climax at the end of the *Shirot* is not to be found in the depiction of the heavenly throne but in the description of the heavenly high-priestly angels appearing in glory.²²

THE BOOK OF REVELATION AND THE SONGS OF THE
SABBATH SACRIFICE

While the special similarities between Revelation and the *Shirot* mainly concern some particular details of its heavenly scene, it is also important to pay attention to the fundamental cultic and eschatological perspective of the Christian document.²³

In my dissertation I claimed that special attention should be paid to the extent in which the Exodus-related elements of the symbolical world of Revelation have put their stamp on its fundamental ideas about Christian existence (Ulfsgard 1989, esp. pp. 35–41). Thus, e.g., 1:4–6 is not only an epistolary introduction to John’s prophecy, calling down God’s grace upon his addressees. Verse 6 gives some highly significant information about the status as “a kingdom and priests” (καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ) which they have obtained before God as a result of Jesus’ saving death, i.e., about the self-understanding John wishes to convey to them. The reference to Exodus 19:6 provides a most important background for John’s statement about the status of the

²² Thus Newsom 1985, 71f., referring also to Zech 3, Jub. 31:13f. and Aramaic Testament of Levi 2–8 (ibid., 67–71). On evocative language as a means of making the worship of the heavenly world present in an earthly context, cf. Newsom 1990a. The repetitive and numinous character of the *Shirot* is taken as a sign of their close relation with the later *hekalot* literature by Alexander (2006, 115–17) who also points to the performative function of the sacred words: “For the Qumran community words were immensely powerful: they believed that simply pronouncing them actually caused things to happen. All speech was for them performative. With such a belief it would not be surprising if they held that simply by chanting the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice they could transform themselves and enter into ecstatic union with the angels (ibid., 117).”

²³ Other cases of interesting similarities between Revelation and the *Shirot* may be listed as well, though many of these are of a less specific character. Thus, e.g., both Rev 12:7; 19:11–21 and 4Q402 frg. 4, l.10 make mention of a war between good and evil powers; but cf. the whole of 1QM; see also 1QS III 24f.; 1QSa I 21, 26; CD IV 13. The exclusion of everything unclean and indecent from the New Jerusalem in Rev 21:27 has a parallel in 4Q400 frg. 1, l. 14; but cf. e.g. 1QH VI 24–27; VII 8f. Note also the similarity between John’s coming “in the Spirit” (Rev 4:2), which enables him to behold the heavenly world without any ‘heavenly journey,’ and the direct view of the heavenly sanctuary in the *Shirot*; cf. Fujita 1986, 174.

followers of Jesus, since it lays the foundations for further associations to the Exodus events and to the covenant ideology. But it also offers a significant model for understanding the particular eschatological perspective of Revelation: The readers/listeners are invited to understand their own situation as Christians according to a typological interpretation of the biblical Exodus narrative. Just as the Israelites, having been liberated out of Egypt, are proclaimed to represent God's chosen and sanctified people at Sinai, the Christian confessors should regard the salvific death and resurrection of Jesus as the foundation of their self-understanding, the basic event through which all believers were united into a renewed people of God in the eschatological era, chosen and sanctified through faith in Jesus as the Messiah. In this sense they may already on earth be described as a royal priesthood unto God, having received the highest possible dignity before God and immediate priestly access to him (*ibid.*, 67).

However, in emphasizing the priestly dignity of Jesus' followers, it should be noted that the author of Revelation is not only alluding to Israel's Exodus experience. Christian priesthood is also the fulfilment of the prophecy in Isaiah 61:6 about the restoration and vindication of God's people in the coming era of salvation. Especially towards the end of his book it becomes clear that John is making use of the Isaianic prophecy in portraying the ideal communion between God and mankind in the perfect setting of the new heaven and earth and the New Jerusalem (ch. 21, particularly vv. 24–26). For this (and other) reason(s) it has sometimes been argued that the temporal perspective of Revelation leaves no place for actual present performance of the Christian royal priesthood (Schüssler Fiorenza 1973, 577, 579). But it should be clear from the text itself that this is not the case. Especially the aorist ἐποίησεν in 1:6 is decisive: The kingship and priesthood of Christ's followers is already a present reality just like their simultaneous experience "in Jesus [of] the persecution and the kingdom and the patient endurance" (1:9). Their priestly and royal dignity are not only meant as future rewards, although there certainly is a futuristic dimension as well in the depiction of Christian existence in Revelation (cf. 5:10; 20:6; 22:5).

Taken together, these scriptural references provide a background for the particular eschatological perspective of Revelation that includes both future and realized expectation. As I have argued elsewhere (Ulf-gard 1989, 35–41, 150–58), the scene of heavenly worship in 7:9–17 fits well in this particular conceptual world. Liberated from slavery under sin and death by the cleansing blood of the Lamb, the Christian members of the people of God are constantly on their way to the Promised

Land under God's protection (as the third section of 'events' occasioned by the breaking of the sixth seal [ch. 7] gives a long reply to the anxious question in 6:17). They are already chosen and sanctified, with their names written in the Book of Life, but not yet enjoying the final consummation of their aspiration; hence they are subject to temptations and threatening apostasy. Coming at the end of the first septennial series then, this vision of human beings portrayed as participating in the heavenly liturgy together with the host of angels, and as having come from the great tribulation, is not exclusively futuristic. It is proleptic in the sense that it anticipates the blessed human communion with God and the Lamb at the end of the book, but this does not necessarily imply that its prophetic language, heavily indebted to Scripture, refers only to things to come. Through their communion with the salvific death and resurrection of Christ, these are the ones who will overcome on the approaching dreadful day of the wrath of God and the Lamb.

The temporal ambiguity of 7:9–17, together with the difficulty in explaining the chronological and logical sequence between this pericope and the previous scene in 7:1–8, is a well-known and constant problem among interpreters of Revelation. Spatial and temporal transcendence, so characteristic for much of biblical (especially apocalyptic) literature, is not easily explained according to rational thinking. But as the Qumran writings reveal, cultic ideology and phraseology may provide the framework within which tension between earth/heaven and present/future is resolved. This part of the Jewish heritage shared by Revelation gives ample evidence of how the limitations of earthly existence are transcended within a cultic context. In its earthly worship the congregation of God's chosen and righteous people at the End of Days unites in the eternal heavenly worship of God celebrated by all the angels and other celestial beings (1QS VIII 7f., 9f.; 1QH VI 24–27; VII 8f.; 1QM II 3).²⁴ This holy community even represents a 'human temple' (מקדש אדם; 4Q174 [4QFlor] I 6), established at the End of Days in expectance of the perfect temple of the Age to Come which God will cause to be built on Zion.²⁵

The prominent cultic language and self-identification of the faithful as 'priests' in Revelation parallels passages in the *Shirot* in which the

²⁴ Cf. Böcher 1988, 3897; note the presence of such ideas also e.g. in 4Q427.

²⁵ Cf. Schwemer 1991, 74f., but see also Dimant 1986.—On the parallel expression 'a structure of "Elohim"/a divine structure' (תבנית אלוהים) in 4Q403, see below, n. 30.

priestly dignity of the celestial and earthly worshippers is stressed. See e.g. 4Q400 frg. 1, col. I l. 3f.:

בַּקְדוּשֵׁי־עֵד קְדוּשֵׁי קְדוּשִׁים וְיִהְיוּ לוֹ לְכוּהַנִּי [...] מִשְׂרָתֵי פָנִים בְּדַבֵּר כְּבוֹדוֹ [...]

("[...] among the eternally holy, the holiest of the holy ones, and they have become for Him priests of [...], ministers of the Presence in His glorious shrine....")

Similarly in l. 19 (see also l. 12):

יִסַּד לוֹ כוּהַנִּי קוֹרְבַּי קְדוּשֵׁי קְדוּשִׁים

("He established for Himself priests of the inner sanctum, the holiest of the holy ones").

Cf. 4Q400, frg. 2, l. 6f:

מֵה נִתְחַשַׁב [ב]ם וְכוּהַנְתָּנוּ מֵה בְּמַעוֹנֵיהֶם וְקִוְדְשָׁנוּ
קוֹדְשֵׁי[ן]הֶם מֵה תְּרוֹמַת לְשׁוֹן עִפְרָנוּ בְּדַעַת אֱלֹהִים

("how shall we be considered [among] them? And how shall our priesthood (be considered) in their dwellings? And [our] ho[li]ness their holiness? [What] is the offering of our tongues of dust (compared) with the knowledge of the g[ods]?")

Aside from these rather general similarities, there are some specific details that point to the common conceptual world of Revelation and the *Shirot*. Among spatial details, the idea of the heavenly temple is a central concept in Revelation 7:15, 11:19 and 15:5 and it is also prominent in 4Q400 frg. 1, lines 8, 10, 13, 17; 4Q401 frg. 12, lines 1 and 3. Though this concept is not unique to Revelation and the *Shirot* (the idea of a heavenly temple model goes back to texts like Exod 25:40 and 1 Chr 28:19, and inspiration certainly also comes from Isa 6 and Ezek 1), certain details may reveal a special connection between these documents. As the whole of the heavenly world is called upon to praise God, even the foundation stones, cornerstones, and columns of the heavenly world are regarded as alive in some sense so that even these dead objects should participate in the angelic worship. This might throw some light on the passage in Revelation 9:13f. in which John hears a voice calling out from the horns of the altar and there is no suggestion that God or an angel is speaking.²⁶ Likewise the idea of a living temple may help il-

²⁶ Cf. Allison 1986. In Rev 5:13, the presentation of the heavenly scene with its continuous worship ends with John claiming that he has heard all created things unite in praising God; note also the voice from the throne in 19:5 and 21:3.

illuminate Revelation 3:12. The message to the Philadelphians concludes with the promise: “If you conquer, I will make you a pillar in the temple of my God . . .” Though the metaphorical sense of the phrase is obvious, it is interesting to note the idea in 4Q403 frg. 1, col. I l. 41 about the pillars in the heavenly temple praising God: “With these let all the f[oundations of the hol]y of holies praise, the uplifting pillars of the supremely exalted abode, and all the corners of its structure.”²⁷ Since the idea of the faithful as constituting a ‘temple’ is common both to the Qumran texts and to some of the New Testament writings, one may reasonably ask if the formulation in Revelation could not be related to this concept.²⁸ The conquerors’ reward illustrates the identification of the community and its members with God’s temple and could be related to the ideas in the *Shirot* about human participation, through the angels, in the continuous worship in heaven.²⁹ In this way, Revelation 3:12 may be regarded as combining the notions about the pillars of the heavenly temple as animate objects and about chosen, holy, and righteous human beings joining with the angels in the divine liturgy.³⁰

Furthermore, while it is a common characteristic of apocalyptic literature to describe the celestial world as populated by various kinds of living beings in the service of God, a special analogy to the scene in Revelation 4 may be found in 4Q403 frg. 1, col. ii (cf. 4Q405 frgs. 20–22; 11Q17 col. vii–viii). In both cases a strong influence from Ezekiel may

²⁷ Cf. García Martínez’ comment in DJD 23 (García Martínez et al. 1998, 268) on the contents of 11Q17 col. i as the probable continuation 4Q403 col. i l. 46: “This section invokes the structural and architectural features of the Temple to join in the praise of God.”

²⁸ Cf. Gärtner 1965 and McKelvey 1969. A brief but comprehensive orientation on the temple symbolism in the Qumran texts is found in Fujita 1986, 140–50; see especially pp. 145f. for comments on the similarities between the depiction of the heavenly Jerusalem in Rev 21 and the interpretation of Isa 54:11–12 in 4QpIsa^d, frg. 1 (the precious stones used for building up post-exilic Jerusalem interpreted as pointing to different groups within the Community; cf. Rev 21:14 on the twelve apostles as the founding stones in the walls of the heavenly Jerusalem). For similar observations concerning the relation between Revelation and Qumran texts (1QS and 4QpIsa^d), cf. Draper 1988, 41–63. Cf. Hannah 2003, especially pp. 535–38, arguing that the vision of Christ “in the midst (ἐν μέσση) of the divine throne” in Revelation 5:6 may be related to the divine angelic liturgy in the animate temple of the *Shirot*.

²⁹ The idea of sanctified, faithful and righteous human beings participating with the angels in the heavenly liturgy is an especially prominent feature of the Thanksgiving Hymns; cf. 1QH II 10; III 7–13, 22f.; IV 36ff.; V 8ff.; VI 3ff.; VII 16ff.; IX 26; XI 12.

³⁰ Cf. Allison 1986, 411f., but see now also Alexander 2006, 31, who also makes a special point of the **תבנית אלוהים** in the seventh Sabbath Song (4Q403 frg. 1, col. ii, l. 16) which he suggests could be translated structure of ‘Elohim’ instead of (as Newsom does) ‘divine structure’; cf. above on the ‘human temple’ (**מקדש אדם**) in 4Q174.

be discerned, above all the introductory vision of ch. 1. Among other details, the seven flaming torches before the throne in Revelation 4:5 (identified as God's seven spirits) should be compared with 4Q403 frg. 1, col. ii, l. 5:

לכת רקי [] ל [] לה לדוש אלוהי [...]

("moving .rpy [] l [] lh to the chief of the god-like beings")³¹

and shortly afterwards, in l. 9:

[...] לרוחות אלוהים בדני להבת אש סביבה ל [...]

("and divine spirits, shapes of flaming fire round about it [...].")

Other indications of similarity between Revelation and the *Shirot* concern how the sacred number seven is used in serial compositions (the seven churches with their respective angels, the series of seven seals, trumpets, and bowls, etc.). As was pointed out above, the number seven is particularly frequent in the sixth, seventh, and eighth songs. Especially notable is its recurring use in MasShirShabb (Mas1k) col. ii (cf. 11Q17 col. iii).³² After a solemn invocation to the seven 'chief princes' (נשיאי רוש; i.e. principal angels) to praise God with seven psalms of thanksgiving there follows a description of their seven pronouncements.³³ A feature of this elevated style is the combination of praising acclamations and attributions of divine glory directed to God. In a sevenfold succession the same pattern is repeated in which every chief prince gives a blessing which is pronounced "with seven words of wondrous x (פלא x בשבעה דברי x)"; each blessing and divine attribute is always slightly varied:³⁴

³¹ Newsom's 1985 edition translates: "the flashing of the light[ning] [...] to the chief of the god-like beings [...]"; cf. her discussion of this difficult passage in DJD 11 (Eshel et al. 1998, 284).

³² A reconstruction of this very fragmentary text from overlapping sections of 4Q403-05 was first presented in Newsom 1985, 175-77; cf. her chart on pp. 207f.

³³ In his study of how angelological ideas may have influenced the christology of the Book of Revelation, Carrell (1997, 62) points to an analogy to this idea of an angelic hierarchy in Tob. 12:15, where Raphael appears as "one of the seven angels who stand ready and enter before the glory of the Lord." See also *ibid.*, 21 for other instances of seven (principal) angels mentioned in biblical and post-biblical Jewish writings.

³⁴ Cf. Newsom's reconstructed formulaic pattern in DJD 11 (Eshel et al. 1998, 249f.), but see also García Martínez' edition of 11Q17 in DJD 23 (García Martínez et al. 1998, 272f.) for a comparison of the sixth and eighth songs. The actual words pronounced by the angels are not revealed; cf. Allison 1988 for reflections on a possible theological motivation for non-verbal angelic praise.

“psalm of blessing (תהלת ברכה)...to the eternal God (לאלוהי עולמים)”,
 “psalm of magnification (תהלת גדל)...to the King of truth and righteousness (למלך אמת וצדק)”,
 “psalm of exaltation (תהלת רומם)...to the King of angels (למלך מלאכים)”,
 “psalm of praise (תהלת שבח)...to the Warrior who is above all god-like beings (לגבור על כול אלהים)”,
 “psalm of thanksgiving (תהלת הודות)...to the King of glory (למלך הכבוד)”,
 “psalm of rejoicing (תהלת רנן)...to the God of goodness (לאל הטוב)”,
 “psalm of praisesong (תהלת זמר)...to the God of holiness (לאלוהי קודש)”.

Finally, the seven kinds of praising acclamations to God are summarized (lines 19–22):

Seven psalms of His blessings; seven p[salms of the magnification of His righteousness;] seven psalms of the exaltation of His kingdom; seven psalms of the p[raise of His glory;] seven psalms of thanksgiving for His wonders; seven psa[ims of rejoicing in His strength;] [sev]en psalms of praise for His holiness...

While there is an analogy for the sevenfold pattern of liturgical praise in the seven elements of the *Amidah* prayer, the closest similarity and a contemporary parallel to the concepts of the *Shirot* may be found in the Book of Revelation. God’s seven attributes in the *Shirot* may be compared in character and meaning with what is ascribed to the Lamb and to God by the angelic host in the sevenfold doxologies of Rev 5:12 and 7:12:³⁵

Worthy is the Lamb that was slaughtered to receive power (δύναμις) and wealth (πλοῦτος) and wisdom (σοφία) and might (ἰσχύς) and honour (τιμὴ) and glory (δόξα) and blessing (εὐλογία)!

Amen! Blessing (εὐλογία) and glory (δόξα) and wisdom (σοφία) and thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία) and honour (τιμὴ) and power (δύναμις) and might (ἰσχύς) be to our God forever and ever! Amen.³⁶

³⁵ Thus Newsom in both her editions of the *Shirot*, cf. Newsom 1985, 177–80, 195–97, and Eshel et al. 1998, 247. See also e.g. 4Q400 frg. 1, l. 1; frg. 2, lines 1–5; frg. 3, col. II l. 4; 4Q401 frg. 1, lines 5–8; frg. 13, l. 2; MasShirShabb (Mas1k) col. ii, and Newsom’s concordance, 1985, 389–466.

³⁶ Cf. also 4:9 and 5:13 with respectively three and four terms of praise. The sevenfold praising formula is found also in 1 Chr 29:11f, but with a more complex structure; cf. Newsom 1985, 177 (also in Eshel et al. 1998, 247). Note the comment on the correspondence between the angelic liturgy of the *Shirot* and Revelation by Aune 1972,

To summarize these observations, it seems reasonable to argue that the cultic-eschatological perspectives of both Revelation and the *Shirot* reveal a common consciousness of sharing a divine election and priestly dignity. In the context of worship, there is a transcendence of spatial (earthly and heavenly) as well as of temporal (past, present, and future) categories which enables the authors of these texts to regard human beings as participating with the heavenly host of angels and other celestial creatures in the perennial praise of God. Such transcendent cosmological ideas ('vertical eschatology') may very well co-exist with the more traditional concept of the coming kingdom of God ('horizontal eschatology').³⁷ From the heavenly perspective revealed in Revelation and the *Shirot*, earthly future is already a present reality.³⁸ As expressed by Anna Maria Schwemer (1991, 116f), commenting on the *Shirot*:

Der präsentische, kultische Sprachgebrauch von *malkût* bei der Beschreibung des himmlischen Gottesdienstes steht nicht im Gegensatz zur endzeitlichen Hoffnung, die den neuen eschatologischen Tempel auf dem irdischen Zion erwartet, sondern erklärt sie. Im Himmel ist ewige Gegenwart, was auf Erden in der Heilszukunft erwartet wird. Im Zyklus der Sabbatlieder nimmt die irdische Gemeinde durch ihre Aufforderung an die Engel zum Lobpreis am himmlischen Gottesdienst teil und über diese Heilsgabe jubelt sie.

32, n. 2: "The frequent use of the number seven in the Angelic Liturgy calls to mind the heptadic structure of the Apocalypse of John, thereby disposing us to view its cultic realization of the kingdom of God and final judgment as historically and genetically related to the identical cultic phenomenon in the worship of the Qumran community." For similar reflections on the connection between the hymns of Revelation and the *Shirot*, see Segert 1988, 223.

³⁷ Cf. Löhr 1991, especially his conclusion (p. 204) that there is a common complex of motifs in the *Shirot* and the Epistle to the Hebrews in which cultic and political concepts are combined in order to express the idea of the kingship of God. This does not necessarily mean that there must have been direct connections of a tradition-historical or literary kind, however. As a final important observation (concerning the understanding of Hebrews, but in my opinion highly relevant for Revelation as well), it is pointed out that "zeitlich-futurische und räumlich-transzendente Eschatologie einander nicht ausschließen, sondern vielmehr implizieren" (p. 205). For brief reflections on the similarities between the Epistle to the Hebrews and the *Shirot*, see also Alexander 2006, 139f.

³⁸ This understanding of the temporal dimension of Revelation was more controversial in some earlier scholarship, however. Cf. Schüssler Fiorenza 1976, 175, emphatically arguing for an exclusively futuristic understanding of Christian priesthood and participation in the worship of the celestial world: "Yet this abundance of cultic language in the Apocalypse does not imply a cultic understanding of the Christian community or of Christian existence. We do not find in the Apocalypse any earthly liturgy or worship, temple or altar that would correspond to the heavenly temple and angelic liturgy. Moreover, the Christians do not participate in this heavenly liturgy."

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This brief study of some aspects of Revelation against the background of the *Shirot* has indicated the need for further exploration of the similarities between these expressions of Judaism at the turn of the era. Details in the depiction of the heavenly scene and in the cultic language suggest that interpreters of Revelation should be more concerned to study Qumran texts to illuminate its conceptual world. Such studies should not only focus on liturgical language, however. Among topics that need clarification are e.g. eschatology and the use of Scripture: How can the eschatology of Revelation be understood in the light of Qumranite eschatological ideas? And are there points in common between Qumranite use of Scripture and the particular dependence on Scripture in Revelation?

Eventually these questions reach down to the issue of Christian origins: Being aware of the multifaceted forms of Judaism of the first century CE, is it possible that the particular Christian witness of Revelation may be due to influence from the kind of Judaism that also comes to expression in the Dead Sea scrolls?³⁹ Or put even more sharply: Could its author have been a 'converted' ex-Essene/ex-Qumranite—just as Paul was an ex-Pharisee?⁴⁰ Maybe the greatest problem with Revelation rests with theologians and exegetes who for various reasons have been unwilling to acknowledge the genuine but highly particular character of this witness to one form of early confession of Jesus as the Messiah and the fulfillment of Scripture?⁴¹ Would it not be possible that the Jesus-movement came to include Messiah-expecting Jews (especially

³⁹ The interest in celestial details in both Revelation and the *Shirot* should be related to the ideas of ancient Jewish mysticism, particularly its concepts concerning the heavenly throne and the *merkabah*; cf. e.g. 1 En. 39:10ff. and 40:3ff., and see further Maier 1964, 133. According to Scholem 1964, addendum to p. 29, l. 9, the finding of the *Shirot* proves the connection between the Qumranite *merkabah* texts and the *hekalot* literature and that the latter literature should be dated much earlier than has previously been the case. Cf. also Newsom 1987, Baumgarten 1988, and Fujita 1986, 174–76. As was remarked initially (n. 5), the recent study by Elior (2004) aims at demonstrating the continuity of the early Jewish mystical traditions from the time of Ezekiel's prophecies through texts dating from the Second Temple period until the emergence of the *hekalot* literature in the following centuries. In her synthetic reconstruction special emphasis is put on the exclusivistic and priestly setting of these traditions, which together with an interest in the angelic priesthood correspond well to similar features in Revelation.

⁴⁰ See e.g. Fujita 1986, 150 and 202, but also Brooke 1989, 194.

⁴¹ Cf. the well-known negative attitudes to the Book of Revelation of such important theologians as Martin Luther and Rudolf Bultmann.

after the frustrated revolt of 66–70 CE), among whom were also such people whose ideas about the celestial world and its correlation with human worship corresponded to those expressed in the *Shirot*?⁴² Should one look here for the conceptual world which finds its Christian expression in Revelation's depiction of a warlike Messiah and Lamb conquering the earthly and heavenly agents of evil as the firstborn from the dead, the king of kings, and the "shoot of David"?⁴³ Such ideological background in an eschatologically highly conscious Judaism would help explain the harsh ethics of Revelation (e.g. in the letters to the seven churches). It would also illuminate its intense expectation of the End, juxtaposed with a liturgical language which suggests an understanding that the faithful may already on earth enjoy the blessings of the Age to Come—the oscillation between hope for the future vindication of the suffering righteous and the conviction that the faithful believers already have a share in Christ's *basileia*, despite earthly affliction.⁴⁴

⁴² This is suggested also by Alexander (2006, 139).

⁴³ Cf. Ulfgard 2000. Note also how the angelomorphic Christology of Revelation is put into the context of contemporary Jewish notions on angelomorphic figures and angelology by Carrell (1997).

⁴⁴ A thorough thematic and literary analysis of the idea of divine kingship in the *Shirot* is found in Schwemer 1991; cf. especially her comment on p. 117: "Wie fruchtbar der Vergleich mit den Sabbatlidern für das Verständnis einzelner Aspekte der Johannesapokalypse ist, hat man schnell erkannt, er sollte nun auch für die Schlüsselbegriffe βασιλεία und βασιλευς geführt werden." Though from a different perspective, modern studies in cultural anthropology and ritual theory may confirm and underscore such a conclusion, e.g. referring to the concept of liminality. See Ruiz 1992, in which there is a good survey of such approaches to Revelation and their usefulness; cf. also Thompson 1990, in which Victor Turner's concept of *communitas* is used to demonstrate how the literary-liturgical language of Revelation is closely related to its practical purpose of enabling a liberating identification on the part of its readers.

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